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MINUTES

OF THE

EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE A

Committee of the House of Commons,

BEING



A SELECT COMMITTEE,

Appointed on the 29th Day of JANUARY 1790,

For the Purpose of taking the Examination of such
Witneses as shall be produced on the Part of the
several Petitioners who have petitioned the House of
Commons against the Abolition of the SLAVE
TRADE.

Printed in the Year M.DCC.XC.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE,

Veneris, 5^o die Februarii 1790.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed for the Purpose of taking the Examination of such Witnesses as shall be produced on the Part of the several Petitioners who have petitioned the House of Commons against the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Veneris, 29^o die Januarii 1790.

COUNSEL called in.

Mr. Heywood, for the Petition of the Planters, Merchants, Mortgagees, Annuitants, and 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. JAMES FRASER, —being called in, and examined by the said Counsel, said, That he has been Commander in several ships from Bristol, in the African Slave Trade, from the year 1772—has been twenty years in the whole, in that Trade—He
went

went out second mate, and afterwards had the charge as chief mate, and so continued till he became master.

To what part of the Coast have you made any voyages?

I made four voyages to the Coast of Angola—One to New Calabar—Five to Bonny—One to the Windward and Gold Coast—A part of another to the Windward Coast, and then captured—Another voyage partly to the Windward Coast, and then drove away by a man of war from that coast, and went to Angola, where, my purchase being half finished, I returned, and completed upon the Windward Coast.

From what port did you make these voyages?

From Bristol.

Did you reside on the Coast of Africa?

Yes—In my first and second voyages as master to Angola,—I was in the first voyage three months on shore, and in the second, seven months.

On what part of the coast was you on shore?

On Melimba Hill.

Had you an opportunity of knowing the manners and customs of the Natives of Africa?

I had not many opportunities; but I must have made some remarks, and have some knowledge of the business.

Do you know any thing of the government of that country?

I have some general notions of it, but they are very imperfect.

Is their government monarchical?

It is at Melimba, Cabenda, Loango, and at different other places, as I have heard.

Are each of those places governed by distinct monarchs?

They are; but there are a great number of people who acknowledge the king as king and superior, but who resist him when they think it their interest so to do—their titles imply so many offices—they are commonly succeeded by others, who give very great presents to the king on these occasions—he gives them a particular

particular cap, which cap confers a right to turn out the prior officer, and get his place, if he can, by force.

What power is exercised by these officers over the people ?

They have the power of life and death—they punish them sometimes by mutilation—if they are very much incensed against them they destroy them, but commonly sell them for Slaves when convicted of any crime—Sometimes they run away from one master of one district to another, to get protection, which occasions wars.

Are those wars confined to these officers or principal men, or do they arise from private feuds ?

A great many of them arise from private feuds, and are continued from father to son.

Are there public wars besides ?

There are what may be called public wars between the principal men of the country for variety of reasons, which the king has not power always to controul.

Is the condition of Slavery perfectly well known in that country ?

Perfectly.

Are there many Slaves there ?

There are.

Can you give any distinct idea of their numbers, and in whose hands they are ?

There are a set of Slaves in that country, that cannot be sent out of it agreeable to the laws of the country ; but can be transferred from one person to another within it—many Slaves are born so—many purchased from interior parts of the country.

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

The number of Freemen, properly speaking, is very small in the country—there are many Freemen who find it unsafe to be free, chusing rather to consider themselves as the vassals or slaves of the great Princes, than be exposed to dangers from quarrels, in which they are always involved in that country.

What are those dangers ?

The danger of having his property taken from him, from want of protection from the government under which he lives.

How is justice administered in that country?

Justice is administered in that country by the principal men in every district, village, or town—I understood, the king's officers have the greatest power in that country—when any cause is brought before any such officer, he asks his neighbours or vassals whether he is not constituted as a proper judge—this is a matter of form, and as soon as it is consented to, he hears the merits of the cause—when sentence is passed, the person in whose favour it is given is generally obliged to put it in execution; and very often, when he cannot execute the sentence, he has no further redress—in some cases the party condemned pays a fine, which remains with the judge.

Are the Slaves entitled to be adjudged by these Courts?

No—it is confined to freemen and vassals.

What are the crimes which generally come before these tribunals?

When one draws blood of another, in any kind of quarrel among themselves—words spoken in abuse of men in power, by cursing in a mode which is peculiarly offensive in that country—for adultery—for poisoning and witchcraft, which is sometimes brought before the tribunal, and after a summary examination, if it is thought necessary, the process is carried further by the person accused, on his own appeal or otherwise, taking pills, and a drink administered by the Fetiche doctor (who is called the Congo doctor) and by the effect of these pills, he is judged guilty or innocent accordingly; and it is supposed, that the Fetiche doctor, according as he is paid, composes those pills, so as to have a favourable or an unfavourable effect—if he is found guilty, the magistrate of the place then pronounces sentence—the sentence in general is a very heavy fine to such persons as they cannot compel to undergo the trial themselves, but do it by deputy, and are too powerful to be reduced to slavery, and have their family seized—but people of middling and low condition, in some cases, are put to death, and in others sold—I understood, in a great measure, the language of the country, and I have been present twelve hours at one of these trials—and most of the circumstances that I have related I have learnt from the people of the country, or from my own knowledge.

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What becomes of the families of the persons sold?

They become the Slaves of the accuser.

In what manner are the fines you mentioned paid?

Partly in Slaves, and partly in what passes for money in the country, or in goods.

Is a payment by Slaves a common payment in that country?

It is a common payment for every thing of any considerable value—they have a sort of money (which is a grafs cloth) which is the proper money of the country, with which they purchase the necessaries of life—they may have other modes of payment, which are unknown to me.

Is the trial by the Congo doctor's medicine confined to poison and witchcraft?

The only case which I know of, except poison and witchcraft, is as follows: there were three princesses or more at the time I was in the country—when any one of these princesses take a fancy to any particular man, she sends out her people to seize his person, and from that time he is constrained to become her husband—he is then forbidden to look on other women, and if he commits any act of infidelity, or has any communication whatever with any other woman, he is subject to trial by medicine of the Congo doctor, or obliged to pay a certain fine—the princess is not under any restraint in respect to her intercourse with other men—in this answer I allude to the practices in the kingdom of Melimba only.—I should observe, that when a man dies, his property goes, in the female line, to his sisters and their children, and not to his own.

What number of princes are there in that country?

There are from four to six.

Are there any other crimes than those you have mentioned tried before the principal men of the town?

Every crime that is committed in the country is tried by that jurisdiction.

Are debtors tried before that tribunal?

I have understood that long standing debts have been paid sevenfold—by the custom of the country—by order of any man who is considered as a magistrate.

How are debtors punished who are unable to pay their debts?
They become the Slaves of the creditor.

Does that extend to their families as well as to themselves?

First, to satisfy the debt, their Slaves are seized, then their children, then their women, and finally themselves, if the debt is not satisfied.

Do human sacrifices prevail in this part of Africa?

I can't speak of any to my own knowledge.

What are the natural productions of Angola?

Cassada, calavances, plantains, bananas, a very few yams, a few sweet potatoes, pumpkins, water melons, Indian corn—It is so long since I have been in that country, I cannot particularize any other articles.

Is any tobacco produced there?

There is.

Is it produced in any quantity?

I believe not in any considerable quantity; it is produced on the Banks of the River Ambris, after being fertilized by the inundations in the rainy seasons.

Is there any labour necessary in the production of that article?

I have been informed very little labour is used, on account of the slimes, which are left at the overflowings of the river.

Is there any Cotton grown there?

There must be some grown, because they make a sort of cloths, something like such as are made in the Portuguese Islands, but the cloths are of no value in trade.

Do they export any Cotton?

I never saw any in the country.

Did you ever hear of any famine in that country?

Yes—I have heard of partial famines, and felt the effect of them sometimes, in not being able to purchase sufficient country provisions for the Slaves.

What do you conceive to have been the cause of those famines?

They

They may be sometimes occasioned by the rainy seasons failing, and oftener by the indolence of the Natives not planting a sufficient quantity of corn, calada, and calavances, and perhaps by the impossibility of preventing their crops from being stolen, either on the ground, or after they are gathered and carried home—the people are professed thieves—they are not ashamed to own it, but they are ashamed of being detected.

In cases of great distress, owing to the famines, is it common to sell the whole, or part of a family, to obtain sustenance?

Not in Angola, to my knowledge.

From your knowledge of this part of the coast, do you conceive that the natives could be induced to cultivate articles for exportation?

Every article of cultivation that has been produced in that country has been by the labour of women.

In what manner are the Slaves purchased, on the Coast of Angola, by the Europeans?

We commonly have factories on shore, at Melimba, Cabenda, and Loango—the people on the Sea Coast act commonly as brokers—they are generally called Linguisters, and receive a commission, which we call Linguisters Wages—the people from the interior parts of the country, who by their own accounts are sometimes a month, two months, and three months, on their journey down, come to our factories, attended by some of these brokers—our trade with them is a mere barter; we receive their Slaves at a price fixed on—they get our goods in return, and sometimes we see them back again, in a month or six weeks, returning with Slaves.

Have you any idea from what distance these Slaves are brought?

There are commonly Slaves of three nations brought to Cabenda, Melimba, and Loango—the Congoes, the Majumbas, and Madungoes. The Majumbas are supposed to come from a tract of land situated from the equinoctial line to the latitude of three or four degrees South—the Congoes, from the kingdom of Congo, which is supposed to extend from five degrees and an half South to seven degrees—the Madungoes come from the interior parts of the country, and are a long time in coming down to the Coast; they are supposed to be cannibals; and they gave me reasons for being so. When I asked them, if they eat one another in their country? they told me they did—When I asked them the reason, they told me it was the sweetest flesh they knew.

Which of these descriptions of Slaves are the most numerous?

We buy but few of the Madungoes; but whether that is owing to their being at a great distance from us, or few in number in their own country, I am perfectly ignorant.

In what manner do these persons become Slaves in their different countries?

As to the Madungoes, I know nothing of my own knowledge, and my information is so various I cannot rely on it.

Do you know any thing of the Congoes and the Majumbas, in what manner they become Slaves?

Some Congo princes sold me some of their own Slaves, and one in particular sold me one of his own wives. I would wish to be understood, that there is no marriage ceremony in that country; the wife becomes the property of the husband by purchase, and that purchase is conducted as follows: When a man is inclined to take a woman for his wife, he obtains the consent of the mother and near relations by presents; and when the woman herself receives a present, she is considered as having given her consent, which she cannot afterwards retract; she then to all intents and purposes becomes the man's property; but the man has no right to deprive her of any money or goods which belong to herself, or any thing else, except the Slave, which he commonly gives her when he marries, and which Slave he commonly sells before he sells the woman, when provoked by her behaviour so to do; but sometimes the Slave is sold in order to intimidate the woman, who afterwards may be forgiven, or not sold.

In what extent of Country does this custom prevail?

It prevails generally, I believe, from Majumba to the River Ambris.

How many Wives do the People of Angola usually have?

As many as they can afford.

Is it the general custom to have more than one wife?

He must be a poor man indeed who has no more than one wife.

Is it a matter of pride among the Natives to have a great number of wives?

I believe it is, so far as one man considers himself richer than another

another—and every man's wealth in that country is generally known by the number of his wives and his Palm Wine Boys, who are employed in going to the palm trees to extract the wine for his use.

In what manner do the Congoes and Majumbas become Slaves ?

I generally understand, that trading men purchase them in the country, and sometimes the proprietors of Slaves bring them down to sell.—There is another circumstance, which is, that the Slaves in the Congo and Majumba Countries are nearly equal.—When there is a war in either of those countries, we seldom get Slaves from that country where the war exists; and the reason of it I believe is, that the Merchants find it dangerous to travel through the country at that time, and the people themselves cannot attend to any thing else but the war.

Are the Slaves that are purchased from Congo and Majumba prisoners of war ?

The mode of carrying on war in those countries is by circumventing the enemy in ambush, or by surprize, and not openly meeting him in the field of battle—the parties surprized are made captives and Slaves, and sold as such.—Some have been sold to me, and their friends have come some weeks after to redeem them.

Are the prisoners made in this way numerous ?

I believe numbers of prisoners have been made in that manner, but only a few of them have been sold to me.

What proportion of those sold to the Europeans have been made Slaves in this manner ?

I believe very few in comparison of what there may be in some other parts of the coast.

Are any Persons sold for Slaves that were born Slaves ?

I believe, the greater number that are sold at Angola were born Slaves—my reasons for thinking so are, that they seldom express any degree of resentment against those that sold them, and from their being generally chearful and contented—these Slaves are of a different condition from the others I just mentioned—the Slaves I allude to are not the Vassals, but are Slaves of the people who come from the interior country, and some on the coast.

What is the distinction between those you have mentioned as Vassals, and those you have mentioned as Slaves ?

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The Vassals, while they are in favor, are generally looked on as in a certain state of freedom—when they become useless, or give offence, they are commonly degraded to the situation of those I term Slaves, but without being liable, in every case, to be sold out of the country.

Among the Slaves sold, what is the proportion of convicts for different offences?

A greater proportion than we can possibly know, for they all say they were honest, and know not what they were sold for.

Is the Trade carried on between the Europeans and the Natives carried on by force or fraud?

I do not know of any such—it has happened to me that some principal men of the country have applied to me to assist them in seizing a person as a Slave, whom, they said, had been condemned for crimes, who was armed to resist being taken, but I always refused—I verily believe cases have happened amongst the natives of kidnapping each other, but I have not known it—If such practice was discovered, the offender would be severely punished, not only by the friends of the person who was kidnapped, but by the king or prince of the country.

In what manner is the barter you mentioned between the Europeans and the natives conducted?

The natives examine the European goods, and if the quantity and quality is to their satisfaction, and the Slaves to ours, the barter is completed.

Do the natives always see and approve of the goods before they make the bargain?

They are always at liberty to examine the goods, and in general they examine them very minutely.

Do the ships, before they leave the coast, give any notice of the time of sailing?

They generally give a very long notice on the coast of Angola, from the difficulty of getting the natives to pay them punctually to the time of their setting sail.

In what manner is that notice given?

The notice I have always given myself, and generally have seen given by others, was by loosing the fore-top-sail at sun rising, and firing a gun—I was once obliged to leave the river Ambris, without giving any notice, being alarmed by the appearance of a large ship
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in the offing, who might have been an enemy—the next day, the danger being over, I returned, and settled with the natives.

Is the notice that is given understood by the natives of the country, and the people on board the ship.

I never concealed it from the persons on board the ship, and never supposed they could be ignorant of it, not even the Slaves—the Slaves being generally impatient to leave the coast, we generally tell them the time we propose sailing.

And then the Counsel and Witnefs were directed to withdraw.

Lunæ, 1^o die Februarii 1790.

Counsel and Witnefs called in as before, and the Counsel proceeded in his Examination.

At what time of the day do ships usually sail from the coast of Angola? Mr. FRASER.

It depends upon the wind—they sail indifferently at any time, night or day, according as the wind serves, and the vessel is ready.

What becomes of the Slaves that are offered to the European ships, and not purchased?

When the Owners of the Slaves from the country are satisfied that the Europeans will not buy them, they sometimes sell a few of them to the people on the sea coast, for very low prices, and carry the rest back—sometimes they bring down large lots of Slaves, and not finding the quality or quantity of the goods such as they expected, they sell some of their Slaves, and carry the rest back. It has happened to myself at Melimba, and the River Ambris, that not liking the assortment of the cargo, they have taken the Slaves back.

Do you know if any personal injury happened to the refuse Slaves?

I have seen them sometimes beat—heard them threatened, and
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observed

observed they were generally anxious to be sold with the rest of the Slaves—the younger ones were not under the same apprehensions as the old Slaves, therefore I should suppose the old Slaves were criminals, and were in fear of some kind of punishment.

• Is there any commerce for Slaves carried on between Angola and the eastern part of Africa?

I have reason to think so, from the great number of Slaves which the Portuguese carry to the Brazils; because the assortment of their cargo is so much inferior to that of the English, French, and Dutch, that most of the inhabitants of Congo, and the different neighbouring kingdoms, are averse from trading with the Portuguese—another reason which makes me think so is, that the River Congo, which enters the sea on the latitude of six degrees south, the river Ambris, whose mouth is between seven and eight degrees south, the River Dandy, whose entrance is situated a little further south, and several other rivers between that tract and the latitude eleven degrees south, are generally reputed and believed to proceed from the same source in the interior part of the country—there are several intercommunications of these rivers—at most of these communications it is reported there are Portuguese missionaries established as factors, who carry on a Slave Trade for themselves and the government—another reason which makes me think that some of the Slaves which are purchased at the River Ambris, is, that I now and then purchased a Slave, and sometimes two or three, whose language was not understood by any of the inhabitants of the sea coast, or by any other Slaves on board.

What is the number of those Slaves, whose language was not understood, in proportion to the others?

Very few in proportion.

Is it the practice at Angola for European ships to take pawns?

It is a practice, and a very bad one. It is the custom at Angola for the traders and inhabitants to pawn their Slaves, their children or relations, to procure goods for different purposes—it is sometimes, I believe, the custom with some great men in the country to order some of their friends, their relations, or families, to be sold: and, I suppose, that this being ordered to be done in passion or resentment, the people who receive this commission chuse to deliver them as pawns, taking the value of a Slave in return, leaving the master at liberty to avail himself of that circumstance, if he chose to redeem the person so pledged. What I consider as
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the greatest evil attending this practice is, that the owner or friend of such pawns commonly borrows Slaves from a ship which is not so forward in completing her cargo, and takes the pawn out of the ship that is ready to depart, and puts it on board the other—I have known epidemical disorders conveyed from one ship to another by this practice, which has destroyed a great number of Slaves on board one ship which I can mention in particular.—I consider it as a very great hardship upon persons so pawned, as it exposes them to scurvies and fluxes, and to be sent into ships where they are fed in different manners—such pawns have frequently begged of me to take them away as Slaves, to avoid being shifted on board other ships as pawns—this practice is likewise injurious to the owners of the ships, because ships are obliged sometimes to lay two or three days after finishing their trade, before the friends of such pawns can procure Slaves to put in their place, and are sometimes obliged to carry off the pawns, or take inferior Slaves in their room; in either of which cases I consider the owners to be injured. By the custom of most part of the coast in which I have traded, we are not at liberty to refuse a pawn. When I was taken by a French man of war on the Windward Coast, a Liverpool ship that happened to be taken, had a number of pawns on board—the French captain and his officers determined to send those pawns to the West Indies—I remonstrated against the impropriety and injustice of it—I assured them that the Chamber of Commerce in France, and the African Company in England, would prosecute him and his Officers for so doing, unless he gave an opportunity to the friends of the pawns to redeem them, by paying the Rice or Slaves for which they were pawned—the captain of the man of war told me, that neither I nor any other man had a right to take pawns on board—my answer was, that it was the custom of the country, that the first French ships that came to trade upon that coast must pay for them, or that any of the crews of such ships that were caught on shore would suffer for it. This is another bad consequence attending the taking of pawns, that people are often pawned that can never be redeemed, their friends being too poor to procure a Slave in return.

What becomes of the pawns unredeemed?

Every pawn that is received is considered as a Slave, until he is redeemed—if their friends refuse, or are not able to redeem them, they are carried off and sold.

Does the account of the pawns you have given relate to the Trade in the other parts of Africa, as well as at Angola?

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It relates to all parts that I know where the custom of putting pawns on board ships prevails.

Does that custom generally prevail?

It does at Angola and the Windward coast, to my own knowledge, and I believe in other parts—but seldom at Bonny.

Have you not said you have been five voyages to Bonny?

Yes.

Are you acquainted with the government of that country?

I am so far acquainted with it as my own business required, and the means of information I had from others afforded me.

Have you been long on shore there?

I have been daily on shore, during the time my vessel was on the Coast—the vessel, upon an average, might be about two to three months each voyage, laying in the River opposite to the town.

Did you make any observations on the government of the country?

I have a general knowledge of the government of the country.

What is the government?

There are a certain number of people at Bonny, who are supposed to have an equal right to be at the head of the government—as it derives its wealth and condition from commerce, masters of ships have a great influence in determining in favour of one or other of the candidates on the decease of a king—there has been an instance of a king being set up and supported by the masters of ships laying in the River—when the claims of several persons seem to be equal, the man that is judged best qualified to govern them with equity, and secure them against the depredations of their neighbours, and who understands the English language, and the mode of trading with the Europeans, is usually preferred.

How far does the district extend over which these kings have jurisdiction?

I have been often told that there are 17 towns dependent upon Bonny—some of these towns I know.

What is the power these kings have over the persons and property of their subjects?

There are nine parliament men, who with the king, and a number

number of principal people of the town, make laws and regulations for the time being—at present these parliament men have little or no power, being obliged to act in every respect as the king, influenced by the priests, may direct them.

Is the condition of slavery known in the country?

Perfectly so—a great number of the inhabitants of Bonny being born Slaves, and Slaves being purchased in the interior parts of the country.

What proportion do the Slaves bear to the Freemen?

The far greater number are Slaves; but as the safety of the town depends upon the exertions of all the inhabitants of it, many of the Slaves scarce know themselves to be such, until they commit some offence that occasions them to be sold or punished as such.

Is there any distinction in the different classes of Slaves in Bonny?

There are a certain number of Freemen that are universally acknowledged to be so—there are a number of Slaves belonging to some of the principal people, who themselves possess forty or fifty Slaves, or upwards, of their own, and are allowed to carry on trade as Freemen, by the indulgence of their masters.

Is it permitted to sell all Slaves indiscriminately out of the country?

Such Slaves as they have purchased from the interior part of the country are allowed to be sold at the will of their master—such Slaves as are born in the town, and judged useful and necessary to the safety of it, cannot be sold out of the country, unless they are convicted of certain crimes.

In what manner are they tried for crimes?

When they are accused of any particular crime, it is generally understood that the charge must be proved by sufficient witnesses, before they can be sold or punished.

Before whom are they tried?

I do not know there is any particular mode of trying them—it is seldom that any body disputes the truth of such allegations as a master may make against his Slave.—It is generally supposed that the Master will not falsely accuse one of his Slaves, as it would induce some of the others to desert, and run away to another country, which they very often do from Bonny to Calabar, and from Calabar to Bonny.

Are the Freemen, charged with crimes, tried before the same tribunal as the Slaves?

When a Freeman is charged with a crime, I believe other Freemen, Parliament-men, and Priests commonly take cognizance of the supposed crime.—If he is convicted of the crime, he undergoes the usual punishment.

What are the crimes that are most commonly brought before these tribunals?

I can't speak to the particular crimes—poisoning was formerly much practised at Bonny, but there is hardly an instance of it known at present—a freeman convicted of such a crime was put to death and buried under ground.—Slaves were thrown into the river or given alive to the sharks.

Is adultery a crime that is brought before these tribunals?
I believe it is.

Is witchcraft?
Yes.

Do you know any thing of the mode of trial for witchcraft?
I do not.

Is theft brought before these tribunals?
Theft is a crime for which the master has a power of punishing as he chuses.—A freeman convicted of theft, I believe, pays a fine; but I know not by what tribunal he is adjudged.

What punishment is inflicted for these several crimes?
I believe the punishment is generally arbitrary.

Does slavery make part of the punishment?
Persons are sometimes sold for crimes; but not sent out of the country unless the crime is of such nature as to require that punishment—for some crimes persons are punished with death.

In what manner are the Slaves obtained which are sold to the Europeans.

The Slaves that are sold to the Europeans are generally procured by people that live in the Up Country, as it is called by the people of Bonny—supposed to be the country between the Sea Coast and the Ebo Country—when there are no wars among the neighbouring people, these Up Countrymen frequently bring their Slaves in small parcels down to Bonny and Calabar.—The trading
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men agree with them for the prices, and sell them afterwards to the Europeans.—If there are any wars, or if it is so appointed by the Bonny people, they go in their war canoes to the place or places in the Up Country, where the fairs are usually kept—they are commonly away four or five days on such expeditions—they carry the merchandize commonly up with them into the country, to shew they are able to pay for the Slaves—but such merchandize and the Slaves are commonly brought down again to Bonny.—The masters of the ships buy as many of the Slaves as they judge saleable.—Some of the youngest are kept by the Bonny people in their houses—the old or unsaleable are sent back by the Bonny canoes, and the goods that have been paid for the Slaves that have been sold, sent in the same canoes.—The Brass Pan Slaves, the Slaves that come from the Andomey Country, and the Slaves called Quaws, or Mocoos, as they are termed in the West Indies, come in smaller numbers, and not at regular times.

In what manner do the persons who are brought down as Slaves from the Up Country become Slaves?

I know nothing of that but from report.—I believe the condition of the people in the Ebo Country to be much like that of the Majumbas and the Congoes.

Are there any prisoners of war among those Slaves?

I believe there are a good many prisoners of war—such as the prisoners of war in the Majumba and Congo countries, which have been before described.

Are there any other distinctions of Slaves?

I firmly believe that a great many in the country are born Slaves—my reason for thinking so is, that most of the Slaves we purchase at Bonny confess themselves to have been Slaves.

What proportion do the Slaves that come from the Up Country bear to those which come from the district of Bonny?

There are, in my opinion, very few Slaves sold that were born at Bonny, or in the towns dependant upon it.

Do you know of any Slaves having been put to death at Bonny?

I have heard that some Slaves are put to death.—Upon the charge of theft against two of the King's Slaves, they were thrown into the middle of the river, it being supposed, if they were guilty, the Sharks would devour them—if they were innocent that they would

would float down the river without being touched, till they came opposite to a place called Jou Jou Point.—I know this from report only; but I believe it to be true.

Do you know of any practice of the Black Traders, or the White Traders, obtaining Slaves by fraud or violence?

I do not know any instance of the White Traders obtaining Slaves by fraud or violence.—I cannot say what the Blacks do, any further than that they arrest men sometimes for debts, or pretended debts, and obtain a condemnation, which allows them to sell such persons as Slaves.

What, in your opinion, would be the probable consequence of a White Man taking Slaves by violence or fraud?

Destruction to himself if he fell into the hands of the natives, or paying a very heavy fine for such an offence.

In what manner is the Trade at Bonny carried on between the Whites and the Blacks?

There are generally two prices.—The ships that have been longest in the River, and preparing to sail, pay a higher price than the vessels lately arrived.—The price is settled generally by the king, the factors, and a captain.—The captain commonly goes on shore to view the Slaves in the traders houses—This may be done at any time, but it is usually done at night.—If any of the Slaves taken on board at night are found to be deficient, they are usually relanded early in the morning—The trader comes on board when he thinks proper, and receives the goods for the rest.

Does the trader see and examine the goods before he concludes the bargain for the Slaves?

When the king breaks trade with the ship, the assortment and quality of his cargo are sufficiently well known to all the traders.—They never examine the goods previous to the selling the Slaves, but they and their people usually examine them very minutely when they receive them.

Does the captain of the ship give notice of the time of his sailing from the Coast?

I never knew an instance to the contrary in the river Bonny, although it is not necessary to do so there.—When we have finished our Trade, we pay the traders what is called their work bars, being their commission for the number of Slaves they have sold; when that is done, and the captain declares to the king that he
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has finished his trade, the king then comes on board, and receives his customs, and gives the captain the Slaves and the elephants teeth, which are due to him.—There is another circumstance by which all the people in Bonny are sufficiently warned of the ship's being ready to depart—on the arrival of the ship, there are certain goods called dashes given to different people in Bonny, who, at the ship's departure, return a certain number of coarse cotton cloths (the manufacture of the country)—When the captain wishes to collect these cloths, he must send a certain quantity of bread, brandy, and beef, to the parliament house, where they are obliged to bring these cloths.—There is another circumstance by which the Bonny people know of the ship's sailing, which is, the ship is generally covered with mats and spars to protect the crew and Slaves from injury by the weather—This commonly takes from one to two days to pull it down.—Almost every ship has a certain number of the people of the town to row the captain on shore and on board, and commonly to wood and water the ship; so that if the foretop-sail was not loosened, or a gun fired the day before the sailing of the ship, it would be impossible for the ship to depart without the people having full four or five days notice.

In what way are the customs payable by the ship estimated?

Every ship pays a bar for every Slave that is purchased—sometimes the king does not rigidly exact the precise number of bars—he himself puts a man or boy on board to receive the customs immediately as the trade is broke—the king himself breaks the trade as a trader, and when he has so done other persons can trade.

What is the duty of the custom boy or man put on board?

His duty is to take an iron bar out of the price of every Slave, if there is any iron in the cargo, and the value of five manilloes besides the iron, which, altogether, is computed at a bar and a quarter in trade—if there is no iron, the custom boy claims a right to take the best bar (being an estimated value in trade at Bonny) he can find in the assortment.

When does the custom boy pay over the duty he has collected to the king?

He sometimes takes on shore the customs he has collected every day, but generally chuses to take twenty, thirty, or forty iron bars on shore at a time.

Does the trade at Calabar differ from the mode of carrying on trade at Bonny?

Not essentially as to the mode.

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Do you know any thing of the government at Calabar?

It is in some respects similar to that of Bonny—the town has been for several years past governed by a man whose condition is that of a Slave, and whose name is Amachree—he was obliged to support his master for several years, though his own wealth gave him power over his master, and he often flogged him when displeased—To satisfy the priests, who are the common interpreters of the law in that country, there was a king appointed some years ago—this person has very little power, and less capacity, but the customs and duties are paid to him as king—Before the time of this person's election I know nothing, but believe there have been kings before him.

Are the people of Calabar divided into Freemen and Slaves?

I believe in that respect their condition is generally similar to those of Bonny—there is a distinction in one point—the Calabar people can sell their canoe boys which the Bonny people cannot—the Bonny people will not permit the canoe boys, even if Slaves from the interior parts, to be sold, as they are useful to the country in general.

Do the Slaves that are sold to the Europeans come chiefly from the interior parts of the Country?

They do—and there is generally a weekly fair at Calabar—in other respects the Trade is carried on as at Bonny.

Are there any natural productions in the countries of Bonny and Calabar, which might be made the subjects of exportation?

I believe there are none.

Are there any articles brought thither from other countries which might be made the subjects of exportation?

There is a little Ivory—a few Cotton Cloths, which can be no article of trade, as they are either sold too dear, or are of too coarse a manufacture—we sometimes buy Palm Oil at these places, but seldom more than is necessary for the Slaves provisions.

Can you ascertain in any degree the quantity of Ivory or Cotton Cloths?

The kings of Bonny and Calabar are obliged to keep a certain number of Teeth for each ship—two or three, according to the size—sometimes they complain of the scarcity of Teeth in the country, and make it an excuse for non-payment, and the Ivory in general is very dear—with respect to the Cotton Cloths, they are not in great quantities—they are not the manufacture of the country,

country—they come from Benin, the Brass Pan Country, and other countries.

Do you know any thing of any other Part of the Coast?

Yes—something of the Windward Coast—I have been frequently there, but never to complete a purchase at any one place, nor upon the whole coast.

In what manner is the trade carried on, on the Windward coast?

On some parts of the Windward and Grain Coasts the trade is a mere barter, giving a certain quantity of goods for Slaves, according to their appearance, without the intervention of any nominal value—in all my transactions with the natives on the Windward Coast I purchased the Slaves by such barter, without dashes, commissions, or customs—the transaction was a simple barter—In some places I paid for wood and water, which is the general practice all over the country.

Do you know what are the natural productions of the Windward Coast?

The country in general produces rice, Guinea corn, and cassada; and most parts of the coast produce plantains and bananas—the country likewise produces limes, some pine apples, oranges and other fruits, which are chiefly to be found in the West India islands.

Is there any ivory obtained on that coast, and in what quantity?

I have bought ivory at most parts of that coast which I have frequented, and some camwood at one place—I cannot speak as to the quantity.

In what manner do the ships obtain the Slaves upon the Windward Coast?

The Slaves I purchased were brought on board the ship by the ship's boat, when the canoe was not sufficient to bring them—the ships that are accustomed to carry on that trade, send their boats into rivers and along the shore, and likewise establish factories on shore—I have been at some of these factories, and seen the mode of trading—the Slaves were produced, and if found good, the price agreed on was paid, and the Slaves sent on board the ship the first opportunity—the traders always see the articles before the bargain is concluded, if they have any doubts of the property or character of the person they deal with.

Can a ship lay with safety on the coast of Africa in all seasons of the year?

I know most parts of the coast of Africa, from Cape de Verd to Cape Negroe—the soundings for the most part are very regular, and the ground favourable for anchorage—there are here and there several rocky parts, but in an hour's sailing, either up or down the coast, good anchorage ground may be found.

Are there any reasons then why a ship cannot trade on the Windward Coast in bulky articles?

Between the shoals of St. Anne and Cape Palmas, and from Cape Palmas down to the Gold Coast—I do not know any place where in the rainy season ships boats can land with safety—there are some places sheltered by rocks where a landing may be effected, and boats can go into the rivers by being well acquainted with the bars, but no vessels that draw much water can go into these rivers—the assistance of canoes is necessary to those ships in rainy seasons—the canoes are often overset, and the goods attempted to be landed are lost or destroyed, but the natives swim and dive so well, that themselves are seldom lost, unless seized by the sharks.

What season of the year is the most dangerous for ships to lay on that coast, and why?

From Cape St. Ann to Cape Palmas, and thence down to the Gold Coast, there is some variation in the season, but the height of the rainy season, which is considered to be the worst weather, is in the months of July, August, and September—it is much the same at Bonny, with this difference, that the tornadoes on the Windward Coast blow the ships off the shore, but generally would blow on shore at Bonny—A ship may have safe anchorage on most parts of the coast if her cables would hold—but the currents are in general so strong, and the sea so rough, that no seamen are equal to the labour of rowing to the shore and back again, from the excess of fatigue—these currents are shifting, and occasionally more or less strong.

Does the shifting of these currents, make the passage from the ship to the shore more or less dangerous?

Sometimes more and sometimes less dangerous—they happen generally on the full and change of the moon, at which periods the sea beats violently on the shore, more than in any other parts of the world I ever knew.

Are there any ports or harbours on the Coast of Africa?

There are several places in which I conceive ships may lay with safety,

safety, such as the rivers Gambia and Sierra Leone, and perhaps some other rivers on the Windward Coast—there are other rivers in which ships lay very safe; but they must run some risk in going over the bars, such as the rivers Bonny, Calabar, and I believe, the river at Old Calabar.—Ships are likewise very safe in the river Congo, when they get in there; but the current of the river is so rapid that a ship cannot at all times go into it—At Mount Negroc, which I suppose to be in latitude of ten degrees south, there is a very deep bay, open, as near as I can remember, from south-west to north-west, with a reef or shoal extending from the southernmost part—the anchoring ground good—a good rivulet of fresh water—the country all round a perfect heap of acrid sand; no vegetation as far as the eye can reach.

In all the rivers upon the Coast of Africa are there not bars that render their entrance dangerous to ships of burthen?

There are bars and shoals at the entrance of the rivers; but I understand that experienced persons can go into the rivers Gambia and Sierra Leone at all times when the wind permits.

Does the surf render landing from the ships dangerous on every part of the Coast where trade is carrying on?

It renders it impracticable in ships boats in many parts of the Coast—and dangerous in most parts.

And then the Counsel and Witness were directed to withdraw.

Martis, 2^o die Februarii 1790.

Counsel and Witness called in as before; and the Counsel proceeded further in his Examination.

Do ships trading to Angola provide themselves with Provisions for the Slaves in the Middle Passage, in that country? Mr. FRASER.

They seldom or ever can purchase sufficient quantity of provisions on the Coast of Africa, either for the Middle Passage, or for

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the time that the ships lie upon the Coast—I believe most English ships purchase what country provisions they can during their stay upon the coast, but they are generally furnished with a sufficient quantity of provisions for the whole voyage, in England—I beg leave to observe that the French ships seldom give any country provisions to their Slaves.

• What is the food of the Slaves intended for sale, in their own country, or in the hands of the Black traders?

• When they have not a sufficiency of corn or plantains, they subsist on the root of the cassava, which they eat raw, roasted, or boiled.

What is the food, intended for the Negroes, that is brought from England?

Beans and Rice—some stockfish, flour, bread, and beef.

When the ship is going to sail, do the Negroes shew any reluctance at leaving the coast?

The Negroes in general shew a very great impatience to leave the coast—those that are natives of the sea coast shew a reluctance on leaving the coast, and their relations; but the number of them is very inconsiderable.

Inform the Committee of the general arrangement and management of the Slaves on board the ship, before she sets sail?

On the coast of Angola we are so long purchasing our cargo that the ship is fit for sea several days before our purchase is completed—the space between the decks is usually divided into three apartments, and, for the sake of order, the sexes are separated, and the boys in general in a room by themselves. The Angola Slaves being very peaceable, it is seldom necessary to confine them in irons; and they are allowed to go down between the decks, and come upon deck, as they find the weather warm or cold—it is our wish to keep them all the day upon deck, and give them what exercise they can use, with a view to preserve their health; and to prevent them from sleeping in the day-time on deck; because those who sleep on deck, in day-time, generally disturb the rest at night—and when they are allowed to talk below, it adds considerably to the heat of the rooms. We endeavour to keep them as cleanly as possible, as well as their apartments—when the weather is too cold for them to wash themselves under the head pump (a practice which they are fond of themselves, and which we encourage) we commonly give them water in a tub,
or

or some other vessel, to wash their mouths and their hands—we likewise furnish them (when it can be got) with some palm-oil to rub themselves after washing, a custom which prevails in their own country, and which is supposed to protect them from the changes of the weather. We are very careful that their provisions are well dressed, and regularly served; and endeavour, as much as we can, to give them as many meals as they were accustomed to in their own country, and dressed in a manner conformable to the custom of their own country. In all the voyages I have made to Angola, and to any other country, I had a sufficient quantity of provisions to give them, as much as they could eat. I always had a sufficient quantity of wine and spirituous liquors for the use of the negroes and ship's company. When they were ailing, the surgeons had always orders, as well as free leave, to give them any thing that was in the ship. Fresh provisions we found generally upon the coast, and laid in as good a store of them as we could conveniently keep on board the ship.

Does this answer you have now given relate also to the Middle Passage?

It does; with this difference, that, while on the coast, we get several articles, such as plantains, bananas, and several other refreshments, which are not fit to keep at sea.

What are the daily arrangements with respect to the feeding of the Slaves?

Our Slaves (which is what we wish) being generally desirous of eating their provisions upon deck, and the weather not being at all times alike, they are fed sometimes an hour later or earlier than the usual time—sudden changes of weather make it absolutely necessary sometimes, to feed them sooner or later than any fixed time whatever—their provisions are generally served in wooden vessels (which we call crews): Although they are boiled to such a consistency, that they may be eat without the use of spoons, we generally give each Slave a spoon, which they very seldom use—they are almost at all times ten in a mess—as soon as they have eat their victuals, they are served with water, and usually allowed to drink as much as they chuse—they have two meals regularly every day, and almost always a middle meal; which not being customary in their own country, they consider as an indulgence—this middle meal is bread and beef, or bread and pork, or stock-fish, or any thing else we have to give them—it is sometimes of calavances, of which they are generally very fond—the treatment is so much alike,
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both on the coast and on the voyage, that the description of one day is sufficiently descriptive of the treatment during the whole of the passage—we generally appoint the most humane and best disposed of the ship's company to attend the Slaves, and serve their provisions—it is the Surgeon's duty (and he is frequently reminded of it) to enquire every morning into the state of the health of the Slaves, and to inspect the boilers, to see that they are clean—when any complaining Slaves declare their complaints to the Surgeon, he generally gives them what medicine his judgment and practice direct him—there is some apartment appropriated for the sick—we endeavour to put them where they are less likely to be molested or disturbed.

During what hours in general, in each day, are the Slaves allowed to be upon deck?

We sometimes allow the Slaves to go down between decks in the course of the day—but if the weather permits, we never wish to have them off the deck from the time they come up in the morning, till the time it is proper for them to go down at night—they are generally of a cheerful disposition, which we encourage, and they have frequent amusements peculiar to their own country, such as some little games with stones or shells, dancing, and jumping, and wrestling—notwithstanding they are apparently of a cheerful disposition, they are very often apt to quarrel with one another, and it is difficult to reconcile them—it is a general principle with an African not to forgive his enemy.

In what manner are the beans, which you mentioned to be brought from England, dressed for the use of the Slaves?

They are generally split in England, or on board the ship—they are sometimes boiled to the consistency before mentioned, at other times with an equal quantity of rice, and sometimes stockfish or beef are mixed with them.

Do the Negroes eat them with reluctance, when so dressed?

Most part of the Angola Negroes I ever had on board the ships I have sailed in, eat whatever provisions were given them with cheerfulness.

Where do the Slave ships provide themselves with water, on the Middle Passage?

There is abundance of excellent water to be found on every part of the Coast of Angola, where I have traded; although it is very difficult to get the water on board from some places, on
account

account of the difficulty of landing, where the water was to be procured.

Do the officers see that the Slaves are regularly supplied with food and water ?

It was generally understood, in the Angola trade, that the chief mate, surgeon, and boatwain, should attend the Slaves while messing on the main deck—the chief mate and boatwain are, for the most part of the day, among the Slaves on the main deck—it is customary for the master of the ship, the second mate, the surgeon's mate (if there is any) to see the Slaves messed on the quarter deck, and they are generally among them in the course of the day.

Is the surgeon provided with proper medicines for the voyage ?

There is generally a sum of money allotted for the medicines.—The surgeon, if a man of experience in the trade, takes the assortment which he judges best—if he never was on the coast before, he commonly takes such an assortment as he has been advised to do by a man of experience, or such, as he finds the apothecary or druggist has sent in other vessels in the same trade.

Do the Officers see that the Slaves are properly attended in sickness ?

There are proper persons appointed to attend the sick Slaves—the surgeon often chuses such persons as he thinks best qualified for it, and the master of the ship orders them to do what the Surgeons direct them—the master of the ship, as well as his officers, are too much interested in the health and safety of the Slaves to neglect the necessary means for their recovery, supposing humanity out of the question.

How is the master and the officers of the ship interested in preserving the health of the Slaves ?

If any of the Slaves die, the surgeon loses his head money, and the captain his commission ; if the Slaves are brought in bad order to market, they average low, and the officers privilege Slaves, which are generally paid them on an average with the cargo, are of less value to them.

What do you mean by the head money and commission mentioned in your last answer ?

By the head money, I mean one shilling for each Slave that is sold paid to the Surgeon out of the proceeds of the cargo—by the
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captain's commission, I mean what is allowed him for bartering his cargo of European goods for the Negroes upon the coast, and for his care of the Slaves upon the coast, and until they are sold—which commission is calculated at so much per cent. on the gross amount or net proceeds of the cargo sold, according to agreement with the owner.

What do you mean by privilege Slaves?

The privilege Slaves, that are allowed the chief and second mate, and surgeon, or any other officers to whom such privilege is given, are allowed them in consideration for their care and trouble in the management of the Slaves on board the ship.

Has the captain any privilege Slaves?

The captains formerly had privileged Slaves, and what was called coast commissions—that custom may prevail with some owners still; but in general the mode of paying commissions on the gross or net proceeds, in the West Indies, is what is most generally practised, and what is considered most equitable, the interest of the owners and the captains being then reciprocal.

Is a particular attention shewn to the cleanliness of the ships between decks?

There is very particular attention shewn to the cleanliness of the ships between decks, and it is often thought, the practice of cleaning the ship is prejudicial to the health of the Slaves.

Why has this practice been thought prejudicial?

Because it is very difficult to dry between decks thoroughly, notwithstanding we have fire-pans for that purpose—I am not of that opinion myself.

When the Slaves are upon the deck, in what manner is the ship cleaned between decks?

We have generally a canvas hose, that leads the water from the head pumps down between the decks, which are usually scrubbed with bricks and sand—afterwards washed clean, and swabbed as dry as possible; and frequently we burn tobacco, brimstone, or any other thing that we judge proper to sweeten the rooms—there are several fire-pans placed at different parts between decks, with strong fires in them, which generally dry between decks perfectly in the space of an hour; but we generally chuse to keep the

the fires an hour or two longer, if the weather and time of day permitted.

Are there ports and gratings to give air between decks?

Every ship has gratings, and most have air ports, but there are some ships, whose constructions do not admit of air ports in the usual manner, and different contrivances are made use of to convey air otherwise—some of these contrivances I have heard of, but not seen them—I have seen scuttles cut out on different parts of the decks, to give a free expansion of air, where a free circulation could not be procured.

While the slave ships lay on the coast of Angola, or are on the Middle Passage, is the weather so bad that the Slaves cannot come upon deck?

In rainy weather, even when it is not cold, and when the Slaves would wish to be upon deck, we think it unsafe to let them come up, unless the rain is so light that it does not penetrate through the awnings—there are cold fogs and dews, which make it necessary sometimes to keep the Slaves below; but they are commonly so sensible of the cold, that restraint is not necessary to keep them below.

Are the Slaves more susceptible of cold than Europeans?

I believe they are, unless the Europeans were deprived of the use of cloaths, in which case the Slaves would bear the cold better.

Do the Slaves often complain of heat on board the ship?

They seldom complain of heat while the air is sweet—they are accustomed to heat, and find very few inconveniencies from it.

Do the Slaves bear the heat between the decks better than the Europeans?

They complain often of cold, when between the decks, which is a proof they can bear heat better than the White People—they can often sleep exposed to the heat of the sun without finding any inconvenience from it.

Is the climate upon the Coast of Angola healthy, or otherwise?

It is generally considered healthy; but the changes of the season affect the Natives as well as the Europeans.

Is the rainy season there prejudicial to health?

I apprehend the rainy season is not prejudicial to health, if the people are not too much exposed to it, but the change of the season, from wet to dry, or from dry to wet, seem to have the same effect on the human constitution, as the spring and fall in this country—I have myself had violent illnesses in that country, but I never lost many of my Slaves or Seamen.

Are not the Slaves and Free People accustomed to sleep very warm, and in confined huts?

They are generally accustomed to have fire in the space where they lie, to serve the double purpose of keeping them warm and smoking away the musquitoes—as far as I have known, they usually lie without any thing else between them and the earth, than a thin mat—their huts, or what may be called their houses, are usually very small and confined—some that have no houses often lie under sheds—the principal people of the country have better houses.

In those sheds, do many lie together?

It is a custom with the Africans to lay close together, in such a manner that one does not breath into the other's face—this is also a very common custom amongst the Slaves on board the ships.

After a vessel has fairly left the Coast, is the weather usually fair and pleasant, on the Middle Passage?

That entirely depends on the season of the year, from whatever part of the Coast the ship comes—but in general the passages from Angola are safe and sure.

Give an account to the Committee of the mortality of the Slaves on board the ships in which you sailed from Angola to the West Indies?

In the ships in which I have sailed to and from Angola, the mortality among the ship's company and Slaves has been very moderate.

Which was the first ship you sailed in from Angola?

I made two voyages as Second and Chief Mate; one in the ship *Amelia*, of Bristol, Thomas Duncan, Master; and the other in the ship *Polly*, with the same Master.

In the ship Polly, how many Slaves were purchased, and how many died in the voyage ?

As well as I can remember, we purchased something under 500 Slaves—the mortality, I believe, was very small ; as I do not recollect there was any particular disorder among the Slaves, and the average price of them was very high.—This voyage, I think, was concluded in 1772.

What was the tonnage of this vessel ?

I cannot say any thing of her tonnage.

Was you Master of the ship Catharine in 1772 ?

I was.

Did she fail to Angola ?

She did—she went to Melimba.

What was her tonnage ?

I believe her tonnage was about 140 tons, according to her registry—She had good accommodations for 300 Slaves, or upwards.—I purchased upwards of eighty Slaves the first voyage, and upwards of 300 the second.—I sold the cargo, the first voyage, at Carolina—the second cargo the Americans would not suffer me to land there.—I was obliged to return with them to the West Indies, with the ship in a distressed condition, being nearly foundered at sea.

How many Slaves did you leave on the coast ?

In the first voyage I lost about eight ; and in the second, I believe, two or three ; but I speak from recollection.

How many did you lose on the voyage ?

In the first voyage the mortality was very moderate, as well as I can recollect—and the mortality of the second voyage was trifling, till the distress at sea obliged us to pump, and hoist the water out of the ship—cannot speak as to the numbers of the mortality.

Do you recollect the number of the crew you had on board, and the number that died on the Coast and on the Middle Passage ?

On the first voyage, to the best of my recollection, I lost one seaman on the Middle Passage, and a boy the day we arrived at Charles Town, South Carolina—On the second voyage, the mortality, as near as I can recollect, on the Coast and Middle Passage, was three or four.

In what manner are Slaves managed on board the ships engaged in the Bonny Trade, before they leave the River Bonny, and what difference is there between the management of the Slaves purchased there, and those purchased at Angola?

With respect to provisions, the only difference of management is from their being chiefly fed on their own country provisions at Bonny, and the necessity of keeping them under stricter confinement, as they are more vicious than the Angola Slaves, and we are more obliged to guard against insurrections and desertions with them.

Are the ships sailing from England provided with the same sort of food as those going from Angola?

They are generally provided with beans, sometimes with rice, flour, bread, and beef, but never in so large a quantity, as they have commonly one meal or more of yams a day given them on the Coast and on the Middle Passage.

In what respects does the treatment of the Slaves purchased at Bonny and Calabar differ from the treatment of those purchased at Angola?

In the care of them, the time and manner of serving their provisions; there is very little difference, but what proceeds from the different sorts of provisions, and in the manner of dressing and serving them.

Can you state what those differences are?

In respect to the beans and rice there is no difference.—The yams are boiled, and shared out to them.—They are messed in the same manner exactly as they are at Angola, or any other part of the Coast, as far as I know.

Do the Slaves, shipped at Bonny and Calabar, shew reluctance at being carried off the Coast?

They shew more reluctance than the Angola Slaves.—They are too often of opinion that the White Men intend to eat them.—The reason I give of such apprehension is, that it is customary for them to eat one another in their own country.

Have they any objection to the food given them on board the ships?

They generally eat beans and rice with reluctance, always preferring yams, which is the usual food of their country.

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Have you any reason to suppose that they are ill treated in their own country?

If many of them, being half starved when brought down from the country, is a proof of ill treatment, they are; and they likewise complain of want of provisions, and other hard treatment in the country.—As the people of Bonny and Calabar don't suffer the master of the ship, or any other officers, to go up the rivers, or penetrate into the country, we can have but little knowledge of what passes among them.

When do the ships, trading to Bonny and Calabar, provide themselves with water for the Middle Passage?

The ships trading to Bonny can water at three or four different places; but they generally take their water at Bonny.—At Calabar, there are two watering places.—Ships water indifferently at either, according to the season, or their opinion of the water direct them.

Do vessels, trading to Bonny and Calabar, call at the island of St. Thomas, and for what?

Some vessels call at the island of St. Thomas for refreshments, but I never did myself.

Do you recollect the mortality on board the *Alexander*, of which you was master, in her voyage to Calabar, in 1776?

I do not recollect it exactly; but it was very moderate.

Do you recollect the mortality on board the *Valiant*, of which you was master, in 1777?

The mortality was considerable—it exceeded one hundred, which was occasioned by the measles being communicated to our Slaves from a Frenchman, who came from Whydah, and stopt at the island of Annabona for refreshment, and where we were for the same purpose.

How many Slaves had you on board?

I cannot say, but I believe about 500.

What was the mortality on board the *Tartar*, of which you was commander to the Windward and Gold Coast?

As near as I can recollect, it did not exceed three out of from 270 to 280—My crew in that voyage consisted of sixty persons—two of them, that were foreigners, died on the Gold Coast, and one man was drowned on the Windward Coast; and, I believe, I carried all the rest in good health to Jamaica.

Of

Of what burthen was the Tartar?

I cannot say precisely, but I believe she was from 140 to 160 tons—I was taken in the ship, and all my papers lost, and of course have no documents to go by, either in this or former voyages.

Was the tonnage you mentioned, by register or measurement?
I spoke only by guess.

Do you recollect what the mortality was on board the Emilia, of which you was commander in the year 1783?
The mortality, was very small—I do not know the number.

Where did you begin your purchase?
On the Windward Coast.

Give an account of your voyage, and the Slaves you purchased?
After purchasing ten or twelve Slaves on the Windward Coast, I was drove off from the coast by a French man of war—the ship being leaky, from the damage she received by the enemy's shot, I proceeded for Saint Paul de Loando; but on the passage the principal leak ceasing to admit water in such great quantities, I stopped at the river Ambris, where I purchased from 140 to 150 Slaves—I then returned to the Windward Coast, where I finished my purchase—as near as I can recollect, I had an equal quantity of Angola and Windward Coast Slaves; but the reason I do not recollect so accurately as I could wish, is, that I have brought no papers, coming to town on my private business, and not expecting to be called upon to speak to the present business.

How long were you on the coast in the last mentioned voyage?
I believe it might be from eight or nine months.

Give an account of the mortality of the Slaves and crew in the four voyages you have since made in the same ship to Bonny?

The first three voyages which I made in Bonny River, I was from six weeks to two months in the river each time.—The last I went there, about four months, having purchased about 150 Slaves, which I sent off in a tender.—In the first voyage, I bought 490 Slaves, and lost 50.—I sold the remainder at Dominica—part of the mortality was occasioned by the ship getting on shore on the bar in coming out, which obliged us to shut the air ports—this was acknowledged by such of the underwriters that were applied to—they were willing to pay a part of the loss; but as there was no precedent to regulate it by, the owners dropped their claim

claim—the mortality of the crew was inconsiderable—they were seldom employed from the ship, and not exposed to the inclemency of the weather, the ship being always covered in the Bonny River with mats, which sheltered the crew from the rains and the dew.

In the second of these voyages, how many did you purchase?
I purchased about 420—lost on the passage to Jamaica and to the coast upwards of thirty.—My crew was from forty to forty-four—and lost, I believe, four on the coast and on the passage.

In the third voyage, how many did you purchase?
Upwards of 400—sold them at Grenada—lost about forty—crew consisted of upwards of forty, and lost about four—but my memory does not furnish me as to this particular.

In the fourth voyage, how many Slaves did you purchase?
I purchased about 570—sent off in a tender 150 of them to the island of Saint Thomas, in the West Indies—the remainder of the cargo I carried to Saint Christophers—the mortality, as I have been informed, on board the tender, was five—I lost upwards of twenty in the ship before she got to St. Christophers, on the coast and in the passage—during the time we lay in Basseterre Road, an epidemical disorder, which prevailed all over the island, affected those Slaves, and we lost very near twenty more before they were sold—the crew of the ship consisted of forty-four or forty-five—the mortality was three or four—but cannot speak positively—none were lost of the crew of the tender, except one man by accident.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 3^o die Februarii 1790.

Counsel and Witnesses called in as before; and the Counsel proceeded further in his Examination. Mr. FRASER.

In your last voyage to Jamaica, was there any further mortality among the Slaves than you have already stated to the committee?

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The mortality on the Coast and Middle Passage, in Kingston Harbour, and on shore, previous to their being sold, exceeded 100—before the day of sale came on, the hurricane drove most of the ships on shore—I lost my foremast and bowsprit by another ship getting athwart ours—the Negroes were very much distressed during the bad weather—there was a scarcity of water, and a total want of country provisions, being all destroyed by the hurricane—the Slaves were advertised for sale at two different times, without any purchasers appearing—our stock of yams was expended—they were but indifferently fed, and very badly lodged on shore; most of the sheds or places proper for them, being destroyed by the hurricane—the disorder, to which they are usually subject in their own country, and the fever that then raged in Kingston, broke out amongst them—these are the causes which I assign for the extraordinary mortality.

How many died after the arrival of the ship at Kingston?

The number might be from 60 to 70; but I cannot speak precisely to the exact number.

You have stated, that greater restraints are necessary for the Slaves purchased at Bonny, than for those purchased at Angola; what additional precautions are taken for those that come from Bonny?

It is necessary to secure the Bonny Slaves (the Brass Pan men excepted) in the manner in which the Windward and Gold Coast Slaves are secured—the full grown men are chained, two and two, with leg-irons and handcuffs—when their number is large, and any of the sailors absent from the ship, or the captain on shore, it is always judged necessary, for the safety of the ship, to confine them—it is likewise necessary so to do when the sailors are sickly, and not able to keep watch over them.

Are they confined in that manner, and at other times, during the whole voyage?

As soon as the ship is out of sight of land I usually took away their handcuffs, and soon after their leg-irons—I never had the Slaves in irons during Middle Passage, not even from the Gold and Windward Coast, excepting a few offenders, that were troublesome in the ship, and endeavouring to persuade the Slaves to destroy the White Men.

During the course of the voyage, were the Slaves and the White Men plentifully supplied with victuals and water?

I always

I always had plenty of provisions and water on board the ships I commanded; but not always the sort of provisions they liked best—I arrived once in the West Indies rather short of provisions; but on that passage neither the Slaves nor the sailors were put to short allowance.

Is the crew of a Guineaman mixed of landsmen and seamen, and in what proportion?

Before the last war there were more landsmen carried in Guineamen than have been since—I never knew there was any exact proportion of seamen or landsmen—I never sailed in a Guineaman, in which there was not some landsmen—But since the last peace, there are so many half seamen, as they are called, that are seldom received into any other trade, who are carried in Guineamen—I have taken of that description instead of landsmen myself frequently—By a landsman, I mean a person who has never before been to sea—By a half seaman I mean a man who has not been regularly bred, or long enough to sea to know his business.

Do you recollect what number of landsmen, half seamen, and able seamen, you have had on board your ship, in any one of the before-mentioned voyages?

I recollect one voyage in particular, which was in the Alexander, where, out of thirty-nine persons I had not above six able seamen—about fifteen half seamen, the remainder being officers and landsmen—the officers might be about ten.

Do you recollect the numbers in any other of your voyages?

I remember one voyage in the Catharine, when I had fourteen able seamen—Another, which was in the Tartar, when I had about sixteen or eighteen able seamen—When I spoke of the Alexander, it was in the time of peace—of the Tartar, in time of war—of the Catharine, in time of peace.

Is it customary, at Bristol, to pay any part of the wages of the crew in currency or sterling money.

It has been the custom at Bristol to pay an advance, from one to three months wages, in sterling money, before sailing from Bristol—when the Slaves are sold in the West Indies, the wages for half the time that has elapsed since sailing from Bristol is paid in currency of the West Indies, where the Slaves are sold.

In the course of the voyage is an attention paid to the health of the seamen.

I have

I have paid every necessary attention to the health and safety of every individual that was on board my ship—the surgeon has always a medicinal chest, such as I have described in a former part of my examination—he is always at liberty to give the sick, wine, fresh provisions, and every other refreshment that is on board the ship—I have always made their respective messmates give every attendance and assistance to those who were unwell.

In general, in the ships in which you have sailed, have the seamen in the voyage been treated with humanity and tenderness?

It was my wish and orders that they should be so treated.

Do the landsmen suffer more from sickness than the able seamen during these voyages?

Landsmen, when grown up, are less fit to bear the change of climate than seamen and young lads.

Do young lads suffer more than seamen?

I can not answer that question precisely—there are too many of the seamen that come diseased on board our ships.

Is it usual to discharge any part of the crew in the West Indies?

It is never allowed, but by the authority of a principal magistrate, who must indemnify the master of the ship, who has previously given a bond at the secretary's office, in the penalty of 1500*l.* if he leaves any of his crew to distress the country—the the factor also signs another bond for the same amount—it is very often the custom for some of the crew to apply to attorneys at law, to obtain their discharge; and the vice-president of the admiralty, on the request being made, usually issues an order to the captain to comply with it—such men so discharged are often a burthen to the country, and often contract sickness from their intemperance, and want of employment.

Are the seamen oftener discharged at their own request than by the direction of the master of the ship?

They are only discharged in the manner before mentioned, or by mutual consent—no seaman or landman being obliged to receive their discharge before the conclusion of the voyage.

Is it for the interest of the owners, that the seamen should be discharged in the West Indies?

I believe it is not for the interest of the owners or that of the crew

crew that the commander should be ever allowed to discharge a man of them in the country.

Why would it not be for the interest of the owners?

Because, if the master discharges one man, he is obliged to grant a discharge to every other man that applies for it.—I have always understood this to be the custom on board a merchantman, and the sailors generally avail themselves of it; for which reason, if any offender, seaman or landsman, wish for his discharge, to remain in the country, I always made him get the consent of all the rest of the ship's company under their hand-writing.

Do you recollect how many you may have discharged yourself, in any one of your voyages?

I recollect, the last voyage that I was in Jamaica, the sailors became very quarrelsome among themselves, and I discharged from 12 to 14 healthy people, who went in Liverpool ships that failed soon after the hurricane was over—I was then liable to a prosecution, if any of them had remained on shore—I discharged them conditionally, that if they were not shipped on board of other vessels, I would take them on board again upon their changing their names, a custom very common among seafaring people.

Have you generally discharged any of your crew in your other voyages?

Not unless compelled to do so, by the authority of a magistrate, or an officer in His Majesty's navy.

