

mine had been ill treated by a young man, without any kind of provocation whatever, and I considered it as my duty to apply to a magistrate for redress; and the man was bound over to appear at the Quarter Sessions—but, through the interest of some of his friends, the matter was made up at the particular request of the Negro, to whom he made such a recompence as the Negro thought sufficient—had not that been the case, I should certainly have prosecuted the matter to the utmost.

Do you recollect the circumstances of this transaction?

I do.—The Slave was a cooper, and was returning from the town of Saint John's to my own estate—the young man very wantonly rode against him, and upon the Slave's remonstrating, he beat him.

Was the Slave much hurt; and how did the circumstances come to your knowledge?

By his immediately applying to me, and relating every particular.—One of his feet was bruised, and he had several marks of a whip over his shoulders.

Do you conceive the regulating act has tended materially to increase the price of Slaves?

From every information I have gained it certainly has.

You have said, that the price of Slaves in general is raised, has the increase been on males and females in an equal proportion?

Having left the West Indies since the year 1788, and from my friends not having purchased any Slaves for me since my departure, I cannot speak accurately to that point.

Do you think the treatment of Negroes in general is better or worse than it used to be formerly?

Speaking within my own knowledge, I do not know any alteration in the mode of treatment.

Have the Moravians and Methodists applied themselves to the conversion of the Negro Slaves in the Island of Antigua?

Both the Moravian and the Methodist preachers have applied themselves very strenuously, and with great success, in the conversion of the Negroes in that Island; and, as they have built
proper

proper places to hold their meetings in, all the Slaves are encouraged by their masters to attend.

What has been the general effect on the Slaves who are converted?

A more decent deportment in their behaviour and religious attendance; and most of them are become Christians.

What was their situation in point of religion, before the Moravians and Methodists came into the Island?

It was a very general custom for the Negroes to attend divine service in all the churches throughout the Island, and they considered themselves as influenced to pursue the doctrine they heard; but from their having had greater attention paid to them by their attendance at the Moravian and Methodist meetings, I am of opinion they are much more enlightened than they formerly were.

Were you ever in any of the French Islands?

I was once at Martinique for a short time.

Were you long enough there to form any judgment of the treatment of Slaves compared with that in our own Islands?

I was not; as I was only in the town at Saint Pierre for one day.

Have the managers often Negro Slaves of their own property?

They have.

How are these employed?

Some in waiting upon the managers themselves, and others are frequently hired out to work with the gang belonging to the estate on which they have the management.

Is the ordinary duration of the lives of Slaves as long as that of Whites or Free Negroes?

Full as long as those of Free Negroes, but not altogether so long as that of Whites that do no labour.—I have known instances of Negroes living to a great age.

Whether the lives of the Slaves may not be shortened by their own debaucheries?

I make no doubt but that Slaves would live much longer than they do, if they were to pursue a less debauched course of life.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

Martis, 16^o die Martii 1790.

Counsel and Witnesses called in as before; and the Witness was further examined by Members of the Committee.

Mr. KERBY. You have said, that on one of your estates, where there is the largest number of Negroes, the quantity of land for the use of the whole gang does not exceed from two to three acres, and on the other estate, about four acres of land; explain that answer?

From the situation of the estate, which is close to the sea side, on which the largest number of Negroes belong, the Negroes are less in want of land than on the other estate, owing to their being most plentifully supplied with fresh fish out of the sea, and from the guts adjoining.

At what age is a young Creole Slave of sound health and constitution generally put to the laborious part of the work of a plantation at Antigua?

At about the age of eighteen.

Is, or is not the Island of Antigua, subject to frequent droughts of long continuance, which are sometimes succeeded by great glutts of rain?

It frequently happens.

Can you state an instance of the longest successive continuance of drought within your memory?

I arrived in the Island of Antigua in February 1780; and I may safely say I do not recollect any rain of consequence falling until the month of October; and I understood, previous to my arrival,

arrival, the Island in general had been in want of rain for many months; and, from letters which I have just received from Antigua, I understand great part of the Island has been in want of rain for many months, and still continued to be in that situation.

Are not epidemical diseases of various kinds frequently the consequence of such a change from drought to moisture?

Yes.

Are or are not these epidemical diseases so fatal as often to occasion great mortality among the inhabitants, as well Whites as Slaves, in spite of all medical assistance?

I understand, that disorders of that kind have lately raged with great violence in the Island of Antigua, and many persons have died—particularly on some estates it has been more fatal; on one in particular, where the number of Slaves amounted to 240, they lost twelve in the course of a very few days; and, at different times, had from twenty to thirty lying dangerously ill.

Do you think it is possible, under such circumstances, for a planter, the most successful in rearing of young Creole Slaves, to carry on his usual cultivation of his estate without interruption, unless he has the assistance of a market for the purchase of new Negroes to supply the occasional losses of Slaves to which he is exposed by these epidemical diseases?

Certainly not.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Doctor SAMUEL ATHILL called in, and examined.

Are you a native of the Island of Antigua?

I am.

When did you first leave the Island?

In 1764.

When did you return to it?

In May 1779.

After you returned to it, in 1779, had you a seat in the Council?

I was in the Assembly for five years, and received His Majesty's mandamus to be of the Council in 1786.

Did

Did you practice in the Island of Antigua as a medical person ?
I did.

What number of estates, and what number of Negroes had you under your care in that capacity ?

I do not recollect the number of the estates, but I had from 8 to 9,000 Negroes under my care.

In what manner were you engaged to attend those Negroes ; and what was the nature of your agreement with the proprietors of those Negroes ?

I received so much per head per annum, and was bound to attend when called upon, exclusive of visiting the estates once or twice a week to enquire after the healths of the Negroes.

When you say bound to attend, do you mean, that you thought it your duty to visit the estates whenever called upon, besides the times you have stated ?

Yes.—I have been at times obliged to visit particular estates twice a day.

Do you mean, without any additional pay ?
Certainly.

Were there any particular disorders, or particular cases, where you received any extraordinary pay ?

Yes—cases of midwifery—we are seldom called upon but in laborious cases.

Are accidents, such as broken legs, included in your agreement ?

Yes.

Are you a proprietor of estates in the Island ?
I have two plantations.

Was it the reputation of the country that, before the year 1779, the estates in general in the Island were properly stocked with Negroes ?

No.

Were the estates, to your knowledge, during your stay in the Island, properly stocked ?

By

By far the greater part were not—some few estates, had, perhaps, more than they required.

From your experience, as a medical person, and as a planter, do you conceive that the births are equal to the deaths?

The births may be equal to the deaths—but the number of Negroes raised do not equal the decrease.

Do you know of any particular disorder which occasions the deaths of children soon after their birth?

Negro children are liable to what is called the jaw-fall, which is, in fact, tetanus, or convulsive cramp.

Have you ever endeavoured to prevent or check the progress of that disorder?

Upon my own estates very few cases of it have occurred, and upon the estates which I attended I was never called to a case of that sort, death takes place so suddenly in general.

Do you ascribe the failure of the rearing of children to the colds and damps to which the mothers expose them in their nocturnal rambles?

It is one great cause.

Is it in the power of a master, by any regulation, or by any orders which he may issue, to prevent the Negro women taking such a course?

I think it is not.—The master shews his disposition to prevent it, by exempting Negro women with young children from throwing grass at night, or doing any other work which the rest of the gang are occasionally forced to do.

Do any other causes occur to you, which you think prevent children arriving to a state of maturity?

The causes are numerous—among them I will state the difference of situation as to the healthiness, or otherwise, of the estate—as to the situation of it being near St. John's Town or English Harbour, as Negroes near these places are more apt to neglect their children—on one of my plantations, which is situated far from town, and at some distance from English Harbour, most of the young children grow up; so that my increase has exceeded my decrease.—On the other estate near English Harbour, I have fewer children born, and raise a very small proportion, from the

excesses that both men and women are constantly exposed to at that port.

On the estates which you have attended, have the masters and proprietors always shewn an anxious attention to the breeding and rearing of the children?

To the rearing of them certainly.

Do you know of any encouragement which the master gives to those women who attend to their children?

A good Negro, after she is once settled, and has had several children, is always careful of them, and she meets with encouragement from her master.

Do you know whether any gratuities are given to midwives?

Many planters give the midwives different rewards upon the birth of children.—I give a dollar to the midwife after she has delivered the woman.

What attention do you, and have you perceived to be given to pregnant women on your own estate, and on those which you attended?

Pregnant women appeared to me in general more likely to be injured from indolence, than from hard work, during their pregnancy—as soon as they find themselves with child, and in many instances long before they are in reality so, they withdraw themselves from work, and I have found a difficulty of even being able to persuade them to attend in the field to look on while the others were working, which I have always insisted upon, to be certain that they were not carrying heavy burthens to market, or doing other injurious work for themselves.

What is the kind of attention which the master, from every observation you have been able to make, pays to the Negroes after they are brought to bed, and during their confinement?

A Negro woman, as soon as she is brought to bed on most estates, chuses the person she most approves of, with a young child at her breast, to attend her during the first nine days.—She is supplied by her master with sugar, oatmeal, or the like, daily; and, in many instances, candles, and other indulgencies.—She never comes to work till a month after her lying-in, and then does not turn out of a morning with the gang, or stay as long in the field in the evening.—She does not go out till after the sun is completely up, and retires before the sun is down—The child is in the
field

field with her, and she attends it whenever it cries; so that in fact, the work of a woman with a young child is very trifling indeed.

Have you always found, in the course of your medical attendance, that the masters were ready to pursue every direction with respect to food, and every comfort necessary for a sick person?

I frequently have ordered wine, animal food, and other indulgences, which I have no reason to think was ever withheld.

Do you remember any extraordinary mortality among the Negroes, in the year 1779.

In the year 1778, 1779, and 1780, the dysentery was epidemic in Antigua, and carried off, during those periods, nearly one-fifth of the slaves on the Island.

Do you know what number of those Negroes which you attended, died, and can you state what were your own losses?

I do not know, but I fear a proportion equal to what was lost on any other part of the Island.—On my plantation on the east part of the island, which was a healthy situation, I lost very few—on my other plantation I lost more.

Was every medical exertion used during the time of the raging of that epidemic disorder, in order to stop its progress?

Certainly—at that time I was connected in business with Doctor Adair, a man of great experience and ability, and whose exertions were very great.

Did you ever know of any complaints ever being made by any of the Negroes of the estates which you attended, of a deficiency of food, of being ill treated, or of having too hard labour imposed upon them?

I have certainly known times when the food was very deficient indeed; but that was an unfortunate period, when from successive years of dry weather, the Island was in a very distressed situation—if the proprietor gave less food, the work must have been less considerable, and his wants kept pace with those of the Slaves.—For the five last years of my residence in the island, it has been in a more flourishing situation, and I have seen no signs of a want of food.

In the year you are speaking of, in which there was that deficiency of food owing to dry weather, were there any prohibitions
to

to the importation of grain and other provisions from any parts from whence supplies usually came?

No—but it was during the wars.

Did the Whites at that time suffer, or undergo any hardship, in consequence of the want of provisions for themselves?

Yes; very great.

Have you in general found the Negroes, in the course of your medical attendance, in health, in spirits, and seeming content, and to be in comfortable houses?

I have; and when I have found houses that did not appear tight, I have represented it to the proprietor or manager, and they have had them repaired.

Were you ever called upon to attend any person out of the numbers of those you have stated you were employed to attend, in consequence of any punishment being inflicted on them?

Never that I recollect.

Had ever a case of this sort happened, is it likely that it must have come to your knowledge?

I think it must—the fact is, punishment for great faults is more frequently inflicted by confining the offender, which he minds more than corporal punishment.

Have you ever observed any indulgences shewn to new Negroes?

Generally they very are much indulged.

Is it your opinion, that there is a proportionate number of female Negroes to breed from?

I should think not, from the deficiency of slaves in the island to do the work of it.

Would the abolition of the Slave Trade increase that difficulty of keeping up the present stock of Slaves?

Certainly—there are some few estates on the island, that without some mortality very unforeseen, may never require an African Slave, but these are few in proportion.

How have those estates been so stocked; has it been by breeding, or by importation from Africa?

By the original mode of purchasing—those estates that are well supplied

supplied with Slaves, I suppose the original proprietor placed most women upon them.

Do you think that the losses sustained in 1779 have been yet repaired?

They have not, to the best of my knowledge—the bad crops, which succeeded for some years, put it out of the power of most planters to purchase, and it has not been till within these two or three years, that many have attempted to supply their losses.

What would have been the consequence had the African Trade been abolished?

Many must have given up the idea of cultivating their estates, as task-work would have been so exorbitantly high as to render it impossible for them to think of having recourse to that means.

When you speak of task-work, are you to be understood to mean, that those Negroes which compose the task gang, would, by being distributed among the estates which sustained the losses in 1779, have enabled them to carry on the cultivation of their estates?

No—I do not—I conclude, from task-work being at £.7. 10s. per acre, when it used to be, before 1779, but at £.4. 10s. that our Island is still very much under handed.

From every observation you have been able to make as a medical man, and as a planter, do you think it possible that the stock of Slaves, small as you say it is at present in the Island, can be kept up by breeding, and without annual supplies from Africa?

I think not—there are some situations so unhealthy, and having other circumstances against them, as to make it doubtful with me, whether by any steps that could be taken, the increase would equal the decrease.

Would the planter prefer breeding to purchasing?

Certainly he would—a Creole gang of Negroes is in much greater estimation than one composed chiefly of Africans.

Do you think the cultivation of estates can be carried on in any other manner than that now practised?

I think it cannot—the number of Slaves required about the works, during crop, could not be supplied by any other persons.

Could Europeans perform any of the services which are necessary in the course of husbandry now practised in the Island?

4 Q

I think

I think they could not—indeed ploughmen, and boys that have been used to follow the plough, have been sent out to estates, where the plough has been made trial of, and they were found unequal to the labour in that climate.

Have you observed whether the Negroes are fond of exposing themselves to the heat of the sun?

They certainly are—I do not recollect I ever heard a Negro complain of heat, though constantly of cold.

Do you think the plough can be used in the Island of Antigua?

I do not—in the situations most favourable for it, where it has been tried, it has been as constantly given up.

Would not the planter most readily adopt any mode, by which the expence attending the maintenance of the Negroes could be lessened, or their labour diminished?

He certainly would adopt any mode to lessen his expences that he could fairly do, and if he could diminish the most laborious part of their work by any substitute, he could employ the Negroes so profitably, in lighter work, that he would gladly do it.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

Enumerate the various services of the gang during crop time, and as nearly as you can, the proportion of hands allotted to each service?

The first work in a morning (at which all the Negroes that can be are mustered) is cutting the cane—when a sufficient quantity of cane is cut to put the mill in the wind, three able men attend in the mill, and five or seven younger persons attend to carry the canes to those men.—When two coppers of cane juice are ground, there are two more strong men called in as firemen, and two in the boiling house—as more juice is collected, more men are called, and there are generally seven men in the boiling house, and four as firemen, on a moderate sized plantation, with nine coppers in the boiling house—there are others about the distillery, amounting in the whole, when all the work is going on with spirit to between twenty and thirty negroes; so that there are few left to cut the canes, drive the cart, and do the other work, except on very well handed estates.

What

What number of hogheads of sugar annually, do you suppose the estate, with nine coppers in the boiling house, of which you are now speaking, may produce?

Two hundred hogheads.

Is the number of Negroes employed in the boiling house proportionate to the size of the estate, to the quantity of produce, or to the number of the gang?

No.—Planters, over rating the value of their property, may have erected buildings calculated for an estate of 200 hogheads, when perhaps their produce does not prove to be 60 hogheads; but still the coppers being there, they are used and attended.—And, it happens that on these properties, where they are likewise weakly handed, the canes are cut one day by the whole strength of the gang, and ground and manufactured the next day.

Is it, or is it not necessary, that the canes should be cut as soon as they are ripe for it, and not remain in that state in the fields?

Certainly—there is a period at which they will be deemed most productive, but from different circumstances, they are left beyond that period, to the great loss of the planter.

Are the canes, or are they not injured by being suffered to remain some time after they are cut before they are ground?

In the course of a few days after they are cut, they turn sour and will not make sugar, but are ground for the purposes of the distillery.

Does it often happen that the same persons who are employed in cutting the canes, are employed also afterwards to a late hour in attending the boiling house?

Yes; but they do not turn out with the gang the next morning to hard labour, in general.

Is, or is not the cutting of the canes one of the most laborious services of the plantation?

It is laborious, but I do not think one of the most laborious, and is performed with such alacrity and good spirits that it seems trifling.

Is it or is it not, such labour as is beyond the strength of women, or of any but adult males?

No—the women cut the canes as well, and with as much apparent

parent ease, as the men.—The young Negroes and women with young children, attend to tie the canes up into bundles as the other Negroes cut them.

With what instruments, and in what manner, are the canes cut ?

With the bill—a good cane may be from five to eight feet long—a Negro strikes at the root, and cuts the cane down, then takes off the top, and if too long to be handily put into the cart he cuts it in two.

By whom is the operation of distilling usually performed, and when does it commence ?

There is generally, upon most estates, an experienced Negro, who has four under him to follow the directions of the manager.—The operation commences ten, fifteen, or twenty days after the first canes are ground.

How long does the operation continue ?

Throughout the crop.

Is it performed commonly under the same roof with the boiling house ?

They are different rooms, sometimes adjoining, sometimes not.

You have said you was a member of the Assembly in 1784; can you state the motives for passing the Act, intituled, “ An Act for settling and regulating the trial of criminal Slaves by “ jury ?”

Prior to that Act two magistrates (one of which being of the quorum) sat in judgment upon Slaves for all crimes.—It was reckoned by the magistrates as a hardship to act as judge and jury, and it was thought that more effectual justice would be done the criminal by his having a jury—the Act was therefore passed, in some measure to relieve the hardship the magistrates complained of, and in behalf of the Slave to be tried.

To what causes do you ascribe the tetanus ?

As it occurs in young children, I ascribe it to premature exposure to cold, but my opinion is, that so many do not die of the tetanus as is thought, even by proprietors—no child dies in the nine days but it is immediately said it had the jaw-fall.—Now, it is natural to suppose that many of these children die from the same causes which carry off the infants of Europeans.

Can you state the quantity of your land, and the number of your gang; distinguishing infants, adults, superannuated, and males and females?

I have 400 acres of land on the windward part of the Island, and 220 Negroes—in Falmouth division, near English harbour, I have 220 acres of land, and from 110 to 115 Negroes.—I cannot state the different ages or qualifications of either gang, nor the proportion of sexes.—At Windward I have about eighty field Negroes, but I cannot say, whether there are most men or most women.

What part of these estates respectively is in cane, and what in provision ground, or in other allotments?

About 200 acres in cane land at Windward, about 30 acres in provision ground, the rest pasture—at Falmouth about 100 acres in cane land, about twenty acres in provision ground, and the rest pasture—besides in the provision ground strictly speaking, yams and eddoes are annually raised in the cane land.

Is the provision ground worked in gross by the whole gang, or is it subdivided amongst the Slaves in proportion to every one's family or otherwise?

Some of the provision ground is cultivated with Guinea corn by the whole gang, and the produce stored on the estate, and distributed on allowance days—the cultivation of the rest is divided in a certain proportion to each Negro.

What on your own estate was the proportion allowed per head?

Having so much land, my grounds in general were larger than common; and some industrious Negroes had several patches in different parts—I do not immediately recollect the quantity at the first distribution, but I think it was seventy feet square per head—I repeat however, that they cultivated more if they pleased.

What was the ordinary allowance in addition to the produce of their peculiar provision grounds given to the Slaves per head?

From eight to twelve measures of grain per head per week, each measure containing about a pint—of yams (when that was the allowance) from twenty-six to thirty pounds per week to each Negro—Negroes who are observed to look ill are fed twice or thrice a day—at their dinner they have a very full meal.

Is this allowance ever given them at times when their own grounds are in crop?

Always.

What proportion do you imagine the produce of their own grounds bears to the allowance of food received from their masters?

The produce of their grounds is so various from weather, and from the attention the individual pays to it, that I cannot speak with precision to that question.

Does this produce form a material part of their sustenance?

From the produce of their grounds, their goats, hogs, and poultry, an industrious family not only live well but dress well.

To what purposes is the produce allotted of the pasture ground on your estate, of which you have lately spoken?

To the feeding of cattle, mules, and sheep.

What number of Negroes is ordinarily required to attend this part of the estate?

It depends on the numbers of the cattle and mules—a large herd of cattle, generally has two men and two young boys to attend them; the mules, one man; and the sheep, two boys?

Was the number employed on your pasture ground commonly greater or less than what you have now spoken of?

Less by one man at Windward—on the other estate, I kept no sheep, and one man and two boys were sufficient to attend the cattle and mules.

Does it require an able field Negro to do the man's part of this service?

It does, and one whose ability and attention you have confidence in.

You have stated, that on some estates the provision ground is frequently changed; with what view are these changes made?

The potatoe cultivated by the Negroes, is thought with us to exhaust the land more than any other root, and where the grounds are frequently changed, it is on plantations consisting almost entirely of cane land, and it is found advantageous both for the proprietor and the Negro to make these exchanges once in two or three years—the Negroes are always pleased with the exchange, as their returns are certainly greater in the new land.

If at any time the Negroes peculiar provision ground fails in its produce, is the allowance of food increased, and is such failure frequent?

Such

Such failure is frequent, and the allowance is encreased in consequence of that failure.

Do you recollect the maximum to which the allowance has been encreased under these circumstances?

I never gave, as a general allowance, more than twelve pints, but have had many applications in the week for further assistance, which I generally complied with.

What do you take to be the expence of the maintenance for Slaves per head annually?

I should suppose some where from five to eight pounds currency—in the war it was full the latter sum.

What do you take to have been the ordinary annual decrease of Slaves in the Island of Antigua?

On my own property at Falmouth, I have placed twenty Negroes within the last nine years, and the number does not now exceed what it was then.—At Windward my increase is greater than my decrease.

What was the greatest number of Slaves you ever purchased at one time?

I never purchased but eight African Slaves, and those were in one lot.

Do you recollect the ages of the different Slaves whereof that lot consisted?

I suppose they might have been all of the same age, about fifteen years old—seven males and one female.

From what part of the coast did they come?

From the Windward or Gold Coast.

Is it generally believed that it is more profitable for the planter to go on the system of breeding, than on that of purchasing African Negroes?

I do not know that I ever heard it doubted.

During the scarcity of which you have before spoken, were there any, and what attempts, made to procure supplies and provisions?

There were constant attempts made to procure supplies, and large supplies were ordered to be sent out from Great Britain.

Were

Were attempts made to procure provisions from any of the neighbouring Islands?

Yes; and quantities were obtained from Saint Eustatius, not good in their kind, and exorbitantly dear.

Of what species were these articles?

Beans, flour, and Indian corn.

Were any ground provisions attempted to be had from the neighbouring Islands?

The difficulty was very great owing to the war, as vessels could not go from Island to Island, without being taken by privateers.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 17^o die Martii 1790.

Counsel and Witnesses called in as before;

Dr. ATHILL. And the Witnesses desired to explain his former evidence; when he stated that the annual expence of the maintenance of Slaves per head, was from five to eight pounds currency. Upon further recollection, he wishes to state it from five to eight pounds sterling; and full the latter sum during the time of the late war.

And then he was further examined by the Members of the Committee.

Do you make this correction in consequence of referring to any documents or papers?

No—but upon reflecting more seriously on a calculation made by the late Alderman Oliver, and which he had frequently communicated to me.

What were the principal articles of the Slave's maintenance on which this increase took place during the war?

On

On every article of food, and the freight and insurance from Europe.

Enumerate the various species of ground provisions and produce.

The yam with us I consider the most material—we raise besides, eddoes, potatoes, plantanes, Guinea corn, and American corn.

What are the situations and soil adapted to each of these species of produce?

The yam is most productive in a light soil, of which the east, north east, and north west sides of the country chiefly is composed. The eddoe thrives best in a stronger or clay soil. Corn grows in either; but the plantanes thrive best in rich and moist bottoms, or near rivulets.

Has or has not every plantation whatever, be the nature of its soil what it may, some or other of these articles in cultivation?

Yes—to the best of my knowledge.

Are the causes which prove injurious to any one of these articles of ground provisions equally injurious to all?

It sometimes happens, that in the same plantation the piece of yams may be nearly destroyed in one or two nights by worms, and the piece of potatoes nearly adjoining escape, and vice versa; but the worm is destructive to all those species of provisions, the plantains only excepted, which, from the nature of our Island, however, is not advantageously cultivated as a material article of food.

If the ground provisions unexpectedly fail, whither can the planter resort for provisions for his Negroes in this emergency?

Planters in general have a quantity of beans from England, which, from their being kiln dried, keep a long time—they are therefore preserved for the emergency—but in times of peace, I never knew Indian Corn deficient altogether at market.

How long will these beans keep without being materially injured?

If properly put up, for many months.

What causes are peculiarly injurious to the Indian corn?

The weevil; and it very soon gets musty.

Was the shutting up of the American ports attended with considerable disadvantages to the West India Islands.

Very great, and the expence of grain from America now, is upon an average perhaps nearly double what it was before the war—before the war, a merchant would contract to supply a planter with grain at five shillings a bushel—he now requires eight shillings and three pence or nine shillings.

Do you apprehend the Slaves have felt the inconvenience of this measure in the diminution of the food allowed them?

I do not—I believe the Slaves in Antigua never were better fed than for the last five years.

Has the lack of supply from the American market been furnished from this country, or have more ground provisions been cultivated?

The yam and eddoe have been more extensively cultivated—larger quantities of beans have been ordered out from England, but there has always been American grain at market, at, as I before stated, a higher price than formerly.

Is the ground provision less liable to be injured by bad seasons than the sugar cane?

No.

Is it so far injured by the same causes, and generally in so equal a degree, that from the diminished produce in sugar, one may guess at the degree in which provisions also have failed?

The weather required to bring canes to maturity, and that to bring any one species of provisions mentioned, is so different that I think no inference can be drawn upon the subject.

What kinds of weather then are peculiarly beneficial or detrimental to both?

Regular seasons of rain are requisite for bringing the cane to maturity—less rain will do for the yam, but that requires critical rains in October, when it is appling—the eddoe requires much rain.—I think the American corn that we grow, from its great uncertainty, costs more than what we purchase.

What sorts of weather are most beneficial or detrimental to the pasture?

Our

Our pastures are soon burnt from dry weather, and constant rains are best for them.

Is Guinea grass, or any other species of artificial grass grown in the island of Antigua?

Guinea grass is cultivated for the use of the stables and mules.

Does the observation which you made have respecting the weather, desirable for pasture ground, extend to this last species of produce?

The Guinea grass being cultivated in intervals between cane pieces, and in particular spots, and more attended to than the general pasture, grows with less rain, but continued dry weather in many instances kills it entirely.

Have there been any material improvements in the œconomy and management of a sugar plantation of late years?

I do not know that there have.

In case a law were to pass in this country, prohibiting the importation of Negroes into the West India Islands, can you form any judgment of the increased rate at which it might be possible to introduce them from any of the neighbouring islands?

I cannot; but I suppose it would be very considerable.

What is the ordinary duration of the lives of Slaves, compared with that of the lives of White Men, in the West Indies and in Europe?

Slaves live full as long in the West Indies as White people—on most estates old age is spent in a comfortable and easy way.

How are the old Slaves employed?

When once they deem themselves superannuated they are not employed for their master—before that period their work is light—they act as assistant nurses to take care of the sick, and the young children, and in some instances wash or cook for the overseers.

How many either of the first or second description of aged slaves had you on your two plantations?

I had fifteen or sixteen of the first description at Windward, being an old settled estate, and the gang chiefly Creoles—on the other estate I had not above two, the Negroes there, being near English Harbour, lead a more debauched and irregular life than
the

the others, and therefore neither are so healthy or live so long—of the second class I cannot say how many I had.

What is the office of watchman, and by whom is it performed?

They protect the yams, canes, and provisions from being stolen—it is performed by able field Negroes?

Is the office always performed by able field Negroes?

An old Negro sometimes lives in the Negro grounds, and in the plantane walks, as watchman; and in those cases they make their huts more permanent and comfortable than the common watch houses are.

Has the late price of Slaves risen on males and females in an equal proportion?

I believe it has.

What was formerly, and is now, the situation of Slaves in Antigua as to religion?

Formerly, I believe, the Slaves thought little of religion, and were few of them Christians—they now in great numbers attend the different churches and meeting houses, and I believe are most of them baptised.

What causes have chiefly operated in the production of this change?

The settlement of the Moravians and Methodists amongst us—the former have two very good chapels, are very attentive to their congregation, and lead an exemplary life—the latter I have not been so much in the way of seeing.

Are instances of Negroes attaining old age common or rare in Antigua?

Very common.

Are those Negroes who are rendered incapable of labour by old age or disease ever abandoned for that reason by their owners?

I never knew an instance of it.

In the course of your observation and practice on those estates, whose Slaves you had the medical care of, had you ever an occasion

tion to apply any relief to a Slave who had been immoderately punished?

Never.

Is it probable that if a Slave had at any time received an immoderate correction, you should not have attained the knowledge of it from some of the Slaves belonging to the plantation, even if the manager or proprietor had concealed it from you?

I think I must have known it—they are fond of relating their grievances.

You have said, that on some estates the canes are cut one day and ground the next, is that by choice or necessity; and if the latter, whence does that necessity arise?

From necessity; and is occasioned in some instances by the distance of the cane pieces from the mill, but in by far the greater number from the planter not having sufficient Negroes to supply the sugar works and the field at the same time.

Is or is not this method attended by considerable disadvantages to the planter?

By very considerable disadvantages.

As far as your knowledge and observation extend, are the plantations in Antigua, with which you are best acquainted, in general supplied with a sufficient number of Negroes already, in proportion to the quantity of land they have to cultivate?

They are not.

In your opinion, can this deficiency be supplied by the utmost care and attention in the rearing of Creole Negroes, and without the assistance of a fresh supply of new Negroes from Africa?

I do not think it possible by any means to supply the loss, but by occasional importations.

Is, or is it not practicable, in your opinion, to cultivate the lands in Antigua by the labour of Europeans or other White people, even if a sufficient number of them could be had?

I think it is impracticable—their constitutions have never been found equal to hard labour in that climate—the plough has been tried on estates under my care, and I never knew the ploughman, who was a White man, hold out long at the labour, without being taken ill.

Did you ever know a Black ploughman in Antigua?
I never did.

To what peculiarity in the West India climate do you ascribe the impossibility of a White man performing the labour of a plantation?

The excessive heat.

Have you ever made any observation as to the average height of the thermometer in Antigua?

I never made a course of observations, but I believe it is generally near eighty of Fahrenheit.

Have not most plantations a White overseer on them?
Several.

What is the kind of labour that they do on the plantation?

They turn out with the Negroes in a morning, call a list, and see that they are all engaged in their respective works; and one of them attends the great gang in the field part of the forenoon, when, from the excessive heat of the sun they retire; and if this work was carrying on far from his residence, he has a mule to ride home on—in the afternoon he calls the list again, and attends to overlook the work.

Do you think that the constitution of any white overseer you ever saw, could sustain the labour of digging cane holes, and the other work of a plantation which is generally assigned to the Negroes?

I never saw the person I thought capable of undergoing it.—I am certain they could not stand the office of fireman, or boiler.

How do White domestic servants in general bear the heat of the West India climate?

White domestic servants have so many Negroes about them to do their work, that they soon become gentlemen themselves, and I believe are generally deemed, after trial, useless.

Are their constitutions found to suffer from the work they undergo?

I never knew but two instances of gentlemen in Antigua having White men servants—in both they became sots, and were sent back to England in a few months—I therefore cannot say
that

that I ever knew their constitutions injured by the work they did.

Are there White blacksmiths, or any other White manufacturers of iron in Antigua?

There are.

How do they undergo the climate?