Is it a common thing for the seamen that have been at sea in a certain ship to sail again in the same ship?

Some of the seamen that returned to me (when they could) offered to stay on shore till the ship sailed again, and were inclined to engage again with me, and waited for me when they could have got other employment in the interval—some seamen have sailed three times with me—some ordinary seamen as often, and a few sailed with me four voyages.

Do you know Mr. Alexander Falconbridge?

Yes—he sailed two voyages, and a part of a third with me—the ship was captured in course of one of the voyages.

Where were those voyages to?

The part of the one, in which I was taken, was to the Wind-

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ward

ward Coast—one to the Windward Coast and Angola—and one to Bonny.

Did you ever enquire of the Slaves you purchased at Bonny, in that voyage, how they came to be such—did any of them tell you they had been kidnapped?

A few of them informed me, that they were taken forcibly, or by surprize—many of them acknowledged they were Slaves in their own country—but the little knowledge I had of the language does not enable me to ascertain the number that were born Slaves, or made such.

What do you mean by being taken forcibly, or by surprize?

I mean, in the manner in which I described the Angola wars.

Did Mr. Falconbridge speak the language of the country? He always declared to me he understood but little of it.

In any of the voyages in which Mr. Falconbridge was in your ship, do you recollect the circumstance of a man invited to look at the ship, and being brought on board and sold?

Not understanding the language, I cannot say whether any such man was invited or not—I recollect the circumstance of a man being brought along-side the ship, and delivered to me, who, I believe, did not know that he was going to be sold.

Do you recollect a fisherman, at the River Ambris, charged falsely with extortion by a magistrate, and sold for his benefit?

I recollect, on one day when I went on shore, early in the forenoon, the king's principal officers came to the beach, to settle something with me about the price of Slaves—there was a fisherman, who was accused of having asked more for his fish than he ought to do—in the afternoon, after I left the shore, there was a signal for me to return with the boat, and this man was delivered to me and sold—I was the only person in the ship that understood a word of the language of the natives; all they told me about the man was, that he was a great rogue—and the principal officers, and the king's people, were all present when the goods were paid for him—these officers, as near as I can make a comparison, may be considered as the minister of finance and the minister of the war department—their titles, as I understand, implying that description.

Have

Have you any reason to believe that the fisherman had been falsely charged with that crime?

I know nothing at all of his guilt—I observed myself, that he behaved very insolent; and I heard him accused of asking for his fish more than the customary price, or what was judged an equitable price.

At Bonny, do small parties, from five to ten, make a practice of kidnapping and bringing Slaves to the Black people's houses?

I do not know of any such practice—I believe it is impracticable.

Of the number of Slaves you purchased at the River Ambris, have you any reason to suppose that the greater part, if not the whole, were kidnapped?

From my own knowledge, while I was in health, and the report of my officers during my sickness, I judged that twice the number of Slaves were returned to the country more than I purchased—for the reasons I have before given—if they were kidnapped, it is reasonable to suppose a trader would have sold them at any price, rather than carry them back, which would expose him to a discovery.

Do you know of any other crime that the fisherman was charged with, besides extortion?

Not that I know of—they were not obliged to tell if there was.

Have you any reason to suppose, that the Slave, who was brought along-side your ship at Bonny, was not the property of those who sold him?

It was well known to a number of traders, that he was sold to me—he was put on board in a public manner, between ten and twelve o'clock in the day—as to the right of the person to sell him, I had no right to question it; such a circumstance might have stopped my trade with that man who sold me the Slave.

Was you ever required to deliver him up again?

I never was applied to for that purpose.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

When you arrived at the River Ambris, when Mr Falconbridge

was with you, was not your's the first ship that had been flaving on that coast for several years?

The natives told me I was, with which I acquainted my officers.

Had not the ship been several weeks on the coast before any Slaves were offered for sale?

She was not.

How long was she on the coast?

I cannot exactly speak to the time—I purchased at different times a few Slaves from the towns on the sea coast—the Slaves in that country, when no ship lays there, are sent to St. Paul de Loando or to Cabenda—every time I traded at the River Ambris, if there was no vessel there before me, it was some time before the Slaves from the interior part of the country were brought down.

Did you ever know an instance of a Slave being reclaimed by the government of the country, as having been improperly sold?

Not as I recollect, at the River Ambris—but I have known instances of it at Melimba—in such cases there was always a Slave offered me for the person reclaimed, which I always accepted.

Do the captains ever enquire respecting the right which those persons who offer Negroes for sale have to dispose of them?

I believe they seldom or never do—I believe every captain would be considered as a fool by any trading man to whom he puts such a question.

Have not the Slaves in general a great aversion to horse beans, except the Gold Coast Slaves?

No—the Slaves purchased at Cabenda and Melimba always eat beans, when mixed with rice, with much satisfaction—the Dutch boil their beans whole, with a good deal of water—they generally strain the water from them, and after they have strained the water off, the Slaves eat the beans first, and drink that water, which is of the consistency of water gruel—the country about the Ambris produces a great deal of calavances—the Slaves we purchased there are fonder of calavances, Indian corn, and cassada, than of any other food—they are not very fond of beans, but they like them well enough when mixed with rice and stock fish.

Have

Have you not found it necessary to use force to compel the negroes to take their food ?

I have always used persuasions—force is always ineffectual.

Have you not yourself held hot coals to a negro, threatening to force him to swallow them, if he persisted in refusing to eat ?

I have not ; and I defy any body to prove that I did.

Did you never order such a thing to be done ?

Being sick in my cabin, the chief mate and surgeon, at different times informed me, that there was a man upon the main deck, that would neither eat, drink, or speak—I desired them to use every means in their power to persuade him to speak, and assign reasons for his silence—I desired them to make some of the other Slaves endeavour to make him speak—when I was informed he still remained obstinate, and not knowing whether it was fulkiness or insanity, I ordered the chief mate, or surgeon, or both, to present him with a piece of fire in one hand and a piece of yam in the other, and to let me know what effect that had upon him—it was reported to me, that he took the yam and eat it, and threw the fire overboard—this man was afterwards shewn to me when I was recovered, with a frock and a pair of trowsers, which he had received from some of the sailors for washing and mending their cloaths—this man was sold afterwards for upwards of 40*l.* at Grenada.

Have you never used force of any other kind, or threats, to compel the Negroes to take their food ?

I have sometimes threatened them when they were sulky, and would not eat their provisions ; namely, that they should have no yams if they did not eat their beans.—I have sometimes found it necessary to punish, or cause to be punished slightly, some of the Slaves for different offences.—Mr. Falconbridge was employed several times to do that with his own hands—He never said, he thought what I ordered him to do was unreasonable, or did it in such a manner as to shew that he thought the punishment was undeserved.—My reason for ordering Mr. Falconbridge to do this was, that I judged him a more proper person than any body else, because in general he was attentive to the Slaves.—I would likewise say, that myself, Mr. Falconbridge, and the chief mate, have often been provoked to punish Slaves slightly without any great cause—their peevishness, perverseness, and obstinacy counteracting most of my endeavours to keep them comfortable, and relieve them in their sea sickness, and in other complaints ; and I

have, with my own hands, punished failors for maltreating the Negroes.

Do you recollect a number of women throwing themselves overboard, just as you was about to leave the river Ambris?

I was then very sick in my cabin, but I perfectly recollect that, from the neglect of locking the gunport gratings, a number of women got out, and attempted to swim on shore; among that number there were three women from the King's Town, at Ambris.—I believe they were all taken up again, and brought on board.—The ship was then about a mile from the shore.—I recollect that one of the Black Traders in that country was suspected of having induced these women to leave the ship, this man having come on board late in the night, contrary to the custom of the country, on some pretended business.

Is it not usual for precautions to be taken, in all Slave ships, to prevent the Negroes from jumping overboard?

On the coast of Angola, I never knew any precautions used to that effect.—In the river Bonny and elsewhere, where the ships lay near the shore, precautions are used to prevent it.—The women and boys are never confined.

Do you recollect a young female Slave, who, declining in her health on being brought on board the ship, was sent on shore for recovery, and there hanged herself?

My custom, in the Bonny river, was to send the complaining Slaves on shore, when there was but few—and, if their disorder required the assistance of a surgeon, I always sent the surgeon on shore to see them—when they recovered, they were brought on board—when they died, they were brought alongside to satisfy us they were not stolen from us—the female, supposed to be in question, after suffering much from sea sickness, and seeming to pine and waste, was sent on shore, and left in charge of one of her own countrywomen—I was informed she hanged herself—all that I know is, she was brought alongside the ship when dead—this woman was an Ebo Slave, from the interior country.

Did you ever understand that it was frequent with the Slaves of that country to hang themselves?

I did not.

Had the great men of the country of Angola a right, by their own customs, to sell their friends, relations, or families?

I never

I never knew the person who claimed a right to dispute it with them.

You have stated, that pawns are often carried off the coast, and sold, when their friends were too poor to redeem them; by whom is it understood that such persons were pawned?

I understand, it was done by persons who had a right to pawn or to sell—I must have understood it in this sense, because I have paid the price of a Slave for every such pawn—and such pawn not being redeemed, it was considered as a purchase.

Do you then understand generally, that no persons are put on board the ships as pawns, but such as are liable to be sold by the custom of the country?

I am not sufficiently acquainted with the laws of the country to answer precisely that question.

You have stated, that persons are sometimes sold for crimes, but not sent out of the country; do you then know for what description of crimes they are liable to be sold to the Europeans?

The laws being often made for the occasion, it is impossible for any man to tell.

You have stated, that on the windward coast canoes are often overfet, and goods lost, how are the Slaves brought on board the ships?

The Slaves, in general, are brought in canoes beyond the surf into the ships boats; in such places that I have stated the canoes being liable to be overfet, they are more liable to be overfet in going on shore than in coming off—the people on shore making their efforts to push them clear off the surf.

Are not the negroes confined in those canoes?

I never knew an instance of it.

What part of the ship is allotted to the sick?

I have sometimes allotted a part of the cabin for them—at other times part of the boys room; and in general, where they would be most out of the way of the other Slaves, and be most comfortable.

Are the ships never so full as to prevent this arrangement from being attended to, without Inconvenience to the rest of the Slaves?

That

That depends upon the number of the sick, and many other circumstances.

Whether the captain, in purchasing Slaves, is not directed by his own judgment, without the controul of any other officer in the ship?

Certainly.

Does it not frequently occur, that on the Middle Passage, owing to bad weather, the air ports are obliged to be shut, or the gratings to be covered, or both?

It is often necessary to shut the air ports, from the roughness of the sea, or from the rain coming in at the weather side—but I never knew an instance of the gratings being covered and the air ports shut at the same time, as in such a situation the Slaves would be stifled.

Is it common for failors belonging to Guineamen to enter on board the King's ships upon their arrival in the West India islands?

It has happened so twice to myself.

Is it, as you have heard and believed, a general practice with such failors?

I do not, as to the practice being general; but I believe they never would do it if they could compel the captain to discharge them, with liberty to go on shore.

Is it common for failors belonging to Guineamen to desert in the West India islands through the temptation of having an extraordinary sum of money for the run home to Europe, on board merchant ships?

I have heard them often declare, before they left England, that it was one of the reasons for which they endeavoured to have a higher advance of wages before they embarked from Europe—by which means, and getting their half-pay in the West Indies, the ship owing them very little they deserted with a view to the pay for the run home—and this is a common practice when failors are scarce, and a high price for the run home to Europe is given.

You have stated that the Bonny Slaves are kept under a stricter guard, because they are more vicious, and therefore more care is obliged to be taken against insurrections and desertions; what do you

you think are the causes which induce them to wish either to rise or to desert?

The principal reason, in my opinion, is, that they are of opinion, that the White Men intend to eat them—the reason they give for such fear is, that it is a custom in their own country?

• Is that apprehension universal?

I believe it is, except among the Brafs Pan Slaves.

Are those Brafs Pan Slaves quiet and peaceable?

They are generally so peaceable, that they are seldom confined in irons.

Do you know enough of the countries to which you have traded, to say in what the bulk of the people are commonly employed?

I do not.

And then the Counsel and Witnes were directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 4^o die Februarii 1790.

Counsel and Witnes called in, as before; and the Witnes was Mr. FRASER. further examined by Members of the Committee.

Are you at this time concerned in the Slave Trade?

I am at present unemployed, but shall be soon.

When an accused person is convicted on the trial by ordeal, or by any other mode, and is condemned to be sold, for whose benefit is he sold? or, if fined, who profits from the fine that is imposed on him?

The relations and family of the persons supposed to be poisoned, according to my information and opinion; in most cases, the Doctor is paid, I believe, by both parties—but I think he always shares in the fines; and I believe the King, and the principal officers in the country, who prosecute or protect the prosecutions, have part of the fine.

In the case of one of the Princesses husbands, who is condemned

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to be sold into Slavery, for having been false to her, for whose benefit is the criminal sold?

I always understand that there is no medium in that case—the either makes him pay a fine, and perhaps dismisses him, or puts him to death, if she chuses.—In cases where he may have powerful friends and relations, he is sometimes treated with less severity—this is the substance of what I have learned and collected on this business.—I have known a man who has offered twenty Slaves to redeem himself from such bondage, and could not obtain his release.

Is not the criminal sometimes sold in these cases?

I understand she has a clear right to sell him—but none was ever sold to me—my opinion is, that the princess chuses rather to take a heavy fine than the price for which such criminal would be sold; in the case of putting the criminal to death, the princess would find it difficult to recover as much of his effects as he and his friends would pay voluntarily by way of composition.

How are the Slaves commonly treated in that country?

As far as my knowledge extends, I have seen the Slaves at meal times sitting round their master—some have their cassada, some an ear of Indian corn, or any other thing they could get—if the master was of a mild disposition, and that he had any thing to spare, he generally gave a little of what he had for himself, to his favourite Slaves, and sometimes to all that were about him—I have seldom seen the men and women eat together, when their friends and domestics were present.

Have you known many ships lost on the coast of Africa?

I have never seen an instance of it myself that I recollect, but I have heard of losses.

Many or few?

Very few.

What quantity of water for any given number of Slaves did you think it necessary to lay in for your passage from Angola, from Bonny, and from the Windward Coast respectively?

If my memory does not deceive me, I usually laid in from 60 to 80 gallons a man; but I generally had a quarter of my stock left, when I arrived in the West Indies or America.

Do you know many instances of captains having been convicted,
and

and having paid the penalty for leaving failors behind in the West Indies, according to the condition of the bond?

My memory does not furnish me with an instance—I never had any law disputes with any of my people.

You have stated, that grafs cloths were the common money of the country—does not that imply a habit of bartering with each other in a manufacture of the country?

The grafs cloth passes for money in that country, as brafs money or small change does with us—I seldom have seen a sufficient quantity of it to purchase a Slave—there is a great quantity of it destroyed in wrapping up the dead—they wrap up the body with that and cloth of other sorts to a very large size—I have seen the people going with them in the shape of a large cylinder.

Do you mean to represent the grafs cloths as being no more convertible to use than brafs or copper money, in other respects than to exchange of small value?

I have seen some of them worn, but more for ornament than use—When the Majumba or Congo people come down to the sea coast to buy salt, when there are no ships on the sea coast, they sell a Slave or Slaves, according to the quantity they carry with them; and this grafs cloth is sometimes part of the payment—In this case I speak from information, but I believe it to be a fact—when the people from the interior part of the country come to purchase redwood at Majumba (they come from Congo, Selongo, Enfalo, and several other countries) they bring their Slaves to exchange for that commodity, and they commonly travel in large numbers.

When the natives brought the fisherman on board at Ambris, did not the persons who brought him saying he was a great rogue, induce you to believe that he had been guilty of more crimes than the act of extortion?

From the time that the king's principal officers staid on shore, after they had finished their business with me, from the general equity of their proceedings on most other occasions, the notoriety of the matter and the manner in which they delivered him to me, with the character they gave of him, I believe they considered him as a bad member of society—I believe that he was not a free-man, and that by the laws of the country they had a right to sell him in case of offence—By offence, I mean an offence, against the laws of his country, or shewing disrespect to old people, or those
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in authority—I don't believe the fishermen in general on the coast are free and independent.

If the family of the person convicted of witchcraft were not to be sold, would they be put to death, or what would become of them?

I believe, in many cases, the friends of the prosecutors have a right to sell them, and avail themselves of that right—such of them as are supposed to have been accessory to the crime, I believe, in some cases, are liable to be burnt—I believe some part of the family, or the property that is confiscated, comes into the hands of the King, or other persons who assist in bringing the matter to an issue.

When a Slave that is offered for sale is refused, what do you suppose becomes of him?

The young Slaves, I believe, in general, are disposed of as I have answered before, in respect to the Bonny Slaves—I have reason to believe, that a number of the aged Slaves are criminals, or considered as such—a circumstance that happened at the River Ambris, as reported to me on my second voyage with Captain Duncombe, when I was in his long boat, makes me think that a number of them are put to death—I had a Cabenda boy with me as a linguist, who informed me, one evening, that a Slave, who I would not purchase, was put to death in the following manner—the owner of this Slave, who came from the inland country, as I was informed, called the traders and fishermen together under a large tree—he told them, that the Slave, whom the white man would not buy, had run away from him several times in his own country—he accused him of dishonesty—he declared, that by the custom of that country, every man that met a runaway Slave was obliged to bring him back to his master, for which the master was obliged to pay him—he said that this Slave run away three times from him—that he paid more for bringing him back than he was worth—that he derived no benefit from his labour—that he had offered him to a white man, who refused to purchase him at the price which he asked—that he was determined to put him to death, to prevent the necessity of paying any more for bringing him back, and as an example to the rest of his Slaves—the manner of his death, as I was informed, was, his master began by cutting off his wrists, then his arms at the elbows, and then the stumps from his shoulders—he afterwards began with the ankles, the rest of the joints, and finished with cutting his head off—this was the relation of a person to me who had no interest in fabricating a falsehood—he was a lad who served me three different times, and never
deceived

deceived me—from the treatment of this man to his Slave, whom I did not suppose to be very criminal, I have no doubt but they have a right to put their own Slaves to death, consequently any useless criminal or old Slave might be supposed to be liable to such treatment, or any arbitrary punishment—the last time I was at Melimba, there were some Romish Priests established at a little Town of Chelongo, about two or three miles distant from the sea shore, sent by the King of France to endeavour to convert the people to the Christian religion, to persuade them to confine themselves to one wife, and to reform the morals and customs of the country—they had a credit from France, by virtue of which every ship that supplied them with necessaries were reimbursed the value of their goods in France—the French and Dutch captains, and I myself, supplied them with any thing they had occasion for, during our residence in that country, without charging them any thing for it—most of them died before I left the country, and the rest of them as I am informed, soon after, without being able to effect a single purpose of their mission—another instance of the disposal of the refused Slaves is, I was trading at the River Ambris, in company with captain Lawson, of Liverpool, on the evening of a day that he had purchased a young female—I was on shore for the benefit of the air, with my linguist, who conducted me to a spot where some of the countrymen were going to put a sucking child to death—I asked them the reason of it; they told me it was of no value—I told them in that case I should be obliged to them to make it a present to me—they answered, if I had any use for the child it was worth money—I believe I first offered them some knives; but they sold the child to me for a jug of brandy—it proved to be the child of the woman purchased by captain Lawson, who thanked me for saving the child, and carried it on board—the woman went upon her knees and kissed my feet.

To what cause do you attribute the failure of the success of the Romish priests?

Because their proposals were contrary to the laws and customs of the country—most of the black people treated them with contempt, and thunned them, notwithstanding their efforts to conciliate them—the old king of Melimba, when they proposed to him to turn away all his wives but one, replied, that his wives were his property—that at his age he had no other use for a woman than for menial services—the most of his women were mothers of several young men, whom he had established as traders in the country—that if he was inclined to turn away any

of his wives, he did not know which of them to keep, they being all equally faithful to him—that as he had an equal regard for all his sons, he knew no reason why he should shew a greater favour to the one than the other, by keeping one woman and abandoning all the rest—the French captains and the natives assured me, this was the answer that the king gave the missionaries, and they could make no answer in reply.

Do you suppose that the field or plantation Slaves are fed and treated with that indulgence at Bonny and Angola as you have described the domestic Slaves to be at Angola?

I would wish to be rightly understood.—I did not mean to say that the domestic Slaves or followers were well fed.—They might be so if they were industrious—most parts of the country that I know being tolerably fertile,—but I never saw any man working at the ground,—that is the province of the women.---Seldom or ever any person came to my factory who were not hungry, and very glad to get the worst provisions I had to spare.---By saying most parts of the country are fertile, I do not mean that there are large tracts that might be ploughed or planted, but that there are here and there very fertile spots, which would produce cassada, corn, and calavances.---On such spots they fix marks on poles, or otherwise, denouncing certain vengeance against thieves.---Many of the people of the country take more pains to steal a mouthful than would be necessary to procure a good meal by honest industry.

Have you known any wars or skirmishes undertaken for the purpose of making Slaves?

I have been an eye witness to a mode of carrying on war at Melimba.---While this sort of war lasted, I purchased no slaves, nor do I believe any other captain on Melimba Hill did.---When this war was over, I did not purchase a Slave whom I knew to be taken from either party.---There were then, I believe, about fourteen sail of ships lying in Melimba road.

What was the occasion of that war?

Disputes among the great men of the country, for what might be called places and preferments.

Were many captives made during that war?

I never saw one.

Of what nation were those fourteen ships?

I believe

I believe there were ten French ships, three Dutch ships and my own.—There were, to the best of my recollection, twenty-five French vessels upon what we call the coast of Angola at that time.

Has the mortality of the Slaves, in any of your voyages, been occasioned by their being too much crowded?

In every voyage that I made, and in every ship in which I have commanded, during such voyages, there was always more than room enough for the Slaves, except the first voyage which I made to Bonny in the *Emelia*—I have already stated the cause of part of the mortality of that voyage; the rest of the Slaves, to a very few, I carried safe to market.

What are the disorders incident to seamen on board Guinea ships?

Scurvy and fevers.

Are the wages of the seamen at Bristol greater in an African voyage than any other?

From the circumstance of the seamen we get at Bristol being in general inferior in capacity to what they are in other ports, it is seldom that we are obliged to give them more wages than is given in the West India trade; but in general they have had five shillings per month more, which I believe is not the case at present—but in this answer I only give my opinion, having been absent from this Country near twelve months.

Have you ever been in France?

I have been a prisoner of war in Niort, in the country of Poitiers, for eight months—I have been in France since for my health, about ten months, and returned from it the latter end of last August.

Had you an opportunity of observing the increase of the African trade there?

I have been at Bourdeaux, Nantz, St. Maloes, Havre de Grace, Harfleur and Rouen—I made every enquiry I could respecting the African trade.—Several French merchants, having all their own vessels and officers employed, made me propositions to fit out from this country to purchase Slaves, under French colours, and carry them to St. Domingo—there were particular permissions to be obtained, before the revolutions in France for this purpose—I do not know whether these permissions are of any use at present—good Slaves in general sell at St. Domingo from £. 60 to £. 70 sterling
—I have

—I have seen the account of sales of Slaves.—Such friends as I was acquainted with formerly on the coast of Africa, and who are now established at Nantz, St. Maloes, and La Rochelle have offered me employment for myself, and as many of my officers and friends as I would recommend.

Whether the African Slave Trade has not been extended very considerably in France since the idea of abolition has been taken up in England?

I have been credibly informed it has—I know, from my own experience at Bonny, it could be much further extended but for want of money—I have been told in France, and in this country, that the merchants of Bourdeaux, and others concerned in that Trade, pay from eight to ten per cent. for money to carry it on—there were 360 sail of vessels, whose tonnage, on an average, was 352, employed in the African and West India Trade from Bourdeaux—their cargoes in general are much richer than ours, having more cotton, indigo, and coffee.

Have the French employed in that Trade any British men and ships, that were deprived of employment here in consequence of the restrictions that have been imposed upon the Trade?

I believe that from the number of ships in this country which were laid up, as being made unprofitable by the late regulating act, the idea that the trade was to be abolished, and the encouragements held forth by the French to the merchants of this country, as well as the officers, several persons have been employed in ships that have been sold from this country, and fitted out from France—I was informed at Rouen and Havre de Grace, as well as at Paris, that some commanders from this country had obtained leave to sail three voyages in French ships, and at the end of the third voyage they must become citizens, to have that indulgence prolonged to them—I have been informed, that was the expectation of such an indulgence—finding it could not be prolonged without fulfilling the condition, some of them chose to become denizens, and others relinquished their employment—In applying for a permission of this kind myself, I learned the above particulars.

Whether, if the Slave Trade was abolished here, it is probable that the French would carry on that Trade in a more extensive manner than they do now?

It is more than probable; it is generally understood in France, that when the bounties cease next August, other inducements
and

and encouragements will be held forth to those concerned in the trade—I asked several of the merchants of ships at Bourdeaux, Nantz, and Saint Maloes, as well as other inhabitants of those and the other towns before mentioned, and several of the stockholders there, whether there was a probability of the trade being abolished in France, who generally told me it would be very unsafe for any of the deputies to mention such a thing in the national assembly—it was said and believed, that the deputies from Nantz were threatened with the consequence, if they consented to such a subject being discussed.

Whether you suppose the Dutch, Danes, and Portuguese would extend this trade if the British Nation were no longer to rival them?

I believe it unnecessary for the Portuguese to extend it, as they possess a considerable part of it already—and most of that part exclusively—the Danes, supported by government, have endeavoured, to my own knowledge, to extend their commerce from the Windward and Gold Coast—I believe they already possess the means of carrying it on to a greater advantage than the British Nation, if their officers and men were equally acquainted with it—there is no reason, in my opinion, to suppose that the Dutch will ever forego any commercial advantage, of which they can lay hold—the people at Ostend have shewn a disposition to carry on every kind of trade that Africa and the East Indies present to them—but I understand the ships belonging to that place are the property, although not owned, of the subjects of different states—the Danish West India Islands are in part supplied with Slaves, by American vessels, purchased on the Gold and Windward Coast, and perhaps elsewhere.

Do you know of any encouragement given by the Spaniards to promote the importation of Negroes into their Colonies?

It is well known that the Spanish Government have opened some of their Ports for African ships of all nations, and I have been informed, that the Philippine company have attempted or are endeavouring to commence a trade of their own to Africa, with an intention to supply South America with Slaves—I have been told that they are desirous of getting some of their officers employed in the English or any other African ships, to get previous experience.

Whether the French have not deprived the British subjects of the trade on a considerable tract of the Coast of Africa?

I am confident they have done it in an indirect manner, but although I am certain of this matter, I cannot prove it in a formal

mal manner, there being a necessary disguise for conducting that business.

Whether, after the war mentioned by you at Melimba, any captives were offered for sale to you or the captains of the other vessels then upon the coast?

If by a captive is meant a person captured from among the number I had seen engaged in this war, I believe there was not one offered for sale, and there was very little trade from that time to the period of my departure—I was ten months employed in purchasing about 315 Slaves.

How many Slaves did you usually carry to a ton?

I never made any calculation between the number of Slaves and the tonnage of the ship—there is no geometrical proportion between the tonnage and the places allotted for the Slaves to lay in—that depending upon the form and construction of the ship, few of them being exactly alike.—No such idea, I believe, ever entered into the head of a Seaman, as apportioning the number of Slaves to the Tonnage.

Do not most of the Slaves, during some part of the period, from their first coming on board, on the Coast of Africa, to the time of their debarkation in the West India Islands, fall sick of some disease, so as to come under the care of the Doctor, though many of them may be apparently cured before their arrival at the islands?

To the best of my recollection, I have known two instances, when nine-tenths of the Slaves made no complaint of sickness.—I have known instances of Slaves being recovered by the care of the Doctor, and other officers, without the use of medicines—every Surgeon of experience, knowing the Africans to be naturally averse to taking medicines, does every thing in his power to recover them without disgusting them with any thing that is disagreeable to them.

And then the Counsel and Witness were directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

THAT this Examination of Mr. Frazer be reported to the House.

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES

ON THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Reported 5th FEBRUARY 1790.

Witness Examined,

Mr. JAMES FRASER.

N° I.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE,

Veneris, 12^o die Februarii 1790.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed for the Purpose of taking the Examination of such Witnesses as shall be produced on the Part of the several Petitioners who have petitioned the House of Commons against the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Veneris, 5^o die Februarii 1790.

THE Counsel for the Petitions from the Town of Liverpool, being called in as before, stated to the Committee, That he had concluded his Evidence relative to Africa and the Middle Passage; but that in respect to the importance of the Trade, comprising the Manufactures, Commerce, and Naval Power of Great Britain depending thereon, there is further Evidence expected from Liverpool.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

THAT the latter subjects stated by the Counsel be referred to future Examination, when he shall be permitted to call Evidence thereto.

And the Counsel was called in, and acquainted therewith,

And then he was again directed to withdraw.

Q

Then,

Then Mr. Piggott and Mr. Bond, Counsel 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, were called in.

And the Counsel produced a Copy of the Definitive Treaty between His Majesty, the Most Christian King, and the Catholic King, signed at Paris, the 10th day of February 1763.—The 9th Article of which was read, and is as follows; viz.

“ The Most Christian King cedes and guaranties to
 “ His Britannic Majesty, in full right, the Islands of
 “ Grenada and of the Grenadines, with the same stipu-
 “ lations in favour of the inhabitants of this colony, in-
 “ serted in the fourth article for those of Canada: and
 “ the partition of the Islands called Neutral, is agreed and
 “ fixed, so that those of Saint Vincent, Dominica, and
 “ Tobago, shall remain in full right to Great Britain,
 “ and that of Saint Lucia shall be delivered to France,
 “ to enjoy the same likewise in full right; and the high
 “ contracting Parties guaranty the partition so stipu-
 “ lated.”

Then so much of His Majesty's speech from the throne, upon the 16th day of November 1763, as relates to the appropriation of whatever sums shall be produced by the sale of the West India Islands, which were ceded to His Majesty by the late treaty, was read.—

The Counsel then produced the London Gazette, dated from Saturday March 24, to Tuesday March 27, 1764; containing His Majesty's proclamation for the sale of lands in the Ceded Islands; which was read; and is as follows; viz.

“ By the King,
 “ A Proclamation.

“ GEORGE R.

“ Whereas we have taken into our consideration
 “ the great benefit which will arise to the commerce of
 “ our

“ our kingdoms, and the interests of our subjects, from
 “ the speedy settlement of our Islands of Grenada, the
 “ Grenadines, Dominica, Saint Vincent, and Tobago,
 “ we do therefore think fit, with the advice of our
 “ Privy Council, to issue this, our Royal Proclamation,
 “ to publish and declare to our loving subjects, that we
 “ have, with the advice of our said Privy Council,
 “ given the necessary powers and directions for an im-
 “ mediate survey and division into proper parishes and
 “ districts, of such of the said Islands as have not hitherto
 “ been so surveyed and divided, and for laying out
 “ such lands in the said Islands as are in our power to
 “ dispose of into allotments for plantations of different
 “ size and extent, according as the nature of the land
 “ shall be more or less adapted to the growth of Sugar,
 “ Coffee, Cocoa, Cotton, or other articles of beneficial
 “ culture, reserving to us, our heirs, and successors,
 “ such parts of the said islands as shall be necessary for
 “ erecting fortifications thereon, and all for other mili-
 “ tary purposes, for glebes for ministers, allotments for
 “ school-masters, for woodlands, high roads, and all
 “ other public purposes; and also reserving such lands
 “ in our islands of Dominica and Saint Vincent, as
 “ at the time of the surrender of those Islands were and
 “ still are in the possession of the French inhabitants of
 “ those Islands; which lands it is our will and pleasure
 “ should be granted to such of the said inhabitants as
 “ shall be inclined to accept the same, upon leases for
 “ terms absolute, or for renewable terms, upon certain
 “ conditions, and under proper restrictions. And we do
 “ hereby further publish and declare, that the allot-
 “ ments for plantations in our Islands of Grenada, the
 “ Grenadines, Tobago, and Saint Vincent, shall contain
 “ to three hundred acres, with some few allotments in
 “ each Island of five hundred acres; and that the allot-
 “ ments in our Island of Dominica, which is represented
 “ to be not so well adapted to the cultivation of Sugar,
 “ and which, from its situation, requires in policy to be
 “ well peopled with White Inhabitants, shall be in ge-
 “ neral from fifty to one hundred acres.

“ And whereas we have thought fit to declare to our
 “ parliament, at the opening of the present session,
 “ our gracious intention of reserving for the public
 “ use

“ use whatever sums shall be produced by the sale of
 “ any of the lands belonging to us in the Islands of the
 “ West Indies, which were ceded to us by the late
 “ treaty; we do further publish and declare, that when
 “ these allotments, or a sufficient part of them, shall
 “ have been laid out, the same shall be set up to sale by
 “ auction, at a price per acre to be fixed thereon by
 “ commissioners appointed for that purpose, under our
 “ Great Seal of Great Britain, who shall give public no-
 “ tice of the time and place of such sale.

“ And we do hereby further publish and declare,
 “ That the lands so set up to sale by auction, shall not
 “ be sold, but upon the following terms, and under
 “ the following conditions and reservations; that is to
 “ say,

“ That each purchaser shall immediately pay into
 “ the hands of such person as we shall appoint to re-
 “ ceive the same, twenty per cent. of the whole pur-
 “ chase money.

“ That the remainder of the purchase money shall
 “ be paid by different installments, viz. ten per cent.
 “ within the first year after the purchase, ten per cent.
 “ more within the second year after such purchase, and
 “ twenty per cent. within every successive year, until
 “ the whole is paid.

“ That each purchaser of lands which have been
 “ cleared and improved, shall within the space of three
 “ months from the date of the grant, settle and constantly
 “ keep upon the lot purchased one White Man or
 “ two White Women for every hundred acres con-
 “ tained in the said lot; and, in default thereof, shall
 “ be subject to the payment of twenty pounds per
 “ annum for every White Woman, and forty pounds
 “ for every White Man, that shall be wanting to com-
 “ plete the number.

“ That the purchaser of uncleared lands shall clear
 “ and cultivate one acre in every twenty in each year,
 “ until half the land so purchased shall be cleared;
 “ and in default thereof shall pay five pounds per an-
 “ num

“ num for every acre not cleared, pursuant to such
 “ condition; and such purchaser shall also be obliged
 “ to settle and constantly keep upon the lot so pur-
 “ chased one White Man or two White Women
 “ for every hundred acres, as the same shall be
 “ cleared.

“ That each purchaser shall, besides the purchase
 “ money, be subject to the payment of an annual
 “ quit-rent to us, our heirs and successors, of six pence
 “ per acre, under the penalty of five pounds per acre
 “ upon non-payment thereof; such quit-rents, in the
 “ case of the purchase of cleared lands, to commence
 “ from the date of the grant; and the first payment to
 “ be made at the expiration of the first year; and in
 “ case of the purchase of the uncleared lands, such
 “ quit-rents to commence at the expiration of twelve
 “ months from the time each acre is cleared.

“ That in case of failure in the payment of the pur-
 “ chase money in the manner above directed, the
 “ purchaser shall forfeit all right to the lands pur-
 “ chased.

“ That no person shall purchase at any public sale
 “ more than five hundred acres of cleared or uncleared
 “ lands, in the Islands of Grenada, and the Grena-
 “ dines, Tobago, and St. Vincent's, and in the Island
 “ of Dominica the quantity shall be restrained to three
 “ hundred acres; and in order to enforce this neces-
 “ sary and essential regulation, that a condition shall
 “ be inserted in every grant to be made in consequence
 “ of such purchase, that in case any purchase shall be
 “ made contrary thereto, so that the property of the
 “ purchaser in the Islands where the lands lie, shall
 “ thereby amount to more than the above quantity re-
 “ spectively, the same shall be void, the money paid
 “ thereon forfeited, and the consequential grant of no
 “ effect.

“ That all and every purchaser of lands, upon the
 “ foregoing terms and conditions, shall immediately
 “ upon the payment of the first twenty per cent. of
 “ the purchase money, receive a bill of sale, signed by
 R “ the

“ the said commissioners, which shall entitle such purchasers to a grant of the said lands, under the seal of the Islands, containing the afore-mentioned conditions and reservations : which said purchase, and grant in consequence thereof, duly registered in the proper offices, shall be good and valid in law against us, our heirs and successors, unless the same shall be revoked ; and we do hereby declare the same revocable by our commissioners of our treasury, or our high treasurer for the time being, within twelve months from the date thereof ; in which case such purchase and grant shall become void and of no effect ; and upon notice of such revocation, the said commissioners shall return to such purchaser the money paid upon the purchase, with legal interest thereon, and reasonable allowance for any improvements made on the said lands.

“ And whereas the establishing towns in proper situations within the said Islands, will conduce greatly to the convenience of the inhabitants, and the benefit of trade and commerce ; we have therefore thought fit, with the advice of our privy council, to direct a proper district in every parish in each Island, to be laid out for that purpose, into lots for tenements of different size and extent ; and each town-lot to have a proportionate allotment of land contiguous to such town, for a small field or pasture, allowing one acre for every ten foot in front of the town-lot, to which it is to be annexed ; but no field-lot to exceed the quantity of six acres.

“ And we do hereby further publish and declare, That such of these town and pasture-lots, in each Island, as consist of lands, which have been already cleared and improved, shall be set up to sale by public auction, at a price per foot in front of each town-lot, and a price per acre of the field-lot, to be fixed upon such lot by the said commissioners, in like manner as upon the allotments for plantations.

“ And we do further publish and declare, That the lots so set up to sale by auction shall not be sold but upon

“ upon the following terms and conditions; that is to
 “ say,

“ That the purchase-money shall be paid in the
 “ same proportion, by the like installments, and upon
 “ the same conditions, as are required in the case of the
 “ purchase of allotments for plantations.

“ That each tenement shall be charged with the pay-
 “ ment of an annual ground-rent to us, our heirs, and
 “ successors, of one penny per foot in front, and six
 “ pence per acre for each acre of the field annexed to
 “ such tenement, the said rents to commence at the ex-
 “ piration of one year from the date of the purchase,
 “ and the purchaser to be liable to the same penalties,
 “ in case of failure of the payment of the purchase-
 “ money, and the ground-rent and quit-rent, as we have
 “ already required in respect to the purchase of allot-
 “ ments for plantations.

“ And we do further publish and declare, That the
 “ reservations, which we have directed to be made for
 “ town and pasture-lots of uncleared lands, shall be
 “ granted in fee simple by our governor in chief, under
 “ the seal of the Islands, to any persons who will give
 “ such security as our commissioners shall approve, for
 “ building on such town-lots within a reasonable time,
 “ to be fixed by our said commissioners; and also
 “ for inclosing, fencing, and properly clearing for pas-
 “ ture, the fields that shall be granted with such tene-
 “ ment.

“ And we do further publish and declare, That we
 “ have directed that no more than one town-lot be
 “ granted to any one person, and that no more than
 “ six acres of pasture land be annexed to such town-
 “ lot, whatever number of feet in front it shall con-
 “ sist of.

“ That each grantee shall be obliged, under proper
 “ penalties, to the payment of an annual ground-rent
 “ to us, our heirs and successors, of one penny per foot
 “ in front of the town lot for a tenement, and six pence
 “ per acre for each acre of the pasture lot; the first pay-
 “ ment

“ ment to be made within two years from the date of
 “ the grant.

“ And in order the more effectually to conduce to
 “ the peopling our said Islands with industrious White
 “ Inhabitants, upon which their strength and security
 “ do essentially depend, we have thought fit, with the
 “ advice of our said council, to direct a quantity of
 “ land, not exceeding eight hundred acres, to be re-
 “ served in such parts of every parish in each island
 “ respectively, as are not adapted for sugar plantations,
 “ for the accommodation of poor settlers, to be divided
 “ into lots, of not less than ten, nor more than thirty
 “ acres each : and we do hereby further publish and
 “ declare, that the said allotments are to be granted in
 “ fee simple, under the seal of our said Islands, to such
 “ poor Protestants as shall apply for the same, in
 “ proportion to their respective abilities to cultivate the
 “ said lands ; and subject to the following conditions ;
 “ that is to say,

“ That each grantee shall, at the expiration of four
 “ years from the date of the grant, pay a quit-rent to
 “ us, our heirs, and successors, of six pence per acre for
 “ every acre then cleared, and a penalty of two shillings
 “ per acre for every acre of land uncleared ; which said
 “ penalty of two shillings per acre shall be reduced to
 “ six pence per acre, as the land shall be cleared ; and
 “ in case of failure of such rent and penalty, the
 “ grantee shall be subject to the further penalty of the
 “ payment of five pounds for every acre, for which
 “ such quit-rent shall not be paid.

“ That each grantee shall enter upon, and occupy
 “ the land within three months from the date of the
 “ grant, and shall continue to occupy and improve the
 “ same for twelve successive months, from the time of
 “ such first settlement.

“ That the lands shall, for the space of seven years,
 “ be unalienable by sale, nor shall the same be let,
 “ set, or assigned over during the same term, other-
 “ wise than to the use and benefit of any child or
 “ children of such original settler, without especial
 “ licence

“ licence in writing first had and obtained from the
 “ Chief Governor, or Commander in Chief of our said
 “ Islands for the time being; and in case of failure or
 “ default in either of the two last-mentioned condi-
 “ tions, the grant to be void.

“ And we do hereby further publish and declare,
 “ that all grants made of the said allotments for poor
 “ settlers, as also all grants made of town and pasture
 “ lots of cleared and uncleared lands, shall be absolute
 “ and final.

“ That in all grants to be made of allotments for
 “ plantations, and town and pasture lots, and of lands
 “ for poor settlers, there shall be a reservation to us,
 “ our heirs, and successors, of all mines of gold and
 “ silver.

“ And we do further publish and declare, That the
 “ first sale of lands shall be in the month of June next,
 “ if the surveys can be made so soon; due notice of
 “ which, as also of the place of sale, will be given by
 “ our commissioners appointed as aforesaid for the dis-
 “ posal of the said lands.

“ Given at our Court at St. James’s, the
 “ twenty-sixth day of March, one thousand
 “ seven hundred and sixty-four, in the fourth
 “ year of our reign.

“ God save the King.”

The Counsel also produced the Barbados Gazette, dated January 19, 1765, containing a public notice of sales; which notice was read; and is as follows; viz.

“ Barbados, January 19, 1765.

“ By the King’s Authority,

“ Public notice is hereby given, That the commis-
 “ sioners appointed by His Majesty for the sale and dis-
 “ posal of lands in the islands of Grenada, the Grena-
 “ dines, Tobago, Saint Vincent, and Dominica, are (in
 “ consequence

“ consequence of resolutions taken at a board held in
 “ Barbados the fifth day of January, one thousand seven
 “ hundred and sixty-five) about to proceed immediately
 “ to the several Islands that are the object of their com-
 “ mission, for the more speedy and effectual execution
 “ of His Majesty’s instructions.

“ That they shall accordingly, in conjunction with
 “ the governor general of the Grenades and Neutral
 “ Islands, or in his absence, with the lieutenant governor
 “ of each Island respectively, proceed to divide the
 “ Islands of Tobago and Saint Vincent into convenient
 “ districts or parishes, and set apart in these and the
 “ other Islands such lands (in the most convenient situ-
 “ ations) as shall be thought most proper for fortifica-
 “ tions, yards for the use of the navy, and other military
 “ purposes.

“ That the said commissioners shall determine on a
 “ proper situation in every parish, for a town convenient
 “ for trade and navigation, such towns to consist of
 “ lots of different size and extent for houses, to which
 “ gardens or fields will be annexed, not exceeding six
 “ acres to any one town-lot; and that in laying out
 “ such town lots, they shall reserve convenient places
 “ for wharfs and quays, and for all other necessary
 “ public uses, and reserve in every parish such wood
 “ lands as shall seem necessary for the construction and
 “ repair of fortifications and public buildings, and to
 “ prevent that drought which in these climates is
 “ the usual consequence of a total removal of the
 “ woods.

“ That they shall also trace out the direction of all
 “ great roads in each island respectively, for the conve-
 “ niency of communication between town and town,
 “ and set out roads between the allotments of planta-
 “ tion lands for the conveniency of the purchasers
 “ thereof.

“ That uncleared lands shall be set apart in each
 “ parish for such poor settlers as shall apply to the go-
 “ vernor general of the Grenades and Neutral Islands,
 “ or

“ or the lieutenant governor of the Island where such
 “ lands lie for the same.

“ That the native Caribbees of Saint Vincent are to
 “ continue undisturbed in the possession of their cottages
 “ and grounds.

“ That with respect to the cleared lands in the
 “ Islands of Saint Vincent and Dominica, as the same
 “ have been occupied by the French, in open violation
 “ of the faith of treaties, made between the Crowns of
 “ Great Britain and France, and in express contradiction
 “ to the public orders issued by the court of France,
 “ and as no authority has been given to any of the
 “ governors to make grants thereof, the commissioners
 “ are forbid to allow of any establishment of the French
 “ in consequence of the settlements made by them in
 “ the said Islands: but His Majesty has nevertheless been
 “ graciously pleased to encourage the present French
 “ inhabitants to continue under his paternal care and
 “ protection, on certain terms, restrictions, and reserva-
 “ tions; and the commissioners accordingly shall and
 “ will, with all convenient speed, proceed to execute His
 “ Majesty’s instructions on that head, as follows:

“ That is to say, to such of the French inhabitants
 “ of the said Islands as shall take the oath of allegiance,
 “ and make and subscribe the declaration of abjuration,
 “ leases shall be prepared and granted by the commis-
 “ sioners, which shall also pass under the seal of the
 “ government of Grenada, and be registered in the
 “ office of the secretary of the Island where the lands lie,
 “ of such cleared lands as were in the possession of the
 “ said French, at the time of the surrender of the Islands
 “ aforesaid, and still are in their possession (together
 “ with such small parcels of contiguous lands in wood
 “ as may be convenient to the lessee, and which the
 “ commissioners may think reasonable to insert in such
 “ lease) unless such cleared lands are found necessary for
 “ public uses; in which case other lands shall be al-
 “ lotted them in lieu thereof, and the full value and
 “ improvements shall be ascertained, and compensation
 “ made for them in the most fair and equitable
 “ manner.

“ That

“ That such leases shall be for fourteen, twenty-one,
 “ thirty-two, or forty years, at the option of the lessees,
 “ or for fourteen years, renewable at the pleasure of the
 “ lessee, for a number of years not exceeding forty in
 “ the whole: and in consideration of which leases such
 “ fines and quit-rents shall be paid down, as are thought
 “ proportionable to the term of years and quality of
 “ land.

“ That the lands so demised shall not be assignable
 “ to any other person, without a licence first had from
 “ the governor general of the Grenades and Neutral
 “ Islands, or commander in chief for the time being,
 “ and approved by the Lords Commissioners for Trade
 “ and Plantations.

“ That the lessee shall reside one half of the year in
 “ the Island where the lands lie. And in cases where
 “ lands were held before the late peace by several French
 “ proprietors jointly, some of whom are since retired
 “ from them, they are to be severed into parts, and in-
 “ dulgence shewn in the division to those who are con-
 “ tented to remain and receive their proportions, and
 “ who will also enjoy every advantage that peculiarly
 “ belongs to British subjects.

“ That in case any French inhabitants should rather
 “ prefer uncleared lands in any of the Islands to the
 “ cleared lands on the terms above mentioned, un-
 “ cleared lands, unincumbered with the terms of the
 “ lease, shall be allotted them in lieu thereof by the
 “ said commissioners; and they shall moreover be paid
 “ the value of the buildings they leave.

“ That these provisions shall not however extend to
 “ such as occupy more than 500 acres in the Island of
 “ St. Vincent, and 300 acres in the Island of Dominica:
 “ if any such there be, the Commissioners shall reduce
 “ their possessions to those numbers, and dispose of the
 “ surplus in the same manner as of lands not occupied
 “ by French inhabitants.

“ That the Commissioners are empowered by His
 “ Majesty to determine who are to be deemed French
 inhabitants,

“ inhabitants, and what lands they shall be deemed
 “ possessed of, within the meaning of the King’s in-
 “ structions: that religious communities are not to be
 “ considered as included herein, such lands as they
 “ have been possessed of will be sold for the public be-
 “ nefit.

“ That no grants, bargains, or sales whatever, hitherto
 “ made (excepting legal sales in Grenada and the Grenadines) will be attended to, or allowed of; as His Majesty has been pleased to declare, that no authority has been granted to any of His governors for this purpose. His Majesty has notwithstanding been pleased to except twenty-five town-lots, consisting of forty feet in front, and one hundred and fifty feet in depth, granted by Governor Dalrymple, in the town of Charlotville, in the island of Dominica: and the Commissioners are directed to confirm these grants, by giving to the several grantees certificates that the said lots were so conveyed to them; which shall entitle them to grants thereof under the seal of the Islands, provided they agree to insert in such grants the same conditions as are in all other grants of town-lots.

“ That with respect to all lands in any of the Islands which are the object of the commission, and which are not comprized within the above description of lands reserved for public uses, lands set apart for poor settlers, lands which are the rightful property of the inhabitants of Grenada and the Grenadines; or that may be leased out to the French inhabitants of Dominica, or Saint Vincent’s, or possessed by the native Caribbees, they shall be divided into allotments for plantations, to consist, in the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, Tobago and Saint Vincent, of not less than one hundred, nor more than five hundred acres; and in the island of Dominica, of not less than fifty nor more than three hundred acres of land: in doing of which, care will be taken that each lot shall have every convenience that the circumstances and nature of the ground will admit of.

“ That the said town-lots and garden or pasture ground shall be laid out with all convenient speed, in order that if uncleared the governor general of the

“ Grenades and Neutral Islands, or the lieutenant governor of each island respectively, may dispose thereof to such as apply for them; or if consisting of cleared land, that they may be sold, in like manner as the plantation lands hereafter mentioned, by public auction, subject in either case to the conditions that a dwelling-house, shop, warehouse, or out-house shall be erected thereon, within the space of two years from the date of the grant; and a quit-rent of one penny sterling per foot in front for the town lot, and six pence sterling per annum for every acre of garden or pasture ground: and the sale and grants of such town and pasture lots, and also grants to poor settlers, shall be irrevocable.

“ That the plantation allotments aforesaid, as well of uncleared lands as those cleared, which have been occupied by religious societies, or which by reason of the absence or refusal of French inhabitants, shall not be granted on lease in the manner above directed, shall be put up to sale at a price not less than five pounds sterling per acre, if the lands are cleared, and not less than one pound sterling per acre if the lands are uncleared; and be sold by public auction to the highest bidder, at the general sale to be held twice in every year, in the most healthy seasons, either at Grenada, or the island where such lands are situated, on the following terms and conditions; that is to say:

“ That no person shall be permitted to purchase from the Crown, either in his own name, or in the name of others in trust for him, more than allotments to the amount of 500 acres in the Island where the lands lie, or more than 300 acres if in the Island of Dominica.

“ That the highest bidder for each lot shall be declared the purchaser, who shall thereupon pay down twenty per cent. of the whole purchase money, and six pence sterling for each acre of which his lot shall consist, to defray the expence of surveying the same; whereupon he shall receive a bill of sale, and a certificate from the commissioners of his being the highest bidder; upon producing which bill of sale and certificate

certificate

“ ficate to the governor general of the Grenades, and the
 “ Neutral Islands, or commander in chief for the time
 “ being, he shall be entitled to a grant in fee simple
 “ (under the seal of the Islands) of the lands by him
 “ purchased, and take possession thereof, such grant to
 “ be registered in the secretary’s office of the respective
 “ island where the lands lie.

“ That in case of fraud, collusion, or other contra-
 “ vention to the King’s instructions, and not otherwise,
 “ the grant shall be revocable for the space of twelve
 “ months from the date thereof, by the Lord High
 “ Treasurer, or the Lords Commissioners of His Ma-
 “ jesty’s Treasury for the time being; but if not re-
 “ voked within that term, the same shall then be ab-
 “ solute; if revoked, notice thereof shall be immedi-
 “ ately given, and the money returned to the purchaser
 “ with the usual interest of the Island, and compen-
 “ sation also made for all sums of money which shall
 “ bona fide have been laid out for the clearing, im-
 “ proving, or building, on any part of the lands con-
 “ tained in such grant, to be ascertained by arbitration,
 “ and the lands shall be again put up to sale.

“ That of the purchase money remaining due ten
 “ per cent. more than the twenty per cent. above-
 “ mentioned, shall be paid within the first year after the
 “ date of the bill of sale, ten per cent. the second year,
 “ and twenty per cent. every successive year, until the
 “ whole shall be paid; but, in default of any of the
 “ said payments, the lands shall be liable to be forfeit-
 “ ed, and again sold, in order that the king may be
 “ first paid, and the residue shall be the property of those
 “ before entitled to it.

“ That from twelve months after the date of the
 “ grant the purchaser shall clear away at the rate of
 “ five acres in the hundred annually, until one half
 “ of the cultivable land shall be cleared, under a penalty
 “ of five pounds sterling per annum, for every acre not
 “ cleared in pursuance of this condition.

“ That for every hundred acres of cleared land the
 “ purchaser is or shall be possessed of, he shall keep
 “ thereon one White Man, or two White Women, under
 “ a penalty

“ a penalty of forty pounds sterling for every White
 “ Man, and twenty pounds sterling for every White
 “ Woman that shall be wanting; and pay an annual
 “ quit-rent of six pence sterling per acre on whatever
 “ cleared land he has purchased or shall clear in pur-
 “ suance of the conditions required.

“ That a reservation shall be made to the King of all
 “ gold or silver mines, which are now or may hereafter
 “ be discovered in the said Islands.

“ That the first sale shall commence in the Island of
 “ Tobago on Tuesday the 14th day of May next.

“ That Tuesday the 28th day of May next shall be
 “ the first day of sale in the Island of St. Vincent.

“ That Tuesday the 11th day of June next shall
 “ be the first day of sale in the Island of Dominica.

“ That each sale shall be continued every successive
 “ day, until the same shall be completed.

“ That the commissioners in the mean time shall
 “ proceed to settle terms with the French inhabitants
 “ of St. Vincent, and Dominica, and execute leases
 “ with them as directed by His Majesty.

“ That all payments of fines for leases, as well as of
 “ purchase money, shall be made conformable to the
 “ King's instructions to the receiver in good gold
 “ specie, to be taken by weight, at the rate of three
 “ pounds eighteen shillings and three pence sterling
 “ per ounce.

“ That advertisements descriptive of the situation and
 “ soil of each allotment shall be published as soon as
 “ possible; and,

“ That although no particular description can yet be
 “ given of the land to be sold at the first sale in each
 “ Island, yet in general it may be proper to inform the
 “ public, that the lots to be sold in Tobago will lie chiefly
 “ in the neighbourhood of Great Courland Bay, Man of
 “ War Bay, Great Rockley Bay, Cochongras Bay, (now
 “ called Barbados Bay) and Little Hog Bay.

“ That

“ That towns shall be laid out in each of these bays
“ with all convenient speed.

“ That the sale in St. Vincent shall consist of un-
“ cleared lands, as well as the valuable tracts of cleared
“ land that may have been occupied by religious so-
“ cieties, or not granted on lease by reason of the
“ absence or refusal of the late French possessors; and,

“ That towns shall be laid out contiguous to the bay
“ of Wahigunny and Borowalley, or elsewhere, as may
“ be thought expedient.

“ That the sale in Dominica will consist of uncleared
“ and valuable cleared lands, as has been explained
“ concerning Saint Vincent, including the estates pos-
“ sessed by the society of jesuits, near Grand Bay, so
“ well known for their superior excellency and im-
“ provements; and,

“ That in particular a town and plantation allot-
“ ments shall be laid out at Prince Rupert's Bay.

“ By direction of the Commissioners,

“ John Greg, Secretary.”

The Counsel also produced a public notice, dated Dominica,
July 31st, 1765, for the sale of lands in the Ceded Islands; which
was read; and is as follows; viz.

“ Dominica, July 31, 1765.

“ By the King's Authority.

“ Public notice is hereby given, That the commis-
“ sioners appointed by His Majesty for the sale and dis-
“ posal of lands in the Islands of Grenada, the Grena-
“ dines, Tobago, Saint Vincent, and Dominica, have
“ resolved to hold the sales of land for the ensuing
“ year in the several Islands that are the object of their
“ commission, at the following times; that is to say:

“ On Monday the 17th Day of February next, the
“ sale will commence in the Island of Dominica. The
“ lots will consist chiefly of estates abandoned by the
“ French

“ French in different parts of the island; plantation-
 “ lots in the levels of Boery, Roseau, and Layou, and
 “ in the neighbourhood of Prince Rupert's Bay and
 “ Grand Bay; and several town-lots in different
 “ places.

“ On Thursday the 10th day of April next will be
 “ put up to sale some houses and lands in the Island of
 “ Grenada.

“ On Tuesday the 6th day of May next will com-
 “ mence the sale of lands in the Island of Tobago,
 “ where several plantation-lots in the neighbourhood of
 “ Great Courland Bay, Great Rockley Bay, Barbados
 “ Bay, Grand River Bay, and Carrapuse Bay, will be
 “ put up to sale. And,

“ On Wednesday the 28th day of May next, will
 “ commence the sale of lands in the Island of Saint
 “ Vincent, where will be put up to sale, several plan-
 “ tation-lots in the level of Morne Agarou, and in the
 “ quarters of Chateau Bellair, and Ouachilabau, mostly
 “ of a very excellent soil and adapted for sugar-plan-
 “ tations; and several town-lots in different places.
 “ And also will be put up to sale in the Island of
 “ Saint Vincent, at the same time, what plantation lots
 “ remain unsold in the island of Tobago. Advertisements
 “ descriptive of the situation and soil of each al-
 “ lotment shall be published as soon as possible.

“ The terms and conditions on which the said lands
 “ will be sold, are, That no person shall be permitted
 “ to purchase from the crown, either in his own name,
 “ or in the names of others in trust for him, more
 “ than allotments to the amount of five hundred acres
 “ in the Island where the lands lie, or more than three
 “ hundred acres if in the Island of Dominica.

“ That the highest bidder for each lot shall be declared
 “ the purchaser, who shall thereupon pay down twenty
 “ per cent. of the whole purchase-money, and six pence
 “ sterling for each acre of which his lot shall consist, to
 “ defray the expence of surveying the same; whereupon
 “ he shall receive a bill of sale, and a certificate from
 “ the

“ the commissioners, of his being the highest bidder ;
 “ upon producing which bill of sale and certificate to
 “ the governor general of the Grenades and the Neu-
 “ tral Islands, or the commander in chief for the time
 “ being, he shall be entitled to a grant in fee simple
 “ (under the seal of the Islands) of the lands by him
 “ purchased, and take possession thereof ; such grant to
 “ be registered in the secretary’s office of the respective
 “ Island where the lands lie.

“ That in case of fraud, collusion, or other contra-
 “ vention to the King’s instructions, and not otherwise,
 “ the grant shall be revocable, for the space of twelve
 “ months from the date thereof, by the Lord High Trea-
 “ surer, or the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty’s
 “ Treafury for the time being ; but if not revoked
 “ within that term, the same shall then be absolute ;
 “ if revoked, notice thereof shall be immediately given,
 “ and the money returned to the purchaser, with the
 “ usual interest of the Island ; and compensation also
 “ made for all sums of money which shall bona fide
 “ have been laid out for clearing, improving, or build-
 “ ing on any part of the lands contained in such grant,
 “ to be ascertained by arbitration.

“ That of the purchase-money remaining due ten
 “ per cent. more than the twenty per cent. above-men-
 “ tioned shall be paid within the first year after the
 “ date of the bill of sale, ten per cent. the second year,
 “ and twenty per cent. every successive year, until the
 “ whole shall be paid ; but in default of any of the said
 “ payments the lands shall be liable to be forfeited,
 “ and again sold, in order that the King may be first paid ;
 “ and the residue shall be the property of those before
 “ entitled to it.

“ That, from twelve months after the date of the
 “ grant, the purchaser shall clear away at the rate of
 “ five acres in the hundred annually, until one-half
 “ of the cultivable land shall be cleared, under a
 “ penalty of five pounds sterling per annum for
 “ every acre not cleared in pursuance of this con-
 “ dition.

“ That

“ That for every hundred acres of cleared land the purchaser is or shall be possessed of, he shall keep thereon one White man, or two White women, under a penalty of forty pounds sterling for every White man, and twenty pounds sterling for every White woman, that shall be wanting ; and pay an annual quit-rent of six pence sterling per acre on whatever cleared land he has purchased, or shall clear in pursuance of the conditions required.

“ That all payments shall be made conformable to the king’s instructions to the receiver, in good gold specie, to be taken by weight, at the rate of three pounds eighteen shillings and three pence sterling per ounce ; and bonds shall be given to him by the purchasers for the payments of the several instalments.

“ That a reservation shall be made to the King of all gold and silver mines which are now, or may hereafter, be discovered in the said Islands.

“ By direction of the Commissioners,
“ John Greg, Secretary.”