For one White blacksmith in a shop there are three Blacks, who do the laborious work under the direction of the White man—White blacksmiths are by no means healthy, and I know no instance of their living very long.

Is, or is not the operation of cutting down the cane for the mill so easy, as that frequently more than one cane comes down by a single stroke of the bill?

Yes.

Is, or is not the crop time a season wherein the Slaves are in general more chearful and healthy than at any other, although they may be more busily or constantly employed in that season?

Beyond all comparison so.—A long crop leaves our Negroes in a state of strength and health, very different from their state after a short one.

Is or is it not the generally prevailing custom in Antigua, in crop time, to cool down the coppers every night soon after sun set, and to cease the operation of sugar making for the remainder of the night, and until after sun rising the next morning?

We cool down every night, but not immediately after sun set—we seldom begin boiling before sun rise—the hour of cooling down varies, and may be upon an average, at about nine or ten o'clock.

Does not this give the Slaves an opportunity of enjoying a proper proportion of rest every night, if they chuse to retire to it?

It does.

Of whom in general do the inhabitants of towns in Antigua, who have no plantations of their own, purchase the grass, and other green provender, with which they feed their horses?

Of the Slaves resident on the plantations in the neighbourhood
of

of the town, who carry it in at noon and in the evening, and sell it.

What will it cost such an inhabitant to feed a horse per day in that manner, exclusive of oats?

At least two shillings and three pence.—I believe more.

What does that amount to in sterling money?

About one shilling and six-pence.

Is the quantity so sold by the Slaves considerable?

Very considerable.

How are such inhabitants ordinarily supplied with poultry, pork, vegetables, and fruits?

By the managers of plantations, and some proprietors who make it an object; but chiefly, I believe, by the Slaves—some poultry is likewise imported from America.

How are His Majesty's land forces, and ships of war, chiefly supplied with the above articles of fresh provisions?

In the same manner as the inhabitants of the town.

Have or have not the Slaves the entire dominion and property in whatever they acquire by their own personal industry and savings, and without the controul of their masters?

They have.

Did you ever know or hear of an instance of a proprietor of a Slave in any shape interfering with the property of a Slave so acquired?

I never did.

From the observation you have made of the labour, treatment, and general state and condition of the Slaves in Antigua, compared with that of the common labouring people in England, is it your opinion that the former or the latter enjoy the greater comfort in their respective relative stations?

I have no hesitation in declaring I think the situation of the Negro and his family happier, and much more free from cares, miseries, and mortifications, than that of the peasant in many parts of this country.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

ALEXANDER

ALEXANDER WILLOCK, Esquire, called in, and examined.

Of what country are you a native?
Of Ireland.

Have you ever been in the Island of Antigua?
Yes.

How long did you reside there?
Thirty-six years.

When did you return to England?
In 1781.

While you resided in Antigua, were you proprietor of any estates, or had you the management of estates of those who were absent from the Island as attorney, or otherwise?

I was a proprietor of estates, and attorney for others.

Is it your opinion that a few, or many estates in the Island, had their complement of Slaves?

Most of the estates in the Island were deficient in Slaves.

Were they so deficient previous to the year 1779?

They were always deficient, but more so after that fatal year.

Were your estates fully handed previous to the year 1779?

Yes.

How did you first stock your estates; was it by purchase of Slaves out of the cargo arriving from Africa, or was it by the increase on such estates?

I mostly purchased, and had an increase till the year 1779, by births.

In the year 1779, do you remember any extraordinary disorder prevailing in the Island, by which a number, and what number of Slaves were carried off?

I had on two estates of my own upwards of 500 Negroes, out of which I lost fifty by fluxes.

Can you state what was the general loss?

It was computed at 4,500, or upwards.

In what time do you suppose that those losses were sustained?

The great mortality which happened on my estates began in August, and continued till November. I have the list of Negroes which I brought with me from Antigua, and the Names of those who died.

Have the losses in general, in your opinion, been in any, and what degree supplied?

I happened to have so many Negroes of my own, that I wanted no supply.

Question repeated.

There have been several Negroes imported since; but there is still a great deficiency.

Had not those cargoes arrived, what would have been the consequence?

The consequence would have been, that a great quantity of Sugar which has been since made, would not have been made.

Suppose the Island should be so unfortunate as to be again attacked with the same disorder, which committed such ravages in the year 1779, and the possibility of procuring Slaves from Africa was prevented, what would be the consequence?

Several persons must abandon their estates.

Have you had any late accounts from the Island of Antigua?

Yes.

Of what nature are they with respect to the health of the Slaves when such accounts came away?

In December and January, remarkably sickly, and several persons lost a great many of their Slaves.

Do you mean last December and January?

Yes.

Have you the account of the losses of Slaves of any particular estate sustained at the above time?

Yes.

Have

Have you any account of that sort about you ?
 I have an extract of a letter from Mr. Lovell, a Gentleman of character, to his wife.

From whom did you receive that extract ?
 From Mr. Kender Mafon.

Who is Mr. Kender Mafon ?
 Mr. Lovell's son-in-law.

Is his mother-in-law now living with him ?
 Yes.

Do you believe that this extract is taken from a letter written by Mr. Lovell, now residing in the Island of Antigua, to his wife ?

I have not the least doubt of it.

Then the said extract was delivered in, and read, as follows :

“ Extract of a Letter from Mr. Lovell, dated Antigua, 14th January 1790.

“ It is with concern I now advise, that through the
 “ month of December, it was dreadful sickly amongst the Negroes through the whole Island ;
 “ but proved more fatal upon some estates than upon others ; their first complaints were severe
 “ coughs and pains in the stomach, which soon terminated in inveterate pleurifies, that in many
 “ instances carried off the Negroes before medicine could have effect ; though where we could venture,
 “ we bled immediately, and blistered upon their first complaining : at Mr. Brookes's, Pope's
 “ Head estate, we lost twelve in the course of a few days. It was really expected at one time, a
 “ full third of the gang would have been swept off, having seldom fewer than from thirty to
 “ forty down together at the Wood estate ; we also lost four, and of my own two ; one was taken
 “ speechless in three or four hours after he complained, and died in forty-eight hours, in strong
 “ convulsions,

“ convulsions, without uttering a syllable the whole
“ time.

“ N. B. On Mr. Brookes's, Pope's Head estate,
“ there were 240 Negroes.”

During the sickness which prevailed in the year 1779, was there every kind of attention shewn to the Negroes who were sick, both with respect to medical assistance, and every other kind of attention which is shewn on such occasions ?

Yes—I called in the assistance of two surgeons (besides the surgeon belonging to the estate) and I told them they could not put me to too much expence in the service of the Negroes.—I paid every attention to them in my power, and spared no expence.

Is it your opinion, that estates in general have a sufficient number of females to breed from ?

No—I do not think they have in general.—I purchased a great many women.

Suppose the African Slave Trade to be abolished, and that deficiency of women could be supplied from Africa, would it considerably tend to prevent the natural increase ?

Certainly.

Do you think, from your long experience, and long residence in the island, that it is possible by any attention, by any encouragement, or by any regulation the master can give or lay down, that the present stock of Slaves could be kept up by breeding alone ?

I think not.

Do you conceive, that it is more for the interest of the planter to keep up his stock by breeding rather than by purchase ?

Certainly by breeding—We reckon one Creole Negro bred upon the estate to be worth three Salt Water Negroes (that is to say) imported Africans.

Are the Negroes in general fed, clothed, and lodged, at the expence of their masters ?

Yes.

How are they fed ?

We generally feed them upon corn, beans, herrings, and rice—
at particular times we give them pork, flour, biscuit, or beef.

Besides

Besides the allowance of the master, do you allow them grounds to raise provisions upon?

Yes—and I generally give my Negroes an afternoon in every week to work for themselves.

Are there other times in the week in which they have opportunities of employing themselves in their grounds?

They are allowed an hour and an half for dinner time, and frequently take an opportunity during that time to work in their grounds—that afternoon, which I give them once a week, is with an intention for them to work in their grounds purposely.

Do they dispose of the produce of their grounds, and for whose advantage or benefit do they so dispose of it?

Entirely for their own.

Do they raise stock of any, and what kind?

We permit them to keep as many fowls and hogs as they chuse.

Do they dispose of such stock—and is that also for their own benefit?

Yes.

Do you know of any instance or instances where Negro slaves have accumulated any, and what sums of money?

I have known several instances—a Negro woman of my own purchased two slaves of me.

Do you know of any instance where a Negro Slave has been tendered his freedom by his master, and such tender rejected?

Yes—I have had a Slave of my own called Derry, who refused his freedom.

Did he state to you any reasons for such refusal?

He did—he said White people would beat him, and he should have no master to apply to.

Do you know any instance of a Negro Slave living to a considerable old age?

Many.

What part of the cultivation of an estate do you conceive to be the most laborious to a Negro?

Throwing out dung in baskets.

Describe the basket, the weight, and the manner in which it is carried.

To the best of my recollection the basket with the dung weighs about twenty-five pounds.

Is that the greatest weight that the master requires a Negro to carry?

No, by no means—a firkin of butter will weigh seventy pounds.

When they are carrying this dung, do they do it with ease to themselves?

They always work very chearfully on those occasions, for I generally give them grog?

What kind of houses do their masters generally build for them?

The houses are in general from twenty-five to thirty feet long, with two rooms in them.

Does the master provide them with cabins or places to sleep upon?

Yes.

Does he provide them with covering or cloathing?

Yes.

And then the Counsel and Witnes were directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 18^o die Martii 1790.

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

Mr. WILLOCK. Do you consider the produce of an estate to depend in any degree on the number of hands employed upon it?

Yes—I purchased an estate that had 120 Negroes on it, when I bought it—I have now upon that estate 350 Negroes.—At the time I purchased the estate it made about seventy hogheads of fugar, upon an average, per annum, and now makes 150 hogheads upon an average.

Is

Is it to be understood then, that the difference of the above produce is to be considerably attributed to the increase of the number of Negroes on that estate?

Most assuredly.

Do you think that child-bearing is in any manner obstructed by excessive labour or ill treatment?

By no means.—I indulge my women, when they declare their pregnancy, from all manner of hard labour.

Are women that are confined provided with every necessary for their situation, during their lying-in?

Every indulgence is given to them, and they have any Negroes they choose to wait upon them, during that time; and I give the midwife a dollar, or eight shillings and three pence currency, for every child that lives nine days.

Does the master endeavour all in his power to preserve children that are so born?

Most assuredly.

What effect do you think that the abolition of the Slave trade would have on the minds of the Negroes?

I dread that more than any thing upon earth.—Should our present Negroes, now in Slavery, once have an idea, that there were to be no more Negroes imported from Africa, I think there would be an insurrection amongst them, and that they would cut the throats of all the White people.—I reckon, upon a calculation, in the Island of Antigua, that there are fifteen Negroes to one White man.

Have you ever discovered any alteration in the behaviour of the Negroes upon the arrival of a ship from Africa?

Negroes in the Island, of the country from which the ship's cargo comes, are very highly pleased.

Do you think that the plough can be used in the Island?

When I was in England in 1770, I was acquainted with Mr. Baldwyn, who recommended to me to carry out some ploughs, and I took two; but they did not succeed.

Do you think, from your long experience in the Island, and the knowledge of the climate, that it is possible to carry on the cultivation of the land by Europeans, or other White people?

It

It is impossible—from the heat of the climate no White people can stand the field work.

Have you ever employed any White person during your residence in the Island, in any course of husbandry or in gardening?

No—I have known other persons have done so; but they have been obliged to give it up in general—the common people will always get so drunk, that there is not the least dependance upon them.

When you speak of other persons who have employed White people, was it in the garden, or was it in the cultivation of the estate?

In the garden particularly; I never knew a White person dig a cane hole in my life.

You have spoken of the Negroes carrying dung in baskets being the usual mode of manuring the land—can that manure be carried to the cane holes in carts, or on horses, or other cattle?

No—it would destroy our cane holes, were carts to run over them to drop the dung.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

Can you inform the Committee, what was the quantity of land in your several estates, and what the number of your gang in them respectively?

I have two sugar plantations in the Island of Antigua in my own possession—one in the Body Division—the quantity of land is 450 Acres; on which estate I have 350 Slaves—I have another estate in Pope's Head Division, consisting of 130 acres and 100 Slaves.

When did these estates come into your possession; and what was then the state of them, and the number of Negroes on them respectively?

In 1768, I bought the Body Division estate, which then had 120 Negroes on it.—In 1777 I purchased the Pope's Head Division estate, which had then 130 Slaves on it.—I lost in 1779, twenty-five Slaves from the last estate, who died of the flux.

At what period or periods did you complete the number of your Slaves on those two estates respectively?

In

In the year 1768, I purchased the first estate, and have from that time to 1781, when I left Antigua, been constantly supplied with Negroes—I have purchased no new Negroes for the latter estate, having sufficient Negroes to work it—the land being light and easy to work.

Can you state the number of males and females on your two estates respectively?

I cannot for a certainty, but when I purchased new Negroes I generally purchased a large quantity of young women.

Do you think the number of your females was equal to that of your males?

No—the portion of males is more—as we are obliged to have men for boilers, tradesmen, carters, and watchmen.

Can you state the number of your infants, adults, and aged or superannuated?

I cannot immediately recollect; but I generally reckon, upon an old settled plantation, that we are very fortunate if we have two thirds workers on the whole estate (including the grass gang) from six or seven years to fifty five years of age.

Of this estimated one third (which consists of infants under six years old, and aged persons above fifty-five) what proportion is commonly of this latter description?

I suppose about one-fifth.

Can you state the average number of your births on your two estates respectively?

I cannot recollect at present.—I certainly can make myself master of the births till 1781, by looking over my papers; but since I came to England in 1781, I never have had a regular list of births and deaths on my estates sent home to me.—I keep a regular set of books in Antigua, and I have a copy of the day books sent me home, which I form a set of books from in this country—these books contain mercantile transactions, and not those of the plantations.

What number of Negroes did you ever purchase at one time?

I have purchased a lot of fifty Negroes out of one cargo, which is the most I ever bought at one time.

Did you ever purchase young Negroes, and how young?

4 Y

I always

I always confine myself to the purchase of young Negroes, as much as lies in my power, from ten to twenty-five years of age, but were there any old parents amongst the lot, I always purchased them.

Did it not often happen that old parents were with them?

It frequently happened that they claimed relationship, and I never made a division of them in my life—I acted as factor for all the Negroes that I purchased, and I never suffered any division in a family to be made by any other purchaser, that came within my knowledge.

In what manner then did you form the lots, to prevent the separation of parents and children?

When a purchaser had laid out a lot of twenty Negroes, or of any given number, we generally discovered if there were any other relations in the cargo which were not in that lot, and I always insisted on the purchasers giving up them or buying the whole.

Did you generally buy Negroes from any particular part of the coast?

My greatest purchases were from the Gold Coast; but I bought Windward Coast, and Bonny Negroes.

What part of your estates was in canes, and what in provisions or other allotments, when you first came into possession of them, and when you left the island?

To the first estate purchased in 1768, I have made no alteration in the plan—the same quantity is in cane land, pasture, and Negro grounds, as when I first came into possession of it—but my increase of quantity of sugar is considerably more, as I added 230 Slaves since I purchased the estate—there are on this estate 250 acres of cane land, and 200 acres of pasture, provision and Negro ground—the second estate is exactly in the same situation as when I purchased it—consists of 130 acres of land, ninety of which are in cane, and forty in provision, pasture, and Negro ground.

Can you state what quantity of land on the two estates respectively is in provision ground for the Negroes, either in gross, or divided in separate shares?

I think upon the first plantation, there are from ten to fifteen acres in Negro ground—and I frequently give a cane piece of land, containing about ten acres, for the Negroes to plant what provisions they chuse in, which is laid out by the manager in proportion,
according

according to the family of the Negro; and the same is done with respect to the Negro ground, which is also laid out in separate allotments; and I give the Negroes one afternoon in every week to work their own grounds.—On the small plantation there are about ten acres of Negro ground laid out as above.

Have you made any considerable addition to your works and buildings, in consequence of your great increase of produce?

In 1772 we had a violent hurricane, and I had the misfortune of having almost all my works blown down—in consequence of which I was obliged to build a complete new set of works, having lost the whole of my works except the windmill.

Were these considerably larger than your former works?

Yes.

You have stated, that the proportion of your produce has increased with your increasing stock of Negroes; will you state the means whereby this increase of your gang has had this effect?

By adding 220 Slaves to the gang of the estate, and thirty mules, I was enabled to manure the estate very high, and every attention was paid to the improvement of it.—I have now brought it to such a state as to produce from seventy to one hundred and fifty hogheads of sugar per annum, on an average of seven years.

Are the cane holes made in strict parallel lines?

Yes.

What is the width between these lines?

We leave a space sometimes of two feet between the lines, and sometimes double that distance.

What was the ordinary allowance of provisions you made to your Negroes?

The working Negroes generally had from twelve to fourteen pints of corn, per week, with about five herrings, and the others from eight to ten pints of corn, with about four herring per week—I generally fed about one third of my whole gang out of what we call the pot—I reckon, upon a calculation, that the people so fed have about twenty-one pints of corn or beans, per week, with some herrings, beef, or pork, mixed in the pot—and sometimes we give rice for breakfast and dinner; the proportion of that is supposed to be deducted out of the twenty-one pints.

Had those who were fed from the pot any provision ground?

The

The stoutest of them had.—My reason for feeding so many out of the pot was a direction given to the overseers, that when the Negroes went to their breakfast in the field, if every Negro did not bring something to eat, I immediately took away his allowance; and fed him from the pot—though the quantity of provisions they got by being fed from the pot was much more, yet it was a disgrace to them, and they disliked it exceedingly, as they conceived themselves treated like new Negroes.

Was the excess over the usual allowance which the Negroes got from being fed from the pot, equal to the produce of the ordinary allotment of provision ground?

I dare say it was considerably more.—Negroes who are near to the towns have an opportunity of picking grass, and carry it to market to sell;—for each bundle they get from two pence to six pence sterling.

Was the general allowance of food to the Slaves in Antigua equal to that which you gave on your own estates?

No—but on the estates immediately under my direction I kept it up as much as possible.

Did the shutting up the intercourse between the Islands and North America produce any effect on the Negroes sustenance?

None with me—I never gave an ounce the less, though I have often paid three times the price for the article.

Specify the various species of ground provisions?

Yams, eddoes, Guinea, and Indian corn, potatoes, and cassada.

If these at any time unexpectedly fail, whence does the planter supply his Negroes with a sufficient quantity of food?

The quantity of provisions that I give to my Negroes, with indulgences, are very sufficient to support them without any addition from their Negro ground.

Do all the species of ground provisions often fail?

Very often in dry weather, which we are very subject to.

What is the most hardy species of ground provisions?

Cassada, and India and Guinea corn.

Was it in your time the general practice to allow the Negroes one afternoon to themselves?

No.

What

What do you conceive to be the average expence of the maintenance of your Negroes per head, including all charges ?

That will require some calculation that I am not master of at this moment, but I will readily give it in at some future period.

What was the legal protection generally understood to be enjoyed by a Slave from ill-usage on the part of his master, or any other person ?

Heretofore I do not recollect that there was any particular protection given to the Slave, but since my return to this country, I am told there is an Act in the island, that white persons ill using a Slave are brought to sessions, if the proprietor chuses to prosecute them.

Do you recollect any instances of Slaves suffering for want of such a law ?

I do not.

Do you recollect any instances of Slaves being beat by White persons, not their masters, without legal redress ?

Yes—but the Negro Slaves are now much better treated by their masters, than when I was first in the island in the year 1745 ; and their own good behaviour deserves it, as they are grown much more civilized, and frequently on a Sunday go to church and methodist meetings.

What has been the attention paid to the religious instruction of the Slaves by the regular clergy, before and since the efforts of the Moravians and Methodists ?

I went two or three times myself to a Methodist meeting ; and their instructions were to the Slaves, to be attentive and obedient to their masters, and gave them a good deal of advice—as to the regular clergy, I never knew any particular attention that they paid to the slaves.

What is the situation of Free Negroes in the Island of Antigua ?

In my own opinion, a humane master cannot do a worse thing by the Negro than to give him his freedom.

Can you state the number of Negroes whom you employed in the capacity of nurses, and in other services out of the field ?

Thirty-three on the Body Division estate ; and I kept no domestic Negroes on the other estate.

Did you loose many infants by the disorder called the tetanus, or locked jaw ?

I was very fortunate in rearing most of my Negro children, from the great encouragement which I gave to themidwives, and from the great attention paid to the lying-in woman ; for she was indulged with rice and fugar, and every other necessary that could be thought of for a woman in that state ; and Negroes were appointed, of her own election, to attend her and her child.

You have said you resided thirty-six years in Antigua ; was it a continued residence, or interrupted for any long time ?

In 1770, I came to England, and was absent from Antigua about eighteen months.

Do the surgeons of African ships practice any artifice to conceal the diseases of the new Negroes, or to give them a false appearance of health, preparatory to the sale of them ?

Not to my knowledge.

What is the sort of work in a plantation to which young Negroes of six or seven years old are put ?

They are generally put under the care of a careful old woman, who goes out with them, and they pick little bundles of grafs, merely to keep them out of idleness.

State the different employments of the thirty-three slaves you had about your house ?

Five footmen, two cooks, eight washerwomen, three sempstresses, five small stock-keepers, two grooms, six women with child, and two superannuated females.

Had you a house in town as well as in the country ?

No.

Have you a house of trade now in Antigua ?

Yes.

Do the books which you say you have regularly transmitted to you from thence, relate solely to your mercantile transactions, or do they include the journals of the management and state of your plantations also.

They relate only to my own private affairs—and not to my mercantile business now carrying on in Antigua, that being a partnership

ship account.—I have no list of Negroes sent me regularly, nor of the work done on the plantations.

You account for the increase of the produce of your estates from the additional quantity of manure you are able to give them, in consequence of the number of Negroes and mules you have added since the purchase of them; did or did not this increase of Negroes and mules also enable you to plant a greater quantity of canes annually than your predecessor did?

Yes.

Do you mean to say that Negro provisions are not become more scarce and dear in the Island since the stopping of the former intercourse between Antigua and the states of North America, than they were before?

To speak of that in a mercantile line, I say the price has advanced 150 per cent. on an average.

Is or is there not a considerable traffic carried on by the Slaves on plantations, which are in the neighbourhood of the several towns in Antigua, and the inhabitants of such towns who have no plantations of their own?

Yes—all the Slaves in the neighbourhood of the towns and English Harbour, have a good deal of trade by selling their small stock, yams, garden stuff, and hogs.

Do not the Slaves supply the king's land troops and ships of war with those articles?

Yes.

Is not the property thus acquired by the Slaves considered as inviolably their own, and never meddled with by their masters?

By all means; and I will give the strongest reason for it—Negroes of my own have purchased Slaves of me.

You have stated that the Slaves in Antigua have been very much attended to by the Moravian and Methodist preachers; do you know, or did you ever hear, that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts ever took any pains to convert the Slaves in that Island?

Yes—I have.

Did they ever send any missionaries there to your knowledge or belief?

I have often heard so.

Do you apprehend that you kept more or fewer domestics than gentlemen in general in your situation in the Island?

I kept a great many more, having a large family of children about me—and, I suppose I kept more domestics than any other family in Antigua.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

And the Counsel informed the Committee, that he had closed his 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 was directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

That the Agent be permitted to produce such written or printed documents.

And the Counsel was called in, and acquainted therewith.

And then he was again directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

That this Examination of Mr. Kerby, Doctor Samuel Athill, and Mr. Willock, 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 MARCH 1790.

Witnesses Examined,

Mr. KERBY,
Dr. SAMUEL ATHILL,
Mr. WILLOCK.

N° 6.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE.

Martis, 30^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.

MR. Piggott and Mr. Trower, Counsel for the Petition of the Planters of the British Sugar Colonies, whose names are thereunto subscribed, in behalf of themselves and other proprietors of the said colonies; and also for the Petition of the Merchants, Mortgagees, Annuitants, and other Creditors of the Sugar Colonies, whose names are thereunto subscribed, on behalf of themselves and others; and also for the Petition of Stephen Fuller, Esquire, Agent for the Island of Jamaica, were called in, and proceeded to examine

ROBERT HIBBERT, Esquire (#).

Are you a native of Europe?

Yes, of this country.

Have you ever resided in Jamaica, and for how long time?

About eighteen years, and left it in September last.

Have you been, during that time, or any part of it, a merchant?

Yes.

Have you been acquainted with the culture and management of plantations in the Island of Jamaica?

I have.

Are you a proprietor of plantations in Jamaica?

I am.

Have you had the charge of other plantations, not your own?

I have.

Can the Island of Jamaica be cultivated by Europeans?

I am certain it cannot.

Give the Committee your reasons for being of that opinion.

The heat of the climate is such that no European constitution could bear constant exposure in it, still less if that exposure was accompanied by labour—this is a point now so well understood, that the foot regiments of the King's troops quartered there are provided by government with a certain number of Negroes, under the denomination of Black Pioneers, who carry wood and water, and perform other laborious offices about the barracks—since which time I have understood from the officers that the mortality amongst the soldiers has considerably decreased.

(#) The examination of this witness was taken on the 12th of February last, it having been then stated by the said Counsel to the Committee, that he was a material witness, and was under the necessity of going out of the kingdom in a very short time; but the Committee resolved, that his evidence should not be reported to the House till the rest of the evidence in support of the said petitions had been taken, and should be ready to be reported to the House.

Could

Could a sugar estate afford such food and accommodation as the necessary number of European labourers would require ?

At the present prices of sugar, certainly not.

Are there any free Negroes in Jamaica ?

A great number.

Do they cultivate the soil; or what is their disposition or practice as to labour ?

They mostly live in the towns, and employ themselves as tradesmen, and a great proportion of them do nothing at all.

Is there not occasionally a great necessity upon plantations for extra labour, beyond that which can be performed by the Negroes belonging to the plantation ?

There is.

Did you ever, upon any of those occasions, know free Negroes offer themselves to hire to cultivate the land ?

No, never; I have known them offer themselves as tradesmen.

Is the plough now in use in the Island of Jamaica ?

It is.

Can it be generally used, or is it now used wherever it can be so to any advantage ?

I conceive it is.

Is there not much the greatest part of the land which either from the nature of the soil, or of the surface, and other circumstances of the land, in which the plough cannot be used ?

Yes.

When the plough is used, are White ploughmen necessary; or is it found that Negroes can work it ?

On estates where the plough has been long used, I have known it often worked by Negroes.

Are all such parts of the land in Jamaica as may be cultivated with advantage already in cultivation ?

Far from it.

Are not many estates on which large and extensive works have been

been built, and for the land belonging to which full value has been paid, only partly settled?

There are many estates in that predicament.

If the proprietors are deprived of the means of continuing and increasing the cultivation of them, what must be the probable consequences?

That they must be either thrown up altogether, or continued at a certain loss.

Are there not also considerable tracts of land not yet at all brought into cultivation?

There are.

May not sugar (and where the land does not happen to be adapted to sugar) coffee, cotton, and the other productions of the West Indies, be cultivated at a great advantage on that land?

A proportion of the land not now in cultivation I conceive to be unfit for any of those articles; but a very large proportion of it would answer extremely well, particularly for coffee.

What has been the consequence in Jamaica of lessening the duties on British plantation coffee?

It has encouraged a number of settlers whose capitals were not equal to the settlement of a sugar plantation, to purchase some wood land and a few Slaves, and to open and cultivate it themselves.

Have they been successful in such settlements?

They have hitherto been very successful.

Will any beneficial consequence result to the Island from the encouragement of such settlements; and what will that benefit, in your opinion, be?

I conceive that we shall, by these means, gain what we have long been endeavouring to obtain; I mean, an useful body of citizens of the middle class, who, at the same time that they will add to the security and happiness of the Island, will increase the commerce and revenue of the mother country.

Can such new settlements be effected or extended without the purchase of new Negroes?

They certainly cannot without Negroes; and if new ones are not purchased, I conceive the other settlements must suffer in proportion, if they are depopulated for this purpose.

What

What would be the consequence to such new settlements, if any check were given to their improvement, by preventing the purchase of Negroes ?

They being as yet mostly in their infancy I conceive they must either be thrown up altogether, or cultivated to a certain loss.

Can the present cultivation of the Island of Jamaica be kept up without an annual importation of Negroes ?

I believe not.

Do the number of Negroes increase or diminish generally in the Island ?

On sugar estates they generally decrease.

Can you state to the Committee the causes of that decrease ?

The causes are numerous—in the first place, the proportion of males on most sugar-works exceeds that of the females ; the lock-jaw, to which infants are subject within a few days after their birth, is another cause ; and the indiscriminate intercourse with the other sex, which the women are too apt to accustom themselves to when young, is a further cause.

Are the adult Negroes subject to any particular disease, which tends to lessen their number ?

They are subject to a disorder called the yaws, and to every other disorder in common with Europeans.

Are epidemical or contagious diseases frequent in the Island of Jamaica, arising from hurricanes or droughts ?

Fluxes are very often occasioned by improper food ; and sometimes after hurricanes it is impossible to procure proper food.

Do you recollect any instances of mortality occasioned among the Negroes by such causes ?

I recollect many ; amongst others I lost on a small estate in the parish of Clarendon, on which there were about 120 Negroes, about one-sixth of the whole number, in the course of two or three weeks, by a flux, arising from the above causes, though the best assistance which could be had in the Island was procured for them.

Do you know whether this disease was confined to your own estate, or was it general in the Island ?

I do not recollect what was the case at that particular period,

but that disorder was general after every hurricane which I have been acquainted with.

Whether such disorders, together with a putrid fever, are not common after every rain succeeding a long drought?

If they are, I conceive it to arise from the same cause, viz. improper food.

Do they not generally produce the same effect, and are attended with a considerable mortality among the Negroes?

In some degree they are,

State to the Committee what is the disproportion between the sexes?

It has been proved, by the Report sent from the Assembly of Jamaica, the latter end of 1788, that out of the Negroes imported for a considerable number of years back, the proportion of males and females was as five to three.

What is the proportion between males and females in general upon sugar estates, within your particular knowledge?

They differ very much, but in general the males exceed the females one-fourth at least.

Is not that disproportion one cause of the decrease of Negroes in the Island?

It certainly is.

Can you state the general proportion of deaths and births?

I certainly cannot—but I have had, for many years past, estates of my own, and others under my care, and I do not recollect a single instance where the births have equalled the deaths; though, at the same time, I can vouch that all possible attention has been paid, and no excessive labour required.

Is every attention given to pregnant women upon the plantations with which you have been acquainted?

I conceive it is, generally speaking; but there may be instances to the contrary, but none within my knowledge.

Is the disorder of the locked jaw among children in general fatal?

It is generally fatal.

Is not a Slave born in the Island, generally speaking, of more value than an imported African?

Yes.

Is it not therefore for the benefit of planters in general to encourage the rearing of such Slaves?

Certainly.

Are not the Slaves frequently so reduced upon estates, by the diseases and other causes mentioned, as to make it absolutely necessary to purchase, or to hire fresh Slaves for the cultivation of such estates?

Yes.

Could such estates, be kept up without fresh importations?

I conceive not.

Could sugar estates, so reduced, be converted to any other use?

Not to be equally productive.

To what other uses could they be turned?

In some instances they might do as pasture land, and for cotton; but in both those cases the works and other appendages of a sugar plantation would be of little or no use.

Could coffee, indigo, or pimento be raised upon land which has been long in the cultivation of sugar?

I conceive not.

What therefore, in your opinion, would be the consequence to the proprietor, and the creditor of such an estate so reduced?

It must certainly be thrown up as a sugar estate, and in no other way could it be cultivated to any thing like the same advantage.

Can you state what number of domestic Negroes there are in the Island?

I never heard it computed.

Can you say what is the general number of domestic Negroes in the houses with which you are acquainted?

In the towns the principal families have from ten to thirty, but in the country they have in general barely what are necessary.

Do

Do you imagine, that if all the domestic Negroes were turned into the field, fresh importations would become unnecessary?

By no means.

Is it not a punishment for domestic Negroes to be turned out of the house into the field?

They generally consider it as such.

Are there not many domestics, whose minds and spirits would be materially affected by such a change of situation?

So much so, that from that cause alone, even if their numbers were greater, they would be of very little use.

Are you a member of the Assembly of Jamaica?

I am.

Is there a duty imposed by the legislature of Jamaica on every Negro imported?

There is.

Of how much?

It is thirty shillings currency per head; twenty shillings of which is paid by the purchaser, and ten shillings by the importer.

How is that appropriated?

It forms part of a fund raised by the Island of Jamaica for the subsistence of the King's troops, and is totally independent of their English pay.

If Great Britain should prohibit the importation of Africans into Jamaica, do you think that Island subsistence would be continued?

I believe they would want the ability rather than the inclination to continue it.

What do you think, upon the whole, would be the consequence to the Island of Jamaica, of prohibiting the importation of African Negroes into that Island?

I conceive that the plantations, which are only partly settled, must either depopulate the small settlements, or be thrown up as unproductive—I conceive also, that even those plantations which are full-handed with respect to Negroes (being in general badly assorted with respect to sexes) would naturally, in time, decrease in their produce, and that a total stop would be put to all further improvement.

Have

Have the White inhabitants any other domestics than Negroes?

Very seldom.

Upon plantations in general are there more domestic Negroes kept than are necessary?

I believe not.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

You have stated that the plantations which are full-handed are badly assorted with respect to sexes; why are they so badly assorted?

Men are supposed capable of more labour; and the importation I have already stated to have been, for many years back, in the proportion of five males to three females.

Is that proportion of importation owing to the deficiency of procuring females in Africa, or of disposing of them in the West Indies?

I know nothing of the nature of the trade on the coast of Africa; and I have already mentioned that the sugar planters wish in general for a large proportion of males.

Have you any particular knowledge, or ever made any calculation, of the number of Negroes annually exported and imported from and into the Island of Jamaica?

I believe both are very accurately stated in the Report sent from the Assembly of Jamaica, but I cannot immediately call them to recollection; and it is to be observed that they differ yearly.

Have you any particular knowledge, or made any calculation, of the average number of Negro births and deaths throughout the Island of Jamaica?

I do not recollect ever to have seen a general calculation of that sort.

Are White men ever employed as ploughmen?

When the plough is first introduced on an estate a White man is generally employed.

Have you ever made or heard of any calculation of the proportion

portion which the Creole or native Negroes bear to the imported Africans now on the Island?

I never saw an accurate calculation of the kind.

Is there any usually estimated proportion; and if there is, what is that proportion?

I cannot answer that question accurately.

What is esteemed the usual annual decrease per cent. in the Slaves of a sugar plantation?

On such plantations as I myself have had the care of, the decrease has generally been about five per cent. and the increase two and an half per cent.

Is the decrease supposed to be greater or less on plantations of cotton or coffee?

These plantations in Jamaica are as yet in their infancy; and no accurate judgment can be formed.

Do you know whether the proportion of the sexes are more equal on those plantations?

I rather imagine it is, because the work is lighter.

You have stated, that attention is generally paid to pregnant women, but that instances to the contrary may have occurred, but none within your knowledge; is it your opinion that such instances, in fact, do frequently happen?

On the contrary, I believe them to be very rare.

According to the best of your experience, what proportion of Negro children do you imagine to die before they attain the period of four or five years of age?

I cannot answer the question, having made no such calculation.

Have not the White ploughmen and tradesmen very high wages?

They have.

Have you ever known the heat of the sun oppressive to the Negroes?

Not if in full health.

Does a Negro in full health ever complain of the heat of the sun?

No; I never recollect an instance of it.

Do not the domestic Negroes make the cloathing for the field Negroes?

They make it for the new Negroes; but, in general, a Negro who has been long settled, wishes to make his cloaths after his own fancy.

Are not many diseases brought on the Negroes by their nocturnal ramblings and dancings?

I believe there are.

Is not the food of the Negroes, in general, good in quality, and sufficient in quantity?

It is.

Are they not protected in their persons, and provided for, with regard to food and raiment, by the known laws of the Island?

They are.

Is not the legislature of the Island disposed to give the Negroes every comfort and protection that is necessary?

I think they have indisputably shewn this by the last consolidated Slave law.

And then the Counsel and Witness were directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 19^o die Martii 1790.

Counsel called in as before; and the Counsel proceeded further in their examination, and called

JOHN WEDDERBURN, Esquire.

Are you a native of Jamaica?

No.

Of

Of what place are you a native ?
Of Great Britain.

Have you ever lived in Jamaica ?
I have lived between twenty-six and twenty-seven years there.

When did you leave Jamaica ?
The beginning of May last.

What was your business there ?
A planter.

Have you any property there ?
I have.

Had you the care of any plantations there ?
Yes, of several.

What number of Negroes were then upon the whole of the plantations which were under your care ?
Full 5,000.

Are the Negroes upon the plantations in Jamaica treated with humanity ?
I am of opinion they are.

Are they in general in a happy situation ?
Yes, they are in general in a happy situation.

How are they taken care of when sick ?

They are attended by a doctor, who prescribes every medicine that he thinks is proper for them ; they have proper nurses to attend them ; they have frequently provisions of the best sort sent from the proprietor or overseer's table ; they have also frequently wine and every other necessary given to them that the doctor thinks are proper. I have also known, where their complaints were dangerous, the medicines given to them by the White people, and the White people frequently lose their night's rest by it.

When Negroes, by reason of age or infirmities, are incapable of labour, how are they treated ?

They generally live in a comfortable Negro house, have every allowance and attendance paid to them, as if they still continued to be of the greatest value to the proprietor.

Do they continue to be fed and cloathed?
They do.

Did you ever know an instance in which a Negro in that situation was discarded by his master?
I never did.

When disputes happen among the Negroes, have you ever heard any opinion expressed by them as to the justice which was done them by their masters?

There is a remarkable saying which the African Negroes have, whenever disputes arise between them, the weaker party being sensible that the stronger party, or of the most consequence on a plantation, can take no advantage of them; and the saying upon those occasions is, "This no for we country, this for Buccra country; Buccra country every body have right."

What is meant by these expressions?

The meaning of them is, that in their own country the stronger party, who are the party of the most consequence, often do as they think proper to the weaker party, whether it is attended by justice or not.

Have not the Negroes land to cultivate for themselves, and of which they have the sole benefit?

They have.

Do they not raise much more provisions than they use?

They do.

Do they not sell considerable quantities of provisions, poultry, and hogs?

They not only sell considerable quantities of provisions, poultry, and hogs, but also of different kinds of fruits.

Do they not dispose at their pleasure, and as their own property, of the proceeds of what they so sell?

They do.

Are any of the Negroes possessed of any property, and to what extent?

There are many Negroes might be rich; numbers of them lay out their money in fine cloaths, and in purchases of salt provisions from England; others purchase cows and heifers. I have known

upon different properties from ten to forty head of such stock taken care of promiscuously with their masters.

Do their masters appropriate any part of such property to themselves?

They do not; they sell them when they think proper—I have purchased from different Negroes young steers, and have paid them from ten to thirteen pounds per head for them.

Have you known any instances of Negroes being in possession of any considerable sum of money?

I have known different Negroes wish to purchase their freedom, themselves and a few of their friends possessed of money sufficient to do it.—One particular instance I recollect upon an estate where there were 300 Slaves: the proprietor, before the hurricane of 1780, was in easy circumstances, but with that calamity, and the other storms that followed, with perhaps some little imprudent management of his own, his circumstances became embarrassed; a writ was issued against him, the marshal came to his property in hopes of securing his person; in this he was disappointed, and left the property—in the evening a few of the principal Negroes came to their master, told him what they had heard, and brought him between £. 2 and 300; this he refused, but thanked them for their attention.

Is such part of the land in Jamaica as may be cultivated to advantage, already in cultivation?

Not by many thousand acres.

Can the land which is now cultivated in canes be cultivated to advantage in coffee and cottons?

In my opinion not; but allowing that it was so, the loss to the planters would be very considerable, they having many of them purchased lands, for which they have paid considerable sums of money, erected expensive buildings, purchased stock, and have had a variety of different stores from England, for no other purpose but to enable them to cultivate the sugar cane.

Is the land planted in canes in general adapted to the cultivation of those other articles?

In my opinion it is not.

What effect then to the proprietor would be produced by the necessity

necessity of making that change in the articles of his cultivation ?

I think the effect that it would have, would be much the same as taking a part of his property from him without paying for it.

Can the Island of Jamaica be cultivated by Europeans ?

I am of opinion it cannot, the nature of the climate is such that an European constitution would not be able to support the necessary labour ; and should it ever be attempted, I think the mortality would be so great as to put a stop to it.

Is the heat of the sun prejudicial to the health of the Negroes in Jamaica ; and does it appear materially to affect them whilst they are employed in labour ?

I am of opinion it does not.

Have you frequently seen them in the act of labour ?

Very frequently, and stood with them hours at a time.

Did they complain, or did they appear to you to feel any inconvenience from the heat ?

They appeared to me to feel no inconvenience.

Can the Island of Jamaica be cultivated by the plough ?

It cannot ; the plough is used in many parts of that Island, but it is to be observed, that after the land is ploughed the Negroes are obliged to dig the cane-holes with their hoes, and also to plant the canes, and in many instances they are obliged to trench the land, to lay it dry from the water—great part of the Island, from the make of the land (being steep and hilly) does not admit of the plough being used upon it ; there are also many thousand acres where the stones and rocks are so intermixed with the soil, that it is impracticable to turn up the land with the plough ; many estates are cultivated in such a manner that the canes are not stocked up, but it is a rule to keep them upon the stock as long as possible ; to such properties the plough could be of no service, they can be only cultivated by the hoe.

Then is it your opinion that the plough, when it is used in Jamaica, enables the planter who has adopted it to carry on the general business of his estate with a less number of Negroes, or will the same number be still requisite ?

The same number of Negroes are requisite ; but the plough is of infinite advantage to them, by breaking up the soil, and taking
a part

a part of the hardest labour off from them. But suppose a less number of Negroes might be requisite at the season of the year when the plough is used, the usual number would be necessary to conduct the business of the property in crop time.

Has the legislature of Jamaica granted encouragement to the inventors of machines for saving the manual labour of Negroes?

I have heard they have.

Have not the planters readily adopted all useful machines of that sort?

Wherever they are convinced it is attended with advantage to them.

Is there any reason for the opinion that the planters in Jamaica refuse to adopt any useful machinery, calculated to ease or lessen the manual labour of their Negroes?

There is none. I have known different schemes proposed that have not answered, and for which reason they have avoided them.

Are not all such inventions for saving manual labour, that have stood the test of experience, used by the planters in Jamaica?

They are.

What number of Negroes is commonly about an overseer's house; and could such Negroes be put to field labour with advantage?

In common there are from six to ten; and those people, in general, have not constitutions able to support the labour in the field.

Are then the most weak and delicate generally appropriated to those domestic uses?

They are.

Can the present cultivation of Jamaica be kept up without an annual importation of Negroes?

I am of opinion it cannot; nor does it proceed from the idea of the Negroes being treated ill—the women do not breed there as the labouring women of Great Britain, which greatly proceeds from the promiscuous intercourse between the sexes; this often occasions venereal complaints, which frequently destroy the constitution;

stitution; many Negroes are carried off by the yaws, fluxes, ulcers, and pleurisies; the infants, besides being liable to all the disorders that infants are in Great Britain, are subject to the locked jaw, of which I am of opinion one-fourth of the children born in the Island die.

What in general may be the loss or decrease on a given number; suppose twenty African Negroes, within the first three years after their importation into Jamaica, supposing them to be landed in tolerable health?

I cannot say with certainty, not being prepared for this question; but suppose five.

What in general may be the loss or decrease on the same number, in the same time, if infected with the yaws or any other distemper at the time of their importation?

Double the number at least.

Would the Negroes now in Jamaica be well pleased, if they were given to understand that there was to be no further opportunity of procuring recruits from Africa?

I am of opinion that they would be dissatisfied, having often heard them wish for such assistance to the property.

If the importation of Negroes into Jamaica is abolished, is it likely that the Negroes now in Jamaica will be better treated than they are at present?

I think they will be worse treated, and for this reason, the nature of a sugar estate is attended with such considerable expence, that most of the planters are obliged to the British merchant for an advance of money, in consideration of which the planters are obliged to engage certain consignments and payments to the merchant annually; by depriving them of Negroes they would be unable to either make the consignments or payments that the merchant has a right to expect from them; this being the case, the merchant would find himself disappointed; the connection of the Sugar Island would become unprofitable to him—there is no doubt but he may take such steps to recover his money as would compel the planter to push his Slaves beyond their strength, and making him such payments as he had a right to expect, in hopes of keeping up his crops, and preventing both himself and his family from ruin.

How many hours out of the twenty-four do the Negroes labour, the time of the crop excepted?

About eleven hours.

Though the time of labour with some of the Negroes is longer during the crop, are they not in general more happy and in better condition at that time than at any other period of the year?

They are, from the advantage of the canes which they eat, and the liquor they drink.

What effect would the abolition of the African Slave Trade have upon the power of the planters to pay their debts, and fulfil their engagements to the merchants and others in Great Britain?

I think there are many of them would not be able to pay them.

Could any new settlement be practicable without the supply of African Negroes?

Some small trifling ones might, but none of any considerable importance.

Are there any free Negroes in Jamaica?

There are many.

In what manner do they employ themselves?

Some of them are tradesmen, but the generality of them are a parcel of idle people.

Do not the estates in Jamaica frequently require the assistance of other Negroes than those that belong to the proprietor?

They do.

Have you ever known, upon any of those occasions, any of the free Negroes offer themselves for hire?

I have known them employed as tradesmen, but in no other way.

Are there not many estates on which expensive works have been erected, and considerable sums of money laid out, which are yet only partly settled?

There are many.

Can further progress be made in the settlement of those estates, without a supply of Negroes from Africa?

Not

Not unless those who have jobbing gangs were to sell them for that purpose ; and was that to be the case, the loss of the assistance that they at present give to different properties, would be exceedingly distressing, and of course no other properties with propriety could be settled without a supply of new Negroes from Africa.

Are not Negroes who are born in the Islands of much greater value than those imported from Africa ?

They are.

Is it not then the interest of the planter to encourage raising them ?

It certainly is.

Do they not in fact do so ?

They do.

Are not many diseases brought upon the Negroes by travelling in the night, by feasting, and dancing ?

There are many.

Is not the food of the Negroes in general wholesome, and have they not a sufficient quantity of it ?

Excepting after such a calamity as the hurricane of 1780, they have plenty of food, and wholesome.

If an act of parliament for abolishing the African Negro Trade should in effect only transfer that trade from Great Britain to other nations, would the Africans be at all benefited, or the cause of humanity advanced by that measure ?

Not as far as I am capable of judging ; and so far from it, that I am satisfied that the Negroes now in Jamaica would suffer exceedingly by abolishing the trade, as their labour would naturally be encreased.

Would such a measure have a tendency to depopulate Jamaica, to diminish its cultivation, and preclude its further improvement ?

I think it would.

Would it be attended with satisfaction to the minds of the planters, and other White inhabitants of Jamaica ?

I think not.

Would

Would it, in your opinion, produce alarming discontents?
I am confident it would.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

State, in as many instances of estates as you can recollect, the quantity of land, and the number of Negroes on them respectively?

I cannot recollect the exact quantity of land, or number of Negroes; but as nearly as I can I will mention them:—At Mesopotamia there are about 2,600 acres, and about 310 Negroes; at Grange about 1,500 acres, and 175 Negroes; at Gleneslay about 1,800 acres, and 230 Negroes; at Caledonia near 3,000 acres, and about 180 Negroes; at Bluecastle about 1,800 acres, and 245 Negroes; at Blackheath about 1,100 acres, and 110 Negroes; at Mounteagle about 1,000 acres, and about 165 Negroes; at Spring Garden 2,600 acres, and 250 Negroes; at Green River about 1,000 acres, and 240 Negroes; at Richmond Vale about 700 acres, and 220 Negroes; at Providence about 1,000 acres, and 106 Negroes; at Forest 2,000 acres, and 180 Negroes.

State, as near as you can recollect, the average quantity of produce from these estates respectively?

It is impossible I can recollect exactly; the last year's crop, as near as I can recollect, was as follows:

			Hogheads of Sugar.	Puncheons of Rum.
Mesopotamia	—	—	315	230
Grange	—	—	165	70
Gleneslay	—	—	110	80
Caledonia	—	—	75	45
Bluecastle	—	—	240	140
Blackheath	—	—	180	80
Mounteagle	—	—	160	80
Spring Garden	—	—	165	90
Green River	—	—	240	115
Richmond Vale	—	—	155	80
Providence	—	—	110	75

As to Forest I do not recollect the quantity of sugar or rum, the property being now improving in cotton and coffee, and the sugar work in a manner given up.

Do you imagine the produce of this year was greater or less than the average produce?

The produce of these estates in this year, they are capable of making annually, provided there are no storms or hurricanes, and that they have likewise the same support of Negroes as they have at present—and, by further strength of Negroes, are capable of making a considerable quantity more.

Of what description are in general such of these estates as you have stated, from a great tract of land, to return a small apparent produce of sugar?

Mesopotamia is a level estate, and a great part of the land is only adapted to pastures—many of those pastures are over-grown with log-wood, and require an additional number of Negroes to improve them. The Grange is a hilly estate, and one of those to which the plough can render no service, and rather poor in nature.

What, in the several estates specified, is the smallest quantity of produce in sugar, from the greatest quantity of land in cultivation for canes?

I believe Gleneslay.

What is the quantity of land in cultivation for canes at Gleneslay?

The land in canes has been so exceedingly injured by the hurricane of 1780, and the storms which followed it, that it does not yield well; there are about 220 acres in cultivation for canes.

In the several estates specified is the cane land generally altogether, and the rest pasture or wood land, as it may happen; or are the canes interspersed in patches throughout the estates?

On several of the properties the canes lie contiguous, upon others the pastures are dispersed with the canes; the lands in wood and ruined lie generally by themselves.

May the value of these several estates be estimated from the quantity of sugar produced on each of them, or does it depend on other considerations also?

I do not know any of the estates that are described that could be valued in this manner, excepting Green River and Providence estates, the others (some of them in particular) have very valuable land, and are fit for sugar—and when improved become exceedingly valuable.

What would be the mode of improving them?

By a further purchase of Slaves than what is at present upon the properties, and without which it is impossible to improve them.

Would it be more laborious to work these lands for sugar than the lands now actually in cultivation for it?

To bring such land into cultivation will be attended with considerable labour and expence; but I am of opinion will pay very amply for it.

By what would that expence be caused, and wherein would that labour consist?

Great part of the land is at present either in wood, morafs, or ruined.

Can you state the number of Negroes which might be necessary to bring the whole of these estates, in the gross, into a complete state of cultivation?

I cannot pretend to state that—but in regard to my own property, I am satisfied there is valuable land upon it fit to cultivate the sugar-cane upon, that would require an addition of 200 Slaves; and without it, it is impossible to extend the present cultivation of the property.

Provided the estates specified were to be continued in pretty nearly the same state, as to the quantity of land in sugar, pasture, wood land, &c. would the existing stock of Negroes, if kept up, be tolerably sufficient?

I think not—many of those properties now require an addition of labour which they formerly did not, when the land was new.

What do you take to be the general proportion of males and females amongst the Slaves in Jamaica?

I cannot take upon myself to state that with any degree of accuracy; but it is supposed there are five men for every three women.

According to the best of your experience, what is the annual consumption of Slaves in the island of Jamaica?

I really cannot say.

Can you recollect, with any tolerable precision, the ordinary number

number of births and deaths on your own estates, or such of the estates as were under your care?

I cannot recollect with any accuracy.

What has been and is now the situation of the Slaves in Jamaica, as to religious instruction?

There are a very few properties on which there are Moravian parsons; but in general there is no attention paid to any religious instruction.

Has the Society for propagating the Gospel employed any persons in converting the Slaves?

Not to my knowledge.

What do you take to be the ordinary expence of maintenance of Slaves at various ages?

I have no calculation to go by.

What is the common allowance of food made to Negroes?

As much as they can eat, excepting after such a calamity as in the year 1780, when the allowance was not so liberal.

Can you specify precisely what is its amount?

If it is plantanes, when they are large three of them are supposed to be as much as they can eat at a meal, and when they are small they get an additional number of them.

Do they in general subsist on an allowance made to them by their masters, or on the produce of their own peculiar provision-grounds?

On the produce of their own peculiar provision-grounds; those Slaves that are naturally lazy, and neglect themselves, are fed plentifully by their masters.

What is ordinarily the quantity of land per head allotted to the Slaves for provision-ground?

A few estates excepted, they have more land allowed them than they can cultivate.

What is commonly, in a gang of Negroes, the number of infants, able field Slaves, and aged or superannuated?

I really do not recollect.

What was the legal protection from ill usage on the part of his

his own master, or of any other White person, generally understood to be enjoyed by the Slave, during your residence in the West Indies?

For this I beg leave to refer to the late acts of the Governor, Council, and Assembly at Jamaica.

To what acts do you allude?

To the late consolidated act.

What was the effect, on the Island of Jamaica, of stopping the intercourse with America?

In my opinion the loss of many thousand lives, for want of a supply of provisions, particularly after the hurricane of 1780.

With what particular articles of provisions were the Slaves used to be supplied from America?

Rice, corn, and flour.

Is the Indian corn, or cassada, cultivated in the Island of Jamaica?

They are both cultivated in the Island of Jamaica.

With what success?

Very good.

Have you often purchased Slaves soon after their arrival from Africa?

I have.

Were they bought in lots?

The principal part of those that I have purchased have been deliberately chosen out of the whole cargo.

What is the time commonly allowed to the Negroes for the cultivation of their own grounds?

They generally employ one day in every fortnight, as also their Sundays, in the cultivation of their own grounds; and they have frequently days allotted to them, where it appears necessary to their employers, exclusive of the above.

If a law were to pass in this kingdom, to prohibit the importation of Negroes into Jamaica, do you think Negroes would still be clandestinely introduced?

As far as possible, I have not a doubt but they would, and that
the

the generality of the whole planters in the Island would encourage it.

What do you apprehend to have been the effect of the late regulating act?

I think it has been attended with considerable advantages.

Who is commonly the immediate purchaser of the Slaves that are bought for the use of the plantation; is the manager employed in this service, or any agent for him?

In general the proprietor; and, should he not reside in the Island, his attorney.

Are not many estates in the Island of Jamaica so steep, that the use of the plough would be destructive, by the violent rains, peculiar to that country, washing away the soil?

They are.

Is not the constitution of an African particularly well adapted to bear heat?

Perfectly so, in my opinion.

Did you ever know a Negro in health complain of heat?

I never did.

Are not pleurifies frequently got by the Negroes being out at nights?

They are.

Are the healthiest and stoutest labourers of the field more subject to that complaint than others?

They are; and I have known several very fine valuable Slaves taken off by it.

Is it not the wish of the proprietor of the estate to restrain those nocturnal rambles, it being one cause of the decrease of his Negroes?

He generally does, as far as possible, prevent it.

Do you recollect what was the produce of those estates you have before mentioned, in the years succeeding the hurricane of 1780?

They were exceedingly reduced by it, but I cannot say exactly in what proportion.

Was the produce much less than in the year 1789?
Very considerably so.

Whether the crop is great or small, is not the expence of cultivation the same?

It is; and frequently increased, particularly by such a calamity as happened in the year 1780.

Do you mean then to say, that it often happens that when the crop is the smallest the expence is the greatest?

Not but in particular cases, such as storms, and a long continuance of dry weather, when the stalks of the canes are injured by it.

In those calamitous times are not the crops of corn and provisions destroyed?

If the crops of corn and provisions are on the ground, they no doubt are destroyed; but those provisions that are taken at the earlier part of the season, before the hurricane months come on, are safe.

Did the hurricane of 1780 destroy the ground provisions and plantanes?

The plantanes were destroyed, and, in many respects, the ground provisions.

Was the proprietor under a necessity of purchasing provisions from England, or from America?

They purchased from both.

Was that additional expence brought upon him by the storm?
Yes.

Do you know of any instance of a free Negro desiring to return back to Africa from Jamaica?

Never, but one—he went to see his friends, and returned to Jamaica again.

What part of the Coast of Africa did that African belong to?
As far as I recollect, he was a Gold Coast Slave.

If those estates which you have represented to be in an incomplete state of cultivation, for want of a sufficient number of Slaves to extend their improvement, could be actually cultivated
to

to their extent, would the increase of produce to arise from thence be, in your opinion, an addition of any consequence to the revenue, commerce, and manufacture of the mother country?

I am of opinion a very considerable one.

Is it usual for Negroes to obtain their freedom till after a considerable residence in the West Indies?

Not in general.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

Sabbati, 20^o die Martii 1790.

Counsel called in as before; and the Counsel proceeded further in their examination, and called

GEORGE HIBBERT, Esquire.

Are you a merchant of London?

I am.

Has your house any dealings with the Island of Jamaica?

We have considerable dealings with the Island of Jamaica, as factors to the proprietors therein.

Is your house in advance to any of the proprietors?

We are very considerably in advance.

State what the importations from the Island of Jamaica to your house amount to in time of peace?

We import from 5 to 6,000 hogheads of sugar, besides other goods, the gross value of which may be estimated from £. 200,000 to £. 250,000.

Do you conceive yourself interested in the question respecting the

the abolition of the Slave Trade; and in what manner will your interest be affected?

From the concurring and uniform evidence of planters and other persons who have resided in the Islands, and also from various experience collected in the course of business, I believe that an abolition of the Slave Trade will greatly injure the population and produce of the Island of Jamaica, and consequently myself, as a merchant trading thereto, and as a creditor thereof.

Do you know, or can you form any judgment, of the amount of debts due from the West India planters and proprietors of lands, to the merchants and subjects of Great Britain?

I speak with great diffidence as to the whole amount of the debt due from the Sugar Colonies to Great Britain; any calculation I could form must necessarily proceed from partial and inadequate grounds: upon such grounds I could never estimate it at less than twenty millions. A noble lord (Lord Sheffield) who wrote several years ago on the subject of the West India trade, conjectures the debt of the Colonies at one-third of the value thereof; which value has since been estimated at seventy millions.

Can you state the several descriptions of classes of creditors of West India property?

I speak from experience, that it includes the following classes, of each to a considerable amount; but more particularly of the two first classes.—The first class, Merchants who have advanced money for the purpose of obtaining consignments, or to support old correspondents, or to protect old engagements.—Second class, Mortgagees who have advanced money for the sake of interest.—Third class, Annuitants by purchase, by will, or by marriage-settlement.—Fourth class, Legatees, many under bequest of old dates.—Fifth class, Consignors of goods to the West Indies upon their own account, captains and mates of ships, supercargoes, &c.—Sixth class, Shippers of goods to supply the different stores to order.—Seventh class, Creditors upon simple bond, note, &c.—And, lastly, The representatives of such of all the above classes who are dead, or have their concerns assigned over to others.

What kind or description of creditor is your house, whether of all, or of which of the classes enumerated?

Our engagements are principally included under the first class, that is to say, merchants.

Is any part of the capital of your house employed in the West Indies?

A considerable part in loans to our several creditors therein.

Is any part of it employed in settling new estates?

It is.

Is any part of it employed in extending and improving old settled estates?

It is.

Is it also employed in adopting new machinery for working of estates, or in any new modes of manufacture?

I believe that a part of the loan made by our house to the planter has been so applied.

Is it also employed for the necessary purpose of enabling the planter to repair the damages sustained by hurricanes, and for the necessary support of the Negroes in droughts and famines?

A very considerable part of the present debt due to us from the Island of Jamaica has been occasioned by advances made in those circumstances; we have some debts standing in our books, which in our own time, and that of our predecessors in business, have existed from forty to fifty years; and I believe that had we not occasionally protected such debtors, by advances for the purchases of Negroes, and giving them other necessary relief, the properties that are now our security would have been long ago destroyed.

When, through short crops or fallen markets, the planters expenses have exceeded their incomes, or from any other causes they have become distressed, are they not in general relieved by loans from the British merchants?

I believe they are.

Have not, from the causes already enumerated, purchases of Negroes been absolutely necessary to carry on the plantation?

In most of our engagements we have understood it to be so, and have advanced money for that purpose.

Are Negroes often purchased for the use of old settled estates, for the purpose of relieving the labours of the Negroes thereon?

I am connected with several planters, who have assured me that they wish to purchase Negroes without any view to the extension

of their plantations, but merely that the labour of their present stock might be lightened.

Is there any other description of persons in the Islands (besides planters and land-holders) to whom the merchants of Great Britain advance money by way of loan or otherwise?

In Jamaica there is a considerable number of store-keepers, and importers of the manufactures of Great Britain, who are either not land-holders, or so in a very inconsiderable degree.

Upon what security are the advances to this description of men made?

Such advances rest upon the security of the produce of the Island; agriculture in the West Indies, and particularly in Jamaica, forming the basis of their returns, and consequently of their solvency.

State what are the different kinds of security in the Island?

Our security, as merchants having advanced money to planters, rests entirely upon the produce of those planters estates, cultivated as they are by Negroes; when real security is given us, it is either an estate with Negroes thereon, or Negroes alone; land without Negroes thereon, or without the immediate prospect of purchasing them for the purpose of cultivating that land, would be considered by a merchant here as no security at all.

Describe the properties in the West Indies which afford security for the loans in Great Britain, and under what classes they may be ranked?

Such as I am acquainted with may, with a very few lucky exceptions, be comprized under one of the three following classes.—First class, Estates that have been long settled, but through the gradual depopulation incidental to West India estates, or through accidental calamities, need occasional supplies of Negroes.—Second class, Estates which are in a progressive state of cultivation prudently increasing their stock of Negroes by small annual purchases, until that plan on which they at first were settled is completed.—And, Third class, Estates newly settled, or by any other accident almost without Negroes belonging to them, but which have every prospect of proving productive to their proprietors, and an ample security to their creditors, if furnished with Negroes at reasonable rates.

Have the plantations of each of the classes last enumerated portions

portions of uncleared land belonging to them, which are considered as advantageous to the estate at large, and an additional security to the creditors of such estate?

Several of the estates in Jamaica which are mortgaged to our house are possessed of such appendages, which form a part of our security, and to which we give some weight, while at any time the possessor has it in his power to put such lands under cultivation by Negroes, and thereby render his whole property more complete and productive.

Do you know any instance where, from the purchase of new Negroes, any such estates last above described have been made more completely productive within your own knowledge?

I recollect instances wherein the extension of the cultivation of estates mortgaged to our house has proved advantageous.

Are there not estates belonging to minors frequently leased to other planters during their minority, which estates at the time of being leased have had few Negroes upon them, and which have been improved by such leasing, and brought into a state of cultivation at the time the minor came of age?

I believe such instances are frequent; one remarkable instance has lately occurred in the course of my own connections with Jamaica.

State that instance?

It is exactly within the question that has been put to me; the gentleman who rented the estate from the minor has, upon the minor's taking possession of his own property, carried off a considerable gang of Negroes, and settled an entire new estate (never before a sugar plantation) which, with that gang, and a small addition thereto, promises to turn out a very profitable plantation; but the proprietor before mentioned has lately expressed, in his letters to us, great anxiety about the means of cultivating his own estate, and if deprived of the means of purchasing Negroes, will find his present fine fields of canes of little value to him, and his estate itself worth almost nothing.

Without the means therefore of purchasing Negroes, do you believe the estates of infants, or others in similar circumstances, could be at all improved or kept up?

I do not believe it possible.

Would you, if you had expected, or had believed that an abolition

lition of the Slave Trade would take place, have made such extensive advances and engagements as you have stated your house to have made and entered into?

Most certainly not.