The Counsel likewise produced an original grant of lands in St. Vincent’s, being one of the Ceded Islands, dated 23^d June 1766, which was also read ; by which it appeared, that the commissioners instructions were recited, and which contained terms and conditions of sale conformable to the proclamation above-mentioned.

The Counsel then called,

GILBERT FRANCKLYN, Esquire.

Are you a native of England ?

Yes.

When did you first go to the West Indies ?

In 1766.

From that time to this, where have you principally resided ?

From 1766 to the latter end of 1767, in Antigua—the business upon which I went to the West Indies was, amongst other things,

to superintend a number of Negroes, let by contract to government, by my partner (the late Mr. Anthony Bacon) and myself—to attend the surveyors employed to run or mark out the lands in the Ceded Islands that were to be sold—to attend upon the troops and officers, and commissioners, and other persons employed in the service of the commissioners, which necessarily led me much among all the Islands which are the subject of the present enquiry—I returned to England the latter end of 1767, and returned the beginning of 1768 with my family, and resided in Antigua till the latter end of 1770—I then returned to England, and continued there till 1774, when I returned to Tobago, where I had purchased largely; and remained there till 1776—In 1776 I returned to England, and in 1779 back to Tobago, where I resided till last year—during all the time of my residence in the West Indies, and till after my return in 1770, I was much among almost all the Islands, from Barbadoes to St. Kitt's inclusive, and was particularly attentive to the care of those Negroes which belonged to myself and my partner, which were in the whole about 400.

Have you also been in Jamaica?

I was there for about seven or eight months in 1788.

What were the Negroes that you first became acquainted with in the West Indies?

The Negroes in Antigua.

What were the Negroes you first became a proprietor of?

They were Negroes purchased by my agent, and by the contract ought to have been seasoned Negroes, or Negroes born in or accustomed to the climate—the services in which they were to be employed requiring people acquainted with the English language, and capable of understanding the directions of the surveyors, in carrying out their chain, placing their pickets, and other services, in attending European soldiers unacquainted with the dialect of new Negroes—in consequence of which we were obliged to give very high prices for Negroes that had no other qualifications, the greater part of them being sold for misbehaviour, it being very rare to meet with good and valuable seasoned Negroes for sale, except from the distress of their owners; in consequence of which the commissioners, the governors, surveyors, and other persons employed in the service, preferred new and active Negroes, as soon as they had a sufficient number of seasoned Negroes for the most necessary employments.

At whose risk were those Negroes found, and in case of death, sickness, or desertion, who was to replace them?

The contractors.

How were those Negroes fed?

Those Negroes, being either employed in the Islands but little cultivated, in Tobago also, which was not cultivated at all, we were forced to supply them with the same provisions, for the most part, that the troops were fed upon, viz. flour, peas, beef, and pork. The quantity was given them under the direction of the king's officers—they generally likewise had rum given them, whenever it was thought useful and conducive to their health.

Were any persons appointed to take care of the Negroes?

There was always an agent in each Island expressly for that purpose. They were besides attended by surgeons at the expence of the contractor, and those surgeons were the same that attended the troops.

Was the work in which those Negroes were employed particularly heavy and laborious?

I believe quite the contrary—those who carried out the chain in the woods may perhaps be an exception, with respect to the salubrity of the employment; but the greater part of the Negroes were employed in attending the officers and soldiers, bringing them wood and water, and assisting to cook their provisions.

What mortality attended those Negroes?

I believe rather more than on settled plantations, but they were besides subject to sores in their legs and feet, which rendered them unserviceable, and which very frequently no skill or care was sufficient to cure.

Were they well clothed, as well as well fed?

Particularly so; and to obviate the inconvenience above complained of, of getting their feet sore, shoes were sent out for them from England, till experience shewed that the practice was absurd, and that they would not wear them.

Do you know any one instance in which any one of those Negroes was ill used, or neglected when ill?

I am afraid some of them were very ill used by some of the soldiers, because I have had occasion to complain of it, and had the soldiers punished, but I knew none of them neglected in illness.

Do

Do you attribute the mortality which attended the Negroes to that instance you have mentioned of ill-usage?

Surely no—the instances were but few—perhaps, in the course of several years, not ten that came to my knowledge.

Did you purchase any of the lands in the Ceded Islands, when, and to what extent?

I purchased very largely; particularly in Tobago, where I possessed, till lately, near 2,000 acres.

At the time you purchased those lands, by what means did you propose to cultivate them?

By the only practicable mode, the labour of Negroes.

Is there, to your knowledge, any other mode by which land in the West Indies, to what nation soever belonging, is cultivated?

I believe not.

From whence did you expect those Negroes to come?

I certainly expected to receive them in the usual way, from the coast of Africa.

If the importation of Negroes from the coast of Africa had been prohibited, or if you had understood that it was to be prohibited, would you have purchased those lands?

I certainly should not have purchased lands that I could make no use of.

Is there any considerable part of the land which has been purchased by you still uncultivated?

I believe there is.

Is there any considerable part of the land sold in Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada, and the Grenadines, still uncultivated?

There is a great deal of land uncultivated in Grenada—from the number of Negroes in the other islands, I am well convinced they are not equal to the cultivation of half the quantity of land in the islands—but as I know nothing particularly of my own knowledge, as to the land cultivated in either of those islands, I cannot properly answer the question.

Were not the lands in Grenada private property, and sold by French subjects to British subjects?

Many

Many of my acquaintances made such purchases, and I believe under faith of His Majesty's proclamation.

As to Dominica and St. Vincent, where the lands were sold by the Crown under the Commission, is not much the greatest part of those lands not yet brought into cultivation?

I believe so—but I have never been in either of those Islands since 1776.

Was the settlement of lands in the Ceded Islands attended with great difficulties and heavy expence?

I found it so—I laid out more than £.40,000 in Tobago, which having been given up to the French, I would rejoice to see £.25,000 back for all I have laid out.

From your experience in the Islands, do you not know that the settlement and cultivation of lands in Dominica and St. Vincent, generally speaking, were attended with the same difficulties and expence?

Surely so.

From your long experience in the Islands, state to the Committee how the Negroes are treated, and what care is taken of them in the Islands?

The Negroes being by much the most valuable part of a man's property, whose welfare, health, and happiness are intimately connected with his own interests, it can scarcely be doubted that he will pay every degree of attention to them—People without education, and ill-informed, are subject to passions, and are with difficulty directed to pursue whatever tends to their happiness—every prudent proprietor, therefore, who possesses Slaves, endeavours to study the temper and disposition of those people—they are therefore treated with kindness and attention—amongst them there are frequently stubborn and bad-disposed people, whom no chastisement will correct, nor good treatment reform—such people are sometimes treated with severity, but the crimes of which they are guilty would most probably be punished capitally in almost every civilized nation in Europe.—The generality of the Negroes who are well disposed seldom or ever receive any chastisement whatever; and the prudent man, either proprietor or manager, is extremely cautious how he offends or ill treats a Negro of good character—if the Negroes are dissatisfied either with their proprietor or the person who has the care of them, they shew their resentment and their displeasure

displeasure by doing their work unwillingly, or by frequent desertions—it therefore happens, when Negroes are treated with unkindness or severity, which certainly is sometimes the case, the person who misconducts himself in that manner suffers equally in his reputation and his fortune—in general therefore it may be said, that Negroes are well treated, that they are well lodged, well clothed, and well fed—they are well attended in sickness, and have all proper medicines and comfort supplied to them, and even those who are incurably diseased are well attended to, and supplied with every necessary—and that from the interest of the proprietor, even if he should not possess sufficient humanity and virtue to make him act as his duty required.—A neglect of such Negroes would dispirit the gang, and particularly affect any relations or friends which they might have upon the estate.

In what manner are the Negroes fed?

It is so different in the different Islands, that it will be difficult to reply to that question with precision—In the Ceded Islands, and in those Islands where land is plenty, and the periodical rains pretty constant, the Negroes cultivate considerable tracts of land for their own benefit—in such case their owners are not under the necessity of supplying the good Negroes with so large a quantity of what is called ground provisions as they otherwise must be—they will very often refuse what is called their allowance, or if they receive it give it to their goats, their pigs, or their poultry—the general allowance of provisions given to those who will receive it, is from six to ten quarts of Indian corn, flour of Guinea corn, or a very ample allowance of yams, potatoes, eddoes or taniers (a species of root);—in Grenada, or those Islands cultivated by the French, meal of cassada from six to ten quarts, from six to ten herrings, or instead of herrings from two to three pounds of salt fish, and on some plantations the like weight of beef or pork, are given for a week's subsistence—I confine my observations on feeding the Negroes to the Ceded Islands.

Is the allowance such as is fully sufficient for the support of the Negroes?

I conceive that no hearty able man would have reason to complain of such an allowance of provisions—I had forgot to add, that a very principal part of the provisions allowed the Negroes in the Ceded Islands consisted of plantanes, of which they are allowed (when they receive plantanes) from fifty to seventy per

week, observing that the plantanes in the Ceded Islands are not the same with those of Jamaica, but of a less size.

Is the allotment of land, together with the provisions given, more than is sufficient for the subsistence of the Negro.

An industrious careful Negro will be enabled, from the produce of his land, not only to have much more provisions than he can consume, but to dispose of so much produce, and such a quantity of poultry, pork, and goats flesh, as to enable him to clothe himself, his wives, and his children, very handsomely.

Is he permitted by his master to dispose of that property?

I believe, if a master opposed his disposition of it, it would probably occasion an insurrection on the plantation.

Did you ever know or ever hear of an instance in which a proprietor interfered with a Negro's disposition of their property?

I think yes—I think I have known where provisions have been scarce, that a master has objected to a Negro's carrying his provisions from the estate to sell; but those instances are very rare, and the gain has been shewn the impropriety of suffering it.

Then is the Committee to understand that such interference, when it does happen, does not go beyond the master's expectation of having a preference in the purchase from his Negroes of provisions for the use of his own Negroes?

The master does not take it from him, or oblige him to sell it against his will, but will not consent to his going off the plantation to dispose of it in time of scarcity.

Then if the Negro is disposed to sell, does not the master purchase from him, as he would from any indifferent person?

Yes—but a Negro will seldom sell to his own master so cheap as he would sell to a stranger.

Do not the proprietors in fact frequently purchase stock, poultry, and other things from their own Negroes?

Three-fourths of all the poultry and pork the planter eats are purchased from the Negroes, either his own or other people's.

For what crimes or offences are Negroes punished on the plantations, and what is the nature and extent of that punishment?

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The general crimes for which punishment of any degree of severity is inflicted, are desertion, breaking open the stores, and stealing rum, sugar, or salt provisions, breaking open Negro-houses, or the houses of people in town, robbing the other Negroes grounds, and similar sorts of offences.—This punishment consists in a number of lashes, from twenty to forty, upon the posterior—feldom more—I speak in general.—Exceptions to the rule prove the generality of it.—There are cruel, severe, and inhuman people to be met with every where.

Is death inflicted for any crime, and what ?

The laws of each particular colony point out what crimes are declared to be capital—but during my residence in the West Indies I have scarcely known any sentence affecting the life of a Negro executed, except in the case of premeditated murder.—I have known the same Negro, repeatedly convicted of burglaries, have no other punishment than a whipping, much less severe than that of a soldier sentenced by a court martial for small offences; small in comparison to such crimes.—I had a Negro of my own, who I am sure, at different times, broke open at least fifty houses, reckoning Negro-houses among the number.—The only punishment that he seemed to be reformed by, was one lash every morning for about six weeks—He was so affected by that, that he behaved well for two years together; but at last returned to his old practices, and died a natural death upon the plantations.

Does the degree of labour performed by the Negroes exceed or fall short of that performed by labourers in other countries ?

If a labouring man in any part of Europe was to work no harder than a Negro, I do not suppose he could gain his bread.—I conceive the labour of a Negro to be slight, compared with any field labour in any part of Europe that I have seen.

Are the Negroes affected by the heat of the climate ?

Much less so than Europeans; and in general they are so fond of heat, that they sleep with fire in their houses—the rain is what seems to injure them most; and it is therefore in the Ceded Islands, which are much subject to rain, that they are called out of the field and sent to their houses, whenever the rains are heavy or continual.

Is not the punishment in general inflicted in the plantations a slight whipping ?

Yes—or confinement in the stocks at the time of noon, or after their

their work in the afternoon; there are few Negroes that would not prefer the whipping to the being so locked up.

Is not that whipping in general a few lashes?

For slight offences, such as not coming to their time to work, they are generally struck over their cloaths.

Do not the British planters prefer parting with their Negroes that are incorrigible, to the disagreeable necessity of repeatedly correcting them?

It is difficult to find any body who will purchase a Negro of notorious bad character, and therefore it frequently happens that, to get rid of them, they are sent to some foreign islands, or North America, at the hazard of receiving little or nothing for the sale of them.

Is the labour of the Negroes greatest at the time of taking off the crop, or at other times?

In the West Indies, as in all other countries, the time of the harvest is generally the time of the most unremitting labour, but it is also that of conviviality and happiness—the Negroes are generally therefore more healthy, and better satisfied, in the time of the crops than at any other time of the year.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

Sabbati, 6^o die Februarii 1790.

THE Counsel and Witnesses called in as before.

Mr. FRANCKLYN.

The Witnesses having in a former answer stated, that incorrigible Slaves are often sold by the master from off the Island, desired to add, in explanation, That it frequently happens, however desirous the master may be to dispose of his Slave, it may not be in his power so to do, the Slave being mortgaged or under jointure.

Then

Then the Counsel proceeded in their examination.

In such mortgages or marriage settlements, are there covenants to keep up the precise number of the stock of Negroes so mortgaged or settled?

I believe so in every well-drawn deed.

Is it possible to keep up such stock of Negroes, unless by importation of fresh Negroes?

It is possible certainly, for in some estates it is done, but in general far otherwise.

Is the punishment of whipping, which you have described, inflicted for public or private offences?

I confine myself to plantation punishment—it frequently happens, that when offences of a public nature are committed, if not very atrocious, and the Negro of infamous character, that the persons offended remit the Negro to the master for that punishment, for which he would otherwise be punished by public justice.

How many Negroes, or what proportion of Negroes, is required for every acre of land in cultivation of a sugar-plantation?

I conceive at least one Negro to every acre.

How many, or what proportion, in the cotton-plantations?

It depends very much on the soil and season—if cotton is not attacked by the chenille or caterpillar, and the weather is dry, so that but little weeding is wanting, I suppose a Negro will take care of three acres of cotton—under contrary circumstances, I think it would require as many Negroes to attend cotton as sugar—when I say one Negro to an acre, I suppose the gang not to have a great number of old people, nor a great number of children in it—if there are, more would be required.

Does it consist with your experience to conclude, that a sufficient supply of Negroes to cultivate the Islands could be procured without the importation of Africans?

Surely not.

Account to the Committee how it happens, though upon some few particular plantations the stock of Negroes is kept up, yet that in general such is not the case?

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I conceive

I conceive the reasons to be various—some situations are unhealthy—but I believe the great reason is the disproportion of males to females—to the diseases the sex is particularly subject to—from the length of time the well-disposed Negro women suckle their children, so that it seldom happens a breeding woman has two children till an interval of two years or more—to the promiscuous amours of many—to a custom the Negro young women have of procuring abortion, which is very common among those who are dissolute, and consider themselves handsome.—Where the proportion of females exceed the males, it very seldom happens that the Negroes upon the plantations do not increase.—I can mention a circumstance which will put the matter beyond all doubt:—Two estates were settled, or begun to be settled, about the same time, in Antigua, the one called Carlisle's, now belonging to Sir Ralph Payne—the name of the other I do not know, but it belongs to Mr. William Mackennin.—Mr. Carlisle, who settled the one, purchased chiefly new Negro young women—old Mr. Mackennin (father of the present gentleman) on the other hand, thought it best to purchase chiefly young male Negroes, from whose labour he might expect more immediate returns.—At the end of about fifty years old Mr. Mackennin died—he is said to have purchased the gang twice over; and when he died, a very large sum of money was required to purchase sufficient Negroes to work the estate.—On the contrary, on Sir Ralph Payne's estate there were very few Negroes who were not born on the estate; and he had so great a surplus of labourers, as to be able to gain very large sums of money by letting them out to work upon other estates—I was at Antigua at the time Mr. Mackennin died at Bath—this circumstance struck me very forcibly.—It may be naturally asked, why does not every person who is able follow the same plan as Mr. Carlisle—the answer is obvious, the number of breeding women that are brought over do not, I believe, exceed, on an average, a fourth of the cargo—if one person therefore purchases young women, others must still have a greater proportion of males.

Are not instances very few of the plantations in which the stock of Negroes is kept up by breeding?

I believe very few.—Another reason which prevents the population in the West Indies is, the disorders which Negro children are subject to, particularly that disorder which carries them off within nine days of their birth, and which is called the jaw-fall.

Do the Negro children then die early in great numbers?

Yes.

Is

Is that owing to any want of care of the proprietor or those who have the charge of the estate, or of proper attendance, such as is required by persons in that situation, to which you attribute the mortality among the children?

By no means—I found these deaths so frequent, and thought the breeding children so essential to the well-being of a plantation, that I built an hospital close to my house, that I might have an opportunity of inspecting the conduct of it; and appropriated two rooms in it for the use of lying-in women—I found it a custom among the women never to give the children the breast for several days, alledging that their milk was not good, and therefore got some of their friends to suckle their children for two or three days—This custom I with difficulty broke through, by alledging the absurdity of it, and the contrary practice in their own country—It was customary with them to wash the children with warm water that had rum mixed with it, as soon as they were born—I persuaded them, as in their own country, to use cold water.—I would not suffer their companions and friends to visit them as they used to do in their own houses, who frequently would carry rum to the lying-in women, who would be apt to fall asleep, and leave the child to sleep in wet cloaths—Their rooms in their own houses are extremely hot, and admitting cold air frequently contributed much to give the infants colds; a stoppage of perspiration was the consequence, which speedily terminated in death.—From the time I took the precautions above-mentioned to my leaving Tobago, I had four or five children born in the new hospital, and did not lose one of them.

Is not the labour of pregnant women on plantations in general very light?

Too much so—many of them, by the time they are five months gone with child, complain when they are put to very slight labour, and become so sedentary as for it to be injurious both to themselves and infant—those who work the hardest, and continue the longest without laying themselves up, I have generally observed to have the stoutest children and easiest births.

What is the sort of labour pregnant women are put to?

As soon as they complain they are generally put into what is called the second gang—they are not out so early in the morning, are employed in weeding, planting provisions, or other light labour; and as they increase in their pregnancy are employed in shelling peas, Indian corn, or collecting those provisions for what is called the pot gang; and I never knew, even among those who
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from ancient prejudices consider a child born on the estate to cost as much or more than a new Negro before they come to be useful on an estate, treat pregnant women with any want of tenderness.

Is the number of persons who entertain the prejudices you last mentioned at all considerable?

I believe not—on the contrary, it is now the pride of a manager to shew a number of young children in good order.

What do you mean by the pot gang?

A pot gang consists of Negroes who, either from idleness or inability, are not willing or able to procure and dress provisions for themselves—the provisions they grow in their own grounds, and the having them in plenty, being the marks of a good Negro, it is disgraceful to any Negro to be fed with what is called the pot gang, except when it is occasioned by sickness.

Is there a sick house or hospital, and proper attendance, medical and other, for the sick upon the plantations?

Yes—upon every plantation of any magnitude.

Are the Negroes, when sick, taken all proper and reasonable care of?

They are. To shew the nature of the care and attention paid to the Negroes, I beg leave to mention, that in the island of Tobago, some short time previous to its capture, the place where part of the soldiers were quartered was a very unhealthy spot, the soldiers were very sickly, and particularly afflicted with ulcerated legs—fresh meat provisions were difficult to procure for them—the gentlemen of the Island subscribed sums of money to be laid out in the purchase of such provisions, or supplied them with provisions instead of their subscription money—several took the soldiers into their Negro hospitals, where they received the same care and attention that the Negroes did—they found the benefit from it they expected; and I think Major Stanhope, the commanding officer of the troops, gave the gentlemen public thanks for their care.

Are not lying-in women attended by surgeons and midwives?

Yes.

Have not other Negroes, when sick, medical advice and assistance?

Yes.

Is not in general a person of medical skill and experience annually retained in the service of plantations, for the purpose of taking care of the Negroes ?

I know no plantation without.

Do not those persons ordinarily visit the plantations several times a week, besides being sent for on particular emergencies ?

It is their duty to do so ; and if they fail, they are generally discharged, and others employed in their stead.

How are the Negroes in general lodged ?

They have very comfortable good houses.

Is it not a part of the character of managers and overseers, and considered as a necessary qualification, to enable them to obtain employment, that they are careful of Negroes under their direction, and treat them properly ?

Such qualification, and the kindness of a manager's behaviour to his Negroes, so as to conciliate their affections while he makes them do their business, is to me a recommendation superior to his skill as a planter ; and, I believe, is so to most people.

Is not the character of managers and overseers in that respect generally known ?

Surely, one of the first things enquired after.

Then, in what estimation is a manager or overseer of a cruel and inhuman character, as to his treatment of Negroes, held ?

No person would employ him, if they believed him such.

Is the circumstance of treatment, as above, in the nature of it, such in that country as that it can be practised with secrecy, or without being known ?

Scarcely possible.

Upon consideration of food, labour, lodging, treatment, and all these circumstances, have you been able to make any comparison between the condition of Negroes in the West Indies and that of poor labourers in this country, or any other part of Europe ; and what is the result of that comparison ?

I do not conceive the poor of any country are better provided for or live happier, than the generality of Negroes upon plantations in the West Indies—in many circumstances they have an evident superiority—their labour is slight—they are taken good

care of in sickness, as well as in health, and have no occasion to fear the distresses of their children, in consequence of their inability to labour—but, on the other hand, they certainly have not those means of bettering their condition which many of the poor in England of industry, genius, and ability may avail themselves of—perhaps, therefore, there cannot be a proper comparison drawn.

Is the actual state and condition of Negroes in the West Indies better or worse than that of the labouring poor in this or any other part of Europe with which you are acquainted?

I think, in general, their lot is to be envied by the poor of all the countries I have seen.

Are there not several epidemical diseases which prove fatal to Negroes in the West Indies, and contribute to their depopulation?

There certainly are.

Does it frequently happen that by those diseases numbers even of the strongest and healthiest are carried off?

Epidemical diseases are frequent and fatal in all countries between the Tropics; but the Negroes bring with them some disorders from Africa, which are very contagious, and to which their companions are subject in the West Indies, which are very destructive—particularly the yaws, a disorder which none of the medical men in the West Indies know how to cure—it kills many—it continues upon some for two or three years, and renders them sometimes miserable objects for the rest of their lives; yet they are still nourished and protected by their masters.—Another disorder in the new-settled Islands is that of ulcerated legs—the number of Negroes lost in the settlement of the new Islands with that complaint has been very considerable.

In the distribution of food to the head of a Negro family, is there a particular quantity allowed for each child, in proportion to its respective age?

Till a child is ten years old it is usual to give half the allowance of a grown person for every child, and after that age full allowance.

What property has a Negro Slave?

Strictly speaking, and considering the distinction of master and Slave, I do not conceive a Negro can be said to have property; but
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(as positive laws give way in all countries to general opinion) when we see the most positive laws violated from a false point of honour or fashion, it is not to be wondered at that a better motive should supercede those laws which are not founded on the basis of justice—the property therefore which Negroes possess in the West Indies is secured to them by the public opinion, and the general conduct of their masters, in a more secure manner than perhaps it is in any other part of the world—I mean their personal property, which no master would dare to violate, without being exposed to detestation and contempt—but what is still more extraordinary, when the master himself is ruined, his effects, his plantations, and his Negroes sold to satisfy his creditors, the property the Negro possesses, though very considerable, is inviolably preserved to him—he carries his goods and money with him to the plantation of the person who buys him.—With respect to their Negro-ground, though they enjoy all the profits of it, yet they can only be considered as tenants at will; but even that species of property is seldom violated, or that ground exchanged for other ground, without making them satisfaction for the crop on the ground.—Even when they die the Negroes distribute their effects among their relations or friends without controul.

Can you speak particularly of the quantity of property possessed by any particular individual amongst the Negroes?

In general the Negroes conceal their money, and do not chuse to be considered as rich.—I had myself a Negro (a carpenter) named Jeffrey, who, while he was my Slave, purchased his wife's freedom of a lady in Montserrat, at the price of about £. 80 sterling.—In her name he possessed two houses in the town of Scarborough in Tobago—he had a great deal of ready money, and I believe was worth £. 600 or £. 700 sterling at least.—He solicited me for his freedom, which he well merited.—I endeavoured to dissuade him from his request; but upon his alledging that his property might be lost to him in case of his wife's death, I gave him his freedom; for which Governor Dillon made him pay £. 50 sterling for public purposes.—I have reason to think he has since lost above half of what he was worth.

Is that a singular instance, or do you recollect similar instances, in which Negro Slaves have been in possession of considerable property, though not to an equal amount as in the last case?

There are many of them that are possessed of a great deal of property—I cannot say to what amount, but almost all the small current money of the Island is in the possession of the Negroes.—

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The Slave I brought with me from Tobago took with him in cash to Grenada about £. 100 sterling—he gave £. 20 of it to a sister of his at Grenada, to help to purchase her freedom; and sent back to Tobago about forty guineas, and desired that it might be laid out in the purchase of a young Negro for him;—The rest he laid out in the purchase of linen and other things for his wives, or took it with him to Jamaica.

Are there many instances in which Negro Slaves have been themselves the masters of Slaves?

I believe that is not common—it is an indulgence few masters give.

Are there any instances?

I know of none but what I have mentioned.

Is the price of Negroes lately increased, and to what do you attribute that increase?

When I first knew the West Indies, I bought Windward Coast and Ebo Negroes at about 26 or £. 27 sterling a head—prime Negroes;—when I left the West Indies, in March 1788, I gave £. 41 sterling for a considerable number of the same Negroes at Grenada—I have since heard of a cargo of 402 Negroes selling at Jamaica for £. 49 sterling a head on the average.

Has the report of the abolition of the African Trade increased the price of Negroes in the West Indies?

I should imagine so—every gentleman is as capable of making an answer to that question as myself.

Had the report of the abolition of the Slave Trade reached the West Indies before you quitted it?

Yes—but few people seemed to give credit to such a report.

What effect did that report produce in the West Indies?

Leaving the Windward Islands, by the time I got to Jamaica the alarm was very great—and the gentlemen in that Island were extremely apprehensive.—The idea of the Slaves being to have their freedom given them, and other reports that were industriously circulated from England, of an intention to abolish Slavery, and the Slave Trade, made them extremely apprehensive that a general insurrection amongst the Negroes might be the consequence.

If Great Britain should prohibit the African Slave Trade, is it your opinion that prohibition will prevent the British Planters in the West Indies from purchasing Slaves?

It would certainly be very difficult—if they could not procure new supplies, the labour of the Slaves they possess must be increased, or the produce of their estates must be lessened—in the former case their difficulties would increase, as their additional labour would surely be productive of a more rapid decrease of the labourers—they would therefore run all risks to supply themselves, while their credit or fortune would enable them to do so, and it is probable they might purchase them on cheaper terms than they do now from those nations who would be unrivalled in that commerce of which we enjoy so great a share—and as a proof that such conjecture is well founded, I beg leave to inform the Committee, that Mr. Hartman, of Santa Cruz, told me a short time since that the Gold Coast cargo sold at that Island very lately, did not average more than £.40.

Supposing the African Negro trade effectually abolished, so that the British planters could procure no supplies of Africans, what would be the consequence to the British plantations in the West Indies?

A very rapid decline of every species of produce—at what point it would stop I cannot conjecture.

Is not an annual supply of African Negroes necessary to preserve those colonies, even in their present state, without the cultivation of a single acre of new land?

I believe absolutely so in all the colonies.

Having mentioned that there is a great disproportion of male and female Slaves, how is a proprietor to supply his male Negroes with wives, the means of continuing the species, if no Africans are to be brought?

I do not know.

If there should be no further supply of African Negroes to the West Indies, would not the labour to be performed by those that are there probably fall heavier upon them?

It must either do so, or the produce be diminished—I should suppose the latter would be the consequence; because, if people increase the labour of their Negroes above their strength, they would defeat their own purposes, and destroy their Negroes.

If the Negroes in the West Indies, and particularly the males,
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understood

understood that no more new Negroes were ever to be brought among them, what effect do you think it would produce upon them?

It is matter of opinion, but it probably will appear not to be ill founded, when I say my opinion is, they would be very unhappy; because the Negroes of the estates which have been under my care are always soliciting for more help (which is their expression) when a Negro cargo arrives—and sometimes the young men particularly solicit to have wives bought for them.

If Great Britain should prohibit her ships from going to the Coast of Africa, would that prohibition produce an abolition of the African Negro trade, or only throw it into the hands of foreigners?

Surely it would only operate partially, and could not prevent other nations from carrying on the traffic.

Are other nations solicitous to extend the share they have of the African Negro trade?

The public proclamations and encouragements held out by France and Spain to their subjects, are certainly a sufficient reply to that question—the desire of their possessing more Negroes for the use of their colonies than heretofore, appears from their opening their ports in the West Indies and South America to receive the Slaves brought in the ships of foreigners; and the many contracts made by the French merchants in particular with those of Great Britain for supplying their ships with Negroes on the coast of Africa, are evident proofs of their wish to increase their number of Negroes for the increased cultivation of their lands.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

Martis, 9^o die Februarii 1790.

THE Counsel as before being called in; and having stated to the Committee, That they had closed their Examination of Mr. Francklyn, The Committee thought proper to defer the Examination of him by the members of the Committee until a future day*.

Vide Page 128.

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The Counsel then proceeded in their Examination,
and called

Sir ASHTON WARNER BYAM, His Majesty's Attorney
General for Grenada and its dependencies.

When did you first go to the West Indies?
In March 1765.

To what part of the West Indies?
To Antigua.

How long did you continue at Antigua?

I resided at Antigua till the latter end of 1770—from thence I went to the Island of St. Vincent, where I purchased an estate; and continued to reside there till 1774, at which time I went to Grenada, and resided there as Solicitor General till it was captured in 1779—after which I resided during the rest of the war partly in St. Vincent, partly in Tobago, and about twelve months in Antigua again—in 1783 I was appointed Attorney General, returned to Grenada, and have resided there till the first of June last, when I embarked for England.

Are you at this time the owner of any lands in the West Indies?

None, but an uncultivated tract of land in the Island of Dominica, which I never intend to settle, having sold my estate in St. Vincent in 1788.

Did you purchase the land in St. Vincent under faith of the proclamation subsequent to the cession of the Islands by the Treaty of Paris?

The land I first purchased was French leasehold—the other lands contiguous I bought either immediately from the Crown, or from those who had purchased from the Crown.

At that period how were lands cultivated, as well in the Ceded Islands as in all the other Islands?

By the labour of Negro Slaves.

Is it necessary, for the purpose of keeping up a stock of Negro Slaves, that there should be a continual importation of Slaves from Africa?

I found

I found it so to my own costs; and as far as my observation and experience, in twenty-four years residence, can lead me to form a judgment, I conceive such importation to be absolutely necessary.

For the purpose of clearing new land, is it not necessary not only to keep up the stock, but increase it?

Every increased quantity of land, whether new or old, will require an additional quantity of Negroes to cultivate it.

If you could have foreseen that it was possible that the abolition of the Slave Trade could have been carried at any future period, would you have purchased lands in the Ceded Islands, under the circumstances stated?

Most assuredly not, either in the Ceded or the Old Islands.

Is there any quantity of land in the Ceded Islands now uncultivated?

A considerable quantity, both in Dominica, Grenada, and St. Vincent's — but as to the number of acres I cannot form a judgment.

Were all the grants of land in the Ceded Islands, as far as your experience directs you, made pursuant to the terms of the proclamation?

I believe so.

Are Slaves a subject of property?

They are so in all the Islands I know.

Being subjects of property, are they settled on marriages, or are they objects of mortgage?

Both.

In such mortgage deeds or marriage settlements are there usually covenants to keep up the precise number of Slaves so settled or mortgaged?

I have known instances of such covenants in settlements and mortgages, but cannot say that they are uniformly inserted; but in leases of plantations and Slaves, such a covenant is almost constantly inserted.

Can a person making such covenant be secured against the penalties
of

of the covenant, unless he has a power of importing or purchasing Slaves imported?

I am satisfied that he never could fulfil such covenant, without an opportunity of purchasing Slaves, beyond what the population would give him.

Slaves being such species of property, liable to be settled on marriages, or mortgaged for the purpose of raising money, would not any means taken to defeat the objects of such marriage settlements or mortgages be attended with ruin to many families?

As far as such ruin would be produced by the diminution or total loss of the security, I should certainly think so.

Describe the nature of criminal jurisprudence, as exercised amongst Slaves?

I believe the mode of trying Slaves for such offences as are cognizable by the magistrates varies in the different islands—in Grenada, with which I am best acquainted, a Slave is triable for small offences before one magistrate—for offences of a higher nature, or crimes that may affect his life, he is triable before two or more magistrates, one being of the quorum—and since I left the Island, I understand a law has been passed, borrowed from the practice in Antigua, by which three or more freeholders, or persons qualified to sit as jurors, are directed to be called in by the magistrates, either as jury, or as assessors with the justices.

Is the criminal law exercised amongst Slaves in your judgment severe in its nature?

When compared with the punishment inflicted in England on the same offences, I think it far from being severe.

What punishments are inflicted on Slaves by the master or manager, without the interference of any criminal judicature?

Whipping and confinement are the only ones which I know are considered as tolerated or legal—the quantity of punishment will undoubtedly vary according to the disposition of the master; but any undue exercise or abuse of the power of a master over his Slaves, was always considered as an offence punishable by indictment or information.

Is such abuse frequent, or otherwise?

If the instances are frequent, they have never come within my knowledge; and, considering the nature of the power necessary in the relation between Master and Slave, and considering the variety

of persons who may acquire that power, I have always thought the instances of abuse of it not more frequent under those circumstances than the instances of similar abuse of power in England.

Have courts of justice in your experience been always ready to give effect to prosecutions for such abuses, or have they discountenanced them?

In the few instances in which I have had occasion to prosecute persons charged with such abuse of power in our Court of King's Bench, both the court and the juries have always appeared to me very desirous of seeing offenders brought to justice, and of having them punished in an exemplary manner.

Is the system of laws in the West Indies, as far as you have been acquainted with them, sufficient for the purpose of protecting Slaves in life and limb?

In general I think it is; though I have no doubt some may escape who have been guilty of an undue exercise of their power over their Slaves.

In your office of attorney general, have you ever prosecuted a White Man for the murder of a Negro; and what was the consequence?

I have not; but when I was solicitor general, I remember, about the year 1775 or 1776, a White Man was tried for the murder of a Slave (either his own or in his service) and convicted of such murder.

Was he executed in consequence of such conviction?
He was.

Before the execution took place, was there any question of the power of awarding the sentence of death?

A motion in arrest of judgment was made, on the ground that the party killed being a Slave, the person convicted ought not to suffer the penalty of death; and as a contrary practice had subsisted in one or more of the old Islands, by virtue of some local law, the Court of King's Bench assigned counsel for the prisoner, and the point was solemnly argued; and after the arguments, the court determined unanimously, as well as I remember, that it was no ground for arresting the judgment, and sentence was accordingly pronounced.

Since that judgment, has any lawyer or other person, to your knowledge,

knowledge, doubted of the power of awarding such sentence, or of the probability of its being awarded in similar instances?

There was hardly any doubt among professional men at the time; and I considered the court's directing the question to be argued, as a matter of tenderness to the prisoner, and to remove any such doubt being entertained in the community: and I believe, since that period, no person has entertained a doubt, but what a prisoner convicted of such murder would suffer exactly in the same manner as if the party killed were a free person.

Describe the daily labour of a Negro Slave in those Islands where you have resided?

The practice on my own plantation, and on all others, as far as I have had occasion to observe, was, for the Slaves to be at their work in the field by break of day (except the women who had sucking children, and who were always allowed an hour or an hour and an half beyond that time for their coming to work)—they continued at work till about nine o'clock, at which time they had half an hour for breakfasting in the field—the work was renewed till noon, at which time they were allowed two hours rest in their houses—they returned to work in the afternoon, and continued till the close of day—they then threw a bundle of grass for the flock, and retired to their houses for the remainder of the night—But in crop-time, the Negroes employed in the manufacture of Sugar cannot have the same regular intervals of rest, but continue to work later; and on some plantations the manufacture is carried on night and day without intermission, by regular spells, both of White Servants and the Slaves.

What is the season of the severest labour?

As far as the interruption of regular hours of rest, and the number of hours out of the twenty-four employed in work, can determine that question, the crop-season is undoubtedly that of the severest labour.

Does the excess of labour consist only in its being continued for a greater number of hours?

No—some of them employed in the manufacture, such as boilers and firemen, are exposed to a degree of heat that White persons would consider as intolerable; but which the Negroes bear without suffering.

The crop-time being the season of severest labour, is the gang at that time more unhealthy, or less satisfied with their situation?

On

On the contrary, it is an universal remark, that the Negroes are in a better condition, more healthy and cheerful, in the crop-season than at any other time.

Are many lands in the Ceded Islands cultivated by holeing; and is that a harder species of labour than the ordinary daily labour?

On the Sugar Plantations the only mode I know of preparing land for the planting of the cane, is by holeing it with the hoe, which is certainly a harder species of labour than most other works of the plantation; but it is only performed by the ablest Negroes, and occupies a very small portion of the yearly labour.

Is it a species of labour that, when exercised by an able Negro, can be termed severe?

I think not—and I have often seen Negro women value themselves on being able to go down their row of holes quicker than a Negro man—Those employed on this work are usually allowed grog for the men, and sugar and water for the women, and will continue the labour during the usual hours, not only without repining, but singing, and with great cheerfulness.

Is there at that period an extraordinary allowance of provisions to the holeing gang?

That may be the practice on other plantations, but I do not recollect that it was so with me, or that my Negroes ever expected or desired it.

Is labour in general proportioned to the age, sex, and strength of the Negroes?

Most certainly to the age and strength; but the sex makes no difference that I remember in the field labour.

In the article of labour, is there a particular attention paid to those who are invalids?

Invalids, as well as women who appear to be some months gone with child, are usually put to some slight labour, of cleaning intervals between the canes, weeding Guinea grafts, or cleaning about the fences, or any such work, as much for the sake of preventing their being totally idle, or sitting down too much for their health, as for the work itself.

Do you believe this to be the general practice throughout the plantations?

As far as my observation has gone it is.

From

From your knowledge of the degree of labour in which a Negro is exercised in the West Indies, and from your observation of the state of labourers in other countries, do you conceive that the labour of a Negro is more severe than the usual labour of a common labourer in any part of Europe that you have been acquainted with?

I have never been in any part of Europe, excepting Great Britain, and have had very little opportunities of knowing or estimating the degree of labour which the common people in England undergo, but I should conjecture that some species of labour in England must be more severe than any which the Slaves in the West Indies undergo.

Is the labour of a Negro, in general, severe, or beyond his ability to perform?

Not as far as my observation has gone.

Describe the sort and quantity of food allowed to a Negro Slave.

In the first settlement of our estates in Saint Vincent we were at a very heavy expence in feeding the Slaves with various kinds of grain provisions in large quantities; but, after some years, when my Slaves had made complete provision grounds for themselves, they of their own accord offered to me, that if I would give them the Saturday afternoon, out of crop-time, they would require nothing but salt provisions from me; and from that period the quantities of grain provisions were small, being confined to the hospitals, to convalescents, and women with young children.—Both in Saint Vincent and Grenada the quantities of provision grounds which the Slaves have are such as not to require large quantities of imported provisions, except in certain seasons of dry weather.—When it is necessary to give them grain of any kind, I believe the usual weekly allowance is eight or ten measures; but my memory does not serve me as to the size of those measures, I mean whether pints or quarts. In regard to salt provisions, they have eight, ten, or twelve herrings per week, according to the size, or a proportional quantity of salt meat; and an allowance of beef, pork, and flour, at Christmas.

Is there not an allowance to all, in proportion to the state or condition of each individual; and is not that allowance sufficient?

The allowance is amply sufficient for any Slave that will devote even a few hours of his own time to work in his ground;

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and if a Slave is found falling off in condition, it is usual to enquire into the state of his provision grounds; and if he is found indolent and incorrigible, he is then fed by the proprietor.

Is there not an allowance for every child from the time when it is weaned; and to whom is that given?

I suppose the practice varies on different estates—my own was, not to give any fixed allowance for the children, but to direct that whenever the mothers applied for any sort of assistance, that they should be amply supplied according to their number of young children—I speak of grain provisions; for, as to salt provisions, my practice, and I believe the general custom, was, to give half allowance for each child under the age of eight or ten, and such allowance was given to the mother.

What is the pot gang; and is there not a pot gang on every plantation; and what Slaves are fed in it?

I never had one on my own estate; I have heard of them on other plantations, and understood that such Negroes are fed out of the pot as are found inattentive to the furnishing themselves with provisions, or liking to eat the provisions that are given them improperly dressed, so as to render it imprudent to trust them with any part of the care of feeding themselves; in lieu of which, whenever I found on my own estate a Slave of that description, I gave him in charge to some particular Negro, usually of his own country, on whom I could depend, for seeing him properly fed.

Is not that which you speak of, as practised on your own estate, the practice of every well-regulated plantation, where there is no pot gang?

I believe it must be the uniform practice, unless among the French planters of our islands, where, I believe, they frequently take Negroes of that description into their own houses or kitchens, and feed them from their own table—but without some regulation of that nature a considerable number of Slaves would undoubtedly perish.

Are the proprietors of land in Grenada obliged, by the late act of Grenada, to allot certain portions of land to their Negro Slaves?

They are—guardians are appointed in each district to inspect the provision grounds of each plantation.

Is there any allowance of time for the purpose of cultivating such grounds so allotted, either by law or practice?

The practice of allowing the Saturday afternoon out of crop-time, and the whole of Sunday throughout the year, was very general; and I think the law of Grenada has enforced the practice, by fixing it from twelve o'clock of the Saturday.

Is the portion of time usually allowed sufficient for the purpose?

It is in fact sufficient, not only for the purpose of planting, weeding, and gathering the provisions necessary for the Slave's subsistence; but it allows him time to go to the neighbouring market, and dispose of his surplus provision, as well as poultry, hogs, and goats, for money, or goods that he wants.

Is it not usual, when a Negro is otherwise employed, that he should hire other Negroes to cultivate the ground appropriated to him?

I cannot say that such practice has fallen under my observation, but I have no doubt that bargains of that nature are made among the Slaves.

Is there usually a surplus of produce on the lands allotted, beyond what is sufficient to support the Negro?

There is, except perhaps of a very few worthless and idle Negroes, which are probably to be found in all gangs of Slaves.

Does any Negro in fact dispose of such surplus for his own benefit?

He does.

Is the property arising from the sale of such surplus secure in the possession of the Negro?

I never recollect an instance of any master who interfered with the property so acquired by his Slave.

Have you known instances of Slaves possessed of property to any considerable amount?

I cannot charge my memory with particular instances, or particular sums, but from the manner in which industrious Negroes appear clothed on Sundays, from the various articles of useful and comfortable furniture that I have seen in their houses, I have

no doubt that many of them acquire annually, and dispose of, at least from £. 10 to £. 20 sterling

Do such Negroes in general spend their money openly in such luxuries and comforts as they can procure?

They do—and I know of no restraint, except in the article of rum, there being laws existing in most of the Islands I am acquainted with, prohibiting the sale of rum to Slaves?

Are there not instances of such Negroes purchasing their own or their children's freedom.

I have known many such instances, and they have generally paid higher prices than I should have valued them at.

How are persons residing in the towns of the different Islands, and who have no plantations, supplied with grass, fodder, and vegetables?

The Slaves of the neighbouring plantations bring grass and fodder every evening, after their hours of work, to the towns for sale, for their own benefit—and vegetables are brought by the Slaves to market on Sundays for their own benefit—but on the other days we purchase vegetables from the Slaves, sent in by the proprietors of gardens, to be sold for their master's benefit.

Are not the King's ships and trading ships stationed near the Islands, principally supplied with vegetables, fruit, poultry, and other fresh provisions, by Negroes attending the market on their own account?

I believe they are.

How are Negroes clothed?

The cloathing of Negroes varies both in quantity and kind, according to the disposition of the master; but lately in Grenada it has been fixed by law, that at least a certain specified quantity of cloathing shall be given to every Slave.

Is the quantity allowed sufficient, according to the state of the climate?

I dare say it is, but I do not at present recollect the particulars specified in the act—but there are few Negroes who have not a great deal more cloaths of their own than what the Master allows.

How are Negroes lodged?

In wattled and daubed houses, covered with cane tops—except that the carpenters, coopers, and some other principal Negroes on the estate, usually contrive to make themselves wooden houses.

Are such lodgings sufficient for the purposes of protection against weather, or the heat of the climate?

Quite sufficient to keep out wind and rain; but the Negroes usually make them much closer and hotter than a White person could bear to live in.

In your experience, have you found the heat prejudicial or desirable to a Negro?

The Slaves in general bear a degree of heat that surprises Europeans—cold affects them severely; and I have known them frequently sit or lie down and bask in the sun, when it is hotter than I could bear if I was to stand in it for a few minutes.

Are the houses in which Negroes live built by themselves, or their masters?

It is usual when a Negro's house is to be new built, to allow himself and two or three others time for that purpose; and I usually brought home for him the wattles and cane tops necessary for the purpose.

How are sick Negroes taken care of?

There is an hospital on every plantation; a surgeon is employed annually, whose business it is to visit the Slaves twice a week, or at such other times as he may be required.—One or more sick nurses, according to the number of the gang, attend the hospital to administer the medicines, provide food, and do other matters necessary for the sick—wine and other articles of comfort, recommended by the surgeon, are provided by the proprietor; and it is usual when a Slave is well enough to quit the hospital, and yet though not fully equal to his labour, to keep him about the house or kitchen, that he may have the advantage of being better fed than usual.

Notwithstanding the institution of plantation hospitals, are not sick Negroes, who request it, frequently permitted to continue in their own houses during their sickness?

Negroes are averse in general from going into the hospital, but the practice of permitting them to remain when sick in their own

houses is attended with some danger—and I never suffered any, but those in whom I had great confidence, or the lying-in women, to do so.

Is the medical person, whose duty it is to visit the plantation, paid by salary only, or is he paid also upon particular emergencies?

I suppose the practice in that respect may vary, but in my own instance, the surgeon, besides the annual allowance for each Negro, was paid for fractures, for difficult births (if he was called in) and for obstinate venereal cases.

Did you ever find any ill effect from permitting lying-in women to continue in their own houses?

None that I remember—and if I had, I should rather have submitted to some little inconvenience, than have compelled them to go into the hospital for the purpose of being delivered, which I know they would have disliked very much.

Was that at any time, in your opinion, the occasion of death or loss of children?

I have no reason to think so, as I was more fortunate than most of my neighbours in rearing Negro children.

Are the plantation surgeons usually paid, in cases of inoculation, beyond their salary?

I forgot to enumerate that, among the excepted cases, the surgeon was allowed ten shillings per head for each Negro per annum, and was allowed twenty shillings moreover for each Negro inoculated.

What is the treatment of Negro pregnant women?

Some months before the time they expect to be delivered, they are taken from the ordinary labour, and put to some lighter work—I speak of my own practice only as to the period, and such period varies according to appearances, so that it has sometimes happened that a Negro Woman has not been brought to bed till two or three months after she has pretended to expect it.

Is the labour of pregnant women in general proportioned to their situation?

I hope and believe so.

Have you ever known an instance of punishing pregnant women.

Such

Such instances may have occurred, but I should imagine it must have been in a very early state of pregnancy, or perhaps when the circumstance was not known—I mean as to the punishment of women, because confinement would be substituted, where the woman appeared evidently pregnant.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 10^o die Februarii 1790.

Counsel and Witnesses called in as before; and the Counsel proceeded further in their examination.

Is there any provision for disabled and superannuated Negroes?

Sir ASHTON
WARNER BYAM.

As well as I remember, there are local laws in the different islands where I have resided on that subject; but I should apprehend, that the neglecting of them, or suffering them to wander about begging, would be cognizable as a misdemeanor, independent of any positive prohibition.

Are they in general, as far as you have observed, properly taken care of?

They are.

What is the treatment of lying-in women?

The lying-in women, on all the plantations I was acquainted with, were suffered to remain in their own houses—it was usual to allot such other Negro women as she desired to continue with her for the first five or six days — she was furnished with candles, flour, wine, and any other articles that were recommended; and with me, and many others that I know, the lying-in woman was not expected to come out to work till a month after her being delivered.

During the time of confinement, have they medical and every other necessary assistance?

They had, whenever it was necessary.

Are they provided with cloaths, such as are proper for a newborn infant?

On large estates, I believe, a provision of old linen is made for that purpose; on smaller ones, the masters furnish occasionally such

such old linen as they may have by them for the new-born infants.

Is there a sufficient supply?

I never heard any complaint of the want of it.

Can you estimate the proportion of the births of Negro children within the Islands, and their deaths before they arrive at an age fit for labour?

I have not made observations, or kept any accurate lists sufficient to enable me to form such estimate; but the general remark is, that near one-half of the children born die under two years, and much the greater proportion of that half within the first nine days.

Are the children of Negro women subject to any particular, and what disorders?

The jaw-fall is reckoned the cause of so many dying within nine days—if the children survive that, they are, as far as my observation has gone, pretty healthy during the time of suckling—some time after they are weaned it is very common for them to be afflicted with worms, which I have known very fatal—the yaws is another disorder to which children as well as grown Negroes are subject, and which sometimes immediately, and sometimes in its consequence, is also very fatal—fluxes, though not very peculiar to Negroes, are another great cause of mortality, and baffle the skill of the most able physicians, as I have often been informed by themselves.

Are there any epidemical or other disorders particularly incidental to adult Negroes, and which contribute in a large degree to their depopulation?

Epidemical disorders are frequent in the West Indies; but I do not know that they are peculiarly incidental to adults.—The venereal complaint is common among them; and I suppose must tend to diminish population.

State such epidemical disorders not already described as are incidental both to the young and the adults?

The small-pox, the measles, chicken-pox, dysenteries, and of late years the liver complaint.

Are there disorders by which the ablest adults are at times destroyed in great numbers?

Those

Those which I have mentioned are very often of an unfavourable kind, and prove fatal to many; but particularly the putrid flux, of which I have known several examples.

Are they ever destroyed in great numbers by hurricanes and their consequences?

A hurricane seldom happens without the loss of several lives, by accidents of falling buildings, floods, and other causes of that sort.—Hurricanes are fatal to the Negroes in their consequences, as they destroy their houses, and it is a considerable time before they are comfortably lodged again, and as they destroy their provision grounds, which are necessary for a Negro's health and comfort.

Amongst the adults, can you estimate what proportion the deaths bear to the numbers living within the year?

I have never made any calculation by taking the average of any number of years; but the loss varies exceedingly—Of an hundred and odd Negroes which I possessed myself, it has happened more than once, that I have not lost a single adult in the course of a year—in other years I think I have lost five, six, and as far as seven.—I should suppose that from three to four per cent. might be about the average loss, even on a settled estate.

Can you estimate the general proportion of births and burials?

I cannot, but during the eighteen years that I was the proprietor of Slaves, though I had what was thought a very good proportion of births, considering the number of breeding women, and was more fortunate than my neighbours in rearing Negro children, I was constantly under the necessity, every two or three years, of buying Negroes newly imported, or seasoned Negroes from some of the other Islands.

Are the causes of deaths by distempers counteracted and lessened, as far as they can be, by human skill and attention?

I am not intimately enough acquainted with the interior œconomy of other plantations, but I can venture to say, this was the case on my own estate; and I conclude that from the same motives, both of humanity and interest, every other proprietor pursued the same conduct.

Are there other causes which contribute to the depopulation of Negroes besides distempers?

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I have always considered the promiscuous intercourse, the want of regular pairing, the early prostitution of the females, and the immoderate use of rum, as the principal causes that prevent our population of Negro Slaves being so large as it might be.

Does the time of suckling Negro children contribute to the same cause?

I presume so, as I know the Negro women are fond of suckling their children much longer than medical men thought advisable.

In consequence of so suckling their children, what is the usual period between each birth?

It varies so much with different Negro women, that it is difficult to fix any period as the usual one, but women seldom have a second child at a less interval than two years.

Can ill treatment and excessive labour be considered as amongst the causes of depopulation?

I never had an idea that either the treatment or labour of Slaves was such as to interfere at all with the population.

Considering the effects of all the causes of depopulation which have been enumerated, is it, in your opinion, possible, in general, to keep up the stock of Slaves throughout the Islands, unless by importing new Slaves from Africa?

I think not, and have always thought so, having been myself very anxious to avoid the necessity of purchasing them by every indulgence and attention both to the breeding women and their children, and not having been able to succeed.

Is it possible, in your opinion, to cultivate the lands in the Islands by Europeans or Free Negroes?

Most clearly impossible by the labour of Europeans; and as to the labour of Free Negroes, it is a circumstance well known in all the Islands I have mentioned, that there never was an instance of a Free Negro hiring himself for any work of agriculture whatsoever.

Can an European, who is a labouring man, bear the heat of the climate?

Not if he was to do the work necessary to be done in the field—he may work at carpenter's work, or other work which is done under cover or sheds.

Can

Can the deficiency of Negroes that must ensue if the introduction of new Slaves is prevented, be supplied by beasts of draught or burthen, or by European implements of husbandry.

Beasts of draught or burthen are already employed in every purpose to which, in my apprehension, their labour can be applied in the cultivation of plantations in the West Indies.—With respect to the implements of husbandry, those now in use appear to me perfectly well calculated for their respective purposes, and such as the Negroes are adroit in using.—The introduction of the plough has been a topic of much conversation—in my experience I have known two or three very zealous advocates for it, who have tried it in the Islands of Antigua and Saint Vincent, and who were very soon obliged to abandon it.

Were the Islands supplied as usual with Slaves during the last war?

Not those Islands in which I resided, viz. Saint Vincent, Tobago, Grenada, and Antigua—I hardly recollect any importation in those Islands during the war.

What was the consequence?

In Grenada, with which I was best acquainted, the consequence was, that instead of thirty or thirty-one thousand, which I think was the number of Slaves returned to the government previous to the capture, the first return after the restitution was to the best of my recollection not more than twenty-seven or twenty-eight thousand, but my memory is not accurate with respect to numbers.

What was the interval of time between those two returns?

About five years.

Was there a decrease of Negroes during that period in the other Islands named?

I believe so, but I have not the same means of information.

Is not the produce of the Island generally in proportion to the number of Negroes upon it?

In proportion to the number of Slaves attached to agriculture, and the manufacture of the produce.

Is the practice of ratooning canes prevalent in the Ceded Islands?

It depends on the quality of the soil, whether it is advantageous to ratoon canes, or to re-plant the land—in Grenada, where the soil is stronger, ratooning is carried to a much greater length than in

Saint

Saint Vincent—but in general in both places, in the present state of the soil, we are enabled to ratoon as far as a second or a third year—formerly in Grenada there were ratoon canes upwards of twenty years old.

On those estates where ratooning prevails is a less number of Slaves necessary for the purpose of cultivating such estates?

The number of Slaves necessary for all the purposes of an estate will vary according to the quality of soil, position, and other circumstances—the practice of ratooning, as it lessens the quantity of land to be opened by the hoe, so it increases the number of acres of canes to be taken off in the crop; and it is a common practice for many estates to have the greatest part of their hoeing work done by hired Negroes kept for that purpose, and called task gangs, so that I cannot say that the practice of ratooning unavoidably lessens the number of Negroes necessary on a plantation.

Is it the interest of the planter to keep up the stock of Slaves by breeding, if it can be done?

Most certainly.

What is the value of a seasoned Slave, born in the West Indies, in comparison to one newly imported?

I have known people think differently on that subject, as they conceive the seasoned Slave, though more expert and sensible, is more likely to be artful and ill-disposed; and they think a newly-imported Slave, young, and in full health, nearly as valuable as a seasoned one not brought up by themselves.—But, in my own opinion, for a Slave which, if newly imported, I would give £. 50 sterling, I would, if seasoned, and not of bad character, give £. 70 sterling.

Are not Negro artificers principally Slaves born in the West Indies; and are not those Slaves of the greatest value?

I have known great numbers of Negro artificers African Slaves, as well as Creoles; probably the majority, especially in the old Islands, are Creoles, and such artificers are certainly Slaves of the greatest value.

If it were possible to keep up the stock of Slaves by breeding, what length of time must elapse before Negroes so born could be fit for the labour of the field?

From eighteen to twenty years.

Would not the working Negroes in the mean time be gradually
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on the decline; and in that case must not either the cultivation decline, or the labour fall more severely on the survivors, in order to keep up the plantation?

The number of working Slaves must, in the course of things, be lessened near one half during that period—and the consequence, I should conceive, must necessarily be a diminution of the cultivation.

Has it ever been received as a maxim in the West Indies, that it was the interest of a planter to increase the labour of his Slave so as to exhaust him in a few years; or do you believe that the conduct of any planter within your knowledge is at this time governed by such principle?

I remember hearing that there was a Frenchman, who lived many years ago on the Island of Grenada, that pretended to hold such a doctrine; but it was always mentioned as a singular absurdity, and I am perfectly persuaded that no planter entertains any such idea, or regulates his conduct by any maxim so horrid.

Is severity in an overseer or manager to Negroes considered as a qualification that recommends him, or not?

I always heard it considered as a reproach, and as a quality likely to preclude him from employment.

Are Slaves in general in a state of apparent comfort and happiness, or of misery and discontent?

The situation of Slaves who are industrious is comfortable and happy; and they appear perfectly contented with their lot.

Do you know any instance of a Slave who has been liberated wishing to return to his master?

I cannot charge my memory with any particular instance that applies to the question, except one that I have heard from good authority, of a Slave who met with an accident, by which he lost half his foot—his master sent him with a captain of a vessel bound to the Coast of Africa, with directions to leave him there at liberty, if he chose to remain—the Slave was accordingly carried to the same part of the Coast from which he had been brought, and found many of his relations; and when the captain was about to leave the Coast, he informed the Slave of his master's directions, and proposed leaving him there, but the Slave positively refused, and returned by his own choice with the cap-

tain to Grenada, and continued afterwards as a Slave to his master.

Do the Slaves in the West Indies appear to be more or less happy than the common labourers of other countries?

It has not been my lot to visit the habitations of the poor labourers in Great Britain, but in estimating the happiness of any two classes of people I should consider their wants and their sentiments, and on this principle I have no scruple to give it as my opinion, that a Negro Slave in general has fewer wants unsatisfied, enjoys more the comforts of life, such as lodging, food, and cloathing, and must be freer from apprehensions of want for himself and his family, than the English labourer; and that the Slave, not possessing usually those sentiments which would render his condition intolerable to a British subject, does not feel the pain which people are apt in general to imagine he must feel from his degraded relative situation in society.

Would the intended measure of preventing the introduction of new Slaves into the Islands increase or diminish the comforts or happiness of those already there?

Independent of the danger of diminishing their comfort by a necessity of increasing their labour, my own observation leads me to form a conclusion, that as nothing appears to give the Slaves more joy than the sight of new Negroes brought on the plantation, so if none were to be introduced for a number of years, they would grow discontented, and in all probability mutinous.

Had the report of this intended measure reached the West India Islands before you left that country; and did it produce any and what effect?

The report had reached the West Indies a considerable time before I left them, and was a subject of much discussion—it gave great uneasiness to all persons there, and I suppose has had the effect of raising the price of Slaves.

Had the report any effect on yourself at the time of your disposal of your estate at St. Vincent's?

When I disposed of my land and buildings, my first intention was to remove my Slaves, and make a purchase at Grenada, but other considerations induced me to change my plan, and to sell the gang of Slaves—the apprehension of the consequences likely to arise from an abolition of the African Trade, had certainly its weight, though it was not the sole motive that so determined me.

Are

Are not many estates cultivated by means of money borrowed on the credit derived from the stock of Slaves ?

They are.

Will not such credit be materially affected by the abolition of the Slave Trade, and consequently the means of cultivating such estates destroyed ?

I apprehend so.

Considering the necessity of introducing new Slaves for the purpose of cultivating the Islands, do you conceive it possible to prevent that introduction by any regulation, so long as the French and other nations import Slaves from Africa to the West Indies ?

My own opinion is, that so long as new Slaves can be had, at almost any price, they will be introduced into the British Islands clandestinely, in spite of every regulation that is likely to be adopted.

Have the French, or other nations employed in that trade, discovered any inclination to abandon the trade ?

I have no knowledge on that subject.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

What is the comparative value of a seasoned Creole Slave, and of a seasoned African Slave ?

The term seasoned is applicable only to African Slaves, all Creole Slaves being considered as seasoned—with respect to the value of a seasoned Slave, compared with that of a Creole Slave of the same age, strength, health, and appearance, I in my own estimation make very little difference, considering an African Slave brought young to the country, and seasoned by seven or eight years residence and labour in the West Indies, full as valuable for all the purposes of agriculture as the Creole, but other persons think differently.