When you made such advances, and entered into such engagements, upon what confidence or security did you?

I confess that the abolition of the Slave Trade was a measure not in my contemplation, as not believing it probable; but I was not ignorant that in the trade I am engaged in, those plantations in the West Indies which afford me security for my advances, that trade to Africa which supports the cultivation of those plantations, and even the very loans I have made, have all been repeatedly encouraged, protected, and sanctioned by repeated acts of the British Legislature, of which I have made a memorandum, and can subjoin the references thereto under three different heads.

First.—Acts affording encouragement and protection to the Sugar Colonies.

15	Cha. II.	Chap. 7.
22 and 23	Cha. II.	Chap. 26.
7 and 8	Will. III.	Chap. 22.
6	Anne,	Chap. 30.
6	Anne,	Chap. 37.
8	Anne,	Chap. 13.
4	Geo. II.	Chap. 15.
5	Geo. II.	Chap. 24.
6	Geo. II.	Chap. 13.
12	Geo. II.	Chap. 30.
19	Geo. II.	Chap. 30.
21	Geo. II.	Chap. 30.
5	Geo. III.	Chap. 45.
6	Geo. III.	Chap. 52.
27	Geo. III.	Chap. 27.

These acts are more or less relative to the present subject, but the leading feature in them all is encouragement to the Sugar Colonies, as planted and inhabited by British subjects, and very advantageous to Great Britain.

The second general head of acts respecting the African Slave Trade, and stating it as necessary for the West India Colonies.

Royal Charters of Cha. II. in 1664 and 1672.

9 and 10 Will. III. Chap. 26.
10 Anne, Chap. 27.

The Queen's Speech to Parliament in June 1712.

23 Geo. II. Chap. 31.
25 Geo. II. Chap. 40.
4 Geo. III. Chap. 20.
5 Geo. III. Chap. 44.
23 Geo. III. Chap. 65.

And also may be quoted on this head, though quoted before,

27 Geo. III. Chap. 27.

I beg on this head also to mention the proceedings of the House of Commons from 1707 to 1713, during all which time the African Slave Trade was under their consideration and it was recommended to them, by a message from the Queen, to consider of the nature of that trade) during all which time no public censure was passed upon the trade. On the contrary it was repeatedly voted advantageous to Great Britain, and necessary for the cultivation of the Sugar Colonies; and though the bills at various times brought in, and which sometimes passed the House of Commons, fell through on account of disputes between the chartered company and the private traders, it does not appear that it was ever in contemplation to restrict, much less to abolish the trade.

The third head of acts, encouraging loans to the proprietors in the West Indies, from British subjects and foreigners.

5 Geo. II. Chap. 7.
13 Geo. III. Chap. 14.
14 Geo. III. Chap. 79.

Do you know, or can you form any judgment or estimate, of the value of the West India trade, generally, as carried on between the West Indies, Great Britain, Ireland, and the United States of America, with the British Colonies in America, Foreign West Indies, and Africa?

A very comprehensive view of the whole trade from the West Indies in the year 1787 having been furnished by the inspector

general of imports and exports to the Committee of Privy Council, I beg leave first to state the calculations therein.—The inspector general has stated the imports from the West Indies to Great Britain in the year 1787, at — — £.4,945,387 19 10

And from the West Indies in the same year was				
exported to Ireland, value	£.127,585	4	5	
The United States of Ame-				
rica — —	196,460	8	—	
British Colonies in America	100,506	17	10	
Foreign West Indies —	18,245	12	6	
Africa — —	868	15	—	
				443,666 17 9
Grand Total —	5,389,054	17	7	

The inspector general states these to be mercantile values, formed by reference to the prices current, published at Lloyd's Coffee House.

This trade was carried on in 1,815 vessels, of 242,721 tons, and with 21,114 seamen.

That the exports from Great Britain to the West Indies in the same year, in British manufactures, &c. amounted to 1,638,703 13 10

From Ireland, besides what is shipped in vessels cleared out from Great Britain — 20,160 — —

And I believe that the average of Negro Slaves imported into, and remaining for the use of the British West India Islands, may be estimated annually at 15,657 Slaves, which, valued at £.35 per head, amount to £.547,995. The inspector general has also stated the quantities and custom house values of imports from the West Indies to Great Britain only in 1788, from which I have, with all the care and exactness I could, formed an estimate of the gross mercantile amount of the said imports, taking the opinions of experienced brokers on the average prices of that year; and the said estimate, upon a very moderate calculation, with the duties of customs and excise, amounts to £.6,800,000; of which amount I find that the revenue for customs and excise received about £.1,800,000

The ship-owners, for freight homewards, about	—	560,000
The underwriters, for insurance, about	—	150,000
The British merchants and brokers, for their commissions, about	—	232,000
The wharfingers, &c. at the water-side, and including the primage or freight, about	—	95,000

The whole of which amounts to — £.2,837,000

The

The remainder being something less than four millions, forms the mercantile net proceeds passed to the credit of the planters by the British merchant; but from which must be further deducted what is paid to the manufacturers of this country for goods exported to the plantations, with the expences of freight, insurance, commission, and port charges thereon; and also the sum paid to the African merchants annually for Slaves; and when we add thereto the interest of the debt due from the British colonies to Great Britain, and the sums which some of the more opulent planters spend in the mother country, there cannot be a doubt but the whole £. 6,800,000 rested in and was applied to the use and benefit of Great Britain. In confirmation of the above I can assert that, in tracing the gross produce received from the West Indies through our house for many years back, in my own time and in that of my predecessors (which amounts to no inconsiderable sum) there is a very small portion of it indeed that I cannot follow home to one or other of the expenditures above stated.

Considering the West India trade in all its branches, as carried on in British shipping, can you form any judgment of its importance and value with respect to shipping and freight?

The whole tonnage employed in the West India trade in the year 1787 has been stated at 242,721 tons; and though it is true that in that estimate some vessels are included which must be supposed to have made more than one voyage a year, and their tonnage is counted for each voyage, yet it is also certain that in many cases the said estimated tonnage is somewhat under the real: taking therefore that quantity, and estimating the ships employed in the West India trade, with all their expences to sea, at only ten pounds per ton, the amount is £. 2,427,210.

The amount paid by the British West India trade to the ship-owners, for freight alone, may be estimated as follows:

Freight homewards to Great Britain, as above stated	-	£. 560,000
Freight outwards on British manufactures, &c. exported, about	- - - - -	120,000
Freight on Irish manufactures exported, and provisions in ships clearing out from Great Britain	- - - - -	22,000
Freight on exports from the West Indies to Ireland	- - - - -	14,000
Freight on exports from ditto to British America, and the United States	- - - - -	25,000
Freight on imports from America to the West Indies, including ships clearing out from Great Britain	- - - - -	200,000
		<hr/>
The whole amounting to	- - - - -	£. 941,000
		To

To which add the proportion for freight paid, in the price of Negroes to the African ships, and this article alone will be found to amount to more than one million sterling.

Will the diminution of the quantity of West India produce affect the quantity or the price of freight ?

Most certainly it will affect the quantity; and if the ships at present employed in that trade do not find employment elsewhere, it must of necessity affect the price.

Will the same causes affect the quantity of tonnage of shipping, and reduce the number of seamen ?

Certainly, under the supposition as above.

Will the increase of price in the produce of the Sugar Colonies be necessary to counterbalance the diminution of that produce ?

Certainly, in order to render the estates as productive as they are at present.

What effect will it have upon the price of Slaves necessary for the annual supply of the Island ?

A diminution in the quantity of West India produce, if caused by any difficulty of procuring Negroes, will necessarily render the price of Negroes much higher, when they are to be come at.

Will such increase of price in the produce affect the consumption; and diminish the exports thereof, from Great Britain ?

It certainly will.

Do you know whether there is an annual increase or decrease of Slaves in the Island of Jamaica.

Having never been in any of the West India Islands, I can speak only from facts well authenticated, or generally admitted. It has been stated by the committee of council in Jamaica, that the number of Slaves in that Island in 1768 was about 167,000—Governor Keith has stated the number in 1774 at about 193,000—Governor Clarke has stated the number in 1787 at 256,000—The Assembly of Jamaica have stated the number in the same year at 240,000 at the least; but at the same time inform us, that the number appeared upon the tax-rolls only to be 210,894. The number in 1768 I believe to have been stated from the tax-rolls. Governor Keith mentions that his number in 1774 was taken from the tax-rolls of the respective parishes; but that there were at least 10,000 more, as there were many jobbers, and others,
who

who did not give in their number: I conceive the only fair calculation can therefore be made from the tax-rolls, according to which I beg leave to give in to the Committee the following statement; viz.

In 1768 the number was about	—	—	167,000
Left in the Island, to 1774, inclusive	—	—	41,038
Left in the Island, from 1774 to 1787, inclusive	—	—	87,624
			295,662
Deduct the number on the tax-rolls in 1787			210,894
			84,768

or 4,461 annually; which is 2.34 in decimal numbers per cent. per annum on the medium number.

1768	—	—	167,000
1774	—	—	193,000
1787	—	—	210,894

3) 570,894 (190,298 is the medium number.)

The calculation of los in the first six years will stand thus:

In 1768 the number was	—	—	167,000
Left in the Island, to 1774, inclusive	—	—	41,038
			208,038
Deduct the number on the tax-rolls in 1774			193,000
			15,038

or 2,506 per annum; which is a deficiency of 1.4 per cent. per annum on the medium number.

1768	—	—	167,000
1774	—	—	193,000

2) 360,000 (180,000 is the medium number.)

The calculation of los in the last 13 years will stand thus :

In 1774, the number was	—	—	—	193,000
Left in the Island to 1787	—	—	—	87,624
				280,624
Deduct the number on the tax-rolls in 1787				210,894
				69,730

or 5,364 annually ; being 2.65 per cent. per annum upon the medium number.

1774	—	193,000
1787	—	210,894
		403,894

2) 403,894 (201,947 is the medium number.

The latter period of 13 years was marked by the calamities of war, and repeated hurricanes, from which unfortunately no human efforts can wholly guard the West India Islands, but from which in the former short period of six years Jamaica was exempt; the whole 19 years form no unfair average of the circumstances to which the West India Islands are subject; and it appears that the population of Jamaica has diminished for those 19 years in the proportion of more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the medium number annually.

That the population of the said Island has diminished in an increasing ratio, and not increased in a growing ratio, as has been stated.

That, admitting 15,000 Slaves to have perished in the above periods through hurricanes, the diminished population in Jamaica alone will remain nearly 70,000 in 19 years.

That a loss of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon 450,000 Slaves, which the British West India Islands are said to contain, is 10,500, and may be computed as an immediate annual diminution of the number thereof, should an abolition of the Slave Trade take place.

What in your opinion will be the immediate effect of an abolition of the Slave Trade, with respect to the merchant, the planter, and the creditor of West India property?

I am certain that an abolition of the Slave Trade would be followed by an immediate decay of the credit of such British merchants as have considerable engagements with the West Indies; and that they would be obliged, however unwilling, to withdraw

withdraw that indulgence which they have hitherto granted to their debtors in the Sugar Colonies, and in many cases to foreclose mortgages and enforce judgments to their own present relief, but to the ruin of many considerable plantations, whose value upon a sale would be affected by the double circumstance of the quantity of similar property brought to market, and the notoriety of the new calamity occasioning their sale. The trading body in Great Britain, finding their profits diminish with the diminution of the produce of the Islands, must of necessity also lessen those expences by which they contribute to the revenue of their country, and must look forwards to an entire loss of that commerce which they have hitherto found a maintenance to themselves, and have looked forward to as an inheritance to their children. I believe that many opulent planters in the West Indies, whose estates are now large and full-handed, might for a while feel little injury from an abolition of the Slave Trade, and even receive a temporary benefit from it, while the present system of colony regulation is persevered in; as by the ruin of the smaller planters, whose Negroes they would have an opportunity of purchasing, the number of their rivals at the British market would be diminished; but that they, as well as the kingdom at large, must in a few years feel the ruinous event of an abolition of the Slave Trade, in the total decay of our Sugar Colonies, and in the dependance of Great Britain upon foreigners for her immense consumption in every article of their produce.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

Lunæ, 22^o die Martii 1790.

Counsel and Witnesses called in as before; and the Witnesses was examined by Members of the Committee.

What sum of money is it usually deemed safe to advance on a West India mortgage, in proportion to the nominal value of the estate? Mr. HIBBERT.

There are so many circumstances which render an estate an eligible

eligible security, or otherways, that I cannot state an average in answer to the question—I may state, however, that the annual produce is more considered than the nominal value.

State what are the ordinary mercantile advantages attending the consignment to a merchant of London of 100 hogshheads of sugar?

A commission of two and an half per cent. on the gross sale.

Does the same person to whom the consignment is made commonly send out the supplies for the estate; and is there any commission on these also?

He commonly does, and charges a commission likewise of two and an half per cent. on the amount of those supplies.

Does he commonly make the insurance of these supplies; and is there any commission on these also?

He commonly does, and charges one half per cent. commission on making the insurance.

Does he always manage the insurance of the produce home-ward; and what commission has he for this?

It is usual for the consignee of West India produce to make the insurance thereon by order from the planter from whom he receives it; and on such insurance he likewise charges one half per cent. commission.

Is the rum commonly consigned to the same merchant?

A very large proportion of the rum made in the Island of Jamaica is sold upon the plantations, or at the next shipping port; what is shipped home by the planter is generally consigned to the same merchant to whom he consigns his sugar.

Do the West India merchants ever stand as underwriters for the produce home, or for the supplies sent out?

The insurance made for the planter, either outwards or home-wards, is always made upon a policy, deliverable to him upon demand. If the merchant stands any part of the risk, he stands it in a distinct capacity, as a responsible underwriter.

Do the merchants often stand a part of this risk?

I cannot speak of the transactions of merchants in general in that respect.

Does your own house stand a part of this risk?

We have occasionally stood a part of the risk on our own policies, as well as upon those of other merchants; but this is done by each merchant as an individual, and not in the firm of a house.

Though the firm of a house does not subscribe, yet is it not often understood amongst the partners, that the transaction shall be brought to the partnership account?

I cannot state that to be a general practice.

Are many West India merchants concerned in West India ships?

The West India merchant is often the husband of ships, as it is termed, and holds his share of them. The share held by the merchants in general is supposed at this time to be much less than it was some years ago.

Can you state what is the ordinary value of these supplies furnished by the merchant from this country, in proportion to the produce or value of an estate?

I cannot give a general answer to that question. The estates do not require supplies in proportion to the quantity of their produce.

Do the planters often draw bills on the West India merchants, to whom their produce is consigned, in order to pay for the Slaves they may have occasion to purchase for the use of the estate?

Yes.

What is commonly the usage of these bills?

The planter has often a credit granted him in the Island for the Negroes he purchases; when he draws upon his merchant, at the expiration of that credit, he draws at the common usage of the island; or, if he takes a longer time, interest for such longer time is included within the bill.

When Slaves are purchased by a planter in the West Indies, what is commonly the term to run before they are paid for?

I cannot answer the question from any correct information; no part of that business comes under the merchant's eye.

What is commonly the length of the term included between the

5 M

day

day on which the bill is drawn in the West Indies, and the day on which it is payable in Great Britain?

Bills from Jamaica have been usually drawn at ninety days sight; and it may be computed that they are, on an average, two months on their passage; the merchant here knows no distinction between bills drawn by the planter for the purchase of Slaves, and other bills.

Can you inform the Committee in what manner the Slaves are generally paid for by the planter?

Not further than I have already stated.

Will you explain the nature and length of the credit in the Island of which you spoke in a preceding answer?

It is a transaction entirely between the planter and the factor who sells the Slaves. I understand the credit has varied, and cannot give any correct information on that head.

Can you state the greatest and least length of that credit?

I cannot.

Does the merchant commonly reimburse himself, from the sale of the sugars consigned to him, for the sums advanced to the planter on account of bills drawn, for stores sent out, commissions, &c.?

In all casual transactions he certainly does; but where there is a permanent connection (and in such there is commonly an advance) such exactness in keeping the account balanced cannot be expected.

Has there been for some years past a considerable difficulty in selling West India estates to advantage?

Such difficulty certainly existed during the late war; and I apprehend that the agitation of the present question relating to the Slave Trade has in some measure caused that difficulty now to exist.

Did West India estates bear a good price in the market since the peace, and before the question concerning the abolition of the Slave Trade was proposed in the House of Commons?

I have known but few transactions of actual sales of estates within my own experience, but the facility of borrowing money upon them has certainly increased since the peace; and, if not entirely prevented by the agitation of the present question, I believe it to
be,

be, because those who are intimately acquainted with the value of the West India commerce to this country cannot bring themselves to believe that an abolition of the Slave Trade, on which that commerce depends, will take place.

Do you know instances of particular estates in the West Indies, which have kept up their stocks of Negroes without importations from Africa?

I can recollect but one instance in all the estates with which our house is connected; it is an estate belonging to Lord Dudley, and, as I understand, is under peculiarly fortunate circumstances as to its situation, the ease of the labour, the number of Negroes, and an equality of males and females. This estate had 637 Slaves upon it in the year 1776; in the year 1788 it had encreased, during all that period, 31 only in number; during that period it proved luckily exempt from any of those calamities that affected the neighbouring estates; yet there were two years in which there was a decrease: of one year we have no account, and in one year there was neither encrease or decrease. In 1788 the numbers stood thus, 222 men—220 women—59 boys—41 girls—126 children—total 668. The late Lady Dudley informed us that the estate did not pay her more than three per cent. upon the capital advanced upon it.

In the periods of years which you have stated in your last answer were there, to the best of your knowledge or information, no new Negroes bought for Lord Dudley's estate?

I am not certain, but I believe not.

In 1787 did the Island of Jamaica make its usual average crop of sugar?

It certainly did not; the importation into London alone was 10,000 hogheads less than in 1785, and 13,000 hogheads less than in 1788.

Did not the inspector general make the calculation which you have before mentioned upon that year's crop?

Yes.

Do you know whether the Leeward Islands, commonly so called, made an average or short crop of sugar in the year 1788?

I have always understood they made much less than an average crop.

Was

Was not that the year upon which you made your calculation for the West Indies in general?

Yes.

Is there, or is there not, as you have been informed and believe, any and what premium paid in the Island of Jamaica to the drawers of bills of exchange upon Great Britain?

Of late years there has been constantly a premium on bills at usance, which premium has varied from five to ten per cent.

Can you form any calculation of the amount of that premium, *communibus annis*?

I cannot, not being prepared for the question.

Is there a great debt due to foreigners from the West India Islands?

I understand there is.

Was that debt contracted on the faith and by the sanction of Parliament?

I believe so, there being an act of parliament expressly to encourage such loans.

Is there not a very considerable quantity of herrings sent from Scotland to the West Indies, for the food of the Negroes?

Yes.

Is there not a considerable quantity of herrings sent from Ireland for the same purpose?

Yes.

Is the number of seamen employed in those fisheries included in the estimate you have given of the number of seamen employed in the West India trade?

No.

Are there not considerable quantities of fish sent from Newfoundland to the West Indies?

Yes.

Is the number of seamen employed in that fishery included in the said estimate?

Not unless the same seamen carry the fish to the West Indies, which may occasionally happen.

If

If the abolition of the Slave Trade was to take place, and the quantity of produce raised in the West Indies be lessened, would the additional price of the sugar afford the planter a compensation for that reduction of produce?

I have stated that the opulent planter, whose estate is large and fully handed, might receive a temporary benefit from an increase of price in his produce, should the abolition of the Slave Trade diminish the number of his rivals at the British market; but in such a supposition I presume upon his being able to keep up the population on his estates, and the quantity of his produce, during such temporary benefit; the diminution of produce to be expected from an abolition of the Slave Trade must, I apprehend, encrease in compound progression; and I am of opinion that a price could not be raised on the consumer here, in any degree adequate to such a diminution.

If the price was much higher, could an equal consumption be expected?

I believe not—the consumption was generally believed to be much affected by the high prices in the late war.

Is not the estate of Lord Dudley separated from others in a particular manner?

I have heard it described as such.

Does not that peculiarity of situation prevent the Negroes from rambling at nights, and thereby contracting venereal complaints, pleurifies, and other disorders which tend to lessen the numbers on an estate?

I have often heard it represented as such by persons who had resided on the estate.

Does it not likewise prevent their catching the infection of dysenteries, measles, small-pox, and other contagious disorders?

I believe so; and, in confirmation, the attorney or manager informs us, that in a late contagious disorder, by which many of the neighbouring estates suffered, that estate lost none, and had but few ill of the disorder.

And then the Counsel and Witness were directed to withdraw.

Martis, 23^o die Martii 1790.

COUNSEL called in as before; and the Counsel proceeded further in their examination, and called

The Right Honourable Lord SHULDHAM, Admiral of the Blue.

What has your lordship observed of the behaviour of masters towards their Negro Slaves, in those Islands where you have commanded?

It has been mild, gentle, and indulgent in all respects; equal to what masters generally shew to their servants in this kingdom.

Did the Slaves in general appear to your lordship to be properly fed, cloathed, and lodged?

They were decently cloathed, properly for the climate, and seemed to be perfectly satisfied with their victuals and lodging.

Did it appear to your lordship that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear?

I never heard or observed them to make any complaints, but seemed to be satisfied in all respects.

Do the Negroes appear to be in a desponding state, or are they in general satisfied with their condition?

In general perfectly satisfied, and in my opinion with great reason; for I can remember, when I was a midshipman, that I envied their condition, and often wished to be in the same situation.

Do you conceive the plantations in the West Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

In my opinion not, as it must be attended with immense expence, as well as the loss of a greater number of lives, from the fatal effects of that climate upon the constitution of Europeans.

Does your lordship consider the ships employed by the French in their West India trade as one of the principal sources of their naval power?

One of the principal sources, I do.

Are

Are not the French ships employed in this trade remarkable fine vessels, and well manned?

No, I do not think they are remarkable fine vessels; they are vessels of about 300 or 400 tons, and manned pretty much in the same manner as our ships are manned, but it is 27 or 28 years ago since I was in that part of the world.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

The Honourable SAMUEL BARRINGTON, Admiral of the Blue, called in and examined.

What have you observed of the behaviour of masters towards their Negro Slaves in those Islands where you have commanded?

Always the greatest humanity.

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, clothed, and lodged?

They appeared to be so.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear?

No, by no means.

Did the Negroes appear to be in a desponding state, or are they in general satisfied with their condition?

They seemed to be perfectly so; and so much so, that when I have been very miserable myself, I have seen them so happy that I wished myself a Negro.—This is the evidence I gave before the Committee of Privy Council; but, as I have understood that it occasioned some of the Members of the House to be jocular, I think it necessary now, as they certainly did not understand me, to explain myself a little further on this occasion:—When I commanded in chief in the West Indies, I was four months before I had an opportunity of revenging the insults of France against my country—it was during this period that I wished to change situations with the Negro; but when I had my full revenge, I never wished myself a Negro afterwards.

Do you conceive that the plantations in the West Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

No.

Do

Do you consider the ships employed in the French West India trade as one of the principal sources of the naval power of France?

Certainly.

Are not the French West India ships remarkable fine vessels, and well manned?

They are. They have many more hands than our ships have; I should suppose near double the number.

Are they as fine ships as those employed in the British West India trade?

They certainly are as large, or larger.

Have not the French increased their West India trade of late years?

I should conceive they have.

Have they not increased the number of their West India ships?

I should think so.

Is not the British West India trade a considerable nursery for seamen?

No doubt.

Whether in your judgment it is not important to keep up and encourage the Slave Trade?

By all means.

Whether the abolition of the Slave Trade will not tend to reduce the West India trade, and consequently to lessen the numbers of ships and seamen?

No doubt.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

When you were in the West Indies, had you not frequent opportunities of being on shore?

I was three months without taking my anchor up at Barbadoes, during the last war, and was on shore every day.

Had

Had you not continual opportunities of observing the situation of the Negroes, and the conduct of their masters?

I had.

Did you ever observe or know of any acts of cruelty committed by owners of Negroes, upon the Slaves, by their masters?

No; and the only punishment I ever saw during those three months, was upon a Negro woman, by her husband: I asked him how he could be such a cruel rascal as to whip the woman in that manner; his answer was, "Master, she is my wife, and has been whoring all night."

Had you an opportunity of seeing the habitations of the Slaves in Barbadoes; and were they comfortably lodged in your opinion?

More so, and much cleaner, than the labouring people of Ireland.

Can you form any comparative judgment between the condition of Slaves in general, in the West Indies, and the labouring poor of Ireland, and many parts of Great Britain; and what is the result of that judgment.

The Slaves appeared to be much happier.

Do you think that it would be impossible to keep up the stock of Negroes by population only, without importation from Africa, if proper regulations and improvements were adopted with that view?

I cannot answer that question, I am no judge; but I have heard that some very few plantations may keep up their stock of Negroes.

Have you not also heard, from persons of whose veracity and local knowledge you have entertained a good opinion, that means might be adopted which would prevent a necessity of future importations?

No, I cannot say that I ever have had any conversation upon the subject. I have heard Commissioner Martin say, that on his estate they have been able to keep up the stock of Negroes without importation.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

MARRIOTT ARBUTHNOT, Esquire, Vice Admiral
of the Red, called in and examined.

Have you ever been in the West Indies ?

Yes.

Have you ever commanded upon that station ?

Yes.

Have you ever had an opportunity of observing the behaviour of masters towards their Negro Slaves in those Islands where you have commanded ; and what have you observed ?

I have been very frequently in many of the plantations, both at St. Christopher's and Jamaica, but principally at Jamaica, and I have never observed the smallest cruelty used towards the Slaves ; I have often seen them punished, but not to any degree of inhumanity or cruelty, or wantonly.

Is the punishment more severe, or so severe, as that inflicted on the British soldier or sailor ?

By no means, that ever I saw.

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, cloathed, and lodged ?

They are cloathed according to the heat of the climate ; they are fed with the utmost care, having ground allotted them for that purpose, which is the first principle adopted on a young plantation, besides other provisions, when they can be purchased from America, and constantly from England, such as herrings and other fish.

Are their lodgings suitable to the climate ; and are they in general, in point of accommodation, inferior to the habitations of the labouring poor in England or Ireland ?

I do not think they are at all inferior to those in Ireland, but much better.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear ?

Certainly not.

Is the general work of the Negroes equal to the labour of the seamen in loading or unloading of ships in West India harbours ?

As

As I have never been in a merchantman I cannot say what that labour is ; but it is by no means equal to the labour of seamen in a man of war in heaving down or clearing. •

Do the Negroes appear to be in a desponding state, or are they in general satisfied with their condition ?

Very far from being in a desponding state ; so far from it, I believe they enjoy as joyous moments as any of us ; I have been very happy amongst them.

Do you conceive that the plantations in the West Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans ?

There are, as near as I can calculate, in the Island of Jamaica 16,000 Whites, and upwards of 200,000 Blacks, therefore it is not possible for this country to supply 200,000 in the room of those Blacks ; but, with respect to the question, I say no, it is impossible. In the year 1730 I was a midshipman in a forty gun ship, which carried two regiments over to Jamaica ; the colonel died in a fortnight after he got to Jamaica, the greatest part of the officers, and three-fourths of the regiment, died in little more than a twelvemonth.

Do you consider the ships employed by the French in their West India trade one of the principal sources of their naval power ?

No ; but it is of very great consequence to them.

Are not French West India ships fine vessels, and well manned ?

I do not know ; I have not been in any of their ports, therefore cannot answer that question.

Is not the British West India Trade a nursery of seamen ?

I should think it is.

Whether, in your opinion, it is not important to keep up and encourage that trade ?

Most unquestionably.

Will not the abolition of the Slave Trade tend to reduce the West India Trade, and lessen the number of ships and seamen ?

Affuredly yes.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Upon what grounds do you form that opinion?

If there are ships employed in any trade, and those seamen do not all die, by the climate being inimical to the health of the crew, certainly those that return will be useful to the country; the seamen from the ships from the coast of Guinea in the last war were of very great use towards manning our fleet.

At what period of the war did His Majesty's ships receive this supply from the Guinea-men?

I do not know at what period of the war; I was not at the Windward Islands, where the ships received great recruits from the coast of Africa.

What is the instrument commonly used in the correction of the Slaves in the West Indies?

A cow skin.

Is it a more or less severe instrument than that used in the correction of soldiers or sailors?

I have answered, I have seen soldiers and sailors more severely whipt than the Slaves.

Do you think it would be possible to keep up the stock of Negroes by propagation without importations, if proper regulations and improvements were to be adopted with that view?

I really do not know; I do not think it possible that better regulations or improvements could be made. Our labourers in the field earn their bread with much more difficulty than the Negroes do.

Do you think the Negroes are better or worse treated than when you first knew the West Indies?

Beyond comparison better: in Jamaica much improved since I first knew it, which was as long ago as in the year 1763.

In what particulars do you think that improvement has chiefly taken place?

The Slaves are more humanely treated than they were, and in general appear to me to be comfortable.

Do you think their cloathing, their lodging, and food, are better than they were formerly ?

I think their cloathing is very well adapted to the climate ; they want for nothing that I could perceive, and seemed to be satisfied ; and every plantation wherever I have been at, that had 150 Negroes, had a surgeon.

In which of the Islands were you chiefly during the last war ?

I was not in the West Indies during the last war.

In what year was you in the West Indies ?

In 1763.

On what grounds do you think the Slaves are better treated now than they were formerly ?

I only confine myself to the year 1763.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

RICHARD EDWARDS, Esquire, Vice Admiral of the White, called in, and examined.

Have you ever served in the West Indies, in what Islands, and in what year ?

I have served in the West Indies in the years 1731, in 1753, and in 1760 to 1761.

What have you observed of the behaviour of masters towards their Negro Slaves in those Islands where you have served ?

I have not been a resident in the Islands. I do not know any thing very particular.

What is the general treatment, as far as you have observed, of masters towards their Slaves ; is it cruel or humane ?

I do not recollect any particular cruelties ; and have, in particular estates, observed a share of humanity in masters and mistresses towards their Negroes.

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, cloathed, and lodged ?

I never heard of any complaint of their provisions ; and as to

their cloathing, I have mostly observed them naked, except in particular instances.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear?

I never knew of any instances, nor ever heard of any complaints, to the best of my recollection.

Do you conceive the plantations in the West Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

By no means.

Have you ever been on the coast of Africa?

I have.

Have you had an opportunity of observing the treatment of seamen on board an African ship?

When I was there in the annual ship, I received a few complaints from the men, of want of provisions, and other casual complaints, which I redressed.

Are they as well treated as they usually are in other trades?

Upon my word I should think so; I never was any where, but complaints have been made by the men against their masters, and the masters against the men.

Do you conceive, if the Slave Trade were to be abolished, the French and Dutch would engross the whole trade of the Gold Coast?

I believe they would.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Do you think the Negro Slaves in the West Indies are now better or worse treated than they were formerly?

It is a long time since the first time I was there; but I should think they are certainly treated better.

Whence do you think that most of the Slaves come who are sold on the Gold Coast, and from what sources supplied?

Certainly from the Along Shore Coast, from the different forts, and from the boats that are sent from the ships to trade; the boats go often for a week, or longer, with goods trading from the ships.

Suppose

Suppose Great Britain were to abolish the Trade in Slaves to the coast of Africa, do you think the number sold to other European nations would be much diminished ?

No, much increased ; and I believe you would be obliged to buy them of them.

Did you ever know or hear of an instance of a Slave, after he had been brought from the coast of Africa to the plantations, express a wish or desire to return to his own country again ?

I never did.

Do you apprehend that the Trade in Slaves from the coast of Africa to the West India Islands, combined with the commerce of the West India Islands with the mother country, is of any considerable consequence towards manning the navy of Great Britain in time of war ?

As much as any that I know.

If either of those species of commerce were to be abolished, or to receive any check, would it not consequently produce a manifest injury to the navy ?

I think no good to it.

Supposing that the African Trade with the West India Islands were to be abolished by act of parliament, from your knowledge of the different Islands in the West Indies, do you apprehend that the smuggling of new Negroes into those Islands could be easily prevented by this country ?

No more than the abolishing smuggling any where else.

Is it a customary thing in the West India Islands for the Slaves to furnish His Majesty's ships of war with any articles of live stock, vegetables, and fruits, and other ground provisions ?

Certainly, in all the Islands ; for they have bum-boats the same as we have at Spithead, and elsewhere.

Does that traffic amount to any considerable sum ?

I cannot say I am a judge of that.

Are you of opinion that the African Trade by itself is of considerable consequence to the manning His Majesty's navy ?

It is of consequence to the manning His Majesty's navy.

Do you recollect ever to have held any conversations respecting the inclinations of Negroes to return to their native country?

I could have no conversation with any body relating to it, because I never knew any of their inclinations for it.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

WILLIAM HOTHAM, Esquire, Rear Admiral of the Red, called in, and examined.

Are you acquainted with the British West India Islands?

Yes.

How long have you known them?

Ever since I was a boy, and first went to sea.

Have you had any opportunity of observing the behaviour of masters towards their Negro Slaves in the several Islands where you have been; and what is that behaviour?

I have had opportunities of observing, and I never found it otherwise than very proper behaviour.

Was the treatment of Slaves in general mild and humane?

Very much so, as far as I have seen.

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, clothed, and lodged?

As far as came under my observation, they did.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required from the Negroes than they could properly bear?

No, never.

Did the Negroes appear to be in a desponding state; or are they in general satisfied with their condition?

They always appeared very well satisfied with their condition, and never appeared in a desponding state; they were always very cheerful.

Do you conceive the plantations in the West Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

I should judge it impossible, I think their constitution would not bear it.

Do

Do you consider the ships employed by the French in their West India trade as one of the principal sources of their naval power ?

I should think it was.

Is it not a great nursery for French seamen ?

I should judge so.

Are not the French West India ships remarkably fine vessels, and well manned ?

They are fine ships, but I cannot say how they are manned.

Are they as large, or larger, than the British West India ships ?

In general larger.

Is not the British West India trade a considerable nursery for seamen ?

Yes, I should think it is.

Is not the African Trade also a nursery for seamen ?

Yes, I should judge so certainly.

Are not those two trades advantageous in supplying the ships of war with seamen during a war ?

I should judge so.

Is it not, in your judgment, important to keep up those trades ?

I should think so, without a doubt.

Whether the abolition of the Slave Trade will not tend to reduce the West India trade, and lessen the number of ships and seamen ?

I should think it certainly would.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

In what manner do you conceive the abolition of the Slave Trade would produce this effect ?

By lessening the demand for ships and seamen.

When you was in the West Indies had you frequent opportunities of being on shore?

Yes.

Had you frequent opportunities of observing the situation and condition of the Slaves?

Yes.

And of the behaviour of their masters to them?

Yes; I was on shore for six weeks or two months on Sir William Codrington's estate, by which I had the opportunity of observing the manner of the treatment of Slaves, having been sent down there with a vessel we had seized.

When you were on that estate had you daily opportunities of making those observations?

Yes.

Did you ever reside on any other estate; and if you did, for what time?

I have occasionally been at a great many, but seldom longer than on a visit for a few days.

Did you make any observations on the treatment of Slaves on those other estates, and what?

I observed in general they were very well treated on all the estates where I was; I observed no particular severity used: I have been in the West Indies five or six years at different times, and do not recollect ever having seen more than three or four punishments.

Do you think, from the scope of your knowledge and information, as to the general behaviour of planters in the West India Islands towards their Slaves, they may be justly accused of cruelty, wanton severity, or any species of inhumanity to them?

Very far from it.

Is there, or is there not, a considerable traffic carried on between the Slaves in the different Islands and His Majesty's fleets and ships of war when there, in supplying them with various articles of provision, and fruits of the country?

A very considerable traffic of that sort is carried on.

And is not the money acquired by the Slaves in that traffic generally supposed and acknowledged to be their own?

The

The traffic which I have seen carried on has been more with the ship's provisions than with money, which has been given in exchange for the commodities received.

Do you not apprehend that the provisions so exchanged were for the personal account and profit of the Slave?

Certainly; I never had any other idea.

Supposing the African Slave Trade with the West India Islands to be abolished by parliament, what number of ships or vessels of war do you apprehend it would require to be stationed round those Islands, to prevent the smuggling of new Slaves into them?

It is impossible for me judge of the number of ships; but I should think it almost impossible to prevent the smuggling of them.

Were the regulations which were made to prevent the introduction of American provisions into the West India Islands, found ineffectual.

I cannot speak to that, not having been there since that time.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Captain ROBERT LAMBERT called in, and examined.

Have you ever served or resided in the West India Islands?

Yes.

How long?

At different times, eight or nine years.

In what particular Islands?

I have been in the Windward, but particularly at Jamaica.

What have you observed of the behaviour and treatment of masters towards their Slaves, in the Islands where you have been?

I never observed any ill usage; on the contrary, I thought the Slaves in general appeared happy and comfortable.

In what capacity were you in the West Indies?

In the first part of the time that I was in the West Indies I commanded a King's ship, and the latter part I was commissioner at Port Royal.

Did

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, cloathed, and lodged?

I did not see any thing to the contrary.

Did it appear to you, that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear?

Certainly not; for I always saw them chearful after coming from their work.

Do the Negroes appear in a desponding state, or are they, in general, satisfied with their condition?

I think in this country I see more desponding people than I ever saw among the Negroes.

Do you conceive that the plantations in the West Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

I am sure they could not.

Do you consider the ships employed by the French in their West India Trade, as one of the principal sources of their naval power?

I should think so, from the number of ships they have, and the number of men they carry.

Are not the French West India ships fine vessels, large, and well manned?

Extremely so.

Do you know whether the French have not increased their West India trade of late years?

I cannot answer that question.

Is not the British West India trade a considerable nursery for seamen?

Undoubtedly it is.

Has it not been found advantageous in supplying men to man His Majesty's ships in time of war?

I had never any other means of recruiting my ship but from West Indiamen.

Whether, in your judgment, it is not highly important to keep up and encourage the West India trade?

I should imagine so, both for manning of our fleets, and the protection of the Islands.

Whether

Whether the abolition of the Slave Trade would not tend to reduce the West India trade, and to lessen the number of ships and seamen ?

Undoubtedly it would.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Supposing an Act to have passed for the abolition of the Slave Trade, do you think it possible that ships of war of this country could prevent the running of new Slaves into Jamaica, or any of the other Islands ?

Certainly not.

When did you leave Jamaica ?

I think in 1784.

Are you sufficiently acquainted with the treatment of Negroes, and the cultivation of West India estates, to say that the population cannot be kept up without continuing the importation of African Slaves ?

I can only answer from hearsay, that it cannot; having a number of Slaves under my direction belonging to the King I was obliged to have those replenished, to carry on the constant work.

Were those Slaves men only; or, if there were women among them, what was the proportion ?

They were mostly men; they had all wives, but they did not belong to the King, nor the children.

Have you known the navy to receive supplies of seamen from the African ships in the West Indies ?

I have known numbers of men come from Guinea-men, in greater proportion than from other ships, because they carry a greater number.

Do you know of any considerable number of plantations which have been able to support their respective stocks of Slaves, without purchasing recruits ?

I do not.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

And the Counsel having proposed to examine

Commodore ALAN GARDNER, a Member present;

And the said Member having consented thereto;

He was asked,

In what Islands have you served or resided?

I have served principally at Jamaica, but have also served in all the Islands.

Have you ever commanded in the Island of Jamaica?

Yes.

When did you return from that Island?

I arrived at Spithead the 28th of August last.

What have you observed of the behaviour and treatment of masters towards their Slaves in the Islands where you have been?

I cannot point out any impropriety of behaviour in particular of the planters towards their Slaves; there are good and bad masters in all countries, and that may be the case in Jamaica.

Is the treatment in general humane and mild?

I believe so.

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, cloathed, and lodged?

I believe upon all estates they have a certain proportion of victuals allotted to all the Slaves, and I believe a sufficiency to enable them to go through their work; in regard to cloathing, there is very little necessary in tropical climates; but I believe it is a general practice to allow a certain proportion of cloaths to every Negro on the estate, and this I always understood is distributed once or twice a year. In regard to lodging, huts are provided on every estate for the Negroes; and in regard to the comfort of their huts, it depends more or less on themselves to make them so.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear?

From the observations that I have made, no; I am convinced that one labouring man in England performs twice the work of any Negro in the West Indies.

Do

Do the Negroes appear to be in a desponding state, or are they in general satisfied with their condition?

I am of opinion that they are by no means in a desponding state; there are people amongst them that are constitutionally of a melancholy turn, which is the case very often in this country. In general I believe they are perfectly satisfied with their condition; I judge so from their cheerfulness out of work-time, and their readiness to engage in any diversions that are going forward.

Do you conceive that the plantations in the West Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

I firmly believe not. I have known Jamaica twenty-four years; the last three years that I was there I was in the chief command of the King's ships, and I resided upon a penn, which is allotted by the Island for the residence of the admiral, it contains about eighty acres, the cultivation of which I attended to; and during the hurricane months I employed some people who had been accustomed to the labour of farming, from the ships, to plant about twelve acres of corn, and I also employed them in mowing and hay-making; notwithstanding these people only worked very early in the morning, and in the cool of the evening, yet I found they were unable to go through this business, although I gave them an extra allowance of provisions as well as grog; and I was induced to send them back to the ship, and to employ Negroes to perform this business, which I would not have done, if my feelings would have allowed me to employ those other people: from this circumstance, and from the observations that I have made of book-keepers, whose business it is to attend to the working Negroes in the field, I am satisfied in my own mind that Europeans cannot stand that climate; I have seen many instances of book-keepers standing with umbrellas over their heads while they were attending the Negroes.

Do you consider the ships employed by the French in their West India Trade as one of the principal sources of their naval power?

I really think it cannot be doubted.

Are they not in general fine large vessels, and well manned?

In general considerably larger than our own, and always more fully manned.

Is not the British West India trade a considerable nursery for seamen?

Certainly.

Is it not extremely advantageous for supplying ships with seamen in time of actual war?

Certainly.

Is it not, in your judgment, highly important to keep up and encourage that trade?

To be sure, so long as the Islands are thought worth keeping.

Whether the abolition of the Slave Trade will not tend to reduce the West India Trade, and lessen the number of ships and seamen therein?

I consider if the trade is abolished there is an end of the Colonies; the Negroes are the very sinews of the planter.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Do you think it impossible for the stock of Slaves to be kept up without the importation of Negroes from Africa?

I do.

What are the grounds of that opinion?

The disproportion of females to the males, and from the females cohabiting promiscuously, and from the diseases which they bring with them from the Coast of Guinea, and contract by living together in this promiscuous manner.

What do you apprehend to be the disproportion of the sexes in the Island of Jamaica?

I do not speak from any knowledge that I have, but I should suppose three males to two females; upon my observation on the estates upon which I have been, there always appeared a greater proportion of males than females.

Do you think the Slaves are better or worse treated now than they were formerly?

I am confident when I say they are much better treated now than they were when I first knew the Island, and that the burthen of the Negro is every day growing lighter.

In what particulars has this change for the better chiefly taken place?

I believe they are both better fed, clothed, and attended to, than they were formerly.

Can

Can you give any information respecting the treatment of failors on board Guinea ships?

I never was board a Guinea ship but once in my life, therefore cannot speak to their treatment on board those ships.

Do you know of any considerable number of plantations that have been able to support their respective stocks of Slaves without purchasing recruits?

I believe there are very few, if any.

Have you made that an object of your enquiry?

No.

Have you resided much on shore at Jamaica?

I resided chiefly on shore, except six or seven weeks, during three years.

Had many estates kept up their number without importations, would you have had opportunities of hearing or knowing it?

I am of opinion I should have heard it remarked. On the arrival of a cargo the planters are all anxious to purchase it, and many of them involve themselves in debt by so doing.

Do they not consider the purchase of Negroes as absolutely necessary to the cultivation of the estates?

They can purchase them for no other reason I believe.

Are not the settlements of estates very much encreased since your first knowledge of the Island?

As a proof of it, there are upwards of 50,000 more Negroes in the Island of Jamaica than when I first was acquainted with it.

Do the Negroes on the different plantations you have known seem pleased when new Negroes are purchased?

I do not recollect I ever was present on a plantation when new Negroes were brought into it.

Have you heard in conversation in the West Indies any instances mentioned of stocks of Slaves which have been kept up without importations; and if any, what were those instances?

I believe I have heard in conversation, there may be eight or ten estates in the Island which have kept up their stock without buying imported Negroes.

And then the Counsel were directed to withdraw.

Mercurii 24^o die Martii 1790.

COUNSEL called in as before ; and the Counsel proceeded further in their Examination, and called

The Right honourable Lord MACARTNEY, Knight of the most Honourable Order of the Bath.

How long has your lordship known or been resident in any, and which of the West India Islands ?

I was upwards of three years in the West India Islands as governor of Grenada, the Grenadines, and Tobago, from May 1776 to July 1779.

What has your lordship observed of the behaviour and treatment of masters towards the Negro Slaves in those Islands where you have commanded ?

It depends a good deal on the temper of the master ; but the interest of the master is so connected with the well-being of the Slave, that the behaviour of the master is in a great measure regulated by that consideration.

Is it in general mild and humane ?

I think in general it is ; I have heard of some bad examples, but very few, but none of them have come within my own particular knowledge. A bad master is always exceedingly despised by his fellow planters.

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, clothed, and lodged ?

I think they did ; the interest of the master is so connected, and the exertion of the Slaves depend so much on those circumstances, that great attention is always paid to them.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear ?

I think not ; there are particular parts of the cultivation which require more labour than others, but upon the whole I think that a labouring man in England, who gets his bread by the sweat of his brow, works to the full as much as the Negro.

Do

Do the Negroes appear to be in a desponding state, or are they in general satisfied with their condition?

That depends I believe upon the countries they come from: Negroes are brought from an extent of coast of about forty degrees of latitude; in some of the countries they come from I have understood they were Slaves before they were exported, in others the government is different; some of the Negroes, as Coromantes for instance, living I believe under a less despotic government than others, are high spirited, and not very submissive to their condition. There is one nation of Negroes which I have been informed are prone to suicide in their own country, and have consequently given the examples of the same disposition when brought to our Islands.

Do the Slaves, upon the whole, appear in general satisfied?

I believe a great number of them, after having been some little time in our Islands, would not go back if they had it in their power.

Do you conceive that the plantations in the West Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

I think that no man who has been a twelvemonth in the West Indies through all the seasons can possibly think so; it is not without great care and attention that an European can preserve his health in that country without labour.

Do you think that the present stock of Negroes in the plantations in the above-mentioned Islands could be kept up without fresh importations of Slaves from Africa?

Never having had any plantation or estate in the West Indies myself, and being therefore imperfectly acquainted with the œconomy of a plantation, I cannot well answer that question.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Is the generality of proprietors of estates in the Island of Grenada resident on their own property?

I do not know the state of the residents at present; but in the time of my government there were a great many gentlemen of very large estates then resided there; there were, however, many proprietors of great estates also absent; but unless I were to take a great deal of time to recollect and calculate, I could not ascertain the

the proportion, for I lost all my papers when the Island was taken.

Did you lordship ever hear a comparison in point of expence between going on the system of keeping up the stock of Negroes by breeding, and that of buying imported Africans; and which was esteemed the cheapest plan?

I recollect having heard it mentioned that one gentleman in the Island of Grenada had made that calculation; and that he was of opinion it was more for his interest to work his Slaves out in a few years, and supplying their places by fresh purchases, than to work them moderately like his neighbours; but I was not sufficiently acquainted with him, or his affairs, to know whether he reduced his opinion to practice; but possibly he did. He was not an Englishman, he was a new subject, and was very little respected in the colony.

What, during your lordship's residence, was generally understood to be the legal protection enjoyed by the Slave against ill usage on the part of his master, or any other White person?

With respect to the remedy of a Slave against his master, I do not recollect whether the laws of the Island have provided any effectual one. With respect to a particular fact of a remedy from a Black person against a White one, I know that a little time before my arrival in the colony a White man was executed for the murder of a Black woman. I beg leave to add, that, in general, I believe the Slaves are not ill used by their masters, it being so contrary to the interest of the latter.

How many White persons are commonly resident on a plantation?

That will certainly depend on the number of Negroes, and extent of the plantation. There ought to be, and usually are, upon any considerable plantation, a manager, an under manager, and a doctor, but on many estates there are more.

What was the legal protection enjoyed by the free Negroes?

I do not recollect any particular instance of the kind; but I should conceive that a free Negro might, in such case obtain redress in the usual manner, by applying to a magistrate. I do not speak with any positive certainty on this subject.

Does not your lordship think, that if a White person should wish to commit an act of violence on a Slave or a free Negro, he
might

might find an opportunity, when all the Whites should be out of the way, of executing his purpose, without fear of being brought to legal conviction for it?

Just in the same manner as he might against a White person, if all the other Whites were out of the way: conviction will depend upon a jury if it was brought to trial.

Is the testimony of Slaves, or free Negroes, admitted in courts of justice in the conviction of White persons?

I do not recollect any instance of Negro evidence being admitted.

If your lordship were to form a comparative judgment in the aggregate of the actual condition of the Slave in Grenada and that of the peasant in this country, which of the two classes of men should your lordship think enjoys the greater portion of the necessaries and comforts of life?

Exclusive of liberty, which is a sentiment which every Englishman feels, which few Negroes feel in the same extent, I conceive the condition of a Negro to be very comfortable, for in general he is well fed, well clothed, taken care of when he is sick, every thing provided for him, there is no apprehension of creditors, and upon the whole the circumstances in his condition, exclusive of the idea of his being a Slave, render his situation perhaps as comfortable as that of a peasant in this country.

What proportion did the Whites in Grenada and the Grenadines bear to the Negroes in those Islands during your lordship's government?

Having lost all my papers when the Island was taken, I cannot speak with precision; but to the best of my recollection the Whites were 1,400, and the Negroes 33,000.

Whether the Negroes in general do not look forward to a state of freedom with some anxiety or desire?

Not having had any plantation, or a considerable number of Negroes myself, I cannot give a precise answer to that question; but my own Negroes in my family were so happy, that I believe they never had a wish to be free, at least none of them ever signified a wish to me on the Island: when I came to England I made those free immediately on my arrival, and they returned back as free Negroes to Grenada.

Does your lordship speak of domestic Slaves only?

I do; for I had no others.

Is it not generally apprehended, that field Negroes are desirous of obtaining their freedom?

I dare say many field Negroes do wish to be free, but I do not know what would become of them if they were; and I am disposed to imagine, that many of them, after having been made free, would wish to return to their former condition.

Does it consist with your lordship's knowledge or recollection, that the promise of freedom is, in certain cases, held out to Negroes, either by the legislature or by their masters, either as a reward or a temptation?

In the clauses of some of the acts it certainly is; but no Negro can be made free without a considerable expence to his master, I believe even to the amount of £. 100 currency in the island of Grenada.

Do you or do you not apprehend that the protection of their masters is the best security which the Negroes enjoy from any ill treatment to which they might be exposed from other persons?

I do not know whether it is the best; it is one undoubtedly, it may be the best.

As it is an acknowledged fact, that on plantations in general a large number of Negroes are under the absolute rule of a very few White persons, and that Negro evidence is not in any case taken, does not your lordship imagine that if a White man in such a situation be disposed to ill-treat Negroes, numberless opportunities may occur in which he may gratify that disposition, without any fear of legal punishment?

I said that I did not remember any Negro evidence ever being admitted at Grenada, but I do not know that cases may not happen where Negro evidence may be admitted: I did hear, that in the Island of Tobago, on the trial of Mr. Franklin, attempts were made to introduce Negro evidence, but it was not received; I speak only from hearsay.

Does your lordship think that the lands in Grenada would have been purchased by British subjects, and great capitals expended upon them, if the purchasers had not depended on the faith of parliament for the protection and cultivation of those estates?

I cannot

I cannot say what operated in the minds of the purchasers, but I suppose they expected their profits to arise from the same mode of cultivation as had been practised before.

Does your lordship know whether great sums of money have been borrowed from foreigners by the proprietors of lands in Grenada?

I have understood so.

Does your lordship know whether those sums were not borrowed under the sanction and faith of parliament?

I believe there was an act of parliament passed for that purpose.

Will that faith be observed to foreigners if the abolition of the Slave Trade takes place, and thereby the cultivation of those Islands be impeded?

I should suppose, in case those estates became of no value from the want of cultivation, some other provision would be made to indemnify the creditors; that must depend on the legislature.

Does your lordship mean to give it as your opinion that the abolition of the Slave Trade must necessarily make those estates become of no value?

I wish to avoid giving an opinion upon that subject.

Is it your lordship's opinion that the Slaves were better treated and happier when the Island of Grenada was under the French government, than after it became part of the British empire?

I have heard instances of ill treatment under the French government, more severe than after it fell under the English government; but I do not speak of these as facts known to myself.

Did it fall within your lordship's observation, that when the proprietor of Slaves at any time became distressed or embarrassed in his circumstances, his Slaves suffered from such embarrassment, by the diminution of their subsistence, or by more labour being imposed on them?

I think it very possible, but do not know it from my own observation, not having any estate of my own, I lived commonly in town; but I believe they may have suffered just as servants do here by the distress of their master.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Sir

Sir JOHN DALLING, Baronet, called in, and examined.

Have you ever resided in the West Indies; and in what Island?
I resided in Jamaica.

Was you in any public capacity in that Island?
I was there both as a soldier and governor.

How long did you reside in that Island; and when did you last leave it?

Off and on, I was there from the taking of the Havannah; and governor and lieutenant-governor till the year 1781.

What did you observe of the behaviour and treatment of masters towards the Negro Slaves in that Island?

Great attention in general paid to them; the more harsh master is considered as the Slave who has been made free himself; and give but a Slave authority, and he becomes a tyrant himself.

Is their treatment in general mild and humane?

I think in general it is so; particularly to the cultivating Negroes.

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, clothed, and lodged?

Well fed;—unfavourable seasons, and other accidents intervening, a scarcity now and then must ensue; in those cases the planter, from humanity as well as for his own interest, seeks provisions at any expence wherever they are to be found; with respect to their cloathing it is well adapted to the climate, as is their lodging.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear?

The general work of Negroes is not to be deemed labour, according to the acceptation of the word here: a well-regulated plantation is not an unpleasant object either to the eye or the mind.

How are the Negroes taken care of in sickness, and in old age, or when from any infirmity they are incapable of labour?

Great attention is paid to them in sickness, and in their old age only put to such slight works as they are capable of.

Do the Negroes appear to be in a desponding state, or are they in general satisfied with their condition?

I believe that the desponding Negro is a being in general who from refractoriness or from disinclination does not chuse to work; among such numbers there must be many of ungovernable tempers, as there are amongst us; as a soldier I can say, that our disgusting punishments are generally divided among twenty or thirty in a regiment from five to seven hundred men; a well-minded Negro looks forward to something better than his present state.

Do the Negroes in general appear satisfied?

A strong argument that they are so is, that from the public conduct of this country, which has been doubtless exaggerated to them through a variety of channels, they would have been incited to desolation and murder long before this period.

Do you conceive that the plantations in the West Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

In the great Island of Jamaica, among the higher mountains, an European may possibly produce wherewithal for his own little consumption, but neither among the mountains nor upon the plains any of the staple commodities any where; Great Britain would not be able to bear the consumption of men; the young people who are sent out there for what they call book-keepers can scarcely be kept alive without work; in the common overseeing of Negroes in the field, which is their duty, umbrellas were used when I was in the country, and are found to be absolutely necessary for their preservation from the effects of the sun, as well as to cover them from rain; if necessary therefore without work, how much more so with it, and of course a Negro or a White person must be obliged to hold such a covering for them.

Can the present stock of Negroes in the Island be kept up without annual importation of Slaves from Africa?

I am certain it cannot.

If the means of obtaining an annual supply of Negroes be taken away by the abolition of the Slave Trade, will not the present produce of West India estates be thereby reduced; and will it not entirely prevent the extension of agriculture in the Island of Jamaica?

By degrees it would be the ruin of every proprietor, and produce beggary to his descendants; and by degrees also, I am afraid, commercially speaking, bankruptcy, in this country.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Did you ever estimate the annual decrease of a given stock of Negroes, supposing it not to be recruited by the purchase of imported Negroes ?

I cannot say positively, but it almost always depends on situation ; the Negroes imported bring many disorders with them, exclusive of such, in happy situations, the consumption is trifling ; but as there are many unwholesome ones, there it becomes great.

Are the disorders which the imported Negroes bring along with them commonly infectious ?

Some are, such as the yaws and fluxes.

On what grounds do you think the stock of Negroes could not be kept up by breeding, if proper regulations and expedients were adopted, and steadily persevered in ?

From their own irregularities.

Are the Negroes a race of men as capable of labour in the climate of the West Indies, as the inhabitants of other countries are in climates congenial to their constitutions ?

I believe when in health they are capable of doing all kinds of works they are called to.

What is generally understood to be the legal protection enjoyed by Slaves against ill usage on the part of their master or any other White person ?

If a man ill uses his Slave to a degree, he is amenable to the magistrates ; and if he wantonly destroys him, he is tried for his life.

Do you recollect many instances of White men being legally convicted and punished for ill usage of their own Slaves, or those of other persons ?

I cannot say that I do recollect many instances.

Does not the chief protection of the Negroes from ill usage by other persons consist in the interest their masters have in protecting them from it ?

In some degree to be sure, but I hope from humanity also.

What is your idea of the treatment of Slaves in the British Islands,

Islands, compared with what it is in the Spanish and French settlements ?

I have understood that the Spaniards treat their Slaves better than we do ; that we treat them better than the French ; and the French treat them better than the Dutch.

What is the ordinary situation, and what the occupations, of the free Negroes in the Island of Jamaica ?

They follow their different occupations of different trades, such as carpenters, masons, and all kinds of trades ; but, for want of regulation, they are debauched, and become a very great nuisance ; they raise stock of different kinds, and bring them to market for sale.

What was commonly understood to be the proportion between male and female Slaves in the Island of Jamaica ?

I believe there are a great many more males than females ; but I understand of late years, the planters would rather have a greater proportion of females.

Was it generally understood that the system of breeding Negroes was cheaper than that of working them out, and keeping up the gang by imported Africans ?

I have never heard much about it.

Were the importations from Africa chiefly necessary for keeping up the cultivation at its existing height, or for extending the plantation, and opening new ground ?

For both reasons ; and a planter who should find himself in easy circumstances I am persuaded would, from his humanity, incline to buy more Negroes to ease the work of those he already had.

Would a greater number of Negroes be requisite for extending the cultivation of the Island on account of the unwholesomeness of clearing and opening new grounds ?

Without a doubt.

Can you form any idea of the comparative loss in clearing and working these new grounds, and old settled plantations ?

I cannot ; but I am persuaded it would be great in proportion.

Is the situation of field or domestic Negroes generally esteemed the most desirable ?

The

The field Negro, as I have already observed, looks forward to something better, that is, to the cultivation of his own grounds and stock, which not only produce the necessaries of life and comforts to him, but with the overplus give him what he understands to be the luxuries of life; yet it is my opinion, the lazy house Slave would not change situations with him.

Is the number of domestics commonly kept in the West Indies greater than that in families of persons of equal rank in this country?

The number may be trifling at first; but as none of their progeny are turned into the field, they augment greatly in a few years time.

Have any British families in that country White domestics?

Many carry them over, but their masters are soon tired of them, and they of their masters.

Do they commonly live to return to this country, or does the climate prove fatal to them?

More in proportion return to this country, than of those whose duty requires them to be exposed to the vicissitudes of the climate.

Do the Spaniards use Negroes for the working of their mines?
I do not know.

Do you apprehend that English seamen taken on the coast of Spanish America, in the contraband trade, are ever condemned to that employ?

I have heard it has happened, but I do not know it.

Have you ever understood that in the Spanish Islands any regulations exist, by which it is put into the power of the Slave to work out his own freedom?

I do not know whether it exists among the plantation Slaves, I should think not; but I have heard it does exist as to the domestic Slaves in the Havannah.

Do you apprehend, or have you ever heard, that the planters in Jamaica are frequently induced, by the purchase of new Negroes, to an unprofitable extension of their cultivation?

Yes, I have; but still that cultivation goes on to the benefit of
the

the next purchaser; many a man loses by the extension, when his successor benefits by it.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 25^o die Martii 1790.

Counsel called in as before; and the Counsel proceeded further in their Examination, and called

Sir RALPH PAYNE, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath.

Have you ever resided in the West Indies, in what Island or Islands, for how long, and whether in any public capacity?

In the very early part of my life I paid two visits to the West Indies, but they were visits of compliment to friends whom I had residing there, and made with a view likewise of obtaining some idea of the property which I was afterwards to possess; a few years afterwards, the latter end of 1771, I returned to that part of the world in a public capacity, having the honour of the office of Governor General of the Leeward Islands. I continued there almost four years, and during that period I occasionally visited all the principal Islands in my government.

When did you last leave those Islands?

In June 1775.

What did you observe of the behaviour and treatment of masters towards their Negro Slaves in the Islands under your government?

I never observed any circumstance in the general treatment of Slaves by their masters that deserved censure or impeachment; the œconomy and management of the Slaves appeared to me to be wise and humane.

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, clothed, and lodged?

Most unquestionably they did.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear?

By no means; I trust I do not hazard a contradiction, when I aver that there is no Slave, at least none that I ever saw, the severity of whose labour is by any means comparable to that of a day-labourer in England; a circumstance that may corroborate this assertion is, that the season of the year when the labour of the Slaves is the severest, is in those months which are called crop months; and it is notorious that there is no season of the year or kind of labour so desired by the Slaves as this; they are likewise infinitely healthier and better looking at that season than at any other.

Do the Negroes appear to be in a desponding state, or are they in general satisfied with their condition?

I never saw or observed any circumstance in their general appearance which indicated despondency; nothing is more common than to see them perform their daily labour singing, and with an appearance of gaiety that by no means suggests an idea of despondency; in regard to their general satisfaction with their condition, I do not believe that they have any further general dissatisfaction with it, than the greatest part of mankind in their respective stations; they have every appearance of comfort, their necessities are supplied, and their situation is either more or less comfortable in proportion to their own industry: with industry a Slave may arrive at a state of comparative affluence; the example of the number of Negroes who purchase their own freedom is some testimony of this; and, if not troublesome to the Committee, I will mention a very corroborating one of it.—Some time before I quitted the West Indies a Slave who was advanced in life desired of me his manumission, and I gave it him without hesitation, at the same time I thought it necessary to enquire of him what were his circumstances, and what his ability to maintain himself after I left the West Indies, and when perhaps my future representatives might no longer consider him an object of their care; he considered for a short time, and then told me, that he believed that he was worth at least between £. 500 and £. 600; his fortune consisted in some Slaves which he had of his own, some houses that he had upon the Bay, and boats in which he occasionally went a fishing himself, and let out to other people.

Do you conceive that the plantations in the West Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

I conceive the project to be visionary and impracticable, so indisputably

disputably impracticable, that I do not conceive that two opinions can exist upon the subject in minds at all acquainted with it.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

In what Islands in the West Indies have you estates ?

I have one estate in Antigua, and another in St. Christopher's.

By what name is your Antigua estate usually called ; and did that estate come to you as a family estate, or otherwise ?

It has passed for a number of years, and still passes, by the name of Carlisle's ; I inherited it from my maternal grandfather, whose name was Carlisle.

How many Slaves have you upon that estate ?

Having lately passed two years and an half on the continent, and under the consequent necessity of resigning my West India correspondence during my absence to other persons in England, I really at this moment cannot answer this question with accuracy ; but the last returns which I received before I went abroad amounted to above 470, and I should guess that my number of Slaves on that estate at this moment cannot be very distant from 500.