Do you know of many other instances of freemen being capitally punished for the murder of Slaves, besides that you have mentioned in the year 1775 or 1776 ?

I do not, nor have I heard in Grenada, where I have resided almost entirely since that period, of any other murder of a Slave having been committed by a free person.

What

What was the character and general estimation of the person who suffered capitally in this instance ?

He was an under servant in the Marshal's office, an obscure, and, I have been told, an illiterate man, but I do not recollect any circumstances relative to his character or general estimation.

Do you remember any nick-name which was commonly associated with his name ?

I do not, but if such name was mentioned I could tell whether I had ever heard it.

Was Bacchus the nick-name ?

I cannot at this distance of time charge my memory with having heard such nick-name applied to the man—I remember that Mr. Porteus the Marshal, in whose employ the prisoner was, gave a handsome fee to one or more counsel to argue in arrest of the judgment.

Do you recollect on what evidence the criminal was convicted ; and will you relate, so far as you remember them, the circumstances of the murder ?

As well as I remember, the Slave murdered was a hired Negro woman, in the service of the prisoner—that he came home, and not finding his dinner ready, or some other order of his disobeyed, he reprimanded the Slave—that she answered him with some abuse and ill language, and that in the heat of passion he took up a knife and stabbed her in the neck, and occasioned her death—that these circumstances came out, as well as I remember, partly by the information of the deceased, and I think by the subsequent confession of the prisoner ; but it is so long since it happened, that I speak with very little certainty as to these circumstances.

When you said in your former answer, that any undue exercise or abuse of the power of a Master over his Slave, was always considered as an offence punishable by indictment or information, do you mean to confine yourself to Grenada, or to speak generally ?

I had Grenada more particularly in my mind in giving that answer, but I should have very little doubt that such misdemeanors would be punishable in like manner in any of the other English islands in which I have resided.

When you stated in your former evidence, that considering the nature of the power in the relation between master and Slave, and
considering

considering the variety of persons who may acquire that power, you have always thought the instance of abuse of it not more frequent under those circumstances than the instances of similar abuse of power in England, do you not mean that a master must necessarily have a degree of power over his Slave, which must render the situation of the Slave, in point of comfort, dependent on his peculiar temper?

I meant that a certain degree of power of correction was necessary in the relation of master and Slave, for the sake of discipline and subordination, and to prevent very trifling offences being made the subject of complaint to magistrates; and consequently that as such correction may, without sufficient cause, or in too great degree for the offence, be occasionally inflicted by a master, the Slave's comfort in this respect must depend as much on the temper of his master, as the comfort of the apprentice in England does on the temper of the person to whom he is bound.

What is the annual value of a field Slave's labour?

Slaves are hired at various prices by the day, by the month, by the year, or for a term of years—the quantum paid varies according to all these circumstances, and according as the renter is or is not compellable to make good the value of the Slave so hired—In common jobs, I think, three shillings currency (which is from one shilling and nine pence to one shilling and ten pence sterling) per day, may be considered as the prevailing rate of daily hire—Slaves, when hired by the year, I have known to be valued, and ten per cent. on their valuation allowed for an annual hire; but much larger hires have been given, according to the necessities of the party, and the difficulty of procuring Slaves.

At what may be estimated the annual expence of the maintenance of a Negro man, woman, and child respectively?

I remember taking some pains in forming that calculation, in order to answer the queries transmitted by government to the Island of Grenada, but I cannot now charge my memory with the sums which satisfied my mind at that time as the result of those calculations; nor do I remember whether, in making that estimate, the committee took into consideration the value of the land allotted to each Negro as a provision ground; but under this uncertainty I should answer, that the expence of my own estate in St. Vincent was, independent of the provision ground, not less than £.7 or £.8 sterling for each Negro man, or woman, or child

H h

above

above the age of twelve years, and perhaps half of that sum for a child under that age—At the time of making the answer to the queries, I was, to the best of my recollection, satisfied with the answer that was given—though, having no plantation in Grenada, I was more directed, in questions of this nature, by the judgment of the other members, who were planters, as they were, I believe, directed by mine in questions of a professional nature.

You have mentioned in your former evidence, that you have known many instances of Negroes having purchased their own or their children's freedom at a higher price than you should have valued them at—did you speak in this instance of field Negroes?

I cannot particularize the instances so as to say with certainty whether any, and how many, of those that fell within my knowledge, were field Negroes, but I am persuaded that in one or two of the instances the Slaves applying to me on the subject had been free Negroes either at the time, or very shortly before the time, when their masters permitted them to look for the means of providing the stipulated sum for their manumission.

Did you speak of field Negroes, when in your former answer you said you had no doubt that many annually acquired and disposed of from ten to twenty pounds sterling?

I did, for with respect to tradesmen I had no doubt that many of them acquire and dispose of double that sum.

Are not far more domestics kept in a family in the West Indies than by one of similar condition in Great Britain?

Certainly, and this prevails much more among the French in our Islands than among the English planters; and I have no doubt that a family in England is better served by two or three servants than we are by eight or ten.

In the stock of Slaves belonging to you, what was the proportion of males and females?

As well as I remember I had forty and odd men, thirty and odd women, and thirty and odd Children, when I disposed of my Slaves at St. Vincent.

During your stay in the West Indies, had any efforts been made to convert or instruct the Negro Slaves, and with what success?

The .

The only efforts worthy of mentioning that fell under my observation, were those of the Moravians in the Island of Antigua, but I did not reside in that Island, and only learned from the gentlemen who did that they were of opinion that the Moravians had produced a considerable good effect by their instructing and preaching to the Slaves.

Do you recollect from whom you heard the circumstance of the Slave, who was sent to Africa, wishing to return to his master, or the circumstances of that incident, with sufficient distinctness to state them with certainty?

I do—I had heard the incident formerly in Grenada—but it was brought more immediately to my recollection by having heard it lately mentioned by the son of the present proprietor, so that I can name the estate on which it happened, and the captain with whom the Slave went to Africa, and I believe both the Captain and the Slave are still living.

Do you know how long the Slave had resided in the West Indies?

I do not remember that the number of years was mentioned; but from the circumstance stated, of his finding and knowing his relations in Africa. I concluded that he had not been many years in the West Indies.

Do you recollect to have heard of what nation this Slave was, or to what part of the Coast he belonged?

I do not think either of those circumstances were stated to me.

How many years is it since this transaction?

The gentleman who was owner of the Slave at the time has been dead five or six years—and, from the circumstance of the captain having carried him from Grenada to Africa, I think the transaction must have happened previous to the capture of the Island, in 1779.

Is the situation of Free Negroes ordinarily more or less comfortable than that of Negro Slaves?

The comfort of a Free Negro must depend on his degree of wealth, and ability to provide for himself and his family.—We have many in Grenada who have considerable properties, and live very well.—Others, I imagine, have only a bare subsistence, but
I suppose,

I suppose, in general, their situation may be full as comfortable as that of a Slave.

And then the Counsel and Witness were directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 11^o die Februarii 1790.

Counsel and Witness called in as before; and the Witness was further examined by Members of the Committee.

Sir ASHTON
WARNER BYAM.

Are not the droughts more frequent, and of longer continuance, in the Old settled Islands than in the Ceded Islands?

They are.

Have not therefore the planters in the Ceded Islands the means of more plentifully feeding their Slaves, than the planters in the Old Islands?

So far as relates to their provision ground they have.

Is not the restriction of admitting vessels from North America with provisions, the cause of a greater scarcity in the means of supplying the Negroes with their necessary food?

If such restriction did not exist, no doubt there would be much more considerable quantities of such provisions as are used for feeding Negroes imported into the Islands.

Can you speak with any precision as to the number of Negroes generally employed as household servants, by planters of the best credit in the West Indies?

The number varies according to the state of the planter's family, and according to his disposition; so that I cannot speak with precision to any number as a general one.

Do you think that a supernumerary number of such Negroes are ever employed, merely as a mark of the proprietor's superior state and affluence?

I do not recollect any instance, where I should have attributed the number of domestics to that motive; but it is a circumstance very much lamented by us all; and yet, upon consideration in my

own particular instance, and some others, I never could discover that I could conveniently do without any one Slave employed in my service—the true cause, I believe, of the greater number of servants employed in the West Indies, is, that it is not easy to have a Negro servant who will turn his or her hand to such variety of domestic purposes as good servants in England do.

Would any planter purchase a house Negro for the purpose of employing him in the cultivation of his plantation?

I believe not, if such Negro had been any length of time employed as a house servant.

When a proprietor, either by choice or distress, is induced to part with a house Negro, is it not a prevailing custom, to let such house Negroe try if he cannot find a new master for himself, rather than that his old master should sell him to any planter who would put him in the fields?

I have known that pretty generally practised, where the Negro is not sold for any offence.

And is not that from a motive of humanity, that such Negro might not be put to harder labour than he had been used to in the affairs of a family?

I conceive so.

Would you, or as you believe any planter, chuse to purchase a house Negro, to convert him into a field Negro, if any others could be procured?

I certainly would not, and I believe every other planter would prefer buying new Slaves rather than house servants for field labour.

Do you know whether improvements have not been lately made in the mode of treating infants, by which the disorder called the jaw-fall has become less frequent or less fatal than it used to be?

I have heard it as a subject of conversation occasionally among medical gentlemen, but it has not come to my knowledge that any new mode has been adopted, though it is very possible it may have happened without falling under my observation.

Do you not apprehend that the work of hoeing the land for the canes, and of dunging those holes, is a labour which would be generally reckoned severe?

It is certainly the most laborious employment in the cultivation

of land; and if it was constantly continued through the year, I should think it harder work than I should wish to put Negroes to.

Are you sufficiently acquainted with the detail of plantation labour to ascertain the weight of those baskets of dung which the Negroes carry on those occasions?

The weight varies probably on different plantations, and must vary according to the state of the dung used, supposing the same baskets filled.—I cannot speak with any certainty as to the number of pounds, but the weight is so little inconvenient to the Slaves, who carry that and all other burthens on the head, that it is a pretty general practice, as far as my observation has gone, for the Slaves to run or to go in a quick pace when they are carrying the dung.

Do you then mean to say, that the pace of Slaves, on those occasions, is regulated by their own discretion, and not by that of the overseers or drivers?

I do not mean to say that the Slaves, if left to themselves, would constantly use that pace; but conceive, that the practice would not prevail among the drivers, if it was found severe or unreasonable.

Do you apprehend, that that species of labour is what the Negroes perform with as much willingness as their other common employments?

I never heard them complain of it, though I have no doubt, if they were asked, they would prefer weeding of canes, or any lighter work.

How long is the season of crop-time usually, on an average, supposed to last?

In the Ceded Islands, from the first of January to the end of May or beginning of June; after which, the heavy rains usually fall, that would interfere with the making of sugar; but in Antigua, the crop-season may be considered as lasting two months later.

At what season of the year is the land holed and dunged?

In the Ceded Islands, from the month of September to January, according as the planter's other work is more or less forward.

What portion of those months is employed in the occupation of holing and dunging?

In

In estates which ratoon for any length of time, the quantity of land to be opened is a small proportion of the plantation; and I know few estates sufficiently well handed to do the whole of their holeing work with their own Slaves.—I should suppose, to speak generally, that the Negroes of an estate are seldom employed more than five or six weeks in holeing, and perhaps as long in distributing dung.

Do not White men, in the West Indies, pursue the several occupations of plumbers, masons, bricklayers, blacksmiths, and house carpenters?

They do; and a number of Slaves are employed in the same occupations, under the directions of such White persons.

Is not the labour of such White men as severe as the common occupations of the field Negroes?

On the whole, I think not so severe; but the great difference is, that the persons employed in those occupations are not so constantly exposed to the intense heat of the sun as the Negroes in the field are.

Does it not however continually happen that such White men, from the necessary nature of their employment, are obliged to work exposed to the sun?

The White men, when so employed, do not continue so constantly at their work, as far as I have observed, but leave it occasionally to the Negroes working under them.

Would any planter hire free Negroes to work with his field gang?

I suppose the planter would be very indifferent whether the persons so hired were free or Slaves, supposing the hire such as he thought reasonable, but I never knew an instance of free Negroes being so employed; and unless it were to become frequent, I think I foresee a good deal of inconvenience which would arise from mixing such free hired persons in any great number among Slaves.

Do you apprehend that the comfort of an apprentice in England depends as much on the temper of the person with whom he is bound, as the comfort of the Slave depends on the temper of his master?

I should suppose not exactly in the same proportion.

When

When Negroes are hired by the year, at 10 per cent. on their valuation, does not the person so hiring maintain them?

He does.

What is the size of the baskets of dung which the Negroes carry on their heads?

Those I have usually seen are open shallow baskets, perhaps two feet or two and an half feet over on the top, shelving to the bottom, and of a depth, as far as I can conjecture, of seven or eight inches.

Does not the Negro prefer carrying a load on his head to wheeling a load in a barrow?

They appear to prefer that mode of carrying burthens to any other—they carry their pails of water for their own use in the same manner; and their loads of poultry and provisions for the market are always carried on their heads.

Does not the planter use mules and carts for carrying out his dung?

He does—it is only the distribution of it into the holes that is necessarily performed in the manner above mentioned, as the use of mules or carts at that period would undo great part of the work performed, in turning up and holing the land.

Do not the mafons, plumbers, carpenters, and bricklayers, &c. employ Slaves under them to do the severest work?

I have not observed any rule of that sort.

If the planter could have his work done by free Negroes, would he not prefer that mode to the maintaining a great number of women, children, old men, and invalids, that are upon all estates?

I should presume so.

Would it not be much cheaper for the planter to pay only for the work that would be done by free Negroes, if he could procure them, than by the present expensive mode?

I should think so, unless the rate of the free Negro's labour was very exorbitant.

If the abolition of the Slave Trade was to take place, could the planter have any resource, by sending Slaves that are about his house into the field?

The

The number of house Slaves, though large for the purpose, is so inconsiderable, when taken as an addition to a working gang, and the house servants in general, after being such for any length of time, are so unfit, and so unwilling to go to field labour, that I should consider such a resource as almost nothing.

Do not the house Slaves make all the clothing for the field Negroes?

That may be the case in other Islands, or on very large estates in some of the Islands with which I am acquainted, but the clothing most generally given to the field Negroes is sent out ready-made from Great Britain, and such other cloaths of a finer sort as they chuse to use are either bought ready-made in the Island, or made up by themselves, or such other persons as they employ.

If the abolition of the Slave Trade was to take place, would the planter find a resource from the plough to make amends for the want of importation?

Even if the plough could be more generally used (which I do not conceive it could to advantage) the great number of Slaves necessary for cutting canes, and for the various parts of the manufacture of Sugar and Rum, is such, that I do not apprehend the use of that instrument would make any difference in the number of Slaves necessary to carry on a plantation.

Was there any poll tax on Slaves during the time of your residence in the West Indies, and at what age did the tax commence?

The taxes in the different Islands are raised in different modes; and I do remember one or more instances of a general poll tax on Slaves, and when it did take place all Slaves of every age were included in it, though a contrary practice had prevailed during the French government.—A poll tax still exists in Grenada, on house servants, Negro sailors, tradesmen, and others, not employed on estates, in order to make the proprietors of them contribute, as well as the planters, whose produce is taxed.—Such poll tax has been at various rates, from eighteen shillings currency per head to twelve or fourteen shillings; and I think, in the last year, some exception was made excluding Slaves under the age of ten or twelve, as well as I remember.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

GILBERT FRANCKLYN, Esquire, was then called in; and examined by Members of the Committee*.

What, in a stock of Negroes, is the ordinary proportion of old, infant, and able working Negroes?

It is very various under different circumstances—in a gang of Negroes upon an old estate, where the number of breeding women are as considerable as I conceive they ought to be, there will be much fewer able working Negroes than in a gang upon a new estate newly formed, as the generality of those which the proprietor would purchase would be Negroes of both sexes fit for immediate labour. I conceive, in general, so far as my experience has led me to consider, that there cannot be more than from sixty to seventy able Negroes in a gang of two hundred—but there are a further number who may be capable of doing lighter work to the number of twenty or thirty.—I believe, in general, such a gang of Negroes that can turn seventy or eighty able Negroes into the field, exclusive of house servants, sempstresses, cooks, sick nurses, watchmen, tradesmen, and others, who are not usually sent into the field, will be thought in very good condition, and a fine gang of Negroes.

Explain to the Committee your former answer, wherein you say, that one Negro at least to every acre is required in the cultivation of a sugar plantation.

In explanation of my former answer, respecting the number of Negroes necessary to cultivate a given number of acres, I do not mean that seventy or eighty Negroes (the able part of a gang of 200) are sufficient to cultivate 200 acres to be cut for sugar; but to a plantation wherein 200 acres are under culture in sugar and provisions, half-part of which sugar land may be planted annually, as in some islands where they do not ratoon, and in Islands where they do, such as the Ceded Islands, where, perhaps, only a fourth or fifth part of the sugar land is annually planted; and, in such case, there still exists a difference, on account of the nature of the soil, and the ease with which it may be wrought—in general, land that ratoons well may be cultivated with fewer Negroes considerably than land which must be planted annually.

What proportion of that 200 acres do you suppose to be allotted to the growing of provisions?

When land is planted in canes, it is often customary to plant

* This Witness had been before examined by the Counsel for the Grenada, &c. Petition. Vide page 78.

corn in the rows, which is gathered in while the canes are young — it is customary also to plant yams and eddoes in land intended for canes, preparatory to planting them, and yams particularly, being considered by some planters as an advantageous preparation for ground for the reception of the sugar plant, like a crop of turnips in England, preparatory to sowing the land with barley; there is not therefore any part of the 200 acres of which I speak solely applied to the purpose of provisions, but in which provisions are occasionally planted; and if the lands yield kindly, and 200 Negroes cultivate as much land as gives from 180 to 200 casks of sugar, of about twelve hundred weight (at the King's beam in England) the planter would think himself very well off—I speak here of the Ceded Islands in general.

Where you were in the West Indies, was it common to have rooms appropriated for the reception and accommodation of lying-in women?

In general I think not—very few instances of it occurring to my knowledge—the women in general being much averse to lying-in any where but in their own houses, and compelling them to go to any other place being considered as rather harsh—it was with great difficulty I persuaded the women on my plantation, in that situation, to accept of the provision I had made for them of that sort; but after they found the advantages those whom I had prevailed on received, of superior tenderness, cleanliness, and attention, and that the children did not die of the disorders I have before mentioned, I no longer found any difficulty in persuading them to come to those rooms to lye in.

Are you at all particularly acquainted with the circumstances of any other estates besides Mr. Carlisle's, where the number of Negroes was kept up without purchasing new ones?

I have known some few others—An estate of Sir William Young's, in Tobago, I believe, at a certain period exceeded considerably the number purchased; but afterwards they fell off, and I believe since have decreased—An estate of Mr. Blizzard's, in Antigua, I believe, likewise increased, owing to his having followed Mr. Carlisle's practice—it was from him I learned that history; and I endeavoured to follow the same maxim, but unfortunately without success—I have known several estates which have some years been happy enough to have their Negroes increased; but very shortly after, from unfortunate epidemical disorders, those very estates have wanted a considerable supply to keep up even their number; but in estates where the number is kept up by the births it must easily be conceived, that if ten children are
born,

born, and five able Negroes die, it will be many years before the labour of the Negroes dead can be supplied by that of those who are born—the labour of the pregnant women and mothers must be lessened in the proportion of near twenty-five per cent. and it will be necessary to replace those able Negroes who are dead by purchasing others in their room, as it will be eleven or twelve years before the ten children can supply the place of the five able Negroes lost.

Is the land in the Ceded Islands given to the Negroes for their own use, such as is previously cleared, or whether they cleared it for themselves?

When the Ceded Islands were first settled, particularly in Tobago, where I purchased, there was no land cleared, and therefore the provision ground appropriated to the Negroes must have previously been cleared by them—the Negroes always prefer new land for growing provisions; and when they have had the same land in cultivation some few years, they request that some new land may be given them, which they are very willing to clear themselves, rather than continue to cultivate their former grounds—It was my practice, however, generally to assist them, by making the gang do the greatest part of that labour as part of the work of the plantation, particularly by felling the trees and lopping them, the burning them off, and clearing the land afterwards, requiring but an inconsiderable degree of labour, and performed in their own time, in the dry weather, when they can have very little else to do—this was the general custom as far as I am acquainted with it—I was very little in the Island in the early period of its settlement.

You have stated, that in times of scarcity the master does not permit his Negroes to carry their provisions off the plantation; who is to judge of the existence of such a degree of scarcity as shall render that regulation necessary?

Whenever such scarcity exists, it is much more notorious in the colony than the knowledge which can be acquired in any kingdom of Europe of an apprehended scarcity of corn—the master consults his overseers and Negroes, and is surely the sole and proper judge when to prohibit the exportation of his provisions.

Are not Runaway Negroes, or deserters in general, severely punished?

Yes.

Have you not brought about considerable alterations and improvements

provements in the situation of the Negroes which have been under your care ?

In the particular of lying-in women, on my own and the estates under my care, I think I have been rather successful in preventing children being lost by the disorder called the jaw-fall—I do not know that I have been more successful in other instances than the generality of my neighbours, who I have always observed to consider the care of their Negroes, and making them happy and comfortable, as the principal object of their solicitude.

Did you not find that you had to struggle with the prejudice and habits of the Negroes, in bringing about those alterations which you wished ?

I believe not more difficulty in that respect than is usual on all occasions where the prejudices of uninformed people are to be overcome ; and that Negroes, like other people, may be prevailed upon to submit to the reasoning and intreaties of those whose judgment they have a good opinion of, and whom they think solicitous for their welfare.

Does not land that ratoons well require a less number of Slaves to cultivate it ?

I have already answered that question in the affirmative.

Will not the land which now ratoons well, on account of the freshness and strength of the soil, be so far exhausted as to oblige the planter to stock up the roots, and re-plant it oftener ?

Some land will ratoon longer than other, but undoubtedly land in common ought to be re-planted frequently.

Must not, therefore, the Ceded Islands at a future period require an additional number of Slaves to continue the cultivation of land already cultivated, without cultivating any new lands ?

Most certainly.

Do not the Negroes prefer carrying burthens on their head to wheeling them in wheelbarrows ?

When I first settled in Tobago, I ordered twenty-four barrows from New York—I could by no means induce the Negroes to use them; some of them actually put the dung in the wheelbarrows, and then put the wheelbarrows on their head to carry them out, but found them too heavy, and I was forced to suffer the

wheelbarrows to rot, and permit the Negroes to distribute the dung by baskets in the usual manner.

Was Tobago supplied with Slaves as usual during the war; or was the supply totally, or to what degree, interrupted?

I am not competent to answer that question, having been in England till the latter end of 1779.—I believe few Slaves were brought there after that time till the capture of the Island, and I do not recollect any after till the peace;—but I really cannot answer the question with precision.

Was there, and what diminution in the number during the war? I believe there was a considerable diminution.

Do you mean to say, when you mention it will be eleven or twelve years before the children born on the plantation would be fit to work, and supply the place of the deceased, that either yourself, or any other planter, as you have heard or believe, ever put a Negro of eleven or twelve years of age to dig cane-holes, or perform other laborious work upon a plantation usually allotted to Slaves of full growth?

Surely no—my answer implies the direct contrary, because I suppose that at that age the labour of ten such children were not equal to the labour of five grown persons; but employing those ten children in lighter work, they might do as much in that lighter work as the five able ones might do in that which they would then be at liberty to attend to.

Supposing a child born upon the plantation to have met with no accident or particular disease that has hurt his constitution, at what age would such child be put to the labour of digging cane-holes, and other hard work upon a plantation?

Much depends upon the formation and constitution of the person—some of them may be stouter and more able at fifteen than others at eighteen—young men are generally desirous of being put into the hoeing gang as soon as they feel themselves strong and able—I should suppose in general from the ages of sixteen to eighteen are the times they are willing and desirous of being employed in the hardest work of the plantation.

Will it not therefore, in your judgment, require at least sixteen years to supply by births the loss of an able field Negro?

Surely it will require that time before a young man can be supposed to acquire a tolerable degree of strength to undergo the harder degrees

degrees of field labour, such as digging cane-holes, turning dung, and distributing it into the fields—all which however the able Negroes seem to be more pleased with than the lighter works, which they consider as the occupation of feeble women and children ; and it is remarkable that those are works which they generally perform singing all the time of their labour, a circumstance peculiar to Negroes while at their work, and I conceive a proof of their not considering even that labour as severe.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

THAT this Examination of Mr. Francklyn, and Sir Ashton Warner Byam, be reported to the House.

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES

ON THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Reported 12th FEBRUARY 1790.

Witnesfes Examined,

Mr. FRANCKLYN,

Sir ASHTON WARNER BYAM.

N° 2.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE,

Veneris, 19^o die Februarii 1790.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed for the Purpose of taking the Examination of such Witnesses as shall be produced on the Part of the several Petitioners who have petitioned the House of Commons against the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Sabbati, 13^o die Februarii 1790.

COUNSEL called in as before; and the Counsel proceeded further in their Examination, and called

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, Esquire.

Of what country are you a native?
Of Scotland.

At what time did you go to the West Indies, and to what island?

I went first to the West Indies in 1754—was at Barbadoes, Saint Kitts, and Saint Eustatia, where I remained three months—I went to Antigua in 1759 as a merchant, where I resided two
M m years,

years, but was concerned in a house of trade there for four years—In 1762 I went to Martinique, where I resided near one year and an half—In 1763, upon the peace, seeing the proclamation from the King of Great Britain, inviting His subjects to come and settle in the New Ceded Islands; and setting forth that they should enjoy the laws of Great Britain equal to what was done in the other Colonies, and that their properties and rights should be secured to them; and supposing that I had the right of a British subject to manage and direct any purchase or property I should invest in that country, I went to Granada, and purchased two sugar estates, with upwards of 300 Slaves, which cost me upwards of £.40,000 sterling—the estates not being then half settled or cleared—I since that time have purchased fourteen different properties in Grenada, the Grenadines, Saint Vincent, and Tobago; some of which were partly settled, with about 350 Slaves on them, and several others no ways settled or cleared, but which I have since, in part, settled and cleared—I cannot be exact as to the numbers, but I believe that I have purchased, since 1763, upwards of 1,200 new Negroes, which I have put upon my different properties—Since 1763 I have sold five or six of the purchases I made, with about 450 Slaves—Since 1763, I have resided about one half my time in Europe, and the other half in the West Indies—I resided in Grenada from the beginning of 1779 till June 1788—During the whole time of my being in the West Indies I visited the other Islands once a year—a great many of the English, and some of the French Islands.—From 1766 to this present moment, I have been in possession of from 500 to near 1,000 Slaves—my own property—I have carried on cultivation in sugar, coffee, cocoa, and cotton—Since my first purchase, there have been regular journals kept on my estates, by which I could see the entries of deaths and births, and the work done—and while in Europe, journals were regularly sent to me from all my estates.—I am now in possession of upwards of 900 Slaves.

When did you last leave the West Indies?

I left the West Indies in June 1788.

In the purchases made of lands in the Ceded Islands, were the grants of those lands according to the terms of the Proclamation?

All those in Grenada and the Grenadines were purchases made from the proprietors—one in Tobago was bought at the King's sale, subject to the terms stipulated in the grant, of clearing, which I took from my late partner, subject to the said terms, and began the settlement—the other estate in Tobago I bought, but was subject to the same terms of the grant.

At

At the period of these several purchases, by what species of labour were lands cultivated, both in the Ceded Islands, and the other West India Islands?

By Slaves.

Was it at that time the general opinion of all West India Planters, that lands in the West India Islands could be cultivated by no other means?

Any person who has been in the West Indies, or knows the nature of the climate, must be of opinion that there is no possibility of cultivating the land by white persons from any part of Europe, or the West Indies; and that where manual labour is necessary, it cannot be done but by Negro Slaves.

Should the prohibition against importing Slaves from Africa take place, do you conceive it possible to keep up the present stock of Negroes by Negroes born in the country?

It is impossible.

Under these circumstances, would you have become a purchaser of lands in the Ceded Islands, if you could have conceived that the Legislature of this country would at any future period prohibit the importation of Negroes from Africa?

On no account.

Can you state the quantity of land in any of the Ceded Islands uncultivated, and fit for cultivation?

In Grenada there has been no regular or accurate survey, but from the map that has been given of the Island in the French time, it is said to contain about 80,000 acres, but it is believed to be considerably more—there are from 8 to 10,000 acres of land in Grenada, some of which has been in sugar, coffee, cocoa, and provisions, but is abandoned for want of Negroes—and there is besides as much land, in Grenada, that has been granted but never cleared, which is fit for coffee, cocoa, and provisions—I do not know how much land has been sold in Saint Vincent's, but I believe that one half of the land sold is not cultivated—I do not know the number of acres sold at Dominique, but I have been often over great part of the Island and I do not believe one fourth of the land sold is cultivated.

Is the land which you describe as uncultivated, in Saint Vincent's and Dominique, fit for cultivation?

They are both very mountainous, and there may be spots in
some

Some of the lots that may be too steep for cultivation; but in general the whole of the land fold is fit for the growth of some kind of West India produce and provisions.

What number of Slaves is, in your judgment, sufficient to cultivate any given quantity of land in the Ceded Islands?

From my experience as a planter, any information that I could give, or that any planter can give, on that subject, without he saw the land, and knew it, would be only deceiving, and possibly give wrong information, as the labour depends on the quality of the land, the situation of it, as to climate and other matters, for which reason it is impossible for me to give true information thereon.

Can you form any average proportion, from the lands with which you are acquainted?

I will mention four sugar estates—my own property in Grenada, three of which are adjoining, and the other contiguous—The first estate, which is within a mile of the sea, consists of 320 acres, with 173 Slaves; and has for a great many years past made from 250 to 300 hogsheds of sugar—this estate is strong land and which rattoons, so that there is little land to be holed yearly—commonly from twenty-four to thirty acres—the holing gang of Negroes are seldom employed above a month or five weeks in holing—the estates near the sea are not so subject to weeds as estates nearer the mountains—On the estate adjoining, farther from the sea, consisting of 450 acres of land, there is more cane land, and more canes are cut yearly, and though I have 180 Negroes I do not make more than from 180 hogsheds to 200 hogsheds yearly.—The estate adjoining to that, where I have 206 Negroes, and 460 acres of land, I do not make above 180 or 200 hogsheds—These estates are adjoining, and at the beginning of a crop, a foot of cane on the lower estate will give as much sugar as a foot and an half on the upper estate—I mention these matters to shew that there is no possibility of a person, who wishes to give an accurate account that the Legislature may go by, to say what number of Negroes are equal to work an acre—and I further add, that I can make three hogsheds a day, on the lower estate, with less Negro labour, fuel, and carriage, than I can manufacture two hogsheds on the upper estates.

Do you then conceive it to be impossible to estimate generally,
how

how many Negroes are necessary to produce a hoghead of sugar?

I cannot estimate that, for the reasons above stated; because I must first know the lands and their situation.

Can you estimate, from your knowledge and experience, whether the lands in the Ceded Islands are in general under, or overstocked with Slaves?

In Grenada, I am certain, there are not three estates in the Island sufficiently flaved; and that fully to flave the present lands cleared, and what are fit for cultivation, would at least require 15,000 more Slaves.—I do not think Saint Vincent's, to cultivate all the lands fit for cultivation, is above one-half flaved, nor Dominique one-fourth flaved.

What is the estimated number of Slaves in each of the Islands mentioned?

I cannot say exactly; but, from seeing the reports from the different Islands, and what I know has been purchased since at Grenada, to the best of my belief, Grenada and its Islands contain 33 or 34,000—Saint Vincent 12,000—and Dominique 17,000.

Describe the labour of a Field Negro, at the different periods of the year?

A gang of Negroes on a sugar estate is composed of tradesmen, such as carpenters, masons, coopers, blacksmiths, boilers, distillers, field negroes, carters, mule boys, small weeding gangs, and grass gangs.—The crop of sugar commonly begins from the 1st of January or February, and continues till the beginning of June or July, according as the estate is flaved.—If the estate is underhanded, they are obliged to begin soon in the season; during that period, the coopers, and some of the tradesmen, are obliged to work at their trade—Some of the other tradesmen go to help to take off the crop.—In a gang of 180 or 200 Negroes, there are commonly fifty cutters and tyers—twenty to twenty-five carters and mule boys, according as the distance is from the work.—About the works, and supplying the mill, taking out the cane trash, and spreading and drying it, there are seldom less than from thirty to forty employed;—boilers, distillers, and other people about the works from fifteen to twenty;—watchmen and stock-keepers about fifteen.—The young Negroes from twelve to fifteen years of age are employed in weeding the young canes.—Children from ten to twelve pick grass, the rest are superannuated, on the sick list, or children not fit for work.—When the crop is

finished, the Negroes in Grenada have commonly two or three days given them to clear and put in order their gardens.—After that they all go to weeding the rattoons and plants, and continue at that labour till about the middle of August, when many of the strongest of the gang (commonly about forty, more or less according to their strength) go to holing the land necessary for the following crop;—the rest of the Negroes continue weeding.—When the land is holed, and the dung is carried out on the grounds by carts and mules, they carry the dung from the heaps in the field, and put it into the different holes.—When the land is dunged, the Field Negroes of the gang plant it;—this, with the making of dung, repairing the roads, and clearing the provision grounds belonging to the estate, occupy the time of the field gang from the time of their finishing the crop till they begin the next crop.

At what time of the day does the labour of a Field Negro begin, how late does it continue, and what hours are the intervals of rest?

They are commonly in the field about sun-rise (which never differs above half an hour from six o'clock) and never earlier, and continue till sun-set.—In Grenada, and I believe in the other Ceded Islands, we give three quarters of an hour, sometimes an hour, for breakfast, and from twelve o'clock to two for dinner.

What is the season of the greatest labour to a Field Slave?

A Field Negro is the same time at labour at crop time as out of crop time.—But in Grenada, and the other Ceded Islands, we keep about the works and the boiling of sugar the whole night; from which circumstance, we commonly divide our gang into three spells of boilers, people to attend the mill, firemen, and to carry out cane trash—this work requires the labour of from twenty to thirty Slaves, according to the number of coppers that are boiling—these spells are changed at midnight, so that it only comes on every third night that they lose their rest of six hours; and when estates are fully flaved, there are often four spells.

Is the crop time therefore, in your judgment, the season of hardest labour?

The cutting of canes is not very hard labour—the tying them is very easy labour—the feeding the mill, and the work done by the firemen, are the most laborious—all the rest of the work

is very easy, and, on the whole, I think the crop time is what the Negroes like the best, and continue more healthy in; and I never knew them to complain of the work at that time—the mill gang are commonly finging the whole night.

Though the labour employed in different parts of collecting the crop is not hard of itself, yet is not the labour of crop time, considering its continuance during part of the night, more hard than the ordinary daily work of a Field Negro at other periods of the year?

Most certainly it is, as one-half of their time at other seasons is only weeding, which a boy from twelve to fifteen, having a light hoe, can do as well as they—during the other half of the season, out of crop time, they are employed in holing, dunging, planting, and the other works which I have mentioned before—all of which are easy works; the holing of land being the most severe.

Describe the manner in which the dung is carried, the size of the basket, and the weight carried?

While the land is dunging, we divide our gang commonly into two parts—in Grenada we commonly give but half a basket of dung to a hole, where the land is rich or in good heart, and a basket where the land is poor—the baskets for the Negroes are made out of crop time by some Negroes appointed for that purpose—they are made of two sizes—that for the strong gang commonly holds about 30 pounds weight, and that for the weakly and younger Negroes about 15 pounds weight—the baskets are made of twigs, and weigh about a pound weight, and are about 18 or 20 inches across—the Negroes come together to the heap, fill their baskets, and go in a row, and put the half or the whole of the contents of the basket into a hole, as the Manager thinks requisite for the land; and in the same way the small gang go by themselves, headed by their own driver, and put the dung into the hole—the drivers walk always with the gang to the heap, in order to see they put the dung in the hole, but some put more and some less into their baskets.

Is the weight of a loaded basket such, that the Negro carrying it appears to be oppressed, or does he appear to carry it with ease?

It is impossible for any Field Negro, man or woman, in health, feeling the weight of 25 or 30 pounds, to think it laborious—the dung in Grenada, and other Islands, where carts, or mules, with
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baskets

baskets can go, is carried into the field by such carts or mules, and the Negroes seldom have above 200 yards at the most to carry and distribute it in the holes.

Are carts or mules, with baskets, used in all cases, for the purpose of carrying out dung, as far as they can be?

From what I have seen in Grenada, and the other Islands, carts and mules, where they could be used, have been universally so used.

Is there at the time of holing (which is stated as a harder species of labour) a more especial attention paid to the health of the gang, and an additional allowance of provisions?

In Grenada we gave no provision to a healthy Slave (except herrings or salt fish) without their own provision ground should fail them, and in that case we gave no more allowance at any one time than at another—We often give them while holing, twice a day, weak grog—I do not consider holing to be so laborious as to occasion any sickness or disorder to the Negroes, nor did I ever know them complain of the hardness of that work—they seem to be fond of it, and commonly sing while employed—I know several task gangs, who, from one end of the year to the other, are employed in holing land by task work, and continue equally healthy in that employment with Negroes employed in the other works of an estate.—Nor do I think holing so laborious as mowing, shearing, ditching, or several other works done in this country.

Considering the whole labour of a Field Negro, ordinary and extraordinary, is it, in your opinion, more, or less, hard than that of a common labourer in those parts of Europe with which you are acquainted?

Much easier than the common labour of this country.

How are Negroes fed?

Negroes are fed differently on different islands—In Grenada, where the estates are large, and have a great deal of new ground, it has universally been the custom to allot so much land to each Negro for himself, his wife, and his children, as was thought sufficient to maintain them, and to dispose of the surplus for their own private benefit; and, as it has been universally considered the greatest benefit to a planter that his Negroes should have a sufficient quantity of provisions, and the more money the Negroes got for themselves, the more attached they were to the property, it has
been

been the custom to give them as much land as they could work—The custom was to give them one afternoon in the week, from the finishing of crop till the beginning of crop again, to work in their grounds—The manager, or overseer, went to the grounds, and called the list, to see if they were in their grounds, and again called the list in the evening—besides this, it was the universal custom on Sunday morning, at about nine o'clock, for the manager or overseer to go into the grounds, call over list, and see who were in their grounds; as it was generally the orders of the owner or manager for the Negroes to go to their grounds, except such as had passports from the owner or manager of the estate to go to market to sell their provisions, or to go to church, or see their countrymen—and I never knew any Negro who came to ask leave to be absent from the estate, when there was occasion for it, refused.—The manager went sometimes over the Negro grounds, and the overseers went twice a week, in order to judge of the state of the Negro gardens; and when they found some gardens were not properly taken care of, or that there was not sufficient food for the Negroes, they always gave such Negroes an allowance, and very often gave them further time to get their gardens in order—These were the customs in Grenada; and if any owner of an estate did not give sufficient and proper grounds to his Negroes, it would be the means of their stealing and robbing the provision grounds of their neighbours, and it might occasion a revolt among the Negroes; and it becomes of the greatest consequence to the inhabitants of the Island, that all the Negroes are properly supported.—As some people were not so attentive to their interest as others, I think, in 1766, the Legislature of Grenada passed a law, by which the justices, at the general sessions of oyer and terminer, were directed to appoint inspectors in each parish, to examine into the state of the Negro grounds; and such inspectors were to fine such as were deficient.—In 1788 the Legislature of Grenada passed another act, which is to be seen in the Report of the Privy Council, by which the owner of each Slave is obliged to appropriate so much land to the use of every Slave as is sufficient to maintain him; which land he cannot take from him, or change, without the approbation of the guardians, who are appointed in each parish, to see if the Slaves have sufficient ground; and if the guardians consent to the change of grounds, the new ground must be planted a twelvemonth before the old is given up; and the owner is obliged by law to allow them half a day in a week to work in the ground, till the beginning of the next crop—What provisions they raise more than sufficient for their own and family's support, they have a right

to sell for the highest price they can get, and to whom they please.—They have the liberty of raising poultry and hogs, which they sell wherever they can get the best price for them.

What are the provisions which they raise for their own use, or for sale?

At Grenada and the Ceded Islands, plantanes and fig bananas, (which are a favourite and good food) cassada, yams of two kinds, couch couch, taniens, potatoes, Indian corn, Guinea corn, black-eyed peas, calavances, Lima beans, French beans, pidgeon peas, and various other sorts of peas and beans.—They have likewise cabbages, shalots, onions, garlic, and other vegetables.—They have also pine-apples, water-melons and musk-melons, and different sorts of pepper. Every one of these species of provisions the Negroes have in their grounds at some one or other season of the year. I would wish to add, that in cultivating these provisions, very little labour is used in the planting, and they only require from two to three weedings when the ground is covered, so that no further labour is requisite till they are gathered. The children from twelve to sixteen years old, will do equal work with their parents in weeding. In Grenada and the Ceded Islands, plantanes, cassada, yams, and taniens, are the principal food that Negroes cultivate for their support. The manner of cultivating the plantane-tree, is to dig a hole about two feet long, six or eight inches broad, and six inches deep, in which a plant is put, and which plant will require three or four weedings; when the plant throws out three suckers, which cover the ground, so that weeds do not grow under them; and, in twelve months, each sucker bears a bunch of fruit. If the land is good, the bunch is larger, and one bunch and an half, or two bunches, are sufficient for the support of one Negro for a week; so that each plant having three shoots, is sufficient for a fortnight's maintenance for one Negro. When the fruit is taken off, the tree is cut down even with the ground, and springs up fresh shoots, which bears again the following year; and no cultivation is required but the weeding. The tree commonly, in good land, and in seasonable weather, grows from twenty to thirty feet in height. The other sorts of provisions before-mentioned likewise cover the grounds in a few months, and only require weeding. The Negroes need not work one half of the time allowed them in their gardens; and, as the rains do not set in before May or June, before which time they cannot plant, they have no occasion to work in their grounds, but out of crop-time.

Though

Though there is no allowance of such provisions as are the produce of the land to such Negroes to whom lands are allotted in Grenada, is there not an allowance of salt meat?

There certainly is.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

Lunæ, 15^o die Februarii 1790.

Counsel and Witnesses called in as before; and the Counsel proceeded in their examination.

Is any allowance of salt provisions given in the Ceded Islands to the Negroes, and how much? Mr. CAMPBELL.

In Grenada it is customary to give the Negroes once a week an allowance of from eight to twelve herrings, according to the size of the herrings, or salt fish in proportion; and for the children and infants one half of that allowance is given to their parents—the Negroes likewise have beef or pork given to them at Christmas.

Is it customary to have land planted in Negro provisions, exclusive of what is allotted for Negro gardens?

In Grenada, and in the Ceded Islands, it is customary—and in Grenada it is fixed by a law, that a certain quantity of land should be planted in provisions, and cultivated by the gang of the estate, to supply provisions for the Hospital, and for Negroes who from indolence neglect their grounds, or who, from casualties, have not provisions sufficient to maintain them in their own grounds—and there are guardians appointed in each parish, whose duty it is, as set forth by the Act of the Legislature of Grenada, to visit and inspect the provision grounds; and in case there is want of provisions in these grounds sufficient to supply the sick Negroes, or those who have not a sufficiency of provisions in their own grounds, it is customary for the masters of such Negroes to buy provisions for them.

How are new Negroes fed and taken care of when they first come upon the estate?

When new Negroes are purchased, they are clothed and distributed

tributed in the houses of the principal Negroes of the estate, and are regularly fed with proper food three times a day, which is regularly served to them—this is commonly done for a twelvemonth after they are first purchased, and longer, till they have a sufficiency of provisions in their own grounds, and till they are accustomed to the ways and manners of the other Negroes, and able to provide for themselves.—It is customary, on their arrival on the estate, to have grounds allotted them; and their first work is to plant and cultivate these grounds; and they are allowed, at different times, days to keep the grounds clean from weeds; and they generally are allowed to sell the first provisions produced on their grounds, in order to attach them to the estate, and encourage them to cultivate their grounds—the having property which they call their own, makes them happy, and gives them a better idea of their situation—it is likewise very common for their masters to give them poultry, to encourage them to rear them—this has been my own, and the general practice.

Is the land allotted to each family sufficient to maintain it?

In Grenada and the Ceded Islands the land allotted is not only fully sufficient, but in general the Negroes dispose of provisions, poultry, and hogs—that every Slave who makes proper use of the time allowed him to cultivate his grounds, may sell produce to the amount of from £. 7 to £. 15 sterling yearly, more than sufficient to maintain him; and some Negroes that have good land, and are industrious, often sell from £. 30 to £. 40 sterling—Negroes and Slaves having children (land being allowed them for their children) their proportion amounts to more than that of single Slaves; and I believe, in all the Ceded Islands, that one-half of the current specie is the property of the Negroes.

What use do the Negroes make of the money so acquired?

Negroes are naturally fond of gaiety and dress; and though they are allowed sufficient cloathing from their masters (which they wear on working days) on Sundays going to church, to market, or to visit their countrymen, they wear fine cloaths, which they purchase themselves—it is very common, in Grenada and the Ceded Islands, to see the Negroes dressed in white dimity jackets and breeches, and fine Holland shirts, and the women in muslins—and it is very common to see the Negro women wear four or five India muslin handkerchiefs on their heads, which cost from eight to ten shillings each—and this is common among the Field Negroes—They are likewise fond of giving entertainments to their friends and countrymen—I have often seen Slaves
give

give feasts to 100 or 200 other Slaves, when they have had every rarity, and wines, and which I could not have given for £. 60 sterling—and they very often borrow their masters plate and linen to entertain their friends—these feasts are very frequent amongst the Slaves—When large hogs are killed by the Negroes on the plantations, it is customary to sell them to the other Negroes, in such small quantities as they want.

How are the Negroes lodged in the Ceded Islands ?

Every Negro who has a family, or any single Negro, who are desirous of having a house, are assisted by their master to build a house—the houses are commonly from twenty five to thirty feet in length, and from twelve to fifteen feet broad, divided into three parts—the sides and tops are covered with wild cane, and thatched over with cane-tops—they are warm, dry, and comfortable, more so than if covered with boards, and are esteemed more healthy—and at one end of the house, on the outside, each Negro has a hog pen, and at the other end of the house they have a conveniency for their poultry.

Is there a sufficient number of well-informed experienced medical men in the West Indies ?

I know no country where there are more able medical men, according to the size of the country, and its inhabitants, than in the West Indies—in Grenada there are about forty eminent and experienced medical gentlemen.

What is allowed to the doctor for each Negro ?

At Grenada the doctor is allowed 7s. 6d. currency for each Slave, young and old—He is besides paid for every fracture, or other surgical operation, which he performs, and 20s. currency per head for inoculation.

How are the Negroes treated when sick ?

When a Negro feels himself indisposed, he comes to the proprietor or manager of the estate, and informs him that he is indisposed—He is immediately sent into the hospital, where there are always two nurses, who constantly attend the sick, to give them physic, nurse them, and to see that they are regularly fed with proper provisions and nourishment—the doctor, if not residing on the estate, always visits the hospital three times a week, and as many times more as is necessary—and the owner or manager, with the chief nurse of the hospital (who has been accustomed to attend the sick) examine all the Negroes in the hospital every morning—

tributed in the houses of the principal Negroes of the estate, and are regularly fed with proper food three times a day, which is regularly served to them—this is commonly done for a twelvemonth after they are first purchased, and longer, till they have a sufficiency of provisions in their own grounds, and till they are accustomed to the ways and manners of the other Negroes, and able to provide for themselves.—It is customary, on their arrival on the estate, to have grounds allotted them; and their first work is to plant and cultivate these grounds; and they are allowed, at different times, days to keep the grounds clean from weeds; and they generally are allowed to sell the first provisions produced on their grounds, in order to attach them to the estate, and encourage them to cultivate their grounds—the having property which they call their own, makes them happy, and gives them a better idea of their situation—it is likewise very common for their masters to give them poultry, to encourage them to rear them—this has been my own, and the general practice.

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In Grenada and the Ceded Islands the land allotted is not only fully sufficient, but in general the Negroes dispose of provisions, poultry, and hogs—that every Slave who makes proper use of the time allowed him to cultivate his grounds, may sell produce to the amount of from £. 7 to £. 15 sterling yearly, more than sufficient to maintain him; and some Negroes that have good land, and are industrious, often sell from £. 30 to £. 40 sterling—Negroes and Slaves having children (land being allowed them for their children) their proportion amounts to more than that of single Slaves; and I believe, in all the Ceded Islands, that one-half of the current specie is the property of the Negroes.

What use do the Negroes make of the money so acquired?

Negroes are naturally fond of gaiety and dress; and though they are allowed sufficient cloathing from their masters (which they wear on working days) on Sundays going to church, to market, or to visit their countrymen, they wear fine cloaths, which they purchase themselves—it is very common, in Grenada and the Ceded Islands, to see the Negroes dressed in white dimity jackets and breeches, and fine Holland shirts, and the women in muslins—and it is very common to see the Negro women wear four or five India muslin handkerchiefs on their heads, which cost from eight to ten shillings each—and this is common among the Field Negroes—They are likewise fond of giving entertainments to their friends and countrymen—I have often seen Slaves
give

give feasts to 100 or 200 other Slaves, when they have had every rarity, and wines, and which I could not have given for £. 60 sterling—and they very often borrow their masters plate and linen to entertain their friends—these feasts are very frequent amongst the Slaves—When large hogs are killed by the Negroes on the plantations, it is customary to sell them to the other Negroes, in such small quantities as they want.

How are the Negroes lodged in the Ceded Islands ?

Every Negro who has a family, or any single Negro, who are desirous of having a house, are assisted by their master to build a house—the houses are commonly from twenty five to thirty feet in length, and from twelve to fifteen feet broad, divided into three parts—the sides and tops are covered with wild cane, and thatched over with cane-tops—they are warm, dry, and comfortable, more so than if covered with boards, and are esteemed more healthy—and at one end of the house, on the outside, each Negro has a hog pen, and at the other end of the house they have a conveniency for their poultry.

Is there a sufficient number of well-informed experienced medical men in the West Indies ?

I know no country where there are more able medical men, according to the size of the country, and its inhabitants, than in the West Indies—in Grenada there are about forty eminent and experienced medical gentlemen.

What is allowed to the doctor for each Negro ?

At Grenada the doctor is allowed 7s. 6d. currency for each Slave, young and old—He is besides paid for every fracture, or other surgical operation, which he performs, and 20s. currency per head for inoculation.

How are the Negroes treated when sick ?

When a Negro feels himself indisposed, he comes to the proprietor or manager of the estate, and informs him that he is indisposed—He is immediately sent into the hospital, where there are always two nurses, who constantly attend the sick, to give them physic, nurse them, and to see that they are regularly fed with proper provisions and nourishment—the doctor, if not residing on the estate, always visits the hospital three times a week, and as many times more as is necessary—and the owner or manager, with the chief nurse of the hospital (who has been accustomed to attend the sick) examine all the Negroes in the hospital every morning—

The hospitals are convenient and proper for the sick, with different divisions—there is an hospital upon every estate, which is obliged to be kept in good order and repair by a law of the island—Wine, and every thing that is requisite, is generally found for the sick—I believe the hospitals in general, on the plantations at Grenada, are as well attended to as the hospitals in this country—if the least sore appears on the leg of a Negro, not so large as a sixpence, without having any other ailment, it is customary to lay up that Negro in the hospital, as it is difficult to cure sores without confinement; and the Negroes are regularly fed by their masters while in the hospital—it is very customary for Negroes to come into the hospital who have no apparent complaint, but that of a dry skin, and they are allowed to remain a day or two in the hospital, without their complaint being known.

What is the general character of the managers and overseers in the West Indies?

On an estate in the West Indies, consisting of 3 or 400 acres of land, with Slaves and stock sufficient to cultivate it, and which may be estimated at 30 or 40,000*l.* sterling, the manager of such an estate would be required to be a man of sense, humanity, and good conduct—He is not only to study the temper of each Slave, but he must be acquainted with the care of the stock and the culture of the land, so that it requires a man of the first abilities to direct an estate in the West Indies, and it is for the interest of the proprietor to get such a person—He takes every pains to procure proper persons to direct his property—Every planter knowing that the principal management of an estate is to have the Negroes in good heart, and taken care of, the first principle they look to is humanity in the manager, and, without having such a character, no planter would employ even his brother—The allowance given to managers, in Grenada and the Ceded Islands, is commonly from 150*l.* to 300*l.* sterling, which, with the provisions and stock, and other allowances given them, which they can raise upon the estate, is sufficient to enable them to live comfortably and happily, and to save the greatest part of their wages—and, if their conduct is humane and proper, they are generally as much respected as the proprietor of the estate, and very frequently become proprietors themselves—that it is only men of some education and ability that are fit for such employments, and they are very often sons of gentlemen from this country, Scotland, and Ireland, who go out from this country as overseers, and by their good conduct, after having experienced the management of Slaves, and manufacturing the produce of the grounds, they become managers.

What

What are the offences for which Negroes are generally punished by their master or the manager ?

Negroes in general are subject to thieving, and are fond of strong liquors ; and a number of ill-disposed Negroes, coming from the coast of Africa, are often guilty of breaking open the stores, the rum cellars, stealing provisions from their masters, or from each other, quarrelling and wounding each other, and running away from the estate ; these are the general causes for which masters punish their Slaves.—All the estates are obliged to keep guards on the Negro provision gardens, and to guard the cattle pens, storehouses, and rum cellars.

Can the master, or manager, inflict what punishment he pleases, or is he limited ?

In Grenada, by the law of the island, proprietors or managers cannot order any punishment to be given to any Slave which exceeds thirty-nine lashes, for any one crime, and that must be on the breach—nor can any overseer order a punishment of more than twelve lashes.

Is the punishment which, in fact, is inflicted, generally severe, or is it slight ?

In comparison with the punishment of fifty lashes given to a soldier in this country for small crimes, it is not so severe—and, being given on the breach, it is soon cured ; and proprietors and managers of estates often forgive great crimes to a Negro who has not been punished before, because, after they have been flogged several times, they consider it as little punishment ; and good Negroes, and those who have not been accustomed to be whipped, feel the disgrace more than the whipping—and whippings are more frequent on some estates than on others.

Is not the punishment in general only a few lashes, and does it not but seldom exceed a few lashes ?

Proprietors or managers of estates seldom or ever punish for small crimes ; but they find it requisite at times to punish, but not too severely—it is for the interest of the proprietor not to punish so severely as to keep the Negro from going to work—nor did I ever see a punishment given which I could call very severe, or more than the Negro could bear.

Are the overseers allowed to punish, or order punishment, to the Negroes ?

No overseer is allowed to punish a Slave himself ; nor can he,
by

by a law in the island, order more than twelve lashes to be given to a Slave.

In your visits among the islands, did you observe any oppressions or ill treatment of the Negroes?

In the West Indies, like every other country, there are some men who are more indulgent to their Negroes than others; but I never, that I remember, saw any ill treatment or cruelties exercised on the Negroes, although I have heard of some proprietors being more severe than others.

Did you observe in the islands any beggars, or other miserable objects, such as are frequently seen in the streets in this country, and other parts of Europe?

During the ten years, from 1779 to 1788, that I was in the West Indies, I never saw any beggar, or object of misery, except at Barbadoes, where I saw a great many White beggars and miserable objects—some of them serving Free Negroes and Slaves, who pay a certain weekly allowance to their master for their time.

In your visits to the French islands, have you observed whether the French treat their Negroes better than the English do?

The remarks that I made were, that the French Domestic Negroes are very often made the companions of their masters and their mistresses—and many of them are the Mulatto children of the masters—In general, their domestics are better treated than the domestics in the English islands; but they do not cloath or feed their Field Negroes so well as the English feed their Negroes; and they generally make their Field Negroes work more, and are more severe in their punishments.

Do the French Negroes appear to be better disposed, in general, than the English Negroes.

I think they are considerably so—they are not so given to thieving—almost all the Negroes being Christians, and are more enlightened, and have more proper ideas between right and wrong—Generally every evening, out of crop time, the Negroes meet of their own accord, after throwing grass, at prayers, and to sing hymns; which service of prayers is always performed by one of themselves, and seemingly with a fervency and devotion equal to that shewn in the service in the churches of this country.

Are the French Negroes, of which you speak, Roman Catholics?

I believe all in the French Islands are.

You have stated that you purchased 1200 African Negroes to put on your estates, What state did they appear to be in?

All the new Negroes that I ever purchased seemed to me to be in an unenlightened and savage state—the Gold Coast Negroes seemed more tractable, and better acquainted with the nature of some sort of work.

Did you observe any symptoms of discontent or unhappiness among them when they were purchased, or upon their first coming to the plantation to which they were destined?

When they were exposed to sale they in general wished to shew themselves off to be purchased, and after being examined seemed to be disappointed, if they were not taken by the person who looked at them—when clothed and gone to the plantations, and meeting with their countrymen, who they saw clothed and enjoying comforts, they seemed very happy and remarkably cheerful—nor did I once, to the best of my knowledge, see one who seemed to be discontented at his lot in coming to the estate.

Have you ever endeavoured to discover whether any of them wished to return to Africa?

I have often asked that question of some of the Negroes which I have purchased, and their common answer was, “No, Master, me “know better”—nor did I ever know one of them who expressed a wish to return—they in general wished to be thought not African Negroes, and it is a common expression among them, when they quarrel “You are a Salt Water Negro,” which is as much as to say, You are a savage.

Are there many Christians among the Negroes in Grenada and the Ceded Islands?

In Grenada all the Creoles, and the greatest part of the new Negroes which have been imported, are Christians, it being common for new Negroes, two or three years after their arrival, to be christened. In all the estates which I visited in Grenada, the Negroes assembled every evening, out of crop-time, after throwing grass; and on every Sunday evening, in crop-time; when they went through the ceremony of prayer with seeming fervency and devotion, and sung hymns more divinely than is common in this

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country in the service of cathedrals. They often read the service over their dead, and are desirous to bury them in the churches. They often attend the churches, sometimes the English and sometimes the Roman catholic churches. The clergy at Grenada are obliged, by law, to christen the Negroes without any fee, and a certain number of times in a year to visit each estate, and instruct the Negroes in religious principles. I believe the Negroes in the other Ceded Islands are equally religious, although there is no law of the Islands to oblige the clergy to christen them without fee, or to visit the estates.

Are any of them Christians at the time when they are first imported from Africa, or did you ever know a single instance of it?

Not that I know of.

Are you acquainted with the Caribs of Saint Vincent's; describe them, their mode of living, and their conduct?

I settled an estate, and had Negroes, for two years, adjoining the Carib country. I have often seen them at Saint Vincent's, and I have an island within five leagues of Saint Vincent's, where they often come to fish—I have often seen them at that island—They are in possession of the best and richest part of land at Saint Vincent's, where there are spots here and there near their houses cleared; and which land is put in plantanes and cassada by the women. The men, when there is want of food, employ their time in fishing and looking for crabs; at other times they are quite idle, and go amongst the small Islands in the Grenadines in search of fish, birds, and eggs. They generally go naked, except a rag tied round their waist to cover their nakedness, and live in the same savage state as they did on the coast of Africa. They generally speak French, and there have always been French missionaries among them, till the Island was ceded to Great Britain; but they have never been able to make Christians of them. The women sometimes raise a little tobacco, and the men make baskets, which they sell among the neighbouring Islands for liquors. I have often known my own Negroes feed them, as thinking them objects that required it. My own Negro Slaves considered themselves much happier, and the Caribs as beneath them, although they came originally from Africa.

Are the Caribs free?

Yes—and considered so by this country, which has entered
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into treaty with them, and confirmed the possession of their lands.

Have the Caribs, though the owners of the best part of Saint Vincent's, cultivated any part of their possessions, except those small spots described?

I believe not, nor do the men ever work in the field.

Can you form any judgment of the state of population amongst the Caribs?

There had been no returns made of their numbers when we entered into treaty with them—nor is it known what their numbers consisted of; but at the time of the treaty it was supposed, and generally said, they were about 800 men fit to bear arms; it is now generally believed, they are not so strong, and that they have decreased; but I believe there is no person who can give an exact account of their numbers then or at present.

Do you not conceive, that, before the cession of Saint Vincent by the treaty of Paris, their numbers were kept up by the accession of runaway Negroes from the other Islands?

The Island of Saint Vincent being contiguous to the Islands of Martinique, Saint Lucia, Barbadoes, and Grenada, the Negroes could come in small open canoes from these Islands.—I believe it was the receptacle for runaway Slaves, and their numbers greatly increased by them; and it is clear that they intermarry with the yellow Caribs at Saint Vincent's, from the difference of their hair and complexions from those which come directly from Africa.

Are you acquainted with the state of the yellow Caribs in Trinidad; describe them, and their mode of living?

I visited Trinidad in 1787.—I went between twenty and thirty miles into the country.—In my way I passed, at different times, between fifty and sixty of the yellow Caribs, in different parties of men and women, some of whom had their children on their backs carried in baskets or cradles.—The women and children were naked, excepting rags about their waists.—They seemed in a perfect savage state; and I understood from the Governor, that there was a great number of them in different parts of the Island, who were in possession of a great many parcels of land (generally of the richest land) but not cultivated.—A few plantane trees and orange trees were planted near their houses or villages.—Their huts were only temporary, such as they could
build

build in a day, as they often changed their grounds in search of fish and prog.---I understood from their Governor, and other inhabitants of Trinidad, that it was one of the first settlements of the Spaniards in the West Indies; and though they have had, since the first settlement, Spanish priests amongst them, and though the Spaniards are zealous and bigots to their religion, always taking uncommon pains to make converts, they have never been able to convert them to Christianity.---I believe they are at this day in the same savage state as they were at the first settlement of the Island.

Are they a free people?

They are.

Are you acquainted with the state of Free Negroes and Mulattoes in the several islands where you have resided?

Yes.

Describe their mode of life, and the manner they support themselves.

The principal part of these Free Negroes have been formerly Slaves, and have been made free by their masters, as being favorites, or as a reward for their services—I have known many of them, who wished for their freedom, afterwards repent of their being made free, as they found it difficult to maintain themselves so well as they were maintained before; and if they were taken sick they were very often in want of necessary comforts equal to what they had before—The women commonly take to huxtering in the towns, and very often received stolen goods from the Slaves—Some of the men, who are tradesmen, have followed their occupation till they could purchase a Negro, and then left off working themselves—Some of them lived idle upon the gains of Negro Wenches—I never knew a Free Negro, in any of the islands, work in the field at daily labour, nor do I believe such Negro would hire himself to work in the field for any wages—Their general idea of liberty seems to be, not to be obliged to work.

Have you ever known White people to work in the fields, in the West Indies?

The sun in the West Indies is so intensely hot, that very few European constitutions can bear it, without being subject to diseases; and it is commonly the healthiest and stoutest young persons that are most subject to diseases in a warm country—it
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has been found by experience, that soldiers and sailors exposed to the sun are liable to diseases; and it is customary for the regiments in the West Indies to exercise before the sun rises; and we often give umbrellas to the overseers, to defend them from the sun and the rain—It is not therefore possible for any European constitution to stand any kind of field labour.

Do such tradesmen or artificers, who are White men, work in the open air, or within doors and under shed?

White tradesmen in the West Indies seldom work themselves, in doors or out of doors—there are Negro tradesmen of every description on the estates, whom the white tradesmen direct, but the Negroes lay out the work—the White tradesmen do the light and nice jobs themselves, and seldom do the heavy or fatiguing work.

Is it possible, in your judgment, to cultivate land in the West India islands by Europeans?

Quite impossible.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

Martis, 16^o die Februarii 1790.

Counsel and Witnesses called in as before; and the Counsel proceeded further in their Examination.

Have you resided in North America, and are you acquainted with the free Indians there? Mr. CAMPBELL.

I resided in North America from 1753 to 1759 (except in an excursion which I made to the West Indies of about four months, and a residence of a twelvemonth in Great Britain)—during the time I was in North America, I saw some Indians that were settled on the Eastern shore of Virginia, and who had possession of lands there; and though I believe no other Indians had come to that part of the country for fifty years before, as it was the land nearest the sea, and first settled by Europeans, and though there was not then above thirty of these Indians settled in the well-in-

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habited country, they still followed their customs and manners, and were then in a savage state.—I resided in North Carolina in 1758 and 1759, where several tribes of Indians had lands in the midst of a well-inhabited country, and were for a great many years at a great distance from the other nations of Indians, yet they were still in a savage state—the men never work in the fields, only hunt and fish, the women doing all the labour of raising corn for their subsistence.

Have these Indians been converted to Christianity?
No—I believe not one.

Can the plough be used to advantage in the Ceded Islands, so as to save Negro labour?

The Ceded Islands are generally very mountainous and stony, and there is very little flat land where the plough can be used—there are excessive torrents of rain at times, insomuch that on the land ploughed on a declivity the soil would soon be washed away—the flat land is mostly strong clay land, and in wet weather could not be ploughed; and it is difficult to be ploughed in dry weather, on account of the dryness and hardness of the soil—I do not believe there are a thousand acres of land in Grenada fit to be ploughed; and land ploughed must have some labour of Negroes employed thereon before it can be planted—the lands in the Ceded Islands rattoon—the lands holed in general can be done by the Negroes of the estate after the weeding is over, when they have little other work to do, and as the same number of Negroes are obliged to be kept on the estate to take off the crop in proper times.—The ploughing of land would be very little saving—through the difficulty of procuring a ploughman who understands his business, and the nature of ploughs differing in every part of this country, together with the expences of such a ploughman, and the expences of horses and cattle; the charges would be double to what the land which was to be holed would cost, if done by task.—Ploughs have been often tried, and found by experience not to answer; and I believe no people pay more attention to their interest than persons in the West Indies, or would more eagerly pursue any mode wherein they thought the labour of their Slaves could be saved.

Do you think it possible to carry on the cultivation of a sugar estate but by Slaves attached to the estate?

I think it totally impossible, from the nature of a West India estate, where it is requisite to have 2 or 300 Negroes on 3 or

400 acres of land—the nature of the work is such, that the ablest planter cannot ascertain at what time the constant attendance of the Negroes is most requisite to carry on the cultivation—and the absence of the gang for a fortnight from the estate, at any one time, would be very injurious to the cultivation, and a considerable loss—it might be years before the estate could be got into proper order—it would be impossible, if there were not Negroes attached to the estate, to hire, lodge, or feed, such a number of Slaves as would be requisite.

Is it your opinion, founded on experience, that the Negro women in the West Indies breed less frequently, and continue to breed for a shorter period of time, than the women of colder climates?

I believe that women in the West Indies do not breed so soon, and do not continue so long to breed, as women in a colder climate—they seldom have more than five or six children, and they begin early connections with the sex, and have more variety, which likewise tends to prevent their breeding.

Are the children in the West Indies more subject to fatal disorders than children in a colder climate?

I have had regular journals kept on my own estate for twenty-seven years, by which I could see the diseases children died of, and have now upwards of 180 children on my property—I have found from my own experience, and from what I have heard from the most eminent men in the medical line in Grenada, that many children die of the lock-jaw in a few days after their birth—a great many die of worms—and the putrid fore-throat is very fatal to young infants before the doctor can get them to take a sufficiency of bark; and almost all the children have the yaws, of which, at times, the first medical men in this country have not been able to effect a cure, so as not to leave them liable to other diseases—These are the chief diseases which children are subject to in Grenada more than in colder climates.

Are the inhabitants in the West Indies, both children and adults, subject to such epidemical diseases as to produce great mortality; and what, in your opinion, are the causes of those epidemical disorders?

Every Island in the West Indies is at times subject to intense heats, long droughts, heavy torrents of rain, calms, and cold bleak north winds, which at different times cause putrid fevers and putrid fore-throats, and inflammatory fevers, pleurisies, liver complaints,

complaints, and dysenteries, which often occasion great mortality; and it is commonly the healthiest and ablest of the slaves that are most subject to these disorders, and to whom it proves more fatal than to those of a more delicate habit.

Are there any other causes which subject Slaves to great mortality?

All the Islands in the West Indies are subject to hurricanes, gusts of wind, or excess of rains, by which the provisions are destroyed, from July to November; and these happening at a season when there is no shipping in the country, and the distance from this country being too great to send for a supply of provisions to feed the slaves with, they are often obliged to eat the ground provisions and corn before they are fully ripe, which often occasion fluxes and great mortality among them; and I have often known, from these causes, that half of the gang of an estate have been taken with fluxes, and this happens very frequently—formerly (when we traded with America) when these calamities happened, we could send to America and get dry provisions in a short time to feed our Negroes, but being at present deprived of that supply, the above disorder becomes very fatal to Slaves, and I believe from this cause as many Slaves are lost as from the disorders in the country—this may be remedied by establishing a commercial trade with America in small vessels, which would be for the advantage of both countries.

Are those epidemical disorders frequent in all the Islands in the West Indies?

I believe there is no Island in the West Indies but what is subject to them at different times; and seldom above three or four years pass in any of the Islands without the inhabitants being subject to some or other of these disorders, both among the Whites and Blacks—very often an estate will increase in its numbers, by more births than deaths, for a certain time, and very often in one month or two loses a fourth or fifth part of its Slaves by these epidemical disorders—I myself have an estate in Grenada, situated in the healthiest part of the island, where, from 1766 till 1786 I had not put on above twenty new Slaves, and sold near as many, and my numbers did not diminish above ten in that time—the gang consisted of about 200 Slaves—in 1786 I lost sixteen Slaves, and four only were born—in 1787 I lost twenty-five Slaves (most of them being the stoutest and ablest of my gang) with a liver complaint, of which they died in a few weeks—all the neighbouring estates suffered equally, and one of my neighbours in particular

particular lost forty-seven Slaves, out of a gang of 300, of the same disorder; and the year following the disorder was fatal in other parts of the Island of Grenada, where it attacked the Whites as well as the Blacks—and of which disorder I lost my nephew, and several of my managers and overseers were attacked with it.—The disorder had never been known so common or fatal in the Island of Grenada before, but has since been more frequent in all the Islands; and I believe this disorder must have been occasioned by the climate.—I left the West Indies in June 1788, and by the returns of my Slaves at Grenada in June 1789, I have had an increase of eight Slaves, births more than deaths; but by the letters of October last, the inhabitants of the Island are very sickly, and in six weeks I have lost seventeen Slaves with the flux, most of them able Slaves; and by the last accounts the Island still appears more unhealthy, and it is probable I shall have an account of the loss of as many more—all the Islands, I believe, have suffered in proportion with myself—and, from the accounts from some of the other Islands, it appears that the inhabitants are equally sickly with those of the Island of Grenada; and in particular at Saint Kitt's and the Leeward Islands they lost a great many of their Slaves about two years ago.

If you could not have purchased Slaves to supply the places of those who died in the years 1786 and 1787, what must have been the consequence?

In the gang of the estate, consisting of about 170, I was obliged to have about thirty cutters in the field, and twenty tyers—and if I could not have supplied myself with grown Slaves to replace those which I lost, even the loss of fifteen or twenty grown Slaves would have occasioned at least sixty or seventy hogsheads of sugar, and forty puncheons of rum, difference in my crop; and I am afraid, in spite of every attention to humanity, rather than suffer so great a diminution of my crop, the other Negroes would have been made to work more than they would have done if my estate had been fully flaved, and it might be the occasion of a greater loss of Slaves the year following than I should otherwise have had, and a greater diminution of my crop in proportion—whereas, by purchasing twenty new Slaves from the Coast of Africa, I should pay to this country, for the manufactures, profit, and freight, a thousand pounds; for the cost of the Slaves, the duties, freight, and charges to this country on the sixty or seventy hogsheads of sugar I should make, and one-fourth of the rum that would come to this country, would be a thousand pounds more; besides what I should pay to this country for herrings, cloathing, and imple-

ments of husbandry, which would be at least £. 100 more; so that, by the importation of such twenty Slaves, this country would benefit upwards of £. 2,000, and I should be repaid the loss in one year—and the cause of humanity would be protected, as it would be saving my other Slaves from more labour, and would be the means of bringing twenty Slaves from a naked and savage state, to be clothed, better fed, and made Christians of.

If an estate is not fully stocked with Slaves, so as to continue the cultivation of the whole, what must be the consequence?

Every person who is acquainted with the nature of a sugar estate must know, that if the estate is weakly handed, the crop must be begun as early as the beginning of January, and continue till June or July; the consequence of which is, that the canes are at that time watery, and that it will take sometimes from 2,500 to 3,000 gallons of liquor to make a hoghead of sugar; whereas, if I was fully handed, I could begin in the months of March, April, or May; and in that case 1,500 gallons, or less, would make the same quantity of sugar, with half the labour to the Slaves and stock; so that it is much for the interest of the proprietor, and for the ease and comfort of the Slave, that the estate should be fully handed. It is well known, that lands in the Ceded Islands being newly cleared, if only neglected for a twelvemonth, would grow up into wood and brush to the height of ten or twelve feet; and if the gang were weakly, part of the estate must be abandoned, and the Slaves rendered more unhealthy by means of such land growing up into brush and wood.

Supposing the Ceded Islands were at this time entirely cleared, in full cultivation, and fully stocked with Slaves, would the then number of Slaves be sufficient to continue the same cultivation, and raise the same produce?

No—by no means; for at present the lands at Grenada, and the Ceded Islands, are new and ratoon, and when holed require less dung. The longer the land is in cultivation, and the oftener it is opened, the less it will ratoon, and it will require more land to be opened, and more dung and cultivation to be given to it; so that an estate with 200 Slaves (which are fully sufficient at present, where the land is new and ratoons) will, in twenty-five or thirty years hence, require near 300 Slaves to keep up the produce of the estate, and I consider the increase of labour will be equal to two per cent. yearly to keep up the produce of the estate.

Having

Having stated, in a former part of your evidence, that there were many more men than women amongst the Slaves in the Ceded Islands, do you conceive if the number of women was made equal by purchases to the number of men, that the stock of the Slaves could be kept up by breeding?

I do not think it possible.

Can you, from your own judgment, founded on experience, or from the accounts which you have received from others, estimate the yearly decrease of Slaves?

My own estates are partly in the island of Grenada, to the windward of the island, situated in as healthy a situation as any in the island, having provision grounds of seasonable good land, sufficient to maintain four times the number of Slaves I ever had; and, during the twenty-seven years I have been a planter, about two-thirds of that time I have had one of the most eminent medical men of the profession living on the estate; and during the rest of the time, an able medical man attended three times a week, or as much oftener as was required.—Regular journals have been kept on my estate, from 1763 to this day, of births and deaths; but, as I cannot now have recourse to them to state the exact number of births and deaths, I speak to the best of my knowledge, and believe that the deaths exceeded the births about three per cent. annually, upon an average.—From my own observations, and from what I have learned from others, I believe the decrease on the whole island has been as much, if not more; and I believe the other Ceded Islands have lost full as many in proportion.—The decrease in the Old Islands, I believe (not being so well supplied with provisions as the Ceded Islands, although the Ceded Islands are rendered more unhealthy by not being fully cleared) is near as great.—In Grenada, from the capture of the island in 1779 till the restoration of it in 1784, from estimations made, the loss was estimated at four per cent. although the island was at that time more than commonly healthy, few of the White inhabitants having died while it was in the hands of the French; and I believe the additional mortality was owing to the scarcity of provisions, which, in time of war, could not be procured.—I am interested in a mortgage on three estates situated in a healthy part, to the windward of Dominique, where there was plenty of ground provision on the estates, and a medical man constantly residing thereon, and on which estates there have been no supply of Negroes put from 1779 to this time; and I believe the decrease there has been equal to four per cent.—Two sets of the works were obliged to be abandoned, from the decrease of the Negroes—the estates have
grown

grown to brush and wood, and do not make half the produce they did in 1779.

If the Slave Trade was to be abolished, what effect do you conceive it would produce on the minds of those Slaves who are already in the West Indies?

The Slaves being sensible that when an estate is underhanded it is liable to more labour, by means of the crop being obliged to be taken off at unseasonable times; and being sensible that part of the estate, growing into brush and wood out of cultivation, would be rendered unhealthy, and that the labour would fall more hard upon them, they would become broken-hearted, and give themselves up to despondency—Nothing makes the Slaves more happy than to see new Negroes come on the estate, as it eases their labour, and is the means of their getting wives; and it is well known to every person who has ever been in the West Indies, that nothing makes the Slaves despond so much as when there are no fresh supplies brought to the estate.—By letters which I have received lately from some of the members of the Legislature of Grenada, they say that the Slaves begin to be a little turbulent, and express themselves, that the Parliament of Great Britain would make them free if it was not for their masters.—With these ideas, the whole of the White inhabitants might be destroyed in a night or a day; and I believe, if they knew that the Parliament of Great Britain meant to abolish the Slave Trade, so essential to their ease and comfort, and could come at those who should pass such a law, they would not hesitate at destroying them.

During the last war, was not the importation of Slaves from Africa interrupted, and what was the consequence?

Amongst the islands captured by the French, the importation of Slaves was almost entirely stopt; and I believe there was very little importation to the other islands for some years; the consequence of which was, that the islands fell off greatly in their numbers and cultivation, Grenada having diminished nearly to the amount of seven thousand, and I believe the other islands have diminished in the same proportion; and since the capture, all the islands have been and are in great want of Slaves; and the French, Dutch, and Spaniards, have given half as much more for them as we have given in our islands—The demands being great from the foreign islands, we were obliged to take the Slaves in lots of young and old, setting aside the sick and diseased—The buyer being at the will of the feller, he could not purchase women,

men, and such Slaves as he could wish—There is a greater proportion of men than women; and a great many women, when brought from the coast of Africa, are past child-bearing.

Did not that diminution of the number of Slaves occasion a diminution of the produce of those Islands?

Most certainly.

Has the discussion of the question of abolition produced any effect on West India credit and property?

Most certainly it has—The mortgagees and creditors of West India property are alarmed at the consequences, and are desirous of getting their money.—It has put a total stop to the further loan of money on West India property, and to the sale of West India estates.—The West India proprietors settled on these Islands, and who hold their property guaranteed by charters and acts of parliament, considering themselves, although in the Colonies, as having equal rights to the protection of their property, and the management of it, as if they were settled in this country; and finding that they are likely to be deprived of the only means of preserving the value thereof, by acts of parliament made by the Legislature of Great Britain (which cannot be supposed to be so fully acquainted with their situation) they consider their estates as in a more precarious and uncertain state, and, under such circumstances, cannot sell or dispose of any property.

What, in your opinion, would be the consequence to the West India Islands, and to this country, if the Slave Trade was to be abolished?

The decrease being three per cent. yearly on the Slaves in the West Indies, and that decrease falling more in proportion on the able and grown Slaves, the loss of labour may be estimated in the proportion of two per cent. more; and the annual increase of labour being equal to two per cent. to keep up its produce, and that still rendered more by the Islands being rendered unhealthy from the lands growing into brush and wood, and from the despondency of the Slaves, the loss would be in a greater proportion—If any epidemical disorders were to happen in any part of this kingdom, so as to cause a loss of half its inhabitants, that decrease could be supplied from this, or the neighbouring kingdoms; or if the like disorders were to happen in any part of Africa, Slaves might be bought, or inhabitants procured, from the other parts of Africa, to supply the loss occasioned by such disorders—But if the Slave Trade is abolished, and if such disorders happen in any one

of the Islands, it cannot be supplied from any of the rest, as no person would part with a Slave at any price.—For these reasons it is natural to conclude, that in a certain time the abolition of the Slave Trade will be the ruin of the West India property, and the destruction of the Slaves that are already there.

And then the Counsel and Witnes were directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 17^o die Februarii 1790.

Counsel and Witnes called in as before; and the Counsel proceeded in their Examination.

Mr. CAMPBELL.

If this country should abolish the African Negro trade, would it, in your opinion, be carried on by other nations; and what would be the consequence?

My opinion on that subject is, that it would be the means of other nations, who have hitherto carried on very little of that trade, going very extensively into it—France having Colonies in the West Indies, which are not half cultivated, and which are equally fertile and fit for the cultivation of sugar, and other West Indian produce, and knowing that the settlement of those Colonies by Slaves would be the means of encreasing their shipping and seamen, and that it would enable them to man their navy, and be the means of their acquiring wealth, and supplying the other powers of Europe, having no Colonies of their own, with those productions of the West Indies, which are become the necessary articles of consumption; and seeing how advantageous this trade would be, have granted bounties on Slaves, and the shipping importing them to their Colonies.—Spain, whose policy has hitherto been to keep the greatest part of their Colonies in an unimproved state of cultivation, and to keep them unknown and unconnected with the other powers of Europe, content themselves with the bullion and productions which grow naturally, and can be applied to commercial profit, now see clearly that it is absolutely necessary for them to change their whole system of colonizing, as without shipping and seamen, and manufactures, which will employ their shipping, they cannot defend their colonies, which may be taken from them by other powers—
Spain

Spain having ten times more West Indian territory than all the other powers of Europe put together, seeing that the parliament of Great Britain are about to abolish the Slave Trade, and that it would be for their interest to have their lands, that are at present uncultivated, put into sugar and other produce of the West Indies, by which they would acquire wealth, shipping, and seamen, and thinking this the most favourable time for them to procure Slaves, which they could buy cheaper in Africa by Great Britain abolishing the trade, they last summer published an edict, opening all their ports in the different Colonies for the importation of Slaves, to all nations, free of duty, and they give bounties on Slaves imported into their own Colonies.—They have also published an edict, inviting all Slaves of other colonies to come to them, and that they should be made free upon their arrival; which shews of what material consequence they think it to them to have their Colonies settled.—They have likewise made some of their Islands free ports, inviting the subjects of other nations to come and settle in them, in order to procure West India produce, and to encourage their navigation and seamen.—I am informed, and it is well known in this country, that, for the last two years, a considerable number of vessels, owned by the merchants of this country, have been fitted out from France as French vessels, with an English captain, and French sailors, to carry Slaves to the French Colonies, and receive the bounties.—This trade is carried on with English capitals.—It is well known to the French, who encourage it, as tending to create more seamen, and being the means of settling their Colonies.—It will increase their shipping and seamen, by transporting the produce of their Colonies, and their fisheries, by supplying the Slaves.—If the Slave Trade is abolished, our merchants and capitals employed at present in the Trade, will go to France and Ostend, where they will carry on the Trade, and not only carry their Slaves to the French and Spanish settlements, but also to the free ports of Saint Eustatia, Saint Thomas, and Saint Bartholomew, belonging to the Dutch, the Swedes, and the Danes;—these nations would likewise go into the Trade, and supply our colonies.—It is well known, that the greatest part of the manufactures which go to the coast of Africa, are cottons and linens, and that these, when raw, are much cheaper in France than in this country.—There is a great deal of cotton brought from France to this country, which pays a duty in France of twelve per cent. before shipped, and the charges, before it comes into the hands of the manufacturer, is twelve per cent. more.—It would cost twenty-five per cent. more to send these articles manufactured to France.—That if the revolution in
France

France takes place, when person and property are secured by laws, the manufacturer of this country will go to France, where he will carry on his Trade to an advantage of fifty per cent. and it may be the means of their supplying us, instead of our supplying them; so that, in my opinion, the abolishing the Slave Trade would be enriching and increasing the navigation and seamen of the powers of France and Spain.—Those powers would acquire, by this one act of the Legislature, what their forefathers have for centuries strove to gain, and what our forefathers, for centuries past, have strove to keep from them, and which has cost this nation £. 270,000,000 to keep; it might also reduce this nation to the state of Holland, by employing its riches and capitals in loans to other nations, to carry on their settlements, who have not the ideas which seem to prevail in this country; for, knowing that all their Slaves are Christians, enlightened and improved, serving God and man, they consider it as an act of the greatest humanity to bring the Negroes from the coast of Africa, from a state of nakedness and savageness.—It is well known, that the value of the West India produce is at least equal to nine millions to this country; and that, by the estimate in the report of the Privy Council, it appears that the West India produce, which went to Ireland and North America, was not valued;—it was calculated in a year when short crops prevailed in the West Indies, and that the prices are stated below the medium prices.—Upwards of three millions of the above nine millions are paid to this country in duties, freight, and other charges; the other six millions are consumed in the manufactures and fisheries, and center in this country.—It is my opinion, that the abolishing the Slave Trade would be the ruin of the Colonies, destructive to the Slaves at present in them, and be the most impolitic act, and the greatest inhumanity, and breach of faith, which this country could pass.

Will the British Planters in the West Indies be prevented, by any regulations made here, from purchasing Negroes?

If a West India Planter saw his Negroes decrease, and his property go to ruin (which must certainly be the case, if the Slave Trade is abolished) he would consider himself as a British subject, having the rights adherent thereto; and knowing, when he first settled, that the cultivation of his land must depend upon the importation of Slaves, which had been hitherto secured to him by acts of parliament, charters, and rights, he has hitherto considered that he could not be deprived of his property without the power which took away his right paying him an equivalent

valent—and seeing his property and Slaves wasting, he would think it incumbent on him to get Slaves in any way that he could, and at any price he could purchase them for—he would go to the free ports before mentioned, and purchase such Slaves—thus being obliged to purchase Slaves at these free ports, from whence they must be transported in small vessels, which cannot have proper accommodations for the Slaves, it would subject them to heats and colds, and by being a few days on board such vessels, they would be exposed to more maladies than in a voyage from the coast of Africa, and would cost the English proprietors near double what they do at present.—In my opinion, the Legislature of this country could pass no act which could prevent the West India Planters from supplying themselves with Slaves, nor do I see, if the men of war of this country should seize such Slaves so importing, how the Slaves could be disposed of afterwards by the captors.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Was there not a condition in the grants of lands in the Ceded Islands, that half the land granted should be brought into cultivation within twenty years?

Yes, I think so.

Was not the grantee liable to a penalty for a non-performance of this article?

I think so.

Have any of those penalties been enforced?

None, to my knowledge.

Have you any objection to state, what you conceive to be the net profit, after deducting all charges, from the most profitable of the estates mentioned in your former evidence?

To that question it is impossible for me to give a direct answer, as the profits depend on so many different circumstances, of management, expences, losses, and the weather, whereby the different estates produce more one year than another.

It is not meant to ask you, if you object to give an estimate of future profits, but, if you object to give an account of the past ordinary profit from the most fertile of the three estates, leaving out of the question any extraordinary accidents?

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I should

I should be very happy to give any information in my power; but to ascertain a profit, a value must be first ascertained, and that profit differing yearly, from the different causes before mentioned, and not recollecting what the revenues and expences have been yearly, it is impossible for me to answer the question.

You have said, that from 8 to 10,000 acres of land have been abandoned in the Island of Grenada; do you know what the persons, by whom they were cultivated, did with their stocks, Negroes, &c. on that abandonment?

I know the estates, and a great many persons who cultivated the lands—most of them were new subjects, some of whom having been indebted to the merchants of Great Britain, and the Islands, carried off their Slaves to the French and Spanish settlements, in order to avoid the payment of their debts; and others, on account of the decrease of Slaves (there being no Slaves imported into the Island with which they could be replaced) have been obliged to abandon their cultivation; and from the same cause of not being able to procure Slaves, some planters, who had sugar, coffee, and cocoa estates, have been obliged to take the Slaves from off those estates to put on the sugar estates, to supply their loss; and some other planters, whose Slaves had decreased by mortality, and who had not the means to replace them, were obliged to abandon their property.

You have said, that the Slaves in Grenada are protected from severe punishment by law; how long have they been thus protected?

When Grenada was ceded to Great Britain in 1763, and the proclamation from the King was issued, declaring that the subjects in that Island should be entitled to the laws of Great Britain, equal to the most favoured of the other Colonies, it was then considered that the laws of Great Britain were in force.—In 1764 or 1765, a Legislature was formed at Grenada, which passed such laws as were thought requisite for the good government, management, and protection of Slaves—there was no law passed to prevent the owner of a Slave from inflicting such punishment as he thought his crime merited, it being considered by the Legislature and the Gentlemen of the Island at that time, that no law which they could pass could prevent improper punishments, so much as the laws of Great Britain, which were then in force.—Any proprietor or owner of a Slave, giving such Slave a cruel or an improper punishment, would become a matter of the greatest consequence

consequence to the neighbours and to the Island—and all the inhabitants were interested in protecting the Slaves from such cruel treatment, as insurrections among the Slaves might be occasioned thereby—the Islands being small, and the estates not consisting of more than 3 or 400 acres, the treatment of Masters to their Slaves is generally known.—When any cruel or unjust treatment has been given to the Slave, information has been given to the Justices of the Peace, or the Sessions, and several Masters have been indicted and fined by the Justices at the Sessions, and one White man was hanged, but whether he was a master or not I cannot say.—As it was the general interest of the proprietors to protect the Slave against ill treatment from others, I myself considered these powers being vested in the inhabitants by the laws of Great Britain, would secure the Slave more than by any local law that could be made. And these I know were the sentiments of the Legislature of Grenada, being myself a member thereof.

Why then is it stated, in the act of the 3d of November 1786, that the laws heretofore made for the protection of Slaves have been insufficient; and why is the restriction of punishment to thirty-nine lashes the first article in that law?

There have been a great many laws made in Grenada for the protection and management of Slaves.—Some of those laws having been found inadequate, about a twelvemonth before I left the island, in 1788, a Committee had been appointed of the Council and Assembly (of which Committee I was a member) to revise and consolidate all the laws, and to reform any defects therein; but having, after many meetings, made our report to the Assembly, the law could not be passed in June 1788, when I left the island; and in the report then laid before the Assembly, there was no restriction of punishment to thirty-nine lashes—and I believe the reason the legislature of Grenada restricted the punishment to thirty-nine lashes was, to shew to Great Britain, who had received petitions in favour of the abolition of the Slave Trade, that there was a law existing for confining the punishment to thirty-nine lashes, conceiving that the people of Great Britain could not be judges how the Slaves were protected, not knowing the laws then in force at Grenada;—and, in my opinion, the Slave was full as well protected before as he is by the present law; and, had I been then in the Legislature, I would have given my opinion against the measure.

Was it then generally understood before the passing of this law,
and

and from the time of your first residing in Grenada, that the Slave was protected by the common law of Great Britain?

It certainly was so understood and practised.

You say there is one instance of a capital punishment having been inflicted on a White man for cruelty to a Slave; what is the instance to which you allude, and do you remember the circumstances of the trial?

I was not on the island when it happened, but I was one of the Committee of the Legislature of Grenada, who was to report to the queries concerning the protection and management of Slaves; and, on this matter being mentioned by some of the members, we sent to the Secretary of the island, and directed him to make out a copy of the whole proceedings of the trial, and to certify them, as keeper of the records of the island, and to procure the seal of government to be affixed thereto, and to transmit the same to the Secretary of State's Office in Great Britain; which, I believe, were accordingly transmitted—with respect to the circumstances of the trial I know nothing.

What is the quantity of provision ground usually allotted to a Slave?

There is no fixed quantity; it depends on the quality of the land, and its situation—Some persons having more land than others, will give to the Slaves what they are able to work—but I never knew less than an acre given to six persons, reckoning women and children.

When an estate is said to consist of any given number of acres, is the Slaves provision ground included in the account?

Yes.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 18^o die Februarii 1790.

Counsel and Witnesses called in as before; and the Witnesses was further examined by Members of the Committee.

Mr. CAMPBELL.

Are goats, poultry, and such other articles as the Negroes raise
and

and sell, ordinarily sold at reasonable prices in the West Indies?

In Grenada it is not common to allow Negroes to keep goats, but the other articles are sold very reasonable, according to the West India prices—the price of pork is about five pence sterling per pound, fixed by law—the price of a fowl is from eighteen pence to three shillings sterling, and other poultry in proportion—the price of a roasting pig is four shillings and six-pence sterling.

Do any proprietors of land in Grenada allot their ground to the purposes of raising and carrying on a traffic in this sort of stock?

I do not know any White man in Grenada who employs any part of his land in raising stock of this sort—a few poultry and hogs are raised sometimes by the proprietors, about their houses, but their chief consumption is bought of the Slaves.

Are the Slaves in the French West India islands allowed provision grounds?

The Field Slaves are, but I do not know the quantity—I believe it is much the same as at Grenada.

Are you acquainted with the regulations of the Code Noir?

I have seen the Code Noir, and am acquainted with the French manners and customs of treating their Slaves—On our making the first laws in Grenada, there were many regulations for the management of Slaves, which we took from the Code Noir; but I cannot at present remember what the particulars were.

Having stated that illicit intercourse between Freemen and Slaves is extremely frequent in the French West India islands, and that in other respects the regulations of the Code Noir are broken through, to what do you attribute its inefficacy?

The generality of proprietors in the French Islands are Creoles (whose forefathers were Creoles, and have been there for some generations); they are unacquainted with the customs of other countries, and, having known no other customs but of those persons that they are brought up with, and which persons generally consist of their House and Domestic Slaves, and very often the Mulatto children of the proprietors serve as domestics, which naturally leads those proprietors to be more familiar with their Domestic Slaves, than the proprietors of estates in the English Islands; who are

generally men of this country, and who have made fortunes in the West Indies, and laid out those fortunes in purchasing estates; or persons of fortune in this country, who have purchased estates in the West Indies; their manners and customs being different from the French Creoles, and not acquainted or brought up with their Domestic Slaves, or accustomed to be so familiar with them, makes the difference between the French and English Domestic Slaves; but both countries are upon a footing with respect to the Field Slaves, with this difference, that till the last war the English West India Colonies found all sorts of provisions come reasonable to them from the American Colonies, and fish and salt provisions from this country cheaper than could be had by the French; by which the English planters were able, and did feed their Negroes with salt provisions, and other necessaries, better than the French did their Field Slaves—and, coarse woollens and cloathing coming cheaper from this country, they were in the custom of cloathing them yearly, which the French planters seldom did to their Negroes, they being obliged to supply themselves from what they sold out of their Negro grounds.—The French domestics were generally cloathed by their masters, who were always remarkably fond of parade and shew.—The French Islands have few medical men of eminence; nor are the Negroes generally so well treated, when sick, as the Negroes in the English Islands.—From the experience I have had, not only in the French Islands, but with the French planters who resided at Grenada, I found they worked their Negroes much harder, and their punishments were more severe than in the English Islands; but the French now enjoying the American trade, and being supplied from thence, they will be able to feed their Field Negroes better than the English Planters can.

Do you apprehend the French have been used to allow their Slaves weekly two pounds of salt beef, or three pounds of fish, agreeable to the regulations of the Code Noir?

I do not believe that the French ever did make such an allowance to their Negroes, nor do I believe that one-half of the White inhabitants had, at times, beef and fish for their own maintenance, as nine-tenths of the beef that was used for the consumption came from Ireland, and their fisheries were not much more than able to supply their own demands in France, till the trade was opened with America. I believe it is only of very late years that these allowances have been fixed by the Code Noir. I have known salt beef sell for seven or eight pounds sterling per barrel, and salt fish from forty to fifty shillings sterling per hundred

dred weight, which articles were the chief support for the White inhabitants; and for a considerable length of time I am sure the Field Negroes got no allowance of salt provisions given them; and that during the wars between this country and France, the French Slaves seldom or ever could have any supply of salt provisions.

Were not the French Slaves allowed by their masters annually two suits of cloaths, or cloth sufficient to make them, agreeable to the regulations of the Code Noir?

As for woollen cloathing and blankets, which we conceive to be more proper on account of the damps and cold bleak winds, I never knew the French give any to their Slaves; nor do I believe the Code Noir was exactly followed in giving them other cloathing. In 1763, when I lived at Martinique, I saw the Negroes on a Sunday at church, or at market, full as well cloathed, if not better, in the French Islands, than in the English Islands; but I believe it was owing to the French planters having greater quantities of land which they allowed the Negroes to cultivate; and, having more certain seasons to raise provisions on their grounds, the Negroes were enabled to purchase cloaths for themselves, more than the Slaves in Barbadoes, Antigua, and the Leeward Islands, where the land is more exhausted, and where sometimes there was no rain for a twelvemonth, on which account the land produced but little, and the masters were obliged to feed and cloath their Negroes. In Grenada and the other Ceded Islands, I think the Field Negroes are in general better cloathed than in the French Islands.

If the French Slaves were not provided agreeably to the Code Noir, did this appear from their complaining to the Procureur, pursuant to the regulation, he being expressly ordered to prosecute their suits without charge?

The Procureur has power given him by the Code Noir, but whether he has exercised that power or not, it is impossible for me to say—while Grenada was under the French government, we had different Procureurs de Roi there, and the first time I saw the then Procureur de Roi there, he was marched before 200 soldiers, with a dozen loaves of bread tied about his neck, through the streets, in order to expose him, for giving short allowance of bread to the soldiers, and for other crimes—this punishment the soldiers inflicted of their own accord, and the Procureur was afterwards dismissed from his office by Government.—Such men may have been often appointed to that office in the Islands, but I believe that

that part of their duty respecting the Slaves has not been attended to by them in any one of the Islands.—Attempts of insurrection have been more frequent in the French Islands than in the English, as is the case at present at Martinique, which shews that the French Slaves have greater cause of complaint than the English Slaves have.

Are Slaves in the British West India Islands treated better now than they were formerly ?

In my opinion, the principal object is, that the West India planters should take care of their Slaves, and keep them in good heart; as by that means their estates would go on and flourish—and I never knew but one man in Grenada, who was said to use his Slaves more severe than common, but what his property was ruined—I think there is a great difference for the better in the treatment of Slaves since I knew the West Indies.

By whom are the mechanical trades in the towns chiefly exercised ?

It is common to have White tradesmen to lay out and direct the work; but almost the whole of the labour is done by Negro tradesmen.

Do you mean Free Negroes, or Slaves ?
Slaves.

Was it not usual, fifty or sixty years ago, to have Whites for tradesmen on most of the estates ?

I do not know what was the custom then; but in most of the Islands there were laws passed, obliging proprietors to keep a White man for so many Negroes, for fear of revolt amongst the Slaves, and for a defence against the enemy in time of war; and that proportion of White men being more than was requisite for the direction of the estate, White tradesmen were sent from this country to instruct the Negroes in their different trades; but now, the Negroes being instructed, very few White men are employed on these estates, as formerly; and at Antigua, in particular, finding the wages and expences of a White man is double the value of that of a Black man, the fine collected for the deficiency of White men is nearly sufficient to pay the whole expences of the Island; and, I believe, the other Islands follow the same custom.

Have

Have you happened to change any of your managers, and when?

I have several times changed my managers, but not for these four or five years past; except at Tobago, where my attorney have several times changed my managers, since I left the country.

Does the planter ordinarily employ his manager to purchase Slaves?

It is the general practice for the owner, or his attorney in his absence, to purchase the Slaves, but with the advice and assistance of the manager, who generally attends the sale.

Do managers ever keep Slaves of their own, whom they employ in jobbing, or otherwise?

Most managers that I know lay out what they save of their salary in purchasing Slaves; but such Slaves are seldom or ever allowed to be kept on the estate where the manager directs, or hired by the proprietor of such estate—they commonly let them to other proprietors, for the first year for their maintenance, and afterwards they hire them out at yearly wages, or employ them in gangs for task work.

What do you conceive to be the amount of the current specie in the Island of Grenada?

It is impossible for me to say what the exact amount is.

What is, and usually has been, the amount of the poll tax in Grenada?

Before the capture of Grenada in 1779, part of the taxes were raised by a poll-tax, sometimes on the whole of the Slaves, and sometimes on Slaves at certain ages; but since the restoration in 1784, the taxes of the Island were raised on the produce of each estate.—On the Negroes in towns, and not attached to the estates, and who did not cultivate West India produce, there was a certain poll tax, which differed from twelve to eighteen shillings currency per head yearly, according to the sums necessary for the use of the government of the Island. In 1784, there was a perpetual tax laid on all Slaves of all ages, at Grenada and the Grenadines, of eighteen pence currency per head, for the support of the clergy.

Do you not think that it would be for the interest of our West India Islands to prohibit the British African merchants supplying

that part of their duty respecting the Slaves has not been attended to by them in any one of the Islands.—Attempts of insurrection have been more frequent in the French Islands than in the English, as is the case at present at Martinique, which shews that the French Slaves have greater cause of complaint than the English Slaves have.

Are Slaves in the British West India Islands treated better now than they were formerly?

In my opinion, the principal object is, that the West India planters should take care of their Slaves, and keep them in good heart; as by that means their estates would go on and flourish—and I never knew but one man in Grenada, who was said to use his Slaves more severe than common, but what his property was ruined—I think there is a great difference for the better in the treatment of Slaves since I knew the West Indies.

By whom are the mechanical trades in the towns chiefly exercised?

It is common to have White tradesmen to lay out and direct the work; but almost the whole of the labour is done by Negro tradesmen.

Do you mean Free Negroes, or Slaves?
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Do you not think that it would be for the interest of our West India Islands to prohibit the British African merchants supply-

ing the foreign West India Colonies with Slaves, either mediately or immediately?

I am very clear it would be very much for the interest of the British West India Colonies to keep the African Trade to themselves, as thereby the British Colonies would get better choice of Slaves, and at a much cheaper rate; and by which they would be enabled to cultivate better their own Colonies, and it would be more for the health and comfort of the Slaves, being fully handed; and they would be enabled to procure a proper supply of women, and such Slaves as they wanted; being at present obliged to take them in lots as the seller chuses, from the very great demand and high prices given in the French Islands;—and that, as much as it would increase the revenues of the British West India Islands, it would decrease those of foreign Colonies, they not being equally supplied with Slaves; by which the British Colonies would be benefited.—How far it would be advantageous or disadvantageous to this country, I do not enter upon.

Do you believe that any further increase in the price of Slaves in our islands would materially operate to prevent the cultivation of the lands, considering the absolute necessity you have stated of a supply from the Coast?

I believe the further increase of price would stop the further cultivation of uncleared lands, and be of material injury to the lands now in cultivation. From the annual decrease of the Slaves by mortality, and from the increase of labour, which I have before mentioned in my evidence, it is absolutely necessary for the proprietors to purchase Slaves at any price, or their property will diminish yearly, and soon go to ruin.

The price of Slaves being considerably increased, would the planter still purchase them, though at a higher price, or would he discontinue working some part of his lands for want of hands?

I should think any planter leaving any part of the estate that has been in cultivation to grow up into brush and wood, which would cause the estate to be more unhealthy, would rather purchase Slaves to keep the estate in cultivation, at higher prices.

Are the roots which serve for the Slaves provisions liable to injury from hurricanes?

Yes; the tops of the plants being broken off by the violence of

of the winds, they are much destroyed, and seldom grow afterwards till newly planted.

Are Domestic, or Field, Slaves commonly the more healthy?

They are equally healthy; if there is any difference, more in proportion of the Domestic Slaves die than the Field Slaves—Their rambling more of nights is probably the cause, especially among the young men.

Do you think the Regulating Bill has considerably increased the price of Slaves?

I do not know it has increased the price of Slaves; but I fear, from the fear of the Slave Trade being abolished, and almost every estate in the West Indies not having a sufficient supply of Slaves, such planters who had money or credit to purchase, and the demand being great from the French or Spanish Colonies, the prices rose from forty to fifty pounds sterling for Gold and Windward Coast Slaves; and the prices are rising daily.

Will not the prohibition of the Slave Trade put the planter under the necessity to purchase Slaves at any rate, or to submit to the ruin of his property or capital?

I have mentioned before, in my evidence, that in my opinion there was an annual decrease of three per cent.; and by that decrease falling chiefly on the grown Slaves, it made it equal to two per cent. more; and the increase of labour also equal to two per cent.: therefore, if the English proprietor cannot purchase Slaves, his property must in a few years be entirely ruined.

Will not the being obliged to discontinue part of the cultivation lessen the ability of the planter to discharge his obligations to his creditors, and diminish the value of his capital, and be very injurious to him?

Most certainly it will,

If no impediments are thrown on the African trade, do you not think that the merchants will be able to extend their trade to Africa, so far as not only to be able to supply our Colonies with all the Slaves they may want, but also to furnish the French and Spaniards with a considerable number annually?

The British African merchants having at command the manufactures of this country, and of the East Indies, such as are wanted on the Coast of Africa (which manufactures at present are sent to France to assort the cargoes of such ships as are fitted out from
thence

thence to the Coast of Africa, at an advance of 25 per cent.) and having greater capitals, and being better acquainted with the trade, will certainly not only keep the trade, but will increase it yearly, and will be able to underfell any other foreign powers.

Having stated in your evidence, that such Slaves, who do not go to church on Sundays, or to market, or to see their countrymen, go about nine o'clock to their provision grounds, do you mean that they work the whole of that day?

In Grenada they commonly go to their grounds at about nine o'clock on a Sunday, and return about twelve; the rest of the day they are dressed, and amuse themselves with dancing or walking, till about seven o'clock, when they assemble, and proceed to their evening prayers, which they never neglect on a Sunday throughout the year; after prayers they return to their houses, and pass the remainder of the evening.

You have stated that it was impossible to prevent the proprietors of estates in the West Indies from getting Slaves from other powers (in case the abolition of the Slave Trade takes place) and if seized, that the captors could not dispose of them; explain yourself on that subject?

If a cargo of Slaves were landed in any one of the Islands, and were seized by the custom-house officers, or by the captains of men of war, they could not find any proper place to detain the Slaves in, and they would be liable to an expence for which no provision is made—they could not take the men and women on board a man of war, where there is no conveniency for more than the crew—they could not sell them to any other powers, for the benefit of the captors, as Slaves, as they would not receive them as free, and in that savage state; and would be obliged to send them to this country, and from this country they would be obliged to be sent to the coast of Africa, where they would not be received as freemen, but be sold again to African captains, and be subject to be sold again, and sent to the West Indies under the same calamities.—In my opinion, no law could be made in this country to prevent the British Planters from supplying themselves with Slaves.

Do you know whether the White man, executed in Grenada for the murder of his Slave, was a Planter or Slave Owner?

I do not know.

Are men, or women, usually preferred for the performance of the more laborious parts of plantation duty?

Men.

Do men, or women, with equal appearances of youth, health, and strength, fetch the greatest prices?

In the beginning of the settlements in the Ceded Islands (Negro women not being fit for the falling of trees and clearing of grounds) the men sold considerably higher than the women; but at present, estates being settled and nearly fully flaved, women are more wanted than men, and are generally preferred, and, from the age of from fifteen to twenty, fetch full as high a price as the men, and generally higher; but the women, after twenty-five years of age, sell for a price considerably under that of the men.—Female children, from the age of twelve to fifteen, sell at an equal price with boys of the same age.

Is there not a very large proportion of the lands in the Ceded Islands yet uncleared?

There is.

How many White men have you at present on each of the three estates (of which you have given an account) in the Island of Grenada?

I have at present a manager, and two overseers in each estate—and a tradesman of eminence, who has worked at the machine mills in this country, and who is employed occasionally on each of my estates—and I have a doctor who attends the estates, but does not reside thereon.

Do you apprehend that the White servants, on estates of other gentlemen, are nearly in the same proportion?

I scarcely know any sugar estate in the Island, but has at least the same number of White servants, that number being requisite for the management of the estate.

Is one White servant reckoned sufficient to superintend a gang of Negroes, either in the field, or when employed in the boiling-house or mill?

I think so—no more are employed.

Do you think that it would be injurious to the interest of the Islands, that the number of free Negroes should be increased?

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Is one White servant reckoned sufficient to superintend a gang of Negroes, either in the field, or when employed in the boiling-house or mill?

I think so—no more are employed.

Do you think that it would be injurious to the interest of the Islands, that the number of free Negroes should be increased?

In all the Islands that I have known, both English and French, they have considered free Negroes and Mulattoes as a nuisance, as the free Negroes never cultivate the land themselves; and the free women and Mulattoes huxter provisions, sell rum, and are the receivers of stolen goods, whereby the morals of the Slaves are corrupted; and the only advantage the Colonies can receive from them is by employing them in defence of the Island, in case of invasion.

Do not the planters imagine that they have a right, both in justice and humanity, to exact as much labour from their Slaves as they now usually perform?

I think the present labour required by the masters of Slaves is what is proper, and not more than they can do with ease, and without injury to their health; I think that a workman of this country does more labour in five hours than the Slave does in nine hours, and no doubt their masters would expect the same labour from them that they do at present.

Do you mean that the sixth part of an acre, allotted to each Negro for his provision ground, is exclusive of what is called the common provision ground of the estate, which is cultivated by the gang under the controul of the master, to be distributed as he thinks fit?

I do.

What description of Negroes are fed from the produce of the common provision ground?

Invalids and superannuated Negroes, who cannot work on their own grounds—also Negroes while in the hospital, and also those who from inattention to their grounds, or from the weather, hurricanes, or other accidents, destroying their grounds.

Is every able Negro compelled to work in the common ground, as a regular and usual branch of the plantation duty?

The field gang work at the common grounds, and do the other works of the plantation.

Are they compelled to labour at their own ground?

Yes.

Can you state what was the average value of sugar per hoghead, the produce of your own estates, in any one, two, or three years?

I cannot answer the question.

Are

Are not the cane-holes necessarily obliged to be staked out and dug by the Negroes, even on those plantations where the plough is used?

I believe it is possible, with a good ploughman, by ploughing the furrows at a proper distance from each other, that the canes might be planted in the furrow without holing; but it must be done immediately, or the furrow would fill up and require to be staked out and holed again, and I believe very few ploughmen could be got in this country who could plough such a furrow (as it is requisite the furrow should be perfectly strait) and I do not know it ever was or can be practised in the West Indies with success.

In fact, did you ever know a planter, in all your experience, but what was obliged to have his cane-holes dug by the Negroes with hoes?

I never did.

Is it not as easy to form an average of the quality or price of the sugar grown on a plantation, as it is to make an average of the number of hogsheds which any plantation, with a given number of Negroes, will produce?

I do not think it is; because a person may know at once the number of hogsheds of sugar which may be made in a year; but as to the prices or value (the sugar perhaps being sold at fifty different times) the planter must resort to accounts and vouchers, the contents of which he cannot be supposed to retain in his memory.

Does not the quantity and the quality of the sugar depend upon the season, and other circumstances, in the West Indies?

Most certainly.

Does not the very idea of an average imply a difference in the quantity and the quality?

It certainly does.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

THAT this Examination of Mr. Campbell be reported to the House.

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE
TAKEN BEFORE THE
SELECT COMMITTEE,
APPOINTED FOR THE
EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES
ON THE
SLAVE TRADE,
Reported 19th FEBRUARY 1790.

Witness Examined,
Mr. CAMPBELL.

N^o 3.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE,

Martis, 2^o die Martii 1790.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed for the Purpose of taking the Examination of such Witnesses as shall be produced on the Part of the several Petitioners who have petitioned the House of Commons against the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Veneris, 19^o die Februarii 1790.

COUNSEL called in as before; and the Counsel proceeded further in their Examination, and called

JAMES BAILLIE, Esquire.

Are you a native of Great Britain?

I am.

Are you much acquainted with the West Indies?

I am—having resided there, at different times, for about sixteen years.

Did you at any time purchase any lands there, when and where?

I purchased an estate in the Island of Grenada in 1765; and in the year 1775 was concerned in the purchase of a considerable tract of land that was granted by government to General Monckton, in the Island of Saint Vincent.

Did you purchase the estate in Grenada from French proprietors?

I did.

What state of cultivation was the estate in?

In a very imperfect state.

Would you have made those purchases, could you have conceived that Great Britain would prohibit the importation of African Negroes to the British plantations in the West Indies?

I certainly would not.

Have you acted as an attorney for other plantations, not your own?

I have, both in the Islands of Saint Christopher and Grenada.

Are you by these means acquainted with the manner in which lands in the West Indies are cultivated, and Negroes treated?

I am.

What state is that land in which you said you purchased in Saint Vincent's?

In its natural state, being altogether covered with wood.

What was the quantity of land you purchased of General Monckton at Saint Vincent's?

The grant from the crown was for 4,000 acres, and it measured a few hundred acres more.

If the African Negro Trade should be prohibited, will you be able to sell those lands?

We have already sold about 3,000 acres to different proprietors, and in different estates, who are now bringing them to a state of cultivation; and if they have access to a market for African Slaves, the estates may be brought to a state of perfection; but should the African Trade be abolished, and the proprietors of those lands prevented from purchasing Slaves, the lands must
return

return to their natural state.—There are about 1,400 acres of the land still unſold, which muſt remain in that ſituation until the preſent queſtion is determined; and if the abolition of the Slave Trade takes place, theſe lands will be entirely loſt to the proprietors.

If at the time when the commiſſioners appointed for the ſale of lands ſold thoſe lands on the part of government, it had been underſtood that Great Britain would prohibit the importation of African Negroes, could ſuch ſales have been practicable, or the lands ſold?

The lands never could have been ſold.

Is there not a large quantity of the land ſo ſold yet uncultivated?

Very conſiderable tracts, particularly in the Iſland of Dominique.

Of the plantations which have been begun to be cultivated, is not alſo a great part of the land belonging to them ſtill uncultivated?

The eſtates in the Ceded Iſlands are by no means in a ſtate of perfect cultivation; and are ſtill capable of very conſiderable improvements, if the proprietors have acceſs to a market for African Slaves.

Have not the proprietors laid out large ſums of money in erecting buildings, and making other improvements for the cultivation of a much larger quantity of land than is yet in actual cultivation?

They have—the buildings being conſtructed with ſufficient accommodations for taking off the crops that the whole of the lands each plantation is ſuppoſed to be capable of producing.

Have not ſimilar improvements been made upon the eſtates purchaſed from the French in Grenada?

There have.

Is Grenada fully ſtocked with Negroes?

The Iſland of Grenada was never ſufficiently ſtocked with Slaves; but during the late capture of it, the number, by exceſs of labour on the French military works, and other cauſes, diminished conſiderably. Many thouſands have been purchaſed by the inhabitants of the Iſland ſince the peace; but the eſtates

on that Island in general are far from being sufficiently handed, and there are considerable tracts uncultivated in Grenada, that may be improved, if the proprietors are permitted to purchase African Negro Slaves.

Will there be any further improvement if the future supply of African Negroes should be cut off?

Improvements must immediately cease in Grenada, as well as in all the other West India Islands, if there is not a regular supply of African Negro Slaves; for the present stock of Slaves are by no means sufficient to keep the lands in their present state of cultivation without occasional supplies.

Will the present stock be kept up without future supplies from Africa?

It certainly cannot.

From your experience, are you of opinion that by breeding the stock can be kept up.

It cannot; for even in my own estate, which is called The Hermitage, in the island of Grenada, and is a remarkable healthy situation, and where only two White men have died in the course of twenty-four years, it has never been in my power to keep up the stock of Slaves by breeding. From the year 1765, when the estate was purchased, to the year 1771, I was in the habit of improving it, and increasing the stock of Slaves, which from about 140 I brought to 300, in the year 1771, when I left the West Indies. From 1771, till the capture of Grenada, in 1779, there was not a decrease on the estate of above one per cent. per annum, although no new Negroes were purchased in that period. During the French captivity, the number decreased for the reasons before mentioned. In the year 1786 a contagious distemper came upon the plantation, which in a few months carried off forty-seven of the best Slaves, which number has been since replaced by the purchase of African Slaves.

Was the increase which you have mentioned to have taken place from 1765 to 1771 effected by the purchase of African Negroes?

The increase was effected by the purchase of seasoned Slaves and new Negroes from Africa, and not by births.

If you could not have supplied that loss of forty-seven Slaves which you state to have happened in the year 1786 by African Negroes,

Negroes, what must have been the consequence to your property?

The cultivation of the estate must have diminished in proportion to the loss of Slaves.

As the loss was of the ablest Negroes, must not the diminution of the produce have been much greater than the proportion which the number lost bore to the whole number?

It certainly must.

In what time did that loss happen?

From the first appearance of the disorder on the plantation to the time of its ceasing, it might have been from four to six months; and as a number of Negroes recovered, who had been afflicted with that disorder, were very weakly, the work of the plantation was during the whole year in a state of great backwardness.

What was the nature of the disease which proved so fatal?

It was represented to me by my attorneys, and the physical gentlemen who attended the estate, that it was a complaint in the liver, which was rarely known in that Island amongst Slaves before.

Had those Negroes who were afflicted with that disease all proper necessary care and attention?

The estate was always rather over-handed, and no plantation could be better appointed in provision-grounds for the use of the Slaves; there were warm and convenient hospitals for the accommodation of the sick, situated in the most healthy part of the plantation; and notwithstanding the Negroes had always of their own the greatest abundance of provisions, I always supplied the hospital with flour, rice, bread, wine, and such other refreshments as were necessary for their situations—and there was a general order on the plantation to supply the sick with mutton and such other fresh meat as the estate afforded.

Had those Negroes also proper medical assistance?

For the first ten years of the settlement of the estate there was always a surgeon kept for the sole purpose of attending on the Negroes; and they were afterwards attended by the ablest practitioners in the neighbourhood.—During the time the contagious distemper raged on the estate, a physician went from the town of Saint George, for the purpose of attending the Hermitage, and

some other estates in the neighbourhood, which were in the same situation.

Did the regulations of which you spoke in your two last answers prevail during the whole time you have been in possession of the estate?

They did.

From 1771 to 1779, when there was a decrease of one per cent. per annum on the whole number, were the births, during that period, included in that account?

They were.—And notwithstanding the estate had a number of children born on it, and was remarkably well appointed in nurses, yet so many infants died within the ninth day, of what is called the tetanus or locked-jaw, that we never could keep up our numbers.

Was the difficulty experienced in raising Negro children owing to any want of care, or any excess of labour of the mothers?

By no means—for when women are known to be in a state of pregnancy, their work is gradually diminished, till within two or three months of their delivery, when they are applied to the lighter work of the plantation, such as picking of grass, and other light work.—During their confinement, they are comfortably lodged in their own habitations, and are attended by able midwives and nurses, which the West India estates in general abound with.—They have also all such refreshments and cordials as are proper for persons in their situation.—They are allowed four or five weeks for recovery; and it is generally two or three months after their delivery before they return to what is considered the harder labour of the plantation.—When they work in the field, there are elderly women generally employed in taking care of the infants.

Do Negro women on your plantations lye-in in their own houses?

In almost every instance.

Have you found any inconvenience, or greater mortality, arising from that practice?

I have not; and I have always preferred it to sending them to hospitals, as in that case they are deprived of the little comforts peculiar to their own habitations.

Do you apprehend that those regulations which you have stated to be practised on your plantation in the treatment of the sick or pregnant women, have prevailed in general on other plantations?

I believe they have generally.

In general is there a sufficient supply of food and cloathing for Negro Slaves?

I have always observed the greatest abundance in all the Islands I have been in; but as the Island of Jamaica and the Ceded Islands are better appointed in provision-grounds for the use of their Slaves, they certainly have a greater abundance of provisions in those Islands than in the smaller Islands, where they are more circumscribed in point of bounds, and the climate is more uncertain.

By what means are the markets in the Ceded Islands supplied with vegetables and fresh provisions?

The Negroes bring a great deal of fresh provisions to market, and the markets in all the Islands are universally supplied by the Negroes with all the roots and vegetables natural to tropical climates.

Do the Negroes apply to their own use the profits arising from the sale of such commodities?

The Negroes are possessed of considerable property, and I never knew an instance, during my long residence in the West Indies, of any violation on the part of the proprietors in that respect—I have Negroes on my own estate that are worth forty, fifty, one hundred, and even a few as far as two hundred pounds sterling, and that property is regularly conveyed from one generation to another, without any interference whatever.

Question repeated.

They certainly do.

Are Slaves in general properly lodged?

They are, for their habitations are full as warm and convenient as the climate requires.

In general is the labour of Slaves proportionate to their ability, or can it be considered as severe?

It is always in proportion to their ability, and cannot be considered severe, when compared to the labour of the lower order of people in Europe.

What

What is the time of hardest labour, in crop time, or out of crop time?

I conceive the hardest labour to be out of crop time.

State your reasons for considering that to be the time of the hardest labour?

I have always considered the holing of land as the hardest labour on a plantation, and that is generally the principal part of the work out of crop season.

Is not that performed by the ablest of the gang; and what length of time does it usually continue?

It is always done by the ablest of the gang, and the holing of land generally commences in the month of August, and continues to the beginning of January—I speak of the manner of cultivating land in the Windward Islands.

Is any particular attention paid to the Negroes during that season?

There is—for even in the Islands where there is the greatest abundance of the natural provisions of the country, the Negroes employed in holing have generally a certain allowance of bread, and very frequently spirits mixed with water.

Can those punishments which are inflicted on Slaves on the estates be considered as severe?

They cannot by any means, when compared with the discipline that is usually maintained in our navy and army.

Have you been a considerable importer of African Slaves into the West Indies?

During my residence in the West Indies I was in the habits of selling considerable numbers of Slaves in every year, but never imported any on my own account.

What is the usual interval between the arrival of ships importing Slaves from Africa, and the disposal of their cargoes in the Windward Islands?

In the Windward Islands, where I have resided, the cargoes are generally disposed of within ten days after their arrival from Africa.

Can you state what is the mortality in general, during the interval between the arrival of the ships and the sales?

I have

I have very often sold cargoes without losing a Slave; and I think the average of the loss in the Windward Islands cannot well be estimated at much more than one per cent.

Is it a common practice in the West Indies to make up Slaves newly imported for the purpose of sale; it is meant, by making up Slaves, by stopping their noses, and similar practices; or are any medical arts used to conceal the real state of health in the Slaves?

It is not a common custom. The captain and other officers, who have the charge of cargoes, always make a point of purchasing such provisions, roots, and vegetables, as are proper and necessary for the Slaves, in order to refresh them, after so long a voyage; and it is ever customary, on the arrival of Guineamen, to carry some of their countrymen on board, in order to inform the Slaves of the purposes for which they are carried to the West Indies; but there never, to my knowledge, occurred an instance of any undue or improper means being used in the physical way to prepare Slaves for the market.