Are those Slaves all Creoles, or is there amongst them any Negroes born in Africa ?

There are none on the estate who were born in Africa ; they are all, without exception, Creoles.

How many Slaves, as near as you can state, have you upon your St. Christopher estate ?

I cannot answer this question with precision, for the same reason that I this moment stated with respect to my Antigua estate ; but I should guess that there may be 140 or 150.

Are the Slaves upon that estate all Creoles, or is there amongst them any Negroes born in Africa ?

They are miscellaneous, partly one and partly the other.

In what year did you succeed to the inheritance of that estate ?

In 1771.

Since its belonging to you have you purchased any new Negroes, and placed them thereon ?

When

When I succeeded to it, to the best of my recollection, I found upon it about 170 Negroes, or thereabouts, which number was looked upon to be not only competent for the cultivation of the estate, but enabled my predecessor occasionally to perform what is called task-work, the estate was thought to be very liberally handed; but wishing that they might (if I may be allowed the expression) play with their work, and that I might have the satisfaction of reflecting that I had the same affluence of hands on my St. Christopher's estate as I had on my Antigua one, I purchased between twenty and thirty more, and completed the number to that of 200.

Since your accession to your Antigua estate, have you ever added to the gang of Negroes which you found thereon, by purchase or otherways of other Slaves?

Never one; it never was necessary, for I have many more than are necessary for the cultivation of the estate.

Have you kept up the original number found thereon by you, or added thereto by births?

The number has not only been supported but very considerably increased.

Did you attend minutely to the management of your estates during your residence abroad, or did you confide to the management and direction of them by other persons?

A very short experience after my arrival in my government convinced me of the impossibility of paying due attention to the management of my estates, consistently with that which I owed to my government; and I found that with a divided attention, though I might possibly in my public administration have had the good fortune to escape censure, I could not execute it to my own satisfaction, and I therefore prevailed on the gentlemen who had had the kindness to conduct my private affairs in my absence, and who deserved my unlimited confidence, to remain in their trust in the same manner as if I had been absent. I resided on neither of my estates, I gave no orders in their management, though I might possibly at times suggest my ideas to my attorneys; nor did I pay any further attention to the interior œconomy of my plantations than occasionally riding over them when I had time and opportunity, and inspecting the accounts, which were periodically laid before me in the same manner as if I was resident in England.

Was

Was there, to your knowledge or belief, less care and attention paid by your attornies and managers at St. Christopher's to the Slaves on your estate in that Island than there was towards those upon your estate at Antigua, or did you give any directions concerning their treatment?

I think that I can confidently take upon me to say, that equal care was taken of my Slaves at St. Christopher's as of those at Antigua. My attornies at St. Christopher's were men of knowledge and indisputable humanity. I said just now that I occasionally suggested ideas to my attornies, although I never assumed the province of directing them; and observing the success of my Antigua estate with respect to its increase of Slaves, I suggested to my attornies at St. Christopher's every idea that I thought would contribute to assimilate their management.—I remember particularly that part of the food, when I arrived in my government, of the Negroes upon the St. Christopher's estate, was rice, and I recollect having desired that corn might be substituted, not that I knew that it was essentially more nutritious or better for them; but because it was part of the food of my Negroes at Antigua; and in several other particulars I endeavoured to assimilate the customs and mode of management on one estate to what I found succeeded so well on the other.

Have you reason to think that the ideas you thus occasionally suggested to your attornies were duly followed or neglected on your St. Christopher's estate?

I think I can, as confidently assert that they were, as I can speak to any other circumstances or event to which I am not absolutely an eye-witness. I have not the least doubt of it.

How then do you account for the flourishing condition and natural increase of the Slaves upon your Antigua estate, and the great decrease of those upon your St. Christopher's estate, notwithstanding the numbers purchased and added by you thereto since it came into your possession?

I really find it difficult to answer this question with that satisfaction to the Committee that I could wish. It really appears to me unaccountable; for, from the situation and circumstances of my St. Christopher's plantation, there is every reason to suppose that the increase of the Slaves there would be at least equal to that on my Antigua plantation. The situation of my Antigua estate is not an unhealthy one, but by no means comparable to that of the other. The Negroes on my estate at St. Christopher's, though not a third of the number, have infinitely more land for

their own use. They always used to have a more liberal allowance of food and cloathing from my predecessors than those on the Antigua estate. When I came to the possession of my Antigua estate, though it has been in my family above fourscore years, and the Negroes always continued to increase, I found they had little or no provisions allowed them by my predecessors: they have since been put on the same establishment with all other estates. With respect to cloathing, although when they were at work in the field they were all as well clothed as field Negroes generally are, they had never, during my possession of it, a yard of clothing allowed them according to the custom of all other estates; not that I denied it to them, but it never had been the custom, and I scarcely knew that they had it not. A few years ago, they desired they might have the same proportion of clothing that all other estates had; and though the experience of a great many years had shewn that it was not absolutely necessary, I instantly gave orders that their request should be granted. All that I can say with regard to the population and depopulation of the respective estates, is, that the one which I have at St. Christopher's has sustained the same misfortune as almost all other estates in the Sugar Colonies, and that I am afraid is inseparable from them: with regard to the Antigua estate, the only reason that I ever heard assigned for the uncommon increase of the Slaves on it is, that my grandfather, who could dispense with the immediate labour of male Slaves, and was attentive to the advantage of his posterity, whenever he had occasion to purchase Slaves for his plantation always purchased women, so that the estate for many years was a nursery for young Slaves. I remember likewise to have heard Mr. Blizzard, one of my attornies, who was chief justice of the Island of Antigua, a man whose memory will long be revered in that part of the world, assign another reason for the continuation of that increase; the Slaves on my Antigua estate, it is notorious to those who have been in Antigua and are acquainted with that Island, from the circumstance of their being all natives on the estate, and indeed most of them the offspring of natives, look upon themselves in a superior rank to all other Slaves in the Island. I frequently heard Mr. Blizzard say, that, though his plantation is contiguous to mine, he never could get any of the breed of my Negroes on his estate; none of the men would marry in his estate, they married among themselves, though possibly the women may have their gallants from other estates.

From your own experience, and information from others, do
you

you think that it is generally supposed by the planters in the Leeward Islands, to be more for their interest to attend to the increase of their gangs of Slaves by births, than by purchases of new Slaves from the Coast of Africa?

I believe certainly; I never had a doubt of it.

What is your own opinion on that subject?

My own opinion is, that it is infinitely more to the advantage of the planter to rear Negroes on his plantation, than to purchase them.

In your several visits to the different Islands which were under your government, did any instance of cruelty, or any other enormity of behaviour from masters to their Slaves, come to your knowledge or information?

I do not recollect ever to have heard of any; the interest of the master certainly is, and is generally thought in the West Indies to be a security for the good treatment of the Slave.

From your knowledge of those who presided in the courts of justice, and other officers of magistracy in the different Islands under your government, do you think that a Slave would have an equal administration of justice in his favour for any outrage or cruelty committed on his person?

From my knowledge of those who presided in the courts of justice, and other officers of magistracy, I am confident that a Slave would have had an equal administration of justice in his favour; I am afraid that this point is much more doubted in England than in the Colonies themselves.

Did you ever understand it to be a generally prevailing notion of law in the Leeward Islands, that a Slave was without redress, even against his master, in the case of murder, by severity of punishment?

So far from understanding that this was a generally prevailing notion of law in the Leeward Islands, I have never entertained a doubt myself, nor have I ever heard a doubt expressed by any sensible reasonable man, but that the master of a Slave is equally liable to be tried for his life for the murder of his Slave, as for the murder of any White person.

How many parishes are there in the Island of St. Christopher?

To the best of my remembrance there are nine.

Is there a minister to each parish, or are they, or how many of them, held in plurality?

The difficulty of procuring proper and respectable ministers for all the parishes, has long made it customary to give two livings to one clergyman; this custom prevails in all the Leeward Islands. At St. Christopher's I think five clergymen hold the nine livings; four of them have two livings each, and the fifth holds one.

What is the stipend allowed by the law of the Leeward Islands (exclusive of surplice and other fees which are taken by clergymen) to the minister of each parish?

The stipend settled on every minister in the Leeward Islands, by a general act of the Leeward Islands, besides the surplice and other fees, is 16,000 pounds weight of sugar, which they may either, at their option, receive in sugar, or commute it for money, at the current value of the sugar.

Is there not besides this a parsonage-house and glebe assigned to each parish?

There is.

What, in your judgment, may be the average annual value to the minister of two country parishes in any of the Islands, under all the above circumstances and allowances?

I cannot pretend to be very accurate, but I believe that I am not very inaccurate, and that I do not over-rate the value of two country livings, at between 5 and £. 600 sterling.

When you state the labour of the Negro as being so easy, do you mean to refer to it in, as well as out of, crop time?

When I speak of the ease of labour, I speak of it comparatively with that of a day labourer of England, and I meant principally out of crop; in crop time the labour is certainly severer, but I did not conceive that season to be so very oppressive as to be a subject of commiseration, when it was that most desired by the Slaves themselves, and at which they unquestionably enjoy the best health and appearance; by appearance I mean that they looked fatter, and appeared in better spirits.

Are the occupations of the field chiefly such as are not superior to the strength of women?

I stated in my answer to a preceding question the reason why I wished to be very cautious in delivering any opinion upon matters of interior management and œconomy of an estate; but I think
I can

I can answer this question without hesitation from casual observations, that I do think that they are not.

From what you have observed, do you conceive the Negroes are a race of men as capable of labour in the climate of the West Indies as the inhabitants of other countries in climates congenial to their constitutions ?

I am convinced that they are ; and that they are the only race of men competent to the cultivation of lands in that part of the world.

Was the Slave, of whom you have spoken as having been worth 500 or £. 600, a field or a domestic Slave, or a tradesman ?

Of his condition in the early part of his life I am unable to speak ; I know that he was not a native of the West Indies, and I mentioned him as a proof to what degree of comfort a foreign Negro might attain without any family or other advantages that might naturally be supposed to attend a native. When I manumitted him, and I believe for several years antecedent, he was a distiller, and I suppose promoted to that situation from his merit and good behaviour.

What was his age at the time of his manumission ?

I hardly know how to answer that question with any degree of accuracy ; but, if I should guess from his appearance, he was, at the time of his manumission, from sixty to sixty-three years of age.

Do you conceive his whole fortune was of his own acquiring ?

I am as sure of it as I can be of a thing of that nature.

Was the circumstance of his having Slaves of his own known to your manager ?

Certainly.

Was this on St. Christopher's or Antigua estate ?

On St. Christopher's.

What was the quantity of land on your two estates respectively ?

I cannot answer that question with any accuracy ; but I should imagine at St. Christopher's there may be from 150 to 170 acres ; since I left the West Indies I know that some of the cane land has been thrown out in consequence of the diminution of the Negroes.

Can you state the ordinary quantity of produce on each estate respectively?

And the question being objected to;

The Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

The Witness was asked,

Do you recollect whether the provision ground of the two estates in St. Christopher's and Antigua was nearly similar in situation, and whether in both it was subdivided amongst the Negroes, or the whole or any part of it worked by the whole gang?

In all these plantation matters, as I have before suggested, I speak with great diffidence. To answer the question to the best of my abilities, the situation of the Negro provision land in the two estates is very different, as the situation of the respective estates are likewise so; the situation of my Antigua estate, and consequently of the provision land, is almost a perfect flat, and the quantity of provision ground but very small. My St. Christopher's estate is a tract of land rising gently from the sea to a mountain, and the provision ground partakes of the nature of the situation of the whole estates; but the quantity of provision ground is very considerable. In the upper part of the estate, which is not cultivated as cane land, there is so much ground to spare, that the Negroes have always had as much as they chose to ask; besides this, my estate is bounded to the east and west by guts, the part of which guts belonging to me has always been given to the Negroes. With regard to the subdivision of the provision land, the Negroes have their own separate, respective, independent property in it: for the general raising of provisions for the Negroes there are other parts of the estate (I mean of the cane land) which are generally appropriated for this purpose, land that at one time of the year is planted with canes, at others is planted with yams, potatoes, and eddoes for the Negroes.

What was the situation of the Negro huts?

I should imagine rather nearer to the sea than the mountain, in a situation that I believe, without exception, is one of the most healthy spots in the Island, as is the whole of the estate.

What

What is the distance from the sea to the extremity of the mountain provision land?

I should think not much above a mile.

Do you recollect the quantities of rice and corn allowed to the Negroes per head on your two estates respectively?

I do not recollect, but the quantity of corn allowed at Saint Christopher's was certainly equal to that at Antigua.

Do you recollect the number of males and females on the two estates respectively?

I really cannot say.

Do you recollect whether the Slaves who died on the Saint Christopher's estate were chiefly infants, or grown Slaves?

While I was resident in the Leeward Islands, I occasionally repaired the losses the estate sustained in its number of Slaves by purchase; and I left it with the number, or nearly the number I before stated: whether the diminution since my return to England has happened amongst the grown Slaves or infants, I really cannot take upon me to say.

Can you inform the Committee whether the loss has been gradual ever since the completing of the number, or whether a larger proportion has been lost at any particular time?

To the best of my recollection and belief, the decrease has been gradual; I remember no year in which I had reason to think myself more unfortunate in this respect than in any other year.

Was the tetanus fatal to many of the infants of your gang?

Upon my word I have not the least knowledge of it.

Has the Saint Christopher's estate been under the same manager ever since the year 1771?

No, it has not, the manager whom I left there, a few years after my return to England returned also himself, and settled with his family, the subsequent manager died on the estate, and there is now a third.

Do you recollect how long, previous to the year 1771, the manager whom you left on the estate had been in that situation?

That manager was put on the estate during the time I was abroad.

Do you recollect whether in both, or either of your two estates, there were rooms appropriated for the lying-in women, or were they delivered in their own habitations?

I really am not planter enough to answer that question; I know there are hospitals or places for the sick on both my estates, as well as, I believe, on every other in the Sugar Colonies, which I believe are attended with every possible care; on each of my estates, and I believe on all other estates, a physician is hired by the year, and attends constantly twice or thrice a week to the inspection of the sick; besides their annual stipend, I believe they are paid extraordinary for lying-in women, for inoculations, operations, and all extraordinary occasions.

Have the field Negroes in general property of their own?
Certainly they have, more or less.

May they in general be deemed an industrious set of people?
This is matter of opinion; but those that are industrious are sure of being comfortable.

Has the expence of the maintenance of Negroes encreased considerably since the shutting up the American ports from the colonies?

I apprehend it has.

On the whole do you believe the treatment of Slaves better or worse than it was twenty years ago?

I can speak only to my observation of their treatment while I resided in command at the Leeward Islands, at which time I believe I have already delivered my opinion of their situation and treatment; what subsequent changes or alterations may have been made in their treatment since I left the West Indies, I am really unable to speak to.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 26^o die Martii 1790.

COUNSEL and Witnesses called in as before; and the Witness was further examined by the Members of the Committee.

By whom is criminal justice administered in the West India Islands? SIR RALPH PAYNE.

There is in each Island a chief justice, and, to the best of my recollection, three, if not four, puisne judges; there are likewise, nominated by the captain general or commander in chief for the time being of the Leeward Islands, ordinary magistrates for the preservation of the peace, and vested with the same power as justices of the peace are in England.

Are the judges commonly professional persons, who go out from this country, or are they natives or proprietors of estates in the West Indies?

It has sometimes happened that an Island has been fortunate enough to have a professional person at the head of its law; but in general the emoluments of the office are so very inconsiderable that no man who can obtain a competent livelihood at the bar will accept of the honour of the bench; and it is very much to be lamented that government has never taken this subject into consideration, and allowed such a salary for this purpose as may encourage competent people to accept the office; however, when no person regularly bred to the law, with a proper character, can be found for the employment, the most scrupulous care is always taken either in the appointment abroad, or in recommending for the appointment at home, persons from among the planters of the fairest and most unblemished character.

Can you inform the Committee from what fund the judges are paid?

During my administration the judges received no salary from any fund whatever, and their little emoluments proceeded from certain fees of office established by the law of the Island. I have heard, that since I quitted the government of the Leeward Islands, Mr. Robinson was appointed chief justice of the Virgin Islands (which form a part of the government of the Leeward Islands) with a salary of £, 200 sterling a year.

Does his jurisdiction extend no further than to the Virgin Islands?

It is confined entirely to the Virgin Islands.

Of what description of persons do the justices of the peace in the Leeward Islands commonly consist, and by whom are they appointed?

While I had the honour of the command in that government, I always appointed them out of the most respectable planters and merchants.

Do you recollect any instances, during your residence in the West Indies, of White persons having been brought to legal punishment for ill treatment of their own Slaves, or of any other Slaves, or of free Negroes?

At the distance of fifteen years, some allowance must be made for the want of an accurate memory of many circumstances; but I do not recollect any occurrence of the nature, nor did I ever, to the best of my remembrance, hear of any enormity committed by a White man on the person of a Negro, that deserved punishment.

Can you recollect whether, in your gang in Antigua, the Slaves were many of them intermarried one amongst the other?

I cannot speak to this point from my own knowledge; but I have always understood, from those who managed and superintended the estate, that their marriages were principally with one another.

Do you recollect whether the number of Slaves on your estate at Antigua was greater, in proportion to the quantity of cane land or of produce, than it was in St. Christopher's, either before or after you had increased the number to 200 in the latter Island?

Even then the proportion was infinitely greater at Antigua than at St. Christopher's; for in the purchases that I made at St. Christopher's I never meant to establish what is called a Task Gang; but only to have such an abundance as might make the general labour of the estate very easy. Whereas, after allowing a sufficient number for the same purpose to the Antigua estate, I had a great many supernumerary ones, which I could very well spare, and with which I certainly should have supplied my St. Christopher's estate, if I had not been unwilling to separate families and friends.

Was

Was the gang then at St. Christopher's no smaller, in proportion to the quantity of land or produce, than the gang in Antigua, exclusive of those of the latter who were employed in task-work?

I really cannot answer what proportion of the Antigua Negroes were annually employed in task-work; and for reasons which I stated yesterday, I answer all questions relative to the interior œconomy and management of my plantations with great diffidence.

Must, however, part of the Antigua gang be considered as unnecessary for the cultivation of your own estate, and as kept for the purpose of task-work?

There is no particular part of the Antigua gang appropriated to the purpose of task-work, but they are all, and by turns, employed on task-work as occasion offers.—Sometimes I know, upon certain exigencies, the whole gang is employed upon the estate, though certainly a much inferior number would be equal to the general cultivation of it.

Have you ever been in any of the French West India Islands?

I was, many years ago, when I was little more than a boy, certainly not a man, at the Island of Guadaloupe?

Do you know who is at present the chief justice of the island of Antigua?

I do perfectly.

Do you know whether that gentleman was called to the bar as counsel at law?

I know that he was, and practised several years in Antigua with great reputation.

Was not a Doctor Thomas your acting attorney at St. Christopher's, after your return to England, and also one of your attorneys whilst you resided in the West Indies?

He was my acting attorney during my residence in the West Indies, and continued in that trust to the day of his death, which happened, as well as I can charge my memory, about four or five years ago.

Had he not been regularly bred to the profession of surgery under Mr. Warner in London; and was he not also a man of acknowledged ability and humanity?

His

His abilities and humanity were unquestionable; and I have heard Mr. Warner, with whom he lived, express the greatest respect for his personal merit, and knowledge and skill in his profession.

Had he not the medical care of your Slaves at St. Christopher's, and was he not also employed in that capacity by your uncle and predecessor?

He was employed in that capacity by my uncle, and continued by me in it as long as he lived.

Are you not satisfied that the mortality amongst your Slaves at St. Christopher's was not occasioned either by the want of skill or attention on his part in their recovery?

I am satisfied that the mortality amongst my Slaves was not occasioned either by the want of skill or attention on his part in their recovery.—I never knew a man possessed of more humanity, benevolence, and philanthropy than Dr. Thomas; and I am confident that his own feelings operated as powerfully with him as the consideration of his duty.

You have said, that in consequence of the decrease of your Slaves at St. Christopher's, you have thrown out of cultivation a part of your cane land on the estate; if that decrease should continue, and you be deprived of the means of supplying the loss of Slaves by the purchase of others, shall you be obliged to throw out of cultivation an additional quantity of your cane land, and perhaps eventually the whole of it?

It is the natural and inevitable consequence.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

And the Counsel having proposed to examine

Sir ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, a Member present;

And the said Member having consented thereto;

He was asked,

Did you ever reside in the West Indies; in what Island, and in what station?

I resided for three years, in the war before last, in the French Islands of Martinique, Guadaloupe, and Dominique, after the conquest of those Islands, in a military capacity—I also resided
five

five years at Jamaica during the last war, two years of which time I was governor of the Island.

What have you observed with respect to the conduct of masters towards their Negroes in Jamaica?

It appeared that the conduct of masters towards the Negro Slaves in Jamaica was marked with great kindness and humanity.

Did it appear to you that their treatment was mild and humane?

It did.

Did they appear to be properly fed, clothed, and lodged?

They did.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required of them than they could properly bear?

I had not an opportunity of ascertaining that fact—I understood that it was the interest of their master not to give them more labour than they could bear.

Did the Negroes appear comfortable and satisfied with their condition?

They did—I heard of no complaints to the contrary.

On a comparison of their condition with that of the peasantry or labouring poor in Europe, what is your opinion, are they more or less comfortable than the latter?

I cannot answer that question, I am not a judge of the labour of the poor of this country?

Is it your opinion that the plantations in the West Indies could be cultivated to advantage by Europeans?

I do not conceive it possible.

If the supply of African Negroes should be stopt, what, in your opinion, would be the effect of such a measure to the British Sugar Plantations in the West Indies?

I should imagine its immediate effect would be a stop to all improvement—and that the consequence would be ultimately a general decrease in all the Sugar Plantations.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

What is your opinion respecting the treatment of Slaves in the French West India Islands, compared with what it is in our own?

As far as I had an opportunity of knowing, I think the treatment was similar—the French treat their Slaves with great humanity also.

During your residence in Jamaica do you recollect any instances of a White man being brought to legal punishment for ill usage of his own Slaves, or of any other Slaves, or of free Negroes?

It might have been so, but it does not occur to my memory at present; my time was taken up in the general defence of the Island.

Do you recollect any instances of the sort in the French Islands?

I do not; I was not in the way of knowing it, being generally shut up in the garrison.

Do you know many instances of Slaves running away during your residence in Jamaica?

I remember several having been brought in by the Maroon Negroes, agreeably to the treaty settled with them by Governor Trelawney.

Do you recollect to what this running away was attributed?

I understood it was often occasioned by staying too long in the neighbouring plantations with the women they were attached to, and afraid to return home afterwards; and at other times from their general disposition to idleness, and from an idea that they could live with the Maroon Negroes without being discovered by their masters. There might have been other causes, but these are instances I have often met with.

When brought in by the Maroon Negroes were they returned to their proper masters, and how was it known to whom they did belong?

They were always returned to their masters; when the Maroon Negroes knew they belonged to a plantation, they generally carried them there, when they did not, they were often carried to head quarters until their masters were known.

How

How was it known to whom they belonged, either by the Maroon Negroes in the first instance, or, when they came to head quarters, by the officers there?

At all the towns where there are Maroon Negroes, there is a White superintendant, who generally directs them where to carry the Slaves after they are taken; if he cannot discover the plantation to which they belong, they were either sent to head quarters or to a public gaol, and advertised.

Do you recollect the particulars of these advertisements so distinctly as to say whether brands are not often mentioned as discriminating marks of these Negroes?

I do, and it is very often the case; but I understood those marks to be marks of their own country.

From whom did you understand this?

My reason for thinking so was, that almost all the new Negroes that came to the Island while I was there had their particular country marks.

In saying that these were particular country marks, did you mean that they were made in the interior country of Africa, from which they originally came; or only that they were made in Africa, previous to their exportation from thence.

I understood they were made in Africa, previous to their exportation from thence.

Did any of those marks appear to be quite fresh?

No, I never saw them fresh?

By those marks mentioned in your last answer, which you never saw fresh, did you mean to refer to the marks on the Negroes on their importation, or on those Slaves who had been brought in by the Maroon Negroes?

All marks of that kind I understood to be marks acquired in Africa.

Do you mean that these marks were made on the sea coast, or in the interior country from whence they came?

I understood they were marks acquired before they came to the Island, but where I never heard.

Do you understand that the various tribes of Negroes in Africa are distinguished by tattooing or marks impressed on their faces and
other

other parts of their bodies by the natives themselves, and not by Europeans.

I understood the tribes were so distinguished.

Do you know the numbers of the Maroon Negroes when a treaty was made with them by Governor Trelawney, in 1739.

I have heard that they amounted to about 3,000 men fit to carry arms.

What was their numbers during the time of your government?

I made every possible exertion to get all the fighting men to turn out when the French and Spaniards meditated an attack on the Island of Jamaica, and to my great astonishment found that the fighting men in all the Maroon towns did not amount to 300.

Did you ever know of any Maroon Negroes hiring themselves to field labour?

I never did.

Do you know whether there are great numbers of free Negroes in the towns and different parishes of that Island?

I do.

Are they a dissolute and idle, or a laborious and industrious, description of men?

In general they are idle and dissipated.

Have they generally matrimonial connections with Negro women on plantations?

I was not in that secret, but I rather think they had.

Do you imagine that that connection was formed for the purpose of deriving from their wives a subsistence; in order that they might themselves live in idleness?

I think it very probable.

To what do you impute the decrease of the Maroon Negroes from 3,000 to 300?

To many causes; but chiefly to a free access to spirits, of which they are remarkably fond.

Have they not women among them?

Yes.

Have they not wives ?

Yes.

Do you know any other causes why the Maroon Negroes are diminished in their number ?

I have heard that they very often cohabit with the women of the neighbouring plantations.

Can you inform the Committee whether the gross number of Maroon Negroes in Jamaica are supposed to be increased or decreased ?

I understand decreasing daily.

Does your information or recollection enable you to say in what proportion that decrease is to their original number ?

It does not ; but (if the fact is established that there were 3,000 fighting Negroes when the treaty was settled with the Maroons) I am very certain, from the returns made to me when in Jamaica, there was not, in the year 1782, above one-tenth of the number of fighting men existing ; my information only extends to the proportion of fighting men.

JOHN ORDE, Esquire, called in, and examined.

Did you ever reside in the West Indies ; in what Island, and whether in any public capacity ?

I have been almost ten years in the West Indies ; three of them at Jamaica, as midshipman and lieutenant of the navy ; a few months at the Leeward Islands as lieutenant of the Navy ; and near six years as governor of Dominique.

How long is it since your return from your government ?

About seven months.

What have you observed of the behaviour and treatment of masters towards their Negro Slaves in the several Islands where you have been ?

That it in general has been humane and good ; instances have occurred of severe masters in the West Indies, as in all parts of the world, one or two I have known at Dominique ; when it was known to the legislature, a bill was soon brought into the house of assembly, which passed into a law, calculated to give further protection to the Negroes, and to promote religion and morality

amongst them: masters are now obliged by that law, under heavy penalties, to give their Negroes a certain quantity of food, clothing, and medical aid; masters and overseers are limited in their powers of punishing them; a trial by jury is secured to the Negroes in all capital cases, and it is made felony in a White person to kill a Negro; masters are also enjoined to have their Negro children christened within a certain time, and to have divine service performed by some White person on the estate once a week.

Is that law so observed that the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, clothed, and lodged?

It has but lately passed, but I believe that it is attended to, and the Negroes are very well taken care of, and I believe they were well taken care of before the law passed, in general. I would wish that my answers should be generally understood as applying to Dominique particularly; for though I was at Jamaica about three years, yet as I was serving in the navy I had but little opportunity to remark so particularly the treatment of masters towards their Slaves.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear?

No, it did not; the Negro was seldom required to be in the field and at work above ten hours in the twenty-four; the custom of Dominique generally is not to turn the Negroes into the field until after sun-rise; they have about half an hour to their breakfast, which they eat in the field, and they have from twelve o'clock to two to their dinner; they cease labour at sun-set, except bringing home a bundle of grass: the Negroes are generally observed to be most healthy at crop time, both at making sugar and coffee, to the best of my belief.

Do you think, comparatively speaking, that the labour of the Negro is greater in the West Indies, or so great, as that of the common labourer in England?

I really do not think it greater; the labour of the hedger and ditcher I think is full as great.

How are the Negroes treated or taken care of in sickness or old age, or when from any infirmity they are incapable of labour?

When sick they are very well taken care of; many estates have hospitals on purpose for their reception, many have medical
people

people living upon them, and almost all others are attended by the faculty once or twice a week, or oftener if necessary; the old people I believe are also well taken care of; I never saw a beggar in the street.

Do the Negroes appear to be in a desponding state, or are they in general satisfied with their condition?

They appear very well satisfied with their condition in general. I have heard it from very good authority that Negroes have been offered to go back to their country, which they have refused; I have also understood that some have been offered their freedom, and have refused it. When new Negroes come to the Island, the old ones go down to the beach, and places whence they can see them, and appear to consider their own situation as vastly preferable. During the time I had the honour to command in Dominique, the attachment of the Negroes to their masters was put to strong proof:—A number of runaway Negroes had come over from the Foreign Islands, and a number of the Negroes in Dominique had been tempted (perhaps by the French) to leave their masters; some had also (through discontent perhaps) deserted. The whole inhabited the woods of Dominique, and were armed. From thence they committed many acts of violence against the inhabitants; so many, that the legislature, after ineffectually trying every means to reclaim them by lenient measures, thought it proper, and absolutely necessary, to endeavour to reduce them by force. On that service Slaves from the different estates were employed. Those Slaves, throughout the whole course of that service, manifested the greatest zeal and desire to reduce those runaways, and bring them back to their duty.

Do you conceive that plantations in the West Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

I conceive it absolutely impossible. We have some number of White artificers working in all the Islands; those people, from having very great wages, are enabled to live well, yet work moderately, and almost always under cover; yet notwithstanding that, in the Island of Dominique (as far as my knowledge goes) more than half of what were there when I went out were dead when I came away. The loss of European troops in Saint Lucia I have heard imputed principally to their being employed in rolling provisions, only for a few hours in the day, up to Morne Fortuné.

Can the present stock of Negroes in the Islands be kept up without an annual importation of Slaves from Africa?

In the Island of Dominique, to which I speak principally, we certainly have not decreased for these six or seven years past; and I have my doubts whether, if not visited by any of those epidemical diseases, or other extraordinary causes of mortality, and which are incident to those climates, the present numbers might not be kept up: But we have advantages in the Island of Dominique which, perhaps, no other Island possesses.— From the great quantity of uncultivated land, the Negroes have opportunities to raise as much provisions as they please, and, with a surplus, to buy a thousand necessaries and conveniences. From our proximity also to the Foreign Islands, from which a vast number of vessels touch every day, they can always command an advantageous market. The quantity of good water also may contribute to their healthiness; by this I only mean to say, that the same number that are now might, without importation, be kept up. There certainly would be no possibility of extending the cultivation, nor do I believe the present quantity of land in cultivation could be kept so; because, as the land grows old, it requires more labour. The Island of Dominique contains about 186,000 acres, of that about 54,000 is at present in occupation, and about 26,000 in cultivation. The merely keeping up the present stock of Negroes, therefore, would be very insufficient for the wants of the Dominique proprietors; and should the Trade be abolished, they would certainly be great sufferers.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

Sabbati, 27^o die Martii, 1790.

Counsel and Witnesses called in, as before.

Mr. O R D E.

And the Witness desired to add to his last answer as follows:

That if some such encouragements to breeding were held out to the Negroes of Dominique, as are to those of some of the French Islands

Islands in the Code Noir, and if the practice of separating children from their parents was more perfectly dropt than it is, I think it might still more contribute to insure keeping up the present stock, without further importation.

I will, with leave of the Committee, beg now to explain an apparent difference between my answers to the queries transmitted by the Secretary of State, and the returns sent home from the custom-house, which is said to have been taken notice of by a Member of the House of Commons, and also commented upon in a pamphlet, written by a gentleman, calling himself an Old Member of Parliament. In some of the answers sent by me to the queries, the Negroes in the Island of Dominique are mentioned to have increased within these five or six years past. In the returns from the custom-house it appears that the number of Negroes employed between the year 1784 and 1788 amounted to 27,553, and the numbers exported in the same period amounted to only 15,781, and of course the number remaining in Dominique was 11,772. The reasons of the difference in those accounts were, as well as I remember, explained by me, in an accompanying letter to the Secretary of State, and I trust, can be in a satisfactory manner to the Committee. Previous to the free-port act, passed in 1787, no Slaves could be legally exported in foreign vessels. In the French Islands so heavy a duty was laid on those imported in foreign bottoms, that the merchant did not find it advantageous to send them in that mode. The cruizers on the coast of the French Islands were also so vigilant, that it was too dangerous to attempt running them illicitly; they were therefore smuggled out of the Island of Dominique, of which the custom-house had, of course, no returns. Since the free-port act also, the returns have been by no means such as can be depended upon. The French have, in reality, taken about four-fifths of the whole number imported, and the Spaniards and other foreigners so many of the remainder, as not, in my opinion, to leave in the Island of Dominique, in the period above mentioned, of those imported, much above 1,000, and many of them what are called the Refuse Negroes, part of which died, perhaps, before they got upon the estates. I beg leave further to add, that the documents from which the increase by births was stated, were received from Mr. Constable, the deputy treasurer of the Island, a very old inhabitant, and who was as capable of giving a true account as any person there. The returns from the French inhabitants in the parish of St. Patrick, and my own observations, serve to confirm them.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

By whom were the persons selected for the purpose of answering the queries which were sent out by the Privy Council ?

By me. Finding there was a backwardness in the Assembly to answer the queries sent to them, and desirous of collecting as early and as fully the sentiments of the different proprietors, both French and English, in the Island, as I could, I sent different copies of the queries to four or five of the principal settlers in each parish, in order to be by them communicated to the whole; I sent also those which related more particularly to trade to some of the principal merchants, to be laid by them before the whole body, and requested their answers upon them.

Do you conceive, upon the whole, that the answers may be supposed to be the result of the experience and knowledge of the most intelligent men in the Island ?

Yes.

Were the answers communicated to you before they were sent to Great Britain ?

They were communicated to me before, and were sent by me to Great Britain.

Can you inform the Committee whether there is any difference in the allowance of food to the Negroes, according to the greater or less quantity of provision ground on the estate; and if any, what is that difference ?

There is certainly a material difference; on some estates (which are but very few in the Island of Dominique, Mr. Woodbridge's in particular) where there is very little provision ground, the Negroes are almost altogether fed by the proprietor, and I believe generally receive about two pounds of salt fish, or salt beef or pork, or seven or eight herrings (according to their size) and about seven or eight quarts of farine each grown Negro per week; the children in proportion; on estates where there is more provision ground, but not quite sufficient for their full subsistence, it is the custom for the masters to give them the proportion above mentioned of fish or meat, and nothing more; on other estates, where there is plenty of provision ground (which is generally the case in Dominique) the Negroes are allowed to cultivate as much as they please, and have one day in the week in addition to the Sunday to cultivate it; the latter mode is very generally practised
by

by the French inhabitants, and is found more satisfactory to the Negroes than the others.

Was the number of Slaves lost in opening the new lands in Dominique ever in any degree ascertained?

The numbers were I fancy ascertained, but as it was before my time I cannot really or correctly say what they were; they were however, I believe, very considerable, and partly I fear owing to mismanagement; a custom then prevailed of working new Negroes immediately as they arrived, which might in part contribute to this loss, but which is now no longer followed.

Have you seen any reason to alter the opinion contained in your answer to the query of the privy council respecting the difference of profit to the owner of a West India estate resident on the spot, and resident in Great Britain?

I do not know that the difference may be quite so great as stated in that answer, but I believe it is in general very material.

Is it not your opinion, that attention to the morals and religious instruction of the Slaves would contribute to their comfort, and to their masters interest?

It is my opinion; the French certainly pay more attention than we do to those points, and benefit by it.

Has not the breeding of children been more encouraged in the French than in the British Islands?

Lately in the Island of Tobago I have understood they have established regulations by which female Slaves are excused from labour in proportion to the number of children they bear and bring up, and after having six or seven children are liberated. Mr. Gillon in Dominique I believe has begun to adopt that plan.

Considering the very small number of White persons on a plantation (generally not more than one or two) and that the evidence of Negroes cannot reasonably be admitted in courts of justice, must not the Slave's security from ill usage chiefly depend on the temper of the manager or owner of the plantation?

The laws in the Colonies are certainly not so well executed as in England; in general the honour and humanity of the owners of Slaves lead them, I dare hope, to attend to them in those instances that respect the protection of Slaves.

What

What is your opinion, from all you have heard and observed, of the comparative treatment of Slaves in the French and British Islands?

The treatment of Slaves in the French Islands I conceive, in most instances, is more severe than in those belonging to the English. The French planters in Dominique in general follow the custom of the English.

On what does the security of the Free Negroes from ill usage by White people chiefly depend?

On the laws, which have provided for their security in a different manner from that of Slaves.

In what does that difference consist?

In allowing the free Negroes the same protection and benefit from the laws as White people have in most instances.

Can you state the particular exception?

By a local law the evidence of a free Negro, or man of colour, is not admitted in capital cases against White people; there may be other differences, but I cannot immediately recollect them.

Is it your opinion that much advantage might be expected from adopting generally the practice before mentioned in Tobago of rewarding the mother who has borne and brought up a certain number of children?

I really think there might; at present Negro women are certainly averse to bearing children, and careless in bringing them up; this perhaps might correct that conduct.

To what do you ascribe this conduct in the Negro mothers?

The having children interrupts their libidinous pursuits, and makes them less desirable to the men.

Have you any reason to think that the English planter is not as ready to adopt any new practice that evidently tends to the cause of humanity and his own private interest and advantage, as the French planter is?

Certainly.

When once the practice of manumitting female Slaves, after having borne and brought up a certain number of children, shall be demonstrated by experience to have that tendency, do you not think it will then be generally followed?

The

The advantage arising from it will perhaps be ever matter of opinion; when the planter sees and is convinced of the benefit of it, I can have no doubt that he will adopt it.

What in your opinion will be the consequence to the Island of Dominique, and the empire in general, if the Slave Trade is abolished?

To the empire in general disadvantageous, to the Island of Dominique most particularly so. The proprietors in the Island of Dominique purchased their lands of government at a very high rate, trusting that they would have an opportunity of putting them in cultivation by an uninterrupted importation of Slaves. As yet, not one-third of the Island is in occupation, and only about 26,000 acres in real cultivation; if therefore there was a stop put to the importation of Slaves, it would be impossible to clear and cultivate any more of the lands, and very difficult, perhaps, to keep what is now planted in the same state of improvement.

Have you known many instances of the evidence of free Negroes, or people of colour, being taken against Whites in the courts of justice?

I never recollect it being refused, except in one instance, which was a case of murder.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

DAVID PARRY, Esquire, called in, and examined.

Did you ever reside in the West Indies; in what Island, and in what capacity?

I resided at Barbadoes, as governor of the Island, for near seven years.

At what time did you leave Barbadoes?

The 6th of July 1789.

What have you observed of the behaviour of masters towards their Negroes?

Every possible kindness, care, and attention.

Is not their treatment remarkably gentle and humane?

Certainly so.

Did the Negroes in general appear to be properly fed, clothed, and lodged?

Perfectly so; and indeed, if they had not, it would have been my business to have enforced the law for that purpose, which I should certainly have done.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required of them than they could properly bear?

Not nearly so much as I think their owners had a right to demand; and the common labour of the Negro there would be play to any peasant in this country.

Did they appear to you to be in a desponding state of mind, or had they the appearance of being happy, and satisfied with their condition?

I never saw the smallest degree of despondency amongst them, but quite the reverse. I have every reason to suppose they were perfectly satisfied, as no complaints ever reached my ears during the time of my residence there; and knowing, by experience, that there is no punishment which can be inflicted on a Negro at Barbadoes can be equal to his being banished the Island. There is no corporal punishment which they would not prefer; and I have known them even hesitate between banishment and death.

Did their situation appear to you to be, in fact, as comfortable as that of the labouring poor in England, or any other part of the world with which you are acquainted?

I think, in general, infinitely more so.

Do you think that the British plantations in the West Indies could be cultivated by Europeans?

I do not think it possible, without such a destruction to the human race as would harrow up the feelings of the hardest breast; and would be, to the imaginary distresses of the Negroes, inhumanity in the extreme.

Do you conceive that a supply of Negroes from Africa is necessary to the cultivation of the British Sugar Plantations?

Without the smallest doubt; particularly if they mean to improve more land.

Would then the abolition of the African Negro Trade be, in your opinion, detrimental to the British Sugar Colonies, and to the British empire?

Very

Very highly so in a great degree, both to the Colonies and the empire at large. My reasons for thinking so are, that it would raise the productions of that country beyond the power of the consumer in this country to purchase; and consequently lessen the public revenue, in proportion as the consumption is diminished, and very much injure the individual in his property, because it would increase his private expences.

Would it not occasion the immediate declension, and finally the ruin of the British Sugar Colonies?

It certainly would. The first operation would be a declension of the riches of the Colonies, and ultimately would be the ruin of them, unless they were at liberty to seek for and go to other markets with their sugars and other produce of all kinds. How far that would be good policy in this country, it is not for me to determine; but, in my opinion, it would be bad policy.

Is not a supply of Negroes from Africa either furnished by this country, or by foreign states, necessary to the existence of the Sugar Plantations?

I think so, certainly; for otherways, as I have said before, it would necessarily increase the value of produce so much, as would operate in preventing the consumption.

If supplies of Negroes from Africa to the British Sugar Plantations should be totally cut off, will there not be a gradual diminution of their produce, and will not the consequence finally be the extinction of the Sugar Colonies?

I should think, if the importation is totally stopt, it would be so; and I think it a very dangerous and unnecessary experiment to make; and I also know from my long experience that planters in Barbadoes (and I believe the planters in general) are men of sense, discernment, and humanity; and it appears to me, that good policy ought to leave them in the quiet management of their own affairs, and by that and every other means that can be imagined render them as beneficial as possible to this country, to the laws and constitution of which, as well as to the King's person and government, they are warmly and zealously attached.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Can you state the number of Negroes required in the cultivation of cotton, and in that of any of the other present productions in Barbadoes, compared with the number necessary in the cultivation of sugar?

One man will cultivate three acres of cotton annually, whereas one man will only cultivate one acre of sugar.

Has it not become necessary in many plantations of the Island of Barbadoes, upon account of the depredations of vermin, and from other causes, to substitute the cultivation of cotton, or other articles, in the place of that of sugar?

The substitution of cotton in the place of sugar arose more from the want of Negroes, which were lost in the hurricane of 1780, than it did from either of the other two causes assigned.

Is this substitution in any degree still going on?

In a much less degree, because fresh supplies of Negroes have been imported.

Have any of the lands on which cotton was then substituted for sugar been again allotted to the growth of the latter article?

The greater part.

What length of time was required for completing this substitution of cotton for sugar, after the hurricane?

There was no time required, because it might have been done immediately; but it did not actually take place to any extent till three or four years afterwards.

From what motives do you apprehend this substitution was made; were African Negroes difficult to be obtained?

African Negroes were very difficult to be obtained, which was certainly the cause of that substitution; there were some other causes, such as the blowing down of the sugar-works and buildings, but the principal cause was the deficiency of Negroes, and want of importation.

Did that difficulty arise from the Negroes not being brought to the Island, or from their high price?

From both.

By whom in the Island of Barbadoes were the persons selected for the purpose of returning answers to the queries sent out by the Privy Council of Great Britain?

The answers that I sent were selected by myself; those sent by the Council, by the members of that board; and those by the Assembly, by the members of that house.

Were not then the answers that were returned by individuals transmitted by you?

Yes.

Did you not select, for the purpose of returning answers to these queries, the persons on whose discernment, experience, and integrity you could most rely?

Yes, I certainly did; but I selected also persons differing in sentiment, in order to give the Secretaries of State the fullest information I could.

And then the Counsel and Witnesses were directed to withdraw.

Lunæ, 29^o die Martii 1790.

Counsel called in as before; and the Counsel proceeded further in their Examination, and called

The Right Honourable Lord RODNEY, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Admiral of the White, and Vice Admiral of England.

How long has your lordship been acquainted with the West Indies?

I first went to the West Indies in 1761.

With what Islands is your lordship acquainted, and how long have you resided therein?

The first Island I resided at was Barbadoes, then Martinique, Antigua, and St. Christopher's, and a small time at Guadaloupe, when those Islands belonged to Great Britain.

Has your lordship ever been in Jamaica ?

Yes ; I was there three years and an half.

What has your lordship observed of the behaviour and treatment of masters towards their Negro Slaves, in the several Islands where you have been ?

They appeared to me to be very attentive to them, and I cannot say that I saw any thing but great attention ; in short, it is their interest to do so : for the number of years I was in the West Indies, I never saw a single instance of cruelty, but I have seen many instances of forbearance, upon an impertinent answer being given to the master.

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, clothed, and lodged ?

It appeared to me that they were properly clothed for the climate in every Island where I was.

Do the Slaves appear to your lordship to be properly fed ?

At Jamaica they appeared to me to be much better fed than the common labouring people here ; I am only speaking of Jamaica, because the other Islands have not grounds to give them such food as Jamaica can afford.

Can your lordship state in what manner they are lodged ?

They appeared to me exceedingly well lodged for the climate, and the houses to be calculated for it.

Did it appear to your lordship that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear ?

It did not indeed.

Does your lordship think that the labour of Negro Slaves in the West Indies is greater or so great as the labour of the peasantry in England ?

No comparison ; I have often taken notice that I thought one labouring man in England did more work in one day than any three Negroes ; an hundred times I have taken notice of that, and said it in the country.

Are the Negroes properly taken care of in sickness, and supported in old age, or when by any infirmities they are rendered incapable of labour ?

I have often taken notice, in the number of plantations which I
have

have visited, that there is an hospital called the sick house, which is attended by Negro women as nurses; and I believe there is scarce a plantation that has not a surgeon to attend it, who are very attentive to them, it is their interest to be so.

Do the Negroes appear to be in a desponding state, or are they in general satisfied with their condition?

They appeared to me in general quite the reverse, and after their day's work they were generally dancing and making merry.

Does your lordship conceive that the plantations in the West Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

It is impossible, I think.

Could the present stock of Negroes in the Islands be kept up without fresh importations of Slaves from Africa?

I believe not; for I believe there is scarce an Island that does not encourage breeding as much as possible; for one Creole Negro is of more value than two new ones from Guinea.

Does your lordship consider the ships employed by the French in their West India trade as one of the principal sources of their naval power?

I think the greatest; for I think it was that very commerce that enabled France to dispute with Great Britain the empire of the ocean in the last war; I mean her West India commerce.

Are not the French West India ships remarkably fine vessels, and well manned?

They are generally much larger than the British, and appeared to be more than doubly manned, in comparison.

Is not, in your lordship's judgment, the British West India trade a considerable nursery for seamen?

Certainly, I think it is.

Whether the West India fleet is not extremely advantageous in time of actual war, in furnishing men for His Majesty's service?

Very much so, because it supplies them with seamen seasoned to the climate of the West Indies.

Whether

Whether it is not extremely important to the kingdom to keep up and encourage that trade?

It appears so to me, entirely so. It appears to be one of our principal branches of commerce.

Is not the African Trade, as connected with the British West India trade, also extremely important to be preserved?

It appears to me, that without the African Trade the West Indies could not be supported.

Whether the French are not endeavouring to increase their West India trade, and to encourage their African trade, as far as lies in their power?

When this affair came first to be agitated in parliament in 1787, the French then paid 200 livres a head, a premium upon every Slave imported into Saint Domingo and Saint Lucia, and 100 livres a head upon all Slaves imported into Martinique and Guadaloupe, besides a premium upon every ship bound from the ports of France to trade to the Coast of Guinea, which was paid to the merchants immediately after the ship sailed, at so much per ton.

Whether the abolition of the British Slave Trade would not tend to reduce the British West India trade, and to lessen the number of ships and seamen?

Most certainly.

Whether the same cause would not tend to increase the French marine in general?

Undoubtedly it would.

What would be the consequence to the navy of Great Britain, if the British Slave Trade were abolished, and to be engrossed by foreign nations?

It would add greatly to the power of France, who already have much more than half the West India trade now in their hands.

Question repeated.

It would add greatly to the naval power of France, and diminish that of Great Britain in proportion.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Did your lordship ever make an estimate of the expence of breeding a Negro till he should be fit for field work, and compare it with the expence of purchasing an able African Negro?

No, I have not.

What are the encouragements which have been given to breeding by the West India Islands?

It appeared that wherever I went they encouraged them to breed, and took great care of their children.

Does your lordship recollect any regulations for the encouraging of breeding, sanctioned by the authority of the legislatures of the Islands?

No, I do not; but I always understood that every legislature gave every encouragement for the Negroes to breed, and for the settlement of White people; it appeared so to me.

Does your lordship recollect the occasions which called forth impertinent answers of Slaves towards their masters, before mentioned?

All that I can remember (being so many years ago) is, upon hearing a Negro give an impertinent answer, I said, "How can you bear it? If a White servant gave me such an answer I should immediately turn him out of my house." The answer was, "Oh! poor Negro, he knows no better."

Were these then domestic Slaves?

Yes.

Are the Negroes a race of men as competent to labour in the climate of the West Indies as the inhabitants of other countries in climates congenial to their constitutions?

They appeared to me to be very bad labourers, in comparison to Europeans in Europe.

Was their being bad labourers owing to their being deficient in point of strength, or the climate being ill suited to them; or was it owing to any other, and to what causes?

It appeared to me that their inclination to labour was not equal to the labouring man's in England, and in short that they could not do so much work, not three of them so much as one White

man in Europe; but in the West Indies they do more work than a White man could do, because the White man could not bear the climate, nor work in the sun, nor labour in the woods.

Are there any regulations in the Islands respecting the marriage of Negro Slaves; and, if any, what are they?

I believe the Negroes are left to chuse their own wives—I know no regulation for that purpose; there may be, but I do not know it.

On what grounds does your lordship conclude that the stock of Negroes might not be kept up by breeding, without importations from Africa, if proper regulations and encouragements for that purpose were adopted, and adhered to with perseverance?

I am not a judge of that—it is a long time before the children come to maturity.

Is then your lordship's opinion, that the stock of Negroes could be kept up without importations from Africa, the result of information you have received from others, and not that of your lordship's own personal observation and experience?

From my own observations, which I have made from what I have thought and what I have heard: I do not know any gentleman in Jamaica that does not attempt to keep up the stock by breeding; at least, wherever I have been it has appeared so to me.

Does your lordship recollect to have heard what proportion of the Negro infants die within the month, or what proportion of the children born reaches to the years of maturity?

No, I have never heard one or the other; but I have been told that Negro children are very apt to die of the locked jaw when they are very young.

What is your lordship's opinion concerning the food, cloathing, and lodging, and security from ill-usage, of the Slaves in the French West India Islands, compared with their condition in these respects in our own?

When we first took Martinique, the French Slaves appeared to be better cloathed. I took notice of it to some of the planters of Barbadoes, and desired them to observe, that there was no naked Slave to be seen in Martinique; and that I had seen many naked in Barbadoes; that I was hurt, as an Englishman, that the French should clothe their Negroes better than the English:

lish: the consequence was, that the people of Barbadoes put their laws in execution, and clothed their Slaves (for there was a law for that purpose); it was a great many years ago, in 1761 or 1762; since which I have never seen a naked Slave in Barbadoes. I think our Negroes are better lodged than in the French Islands; I think their huts are much better. A great deal of the circumstances respecting food depend upon the having proper ground for provisions; those that have not ground supply them with salt fish, and Guinea and Indian corn. Literally speaking, they appear to me to be better off in the English than in the French Islands. The punishments in the French Islands appear to me to be greater than in the British.

Did your lordship ever know an instance of cruel treatment from a master to his field Slave in any of the English Islands where your lordship has been?

Never; quite the reverse.

What is your lordship's opinion of the public administration of justice in those Islands, as between a White man and a Negro?

I never knew or heard of any thing but strict justice being done to both parties.

Does your lordship recollect any instance, and when, of a White man being hanged in Jamaica for the murder of a Slave?

I was at the trial of a White man (I think in the year 1772 or 1773) for wantonly murdering a Slave; the court condemned the man to be hanged, and I believe he was executed.

Does your lordship know whether the man condemned and executed was the owner of the Slave so murdered?

No, I believe he was not the owner; he was the master of a trading little vessel, called a drogher, that went along the coast carrying sugar. I spoke to the governor, that I hoped he would not pardon him; and I believe he was executed.

What, in your lordship's opinion, is the relative situation of a Slave in the British West India Islands to that of a peasant in this country, as far as respects their respective enjoyment of the necessaries and comforts of life?

As far as I have ever observed the Slaves in the West Indies, their property, which is the produce of their garden, their poultry, and pigs, having ever been reckoned sacred, it is never taken from them

them without a just compensation, and even their masters pay them the same price they could have got at the market; if not, the Slave refuses the master—in general they are permitted to go to the market.

Does your lordship then, upon the whole, think that the situation in their respective condition, as opposed to that of a free man, is as comfortable as that of the peasant in this country?

If it was possible for a Slave to be happy, they appeared to me to be so; they never knew what liberty was.

As your lordship in your preceding answers is of opinion that the Slaves in the British Islands are treated with humanity by their masters, are well fed, clothed, and lodged, and taken care of in sickness as well as in health, does your lordship think that, as far as regards the enjoyment of those articles only, their lives are as comfortable as that of the peasant in this country?

I certainly think they are.

Is it a common thing to see seamen in the streets of Jamaica dying in an ulcerated state, falling without pity, without friends, without a look but of contempt from the hardened multitude that passes by?

I do not believe any thing of the sort ever happened; there might be drunken seamen in the streets.

Does your lordship recollect to have at any time seen seamen without friends, and without money, wandering about in the different Islands, begging from door to door, till, overpowered by heat, hunger, and fatigue, they fall unpitied?

I do not believe it ever happened, or any thing of the sort.

Has your lordship any reason to believe that the crews of Slave ships in particular are in general objects exposed, by the barbarity of the masters of those vessels, to any of the above-described distressful and inhuman sufferings?

If the men are ill-treated by the masters of those ships, they have a remedy at hand, by entering on board any of His Majesty's ships in that port; the ship cannot sail until the master has paid the men their wages, which are justly due to them; it is too apt to be the custom of the seamen of the Guinea ships, to leave them to navigate the loaded ships to Great Britain, as they get more wages for the run to Great Britain than their wages that were due to them on board the Guinea-men. I believe there have

have been many instances of harsh treatment in captains of those ships to get rid of their men; regulations in regard to the treatment of their seamen are very necessary.

Is your lordship enabled, from any observations which you have made, as to the state of the French West India commerce now, and what it was when you first become acquainted with the West India Islands, to inform the Committee what has been the progressive increase or improvement of that branch of the French commerce?

I must go far back to the year 1747 to answer that question. In 1747 I saw 180 sail of large French Saint Domingo ships in one convoy, bound from that Island to France; judge how much that commerce must have been improved within these forty odd years: and I am fully convinced that had it not been for the French West India commerce, that nation could not have been in a condition to dispute with Great Britain the empire of the ocean in the last war.

Can your lordship form any opinion what the value of that convoy might be?

It was amazing, they were very large ships; we took forty sail of them, the value of which was £. 500,000: one ship alone was worth £. 100,000, which was lost on the Goodwin Sands; the indigo alone on board her was worth £. 50,000.

Does your lordship mean to extend your observations respecting the seamen, mentioned in your former answers, to the Islands in general, or to confine them to Jamaica only?

I mean the whole Islands.

Has it been found easy to supply His Majesty's service in the West Indies with seamen, without having recourse to the practice of pressing?

I never suffered pressing in the West Indies, without recourse to the governor and council, who always gave every assistance towards manning the fleet in every Island.

Did the governor and council in the Islands readily give these orders to allow the impress?

I never knew an instance but that the civil power gave every assistance they could.

Had not your lordship frequent recourse to the governor and council for such orders?

Whenever there was occasion I always applied to them, and had great assistance.

Do not the officers of His Majesty's ships oblige the captains of Guinea-men to pay the wages due to such seamen as leave their ships to enter into His Majesty's service?

Always.

If such a seaman should have received from his captain ill treatment of any other kind besides the detention of his wages, does he obtain any reparation for such ill treatment, by entering on board a man of war?

The captain or the admiral, if it come to his ears, applies to the attorney general of the Island, to prosecute the master of the ship.

Is your lordship of opinion, that the African Slave Trade furnishes any supply of seamen to His Majesty's navy?

It certainly supplies some, because, when they come to the West Indies, we get some of them; it is not a nursery for seamen, that is certain, but it seasons them to a hot climate.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

And the Counsel having proposed to examine

Sir PETER PARKER, Baronet, Admiral of the Blue,
a Member present;

And the said Member having consented thereto;

He was asked,

Did you ever reside in the West Indies; in what Islands, and whether in any public capacity?

The war before last I was a captain of one of His Majesty's ships on the Leeward Island station for about three years; I was at the taking of Guadaloupe, and visited occasionally Barbadoes, and all the Leeward Islands excepting Nevis; in 1777 I had the honour of being promoted to the rank of rear admiral of the blue, and was at the same time appointed commander in chief of all His Majesty's ships at Jamaica; but being employed on a particular service in
America,

America, I did not arrive at that Island till the beginning of February 1778; I continued in the command from that period till the arrival of Lord Rodney with his victorious fleet, which was about two or three weeks after the glorious and never-to-be-forgotten action of the 12th of April 1782.

What did you observe of the behaviour and treatment of masters towards their Negro Slaves in the several Islands where you have been?

From the best observations I could make, their treatment was lenient, mild, and humane; I never heard of even one instance of severity towards a Slave during the whole time I was on the Jamaica station.

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, clothed, and lodged?

They not only appeared to me to be properly fed, clothed, and lodged, but were in my opinion in a more comfortable situation than the lower class of people in any part of Europe, Great Britain not excepted.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear?

By no means; the Negroes have many advantages over our peasantry, who can scarcely earn a livelihood by much harder labour than Negroes are ever put to; and when overtaken by age or infirmities they frequently drag on a miserable life on a pitiful allowance from their parishes, of 1*s.* 6*d.* or perhaps 2*s.* a week: this is not the case with the Negro, who when old or infirm has particular care taken of him, and every attention shewn to him, to make him easy and comfortable, and if he should have acquired money or any property, which all industrious Negroes can do, he may live in affluence for the remainder of his days; and he has the satisfaction of knowing that his family and friends will be sure of protection and good treatment after his decease, and that he may bequeath his property to whomsoever and in what manner he thinks proper.

Do the Negroes appear to be in a desponding state, or are they in general satisfied with their condition?

They are far from being in a desponding state, and are, for the most part, cheerful and merry.

Do you conceive that the plantations in the West Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

It

It is absolutely impossible; and I believe no person who has ever read of or been in the West Indies can suppose it to be possible. I need only refer to the returns from our army on the Leeward Islands and Jamaica, in the years 1779, 1780, and 1781, to prove this assertion, and to shew how inimical the West India climate is to European constitutions. Every person who has been in that part of the world knows the unremitting attention shewn to the soldiery, whose very existence depends on being allowed Negroes to carry their provisions, stores, and water, and do other acts of drudgery. Our seamen work under cover, and under awnings, to defend them from the intense and parching rays of the sun. The King has a number of Negroes in our dock-yards, and vessels are always hired, manned by Negroes, to water and store the King's ships: I am satisfied that this regulation has saved the lives of thousands. All the captains under my command had permission to enter a few Negroes; the ships in general, after their water is compleated, keep it up with their own long-boats. And, to shew how necessary it is for Negroes to be employed on this service, I will relate a fact:—The evening before one of our frigates was to sail from Port Royal she sent her long-boat to Rock Fort for water, with a midshipman, cockswain, and six seamen; on her return the next morning the midshipman and his six seamen were taken ill, and died.

Can the present stock of the Negroes in the Islands be kept up without fresh importations of Slaves from Africa?

I think not—experience proves it to be otherwise.

Do you consider the ships employed by the French in their West India trade as one of the principal sources of their naval power?

I do; their ships are in general much larger than ours, and carry near double the men that ours do: the French trade to their colonies is immense, and fully, in my opinion, two-thirds of their whole commerce. Should they obstruct, in any degree, their African Trade, which I think they are too wise and politic ever to have the most distant idea of doing, they would lose their consequence among the nations of Europe, and not be able to fit out a fleet so respectable as to cause any alarm to their neighbours.

Are not the French endeavouring as much as they can to improve and extend their West India trade, and also their African Trade, as connected with it?

I have heard so, and I think it very probable.

Is not the British West India trade a very considerable nursery for seamen ?

Very considerable indeed—without their assistance we should find it very difficult to send a great fleet to sea.

Is not that trade, and also the African Trade, extremely serviceable in supplying men to man His Majesty's ships in the West Indies in time of actual war ?

There can be no doubt of it. The fleet under my command was supplied with upwards of 2,000; I bought several ships for His Majesty, and manned them from the West India merchantmen and African ships.

Do not those trades, from the peculiar nature of them, furnish seamen peculiarly adapted to West India service, and more able to manage His Majesty's ships in that station, than seamen usually employed in Europe ?

Most certainly.

Is it not important to the kingdom to keep up and encourage the British West India Trade ?

Certainly.

Do you not think it equally important to keep up the African Trade ?

I think more so.

Will not the abolition of the Slave Trade tend to reduce the West India trade, and to lessen the number of ships and seamen ?

The abolition of the African Trade would, in my opinion, cause a general despondency among the Negroes, and gradually decrease population, and consequently the produce of our Islands, and must in time destroy nearly half our commerce, and take away from Great Britain all pretensions to the rank we now hold, of being the first maritime power in the world.

Will not the same cause tend to increase the French naval power ?

In the same ratio that our power decreases, theirs will increase.

What will be the consequence, in your opinion, to the navy
6 I of

of Great Britain, if that abolition was to take place, and the Slave Trade be ingrossed by foreign nations?

A great diminution of our ships, and of our consequence as a maritime nation.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

It is stated, in the Report of the Privy Council, that there has been seen, in the streets of Jamaica, sailors dying in an ulcerated state, objects both of commiseration and of horror;—have you seen such instances?

Never, nor ever heard of any such, except in this room.

And then the Counsel were directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

That this Examination of Mr. Robert Hibbert, Mr. Wedderburn, Mr. George Hibbert, Lord Shuldhham, Admiral Barrington, Admiral Arbuthnot, Admiral Edwards, Admiral Hotham, Captain Lambert, Commodore Gardner, Lord Macartney, Sir John Dalling, Baronet, Sir Ralph Payne, Sir Archibald Campbell, Mr. Orde, Mr. Parry, Lord Rodney, and Sir Peter Parker, Baronet, be reported to the House.

1900

MEMORANDUM FOR THE BOARD

Subject: [Illegible]

Reference is made to [Illegible]

It is recommended that [Illegible]

The Board is requested to [Illegible]

Very respectfully,
[Illegible Signature]

[Illegible Title]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

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[Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES

ON THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Reported 30th MARCH 1790.

Witnesses Examined,

Mr. ROBERT HIBBERT,
Mr. WEDDERBURN,
Mr. GEORGE HIBBERT,
Lord SHULDHAM,
Admiral BARRINGTON,
Admiral ARBUTHNOT,
Admiral EDWARDS,
Admiral HOTHAM,
Captain LAMBERT,
Commodore GARDNER,
Lord MACARTNEY,
Sir JOHN DALLING, Baronet,
Sir RALPH PAYNE,
Sir ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL,
Mr. ORDE,
Mr. PARRY,
Lord RODNEY,
Sir PETER PARKER, Baronet.