At the time of the sales of Negroes, is any attention used to prevent the separation of those Slaves who are connected by relationship or other ties?

There is the greatest attention used. I never knew an instance of children being separated from their parents; and even where Slaves have contracted habits of friendship in their passage from Africa, they are almost in every instance sold together.

Do Slaves newly imported, or those who have been made free, generally express a desire of returning to Africa?

I never knew an instance of it.

Did you ever find amongst Slaves newly imported a single Christian?

I never did.

Are the Slaves in Grenada in general Christians?

They are.

Are those Slaves, whom you have seen during your residence in the West Indies, in a state of apparent happiness or comfort, or otherwise?

They are in a state of comfort and happiness.

Do you recollect any instances of Negro Freemen marrying Negro Slaves, though they know that the certain consequence of such connection is, that the children of such persons are born Slaves?

I recollect several instances.

Is it possible, in your opinion, by any regulation in this country, to prevent the introduction of new Slaves into the West India Islands?

It is not possible.

Has France endeavoured to extend her Slave Trade of late years, by bounties, or any other means?

She certainly has. The bounty on the tonnage employed in the African Trade from France, and the gratification paid by government on the importation of Slaves in the French West India Islands, amount nearly to seven pounds sterling per head; and notwithstanding the present distressed situation of the revenues in France, she is so extremely anxious to forward the prosperity of her colonies, that these bounties and gratifications are even now regularly paid.

Can you state what number of ships are employed by France in her Trade to the West Indies?

I cannot precisely state the number, but knowing the French West India Trade to be much more considerable than that of the British Colonies, and that she is by her marine laws obliged to carry double the number of men that are usually carried in British ships, I am firmly of opinion, that the number of seamen employed in the French West India Trade is upwards of fifty thousand.

Can you state what number of Slaves are imported from Africa by France into her West India Islands, or bought by her from other foreign nations?

I cannot exactly state the number, but from the information I have received of the French African Trade, and the number of British vessels that are masked under French colours for the purpose of carrying Slaves to the West India Islands, I think her annual importation must exceed twenty thousand.

Can you state whether Spain is now pursuing any measures to acquire a share in the Slave Trade?

Spain is giving every possible encouragement to her subjects
to

to engage in the African Trade and a great many inferior officers have gone from this country to assist in navigating her ships; but as the merchants of Spain are extremely backward in following commercial pursuits, the Spanish government have opened several free ports in their West India and American Colonies for the purpose of admitting all foreigners with Slaves.

Has America adopted any measures for the purpose of acquiring a share in the Slave Trade?

She has—and there are several considerable insurances now making in this city on Guineamen belonging to the American states.

From what ports or provinces of the united states of America is this Trade carried on?

The principal African Trade carried on from America is from the states of Massachusetts Bay and Rhode Island; but the insurances I allude to are on Guineamen from Boston, from the state of Virginia, and from Charles Town, South Carolina.

Are not all other foreign powers who have any share in the Slave Trade at this very period endeavouring to encrease that share?

They certainly are; and being in correspondence with the most considerable house in Copenhagen, I can affirm that a considerable number of Guineamen will be fitted out from that port, the very instant the trade is abolished in this country.

Can you form an estimate of the value of the African and West India Trade to this country?

From my knowledge of the West India and African Trade, as a merchant, I am of opinion, that the gross value of both those branches of valuable commerce, including freight, and the charges attending the commodities of the West India Islands, exceeds seven millions sterling per annum.

If the abolition of the Slave Trade was to take place for a few years only, could the trade in your judgment ever be recovered?

I am of opinion that it could not, for after trade has been once diverted out of its natural channel it is almost impossible to recover it.

What effect do you apprehend the abolition of the Slave Trade would

would produce in the minds of those Slaves who are already in the West Indies?

It must immediately throw them into a state of discontent and despondency; for, it is remarkable, that every fresh importation of Slaves is highly acceptable to the minds of the resident Negroes of the Island.

What effect do you apprehend that it would produce on the minds of the White Inhabitants of the West Indies?

As this measure is considered by the inhabitants of the West India Islands in general as a violent innovation of their rights, and a direct attack on their properties, it cannot fail of introducing disorder into all the colonial legislative bodies, and alienating the affections of our subjects in the British West India Islands from this country.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

Can you state the quantity of sugar, and other produce, from your estate, in the years from 1780 to 1789, inclusive?

I cannot exactly state the produce, but I am of opinion that the average of the crop of sugar, during that period, might be about 240 hogheads per annum; the common proportion of rum produced may be estimated from sixty-five to seventy gallons for every hoghead of sugar.

Was there any material difference in the produce in any one of the years above mentioned?

The estate fell off considerably for three years, after the loss in 1786, and has not since recovered itself.

Have you since the year 1786 worked the same quantity of land that you worked before, and for the same species of produce?

In the Island of Grenada the land generally rattoons for a number of years; and by the falling off of our gang, in consequence of the sickness in 1786, we have not been able to open or re-plant the quantity of land which we otherwise should have done.

How many different managers have you had on your estate; and if more than one, distinguish the period of new ones being appointed?

It is not possible for me to recollect the different periods at which

which managers have been discharged.—I have had five managers on the estate since it was purchased, in 1765.

Has there been any change since the year 1783 or 1784?

There has not.

Are many of the Free Negroes persons who have purchased their freedom of their masters.

There are many in that situation.

What proportion of the whole number of Free Negroes is it your opinion may be classed under this description?

It is impossible to speak with any accuracy, as to the number; many purchase their freedom, but the greater number are emancipated by their masters for their faithful services.

Were the Negro women, of whom you spoke as being sometimes married to Free Negroes, of the description of field Negroes?

Very frequently.

What was the proportion of males and females in your stock of Negroes?

I had a greater proportion of females than were upon estates in general; and I believe they might amount to rather more than two-fifths, having, when I left the West Indies, sent all my female house Slaves to my estate.

What was the effect on their minds upon their being so sent?

They were perfectly satisfied with their situation.

Are the field Slaves in general as contented with their situation as the domestic Slaves with theirs?

The domestic Slaves, from their situation, have a few comforts and conveniences which the field Slaves cannot possibly have; but I have always observed, that the field Slaves were full as happy as the others.

Of the deaths which have happened amongst your Slaves, what proportion has been amongst children?

The situation of my estate being remarkably healthy, and the Slaves exceedingly well attended to, the women were more prolific than they are in general; and therefore I had a greater number

ber of children; but as a very great proportion of them died within the ninth day, I think that the loss of infants was fully equal to that of grown Slaves.

Have Negroes ever been hired for the cultivation of your estate?

I have frequently hired gangs of Negroes for the purpose of opening land, and in particular when the estate was in an imperfect state of cultivation.

Do you believe the Slaves in the West Indian Islands to be better or worse treated than they were formerly?

I think they are much better treated.

Has the price of Slaves increased of late years; and to what do you attribute that increase?

The price of Slaves has increased considerably since I was first in the habits of selling cargoes of Slaves in the West India Islands; and there has of late been a very considerable rise in their value, owing, I suppose, to the apprehensions of the inhabitants of having the African Slave Trade abolished in this country.—The average value of cargoes preceding the late war was from twenty-five to thirty-three pounds sterling per head, according to the countries they came from; but since the war the general average of Slaves has been from thirty to forty pounds sterling.—Now indeed, in the Island of Jamaica, many cargoes have lately averaged from forty-two to fifty pounds sterling.

Can you state what was the increase in the price of male and female Slaves respectively?

The increase was proportional according to their usual value.—In cargoes that have averaged forty pounds, the men Slaves might be sold as high as fifty pounds, when the women brought about forty-five pounds.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

Sabbati, 20^o die Februarii 1790.

Counsel and Witnesses called in as before; and the Witnesses was further examined by Members of the Committee.

Inform

Inform the Committee at what periods and at what time you have resided in the West Indies, and on what Islands? Mr. BAILLIE.

I have resided in the West Indies from 1755 to 1771—my chief residence was in the Islands of Saint Christopher and Grenada, but I had occasion to visit all the Islands in the West Indies, even including French, Danish, and Dutch, except the Island of Jamaica.

Can you inform the Committee of the actual diminution of your crop since the year 1786?

In the years 1787 and 1788 the crop fell off about one-fifth of the usual returns—in 1789 the crop was better; and as the Negroes that were purchased to replace those who died in 1786 are now perfectly seasoned, I expect my estate this year will give the usual returns.

Of what number did your gang consist in 1785?

To the best of my remembrance about 290 Slaves.

What number of these were old, what infants, what domestic, what artificers and tradesmen of the various descriptions in the gang of Negroes, and what able field Slaves?

The domestic Slaves did not exceed six—but as I am not prepared with a particular list of my Slaves, I can only say, that the estate, in tradesmen, drivers, and field Negroes, was full as well appointed as any estate in the Island, having always made it a point to keep my plantations rather over-handed.

What quantity of provision-ground is commonly allotted to a Negro Slave in the Island of Granada?

The quantity of land depends in a great measure on the quality of it, but upon the Hermitage estate, which contains in all very near 400 acres, fifty acres of the most valuable and seasonable part of the estate is allotted for provision-grounds; and as the estates in the Island of Grenada are in general very extensive in proportion to the quantity of sugar they make, the Negroes are universally well appointed in provision-grounds.

Is the provision-ground worked by the whole gang, or has every Negro his own distinct allotment?

The provision-grounds are regularly laid out in allotments, proportioned to the number in the different families of the Negroes—they are mostly attended to by the Negroes themselves at their spare hours, but one day in the week is always allotted for sending

fending the whole gang of Negroes, with the White overseers, to inspect the provision-grounds, and help the working of them, so as to keep them in a proper state of cultivation.

What would you say of the treatment and condition of Slaves in the French West India Islands, comparing them with our own?

The French domestic Slaves, from their greater habits of intimacy with the White people, are generally better clothed than the domestic Slaves in the English Islands; but from my observation of the French West India field Negroes, I do not consider their situation by any means so comfortable; and I have always observed that punishments are administered with much more severity in the French Islands than in the English Islands.

In what other respects do you think the situation of the field Negroes in the West India Islands less comfortable?

The estates in the French West India Islands being in general much more under-handed than in the British Islands, their work is consequently much harder; and, from my observations, I do not think them so well clothed as the English Negroes.—The laws of the French Islands in respect to provisions are in general founded upon proper principles, but they are by no means well administered.

Are not the proprietors of plantations in the French Islands more commonly resident on their estates than proprietors are on the English Islands?

They are much more so.

Are not Slaves sold dearer in the French than in the British Islands?

They always are, for the French Islands being considerably larger than the British Islands, the improvements are consequently greater, and that never fails of raising the value of Slaves.

Are the taxes higher in the English than in the French Islands; and is there commonly any poll-tax on Slaves in the latter; and if there be any, at what period of the Slave's life does it commence?

The taxes in the British Islands previous to the late war were much more inconsiderable than in the French Islands; but since the war, the inhabitants of the British Islands have most readily given liberal and considerable aids to government in fortifying the Islands—this has augmented the taxes very much; and at present I am of opinion that the taxes in the British Islands are full as heavy

heavy as in the French Islands—the taxes in some Islands are raised by a capitation or poll-tax on Slaves, and in other Islands by certain assessments on the produce; and I believe that in Islands where the capitation tax prevails, the tax is paid generally on Slaves of every age, although there is always an exception made by the legislature of the colonies, of the Slaves of necessitous aged people, and of necessitous orphans, who generally pay no tax—I believe the taxes in the French Islands are generally raised by a capitation or poll-tax—but I cannot possibly speak as to the period of its commencement.

Does the French planter furnish his Slaves with provisions at a dearer or cheaper rate than the British planter?

The French West India Islands, from their size, and the seasonableness of their climate, have sufficient grounds for supplying their Negroes with provisions, and they are in general allotted to them in the manner they are in the English Islands; but such provisions as are imported from North America for the use of the Slaves and White Inhabitants are now had upon much more reasonable terms on the French than on the English Islands, owing to the open and uninterrupted state of the trade between the French and American Colonies—but such salt provisions as go from Europe for the use of Slaves are in general dearer in the French than in the British Islands.

Is the number of Whites in the French Islands greater or less than in the British?

Much greater in the French Islands.

Is the number of White servants employed by the French planter greater or less than that employed by the British?

I think in general they are pretty nearly the same.

What number of White servants have you commonly had in your own employ, and in what situations?

I have generally employed five and sometimes six White people, to wit, a manager—two overseers—a carpenter—a waggoner—and, for the greatest part of the time I have been in possession of my estate, a surgeon.

Do you apprehend the consumption of Slaves to be greater or less in the French Islands, than in the British?

I believe the consumption to be considerably greater in the French Islands.

What is the condition of Slaves in the Danish Islands, compared with what it is in our own?

The Danish Islands are in general small, and therefore not well appointed in provision-grounds; but having access to an uninterrupted intercourse with North America, they have the provisions of that country on much more reasonable terms than in our Islands.—The condition of the Slaves I apprehend to be pretty much the same, as three-fourths of the planters, in the Danish West India Islands, are British-born subjects, or their descendants.—The Danish government have given every possible encouragement to the introducing of the Christian Religion among their Slaves, and they are permitted to attend the service of the established church of Denmark, the Roman Catholic chapels, or those of the different sectaries with which that Island abounds; and I am of opinion that if the government of Great Britain was to pay more attention to the instruction of Slaves, their morals might be very much improved, and that it might in the end prove a greater security to the welfare of the West India Islands than people in general are aware of.

What do you apprehend might be the consequence to the Danish Islands, of stopping or obstructing the intercourse for their provisions between them and North America?

The measure would be extremely distressing; for the Danish Islands, as I observed before, are very small, and very uncertain in their seasons, therefore they can seldom or ever depend on an ample supply of provision for their Negroes, from the lands that are allotted for that purpose.

Can you give the Committee any information respecting the consumption of Slaves in the Danish Islands?

I cannot be very particular on that subject; but, although the Danish Islands are at present in a state of perfect cultivation, they are under the necessity of purchasing a number of Slaves annually to keep up their numbers.

What has been, and what do you conceive to be at present, the price of Slaves in the Danish Islands, compared with the prices in our own?

As the Danish Islands are all free ports, and are open to the introduction of Slaves in American and other foreign bottoms, I am of opinion that Slaves are at present on rather more reasonable terms in the Danish than in the British or French Islands.—Formerly that was not the case, for when I resided in the Island of

of Saint Christopher, I sold many cargoes to the inhabitants of the Danish Islands, at better prices than could be got for them in the British Islands:

What is the condition of Slaves in the Dutch settlements?

The condition of Slaves in the Dutch Islands (which is the only part of their settlements that I have been in) is by no means so comfortable as in the British Islands.

What is the situation of Slaves in the Spanish Islands?

The only Spanish Island I ever was in, was Hispaniola, and from all the observations I could make on the manners of the Slaves and inhabitants, they all seemed to live in a state of nature, cultivating barely as much land as appeared necessary for their subsistence; but that Island, as well as all their settlements, abound with provisions and fruits, in such profusion, and wild cattle and hogs, that the Slaves live very comfortable.

What prices are at present paid by the Spanish merchants for Slaves in their continental and insular settlements?

I cannot be particular as to the prices paid by individuals, but the Spanish government contracts have generally been made of late from thirty to thirty-three pounds sterling per head, and as the Negroes they take are not of the most valuable kind, and the cargoes are always paid for in ready money, those are considered good prices.

Do you think the regulating act has operated to encrease the price of Slaves in our Islands?

I have always considered that act to be an advantage to the Trade—and were it not for the ideas that are entertained in the Islands of a total abolition, I am persuaded it could not have the effect of raising the value of Slaves.

Have not our African merchants certain advantages for carrying on the Slave Trade, which enable them to carry it on, on cheaper terms than the merchants of other nations?

They certainly have; but the advantages of carrying on trade are not peculiarly confined to their situation, but arise from the great improvements in every branch of our manufactures, trade, and navigation.

Is the capital employed in trade by the African merchants considerable?

It is very considerable.

Does

Does it require a considerable capital to carry on the African Trade?

It certainly does, notwithstanding the great opulence of our tradesmen affords accommodations to the African, as well as all other merchants, that are not known in other countries.

Do you conceive, in case of the introduction of Slaves into the British West India Islands being prohibited, it would be impossible, or extremely difficult, to prevent Slaves being run in from the neighbouring Islands?

I certainly do; for though the inhabitants of the British West India Islands are in themselves as affectionate and as warm subjects as any in His Majesty's dominions, yet an attempt of this kind would be considered so extremely oppressive, that universal resistance would be given to it; and where it is the interest of every Black and White inhabitant of an Island to introduce new Negro Slaves, no laws can be formed that can prevent the importation of them into our Islands.

Do you conceive it would be for the interest of the public in general, and of the British West India Islands in particular, to prohibit the African merchants from furnishing Slaves for the supply of foreign settlements, mediately or immediately?

I do think it would be very much to the injury of the Trade of this country to take any measure of the kind; for were the British African merchant prevented from supplying foreigners with Slaves by a trade carried on directly in British bottoms from this country, considerable numbers of them would remove themselves and their families to other ports in Europe, where they would meet with very great encouragement; and this would not only prove an immediate loss to the trade and navigation of this country, but might be the means of encouraging many of our valuable manufacturers to leave this kingdom, and establish themselves in foreign governments.

Do you not think the terms were very reasonable on which the lands were granted to the settlers in the Ceded Islands?

Very far from it, for every acre of His Majesty's lands in those Islands was sold considerably above its value.

Was it at a considerable expence that they were settled; and by what was that expence chiefly occasioned?

They were settled at a very considerable expence, arising in the first place from the tedious manner in which sugar plantations are brought

brought into any state of cultivation, so as to make a return to the proprietor—the buildings in every instance are of considerable value; and in the settlement of all new lands there is certainly a greater proportion of Slaves lost, than on estates that are in perfect cultivation.

Are the lands which you have sold at present in the hands of the persons to whom you sold them?

They are in general.

Were the Slaves, some of whom you mentioned as having £. 200 property, field Slaves?

The only Slave who was possessed of a property of that value on my estate was a field Slave, in the capacity of a driver; and all his family, which consisted of upwards of forty persons, were employed in different occupations in the field; and their conduct was so very exemplary, that during my residence on my own estate there never was one of the family punished.

What was the price of Slaves about the period of the settlement of the Ceded Islands?

The average value of Slaves at the time the Ceded Islands were settled was about thirty pounds sterling.

What is the condition, in respect to religion and morals, of the Slaves in the new and old Islands belonging to Great Britain?

In the Island of Grenada, which was ceded to us with a considerable number of Slaves upon it, the Negroes were all Roman Catholics, and continue so to this period—they are all baptized, and one-third of every gang of Slaves are admitted to attend divine service on Sunday—they are likewise in the habits of attending to morning and evening prayers, according to the rites of their religion, round the house of the proprietor or manager; and I am convinced, from my observations on Slaves in that and other Islands, that religion has an exceeding good effect on their morals.—In the old English Islands, and even the Ceded Islands of Saint Vincent and Dominick, the Negroes in respect to religion are very shamefully neglected.

Is it not a considerable time before the African Negroes understand the language of the Island sufficiently to profit from the instructions of their teachers?

The new Negroes in general have a remarkable quickness in learning of languages; and as they are always committed to the care of the old and experienced Slaves, in Islands where religion

is attended to, their protector, as he is called, makes a point of introducing them very early to the missionary of the district, and they are always baptized as soon as they are supposed to have any idea of the language.

What were the symptoms of the complaint that was so fatal to your Slaves in the year 1786?

I can only speak of that by the representations which were made to me by my attorneys—the complaint from their account seemed to originate with a violent pain on their right side, which never failed of bringing on a fever, and that I suppose continued until their disorder proved fatal to them, or came into a state of recovery.

Was it more fatal to the field or to the domestic Slaves?

The disorder seemed to prevail universally among my Slaves; and from a passage in my attorneys letters I remember their mentioning the loss of two very fine young persons, one a male and the other a female, who were about sixteen years of age, and were employed as domestic Slaves.

What number of White men are ordinarily employed in plantation service, and in what stations?

I believe in general that the proportional numbers will hold to be pretty much the same on all other estates as I have mentioned them to be on my own.

What was the sum you paid for the grant of lands you bought of General Monckton?

£. 32,000 sterling for the grant, which contained 4,000 acres.

How long is it before the great expence of buying Slaves for clearing new lands, for erecting works, and all other charges incident to a sugar estate, will allow such estate to make any return?

From the best of my observation, I am of opinion that no return whatever can be expected from an estate settled out of woods, in less than four years; and that it will require ten years to make returns of any considerable value.

What might it cost you to replace the Slaves who died on your Hermitage estate in 1786?

It is impossible for me to estimate the exact expence of supplying that loss—these Slaves, at the time of their death, were worth

worth at least £. 3,000 sterling; and as a greater number must be purchased to replace so many seasoned Slaves lost, I cannot possibly estimate my loss at less than £. 3,500.

Are you of opinion that the plough can be used in any of the Islands you are acquainted with to any material advantage in the cultivation of lands in the plantations?

I am persuaded it cannot.

Are you of opinion that the plantations can be cultivated by Europeans?

They certainly cannot.

Are not the French West India Islands and the British Ceded Islands, so called in general, more seasonable as to rain, and more plentifully furnished by constant streams of water, than the old settled British Islands?

They certainly are.

Are not the estates in the Old Windward Islands in general of far less extent than in the Ceded Islands; and are not the Negro provision-grounds in the former consequently less in quantity than in the latter?

The estates in the Old Windward Islands are not in general of above one-half the extent they are in the Ceded Islands, they are of course worse appointed in provision-grounds; and as the climate of those Islands is much more uncertain, very little dependence can be placed on their seasons, therefore it is not above one year in three that their provisions answer.

Is not the consequent deficiency of the native ground provisions in these Old Islands made up by the proprietors, by the purchase of imported articles of food and support for their Negroes?

It certainly is.

Did not the regular and constant supply of provisions from North America to the Old British Windward Islands, before the late prohibition of it, afford the planters a more certain and plentiful means of feeding and supporting their Slaves, than any they now have by the other substituted channels of importation?

It certainly did.

You said that the average price of Slaves at the time of settling the Ceded Islands was thirty pounds—do you mean by that the
average

average price of Slaves by the cargo, or the average value of the prime new Negroes?

I meant the average price of Slaves by the cargo.

Did you ever in your experience know a Free Negro offer himself to work for hire in the field in any of the British Islands?

I never knew an instance of it.

Are there not large sums of money due from the British planters, upon mortgage and otherwise, to the merchants and other inhabitants of Great Britain?

Very considerable sums.

Are there not also considerable sums due from them to foreigners who have been encouraged to lend their money by British acts of Parliament, on the security of their plantations, Slaves, and other property in the West Indies?

There are considerable foreign loans on estates on almost every one of the Windward Islands.

Is it not common, in contracts and engagements entered into by the planters, for them to covenant with their mortgagees and other creditors to keep up the number of their Slaves, and to add to the security all subsequently purchased ones, so as to prevent a diminution of the value and produce of the estate?

It is almost in every instance.

Is not also a similar engagement entered into by lessees of sugar estates in the British plantations?

It always is.

What will be the consequence to the credit of the British planters with their creditors in this country, and among foreigners, if the Slave Trade should be abolished?

The credit of the British West India Islands is already so materially injured by the measures which have been taken in this country, that it is not now possible to borrow money on any terms, upon the best security that can be offered in the British West India Islands; and if the African trade is abolished the creditors of those colonies will no doubt take immediate measures for the recovery of their debts, as they will not any longer consider them in a state of security.—The estates, if no regular supplies are granted them, must daily diminish in crop, and of course the security, in a certain time, will come to nothing.

Do you know any of the circumstances of a transaction which is said to have happened respecting the carrying away from the coast of Africa to Barbadoes a certain number of pawns, and what became of those pawns?

Being the correspondent of the house of Mess^{rs}. Arnold, Bruce, and Company, in the Island of Dominique, I was informed by letter from these gentlemen, some time in the month of May or June, 1788, that the ship Molly of Liverpool, commanded by Captain Bebb, had arrived to their address from the Cameroons on the Coast of Africa with a cargo of Slaves, among whom the captain said there were a certain number of pawns; that a few days after the arrival of the Molly at Dominique, the schooner Gainborough arrived from the Cameroons with a Free Black Man on board, named Quao, and instructions and letters from the captains of several ships at the Cameroons, who had been seized on and detained by the natives of that country, until such time as these pawns were redeemed; the very day the schooner arrived at Dominique, Mess^{rs}. Arnold and Bruce carried the Free Man Quao on board the Molly, and desired him to point out the Negroes he considered as pawns; he accordingly pointed out twenty-two men, who were immediately carried on shore, and treated with the greatest tenderness and humanity, until the schooner Gainborough was refitted, and in a condition to return to the Coast of Africa; these pawns, some time in the month of July 1788, went on board the schooner, and sailed for Africa; the said schooner arrived safe at the Cameroons on the Coast of Africa, and so far were the inhabitants from being disposed to redeem those pawns, that they would not have any thing to say to them, notwithstanding the many applications that were made by the Captain of the Gainborough, and the other commanders who were trading in the river Cameroon at the time. After laying a considerable time on the Coast, the pawns were returned to the West Indies, and are now in the Island of Dominique, on the plantation of Mr. Winston, the late attorney-general of that colony, where they are gently wrought, and are amply clothed and supplied with provisions; they are considered by my correspondents as Free Men, and remain now in that situation.

Was it ever represented to you, or do you believe from any thing that you have heard, that these pawns, or any of them, were the sons or relations of princes, or great men of Africa; or what was their condition?

I do not believe they were; for by my correspondence with Mess^{rs}. Arnold, Bruce, and Company, I am assured that the

pawns were obtained by Captain Bebbly in the common course of trade—I am also assured by these gentlemen, that Captain Bebbly, in the Molly, lay five or six weeks in the River Cameroon, after he was completely flaved, using his endeavours, during that time, to prevail on the natives to redeem the pawns.

As you have had much experience in the Slave Trade from the arrival of Slaves in the West Indies, have you reason to believe, from the observations you have made, that Negroes imported from the Coast of Africa are taken from a more happy state, thereby to be placed in a worse?

It is impossible for me to speak with precision to that question, having never been on the Coast of Africa; but from my long intimacy and acquaintance with many commanders of Guineamen (whom I have found very intelligent) I have not a doubt of their situation being infinitely more comfortable in the West India Islands than on the Coast of Africa.

In the accounts of the population of the West India Islands, are Free People of colour ordinarily ranked under the description of Free Negroes?

They generally are.

Considering that in one day, or in one day and an half, the Slaves are to cultivate provision-grounds sufficient for their whole subsistence, and sufficient also to enable them to make the acquisitions they are represented to possess, is not this a laborious service?

Very far from it; for the cultivation of provision-grounds in the West India Islands that are seasonable is attended with very little labour; and a great proportion of the food of Slaves is the fruit of bananas and plantane-trees, which do not require continual attention.

Is not vegetation very quick in the West India climates, and consequently provisions and other fruits of the earth very soon at maturity?

They are.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. JOHN CASTLES called in, and examined.

Of what country are you a native?
Of England.

Have you resided in the West Indies?

I resided in the West Indies from 1766 to 1788, except one year, which I spent in a visit to England.

In what Island?

In the Island of Grenada.

Did you practice physic and surgery in that island?

I did till within two years of the time I left it.

What number of plantations did you attend?

Generally from six to ten sugar plantations.

About what number of Negroes did you attend?

From twelve to fifteen hundred.

Are you a proprietor of land yourself?

I purchased a piece of land uncultivated and in wood, in partnership with another gentleman, in the year 1771, which we cultivated and put into sugar—I afterwards bought the other moiety, and now possess the whole.

Would you have purchased that land, or could you have effected that settlement without a supply of Negroes from Africa?

No—we furnished the estate entirely with Negroes from the Coast of Africa.

According to your joint experience, both as a planter and as a medical man, is it your opinion that the population of Negroes in Grenada will remain in its present state, without recruits from time to time of new Negroes from Africa?

No—I think the population will diminish every year.

What are your reasons for that opinion?

There are several; in the first place, the Negro women are not so prolific as the women of this country, which I apprehend to
be

be owing to excessive and promiscuous intercourse with the other sex, and that commenced at a very early period; from this cause, they do not in general breed till a pretty advanced age, viz. from twenty-five to thirty years of age, when they are not so much the objects of desire with the men; therefore a great part of the most proper time for the propagation of the species is totally lost. When they do breed at an early period, which is very seldom the case, the children generally die, and the mothers suffer so much, that they are unfit for bearing children at a more advanced and more proper age. When they do bear children, they keep them at the breast generally two years, by which means there can be one birth only in two years and an half, or three years, being a longer period than is generally allowed in this country for that purpose.—Children are subject very soon after their birth to a disease called the tetanus or locked jaw, which is so fatal, that the Negro women conceive only one half of the danger of the birth with respect to the child till the ninth day, to which time they look with great anxiety. To be understood with respect to the causes of this disease, it is necessary to observe, that physicians, in describing the cause of diseases with any degree of accuracy, divide them into two classes; the remote procatarcic, or predisposing, and the proximate, without the concurrence of both of which the disease cannot be produced; for instance, one person, from laying in damp sheets, shall only be slightly indisposed, or catch a cold, as it is commonly called; whereas another, from the same cause, shall be seized with a dangerous or perhaps fatal pleurisy or peripneumony: there must be some reason why the same cause has not had the same effect. It will be found, in the latter case, a plethora, or inflammatory diathesis, had been induced in the system, perhaps by full or hard living, or violent exercise, which is the predisposing cause of the pleurisy or peripneumony, which would however have possibly gone off without any danger, and would not have produced the disease without the accession of the proximate cause, which is sudden stoppage of perspiration by laying in wet linen. The predisposing cause of tetanus or locked jaw, I conceive to be excessive irritability of system, induced by the warm climate. That this irritability exists in a very high degree in the West Indies, is well known; for this disease is frequently occasioned by the most trifling causes, such as a cut or prick in the finger or toe, or from suddenly catching cold after violent exercise, even in adults of all descriptions, of White or Black; but physicians know that, *ceteris paribus*, irritability of system is greater in young persons than in old, and that in proportion to the age or nearness to the time of birth; hence

hence the greatest degree of irritability must exist immediately after birth, and hence this disease must be more frequent at that time than at any future period of life. The proximate causes of tetanus are all causes of pain or irritation; the most common are, the wound left on the navel on the separation of the navel-string, the retention of the meconium, bad milk, or sudden exposure to cold. These causes, I apprehend, occur as frequently in this country as in the West Indies, but they do not produce the disease, because the predisposing cause is either absent altogether, or exists in a very small degree.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

Lunæ, 22^o die Februarii 1790.

Counsel and Witnesses called in as before; and the Counsel proceeded further in their Examination.

Does the proximate cause exist in a greater degree in the West Indies than in this country? Mr. CASTLES.

On the contrary, I think that the proximate cause of infantine tetanus must occur rather more frequently in this country than in the West Indies, for want of that medical aid, and those comforts, which the Negroes in the West Indies so universally enjoy.—Convulsions and fatal fevers often happen from dentition, from the same reason as the tetanus, viz. excessive irritability of the system.—It is certain that as much pain is occasioned by the teeth making their way through the gums in this country as in the West Indies; but the predisposing cause of convulsions or fever being absent, few are lost in that way in this country—the same doctrine will hold with respect to worms, with this addition, that worms in children are much more common in the West Indies than in England, owing, I apprehend, to their vegetable diet, great part of which is used in a crude state, particularly fruits, which they have in greater plenty than the lower sort of people in this country.—Another cause of depopulation is fatal epidemical diseases—in the year 1771 or 1772 a catarrhal fever very like the influenza, which I found on my arrival in this country in 1788,

carried off great numbers of both Whites and Blacks.—About seven or eight years ago a putrid sore throat was epidemical, and proved generally fatal to children—those who took the small-pox naturally generally died; and although inoculation was in general very successful, yet on some plantations many died—the measles were not fatal in themselves, but often left the patients in such situations as they did not recover from—and very lately a disease commonly called the liver complaint carried off great numbers of Negroes on some plantations—with respect to Grenada in particular, there are a great proportion of Negroes from the coast of Africa, in consequence of which the proportion of women is small in comparison to the males.—I forgot formerly to mention that women in warm countries leave off breeding sooner than in more temperate ones.

What proportion of the children which are born die within the month?

On the estates which I attended, taken collectively, I think about one third part of the children died within the month—on my own estate I lost more than that proportion.

Did you give all necessary care and attention to raise the children that were born on your own estate?

Most certainly, and very often consulted with medical men on that subject.

Did you not think it highly for your interest to raise Negro children?

Most certainly, and long before I ever thought this matter would be agitated.

Do you know, or did you ever hear of any effectual remedy for the jaw-fall among children?

No—my practice was to avoid all causes of pain or irritation, in order to prevent the disease, such as taking care to purge off the meconium, to have the wound on the navel properly dressed, to pay attention to the nurse, and to have comfortable warm lodgings, when the women were brought to bed in particular.

Are not White children born there equally subject to this complaint?

There were but few White children in that part of the Island where I resided, but I am well informed by my brother, who is major of the 66th regiment, that the women of that regiment were

were very prolific after their arrival in the West Indies, but that they reared very few of their children.

What proportion of the Negro children that are born arrive at the age of puberty?

In my opinion not one-third—on my own estate I lost more; and when I left Grenada I had only twenty-three Creoles, the produce of about 130 or 140 African Slaves, in the course of fifteen or sixteen years, six or seven of which only were fit for mule boys.

Among the women imported what proportion of them breed?

Very few, I think—we used to buy our Negroes in lots of ten, among which there were three or four females at most; one or two of which only were capable of bearing children.

Are there not in such lots females past bearing children, and are there not also children?

Always.

Do not the Negroes bring upon themselves diseases which prove fatal to them, by their nocturnal visits, and the manner in which they frequently pass the night?

Very often—they are so fond of the dance, that they will frequently, after they have done their work, go five or six miles in order to enjoy that diversion, and come home time enough at the calling of the list in the morning; from which reason I always found more sick persons in the hospital on the Monday than in the latter part of the week—the Saturday and Sunday night being the most common times for that kind of amusement; I am certain they hurt themselves more from that cause than from their labour for their master throughout the week.

Is it your opinion that the reason why the Negro women do not breed in a greater degree, or why children are not raised, is, that the Negroes are not well treated, or made to labour too hard?

Certainly not, but from the causes I have already assigned.

Has it not cost you a large sum of money to settle your plantation?

A very large sum—more than it is worth in my opinion.

Would you have made that purchase or settlement if you had understood

understood that you were to be deprived of the means of supplying yourself with African Negroes?

Impossible, because I purchased the estate in woods, which could have yielded no revenue at all.

Is your estate now fully stocked with Negroes?

It is.

Can you keep up the number without occasional supplies from Africa?

I have kept up my number but not my strength for some years past; but sensible that a supply of Negroes from Africa would be necessary, I ordered five per cent. to be purchased annually.

Would you have left that order without a conviction of the necessity for it?

I certainly would not—I have given reasons before why I think the population will decrease in general.

Are there not epidemical disorders which are frequently fatal to the ablest and most healthy Negroes in large numbers?

Yes—such as I have already described.

Are not those disorders alone in the West Indies more than sufficient to counterbalance the increase by births?

They have hitherto been so—besides fatal consequences often follow the most trifling accidents, in consequence of that irritability of system, so universally induced in the West Indies from the climate—hence many adults have died of the locked jaw.

When any of those losses are experienced, what must be the consequence to the planter, if he cannot recruit his means of cultivation, by the purchase of African Negroes to supply such losses?

Ruin; because his numbers will at length decrease so much that he will not be able to make produce of any sort, sugar in particular.

Are not the Negro women, in respect of food and labour, in fully as favourable a condition for the propagation of the human species, as the labouring part of the females in England?

In my opinion they most certainly are.

Is not the actual condition of the Negroes in general in the West

West Indies, as comfortable as that of the labouring poor in England?

Much more so—I have had occasion, in a tour which I made last summer, through part of England and Scotland, to be able to answer this question positively.

Did you bring any Negroes from Grenada with you?

Yes—I brought two, a man and a woman, as servants.

Were they sensible Negroes?

Very much so.

When in this country how were they treated?

Exactly as my other servants—both of them were clothed properly for this country.

Were they in all respects on a footing with White servants?

In every respect.

Were they not attached to you?

Very much.

Did you wish them to stay in this country?

I wished them to stay, at least for a year or two, until I should determine whether this climate would permit me to stay in England altogether, that they might be of use to me in my passage to the West Indies again.

Were they Free Negroes?

No—the one was an African Slave, purchased at about the age of twelve; the woman was a Creole—both Slaves;—the man had been accustomed to field work in general, though occasionally employed in the house—the woman I purchased from a tavern-keeper, where her labour was harder than that of a common field Negro.

Were they satisfied to stay in this country?

No, for in about three months they begged of me to send them out; and on my asking them the reason, they said they did not like this country: and I have found, on enquiring further, that they thought this country very dull, and pined very much after their dances, and other customs, to which they had been accustomed—they were far from being fond of the kind of living in this country, and when they had any money, often regaled them-

themselves on a herring and potatoes, instead of the yams and plantains which they commonly eat in the West Indies, in preference to the best bread made in London, and to the ordinary food of this country.—I have very often heard the woman speak with great commiseration of a barrow-woman, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, selling fruit in the street, and said, that if she was so far gone with child, her master would not put her to so hard labour; and whenever she passed this woman always laid out some money in fruit with her.—I therefore sent them both home to the West Indies.

Did they appear to be struck or surprised at the number of beggars, and other miserable objects, which they observed in the streets?

Exceedingly.—They used to say, “ Buccra (White Country) “ not good.”

Do you recollect any observation being made by this Negro woman, when a White servant, rendered incapable by pregnancy of doing her work, was discharged?

Yes.—One of my White servants became so big with child, that I was obliged to discharge her.—The Negro woman thought it cruel in the highest degree; and said, if she had been in the same situation, her master would have taken care of her, and been very thankful to her for bringing him a child.—Both the Negroes considered themselves in full as good a situation as the other servants, and often told them so, when reproached by them with being Slaves.

Have you received any account of them since they have been sent home; and is it that they are contented, or otherwise?

It is that they are perfectly contented, and behave themselves well.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Were the Negroes, of whom you have been just speaking, domestic or field Negroes when in the West Indies?

The man had been in the field, and done all sorts of work there, but was occasionally employed in the house when any of the other servants happened to be sick; and some time before I brought him home I lent him to my brother to take care of his horses.—The woman was never employed in the field by me.—

I pur-

I purchased her from a tavern-keeper about three or four years before I left the West Indies, who was generally reckoned rather a severe master, and where the work was to my knowledge harder than common field labour.

What was the age of the female, when she came into your possession?

About eleven or twelve, and had two children before she was fourteen.

Were these two Slaves on their return to the West Indies placed in the situation of domestic or field Slaves?

I gave orders that the man should be put to any trade he chose—the woman was hired out to a store-keeper, for the purpose of hawking merchandize about the country.

Were you purchasing Slaves during the whole of the fifteen or sixteen years mentioned in your former answer; or at what period of that term had you completed the number of 130 or 140, which you have stated as the whole of your purchase?

The whole of the Slaves were purchased before the capture of the Island in 1779, but by far the greatest number were purchased within the first, second, and third year.

What do you take to be the ordinary proportion of females imported, to that of males?

In general there are two males imported to one female.

What proportion of the infants born on your own estate do you apprehend you lost before they reached the age of twelve or thirteen?

More than two-thirds.

Did you lose any of your African Negroes?

A vast many.

Can you state the number and the descriptions of those you lost, whether males or females?

I cannot—I began to settle the estate in 1771, and in 1780, on examining the journal, I found, that had all the Slaves I purchased, and those that were born on the estate, been alive, I should have had 163 or 164; instead of which I had not actually 100, which is a loss of nearly six per cent. per ann.

From

From your not recollecting any thing remarkable concerning the proportion of males and females amongst the Slaves you lost, may it not be presumed that there was nothing remarkable in it, but that you lost about an equal Proportion of both?

Yes—I think so.

Did you lose the greater number at the beginning or the latter part of the period of the nine years?

No doubt at the beginning, but more particularly from the epidemical catarrhal fever which I before mentioned.

When you ordered five per cent. on the number of your Slaves to be purchased annually, did you mean it for the purpose of keeping up your stock only?

Not altogether; and I desired my attorney to purchase females if possible, in consequence of the alarm raised by the report of the abolition of the Slave Trade—but I am of opinion that perhaps two or three per cent. would keep up the number, but not the strength of the plantation.

Do you apprehend it is for the planter's interest to go upon the system of breeding Slaves, or of purchasing Africans?

Planters always go upon the system of breeding Slaves.

Question repeated.

Yes, certainly.

Had you a room on your estate appropriated to the lying-in women; or were they commonly delivered in their own houses?

I had no such place either on my own estate, nor was there any such place where I attended as a surgeon.—The women were always delivered in their own houses.

Did you use any, and what other precautions, to prevent the infants from being attacked by the tetanus, than those described in your former answer?

It was a subject very much discussed among medical men, and there were different opinions about it.—I tried every thing suggested, and tried different midwives, in order to prevent the mortality from this complaint, but without any great success.

Does the irritability you state as produced by the climate of the West Indies prevail in a high degree amongst the inhabitants after they reach the age of puberty; and are they often attacked by the tetanus after that period?

Most

Most certainly it does, for as I before observed, adults of all descriptions, and of all ages, frequently fall victims to the tetanus, and this irritability is consequently hereditary in the children.

What were the peculiar symptoms of the liver complaint, and was it infectious?

The disease which carried off so many of Mr. Baillie's and other persons Negroes, I never saw—it never reached my estate, nor any of those estates in that part of the country where I lived, therefore as a professional man I cannot answer the question—an induration or separation of the liver has been always pretty frequent in Grenada, since I have known it, but it was generally among the White people, and in consequence of severe repeated bilious fevers—I have seen very few cases of this among the Negroes, because from the nature of their food they are not so much subject to bilious complaints as the White people are.

Do you mean to say, that among a lot of ten Slaves, comprehending three or four women, that only one or two will be likely to produce children?

Yes, that is my idea, for it is pretty certain that they are not fond of selling in Africa those women best adapted for breeding.

From what information do you form this opinion?

I have frequently heard so from the captains of Guineamen, who have long used the trade.

Is it usual then for these lots of Negroes to contain old women?

When a cargo is assorted and put into lots, the method is to chuse first the most able men, according to the number of lots, one able man for each lot—then the next able men, one for each lot, are chosen, and so on with respect to the more indifferent Slaves, men or women, so that there must be good and bad, and young and old in each lot, in order to make the lots as equal as possible.

Do you know of any other method or rule of lotting Negroes for sale, besides that you have just described?

No, and I have frequently assisted in lotting a cargo myself.

Do you know any thing of a practice called the scramble?

Yes,

Describe that practice?

When the Negroes are in the place allotted for their sale the door is shut till a certain time, when it is opened, and the purchasers go in, and purchase that description of Negroes they like—there is no other peculiarity of circumstance that I know of.

Do you know any thing of the mortality of children on the Coast of Africa?

No.

Is the climate in the West Indies hotter than that of those parts of Africa from which the Negroes are usually imported?

I do not know—I never was in Africa.

In what degree of latitude are the West India Islands situated?

Grenada is in latitude between eleven and twelve, and I believe the most northerly Islands are in latitude about seventeen or eighteen.

What number of Negroes fit for immediate labour are usually found in a lot of ten?

Generally I think seven or eight.

Are not Creole Negroes usually better able to sustain labour in that climate than imported Africans?

I think there is no difference, when the Africans are seasoned—my own Negroes are all Africans, except the children born on the estate, and are remarkable good working people.

Explain what you mean by the term “seasoned?”

When a new Negro has been two or three years in the country, and acquainted with the language and manners of it, and has got his provision-ground in such a situation as to supply himself with food, we consider him then as a seasoned Negro.

Does not seasoning imply being habituated to the climate, and to the labour of a plantation?

I fancy the Negroes in their own country do very little work, and therefore they must be habituated to it by degrees—with respect to climate, I imagine it must be nearly the same in both countries.

Do you know whether a considerable proportion of new Negroes die within the first three years after importation?

Not many, though more than in a future period.

Were the Slaves which you brought to England with you as well treated, and as lightly worked, as in the West Indies?

They were a great deal less worked here, and as well treated as they were in the West Indies.

Would you not then yourself have considered their situation here as at least equally eligible?

Certainly, but they did not think so.

Was you ever concerned as a proprietor in the allotment and sale of a cargo of new Negroes?

No.

Do you mean to say then, that the method you have described in the allotment of a cargo of new Negroes, is invariably the practice adopted by the importers of new Negroes?

I cannot say it is, but all the lots I purchased were assorted in that manner.

Do you believe that that is the general practice used by importers?

Not lately, I am told; but I have purchased few or no Negroes for many years past.

Is it not a rule generally attended to, to have the families and relations (if any such there be) sold together in the same lot?

Always; and I remember, in lotting a cargo of Negroes, changing a great number of the Negroes from one lot to another, in consequence of brothers and other relations being in other lots.

When you said that in a lot of ten new Negroes there were generally seven or eight fit for immediate labour, what is that immediate labour that they are fit for?

The most trifling labour, merely something to amuse them, such as turning cane trash, to render it fit for fuel to boil sugar.

And is not that course taken with them to reconcile their dispositions

dispositions and constitutions to the change of scene and climate, until they gradually become habituated to the country, and fit to undergo the laborious part of work, in common with Negroes seasoned to the country, and the work of a plantation?

Certainly.

You stated that your loss of male and female Slaves was in an equal proportion; do you not mean thereby that that loss was in proportion to the number of each sex which you had on your plantation?

Yes, certainly.

Do you apprehend that the loss of field Slaves could be in any degree supplied by sending domestic Slaves to perform plantation work?

In a very trifling degree indeed, not worth mentioning.

When you acted as a surgeon on other plantations, in what manner was you paid for your attendance?

I was paid seven shillings and six pence for each Negro per annum, besides which I was paid for all surgical operations.

Was the tetanus a frequent consequence of those surgical operations?

Sometimes—I have known three or four cases of amputation, wherein the tetanus proved fatal.

Have you known the tetanus frequently consequent on surgical operations of smaller importance than amputation?

No—wounds or incisions in the muscular flesh seldom produce the tetanus.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

JOHN GREG, Esquire, called in, and examined.

Of what country are you a native?

Of Ireland.

When did you first go to the West Indies; how long did you continue there; and in what Islands?

I went to the West Indies about the latter end of 1764, or the beginning

beginning of 1765, and continued there about twenty years— During that time, for several years, my duty required that I should be in the Ceded Islands two or three times in each year— I have also been twice in Jamaica—I have also been at Antigua, Hispaniola, Martinique, and several times at St. Lucia.

In which of these Islands did you principally reside?
In the Island of Dominique.

Do you know any thing of the commission which was issued by the King of Great Britain, in the year 1764, appointing commissioners for the sale and disposal of lands in the Ceded Islands?

I do know such commission was issued—I have conversed with Mr. George Grenville and Lord Hillsborough on the subject of that commission, and the instructions which were to be issued in consequence of it—I have often been in possession of the commission and the King's instructions, and I had them registered in the Island of Grenada, all the Ceded Islands being then under one government.

Did you execute any office under that commission?

I did.—I was secretary to the commission, and acted as auctioneer for His Majesty in the sale of lands.

Did the commissioners, and others appointed by the said commission, proceed on their duty, and dispose of the whole, or any part of the lands in the Ceded Islands, according to their powers and instructions?

They did discharge their duty to His Majesty in the most honourable, impartial, and disinterested manner, and disposed of 174,108 acres, which amounted to £. 620,668. 7s. 8d. sterling.

Was there a condition in the sale of those lands, by which the purchaser was obliged to cut down, clear and cultivate, and under what penalties?

There was such a condition in the grant.

Then an extract from the said grant, of which the following is a copy, was read; viz.

“ And also, upon condition that the grantee, his
“ heirs and assigns, shall, from and after six months
3 L “ shall

“ shall be elapsed from the date of this our grant, well
 “ and truly in every year clear one acre for every
 “ twenty acres of uncleared land in the said hereby
 “ granted plantation, until one half of the uncleared
 “ cultivable land of the said plantation shall be cleared ;
 “ and if it shall happen, that the said grantee, his heirs
 “ or assigns, shall not clear the same, as is hereby re-
 “ quired, then he or they shall pay to us, our heirs
 “ and successors, the sum of five pounds sterling per
 “ annum for every acre which ought to have been
 “ cleared as aforesaid, and which he or they shall so
 “ neglect to clear.”

Can you estimate what quantity of the land sold now remains uncleared ?

It is impossible to say accurately, but the greatest part remains in wood ;—but I speak particularly as to the Islands of Dominique and Saint Vincent's.

What quantity of land does the Island of Dominique contain ?

186,436 acres.

What quantity of land in that Island was disposed of under the commission, and since, and for what price ?

96,344 acres and three quarters was sold under the commission, which amounted to £. 312,092. 11s. 1d. sterling—the commissioners also made appropriation of lands for public purposes—and I have been informed and believe, that Governor Ord has since the time of the commission disposed of considerable quantities ; so that I believe the whole quantity under grants from His Majesty must considerably exceed 100,000 acres.

What quantity of land does the Island of Saint Vincent contain ?

By the first report of the surveyors appointed by the commissioners, and the report of the commissioners to the lords of the treasury and board of trade, it appeared to contain 89,000 acres, but by a late publication of Mr. Byers (publisher of a map of the Island, and who has since acted as chief surveyor) it appeared to contain about 84,000 acres.

What

What quantity of that land was disposed of under the commission and since, and to what amount?

20,538 acres and three quarters were disposed of by the commissioners, amounting to £.162,854. 11s. 7½d. sterling— I have been informed that 4,000 acres were given by His Majesty to General Monckton, and that about 20,000 acres have been since confirmed to Mr. Swinburne, which I believe have been or are to be disposed of under similar conditions of the grant of clearing, so that the whole quantity will appear by that to be 44,000 acres.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

Martis, 23^o die Februarii 1790.

Counsel and Witnesses called in as before; and the Counsel proceeded further in their Examination.

In the several sales, under the commission and since, were the lands sold according to their full value? Mr. GREG.

The lords of the treasury fixed a minimum, below which no land could be sold, which was five pounds sterling per acre for every acre of cleared land, and one pound sterling for every acre of wood land. The lands were advertised for sale in Great Britain, Ireland, America, and the West Indies; they were put up to public sale, and sold to the highest bidder. The gentlemen attending the sale as purchasers bid in opposition to each other, and, in numerous instances, bid up the lands far above what any body could have an idea that they were worth.

At what time did the sales begin, and how long did they continue?

They began in the year 1765, and continued till the year 1775; that is, the last sale was in the year 1774.

Did not the several purchasers lay out considerable sums in raising

raising buildings and other works necessary for the purpose of carrying on the cultivation?

Immense sums.

Were those sums in some instances greater even than the purchase money?

Far greater.

Can you state the number of Negroes in the Island of Dominque and Saint Vincent?

By the latest and best accounts I have had, it appears, the number in the two Islands was a year ago about 27,000.

Is that number sufficient to enable the purchaser to fulfil his engagements in clearing and cultivating the land?

Judging by my own experience; and from observations on the plantations of others, I believe the present number to be inadequate without very considerable annual supplies from Africa, to cultivate properly the lands already cleared. I have observed a retrograde state of settlement in many of the plantations, considerable parts of which are returning again into a desert state for want of Negroes, the owners having been crippled in the first instance by paying such vast sums to the crown for the lands, and in erecting their buildings and works, and from the injuries they have sustained by hurricanes and other losses, which disable them from purchasing many Negroes at the extravagant price that the rumour of the abolition of the Slave Trade has caused.

Can you form any judgment of the additional number of Negroes that will be necessary to clear those lands in Dominique and St. Vincent's, which are now in wood?

I am confident in opinion that one Negro for every acre granted under the crown would be insufficient to clear and continue in cultivation those lands—what the highest number would be fully to answer that purpose I cannot say, 120,000 additional Negroes, I think, would be hardly sufficient to answer those purposes.

Had there been any public reason to apprehend the abolition of the Slave Trade, at the time of the sales, do you conceive it possible that the commissioners could have proceeded in the sales?

I think it impossible—no person would have been so mad as to have made a purchase—the commissioners gave every assurance to the people assembled at the sales that they should have all possible protection

protection and encouragement from government; and the same year that the sales commenced parliament passed a law (the 5th of His present Majesty) for the securing, extending, and improving the trade to Africa.

What kind of Negroes were put on the new-purchased lands?

Every purchaser endeavoured to get a few seasoned Negroes in order to instruct and take care of full-grown new Negroes, with which it was only in his power, in general, to make the new settlements—none other but full-grown strong Negroes being equal to the arduous business of clearing the lands.

Were the Negroes, placed on the newly-purchased lands in fact chiefly full-grown Negroes?

They were.

Is it not probable that such of those full-grown Negroes who are now living will become past labour in a few years?

It certainly is—they must be now between forty and fifty years of age.

Will there not therefore, on that account also, be a great deficiency of labour?

I think there will.

Was there a great mortality both amongst Negroes and Whites within the few first years after the settlement of the lands?

There was a very great mortality amongst the soldiers and Whites in general, as well as amongst the Blacks.

In your progress through the different British Islands, and during your residence in several, have you observed what has been the treatment of Negro Slaves?

I have observed them in all the Islands where I have been much happier in general than the lower order of people in this country.

Did you see frequent instances of beggars, miserable objects, or superannuated Slaves, who had been deserted by their masters?

I do not recollect seeing one instance of that sort.

Does your experience enable you to form any judgment, whether the number of Negro Slaves now in the Ceded Islands could be kept up by breeding only?

vent this practice, and preserve the infants; but I have always found a propensity in the Negroes, when they are left to themselves, to return to their own practice.

Whether the custom which you mentioned as being injurious to the health of female Negroes, is not an African custom?

I really do not know.

Were not many estates in Dominique begun to be worked with capitals unequal to the enterprize?

There may be some instances of that—in those cases the individuals depended upon, their credit, and the assistance of their friends, to enable them to go through the undertaking.

Were there not several instances of undertakings of this kind relinquished after they had been entered upon?

Yes—for the causes I have enumerated in my former evidence; besides which, the circumstance of usurious loans procured in England served to complete the ruin of the unfortunate adventurers—there are other causes that operated against the undertaking of the planters—four and an half per cent. was illegally levied on their produce for seven years, to the best of my recollection—and, notwithstanding the condition, obliging the planter to cut down and clear away, parliament imposed, by the Free Port Act, a duty of thirty shillings sterling per head on all Negroes imported into the Islands by the planters, even from their own estates in the neighbouring Islands.

During your possession of your estate, have you ever changed your manager?

Often.

Do many of the Free Negroes work at mechanical trades?

There are very few Free Negroes in Dominique—I do not know that any of them are tradesmen.

What do you apprehend to be the expence of the maintenance of a Negro man, woman, or child?

I never made a calculation of such expence.

How many Whites had you on your estate?

I generally had three.

In what capacities?

One

One as manager, one as overseer, and one as distiller, besides occasionally a White carpenter.

Are not watchmen appointed to take care of the cane and provision-grounds?

Always.

From what you have observed in the French Islands, do you apprehend the Slaves in them to be better or worse treated than in the British Islands?

The house Negroes are much better treated, and the plantation Negroes much worse.

Are the regulations in the Code Noir observed, which dictate the food, cloathing, treatment, &c. of the Slaves?

I am not sufficiently acquainted with the Code Noir to answer the question.

Are not the Negroes apt to steal the provisions from each other's grounds?

It sometimes happens, but rarely.

Are the managers on estates usually married?

Some of them are married, and some not.

The distiller, of whom you spoke, was he constantly in your service, or did you hire him occasionally?

Sometimes I had him for two or three years together—at other times only occasionally.

How was he employed when not in your service?

I do not know.

Have any managers Slaves of their own?

Yes, many of them.

How are these Slaves employed?

They generally let them out to some neighbouring plantation, if the person with whom the manager lives has not occasion to employ them.

Is it usual then for persons thus to hire Slaves of their managers?

Some planters do, others do not approve of it, left any extraordinary

ordinary partiality should be shewn to them, which might give uneasiness to the other Negroes.

Of the Free Negroes in Dominique do you conceive the larger proportion to be of males or females?

I do not know.

Do you know many instances of Free Negroes who have purchased their own manumission?

I do not know of one instance.

Who acts for the planter in the purchasing of Slaves?

Sometimes he makes the purchase himself, at other times he employs a town agent, or some of his friends in town.

If he is not resident on his own estate, who then superintends the purchases?

His attorneys.

Is not the manager consulted in superintending or in approving of those purchases?

Frequently he is.

Have you observed any thing peculiar respecting the duration of the lives of Negro Slaves?

No—some of them live to a very great age.

What was the price of Slaves at the original settlement of Dominique?

For the first lot, which I purchased in 1765, I paid twenty-six pounds ten shillings sterling per head for prime Negroes.

What is the price at present?

Fifty pounds, or fifty guineas. Before the report of the abolition taking place, prime Negroes sold from thirty-five to thirty-eight pounds sterling per head.

What was then the value of a seasoned African, or of a prime country-born Negro?

About fifty pounds sterling.

Has the late increase of price been proportional on the former prices of male and female Slaves?

Yes.

Was

Was there a mortality among the Negroes of the first adventurers in settling the Ceded Islands, beyond what is usual in the West India Colonies that had been long cleared and settled?

There was.

Were the settlers subjected in the commencement of the project to extraordinary difficulties and hardships?

Yes, to a great number of difficulties.

What was the highest price paid per acre for cleared land in St. Vincent's?

Many pieces of the cleared land sold considerably above fifty pounds per acre.

Can you form any estimate of the average on the sale of cleared land in either Dominique or St. Vincent's?

I cannot.

Was not the average highest price paid per acre to the crown for lands purchased in the Ceded Islands, so paid in St. Vincent's?

Yes.

Did not government, in 1768, project a road through parts of the Carib country?

They did.

Whether the Caribs, in 1768, did not shew great dissatisfaction, and appear in numbers to remonstrate against and oppose such road?

They did—they obstructed the road, and felled trees across it.

Was there not an actual state of war between the Caribs and His Majesty's troops in 1772?

There was.

Whether from the first making of the road the discontent of the Caribs did not arise, and continue till such period of the war in 1772?

It did.

Were not, during such period, the inhabitants of St. Vincent's in danger from the Caribs; and were not buildings and
canes

canes on some estates, purchased from the crown at different times, actually burnt and destroyed?

The inhabitants were certainly in danger—I do not recollect any particular estates being burnt; but I was not constantly resident in St. Vincent's.

Did not the inhabitants at considerable expence, as well as personal hazard by service, assist government in the Carib war in 1772?

I believe they gave all assistance in their power.

Did not the inhabitants moreover assist and supply the troops employed by the crown with mules, provisions, and other matters?

I understood they assisted them with mules, and in every respect that they could.

Have those who made original purchases from the crown, and completely settled their lands, in the event become generally wealthy from such purchases?

I think not.

What may be considered as the average interest made on the whole money laid out in an estate purchased from the crown, and completely stocked and settled?

I cannot answer that question; but the success fell very much short of the settlers expectations.

Where was you in the year 1780?

At Dominique.

Were not Dominique and St. Vincent's at that time in the possession of the French.

Yes.

Was there not a dreadful hurricane in that year, extending both to Dominique and St. Vincent's?

There was.

Have you not heard that there was a bounty granted by parliament, with a view to indemnify British subjects in the Colonies who suffered by that hurricane?

No—I never heard of it.

Was any bounty from government distributed amongst the sufferers by the hurricane at St. Vincent's and Dominique?

None that I ever heard of.

Were the damages done by the hurricane at Dominique and St. Vincent's very great with regard to buildings, Negroes, crop on the ground, and produce already manufactured, whether on the estates, or embarked?

The damage was very great on the estates, but I do not know any thing with respect to sugar embarked.

Did the estates in general require considerable sums to re-establish them in the situations they were in before the hurricane?

They did.

Were there any estates in St. Vincent's or Dominique, so devastated and so re-established, that were not purchased from the crown, or on leases from the crown, with exception to the small lots given to the poor settlers?

I do not know of any.

Have you ever been in any of the old settled Islands to the windward of Jamaica?

Yes—at Antigua and Barbadoes.

Did you make any observations on the manner of cultivating and carrying on sugar plantations in those Islands?

Yes.

Does it correspond, as nearly as circumstances will permit, with the method adopted at St. Vincent's and Dominique?

It does.

Are not those old Islands more commonly subject to continued droughts than the Ceded Islands?

Much more so.

Are not the planters in those old Islands therefore in a great measure deprived of internal resources for food to support their Negroes, more than the planters in the Ceded Islands are?

They are—the measure intended by parliament (passed in the year 1788) for the relief of the West India Islands in case of famine, is futile—it gives leave to the governor, by the advice of his council, to permit the importation of provisions from the

foreign Islands only, when it is notoriously known to every one acquainted with the West India Islands that there are no magazines of provisions ever kept in those Islands, and the provisions are of a perishable nature, and could not be kept for any considerable length of time in that climate; and the only means of relief under such circumstances must be from America, from whence the act prohibits supplies.

Are not such provisions as are commonly imported from Great Britain, viz. bread, flour, and other species of provisions of the grain kind, so liable to perish in the West India Islands by the weevils and other vermin peculiar to that climate, as to make it impracticable for a planter, by every foresight that humanity or prudence can suggest, to import such a quantity of those provisions from Europe, in the ships belonging to the trade, as, under the natural causes of drought before mentioned, and precariousness of supplies from other Islands in the West Indies (as the law now stands) effectually to provide against the possibility of famines?

Clearly it is hardly possible, under all those circumstances, for the planter to provide against the dreadful effects of famine; and I should not be surprized, in case of a hurricane happening in the ensuing season, to hear of some dreadful catastrophe similar to that which lately happened in Jamaica and Antigua, by which 23,000 Slaves perished.

As far as your observation and information have gone, in the old Islands which you have visited, is it or is it not a prevailing maxim amongst the planters to endeavour to rear as many Creole Negroes as they possibly can, in order to avoid the expence of purchasing new Negroes?

It is.

When the calamity which you alluded to happened in Jamaica and Antigua, were there not considerable numbers of White inhabitants, who also suffered thereby as well as the Negroes?

No doubt of it.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

Sabbati;

Sabbati, 27^o die Februarii 1790.

Counsel called in as before; and the Counsel proceeded further in their examination, and called

JOHN ANTHONY RUCKER, Esquire.

Are you a proprietor of lands in Grenada, or any of the Ceded Islands?

I am, in Grenada, Cariacau, and Saint Vincent's.

When did you become a purchaser?

By agreement in 1764, but the agreement did not take effect till 1765.

Have your acquisitions in those Islands been considerable?

Very much so.

Would you have ventured your property in that manner, had you understood that Great Britain would prohibit the importation of African Negroes?

Undoubtedly not; because no estate in the West Indies can be carried on without labourers, and no labourers can be had but Negroes.—I should have been happy if, in the year 1764, there had been the least rumour of either abolishing or cramping the Negro Trade, as it would have effectually put a stop to my having any concern in those Islands, and I wish now I never had.

Have you not lent considerable sums of money in those Islands?

I am sorry to say I have.

Would you have lent that money, had you understood that the African Negro Trade was to be abolished?

Certainly not; nor would any man in his senses, according to my opinion, have done so.

Have

Have you Negroes sufficient to keep up the present cultivation of your estate?

By the accounts I have from my agents, I have not.—I purchased some last year, and I am obliged to purchase more.

+
See folio 238.

Do you conceive, that in future you can keep up the stock of Negroes necessary for the cultivation of your plantations, from such Negroes as can be bred upon them?

I cannot positively answer to that question, because I have never been in the West Indies; but I have recommended it to my agents to use all possible means to raise children; but their account to me is, that they cannot flatter me it will be ever possible to have a sufficient number so as to answer the cultivation of the estate in future.

What, in your opinion, will be the effect of stopping the supply of African Negroes to the British West India Islands?

In my opinion it will have a very dreadful effect, as I have no doubt that in the course of ten or twelve years the greatest part of the small estates must be ruined, and the large ones greatly reduced in their product; and instead of our now exporting our refined sugar from Great Britain, which, communibus annis, brings into this country at least £.200,000 a year (which will be lost) there will not be sufficient sugars imported from our Islands for the consumption of Great Britain and Ireland; the consequence of which will be, that we must have recourse to foreigners to supply this deficiency, which in my opinion will be a balance of trade against Great Britain of at least from one million to one million two hundred thousand pounds, and which must have an influence upon all landed and money property in this kingdom.

Is not that but a small part of the ill effects which would attend the abolition of the African Negro Trade by Great Britain?

There will also be a very great loss in shipping.

Have you advanced any money upon West India security since the agitation of this question?

Most certainly not, nor would any man in his senses do so.

What effect then has the agitation of this question had upon the credit of the West Indies?

The

The credit of West India property was very bad before the agitation of this question, and it is now grown a great deal worse.

Is there not a large debt, to the amount of several millions, due from the planters in the West Indies to the merchants and other inhabitants of Great Britain?

I believe there is.

Would not the security for that debt be materially injured by the abolition of the African Negro Trade?

Undoubtedly.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Having stated that if there had been the least rumour of the abolition or cramping of the Negro Trade, it would have effectually put a stop to your purchases in the West Indies, and that you now wish you never had any concern in it, and that previous to the agitation of this question West India credit was very bad,—whether immediately previous to the agitation of this question you were perfectly satisfied with the investment of property you had made in the West Indies?

I believe very few besides myself have made so advantageous purchases as I did, and which have turned out exceedingly well—but as I before said, if I could have had the least suspicion of the abolition or regulation of the Slave Trade, I certainly would not have engaged in any purchases in the West Indies, nor have lent any money—and I should be very glad to sell my property there at this moment, if I could find a purchaser for it.

Do not all the bad consequences which you have stated as likely to arise from the measure now in agitation depend on the supposition that the stock of Negroes in the West Indies will fail in consequence of the stoppage of importation?

Undoubtedly.

Does your opinion of the impossibility of keeping up the stock depend on any knowledge of your own, or on the representation of your agents in the Islands?

The experience of twenty-five years has taught me what I have said.

The former question and answer, at this mark +, folio 236, being read;

The Witness then explained himself, by saying, By the repeated informations from my agents, and my desire to keep up, if possible, the number of Negroes, by endeavouring to raise the children to maturity, I found they could not do it, and have been obliged constantly to supply new Negroes on my own account; and that is what I call twenty-five years experience.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

JOHN HANKEY, Esquire, called in, and examined.

Are you a proprietor of lands in Grenada, or any of the other Ceded Islands?

A very considerable one.

When did you first become proprietor of those lands?

In 1764.

Have you advanced money upon the security of West India estates?

Very large sums.

Are those sums still outstanding?

Many of them are.

Would you have become such proprietor, or advanced such money, had you conceived that the importation of Negroes from Africa to the West Indies would at any time be prohibited by Great Britain?

Most certainly not.

Can you cultivate your estate without Negroes?

By no means.

Have you Negroes sufficient for the use of your estate?

Not by several hundreds.

Do you conceive that in future you can keep up even your present

sent stock of Negroes without supplies from Africa?

I am convinced I cannot.

Do you conceive that the deficiency of the population of Negroes in the West India Islands arises from neglect, ill-treatment, or excessive labour?

I most heartily believe it does not.

Has it not been your object to endeavour to breed as many Negroes upon your plantations as you could?

I constantly recommended it to my agents, and I sincerely believe they have had it for their first object.

What in your opinion will be the effect of stopping the supply of African Negroes to the British West India Islands?

The gradual decay, and at length the ruin of those Islands.

What effect has the agitation of the question concerning the abolition of the African Negro Trade had upon the credit of West India property?

A very detrimental one.

Have you advanced any money upon the security of West India property since the agitation of that question?

I have not—I have had several proposals made me, to which I did not so much as give an hearing.

Was not your refusal to listen to those proposals chiefly induced by the agitation of that question?

Most certainly.

Is there not a large debt, to the amount of several millions, due from the planters in the West Indies to the merchants and other inhabitants of Great Britain?

I believe there is.

Will not the security for that debt be materially injured by stopping the supply of African Negroes to the British West India settlements?

I believe very materially.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Have you ever been in the West Indies?

I have not.

Do you think that West India credit was good before the agitation of the question of abolition?

It certainly was very good before the commencement of the war.

Is it to the events of the late war that you solely ascribe the depreciated state of West India credit, previous to the agitation of the question of the abolition of the Slave Trade?

In my opinion the credit of the West Indies would have revived at the peace, and would be now in its full vigour, if the question of abolition had not been agitated.

Do you recollect that the question was agitated immediately after the conclusion of the peace?

As much as my memory serves me, a question of regulation was agitated, but not of abolition.

How many times have you changed your managers since the period of 1764, when you became a proprietor of lands in the West Indies?

I cannot exactly say; but according to my memory we (my partner and self) began first with French managers, and we changed them three or four times—we have since had English managers, and we have not changed them at all.

Are you a merchant of London, and much concerned in the West India Trade?

Our house began with the West Indies chiefly in lending of money on the security of lands and Negroes, which were mortgaged to us—we afterwards became purchasers of estates—we never went into the West India Trade, as furnishing of stores—we had several very considerable ships, which were employed in carrying out stores, the manufacture of this country, to Grenada, for the use of the plantations, and which came home laden with the produce of those estates.

Have you any objection to say to the best of your memory to what

what amount were the advances of your house upon West India property?

To the best of my memory (not being prepared to answer this question) about £.250,000.

What is the rate of interest usual upon such advances?

We never took more than £.5 per cent. our mortgages having been made in England—the rate of interest at Grenada is £.6 per cent.

Did you, at the time your advances were made, consider the securities you received as sufficient?

Most certainly.

Shall you think them equally sufficient should the African Trade be abolished?

Most certainly not.

Is it not your opinion that the West India business, previous to the late war, was in general as secure and desirable a one to the merchants of this country as any other species of our commerce?

Certainly, or our house, which had very large connections all over Europe, and has been established for near seventy years, would never have engaged in that business.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

WILLIAM TOD, Esquire, called in, and examined.

Are you a merchant of London?

Yes.

Are you also a proprietor of lands in Grenada, or any of the other Ceded Islands?

I am, in Grenada and the Grenadines.

When did you first become a purchaser?

In 1774 or 1775.

Are you also a creditor, by mortgage and otherwise, upon the security of West India estates?

I am.

Can you cultivate your estates, or can the property on which you have advanced money be cultivated, but by Negroes ?

In my opinion it is impossible.

Would you have purchased West India property, or have advanced loans upon it, had you understood that Great Britain would stop the importation of African Negroes to her West India settlements ?

Undoubtedly I would not.

Are the estates in which you are concerned fully stocked with Negroes ?

My own estate is not, as to others I cannot speak.

Do you conceive that you can in future keep up even the present stock of Negroes if supplies from Africa are stopt ?

I am convinced I cannot.

Do you conceive that the deficiency in the population of Negroes in the West Indies is owing either to neglect, ill treatment, or excessive labour ?

I do not conceive that it is owing to any of those causes.

Has it not been your object to raise as many Negroes upon your property as you could ?

It has been my constant object.

What, in your opinion, will be the effect of stopping the importation of African Negroes into the British West India settlements ?

It is impossible for me to say what the effect will be ; but, in my opinion, it would have a very fatal one.

What effect has the agitation of the question concerning the abolition of the African Negro Trade had on the credit of West India property ?

I cannot say what general effect it may have had ; but since that period I have refused to lend money on West India security, until I should see the event of the present measure.

Have you not reason to believe that the agitation of that question has had the same effect upon others ?

I should conceive so.

Is it not notorious that there is a large debt, to the amount of several millions, due from the proprietors in the West Indies to the merchants and other inhabitants of Great Britain?

It is.

Will the security for that debt be as good as it was, if Great Britain should stop the supply of African Negroes to her settlements in the West Indies?

Surely it will not.

At the time you lent your own money upon West India property, did you not think the security sufficient?

Surely I did.

If Great Britain should abolish the African Negro Trade, will you think it equally so?

Surely not.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Have you ever been in the West Indies?

I have not.

And then the Witnesses was directed to withdraw.

And the Counsel informed the Committee, That they had several other merchants of London, proprietors in the Ceded Islands, ready to give the same general evidence as Mr. Rucker, Mr. Hankey, and Mr. Tod; but that it seemed to be unnecessary to trouble the Committee with a repetition of that evidence; and therefore they would now close their case, reserving only the liberty for the agent to produce any written or printed documents which he may think proper to lay before the Committee for their further information.

And then the Counsel were directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

THAT the agent be permitted to produce such written or printed documents.

And the Counsel were called in, and acquainted therewith.

And then they were again directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

THAT this Examination of Mr. Baillie, Mr. Castles, Mr. Greg, Mr. Rucker, Mr. Hankey, and Mr. Tod, be reported to the House.

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES

ON THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Reported 2d MARCH 1790.

Witnesses Examined,

Mr. B A I L L I E,
Mr. C A S T L E S,
Mr. G R E G,
Mr. R U C K E R,
Mr. H A N K E Y,
Mr. T O D.

N^o 4.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE,

Lunæ, 15^o die Martii 1790.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed for the Purpose of taking the Examination of such Witnessess as shall be produced on the Part of the several Petitioners who have petitioned the House of Commons against the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Mercurii, 24^o die Februarii 1790.

THE Counsel for the Petition of the Council and Assembly of the Island of Nevis; and also 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, were called in.

Mr. Piggott for both the said Petitions.
Mr. Thomson for the said Petition from Nevis.
Mr. Graham for the said Petition of Mr. Spooner.

An extract from the Journals of the House of Commons, dated the 21st of June 1717, was read; and is as followeth; viz.

“ *RESOLVED,*

“ That it is the opinion of this committee, that the
“ land in the Island of Saint Christopher, yielded by
“ France to Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, be sold to

“ the best advantage, and that the produce of the same
“ be applied to the use of the public.”

Then the Counsel produced the commission, dated the 4th of June 1726, which issued in consequence of the above resolution, for the sale of that part of the said Island of Saint Christopher, formerly belonging to the French.

The Counsel also produced another commission, dated the 1st of May 1728, confirming the former commission, for the sale of the said Lands, upon the demise of the crown.

The Counsel also produced the instructions to the lieutenant general, and the other commissioners of the Leeward Caribbee Islands, on executing the King's commission, which instructions bear date the 4th of June 1726, whereby directions are given to the said commissioners to contract and agree for the sale of certain lands in the Island of Saint Christopher.

The Counsel then called and examined,

Mr. R O B E R T T H O M A S.

How long have you resided in the West Indies ?

About nine years.

In what part of the West Indies ?

In the Islands of Saint Christopher and Nevis.

In what capacity ?

In that of a surgeon.

Have you, in that capacity, been employed to attend Negroes on the sugar plantations ?

I have, during the whole period of my being abroad.

What number of Negroes have you annually attended ?

To the best of my recollection, somewhere between 4 and 5,000 annually, and that in the Island of Nevis.

What was your usual mode of attendance, and what Fees did you receive for the same ?

It



It was always expected that the surgeon should attend once or twice a week at least, and daily, if occasion required it.—Most estates were attended at six shillings per head for each Negro, annually, besides extra charges for capital operations, preternatural cases of midwifery, and night visits upon emergent occasions—a few were attended only occasionally, which was by far the most expensive mode.

Did you, in the course of that attendance, acquire an opportunity of observing in what manner Negroes were treated, worked, fed, lodged, and clothed?

I had, undoubtedly, every opportunity of acquiring a perfect knowledge of all these minutiae alluded to.

Are not Negroes on a Sugar Plantation divided into certain classes for their better regulation, and the better management of the estate?

They are always divided into three classes (commonly called gangs). The first or great gang consists of all the able bodied Negroes, allowing a sufficient number for tradesmen and watchmen, and this gang does the most laborious part of the work on a Sugar Estate.—The second, or weeding gang, consists of Negroes from the age of twelve to eighteen or twenty, or of such Negroes as are of weakly constitutions, or such as labour under trivial chronic complaints, and this gang is usually employed in doing the light work of an estate, such as weeding, and other light employment.—The third gang consists of children from about the age of six years to that of twelve, and these are usually employed in picking sheep-meat, or grass, for the manager's or proprietor's stock—they are employed in this manner as well to keep them out of mischief, as to enure them gradually to the work of a Sugar estate.

Inform the Committee what is the usual mode of working Negroes in Nevis, and what are the hours of labour.

About six o'clock in the morning (which is generally about day-light) the whole gang were expected to appear in the field—the list was then called over, and absentees were marked down—they then went to work, and continued at it till about nine, at which time they broke up for the purpose of breakfasting, which was generally taken in the field, in preference to going to and from their houses; and for this purpose, every good inclined Negro generally carried his breakfast with him—at about a quarter before ten they resumed their work, and continued at it
until

until twelve, at which time they were discharged until two; when out of crop time, the major part of the gang were expected to bring a small bundle of grafs; but during crop no grafs was thrown, as the cattle and mules were fed with sliced cane-tops—at two o'clock they again went into the field, and continued at work until six, at which time they were again discharged—out of crop time, at about seven o'clock, a few bundles of grafs were again thrown, but none during crop time—once a week it was usual to give allowance, for which purpose the head of each family attended—the hour for this purpose was, on some estates, at twelve o'clock at noon, and on others at about seven in the evening.

How are women who have children at the breast, and those who are pregnant, treated?

The former have many indulgencies from that labour which the other Negroes undergo, such as coming an hour later into the field, never throwing any grafs, and a liberty of retiring as often as was necessary, for the purpose of suckling their children—with respect to the pregnant women, on most of the estates which I attended, as soon as they reported that they were three or four months gone with child, they were usually removed, if in the large gang, into that of the small one; and when they were advanced into the seventh month of their pregnancy, they were always exonerated from all labour whatever, and went where they pleased, and did as they pleased.

How are the women disposed of and treated in their lying-in?

A Negro Midwife always officiated in natural cases, but when any preternatural case occurred, a Surgeon was always sent for, to whom a very handsome fee was usually given. The charge for this purpose, in the Island of Nevis, was fifteen pounds currency, which is somewhere about nine pounds sterling. After the woman was delivered, a nurse was appointed to wait on her and her infant, until she was able to attend to it herself; and every comfort was usually afforded which that situation required—they were never expected, or even called upon, to work, until the expiration of four weeks, and even then, if the Surgeon reported that a longer indulgence was still necessary, it was readily granted.

How have the Negroes been usually clothed in the Islands where you have resided?

All such estates as have a credit in England, usually have sent to them a sufficient quantity of coarse Baize, and also a sufficient quantity

quantity of coarse Linen, called Osnaburgs; and many of them have warm worsted caps also sent out to them, and proper hats for their watchmen.—To each Negro man is given a quantity of Baize sufficient to make him a blanket or covering, and also as much of the Osnaburgs as will make him a short jacket and trowsers; and to each female, as much as will make a short wrapper and petticoat, with also a sufficient quantity of the Baize for the purpose before specified.—To those Negroes of a younger age, a proportionable quantity was likewise distributed. Such estates as have no Credit in England, or such as have no regular correspondence, buy the above specified articles from the store-keepers at a very advanced price.

Is it not a common practice in many owners of estates to have those articles you have mentioned made up into clothes for the Negroes?

Many of the Negroes are not trust-worthy, and will dispose of these articles for improper purposes; and some are of such an indolent disposition, that they will not appropriate them to the purpose which the masters intend them for—for such as I have above described, proprietors, or their managers, usually have those articles made into clothes, and given to the Negroes.

Do not many masters provide a particular allowance of clothing for Negro infants?

Many of those who owned estates for which I was employed, either sent out annually a couple of suits of baby cloaths, or if they resided on their own estates, they had them made up for them by their Negro sempstresses.

What kind and quantity of food has been usually allowed to the Negroes of the islands where you have resided?

The food usually distributed amongst the Negroes on these islands consisted of rice, coarse flour, rye meal, dried peas and beans, American corn, and also of salt provisions, such as herrings, shads, and salt fish; some of these articles were imported from America, and others from the Mother Country—they had also the island provision, such as potatoes, yams, Indian corn, bananas, plantanes, and cassada; but these three last articles were never served out as allowance for the Negroes, but were the produce of their own provision grounds which were their private property.—With respect to the quantity of provision allowed them weekly, it generally was from seven to nine pints a week for each Negro, of any of the before-mentioned articles, as also an equal

number of herrings or shads, or a proportionable quantity of salt fish—the above specified quantity was on many estates given to every child as soon as it was weaned, who could not be supposed to consume half that quantity.

Is the food allowed to the Negroes, in your judgment, proper and sufficient for their support?

No doubt the food is proper; and with regard to the quantity, I must say, that it may be a bare sufficiency for their support, but it is at the same time to be understood, that no master depends wholly upon that allowance which he weekly gives out, neither does the Negro rely upon it, as he has many advantages (if industrious and well inclined) of appropriating his provision ground to valuable purposes—from which he draws a considerable sum of money, by the sale of several articles which it produces—he also derives advantages from raising hogs, goats, and various species of poultry—Negroes who live on estates adjacent to towns, have further advantages derived from selling grafs and fuel to the inhabitants.

Whether from the allowance made by the master, and the other advantages you have mentioned, the Negroes have not food amply sufficient for their support?

I am clearly of opinion that they have; and as a proof of it, I know that many of them convert a part of their provision into money, and purchase fine cloaths therewith, and not unfrequently die possessed of what may be called large sums of money to them.

What care is taken, and food allowed, to Negroes in their sickness?

I am happy to say, that I seldom found any reluctance or backwardness, either in the proprietor, or his manager, to give whatever the surgeon thought proper; and whenever I had reason, from the state of the patient, to order any variation from his ordinary food, it was readily supplied; such as chicken or mutton broth, or even wine—and whenever these articles were furnished by the manager, he regularly made a charge of them against the proprietor in his account current.

To what causes do you chiefly attribute the loss of Negro children, on the estates which you have attended?

Dentition, worms, a disease of the stomach, or depravity of appetite, which induces them to eat dirt—besides these causes may be enumerated a prevalence of epidemical diseases; such as a
putrid

putrid fore throat, which, when it prevails, usually carries off a vast number of them—but the cause which I attribute, as the principal one, is the neglect of the mothers, as many of them will leave their children, at a very early age, for whole nights together, to go in pursuit of amorous adventures and plunder—it has been said, that the tetanus, or locked jaw, carried off numbers of children a very few days after their birth; but I cannot say that many instances of it fell within my knowledge, although adults, or grown persons, were very liable to it, from lacerated wounds and other injuries in tendinous parts, and from this cause it usually proved fatal.

Are you able to form any judgment of the number of Negro Children who arrive to the age of puberty, in proportion to the number born?

The constant attendance upon the duties of my profession did not allow me to inquire into minutæ of this kind, nor can I therefore form, or speak with any degree of probability, upon this question.

Do you not know that some masters have given premiums to the women for the number of children reared, and have taken every other possible precaution, and yet that there has been a diminution of the number of Negroes in most years?

The proprietor of an estate for which I was employed having lost a number of children, was induced to give a pecuniary reward, as also to grant indulgencies to every mother who reared her child to the age of two years, and he no doubt added several to his list or number which otherwise might have been lost; yet notwithstanding these offered advantages to the mother, and every possible attention which he could himself bestow, he had an annual diminution of the number of his Negroes.

Are pregnant women, during the time of their lying-in, and afterwards, under greater disadvantages than the lower class of white women in this country?

They certainly are not, for the reasons before assigned, such as being exempted from any hard labour during pregnancy, and their being taken proper care of after their lying-in.—It is no uncommon thing for a white woman to go to labour a very few days after her lying-in, or else her Family will perhaps want bread; but the case is otherwise with the Negro woman, who never is expected to go work, at least, under an expiration of four weeks, and
still

still longer time, if reported by the surgeon to be necessary to the re-establishment of her health.

To what causes do you attribute the decrease of adult Negroes on the Sugar Plantations?

These are very numerous indeed—the first that I would mention is the free and early intercourse of females with the other sex; as it is evident, that prostitution proves a bar to a ready impregnation, as women who lead that kind of dissolute life in this country do not often breed—the second cause to which I attribute the decrease of Negroes, is the frequent abortions which Negro women designedly bring on themselves, either because a state of pregnancy in some measure puts a stop to their amorous pursuits for some time, or because they do not choose to be incumbered with the trouble of giving suck and of rearing their children.—The third cause I would mention is, the number of chronical diseases to which the women of warm climates are more subject to than those of colder climates, such as obstructions of the menstrual discharge (the whites) and a falling of the womb, which prevents an impregnation. The fourth cause is, the prevalence of epidemical diseases, such as putrid fevers, putrid sore throats, and fluxes; the last of which disease occasionally sweeps off a vast number of Negroes. The fifth cause is, the immoderate use of spirituous liquors, which Negroes addict themselves to, and the many diseases which they contract in their nightly rambles and dancings. The last cause which I shall mention is, the long time which Negro women keep their children at the breast, as few of them wean them before the age of two years; and few women ever breed as long as they continue to give suck—These, besides the many diseases to which the human frame is liable in cold climates, I apprehend to be the most general causes of the annual decrease of Negroes.

Is not confinement of the Negroes very generally adopted in the West Indies, instead of corporal punishment?

Corporal chastisement is, I think, very much laid aside, and seldom now inflicted, except in cases of atrocious offences.

Have you, in the course of your residence in the West Indies, been ever called upon, in your medical capacity, to administer assistance to Negroes who have been severely punished?

I never was.

What time did you reside at St. Christopher's?

For

For about twelve months, to which place I went in the year 1776.

How long did you reside at Nevis?

In the year 1777 I went to Nevis, and continued there until the year 1785, at which time I came to England for the benefit of my health; but in the year 1788, I again returned to the West Indies, and passed eight months in the two Islands of Nevis and St. Christopher, but not in a medical capacity, having relinquished business in that part of the world.

Does not the information which you have given to the Committee, relate as well to the treatment and condition of Negroes in the Island of Saint Christopher, as well as that of Nevis?

It does, for I was engaged in an active line of business at Saint Christopher's during my year's residence in that Island, therefore had an opportunity of being perfectly well acquainted with the mode of treatment, feeding, clothing, lodging, and working Negroes there, as well as in the Island of Nevis.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Do you know what proportion the Native Creoles at present, in the Islands with which you are acquainted, bear to the African Negroes?

I can form no proper judgment, so as to give an answer to this question.

Can you say whether African Negroes do not die in a larger proportion, during the first three years after their importation, than after that time?

The change of climate, no doubt, produces an effect on their constitutions, as well as it does upon those of white people, and I presume that a greater proportion may die during this period, but the same observation will hold good with regard to Whites, as many die before they are seasoned to the climate.

Do you then mean to say, that the change of climate, from Africa to the West Indies, produces similar effects on the constitutions of the Negroes, as the change of climate from England to the West Indies produces on the constitutions of White men?

My opinion is, that the change produces very great effects on

the constitutions of the Negroes, because many of them, even with the greatest care and attention, and being put to no laborious employment whatever, frequently die before they can be enured to the climate.

Can you state what is the usually estimated proportion of those who die within the first three years?

I cannot; because very few African Negroes were imported into the Island of Nevis during my residence there.

Do you know what is the usually estimated annual decrease of a plantation gang?

I should presume about three or four per cent.; but this is mere matter of conjecture, as I never made any calculation on the subject.

Do you apprehend that the labour of Slaves is such as in any degree tends to shorten their lives?

I am of opinion that their labour is by no means attended with any such effect, because during crop time (which is generally allowed to be the time of year in which they undergo the most labour) they always appear cheerful, convivial, and merry.

Is the general character of the Negroes indolent or industrious?

That of a Creole Negro is generally industrious, but that of an African usually very indolent.

Are men or women Slaves in general considered as most valuable, under similar circumstances of youth, health, and strength?

I certainly should consider, that a woman of equal health and strength with a man, was certainly far more valuable, because her increase benefits the proprietor; whereas the master derives no such advantage from the man.

Do not men in general sell for more money?

Such an observation has not come within the sphere of my knowledge—I have been owner of four or five Negroes, as domestics, and I gave much the same price for both sexes—but I never was proprietor of Field Negroes.

Then do you not mean to speak of the price of Field Negroes? No.

Are Negroes in general allowed shoes?

No,

No, they are not—nor do they wish to wear them; as some masters of domestic Slaves have given them, but they were thrown aside as an incumbrance.

Are the Islands of St. Christopher and Nevis liable to frequent or severe droughts?

They are very much so; and I believe suffered much from this cause during the last two years; for, during the whole eight months that I was last abroad, there fell but twice any thing of rain that might be called a hard shower.

In what instances did the Islands suffer from these droughts?

It put a stop to almost all vegetation whatever, and of course the usual produce of the Islands was very much diminished.

Can you state what proportion of the infants born, die under a twelvemonth?

I should think two out of three at least; but this is conjecture, and not from any calculation made.

In your enumeration of the Negroes on an estate, you have mentioned watchmen.—What are these watchmen employed to guard?

On every piece of canes a watchman is placed to keep cattle from intruding during the time the plants are in a young state; and when the canes come to full maturity, they guard them from the depredations of Negroes who wish to break them—sometimes arising from mischievous motives, and at other times from a desire of eating them, being very fond of them.

Are no watchmen employed on a plantation but in cane pieces?

Yes—on stores, and other works about a plantation, where any valuable effects are deposited.

You have conjectured that the decrease of Slaves in the Island of Nevis was about three or four per cent.—was the decrease of the Slaves, either old or young, during the period to which you have alluded, from 1777 to 1785, to be ascribed to any other than the common and ordinary causes of decrease or consumption?

During the time of my residence, which I have specified, there once or twice prevailed an epidemical putrid fore throat, which carried off a number of children; and almost every year, during
the

the rainy months, fluxes became very general, and were fatal to a great many full-grown Negroes, especially to those of weakly constitutions.

Did any hurricane happen during that period?
No.

At what seasons do the rains usually prevail in these Islands?
They commence usually about August, and terminate usually about the latter end of November, or beginning of December, which season is the most unhealthy part of the year.

Do you apprehend that the fluxes which you have stated to prevail, depend at all on the wetness of the season?

Air impregnated with moist particles no doubt tends to give a certain check to the perspiration, which being thrown upon the bowels, is very apt to terminate in a flux. Another cause of fluxes becoming general at this season of the year is owing to the water which is drank in common, coming down from the mountains, impregnated with many noxious particles; and after heavy rains, fluxes are very apt to arise from this cause.

Was there not an unusually great decrease of the Slaves in the last year or two of the period you have mentioned, ending in 1785?

I do not know that there was, but in the succeeding year a putrid fever prevailed in both the Islands of Nevis and St. Christopher, which swept off a vast number of both Blacks and Whites.

Were not the Slaves, during those two years, more than usually unhealthy?

I imagine they were; for, from the fatigue which I had undergone in the practice of my profession, I found my health much injured, and was on that account obliged to come to England.

Do you recollect the causes of that increased unhealthiness?

At this distant period of time I really cannot call to mind what were the causes; but fluxes and fevers of a putrid nature prevailed in a greater degree than was usual.

What legal protection have the Slaves in the Islands of Nevis and St. Christopher from their masters?

I think

I think there are Colonial Laws existing, which restrain the master from exercising any undue authority over the Slave.—Besides, was any Slave-owner to ill treat those who are his property, such is the general contempt for every abuse of power of this nature, that I am certain, and know it as a fact, that the person so offending would be held in contempt, and not be admitted into the society of those of respectable characters.

Are the planters in Nevis usually resident on their estates, or otherwise?

More so than in most other Islands.

To whom is the management of those estates committed on which the owners do not reside?

When the proprietor is not a resident on his estate, but lives in England, he appoints an attorney, in whom is vested the power of appointing a manager, to whom the management of the estate is committed; but he is, at the same time, often supervised, and his conduct inquired into by the attorney, and when guilty of a breach of trust, or of any severities exercised upon the Negroes, he is then discharged.

Was it generally believed in the Islands of Nevis and St. Christopher, that the Law of England extended its protection to Slaves in those Islands?

Before the framing of the Colonial Laws by the legislative bodies of the different Islands, the master had an absolute authority over his Slave; but as self-interest is a passion predominant in the breast of most men, and that as it is contrary to the interest of every proprietor to be guilty of any severities or cruelties to his Negroes, I do presume that they were treated with as much mildness as they now are.

What proportion does the produce of the Slave's own ground bear to the provision allowed him by his master?

I have already stated, that the allowance given by the master is just a sufficiency for his support, and of course that which he derives from his provision ground will not be very great—the superfluity arising from both, is converted into money for his private purposes.

Can you state the usual quantity of ground allotted to each Slave?

Besides that about his house, which may be about a quarter of

an acre, he generally has mountain land allotted to him—but I cannot state the exact quantity.

Is that quarter of an acre allotted for the purpose of raising provision for the Slave?

It is always planted with potatoes, or some other vegetables, for his use.

Is that allotment of ground round the house, increased in proportion to the family of the Slave?

No—but that of the mountain always is.

At what distance may that mountain ground usually lie from the dwelling of the Slave?

It depends upon the situation of the estate—many of the estates have no mountain ground at all—in consequence of which the proprietor gives a greater allowance of food.

Can you say what is the greatest allowance given where there is no mountain ground?

The allowance out of crop time is greater than during the crop season; but I believe eleven pints of any kind of grain per week, besides an equal number of herrings, is the greatest allowance.

What diminution of that allowance is made during the season of crop?

The allowance may be reduced from nine pints to about six or seven; but at the same time they have many other advantages, such as being supplied with hot syrup, and a liberty of eating as many canes as they chuse, both of which are very nutritive; and Negroes are always in better order, condition, and health, during crop-time, than at any other period of the year.

On the estates where you attended as surgeon, was any part of the hospital appropriated to the use of lying-in women, or did they usually reside in their own houses?

They always lye-in in their own houses.

Did you give your personal attendance on the estates you have mentioned, or did you commit them to the care of assistants?

The business was done by my partner and self solely, and after the dissolution of partnership, which took place in 1780, to the best of my recollection, it was done wholly by myself, until I found

found my health injured from too great fatigue, and then I employed an assistant.

Do you recollect when the punishment of whipping began to be less prevalent in the Islands of which you spoke?

I cannot say I ever saw much of it at any period; but on my last visit to the West Indies, I found it was almost disused.

To what cause do you attribute that punishment being almost totally discontinued?

Because confinement is attended with much better consequence; for a Negro would much rather receive a correction of that nature, than be locked up or confined.

Then you apprehend that it was for the interest of the master to discontinue the punishment of whipping entirely?

I think, to the interest of both master and Slave.

From your observation then of the punishments usually inflicted on Slaves, is it your opinion the planters deserve the character of a cruel and barbarous set of people?

The stigma which has been thrown upon the whole body of Slave-holders, I look upon to be very unjust and undeserved. These men have been accused of tyrannic acts of oppression, and also of putting the human invention to the rack to find out tortures to inflict on these their fellow creatures; but from what has been said of the interest of the planter depending on the Slave, surely such absurdities are self-apparent.

Do you think that the cultivation of Sugar Estates can be carried on by European labourers alone, or in any degree, even if they were to be had?

I am very certain it cannot.

From your experience of the dispositions of the planters in general, is it not their wish and endeavour to rear as many Negro children as they can, to avoid the necessity of purchasing new Negroes to keep up their stock?

I am perfectly sensible it is both their interest and wish.

Have you ever been in Ireland and Scotland?

I have, several years.

From the view which you have had the opportunity of taking
of

of the general state and condition of the Slaves in the West India Islands, and that of the common labourers and poor people of these kingdoms, whether in your opinion, the Slaves, or the last-mentioned class of men, live the most comfortably?

I have positive evidence, that the Slaves have a decided superiority with respect to every comfort of life.

In what do you conceive that superiority of comfort consists?

In the Slaves being regularly supplied by the master with every necessary of life; such as clothing, food, comfortable houses, protection in health, and the best medical advice when ill, and on their decease, of having a father and protector for their children.

And then the Council and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 25^o die Februarii 1790.

Council called in as before; and the Council proceeded further in their Examination, and called

JAMES TOBIN, Esquire.

Of what country are you a native?
Of England.

How long have you resided in the West Indies, and in what Islands particularly?

I have resided, in the whole in the West Indies, about ten or twelve years, at different periods—my chief residence has been in the Island of Nevis.—I have also been frequently at Saint Christopher's, and occasionally in most of the other English Windward and Leeward Islands, and likewise in some of the French Islands.

Have you any knowledge of the manner of cultivating estates in the West Indies?

From the experience of so many years residence in the West Indies, I have.

Are you a proprietor of any estate in the West Indies?

I am, and have been for upwards of twenty years in the Island of Nevis.

From your experience and long residence in the West Indies, do you think it possible to cultivate lands there by any other means than that of Negro labour?

I do not.

Do you think it possible to cultivate land in the West Indies, by the labour of Free Negroes?

If Free Negroes could be persuaded to work, I see no reason why they should not do as much work as Slaves; but in all my experience, I never knew a single instance of a Free Negro performing field labour.—In the Island of Saint Vincent, there are a great number of Free Negroes, who are improperly called Caribs; in that Island Negro labour is very dear, and were those people inclinable to work in the field, the planters, I am very well convinced, would be ready to give them very great encouragement; instead of which, they live as nearly in a state of nature as the Natives of the most savage countries which have lately been discovered. In the Island of Jamaica there are likewise a considerable number of Free Negroes, and from the best information that I have been able to procure, I do not find that any of them ever work in the field for hire.

Do you conceive it possible to cultivate Sugar Plantations by White labourers?

I do not.

Do you think the number of Negroes sufficient for the cultivation of Sugar Estates can be kept up by the common course of propagation, without a regular importation of Slaves from Africa?

I do not.

State your reasons for that opinion.

There are several reasons—The first reason is, that there are in general a greater number of males imported than of females, and this is ever likely to be the case, from the natives on the coast of Africa being universally polygamists, and therefore very unwilling to part with their females, as long as they are likely to contribute to their own sensual gratification.—Another reason is, the premature and promiscuous intercourse between the sexes—another

reason is, the great variety of venereal complaints which both sexes are so liable to—another reason is, the custom among the young female Negroes of procuring abortions, for the purpose of preserving their persons as long as they are able—another reason is, the many chronical disorders the female Negroes are subject to, in consequence of their irregularities, such as obstructions, fluor albus, and disorders of the womb—another reason is, the custom of Negro women suckling their children a great length of time—another reason is, the premature debility which the men subject themselves to by an immoderate use of spirituous liquors—another reason is, the little care too many of the Negro women are apt to take of their children—and, another reason is, the many disorders to which Negro children are peculiarly subject, such as fluxes, worms, and the fevers incident thereto, the tetanus or locked jaw, and what the French call mal d'estomac, vulgarly called eating of dirt. On my own estate, the gang of Negroes is particularly circumstanced—I have had, for a number of years, nearly three females to two males, and the females have always had remarkable care taken of them. I employ a free woman at a considerable salary to do nothing else than attend the sick Negroes and breeding women—Notwithstanding all which precautions, I have but just been able for these four or five last years to keep up my number.

Are the children of Negroes subject to any peculiar disorders?

I have already answered that question—but, with respect to the tetanus, I have never found it so frequent in the Island of Nevis, as it certainly is in that of St. Christopher's, and several other Islands.

Are not the Negroes, both infant and adult, subject to epidemical disorders?

They undoubtedly are—such as fluxes, putrid fevers, and sore throats, besides the common epidemical disorders of the small-pox, measles, and so forth.

Do you conceive that any future increase by breeding would counterbalance the losses arising from epidemical diseases?

I have not the least reason to think it would.

Inform the committee in what manner the Negroes are usually fed.

Negroes are usually fed, in the Islands I am speaking of, with flour, Indian corn, rye-meal, biscuit, Guinea corn, and other grain,

grain, and with yams, potatoes, bananas, and plantanes, when they are to be procured—they have, besides, salt provisions, such as herrings, mackarel, shads, and salt fish.

Is the quantity of food allowed to the Negroes sufficient for their support?

The quantity of provisions allowed to the Negroes may be sufficient for their support; but it is always understood, both by the master and the Slave, that they are not to depend entirely on the provisions allowed them, but are expected to add something to them, by their own industry.

What are the advantages possessed by the Negroes, to enable them to contribute to their support by their own industry?

They are always allowed land to plant, and the privilege of raising goats, hogs, and different kinds of poultry, and to sell whatever they raise for their own account.—They have also other advantages in picking grafts, and other stock meat, cutting wood, and carrying it to the towns to sell for their own benefit.—During my own residence in the West Indies, at least half, or perhaps two thirds of the fresh provisions that I consumed at my own table, were purchased either of my own Slaves, or those of other planters.

From whence is the advantage you alluded to, of their cutting wood, derived?

From their being able to meet with a ready sale for it.

In what manner are the Negroes usually clothed?

They have as much Osnaburghs, or coarse linen, as make a jacket and breeches for the men, and a jacket and petticoat for the women; with an allowance of woollen cloth, and generally hats or caps at least once a year.—The children of all ages have an allowance of the same kind, in proportion to their size.

How are the Negroes lodged?

They are lodged in houses built by themselves, with the assistance of their masters.—The most common houses contain at least two rooms, one for the purpose of sleeping in, and the other for their common use;—there are many of their houses much larger, consisting of three and four rooms, with small buildings detached, for the use of their cookery.—The houses in general are thatched and wattled, and many plastered—but many of the better kind of Negroes, and particularly in the Island of St. Christopher, have
timber

timber houses regularly boarded and shingled.—The cabins on which they sleep are a kind of raised benches, made of boards, on which they spread their mats and blankets.

What care is taken of the Slaves during their sickness?

There are, upon all estates, regular nurses to attend upon them—there is generally a surgeon employed by the year—they are supplied with broth, sago, portable soup, wine, fresh meat, and every thing that it is supposed will contribute to their recovery—they have frequently poultry and mutton killed on purpose to make them broth—I have known one particular instance, where a Slave had no less than sixteen lambs killed for his use, during his convalescence, at a time when each lamb was worth at least two dollars.

How are female Slaves treated during pregnancy, at their lying-in, and after their delivery?

As soon as a Negro woman is four or five months gone with child, she no longer works in any of the regular gangs, but is employed in some light kind of labour, such as picking a little grass, attending the Negro children in the field, or something of that kind, more for the sake of keeping her in exercise, and out of mischief, than from any profit that is expected from her exertions.—During her lying-in she is attended with the same care and attention as the sick Negroes.—There is generally a midwife upon the estate, but in cases of necessity, the assistance of an established practitioner is made use of, at a very heavy expence; as midwifery, night visits, and capital operations are all separately paid for to the Surgeon who attends the estate, over and above his regular allowance—they are always allowed four weeks, and more, if necessary, before they are expected to leave their houses; and when they return to their work, they are allowed to come an hour or two later into the field, as long as the children continue at the breast.—I never recollect having seen a Negro woman far advanced in her pregnancy put to any hard labour.

How are Negroes treated when lame, incurably diseased, or superannuated?

They have the same food, the same clothing, the same lodging, and the same accommodations of every kind, as if they were perfectly serviceable.

What is the nature and extent of the punishments usually inflicted on Slaves?

To speak comparatively, and with a reference to the punishments inflicted on British soldiers and seamen, I am fully authorized to say, that the punishment of Negro Slaves is mild.

Under all the circumstances you have mentioned, as to the feeding, clothing, and lodging of Negroes, the care taken of them and their children in sickness and in health, and the making them labour by correction or compulsion, as well as with respect to the punishments usually inflicted upon them; is it your opinion that their lives are more or less happy and comfortable than the labouring poor in Europe, who are compelled to work from necessity?

With respect to the punishments inflicted upon them, no comparison can be made; in every other respect, from the observations that I have made, I have no doubt but that the situation of the West India Slaves is preferable to that of the labouring poor in Europe; and on this subject, in making the comparison, the advantage of climate has never in my opinion been sufficiently adverted to, for in that particular the advantage is most strikingly obvious on the side of the Negro slave; for example, in a cold climate, two of the greatest luxuries are warm lodging and warm clothing, both which we know it is scarcely in the power of the labouring poor to procure; on the contrary, in a climate like that of the West Indies, two of the greatest indulgencies are cool lodging and cool clothing, both which the Negro can easily obtain.

State to the Committee the nature and the hours of labour assigned to the Negroes.

The nature of the labour expected from the Negroes is different, according to their different strengths, and in some measure depends on the different seasons of the year. The Negroes are generally divided into three classes or gangs—the great gang consists of the most robust and able, both of the men and women—the small gang includes younger Negroes and those less able—and the grass gang is composed of children under the direction of an old woman, merely to keep them out of mischief, and to habituate them to regular employment—the work of the great gang consists in holing the ground when that labour is required; in most other kinds of work, such as weeding and gathering in the crop, the two gangs are generally joined together—with respect to the hours, the Negroes are generally called into the field by the ringing of a bell, about dawn of day, which in a latitude where the days and nights are so nearly equal, is generally about six o'clock; about eight o'clock, they are allowed half an hour for their

breakfast, which they generally carry into the field with them, and it is usually about three quarters of an hour before they resume their work again, which they continue in general till noon; but in very dry seasons (as out of crop time, they are expected to bring grafs at noon) they are generally discharged at about half past eleven o'clock—they return again into the field at two o'clock, where they continue till about six, when they are discharged, in order to bring another burthen of grafs—in crop time, when the stock is fed upon the offals of the cane, and little or no grafs is required, a small part of the Negroes are kept at work to attend the mills and boiling house for some hours after it is dark; and on some estates being divided into proper spells, they continue their attendance on the mills and boiling house during the greater part of the night, so that on the whole, the crop time may be said to be the season of the hardest labour; and yet it is a fact very well established, that the Slaves are always better and heartier in crop time than at any other. On the whole, I am clearly convinced, that the labour of a Negro Slave, taken through the whole year, is by no means so severe as that of an English labourer.

Out of crop time, at what hour are the Negroes permitted to retire to rest?

In general, I believe, by seven o'clock; but that depends in part upon themselves, as they are sometimes backward in bringing their grafs, and as they generally come to receive their allowance at that time in the evening.—As it is in the latitude of the Islands, dark by six, or between six and seven, it could answer no manner of purpose to keep the Negroes out of crop time from their own houses after that hour.

Are the œconomy and cultivation of a Sugar plantation in any respect similar to those of a farm in England?

By no means; though it has been common to treat them as if they were to be cultivated alike—the cultivation of a Sugar estate bears a much nearer resemblance to that of a garden, than to that of a farm; and I have always observed, that those planters who have kept that idea in view, have generally made the most of their property.—The lands in the West Indies require to be prepared in a very nice manner, and there is no produce raised upon a West India estate that is sown; but every thing, even the grain, is planted by hand—the use of the plough, and other implements of European agriculture, are therefore excluded—they have, I believe, been tried upon estates which were level enough to admit of the experiment; but I am well informed, without any beneficial

cial consequences.—The cane sprouts, upon their first appearance out of the ground, are remarkably tender, and require repeated hoings, to be performed in the most careful manner, which must of course be done by hand.—The manure used in the West Indies is not spread on the ground as it is in England, but is carried and placed carefully round each plant separately, so that wheel barrows or carts could not be used for that purpose, after the canes are come up; but the manure is generally carried in carts, and made into heaps at proper distances on the land before it is hoed, in order to save as much labour as possible to the Negroes, who are afterwards to spread it. In the Islands of Nevis and Montserrat, it would be impossible, from the rockiness of the surface (except in a very few small spots) even to try the plough at all.—The severe droughts to which the small Islands are subject, would likewise be an invincible impediment against the use of the plough, as lands, if they could be turned up by the plough, would require a long while to mellow in so dry a climate.—The planters are so sensible of the value of Negro labour, that they have left very few experiments untried that were likely to ease their Negroes, and enable those they are possessed of to do as much necessary work as possible, it being an established maxim among all the thinking and prudent planters (with whom I have conversed) never to employ a Negro in doing such work as could be performed by cattle or machines.

Is it not customary to provide manure, by staking cattle and fixing pens for that purpose, so as to save the labour of Negroes?

In the Island of Saint Christopher, the custom of staking cattle prevails more than in any other island that I know of. In Nevis we make use of moving pens for the same purpose, which are something like the pens used in England for sheep on the downs, except that they are made with rails and posts strong enough to inclose horned cattle; and by these means the dung is generally made on the very land on which it is intended to be used.

When, from the situation of the land, carts cannot be used for carrying dung, is it not the practice to use mules with crooks and dung-pots for that purpose, so as to save the labour of Negroes?

There are very few situations where small light dung-carts drawn by mules cannot be used; but in those situations that are so steep as to exclude the use of such small carts, the manure is carried out in horse-hair bags, on the backs of mules, in order to save the labour of carrying it by means of the Negroes. Dung-pots,

pots, as they used to be called, are generally laid aside, as being found to gall the mules.

Do not planters in general prefer Creole Slaves to those imported from Africa, and for that reason pay every possible attention to the breeding of children?

They certainly do.

Do you know whether premiums have not in particular instances been given to the Negro Women for the children they could rear?

I know one or two instances of that kind in Nevis; one is, where a pecuniary reward is given to the mother after she has reared her child to be two years old; the other is, where a freedom from all kind of labour is given to every Negro Woman who is the mother of six children capable of doing any thing upon the estate.

According to your observation and judgment, do Negroes, imported from Africa to the West Indies, change their situation for the better or worse?

From observation I am not qualified to answer the question, having never been on the Coast of Africa; but, from the best information I have been able to procure, from reading most of the publications on the subject, from conversing with men well acquainted with the coast of Africa, and likewise, from having occasionally conversed with African Negroes themselves on the subject, I have every reason to think, that their situation is better, generally speaking, in the West Indies, than it was in their own country; and it is a very striking and singular circumstance, that there never was an instance of a Negro (even an African Negro) who had obtained his freedom, ever returning to his own country again, or even expressing a wish so to do—it has been said, that this arises from the connections they have made in the West Indies since their importation, and possibly that may be the case; but, at the same time, if it is so, it is a positive proof, that it is in their power to form friendships and connections in the West Indies, equally, if not more agreeable to their dispositions, than those they quitted.—It is a general mistake, to suppose that Negroes in the West Indies are so very anxious to procure their freedom; if it was so, many of them have it in their power, by the money they accumulate, to purchase their freedom.—I have known instances where freedom has been offered to Slaves, upon the most moderate terms, and has been refused; and the reason they

they have assigned for such refusal has been, that they should lose their friends and protectors.

In the Instances to which you have just alluded, do you conceive the Negroes were able to have purchased their freedom at the sum proposed?

I have little doubt about it—in one instance I am positive, as he has since purchased the freedom of his son, and purchased likewise some Slaves for his son's use, while he himself still remains a Slave.

Have you not known instances of free Negroes marrying women Slaves, although they knew that the offspring of that marriage would be subject to slavery?

According to the sense in which the word marriage is understood among the Negroes, I have—it is indeed, a very common case.

Have you not resided for some years past in England, as a West India merchant?

I have, since the year 1784.

Do you know what effect the agitation of this question for abolishing the Slave Trade has produced on West India credit?

I have great reason to think its effects upon West India credit have been very baneful and very extensive—the house that I am concerned in has been deterred from entering into advances which, in all probability, we otherwise should have done, from this consideration alone, and I believe many much more considerable houses have been influenced by the same consideration.

Are you sufficiently acquainted with the Island of Saint Christopher to say, whether the information you have been giving respecting the treatment and situation of Negroes, and the mode of cultivating the lands, applies to that Island as well as to Nevis?

The two Islands of Saint Christopher and Nevis are situate so near each other, and there is such a constant intercourse kept up between the inhabitants, that the planters of one Island are in general perfectly acquainted with the method of cultivating the lands and treating the Negroes in the other; and I have been so repeatedly on the Island of St. Christopher, though never a regular resident there for any length of time, that I think I may safely say, that I am qualified to speak of the customs prevalent there.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

During what years did you reside in the West Indies, and in what Islands?

I first went to the West Indies, with a view of residing there, in the year 1758;—I remained there till the year 1766, having in the interval made a trip or two to England on business; so that I believe my residence at that time, taken altogether, might be between four and five years.—During that time my father was living, and proprietor of the family estate, and (great part of it) renter of another pretty considerable property; in the management of both which, my chief employment was to assist.—In the year 1766 I returned, and settled in England, where I remained till the latter end of 1777, when I again returned, and continued in the West Indies till 1784.—My fixed residence was in the Island of Nevis; but, as I have already stated, I at times visited most of the other Islands.

What was the actual number of your gang, and specify the numbers of males and females, able Slaves, infants, and superannuated Slaves?

I did not particularly attend to my gang, till I last left the West Indies, as, before that time, I had been employed in getting rid of some of the worst of them, and had taken pains to procure a gang that should be likely to increase.—In 1784 I had seventy-two males and 100 females—in 1785 I had seventy-two males and ninety-eight females—the decrease of course was two.—In 1786 I had seventy-three males and ninety-eight females—they were that year even, as I purchased one.—In 1787 I had seventy-seven males, and 102 females—the increase this year was three, as there were six new Negroes purchased for me.—In 1788 I had seventy-seven males, and 102 females:—So that with such a superiority of females I have barely been able to keep up the number.

Can you state the number of births and deaths during that period?

I cannot.

What do you estimate to be the ordinary consumption of Slaves, that is, the number of deaths more than births, in the Island of St. Christopher?

I have never made any calculation.

What

What is the ordinary proportion of females to males in that Island?

I cannot answer that question with any kind of precision.

What quantity of ground is usually allowed to the Negro round his hut, in the Islands of Saint Christopher and Nevis?

That is very different on different plantations—In the Island of Saint Christopher the land is so very valuable, that the Negro houses stand very close, the grounds therefore appropriated to the Negroes are generally at some distance from their houses. In the Island of Nevis, where land is not so valuable, the houses stand more detached from each other; and there is generally, but not universally, a lot of land appropriated to each house; but in both the Islands, I believe it to be customary (in Nevis I know it to be so) besides the land round their Houses, and the other which is commonly called Negro provision ground, to have a piece of cane land given them from which they are permitted to take off one crop.

Is the distant land of which you speak, commonly mountain land?

It is generally either mountain land, or what we call gutfides, which are not so easy for planting in canes.

What quantity of land had you in cultivation?

About 260 or 270 acres, of which in general I planted yearly about 90 acres.

What number of Whites had you in your service, and in what capacities?

Besides my own family, I had a manager, an overseer all the year, and a distiller during crop time; besides which, I had a free mulatto woman, whom I hired to attend the sick Negroes and lying-in women.

Were there the same number of Whites, and in the same capacities, during your absence from the West Indies?

There was.

Has it been uniformly understood since the time you have been acquainted with the West Indies, that it was for the planter's interest to go on the breeding system, rather than on the purchasing one?

I never heard any sensible planter of a different opinion.

Do

Do you conceive Slaves to be better or worse treated now than they were formerly?

I apprehend the general treatment of them to be better now than it was thirty or forty years back. I know of no particular alterations being made of late in that respect.

What was the legal protection generally understood to be enjoyed by the Slave?

The legal protection which they enjoyed in the two Islands I have been speaking of, was that of the laws of England, as I do not recollect any colonial laws in the Island of Nevis, which interfered with those of the Mother country in that respect. In the Island of Saint Christopher I believe there is a law to punish the maiming of Slaves.

Was not this last-mentioned law passed so late as in the year 1783?

I believe it was.

Do you conceive it to have been the general opinion, that the English law extended to Slaves in the Islands of Nevis and Saint Christopher?

I apprehend it was the general opinion, because prosecutions have been carried on under the laws of England.

Do you recollect the offences for which any of these prosecutions were carried on, their circumstances, and the result of them?

When I was in the Island of Nevis, there was a murder of a Negro, supposed to have been committed by two White men—the greatest pains were taken to secure them both; one of them was apprehended, the other escaped off the Island, who was supposed to be the principal—the accessory was committed, with a view of being suffered to be the King's evidence—he however broke gaol and escaped—upon which, the supposed principal returned again to the Island—he was committed, but if I recollect right, he was admitted to bail, as there was little probability of the evidence ever returning again—all which proceedings, I apprehend, were carried on under the laws of the Mother country.—Another instance has happened since I quitted the Island, therefore, I can only speak from information.—A White overseer was supposed to have committed a wanton murder on one of the Negroes belonging to the estate where he lived—he was immediately apprehended, indicted, and tried for his life, but the proofs not appearing

appearing perfectly satisfactory to the jury, he was found guilty of man-slaughter only; but to shew the detestation in which his conduct was held, he was not, as he would have been in England, condemned to be burnt in the hand, but he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment in one of the most unhealthy gaols in the West Indies.

Was it commonly understood, that not only the life of the Slave was protected by the laws of England, but that he was also secured from immoderate punishment by his master?

I cannot say that it was so understood; but I know it to be a general received opinion, that all the laws of England are in force in the West Indies, where they are not counteracted by particular colonial laws.

Was it usual, during your residence in the West Indies, for planters to have rooms appropriated to the use of lying-in women?

It was not a general practice—there were many planters then, and so there are now, in the old Islands, that hold even hospitals for the sick to be more detrimental than useful, as they are one means of increasing epidemical disorders; and on estates, where a greater number of the Negroes are Creoles, the sick Negroes and lying-in women find themselves more at ease in their own houses, than in an hospital.

Can you mention the price of male and of female Slaves now, and at the time of your first going to the West Indies?

I cannot speak to that question positively, if it has reference to new Negroes, as I never purchased a single new Negroe, either for myself or my friends, during the whole of my residence in the West Indies.

Was there any poll-tax in the Islands of Nevis and St. Christopher, and at what period of the Slave's life did it commence?

There is a poll-tax in both Islands, and I believe it commences at the birth of the child.

What was the state of the Slaves in general, as to religion and morals?

There are very few of them that pretend to much religion; as to their morals, they may probably be as good as the very lower order of people in this country; that is, as far as is consistent with their knowledge.

Can you estimate the expence of the maintenance of full grown Slaves and children?

I never made the calculation.

Do you apprehend the regulating Act has operated in increasing the price of Slaves?

From the best information I have obtained on the subject, it most certainly has.

Do you attribute chiefly to it, the late increase in the price of Slaves?

I certainly think so.

Has the rise been proportional on males and females?

I cannot tell.

And then the Counsel and Witnes were directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 26^o die Februarii 1790.

Counsel and Witnes called in as before; and the Witnes was futher examined by Members of the Committee.

Mr. TOBIN. Are you at all acquainted with the situation of the Slaves in the French Islands?

I have had some personal acquaintance with them, and have taken some pains to inform myself of their situation, from those who have had opportunities of residing longer among them.

Do you apprehend their situation to be more or less eligible than that of ours?

With respect to the field Negroes, I have reason to think it is by no means better than that of the Slaves in the English Islands, and in particular, as far as regards the article of punishment, I believe they are worse treated—as far as respects the domestic or house Negroes, they seem to be treated with more familiarity than those in the same capacity in the English Islands; but

but whether such familiarity is productive of any material benefits to them, I have my doubts.

Do you think that the provisions of the Code Noir, are well calculated to secure good treatment of the Slaves?

Those regulations appear to me to be well calculated for such purpose; but I have had reason to believe, that the regulations in the Code Noir are far from being rigidly enforced, and that there are seasons when it is impossible for the planter to comply with some of the regulations therein contained, particularly respecting provisions.

Are not the French planters more frequently resident on their own plantations, than the English are on their's?

I believe, speaking generally, they are.

Is it not in general to be supposed, that they are more attentive to their own interests, than those substitutes whom they would be obliged to employ, if non-resident?

It is certainly beyond a doubt, that a man is more attentive and anxious about his own interest, than he is to that of another; but it does not from thence follow, that the Negroes upon a West India property are of course likely to be better treated by the proprietor, than by a prudent and well informed manager; and for this obvious reason (among others) that the proprietor feels immediately the expence attending upon an ample provision of food and necessaries for such Negroes, while the manager does not; and it is a particular pleasure to the manager himself, and at the same time redounds much to the credit of his general character, that the Negroes intrusted to his care, should appear in good condition.

Do you apprehend that a careful and prudent manager would give more indulgence to the Negroes, than is consistent with his master's interest?

That depends in a great measure upon what may be such a man's idea of his master's real interest.

Do you apprehend managers do in fact give more indulgence than is consistent with the real interest of his master?

That depends so much upon the temper and disposition of managers, that it may be safely presumed that some do, and others do not.

Did you ever know of managers being discharged for having shewn too great indulgence to the Negroes, in point of provisions and labour?

Such instances may have happened, but I do not immediately recollect any.

Do you apprehend that the French planters have equal means of information with the English, in respect to their true interest?

I apprehend such means are equally accessible to the French as to the English planters, but at the same time, from the observations I have made, I have no reason to think that the French planters (taken in general) are as well educated or as well informed as those in the English Islands.

What is the time allowed to the Negroes for cultivating their own land?

The most material time is the whole of Sunday—sometimes, and in seasonable weather, when a little extraordinary allowance of time is likely to be particularly beneficial to them, they are allowed the afternoons of Saturday, and I believe, on some estates, they generally have that afternoon—besides this there are some holidays, such as two or three days at Christmas, Good Friday in general, and on many estates a day at the finishing of the crop—the other times are such portions as they chuse to take out of their times of rest; and it may be proper to observe, that the two hours at noon is seldom employed by a Negro in preparing a regular meal, their chief meal being at supper—so that they are frequently to be found working at their grounds during that interval.

Is the allowance of provisions from the master regular and settled, with the difference only of crop time, and the other season of the year?

Speaking generally, I think it is; but it may be sometimes regulated much against the planters inclination, by the scarcity or plenty of provisions to be purchased.

What is the allowance of provisions given to the Negroes?

It differs, in some measure, upon different estates—I think the average allowance may be stated at about from six to nine or ten pints of grain or flour for each Negro per week, among which Negroes is included every child as soon as it is weaned; besides which they have an allowance of salt provisions, to the amount of six or eight herrings a week, or mackarel, salt fish, or shads, in proportion; in addition to this, upon many estates, and upon all
of

of which I had the direction, they had, out of crop-time, a regular breakfast served them in the field, of a biscuit and a proportion of melasses and water, which in wet and rainy weather was qualified with rum. Whenever, from indolence or inattention to the proper dressing of the provisions that were served out to them, any Negroes are observed to fall off in condition, they have their victuals served out to them ready dressed, and in an increased proportion. Negroes that are thus fed with ready dressed provisions are commonly called the pot-gang; and it is considered as a reproach for any Negro to be so careless and improvident as to be obliged to be fed in that manner. There is on most estates a pot boiled every day for the use of the children and weak and convalescent Negroes, and for such as are confined for offences.

Is grain or flour given indiscriminately in the same quantity?

I believe in general it is; nor does it make that material difference as may at first sight be supposed, as the grain chiefly made use of is either Indian or Guinea corn, both of which the Negroes make use of without separating the flour from the bran.

Is the allowance of which you speak meant to extend to the whole year, or is it lessened during crop-season?

By the expression which I have already made use of, of the average allowance (I mean that taking the allowance both in crop and out of crop-time) it would amount to the quantity I have specified;—in crop-time the allowance is generally reduced, and out of crop-time most commonly increased.

Are the Negroes permitted to neglect the cultivation of their provision grounds at their pleasure?

In general they are—but on some estates they are obliged by their masters to cultivate such grounds—this is not very common; nor is any coercion necessary to induce an industrious well disposed Negro to turn such grounds to the best advantage.

Is the general character of the Negroes indolent or industrious?

It is a difficult thing to answer that question—their characters are as various as those of the White people; and even among the African Slaves, their character of indolence or industry depends much on the part of the coast from whence they were imported.

Can you state from what country those Negroes come who are inclined to be industrious?

I cannot, having had very little experience among new Negroes.

What reason then have you to suppose that the African Negroes, from any part of the coast, are so inclined?

From the general conversation and remarks that must pass among planters.

Have you found it easy to persuade the Negroes to adopt such alterations in the conduct and management of their own concerns as you conceived to be for their advantage?

In particular instances I have, but in general the Negroes are obstinately wedded to their own customs.

Have you known frequent instances of Negroes being possessed of considerable property?

In a small Island, like that on which I chiefly resided, it is not to be supposed that such instances should frequently occur;—besides, Negroes, in general, are very jealous of letting their owners or managers know what property they really do possess.

Would not a sum equal to the purchase of his freedom be deemed a considerable property for a field Negro?

It would not be deemed a considerable property for a field Negro to be possessed of, provided he chose to lay up the money that he could earn instead of spending it in ornamental dress for himself and his wives, and other unnecessary articles.

What then do you imagine a field Negro may be able to earn for himself, under those advantages, or in those circumstances, in which they usually are?

It is impossible to answer that question with any degree of precision, as it must depend entirely on his own industry and exertions.

Must it not also depend on the quantity and quality of the ground allowed him by his master, and the time given him to cultivate it?

Not nearly so much as on the quantity of stock and poultry that he may raise.

Has a Negro the opportunity to feed his stock to any extent to which he may be able to raise it, without cultivating his provision grounds, or giving to that stock part of the provisions he receives for his own use?

The stock I chiefly allude to is such as is fed upon grafs, particularly goats, and sometimes sheep, which the Negro always has an opportunity of feeding, to a moderate extent, on the pastures belonging to the estate;—his poultry and his hogs he will probably feed, partly out of his own allowance of grain, or with what he raises on his own grounds.

Are the pastures belonging to the estate more than sufficient to keep the master's own stock?

In wet weather they generally are, that is, where the pastures are extensive—in dry weather they certainly are not.—It is to be remarked, that during the crop time both the stock of the proprietor and of the Slaves are fed with great ease from the offals of the canes.—In the Island of St. Christopher the pastures are not so extensive as they are in the island of Nevis, and the goats that are kept by the Slaves there are, I think, generally staked with a rope in some of the small pieces of waste land, or near the Negroes own houses, where they can more easily be fed by hand.

Are not severe droughts common in the Islands of Nevis and St. Christopher?

They certainly are, and more so in the Island of Nevis than in that of St. Christopher.

Does it not frequently happen that during those droughts the cattle of the master are with difficulty furnished with sufficient grafs?

It certainly does so happen; yet at the same time it is very remarkable, that from some cause or other, the Negro stock seldom or ever appear to be affected by such droughts.

Are not the managers allowed to keep stock of their own?
In general not—at least such as go into the pastures.

Is not such stock of the manager, which is not allowed to go into the pastures, fed with grafs picked for the purpose?

Out of crop time they are fed either with grafs or shrubs gathered for that purpose.

By

By whom is that grass gathered ?

Generally speaking, by the grass gang belonging to the estate.

What is the usual annual allowance given to surgeons for their attendance on the Slaves ?

The usual annual allowance, in the two Islands of which I am speaking, is six shillings currency, per head, for each Negro, young and old, per annum ; but such annual allowance is the least part of the surgeon's profit arising from their attendance on a plantation, as they charge for every night visit a johannes, which is three pounds six shillings—for every midwifery case, where they are called in, in the Island of Nevis, they charge five johannes, and for all capital surgical operations, they charge in the same proportion—they make likewise a separate charge for inoculation ; and, as some of the most useful medicines required on a plantation (such as bark in particular) they are generally supplied by the owners of the estate, or charged separately by the surgeons.—Currency varies from 160 to 187½ per cent.

Is it usual for field Negroes to have more than one wife ?

Not very common.

Is the climate of those Islands, and of the West Indies in general, supposed to be congenial to the constitutions of the African Slaves usually imported ?

I apprehend that, taking the coast of Guinea altogether, the West India Islands may be said to be in a healthier climate ; and yet, from experience, the change of climate, from the coast of Guinea to the West Indies, has very prejudicial effects on the constitutions of the Negroes on their first arrival.

Do you recollect whether the Negro, who refused to purchase his own freedom, but afterwards bought that of his son, was a field Negro ?

To the best of my recollection, his chief employment is that of a fisherman ; but I do not speak with certainty.

Do you apprehend that the condition of free Negroes is more or less eligible than that of Slaves ?

As an abstract question, freedom must be held preferable to slavery ; but I very much doubt whether, if the Negroes in the West Indies were to have their freedom granted them, they would be nearly as happy as they are now ?

It is not meant to be asked, whether the condition of the Negroes in the West Indies, if a general emancipation were to take place, would be more or less eligible than it is at present; but whether the state of those Negroes in the West Indies, who now enjoy their freedom, is, in point of fact, more or less eligible than that of those who continue in Slavery?

To such of those Negroes who have prudence and industry to make a proper use of their freedom, a state of freedom is preferable, but such of them who abuse, and make a very ill use of such freedom, I consider as more unhappy than a well inclined Slave.

Have you not stated, that it is only the industrious and well-disposed Negro, who is enabled to furnish himself with the comforts of life, in a state of Slavery?

I have stated, or at least I meant to have stated, that the general comforts of life are amply supplied to every Slave by his master, and that an industrious and well-inclined Negro, is more likely to add to them, than one of a different character.

Does the master generally supply his Gang Negroes with any other articles, than those you have already stated?

Speaking of them as a gang, I do not recollect that he does; but there are many little occasional indulgencies shewn to deserving Negroes, that cannot be particularized.

Can you state what a Free Negro may be supposed usually to earn by following fishing, or those other employments to which he usually attends?

It is impossible to answer that question with accuracy.

Do you not apprehend that a Free Negro can earn more money by following sundry kinds of trade, fishing, or other employments (bestowing upon them the same time, and the same degree of industry) than he could do by hiring himself out to do the field work of a plantation, at the usual price which is paid for that species of labour?

In the present state of the Islands, and confined as the present number of Free Negroes is, he certainly can; but if a general emancipation was to take place, or if the number of Free Negroes was to be greatly increased, it might probably be otherwise.

Can it then be expected, in the present state in which the Islands are, and have been for some years, that Free Negroes should offer themselves to perform field labour?

It cannot.

Can you state whether those premiums for rearing children, which you mentioned in the former part of your evidence, have been continued?

I understand they have.

Can you say, whether those premiums have been productive of any good effects?

I cannot; but I have heard that they have not entirely answered the purposes intended.

Do you apprehend that they have, in a considerable degree, been productive of good effects?

I apprehend hitherto they have not.

On what do you ground that opinion?

On the information given by a witness already examined before this Committee.

Is there a frequent communication between the West Indies and the coast of Africa?

Not very frequent; at least from the Island I am best acquainted with; but there are vessels occasionally sent from the Islands to trade for Slaves.

Do not managers frequently keep Negroes to let out as jobbing gangs, either to their masters, or other planters?

I believe that is very seldom the case.

Are not the cane pieces, provisions, and other stores almost constantly under the care of watchmen?

They are generally so.

Are free Negroes as well protected from insult and ill usage as Slaves?

Every law is as much open to a Free Negro, as it is to a White person.

Do you apprehend that the manager of a plantation would be thought to have discharged his duty properly, if the cattle and other stock of his master were very much fallen off for want of food, while the similar stock of the Negroes was at the same time in a healthy and thriving condition?

The stock of the Negro is rarely or never similar to that of his master's—he has no horned cattle, no horses, no mules, and seldom or ever any sheep.

Can

Can it be supposed that an African Negro can be able to lay by a sum of money sufficient for the purchase of his freedom, within a short period after his importation ?

Within a short period, I should suppose he cannot.—I wish to have it understood, that in the comparison I have been led to draw, between the situation of Slaves in the West Indies and Negroes on the coast of Africa, and likewise between Slaves in the West Indies and the labouring poor of England, I have had in my mind such Slaves as may be called tolerably industrious and provident, which in fact constitute the mass of the West India Slaves—there are upon most estates in the West Indies, as well as in every part of Europe, individuals totally profligate and incorrigible, and upon whom good and bad treatment is equally thrown away.—Slaves of this description are generally apt to absent themselves from the plantations, to sell or dispose of their cloaths, and to neglect the food that is allowed them ; and are frequently to be seen loitering about the skirts of the towns, and strolling along the bays and sea-side, half naked, and apparently half starved ; and I have great reason to think that the descriptions which have been published in England, of the situation of the plantation Slaves in the Islands, have in a great measure been drawn from a view of such miserable objects as I have described, by people who have transiently visited the Sugar Colonies, but have never had a proper opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the real situation and management of a plantation, and the treatment of the Slaves thereof.

You have stated, that although in the Island of Nevis there is no local or positive law for the protection of Slaves, there have been within your knowledge and information, instances of persons indicted in that Island on the common law of England, and on conviction, have been punished for the ill treatment of Slaves—You are now asked, Whether you do know, or have ever heard of any similar prosecutions and judgments in Saint Christopher's, founded also on the operation of the common law of England ?

From very authentic information, I am authorized to say, that there have been three instances of persons who have been tried, and convicted, and punished for ill treatment of their own Slaves, under the common law of England, in the Island of St. Christopher ; and that authenticated transcripts of such convictions have been sent home for the information of the House of Commons.

Do not such prosecutions and judgments plainly evince how much the police of the Islands of Nevis and St. Christopher have been misrepresented by the assertions which have been made, that
in

in those Islands there was no law to interpose between the tyranny of the planters and the defenceless condition of their Slaves?

I am of opinion it certainly does.

Were you in the Island of Nevis in the year 1782?

I was.

Did the Slaves there, before or after the surrender of the Island by capitulation to the French, shew any disposition to revolt from their old masters, and go over to the French?

Quite the contrary.

Did you ever hear what were the dispositions of the Slaves in St. Christopher's, towards their masters, when that Island was also attacked by the French in 1782?

They expressed the most eager desire to have arms put into their hands, that they might be enabled to defend their masters property against the invaders; and in some instances (where the White people on the estates they belonged to were insulted by the French soldiers) the Negroes took the most ample and savage revenge.

You have been asked, what might be the amount of the property which a field Negro in the West Indies is capable of acquiring by his own industry—What, in your opinion, may be the probable amount of the property that common labouring men on farms in general, in this kingdom, can be supposed to lay up from their weekly wages (in many places perhaps not exceeding six or seven shillings per week) after feeding, clothing, and paying cottage rent for themselves and families?

I apprehend that it requires the constant exertions of the most unremitting industry for an English labourer barely to support himself and family; and that very few of them are able to do that without occasional assistance from the parish they belong to; I therefore think there is very little probability of a labouring poor man being able to lay up any thing at all.

Whether, in saying that in the Island of Nevis, of your own knowledge and information, there had been instances of the conviction and punishment of persons for ill treatment of Slaves, on the common law of England, you had in view any other than the two instances of murders you before specified, one of your own knowledge, and the other from information?

I had not.

Within what periods have the instances occurred, which you have lately mentioned to have happened in the Island of St. Christopher

topher of masters having been convicted and punished on the law of England for the ill treatment of their own Slaves?

It was since the passing of the Act for punishing offenders guilty of particular kinds of ill treatment to their Negroes; but the indictments under which those offenders were convicted and punished were prosecuted under the common law of England, as will appear from the transcripts sent over to England.

Do you know of any similar convictions and punishments, previous to this period, in the Island of St. Christopher?

I do not.

Do you know the circumstances of the several cases wherein the persons were convicted and punished, in the Island of St. Christopher, in the instances just mentioned?

I do not recollect having heard the particular circumstances of more than one, which was the case of one Strode, and, as far as I recollect, it was for flitting a Negro's ear.

Whether one motive for indicting the offender on the common law rather than on the statute, might not be to prevent the criminals being subject to the severity of the sentence imposed by the statute, that being the forfeit of £. 500 currency and six months imprisonment, and the actual sentence on the offenders, Strode and Burke, being in the one case the forfeiture of £. 100 currency, and in the other that of £. 50 currency, in both cases without imprisonment?

It is impossible for me to judge decidedly of the motives of any man's actions, but supposing it should actually have been so, still it appears that the persons of the Negroes are better protected by that colonial law, than they were before by the common law of England.

Whether the special verdict of the jury in the case of Herbert, in 1786, "That he was guilty, subject to the opinion of the court, if immoderate correction of a Slave by the master be a crime indictable," does not imply a generally prevailing doubt of the Slaves being under the protection of the law of England?

It seems to imply a doubt in the breast of that particular jury, but as there seemed to be no doubt of the same kind in the two other cases, I should apprehend that it is no proof of the existence of such a general doubt throughout the Island.

Have you heard of any dissatisfaction that prevailed in the Island after the conviction and punishment of the offenders found

guilty by the two former juries, as having suffered from the introduction of a new principle of criminal law?

I have not.

Having said, in a former answer, that, with respect to the punishments inflicted upon the Negroes, no comparison can be made between them and the labouring poor in Europe, how is that to be reconciled with the idea of the Slaves being under the protection of the common law against the severity of their own masters?

I consider punishment and severity totally different.

Can the Slave be fairly held to be under the protection of the common law, when a trial by his peers cannot be reasonably granted him?

The common law may extend to him in some particulars, though not in all.

Has not the master a right, both by custom and by the colonial laws, to exact labour from the Slave by correction and compulsion; and is not the master, by the same laws, the judge of the labour to be exacted?

By custom the master supposes he has that right; but I know of no law that gives him such right, any otherwise than supposing such right actually to have existed before the passing of such law.

Is not that right supposed to exist in the relation between owner and Slave; and is it not in fact exercised, without being impeded by any positive law to the contrary?

It appears to me, that the statute law of England supposes that right to exist in the master, as clearly as any colonial laws, as many acts of parliament have passed relating to the colonies, which would be palpably absurd, without supposing such right actually to exist.

Can then any fair comparison be made between the situation of a Slave in the West Indies, and that of the labouring poor in this country?

I think it can; and still think that such comparison will turn out much to the advantage of the Negro Slave, taking the whole of their respective situations together.

Under those circumstances, can the Slave be said to enjoy the protection of the common law of England?

I have answered that question before.

Whatever

Whatever might be the motives for prosecuting in the cases of Strode and Burke, on the common law of England, and not on the newly-made statute of the Island, does not the mode adopted demonstrate, that in the opinion of those who conducted the prosecutions in behalf of the Crown, that the statute created no new indictable offence; but that an act of wanton cruelty by a master, over the person of his Slave, was a misdemeanor indictable at the common law in that Island before the statute passed.

I think it does?

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 12^o die Martii 1790.

Counsel called in as before; and the Counsel proceeded further in their examination, and called

ALEXANDER DOUGLAS, Esquire.

Of what place are you a native?

Of Scotland.

Have you ever resided in the Island of Saint Christopher—how long ago, and for what length of time?

From 1749 to 1771, excepting a few months, when I was in England.

Had you any plantation there?

I had a lease of a part of a plantation there.

During the time you resided there, did you manage or direct any estates besides your own?

I did—two.

Was you not attorney to several estates, the owners of which were absent?

I was.

How many Negroes might you have under your care?

About

About a sixth or seventh part of the whole number of Negroes in the Island.

What success had you in breeding and rearing children on your own estate, and the other estates you have mentioned?

We were never able to keep up our stock without importation; but I am speaking of what happened near twenty years ago.

Do you recollect what was the general proportion of males to females on the estates you have mentioned?

On the estate of which I had and have a lease, I believe the numbers are 100 males, and 115 females; but in general, I believe, the number of males exceed the number of females—and, even on that estate on which the number of males are 100, and females 115, the stock has not been kept up by breeding.

Was it a particular object of your attention to increase the number of Negroes by breeding?

Most certainly it was.

Do you think it possible that Saint Christopher's, or the Islands in general, could be cultivated by White persons, or Free Negroes?

I think it impossible that white people could undergo the labour of field work in that climate—and the Free Negroes are too idle to work in the field for hire; and I never knew an instance of their so doing.

Do you think it probable that the proprietors could keep up the stock of the Negroes necessary for the cultivation of their estates, by such Negroes as they can breed?

I think not.

What are your reasons for that opinion?

I have tried it, and failed in the attempt.

Do you conceive that one of the causes arises from over-working, neglecting, or ill treating the Negroes?

I do not suppose that it is the case.

Is any particular attention shewn to pregnant and lying-in women?

After they are six months gone with child, they do as they please—it has been assigned as a reason, that the indolent life the mother leads, has been one cause of the children dying within
the

the ninth day of the locked jaw. They are attended by a midwife, and sick nurse when brought to bed, and they have every thing necessary in their condition—they have also the assistance of a plantation surgeon if required—and, I believe, most people send to England for baby-cloaths, in case the mother should be too indolent (which sometimes happens) to provide them.

What was the general allowance of food given to Negroes in addition to the produce of their own grounds, while you lived at St. Christopher's?

From six to eight pints of flour, beans, and Indian corn, or a basket of yams—I have planted from twelve to fifteen acres of the cane land in yams, with which I have been able to feed the Negroes, sometimes for nine months together; but the quantity produced depends upon the weather—each Slave has also six or eight herrings a week, or salt fish in proportion; and, at Christmas, they have salted beef—With regard to their allowance, it is more or less, as the masters see their necessities require.

Do you apprehend the allowance made to them, when added to the produce of their own Grounds, is sufficient for their support?

The good Negroes live in plenty—the vagrants are often in want, and it is impossible to prevent it.

Have not the good Negroes in general a surplus beyond what they want, to dispose of for their own benefit?

They have very large quantities of grafs, wood, poultry, pigs, goats, and roots, to send to market to sell.

At what hour are the Negroes dismissed from their labour in crop time, and out of crop time?

In crop-time, those who grind all night divide their gangs into three or four spells to relieve each other; but I understand, of late most estates have left off the practice of grinding in the night. Out of crop-time, they are generally discharged at about six or seven o'clock in the evening, and called out in the morning at about six o'clock, at day-light.

Do you conceive, that at any time or season of the year, the respite granted to Negroes, in the Island of Saint Christopher, from their labour, amounts only to four or five hours out of the twenty-four?

I think they have from nine to eleven hours respite.

Are not the Negroes universally healthier in crop-time than at any other season of the year?

They most certainly are.

Do you consider the labour of the ^{other} lands in Saint Christopher's to be more severe than in ^{the} other Islands?

The texture of the land at Saint Christopher's is looser than in the other Islands, and consequently it is easier to hole.

At what age is a Creole Negro put into the holing or able gang?

That depends in a great measure on his growth or strength; but perhaps at sixteen, seventeen, or eighteen years of age.

Is it your opinion, from the observations you have made, that masters in their behaviour to their Slaves are actuated by a constant suspicious jealousy, which is not satisfied by any exertion, or softened by any attachment of the Slaves?

This to me is perfectly new—I never heard such an idea suggested till within these two years.

Can it be said, with any degree of truth, that masters treat their Slaves in Saint Christopher's with a spiteful degree of severity?

I know no instance of it.

Question repeated.

I think not.—It is contrary to every idea I ever entertained on the subject.

Have you known or heard of any instances of kindness, compassion, and attachment from masters to their Slaves?

I conceive that all masters treat them with compassion, as being the most valuable possession they have.—There may be instances of severity, but not of my recollecting.

Do you conceive that the treatment of Negroes in St. Christopher's is better or worse since you left that Island, than while you resided there?

By every account that I have received, I should suppose, if there was any difference, it is for the better.

Do you not conceive, that every proprietor wishes to breed as many Negroes as he can?

Every proprietor that has common sense, I think, does.

What is the difference between the value of a Creole Negro,
and

and one just imported, supposing them to be of equal age, and, to all appearance, equally strong and able?

I should suppose, from the knowledge of the good quality of the Creole, the Creoles, will be worth two, at the least, or perhaps three of the newly imported Negro, whose qualities the proprietor must be supposed to be ignorant of.

Where the proprietor is absent, do you conceive that the persons entrusted with the management of his estate have any reluctance, or shew any want of attention to rearing and breeding Negro children?

Quite the contrary.

Do you apprehend that the manager being a married man is a circumstance that would generally contribute to breeding among the Negroes, or would not such effect depend upon the temper and disposition of the wife?

I believe the planters generally prefer a single man to a married man, unless the wife happens to be remarkably careful and attentive to the plantation Negroes.

Of the six plantations mentioned in the paper which the reverend Mr. Ramsay delivered in to the Privy Council, will you state how long the proprietors have been absent, and the care of them left to managers?

I believe about four of the proprietors never were in the West Indies in my time, of course their affairs were left to managers and attorneys—Mr. Molyneux was there for a short time; about a twelvemonth, I believe—Mr. Crook, after a long residence in England, spent a few of the last years of his life in St. Christopher's, where he died.

Have you ever seen the treasurer's account of the number of Negroes in St. Christopher's, in the year 1763, and what was the amount of that number?

I have—the amount was 24,781.

Have you ever seen the account of the number of Negroes in the different parishes of St. Christopher's, in the year 1788, which was transmitted by the Island, and delivered in to the Privy Council; and what was the amount of that number?

I have—the amount was 20,435.

From your experience and observation, is it your opinion, that
the

the Negroes have more or fewer comforts than the labouring poor of Europe?

My opinion is, the Negroes have certainly more comforts—they do not work so hard, and they have a master to take care of them and their children when they are sick.

What effect would the abolition of the Slave Trade, in your judgment, have on the minds of the Negroes now actually in the Colonies?

I should conceive the effect would be sedition and disobedience to their masters—from an apprehension that their labour would be greater as the gang decreased, and there being no hopes of assistance from the usual source of importation from Africa, as heretofore.

If the trade was to be abolished, do you think it would be practicable to prevent the buying Negroes in foreign Islands, and introducing them into the English Islands?

I do not think the wit of man could frame such an act as would prevent the importation, and that every man would naturally assist his neighbour in the common cause.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

What was the largest and what the smallest allowance of food given to every field Negro?

I think from six to eight pints of flour, beans, peas, and Indian corn per week, to each Negro, and the number of herrings from five to eight.

Do you recollect any instances of criminal proceedings against White men for offences against Slaves, during the time of your residence in the West Indies?

I do not recollect any; but one or two were threatened with prosecutions, and left the Island in consequence.

Do you recollect the circumstances of these particular cases?
I do not.

What was the number of your whole gang?
Two hundred and fifteen.

What was the extent of your estate?
I cannot say, but I should suppose about 250 acres.

Do you recollect the proportion of your annual loss ?

I do not.

Was your loss chiefly among the infants or adults ?

I cannot say—we lost a great many infants—there were a great many very old people on the estate, at the time I came into possession of it—it is a healthy part of the Island where the estate is situated.

Is the allowance you have stated to be given to the Negroes, also extended to the children ?

Very young children I think have half the allowance—I recollect a circumstance which I will state.—I had a complaint from some of the mothers of families, that they had not time to prepare victuals for their children—I have always looked on the breeding women as the most valuable part of the gang, from their sobriety, and their always keeping at home—my answer to the application was, that I would have a certain quantity of provisions ready dressed for their children every day—they came for this allowance punctually for a week or two, or longer ; but in the end they dropt off one by one till none came, and I then discontinued the practice.

Are epidemical diseases ever fatal to the Negroes in the Island of Saint Christopher ?

Yes—when I was in the Island, Mr. Thomas lost thirty-four of his best Negroes in one season by a flux.

How many did his gang consist of ?

From 170 to 200 ; and I believe Mr. Thomas was remarkable for his care of his Negroes.

Do you believe that the instances of losses of Negroes by epidemical diseases are uncommon in the Island of Saint Christopher ?

No.

By what means could these losses of Negroes be supplied but by the trade from Africa to Saint Christopher's ?

I know no other means.

Do you recollect whether an epidemical disorder prevailed
4 G throughout

throughout the Island in the year wherein Mr. Thomas lost the thirty-four Negroes?

I cannot say.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

And the Counsel informed the Committee, that they had closed their case, reserving only the liberty for the agent to produce any written or printed documents, which he may think proper to lay before the Committee, for their further information.

And then the Counsel were directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

That the agent be permitted to produce such written or printed documents.

And the Counsel were called in, and acquainted therewith.

And then they were again directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

That this Examination of Mr. Thomas, Mr. Tobin, and Mr. Douglas, be reported to the House.

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES

ON THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Reported 15th MARCH 1790.

Witnesses Examined,

Mr. THOMAS,
Mr. TOBIN,
Mr. DOUGLAS.

N° 5.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE,

Veneris, 19^o die Martii 1790.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed for the Purpose of taking the Examination of such Witnessess as shall be produced on the Part of the several Petitioners, who have petitioned the House of Commons against the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Sabbati, 13^o die Martii 1790.

MR. Burton, Counsel for the Petition of John Burton and William Hutchinson, Esquires, Agents for the Island of Antigua, was called in.

And the Counsel produced an act of the Assembly of Antigua, passed in the year 1675, intituled, "An Act for encouraging the Royal Company in England for the supplying this Island with Negroes;" and also, an act of the said Assembly, passed in the year 1692, intituled, "An Act for quieting the inhabitants of this Island in their present Possessions, and preventing litigious Law Suits."—And the said first mentioned act, and also an Abstract of the last mentioned Act, were read, and are as follow; viz.

“ LEEWARD ISLANDS.

“ An Act for encouraging the Royal Company
 “ in England, for the supplying this Island
 “ with Negroes.

“ Whereas it hath pleased the Royal African Com-
 “ pany in England, their commissioners, agents,
 “ and factors, to appoint the Island of Nevis to be
 “ the mart or place for delivering of Negroes for
 “ His Majesty’s Leeward Charibbee Islands, in
 “ America, whereof this is one, as also for the
 “ payment of the goods contracted for the same,
 “ which happens to be very prejudicial to His
 “ Majesty’s subjects, the inhabitants of this Island,
 “ in regard this is the windermost of His Maje-
 “ ty’s Islands, so that the Negroes which are
 “ brought to Nevis are sold and disposed of before
 “ any Notice can be given us; and moreover, for
 “ the inhabitants here to go down to Nevis to buy
 “ Negroes, and to carry afterwards their goods to
 “ make payment, is a matter very disadvantageous
 “ to the inhabitants here, who are altogether dis-
 “ appointed of the common advantage and conve-
 “ niences of His Majesty’s gracious intentions to-
 “ wards them, in His Royal Charter or grant to the
 “ said Royal Company, and is as what we presume
 “ altogether unknown to the said Royal Company,
 “ as also the conveniences and advantages that will
 “ arise to themselves as well as we, by delivering
 “ Negroes, and receiving their payment here, which
 “ we doubt not but they will easily assent unto,
 “ when they shall be truly informed therein.

“ 2d. And for their better encouragement in that
 “ particular, and the making sure payment for
 “ such Negroes as shall be brought hither and put
 “ to sale for the future.

“ 3d. Be it, and it is hereby enacted by the authority
 “ aforesaid, That whensoever it shall seem meet
 “ unto the Royal Company, their commissioners,
 “ agents, or factors, or any under them, to bring to
 “ this Island any Negroes for sale, that an able
 “ and fit person be, by the governor of this island
 “ for the time being, appointed to be register of
 “ this

“ Register to
 “ to be ap-
 “ pointed
 “ who shall
 “ record
 “ all con-
 “ tracts made
 “ for Ne-
 “ groes
 “ brought
 “ hither;

- “ this Island, for the taking, registering, and keep-
 “ ing all such contract or contracts that shall at
 “ any time be made by and between any agent,
 “ factor, or servant to the said Royal Company, and
 “ any inhabitant of this Island, that shall at any
 “ time buy or contract for any Negro or Negroes
 “ within this Island, either on board the ship
 “ wherein such Negroes shall be brought, or on
 “ shore, where such agents, factors, or servants
 “ shall appoint, within the said Island.
- 4th. And the said person so appointed to be sworn
 “ upon the Holy Evangelists of God, true entry
 “ and record to make of all such contracts to be
 “ made as aforesaid, in a book fairly written, and
 “ shall attest the same under his hand.
- 5th. And in case any Planter, or other person or per-
 “ sons within this Island, shall on his part fail of
 “ making just payment, according to such contract
 “ entered and recorded by the said Register, the
 “ said agent, factor, or servant, or any of them, law-
 “ fully impowered, upon complaint made thereof
 “ to the governor of this Island for the time be-
 “ ing, shall, within twenty-four hours after such
 “ complaint made, have a special court appointed
 “ to be held for trial of such complaints, upon the
 “ ordinary charges of other courts, without paying
 “ extraordinary fees, as in special courts is usual,
 “ where the entry and record made by the register
 “ to be appointed as aforesaid, shall be held and
 “ deemed good evidence, and sufficient to convict
 “ the party offending, or making breach of any pay-
 “ ments, or such contracts, and upon such evidence
 “ judgment shall be granted against the defendant,
 “ and execution shall, in three days after the said
 “ judgment, issue against such person so condemn-
 “ ed, for the sum and quantity of goods or money
 “ so contracted for and recorded as aforesaid, with-
 “ out any cost of suit or otherwise, to be paid by
 “ the said agents, factors, servants, or any impow-
 “ ered lawfully by or under them; but that all
 “ such costs and charges shall be taken from the
 “ defendant, as also the fees hereafter appointed
 “ to be paid unto the said register for his record,
 “ in due performance of what is by this Act in-
 “ joined him; (that is to say) thirty pounds of to-
- “ and shall
 “ be sworn,
 “ &c. and
 “ attest all
 “ contracts.
- “ Persons not
 “ fulfilling
 “ their con-
 “ tracts.
- “ Special
 “ court shall
 “ be appoint-
 “ ed for trial
 “ of com-
 “ plaints;
- “ and regis-
 “ ter's entry
 “ shall be
 “ sufficient
 “ to convict
 “ the party,
 “ and execu-
 “ tion issue
 “ in three
 “ days after
 “ judgment
 “ against de-
 “ fendant
 “ with costs
 “ of suit.
- “ bacco

“ Register’s
“ fees to be
“ paid per
“ buyer.

“ bacco for each contract that shall be so made and
“ recorded as aforesaid, to be paid by the buyer or
“ contractor thereof, any law, custom, or usage to
“ the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

“ Dated the 3d Day of May 1675.

“ PHILIP WARNER.

“ RICHARD BORASTON, Speaker.”

“ ANTIGUA.

“ An Act for quieting the inhabitants of
“ this Island in their present Possessions,
“ and preventing litigious Law Suits.

“ 9th. And whereas many persons heretofore de-
“ ceased—stood possessed of a good quantity of lands
“ and tenements, and number of Negroes, some of
“ which persons made their wills and testaments,
“ nominating their executors therein, and others
“ died intestate, leaving their Negroes, and other
“ goods and chattels, to be disposed of by the admi-
“ nistrator or administrators to be appointed, which
“ said executors and administrators, by virtue of their
“ executorship and administration, inventoried and
“ appraised the said Negroes, and disposed of them
“ as other chattels, which oftentimes proved a
“ ruin to the interest or estate, and left the widow
“ and children in a bad condition.

“ Negroes
“ made in-
“ heritance.

“ 10th. For the prevention thereof for the future
“ be it, and it is by the authority aforesaid, That
“ all Negro Slaves and other Slaves, after the date
“ of this act, shall and are hereby declared to be
“ inheritance, and affixed to the freehold, and the
“ widow capable of being endowed thereof: Pro-
“ vided always, That any executor or administrator,
“ may inventory the said Negroes, but not take
“ them into his custody, to the intent that if
“ there shall not be sufficient goods and chattels to
“ pay the deceased’s debts, that then the said Ne-
“ groes are liable to be taken for payment of the said
“ debts, and be as chattels to that purpose, and
“ no

“ no otherwise.—Dated in Antigua, 21st July,
“ 4 William and Mary, 1692.

“ CHRISTOPHER CODRINGTON.

“ JOHN LUCAS, Speaker.”

The Counsel then called,

THOMAS NORBURY KERBY, Esquire.

Are you a native of the Island of Antigua?
I am.

When did you leave the Island?
In the year 1762.

When did you return again to the Island?
In February 1780.

How long did you reside in the Island on your last return?
Till July 1788.

Had you a seat in any part of the legislature of that Island?
I was a member of the House of Assembly till early in the year
1784.—I then received a mandamus from home, appointing me to
a seat at the council board.

Were you a proprietor of any estates in the Island, and were
you concerned for any other estates as Attorney, or in any other
way?

I am possessed of two sugar plantations—and have acted as at-
torney for different friends at different periods.

Had those estates, of which you are a proprietor, been any time
in your family, and did they descend to you?

I cannot exactly ascertain for how many years they had been
in my family; but they had been for a considerable length of time,
and descended to me.

Is it your opinion that the estates in general in the island are
fully or weakly handed?

4 I

I am

I am of opinion that most of the estates in the Island are in want of Negroes.

Can you say in what proportion, or in what number, those estates are in want of Negroes?

I cannot speak with certainty as to that question.

Are your own estates, and those for which you are concerned, fully or weakly handed?

One of my own estates is sufficiently handed, the other not so—and, with respect to those I am concerned for, some are sufficiently handed, and others in want of Slaves.

Do you think the natural increase in the island equal to the decrease?

I should presume, as far as my judgment goes, that there may be as many born as die, but by no means raised to years of maturity.

Is the increase on your own estates, and those for which you are concerned, equal to the decrease?

On one of my own estates it is—on the other it is not—on one for which I am concerned it is also equal, on the others it is not.

On that estate which you say the increase is equal to the decrease, what number of those are reared, and if not all, why not?

I cannot exactly ascertain the numbers raised, but certainly not all that are born; as many die within nine days of a disorder called the tetanus.

Can you assign any other cause in general, why on that estate as well as other estates, the children are not reared, and arrive to a state of maturity?

I believe many children die from the inattention of the mothers—as they are apt to consider young children an incumbrance and a great bar to their pleasures; and as it is the means of preventing their nocturnal meetings and dances.—From having been very unsuccessful in raising children on one of my own estates, I built a lying-in hospital in hopes of having the women, during the time of their lying-in, more immediately under the eye of the manager, and by that means greater care would be paid to the little comforts required by persons in that situation—but from the dispositions of the Negroes, and their being greatly averse to every kind of confinement,

ment, my endeavours had not proved, when I left the Island, very beneficial, and I am apt to believe, since my leaving the Island, that my losses have still continued in the same proportion.

On that estate, in which you say the increase is not equal to the decrease, have you made any experiments with respect to situation of the Negro houses, in order to obviate any difficulties which you might have supposed to have arisen from that circumstance?

Upon my arrival in the West Indies, I understood that the Negro houses on that particular estate had formerly stood exposed to the north wind, and that medical persons had advised their being rebuilt in a different situation, which was immediately complied with—and yet my losses still continue, although I am confident there is no estate whatever has greater attention paid to the Negroes in every situation, but particularly to the breeding women and children.

Are the Negro women particularly partial to their own midwives, and may not losses be sustained by their ignorance—and do you know any instance where they have shewn that partiality?

They are—it once happened upon my one estate, that a woman was in labour, and was reported to me as being in a dangerous situation—I immediately went to her friends, and informed them that I had sent for a medical person to give her every assistance in his power—the answer I received was, that if the doctor came he should not attend her, as she preferred the service of the midwife belonging to the estate—she was delivered before the arrival of the doctor—I have no doubt but that losses are sustained from the want of skill in some of the midwives who practise.

Do you believe that, on the estates in general, the Planters endeavour to rectify the want of skill in the midwives by the calling in of physicians at different times?

Whenever a difficult case occurs, I believe a medical person is always employed.

Is it usual to give premiums to mothers or midwives, in order to encourage them to pay every attention to the infants in order to rear them, and bring them to maturity, and what is that premium?

It is the practice on my own estates, and those for which I have been concerned, to pay the midwife for every child that is born—and I also, by way of encouragement to the mothers, have made them some present, generally about Christmas.

Do

Do you at all ascribe the failure of increase and rearing of children to hard labour, rigorous treatment, or improper food of the mother, either while pregnant or afterwards?

Certainly not.

Are there any indulgencies allowed to pregnant women?

As soon as a woman makes it known that she is with child, and that hard labour would be injurious to her, every attention is paid to her situation.

What time before her confinement is she relieved from hard labour?

I believe it to be a general practice to remove a woman from every kind of hard labour by the time she is four months gone with child.—It sometimes happens they do not lye-in for six or seven months after such removal.

What attention is shewn them during their confinement?

The women in that situation are always attended by the nurse of the estate, and some of their own immediate female friends, and care is taken that they are supplied with every kind of nourishment necessary—and it is my own practice to allow such baby linen as is wanting upon the occasion.

What time after the women are delivered is it that they return to labour in the field?

It is my practice to make the women bring their children to me at the expiration of the fourth week.—I then order them to such work as I think they are capable of bearing.—I believe a woman never goes to hard labour till the end of six weeks.

What attention is paid to the children themselves, and especially to those of careless mothers?

The children of careless mothers are always put under the care of one of the nurses, who pay every attention to them during the absence of the mothers in the field—to the children of other mothers every attention, with respect to food and lodging, is paid to them, though they are not taken from such mothers, and put under the care of nurses.

Does the master proportion the labour of children to their strength?

In every instance the work of an estate is proportioned to the ability of the Negro.

Have

Have the estates in general a proportionate number of females to breed from?

No.

Have you on your own estates?

No.

Can you at all times procure, out of the cargo of Slaves, such breeding females as you may conceive your estates are in want of?

No—as the proportion of females brought from the Coast of Africa is very inadequate to the quantity required.

Not having a sufficient number of females to breed from, would the difficulty of keeping up your present stock, weak as you say it is, be greatly increased by the prevention of a further supply from Africa?

It is my opinion, it would be impossible to keep up the present stock without a supply from Africa.

But had you an equal number of women as men, do you conceive the stock of Slaves in the Island would be kept up by breeding, without annual importations from Africa?

When we recollect the disorders that persons in the West Indies are subject to, and the dreadful ravages that are often occasioned by epidemical disorders, I am confident it would be impracticable—And, to prove my assertion, I think it proper to mention, that in the year 1779, it was the general reputation of the island, and from the losses on my own estate, I verily believe, one-fifth part of all the Negroes were carried off by a dysentery—in the year 1782, a considerable number were carried off by an epidemic pleurisy—in the year 1783, a great number were carried off by the measles—and, in the year 1786, heavy losses were sustained by the small pox and chin cough, although every attention was paid to inoculation.

Suppose the increase to be equal to the decrease, and that you should be able to rear all that are born, at what age can such increase with propriety be introduced to the hardest labours of the field?

Generally speaking, I should suppose from the age of 18 to 20—but some constitutions are more capable of labour at an earlier period.

Suppose you should lose any of your able Negroes before the

Creoles arrived at that age; where would you resort to for supply?

If the African Trade was abolished, a proportion of my land must remain uncultivated, or my young Negroes be brought forward at too early a period.

Do you mean to say then, that if the trade was not abolished, you would look to Africa for a supply?

Certainly.

Do you consider that the early introduction of the young Negroes would be an additional cause of the diminution of the number of Negroes?

It is my opinion that every Negro brought forward to work beyond his strength must be worn out at a very early period.

You have stated that, in the years 1779, 1782, 1783, and 1786, there was great mortality among the negroes, have those losses been yet repaired?

With respect to my own estates they have not—although I have been in the constant habit of purchasing Negroes whenever I have been able to meet with them for sale, either from Africa or elsewhere, as far as my abilities permitted me to go; but having experienced several bad years, few planters have been able to lay out sufficient to repair their losses.

What were the crops in the Island in 1779, 1780, and 1781?

Generally very bad—with respect to my own estates, I did not make as much in the course of the three years as I ought to have made in one year.

Suppose there had been good crops in those three years, and there had been no supplies in the course of that time from Africa, is it your opinion that those good crops could have been taken off?

I am of opinion that, if a large crop had happened in the year 1780 and 1781, it would have been impossible for the Negroes then on the Island to have done the labour of the estates.

If the African trade should be abolished, and the Island should again experience such calamitous years as 1779, 1782, 1783, and 1786, what would be the consequence?

Great part of the land now under cultivation must be neglected.

Does the produce of the plantations, both in quantity and quality

lity in a great measure depend on the strength of the estate, and the ability to take off the crop in proper time?

It has been generally found, that those estates which are best handed, or have most Negroes, make in proportion the largest crops.

What effect do you imagine the abolition of the Slave trade would have on the minds of the Negroes now on the Island?

Were such an event absolutely to take place, I believe all the Negroes would be extremely concerned, as they would be certain the labour would fall altogether upon themselves—it is very generally known, that Negroes express much satisfaction whenever they hear of the arrival of a ship with Slaves, and frequently apply to their masters to purchase a few more helpmates.

What is the price of a Slave now, and what was it before the news of the intended abolition of the Slave Trade reached the Island?

I can only speak of the prices, as far back as July 1788, having at that time left the West Indies—at that time I paid forty-two pounds sterling for the same kind of Negro, which I had, in the year 1787, purchased for thirty-six pounds sterling.

Had the news of the intended abolition reached the Island before you left it?

I attribute the alteration in price entirely to the report of the abolition, which had reached the West Indies.

What is the value of a Creole, in comparison to a slave newly imported?

I cannot answer that question; but I should certainly prefer a Creole, even at an advanced price.

Does the planter prefer breeding of Slaves to purchasing them from Africa?

I should presume, every planter who studies his own interest, would prefer the breeding of slaves to the purchasing them from Africa.

Is there any particular attention paid to Negroes newly imported from Africa?

I believe it is a constant practice amongst planters, when they purchase a lot of slaves from Africa, to pay every attention to them, and to give them necessary time for their recovery from the
fatigue

fatigue of the voyage; and it is some time before they are put to labour.

How are the Negroes in general fed, clothed, and lodged?

Universally at the expence of their masters—they are lodged in stone, wattled and daubed, and wooden houfes, built originally at their master's expence, and kept in repair by him—or by allowing the Negro such time as is requisite for making such repair;—they are clothed (speaking of the practice of my own estates, and those under my direction) with one suit of woollen, and one suit of Osnaburg's, annually—with respect to food, the allowance they receive consists of oatmeal, Indian corn, meal, and flour, with a proportion of herrings or salt-fish, with dry salt, yams, eddoes, and potatoes—speaking of grain, I always allow from eight to twelve measures per week for each Negro; of yams or eddoes, from twenty-six to thirty-six pounds per week; and of herrings, from four to eight, according to the size—or in lieu of the herrings from two to three pounds of salt-fish.

Besides this, does the master give them any thing at Christmas, or whenever the weather is unfavourable?

It is a general practice for every estate to give to each Negro a quantity of yams or flour, with a proportion of salt beef or pork at Christmas, which does not at all interfere with the common weekly allowance—they have likewise three days holidays at Christmas.—I believe it is a general rule, on every well regulated estate, to give any Negro that applies for an additional allowance, such assistance as he appears to stand in need of, without taking any notice of the weather.

When the weather is unfavourable, do the Masters give them any thing to keep up their spirits, and to prevent their taking cold?

In bad weather, the whole gang are indulged with grog; and when they are working hard, they are also indulged in the same way.

Have the Negroes any additional allowance, in proportion to the number of their family?

It is my own practice to give allowance to every individual upon my estates, and those under my care, in proportion to their ages.

Have the Negroes, besides what the master allows them, grounds allotted to them, and have they the advantage of the produce of such grounds?

On every estate there is a proportion of land allotted for the use of the Negroes, which they cultivate entirely for their own benefit, and are at liberty to dispose of the produce in any manner they please.

Do they raise stock, and of what kind, and do they sell that stock, and apply the produce of it to their own benefit?

All Negroes are at liberty to raise small stock, goats, and hogs, which they dispose of as they think proper—and I never knew an instance where the money arising from the disposal of such articles was considered, but entirely as the Negroes own property.

Are the men of war, and merchantmen principally supplied by the Negroes with stock and vegetables?

The men of war, as well as merchant ships, are constantly supplied on a Sunday with vegetables, the property of the Negroes—on other days, it is customary for persons who live in the country to send vegetables to market, by the Negroes, on the proprietor's account—the small stock, goats, and hogs, are for the most part the property of the Negroes, and with which the shipping is chiefly supplied.

Is St. John's the capital of the island?

It is.

How are the inhabitants of that town principally supplied with small stock and vegetables?

In the same manner as the shipping.

Does the master ever purchase any stock from the Slaves, and if he does, does he not pay just as much as any stranger would do?

It is common for every master to purchase stock from his own Slaves, and to pay full as much as any other person.

Do you know, or have you heard of any instance of a Negro Slave being worth money?

I remember one instance of a Slave, who gave £. 200 sterling for his own freedom—I also know many Slaves who spend annually from £. 10 to £. 15 sterling.

What are the times allowed to the Negroes to work their own grounds?

One afternoon in every week out of crop time, and sometimes during the crop, but not constantly.

Do not the Negroes, every Sunday, hold an open market for the disposal of the produce of their grounds and of their stock?
They do.

How are the Negroes provided for, and taken care of, by their masters, in sickness?

On every estate there is an hospital for the reception of the sick, who are attended by a medical person and proper nurses, and are supplied with every requisite for persons in their situation, and are never sent out to work without the doctor's sanction.

Is there a medical man employed annually to attend the Negroes at a certain rate, and is he not paid for any extraordinaries, such as broken legs, &c.?

A medical man is constantly employed at a certain rate per head for each Negro, and attends the estate twice a week, and is liable to be sent for whenever it is necessary—he is also paid for fractures, cases of midwifery, venereal complaints, and other extraordinaries.

In taking a view of the comforts of a poor labourer, and a family in this country, and of a Negro and his family, which do you think enjoys the greatest share of them?

In my opinion, the Negro enjoys full as many comforts as the labourer in this country, and in some respects more; as he is certain of being taken care of in sickness, and has not the anxiety of providing perhaps for a wife and young family, which might claim his protection.

What is the usual mode of punishment of Negroes in the Island?

By whipping for petty thefts, such as breaking open Negro houses, stores, and stealing from other Negroes—for higher offences, they are tried by two justices, one being of the quorum, and six white jurors ballotted for out of twelve, and according to the nature of their offence, receive punishment.

What is the degree of punishment which the master inflicts for those offences which he takes cognizance of?

In general a whipping from ten to 39 lashes.

When a proprietor is about to employ an overseer of his plantation,

tion, does he not examine into his character, with respect to humanity and temper ?

I believe no proprietor ever thinks of engaging a man as an overseer, without first enquiring into his character, and if it is found that he is addicted to cruelty he is never employed.

Do the proprietors give a licence to the overseer to punish their slaves, or do they withhold such licence entirely from him ?

An overseer is never permitted to inflict any punishment, except an occasional lash during the time of work, and that is generally given over the clothes—but in case of ill behaviour of the slaves, he represents the offence to the manager.

Is not the manager of estates in general a person of some consideration in the Island, of education, and who associates with the principal inhabitants of the Island ?

Every man endeavours to procure a manager of information and education, in whose hands he is to repose his property, and he is generally associated with by gentlemen in the island.

Have you ever known or heard of an instance of an overseer being discharged for cruelty ?

I have—it has happened to myself—both with respect to an overseer and a manager, and the latter was never able to procure any employment after I discharged him, and he was obliged to leave the island, and go down and settle at Trinidad.

From the observations which you have made of the course of husbandry practised in the Island, which part of it is in your opinion the most laborious ?

The work on an estate, in my opinion, is hardest during the time of holing and dunging the land, although during the crop time the Negroes are employed many more hours in the course of the day.

How long does that holing last ?

About three months.

In what manner do the Negroes carry the dung ?

The dung is carted to the side of the land for which it is intended, and from thence carried by the Negroes in small baskets, on their heads, to the holes prepared for receiving it—the baskets are small, and the Negroes carry them with the greatest apparent ease to themselves, as that is the usual method of their carrying every kind of weight.

Could

Could the dung be distributed in the holes in any other manner by oxen or by mules, without entirely destroying the banks which are raised about those holes, for the purpose of covering the canes when planted?

It would be impossible to distribute the dung in any other way than the one already mentioned.

Does the heat of the climate appear congenial to the Negroes?

It does.—I never knew an instance where a Negro complained of heat; and have frequently seen them laying down in the heat of the day, exposed to the sun, when they might have been in their houses.

Do you think it possible for Europeans to go through that course of husbandry which is necessary for carrying on the estates?

I consider it as morally impossible—for, I have twice made experiments—one was with a gardener—the other a carter—at the expiration of a very short period, not exceeding a fortnight, they each relinquished their employments, finding the climate too severe.

Have you ever taken notice of the effect of the heat on the soldiers, or the militia, on field days?

I know the persons who attend military duty always complain of the heat, if they are kept out any length of time—and it is the general opinion of all the officers, with whom I have conversed, that it is too great a fatigue for their men to be out on duty, except in the evening and morning—And, I recollect, the regiment quartered in Antigua were obliged for a short period to remove their own provisions from the King's stores to the barracks, and at the expiration of a few weeks, it was found absolutely necessary to supply them with a cart for that purpose, the labour being too severe for the men, although the distance was not a quarter of a mile upon level ground.

Is it your opinion, that the plough can be substituted for the hoe?

I know the plough has been used on some estates, but found not to answer.

Are the expences attending the maintenance and support of Negroes very great?

With respect to my own estates I can venture say, that every
Negro

Negro costs me the sum of £. 5 sterling per annum, exclusive of the provisions I raise on my own estate—I mean yams, of which I generally reap as many as feed my whole gang between four and five months—nor do I, in the above sum, include any necessaries for my hospital, such as wine and fresh meat.

Was there a possibility of substituting any other mode of cultivation than that now in practice, either with the plough, or any other instrument, by which the labour of the Negroes would in the smallest degree be diminished, or the expence curtailed, by the employment of fewer Negroes, would not the planter most readily adopt that mode?

Certainly.

And then the Counsel and Witness were directed to withdraw.

Lunæ, 15^o die Martii 1790.

Counsel and Witness called in as before; and the Witness was examined by Members of the Committee.

Do you recollect any other Instance, besides the one you have already mentioned, of a Negro Slave being worth money?

I do recollect one who was worth £. 180 sterling.

Do you recollect whether this money descended to him, or was it his own acquisition?

Part descended to him, and part he acquired by his own industry.

Can you state what proportion of it was of his own acquisition?

I cannot.— I conceive a considerable part of it was, because he was a valuable tradesman, and acquired constant employment from different persons in his own time.

Was the Slave, whom you mentioned as having given £. 200 for his freedom, a field Slave?

Yes—he was a mason.

Did you mean to allude to field Slaves, when you spoke of many Slaves spending from ten to fifteen pounds per annum?

I did—to field Slaves as well as house Slaves.

How do the house Slaves acquire this property?

From the money arising from the sale of their stock, such as goats, poultry, and hogs, roots, and fruit.

Do these articles sell at a moderate price, comparing them with the prices of the same or similar articles in this country?

They do.

State to the Committee the quantity of your cane, and other land, and the number of your gang?

One estate consists of 120 acres of cane land, the gang of which amounts to 152 Negroes—the other estate consists of 222 acres of cane land, and the gang of Slaves is 137.

Can you state the proportion of infants, able, and superannuated, in the two gangs respectively, as also that of males and females?

I cannot.

Can you state the number of artificers, tradesmen, or domestics in the two gangs?

With respect to the artificers and tradesmen I cannot, having no accounts in England whereby I can form an exact calculation; but with respect to domestics, as far as my memory serves me, there are about twenty-two on the estate where I reside myself, besides those employed in waiting on the manager and overseer, which may amount to five more—on the other estate, about eight domestics are employed in attending upon the manager and overseers.

When an estate is said to consist of any given number of acres, is the spot on which the slaves houses stand generally included in it?

Were I to speak of the number of acres in an estate, I should include every part—in this answer I confine myself to the island of Antigua.

What quantity of provision ground is usually allotted to a given number of slaves, or whenever a slave has his own particular allotment, to each Slave respectively.

The proportion varies in almost every estate—on one of my own estates the provision ground is large, on the other very small.

Are the ground provisions of the Negroes the provision of his own peculiar ground, or of a quantity of ground allotted by the master for the maintenance of the slaves in general?

The ground provision is the produce of a quantity of land, the property of the master, and allotted for the raising of provisions for the maintenance of the whole gang.

Has not every Negro family a piece of ground for the raising of provisions?

Universally throughout the Island, to the best of my knowledge.

Is it to be understood then, that when the Slaves are allowed grain, they still have the produce of their own peculiar ground, though not that of the general provision ground?

At all times the produce of the ground belonging to the Slave is his own; and he makes use of it or disposes of it as he thinks fit.

Can you state the quantity of ground allotted to each Slave for his own peculiar occupancy on your estates?

On one estate, where there are the largest number of Negroes, I should presume the quantity of Land for the use of the whole gang does not exceed from two to three acres—on the other estate, about four acres of Land.

Is this land situated round the Negro huts, or detached from them?

Some of it adjoins the Negro huts, or within a stone's throw—the rest lies at some little distance.

What quantity of ground is generally attached to each of the Negro huts?

As far as my observation has gone, I think from fourteen to eighteen feet square between each hut. I can speak particularly as to that being the quantity on my own estates, which the Negroes generally appropriate for the purpose of building pens to keep their goats and hogs in, and not for the raising of provisions—some plant fruit trees.

Do you mean that the distance between two huts is from fourteen to eighteen feet?

I do.

Is the provision ground which is divided amongst the Slaves good land on your estates; and is it so in general?

It is seldom the best land, but such as answers for the purpose of raising provisions.

Were you ever in the Island of Saint Christopher?

I never was.

Does the produce of the Negro's peculiar provision ground furnish him with any considerable part of his food?

I believe a Negro sells full as much of the provision raised in his own ground as he consumes; but, as the Negroes are generally fond of new ground provision, they often dispose of the grain they receive from their masters, and eat a part of the provisions they raise themselves. I remember, in the year 1782, many of my own Slaves told me they frequently got a dollar a week for the provisions they were enabled to sell during the hurricane months to the shipping, which at that time were lying at English Harbour—I speak of ground provisions only, and vegetables.

Is the produce of these grounds, or is it not, often destroyed or materially injured by hurricanes and bad seasons; and if it be, has the Slave a larger allowance of food given to him?

During my residence in the West Indies, I often knew the provisions in the Slaves ground, as well as that of his master, materially injured by bad weather, and gales of wind—in that case an extraordinary allowance is made to the Slave as a recompence for the loss he has sustained.

Is it from the sale of the produce of the provision ground just mentioned, or from that of his allowed grain, added to the sale of his stock, that the Negro commonly acquires his property?

From both, and from his own personal industry during the time allotted to him for rest.—I have often known field Negroes acquire the sum of half a crown per day for their own labour.—I speak particularly of Sunday, that being considered as entirely his own day.

Is it usual to hire Negroes for the ordinary purposes of labour on the Sunday?

No field labour is ever permitted on a Sunday—mechanics, I believe, work almost every Sunday, if they can procure employment—and, it is very customary, during the crop time, for Negroes to be engaged on a Sunday in thatching the Negro houses that stand in need of covering.—No master whatever has a right to exact any labour, ever so trifling, from his Slave on a Sunday without paying him—speaking of field Negroes acquiring money for their labour on a Sunday, I mean by employing themselves as porters.

On what do the Negroes maintain their stock?

During the crop time the hogs are generally fed with the canes which the Negroes carry away for that purpose—the goats are fed with potatoe vines and grafs, and the poultry with grain.

Is it with the canes that have been ground that you speak of?

I speak of both, but more particularly of the canes that have not been ground, although it is not allowed for a Negro to carry away a large proportion of canes not ground, yet it is done very constantly.

Do you know whether the quantity of general and peculiar provision ground allowed on your estates, and in the Island of Antigua in general, is greater or less than the usual allowance in the old Islands?

From my never having been in any of the old Islands, except Barbadoes, and that only for three days, I cannot give any decisive answer.

You have stated, that every Negro costs you £.5 sterling per annum, exclusive of ground provisions; at what age do you consider your Slaves as beginning to cost you that sum?

I consider the expence beginning nearly from the birth of the infant, as I regularly give allowance and cloathing from that time; and when I spoke of £.5 sterling per head for the maintenance of my Slaves, I took it upon an average, including old and young.

What are the chief articles of expence included in this estimate?

4 N

Food,

Food, clothing, charges for the attendance of medical men, and parish and public taxes.

At what period of the Negro's life did the public taxes commence, and were they considerable?

The taxes commence from the day of the birth of the child, and continue during the whole course of his life, and they are considerable.

Do the Free Negroes work as tradesmen in the towns?

Some do, but in general they are more inclined to pursue sedentary occupations.

Did you ever purchase African Slaves immediately on their importation?

I have.

What number did you ever purchase at one time?

In various lots, and at different times; the largest as well as my recollection serves me, not exceeding sixteen in number.

Can you state the proportion of middle aged males and females, and children, in any of these lots?

I cannot exactly ascertain the different numbers, but have made it a practice of purchasing as many females as possible, and have given the preference to young persons.

Did you ever purchase children, and of what age?

The last two lots of Slaves which I purchased immediately from Africa, were all of them under the age, as well as I could judge, of fifteen.

Do you recollect whether any of them, and what number, were much younger?

Many of them were under that age, and only capable of being put to work suitable for children.

Is it usual for lots of Slaves to be formed of all children or all adults; or has each lot commonly a mixture of both?

It is not very common to procure a lot of Slaves consisting of all young persons—nor should I have procured so many, had not a friend wished for grown persons; we therefore accommodated each other.

Are

Are the lots usually formed according to the wish of the planter, or does the feller of the cargo of Slaves form them himself into lots, which the buyer is not allowed to break in upon or alter?

It is in the power of the purchaser to reject such Slaves out of any lot as he may fix upon, and the feller never obliges him to take more than he wishes for—but it often happens under these circumstances the price is raised. In cases where there appears to be a degree of near relationship between the Slaves, I believe they are never separated.

Were there any of the parents or other near relations of the children whom you purchased, in the number of the Slaves which were purchased by your friend?

I am confident there were no near relations separated from each other; but in my lot, there were two sisters, and also two brothers.

Is it generally understood, that the system of breeding Slaves is cheaper than that of purchasing African Negroes?

I presume that a Creole Slave is so much more to be wished for, as being attached to the soil, than an African Slave newly imported, that the expence can never be an object worthy of attention to any planter; although I believe, that by the time a Creole Slave comes to years of maturity, he costs full as much, if not more, than a newly imported African.

You have said you were in the Council in 1784, Can you state what were the reasons for passing the Act, intituled, "An Act for settling and regulating the Trial of Criminal Slaves by Jury?"

The motives for passing such an Act, I believe, originated from all the magistrates thinking it too great an undertaking to sit both as judge and jury on the life of any person.

Had any bad effects been found to result from the modes of trial formerly in use?

Not that I ever heard of.

Was it generally understood that Slaves were protected by the common law of England, against ill usage from their master or other White person?

It certainly was—and it happened to myself, that a Slave of mine