N^o 7.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE.

Jovis, 1^o die Aprilis 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.

Mercurii, 31^o die Martii 1790.

COUNSEL called in as before; and the Counsel proceeded further in their Examination, and called

STEPHEN FULLER, Esquire, Agent for the Island of Jamaica, who produced Extracts from the Minutes of the Joint Committee of Assembly and Council of Jamaica, 3d December 1789; which are inserted in pages 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, and 496.

And the Witness having offered to produce a paper intitled, "Jamaica, Import and Export of Negroes, and Negroes retained in the Island for 49 years, viz. from 1739 to 1787 both inclusive, distinguishing the years of war from those of peace;"

He was asked,

What is the nature and purport of this paper, which you mean to produce to the Committee?

The nature and purport of it is to shew that the importation of Negroes into the Island of Jamaica was very considerable in time of war, amounting to 855 lefs annually in time of war than in time of peace; the average amount being, in time of war, retained in the Island 5,828, and in time of peace 6,683.

From what materials have you formed this calculation?

I have formed the calculation from 1739 to 1772 from an original account found amongst Mr. Rose Fuller's papers, after his decease, printed in part the third of the Privy Council's Report; the latter part, from thence to 1787, from the Inspector General's account, printed in part fourth of the Privy Council's Report.

In what respects does this account of Negroes, imported into and exported from the Island of Jamaica, vary from the account which you delivered in to the Privy Council?

I looked upon the Inspector General's account to be more perfect than my own, because one account I always understood was the account of a private gentleman, who lived and died in Jamaica, and the Inspector General's account was that of a public officer, who ought to know better than a private gentleman; I have therefore subjoined the latter part of the calculation, from 1772 to 1787, from the Inspector General's account, which reaches back but to that year.

Then the said Account was delivered in and read; and is inserted in pages 497, 498, and 499

And then the Witnesses 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,

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.

Then the agent for the petitions from the town of Liverpool, pursuant to the resolution of the Committee of the 5th of February last, called

ROBERT NORRIS, Esquire; who having offered to produce a paper, intituled, “ An Account of the Vessels, “ and Amount of their Cargoes, now employed by the “ Merchants of Liverpool in the African Slave Trade, “ 3d March 1790;”

He was asked,

What is the nature and purport of this paper, which you mean to produce to the Committee?

It is an account sent to me by the secretary of the committee of African merchants at Liverpool.

Have you any reason to doubt the authenticity of the account stated in that paper?

I have not—I believe it to be a true statement of facts.

Then the said paper was delivered in, and read; and is inserted in pages 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, and 509.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 1^o die Aprilis 1790.

THE Witness was called in as before, and produced, An Account of the number of Men who have been discharged by the different Master Tradesmen of Liverpool, employed in the African Slave Trade

Trade only, and are now out of work, or gone to other places, in consequence of the restrictions laid on that Trade by Parliament; with the particular occupations of each, and the amount of wages paid them in one year: and also,

A list of African ships laid up in Liverpool in consequence of the restrictions on the Trade: and also,

A list of African ships sold out of the Trade, or sent upon other voyages in consequence of the restrictions on the Trade.

The said account and lists were read; and are inserted in pages 510, 511, and 512.

Then the Agent for the Liverpool petitions informed the Committee, that the petitioners had finally closed their case.

And no person appeared in support of any of the other petitions referred to the consideration of the Committee.

RESOLVED,

That this Examination of Mr. Fuller and Mr. Norris be reported to the House.

RESOLVED,

That the Chairman do now leave the Chair.

Extracts from the Minutes of the Joint Committee of Assembly and Council of Jamaica,
3d December, 1789.

Mr. Murray reported as follows :

Mr. SPEAKER,

Your Committee appointed to meet a Committee of the Council in a Free Conference, to enquire into, and to report to the House their opinion, what steps are necessary to be taken with regard to the Slave Trade, in consequence of the information received from the Agent of this Island, of the proceedings had in the House of Commons during the last Session of Parliament, in respect of the said Trade; have accordingly met, and have taken the examinations of several persons, and have agreed to the following resolutions.

I.

Resolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That the suppression, either direct or virtual, of the Slave Trade, by the British nation only (other nations continuing the Trade as usual) would not promote the purposes of humanity, either in respect of the Negroes which are annually brought to the African markets for sale, or in regard to the Negroes at present in a state of slavery in this and the rest of the British Islands in the West Indies. The effects in Africa of a partial abolition, would be this, that the purchasers from Europe, being fewer in number, would have a greater choice of Slaves, equal to the whole demand of the British merchants at present, which is stated at 38,000 annually; whereby prime Slaves only would be saleable, and the aged and infirm (many of whom are now purchased of necessity) being rejected in greater numbers than formerly, the horrid practice, which has long existed among the Slave Merchants on the Coast, of putting to death such of their captives as are brought to market and rejected by the Europeans would be more prevalent than ever. In the British West Indies, the effect (however lightly felt at first) must necessarily, in the course of a few years, from an unavoidable decrease, consequent on the present inequality of the sexes, have this operation, that the labour which is now performed by a given number of Negroes, must either be performed by a less number, or the Planter must contract the limits of his plantation, and diminish his produce. Thus, im-

mediate interest, and in many cases urgent distress from the impotency of creditors, will be set in opposition to the principles of justice and the dictates of humanity.

II.

Resolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That to condemn the Slave Trade, as peculiarly destructive to British Seamen (the contrary whereof is proved by the evidence of Vice Admiral Edwards, before the Privy Council) and to adduce in proof thereof, the losses sustained on certain unhealthy parts of the Coast, without taking into the account the losses sustained in other branches of the African commerce; such as the wood and ivory trades, where the mortality principally occurs, and the increase of seamen from such other parts of the British navigation as are principally dependant on the African commerce; is partial and unjust. Among these branches may be reckoned the West India and Lumber Trades; and above all, those great nurseries for seamen, the Irish, British, British-American, and Newfoundland fisheries, the consumption of herrings and salted fish by the Negroes being immense. We have likewise reason to believe, that since the late regulating act, the mortality of British seamen in the Slave Trade has decreased nearly one half.

III.

Resolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That the loss of Negroes, which is sometimes sustained in the voyages from Africa, as well as in the harbours of this Island, between the days of arrival and sale, and which is stated to happen from the mode of transporting them from the Coast, being a remediable grievance, affords no argument for a total suppression of the Slave Trade.

IV.

Resolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That no just estimate can be formed of the effects which the regulating act of the British Parliament, passed in 1788, will ultimately produce in respect of the loss of Slaves in the Middle Passage; inasmuch as it appears from a return of Negroes, purchased on the Coast of Africa by ships that have entered in the port of Kingston since the first of January last, that out of 2,099 Slaves, purchased on the Gold Coast, 2,042 have been sold in this Island, a loss of only two and three-fourths per cent.; but that out of 2,550 Slaves purchased in the Bite of Benin, only 1,642 have been sold; a loss amounting to thirty-five and three-eighths per cent, and unknown before any regulation took place. Two vessels have since arrived from
the

the same Coast, the Ann and the Vulture: these vessels purchas'd 785 Slaves, of whom only 14 have died; a loss not exceeding one and three-sevenths per cent. This amazing difference, as appears by the evidence taken on oath, is partly to be attributed to the small-pox, which raged in some of the ships, and the measles and flux, which broke out in others. The loss by the flux was chiefly occasioned by the use of unripe yams, for want of other provisions.

V.

Resolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That the number of Slaves at present in this Island is about 250,000; of which, according to the best enquiries that can be made concerning the proportion of the sexes, there are 140,000 males and 110,000 females. It follows, therefore, that if future importations from Africa be discontinued, there will unavoidably ensue, from the disproportion of the sexes alone, a very great reduction from the present number of our Slaves, before any augmentation can be expected from natural increase by generation: a diminution which must not only preclude all attempts at the further improvement of our unsettled lands, but likewise occasion a proportionable decrease in the present cultivation; it being an undoubted fact, that almost all the plantations already settled are much under-handed.

VI.

Resolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That it is absolutely impossible to cultivate the West India Islands, so as to produce any commodities that would enrich the Mother Country, by White labourers. Fatal experience demonstrates the fallacy of such an expectation. In the year 1749, the legislature of this Island passed a law, holding out great encouragement for the introduction of White families into this Colony; which proved ineffectual, very few families having come in consequence thereof; and of those that came, not a vestige is left. The French ministry, in 1763, attempted to settle a colony, by means of White labourers, at Cayenne, on the coast of America: twelve thousand miserable people were the victims of this impolitic scheme. If further instances are wanting, to prove that Europeans cannot withstand the climate when exposed to the sun and the rains, recourse may be had to the accounts of the siege of Carthagena; the expedition to Cumberland Harbour; the siege of the Havanna; the returns of the regiments that came out under the command of General Garth in 1779 and 1780; and the expedition to Fort Saint Juan on the Spanish Main.

VII.

VII.

Resolved, It is opinion of the Joint Committee, That, according to the best estimate which can be formed, this Island may be stated to contain four millions and eighty thousand acres of land, of which not more than one fourth part, or about one million of acres, is at present in actual cultivation; and although a considerable part of the country, consisting of high mountains and rugged precipices, is incapable of improvement, yet it may be presumed, that no part of the lands which are actually patented falls within that description; inasmuch as the owners thereof pay a quit-rent to the Crown for holding the same; which quit-rent, and the arrears thereof collected since Christmas last, amount to the sum of £. 27,000, or thereabouts, exclusive of £. 13,000 now in a train of settlement.

VIII.

Resolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That it appears from the offices of the Clerk of the Patents and Receiver General, that there are at this time patented in this Island, or taken up by grants from the Crown, 1,907,589 acres of land; from which the quantity in actual cultivation being deducted, there will remain, with every allowance for unproductive territory, 900,000 acres of cultivable land yet unsettled; the whole of which, if the Slave Trade be abolished, must become an absolute burthen and incumbrance on its present proprietors, who will in such case be entitled as of right, and on the principles of natural justice, to the liberty of surrendering the same back to the Crown, and receiving full compensation for the capitals therein vested, and all quit-rents paid on account thereof. The said land, valued only at £. 3 currency per acre, is worth £. 2,700,000 currency, equal to £. 1,928,500 sterling.

IX.

Resolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That the Planters and Proprietors of Negroes in this Island will in like manner be entitled to compensation for the diminution which must necessarily ensue in the number of our Slaves, should all further importations be discontinued by authority of parliament; the present disproportion between the sexes having arisen from causes which are not imputable to us. With the reduction of our Slaves will likewise, unavoidably, happen a proportionate decrease in the value of our lands, buildings, and produce: for which, and all other losses consequent on a change in the present system, it is the opinion of the Joint Committee, that the inhabitants of this, and the rest

of His Majesty's Sugar Colonies, are fairly and justly entitled to compensation; the said Colonies having been originally settled under the most sacred compacts with the Mother Country, sanctioned by royal charters and proclamations, as well as by a succession of acts of parliament, authorizing and encouraging the Slave Trade; particularly by the charters granted in 1662 and 1674 by king Charles II. which established a Royal African Company, the last of which was granted in consequence of an address from both houses of parliament; and by the acts of the 9th and 10th of William III. a period when the principles of civil liberty were minutely investigated, well understood, and freely asserted; and, more recently, by the act of the 23d of George II. which recites the usefulness and, absolute necessity of the African Trade. Our claim of compensation is founded in, and supported by, not only the rules of natural as well as moral justice, but by the expectations we are warranted to entertain from the examples of compensation made by parliament to the Royal African Company, for the resumption of their lands, forts, &c. &c. (see stat. 25 Geo. II. c. 40) in 1752, and to the British merchants and owners of ships engaged in the African Trade, for losses sustained by them, in consequence of the act for regulating the shipping and carrying Slaves in British vessels from the Coast of Africa, passed the last session of the British Parliament: And it is our opinion, that before any further measures towards the abolition of the Slave Trade be taken by the parliament of Great Britain, Commissioners ought to be appointed for ascertaining the losses to arise therefrom.

X.

Resolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That the charges which have been brought against the Planters of this Island, of improper and inhuman treatment of our Slaves, may be fully refuted and disproved; first, by an appeal to our laws; and secondly, by the evidence of respectable men who have resided among us, and have been witnesses to our manners. Whatever may be said of our ancient Colonial Slave Laws, the acts which have been passed within the last ten years are written in characters of justice, mercy, and liberality. Concerning the general treatment of our Slaves, we refer to the evidence already personally given to the Lords of the Council, by the Right Honourable Lord Rodney, Sir Peter Parker, Admiral Barrington, Sir Joshua Rowley, Admiral Hotham, Vice Admiral Edwards, and Sir George Young; and to the further evidence that may be produced from gentlemen of character in England, who have resided many years in this Island, and are intimately acquainted with our conduct and manners. We

conceive that the testimony of such persons is unanswerable and conclusive, and shall therefore only remark, that it is notorious our Slaves in general are not only treated with kindness and humanity, but that they are also protected by law from immoderate chastisement or cruel treatment, and enjoy more easy, comfortable, and happy lives, than multitudes of the labourers in Great Britain.

XI.

Resolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That in confidence of the validity of Plantation security, and the support and encouragement the Sugar Colonies and the African Trade have hitherto experienced from Government, the merchants in Great Britain have been induced to enter into very large advances, and engage in extensive loans to the West India Planters; and on the faith of an act of parliament, passed on purpose to make the receiving of six per cent. on colonial securities lawful in Great Britain, great numbers of private persons at home, as well as the subjects of foreign states, have likewise embarked considerable sums on mortgages, and have purchased annuities to a very large amount on West India estates. Now, the Slave Trade being the great source of every West India improvement, its abolition must inevitably diminish the value of all such securities, and drive the creditors to use every means in their power to extricate their property from such a precarious situation, to the immediate distress of the Planters and their families, and the ultimate ruin of many of the mortgagees and annuitants themselves.

XII.

Resolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That the present value of property in this Island may be fairly and reasonably estimated as follows; viz. 250,000 Negroes, at £.50 sterling per head, is £.12,500,000: the patented lands, with their erections, and the personal property appertaining thereunto, at double the value of the Negroes (being the most general rule of valuation) amount to £.25,000,000: and the article of houses in the towns, the coasting and trading vessels, &c. may be estimated at one million and a half at the least; it appearing by the Report of the Committee of the Lords of the Privy Council, that the houses in Kingston and Spanish Town are alone worth £.1,428,521 sterling. The total is, thirty-nine millions of pounds sterling. The whole profits and produce of which capital, as also of the various branches of commerce to which it gives rise, center in Great Britain, and add to the national wealth; while the navigation, necessary to all its branches, establishes a strength which wealth can neither purchase nor balance.

AND

AND the several Examinations taken in the said Committee being read, were ordered to be entered, as follows :

The Examination of Alexandre Lindo, of the Parish of Kingston, Esquire; taken in the Joint Committee on the Slave-Trade, in the most solemn Manner.

Q. 1. Please to inform the Joint Committee, whether a ship named the King Pepple did not come consigned to you from Bonny?

A. The ship King Pepple came consigned to me from the Bite of Benin.

Q. 2. Please to say, whether a great mortality did not happen amongst the Slaves in that ship during her passage, and to what cause was it owing?

A. The mortality was very great. I think the loss in the Middle Passage was about 150, and 20 or thereabouts died after the ship's arrival. The cause of the mortality was an epidemic flux, principally occasioned, as I have been informed, and believe, by the ship's taking on board on the Coast a large quantity of unripe yams, the time of her sailing not being the yam season, and the Captain could not therefore get better.

(Signed) ALEXANDRE LINDO.

The Examination of John Taylor, of the Parish of Kingston, Esquire; taken in the Joint Committee on the Slave-Trade, in the most solemn Manner.

Q. 1. Please to inform the Joint Committee, whether a ship named the Eliza, Captain Bullock, came consigned to you from Africa, with what number of Slaves, and from what part of the Coast?

A. The

A. The *Eliza* arrived to my address from New Calabar, in the Bite of Benin: 283 Slaves were purchased, and put on board that vessel on the Coast; 210 were brought to this Island in the vessel, of which I sold 180.

Q. 2. Can you assign the causes of such mortality?

A. I believe the small-pox of a malignant kind was the cause of the great mortality. From the ship's journal it appears, that, soon after leaving the Coast, it was discovered some of the Slaves were infected with that disorder, and it continued to rage amongst them during the whole of the Middle Passage. On the arrival of the ship, I immediately ordered such of the Slaves as did not appear to have caught the infection to be inoculated: 30 Slaves died afterwards; part of whom had the disorder in the natural way, and part were of those that had been inoculated. The whole loss was 103 Slaves.

Q. 3. Was there a surgeon on board during the voyage? and did the Slaves want provisions and other necessaries, particularly medicines?

A. There was a surgeon on board during the voyage, and I employed an assistant to him immediately on the ship's arrival. The Slaves had provisions and water in great abundance, and I did not hear they were in want of necessaries of any kind. After the Slaves were disposed of, more than a sufficient quantity of provisions for the voyage to England were left on board the ship; and I sold a quantity of both beef and bread in Kingston.

Q. 4. Did the surgeon inoculate any of the Slaves on board, before the ship's arrival?

A. He did not.

(Signed) JOHN TAYLOR.

The Examination of Captain William Sherwood ; taken in the Joint Committee on the Slave Trade, in the most solemn Manner.

Q. 1. What ship do you command, of what tonnage, and how many Slaves are you allowed to carry by the late regulating act?

A. I command the ship Brothers of Liverpool, of 325 Tons; and am allowed by the regulating act to carry 459 Slaves, but took in only 455.

Q. 2. What part of the Coast did you sail from last, and how long was you there in getting your cargo?

A. I sailed from Liverpool the 24th of June last, and arrived at Bonny, in the Bite of Benin, on the 2d of August; from thence I sailed on the 20th of September, and arrived at Kingston the 10th of November last, after a fine passage of 50 days.

Q. 3. In what state of health were the Slaves when you purchased them?

A. Apparently healthy, but some of them a little emaciated, which I imputed to their having been brought from a vast distance inland in the rainy season.

Q. 4. What was the mortality on board?

A. I lost sixty-three in the Middle Passage.

Q. 5. Had you ever such mortality in any former voyage; and how many voyages have you been as master?

A. Never in the same proportion—I have been ten voyages as master.

Q. 6. Can you assign the causes of the mortality in your present voyage?

A. About eight or ten days after we left Bonny the measles broke out, and carried off from fifty-five to sixty of the Slaves; one died of apoplexy, and the rest of fevers.

Q. 7. How many Slaves did you lose between the days of arrival and sale?

A. I lost five—they had had the measles before my arrival, and died of fluxes in consequence thereof; though I had them landed immediately on their arrival, and all possible care taken of them.

Q. 8. Are you of opinion that the measles and flux were the sole causes of this great mortality?

A. I am firmly of opinion, if the contagious distemper had not happened, that I should have brought the Slaves with as little loss as is sustained by ships in general coming from that part of Africa.

Q. 9. Had you any Surgeons on board?

A. I had two on board.

Q. 10. How many of the seamen died?

A. I had forty-two, and none of them died.

Q. 11. What quantity of provisions had you on board when you sailed from Liverpool, and of what quality; and what provisions did you purchase on the Coast?

A. I had, as nearly as I can recollect, fourteen tons of biscuit, forty tons and thirty barrels of beef, six barrels of pork, four tons of shelled beans, and three tons of flour, when I left Liverpool, all of good quality. I purchased while on the Coast from sixteen to seventeen thousand good sound yams, each weighing, upon an average, about seven pounds, from eight to ten thousand plantanes, and about five or six thousand heads of Indian corn. On my arrival I had left about seven tons of biscuit, three thousand eight hundred yams, and about a ton and a half of beans, eleven tierces and seven barrels of beef, a ton and a half of flour, and twelve butts of water of a hundred and eighty gallons each.

Q. 12. Were the Seamen and Slaves continued at the usual full allowance of provisions and water during the whole voyage?

A. They were.

Q. 13. Is not the construction and the conveniencies on board a Slave Ship of more consequence to the health of the Negroes than confining the number of Slaves to a certain tonnage?

A. I think

A. I think the construction more material than the tonnage ; in a long narrow ship the air circulates more freely: a short quarter deck, no top-gallant fore-castle, no gangway, and a very low waist, are circumstances of greater advantage than a mere extension of tonnage.

Q. 14. Do you remember any instance of the small-pox taking place on board any vessel under your command, during any passage from the Coast of Africa ?

A. I went out in 1777, in the *Joshua*, a brig belonging to Liverpool, for 120 Slaves, and took in 184 at the Isle de Los, on the Windward Coast: when I had got about 100 on board, I perceived one with the small-pox, which I immediately put on shore, hoping to stop the infection, but about a fortnight after, on my going to sea, I found it had broke out again.

Q. 15. Did you cause the Slaves to be inoculated at sea; and how long after the first appearance of the disorder ?

A. I caused them to be inoculated immediately on its appearance, and all of them except took the infection.

Q. 16. What success attended such inoculation ?

A. I lost seven only out of the 184.

Q. 17. Is the loss of seamen on board a Slave Ship greater in proportion than that of landmen; and would not the seasoning of landmen in the West Indies be as fatal to them as on the Coast of Africa ?

A. The greatest loss is of landmen—in some parts of the West Indies I think the loss of men equal to any loss I ever sustained on the Coast of Africa.

Q. 18. Please to say whether, from your own experience, and the information of others, the late regulating act has in your opinion been of advantage ?

A. In some ships I think it has, and in others not.

(Signed)

WILLIAM SHERWOOD.

RESOLVED,

RESOLVED, That the House do agree to the Report.

True Extracts from the Minutes of the House.

GEO. FRENCH,

Clerk to the Assembly.

IMPORT and EXPORT of Negroes, and Negroes retained in the Island, for 49 Years, viz. from 1739 to 1787, both inclusive; distinguishing the Years of War from those of Peace.

JAMAICA.

		Imported.	Exported.	Retained.
War with Spain	{ 1739	— 6,787	— 598	— 6,189
	{ 1740	— 5,362	— 495	— 4,867
	{ 1741	— 4,255	— 562	— 3,693
	{ 1742	— 5,067	— 792	— 4,275
	{ 1743	— 8,926	— 1,368	— 7,558
War with Spain and France	{ 1744	— 8,755	— 1,331	— 7,424
	{ 1745	— 3,843	— 1,344	— 2,499
	{ 1746	— 4,703	— 1,502	— 3,201
	{ 1747	— 10,898	— 3,378	— 7,520
	{ 1748	— 10,430	— 2,426	— 8,004
War 10 Years		<u>69,026</u>	<u>13,796</u>	<u>55,230</u>
Peace	{ 1749	— 6,858	— 2,128	— 4,730
	{ 1750	— 3,587	— 721	— 2,866
	{ 1751	— 4,840	— 713	— 4,127
	{ 1752	— 6,117	— 1,038	— 5,079
	{ 1753	— 7,661	— 902	— 6,759
	{ 1754	— 9,551	— 1,592	— 7,959
	{ 1755	— 12,723	— 598	— 12,125
Peace 7 Years		<u>51,337</u>	<u>7,692</u>	<u>43,645</u>
War with France	{ 1756	— 11,166	— 1,902	— 9,264
	{ 1757	— 7,935	— 943	— 6,992
	{ 1758	— 3,405	— 411	— 2,994
	{ 1759	— 5,212	— 681	— 4,531
	{ 1760	— 7,573	— 2,368	— 5,205
	{ 1761	— 6,480	— 642	— 5,838
War with France and Spain	{ 1762	— 6,279	— 232	— 6,047
	{ 1763	— 10,079	— 1,582	— 8,497
War 8 Years		<u>58,129</u>	<u>8,761</u>	<u>49,368</u>

		Imported.	Exported.	Retained.	
Peace	—	1764 —	10,213 —	2,639 —	7,574
		1765 —	8,951 —	2,006 —	6,945
		1766 —	10,208 —	672 —	9,536
		1767 —	3,248 —	375 —	2,873
		1768 —	5,950 —	485 —	5,465
		1769 —	3,575 —	420 —	3,155
		1770 —	6,824 —	836 —	5,988
		1771 —	4,183 —	671 —	3,512
		1772 —	5,278 —	923 —	4,355
		1773 —	10,729 —	587 —	10,142
		1774 —	17,686 —	2,658 —	15,028
1775 —	17,364 —	3,494 —	13,870		
Peace 12 Years		<u>104,209</u>	<u>15,766</u>	<u>88,443</u>	
War with America	—	1776 —	18,400 —	3,384 —	15,016
		1777 —	5,607 —	558 —	5,049
War with America, assisted by France, Spain, and Holland	—	1778 —	5,191 —	772 —	4,419
		1779 —	3,343 —	484 —	2,859
		1780 —	3,267 —	252 —	3,015
		1781 —	7,049 —	294 —	6,755
		1782 —	6,291 —	1,868 —	4,423
War 7 Years		<u>49,148</u>	<u>7,612</u>	<u>41,536</u>	
Peace	—	1783 —	9,644 —	64 —	9,580
		1784 —	15,468 —	4,635 —	10,833
		1785 —	11,046 —	4,667 —	6,379
		1786 —	5,645 —	3,764 —	1,881
		1787 —	5,703 —	2,158 —	3,545
Peace 5 Years		<u>47,506</u>	<u>15,288</u>	<u>32,218</u>	

A B S T R A C T.

	Years.	Total retained.	Average per Annum.
War	— 10	— 55,230	— 5,523
Peace	— 7	— 43,645	— 6,235
War	— 8	— 49,368	— 6,171
Peace	— 12	— 88,443	— 7,370
War	— 7	— 41,536	— 5,791
Peace	— 5	— 32,218	— 6,444
	—	—	—
	49	310,440	

A V E R A G E S.

War	Peace
25 Years.	24 Years.
5,523	6,235
6,171	7,370
5,791	6,444
<u>3) 17,485</u>	<u>3) 20,049</u>
Medium 5,828	6,683
	<u>5,828</u>
Peace, Annual Average, exceeds War	— 855
Annual Average retained for 49 Years	— — 6,335

ACCOUNT

ACCOUNT of the Vessels, and Amount of their Cargoes, now employed by the Merchants of Liverpool in the African Slave Trade—3d March 1790.

OWNERS.	Ships Names.	Tons.	Scamen.	Value of Ship and Outfit.	Cargo.	Amount.	Total Amount.
John Dawfon	Mosley Hill	385	45	6,258	13,827	20,085	
Ditto	Dragon	300	40	2,857	9,844	12,701	
Ditto	Thomas	225	35	2,139	5,917	8,056	
Ditto	Benjamin	196	35	3,994	5,559	9,553	
Ditto	Hero	365	45	3,724	11,464	15,188	
Ditto	Ellen	134	25	1,500	7,265	8,765	
Ditto	Prince	55	15	989	1,908	2,897	
Ditto	Young Hero	80	15	1,583	1,971	3,554	
Ditto	Margaretta	80	15	500	2,020	2,520	
Ditto	Maria	50	12	809	823	1,632	
Ditto	Anna	50	12	677	1,682	2,359	
Ditto	Amery	55	12	778	321	1,099	
Ditto	Charlotte	50	12	250	1,150	1,400	
Ditto	Trinidad Packet	50	12	735	1,100	1,835	
Ditto	Eliza	100	20	2,050	2,050	4,100	
Ditto	Brothers	325	40	4,000	7,820	11,820	
Ditto	Princefs Royal	400	45	5,000	9,078	14,078	
Ditto	Garland	525	50	3,500	11,203	14,703	
Ditto	Blaydes	306	40	3,020	7,934	10,954	
						147,299	
						9,400	
							156,699

Insurance on £.147,299, at £.6 per C'

[500]

William Boats, and Co.	Jane	—	—	242	35	3,907	6	9	7,287	19	4	11,195	6	1
Ditto	Vulture	—	—	315	43	5,699	10	4	8,513	17	6	14,213	7	10
Ditto	Gregfon	—	—	258	40	5,300	—	—	9,700	—	—	15,000	—	—
Ditto	Eliza	—	—	348	40	7,103	17	7	8,766	—	—	15,869	17	7
Ditto	King Peppell	—	—	323	40	6,757	9	1	8,621	6	6	15,378	15	7
Ditto	Ann	—	—	222	36	4,822	19	5	6,992	6	7	11,815	6	—
Ditto	Mary Ann	—	—	136	26	3,521	4	11	5,329	3	9	8,850	8	8
Ditto	Squirrel	—	—	180	36	4,502	17	5	2,660	14	6	7,163	11	11
Ditto	Ranger	—	—	110	25	3,100	—	—	284	10	—	3,384	10	—
Ditto	Thomas	—	—	265	35	5,500	—	—	9,000	—	—	14,500	—	—
Ditto	Betfey	—	—	143	30	4,030	—	—	5,300	—	—	9,330	—	—

Insurance on 126,701. 3. 8, at £.6 per C'

126,701 3 8
8,060 — —

134,761 3 8

Tarletons and Backhouse	Mary Ann	—	—	186	30	2,962	17	2	4,480	14	10	7,443	12	—
Ditto	Eliza	—	—	166	24	2,128	8	11	5,176	19	11	7,305	8	10
Ditto	Banaftre	—	—	148	25	2,003	18	6	3,199	10	10	5,203	9	4
Ditto	Venus	—	—	159	24	1,907	6	8	4,642	17	5	6,550	4	1
Ditto	Fanny	—	—	180	23	2,337	16	2	5,292	3	9	7,629	19	11
Ditto	Mary	—	—	164	24	1,969	11	4	4,652	9	10	6,622	1	2
Ditto	Bridget	—	—	295	35	3,257	12	7	10,604	17	6	13,862	10	1
	Carried over	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	54,617	5	5
	Carried forwards	—	—	7,571	1,096	115,175	16	10	—	—	—	—	—	—

291,460 3 8

[501]

6 P

OWNERS.	Ships Names.	Tons.	Seamen.	Value of Ship and Outfit.	Cargo.	Amount.	Total Amount.
Amount brought forward	— —	7,571	1,096	115,175 16 10	—	—	291,460 3 8
Tarletons and Backhouse	Carried forward	—	—	—	—	54,617 5 5	
Ditto	Toms	270	36	4,500 — —	8,800 — —	13,300 — —	
Ditto	Peggy	42	12	798 17 2	1,400 — —	2,198 17 2	
Ditto	Tryall	280	35	3,500 — —	7,255 14 2	10,755 14 2	
						80,871 16 9	
				Insurance on £.80,871. 16. 9, at £.6 per C ^t		4,854 — —	85,725 16 9
Harper and Brade	Bell	148	35	3,430 4 8	4,146 6 —	7,576 10 8	
Ditto	Margery	157	36	3,220 13 7	4,370 12 3	7,591 5 10	
Ditto	Mary	118	30	2,583 7 10	3,757 17 2	6,341 5 —	
Ditto	Anne	148	36	3,102 5 5	4,302 10 2	7,404 15 7	
Ditto	Amacree	205	31	3,548 — 1	5,319 3 9	8,867 3 10	
Ditto	Ally	186	31	3,134 5 1	5,037 2 4	8,171 7 5	
						45,952 8 4	
				Insurance on £.45,952. 8. 4, at £.6 per C ^t		2,700 — —	48,652 8 4
George Cafe and Co.	Molly	279	40	4,685 10 —	8,562 10 —	13,248 — —	
Ditto	Viper	258	43	3,242 19 —	3,832 4 —	7,075 3 —	
Ditto	Gipsy	147	25	1,906 16 —	2,845 19 —	4,752 15 —	
Ditto	Eliza	216	31	2,195 — —	3,550 — —	5,745 — —	
Ditto	Ariel	88	10	1,000 — —	3,000 — —	4,000 — —	
						34,820 18 —	
				Insurance on £.34,820. 18, at £.6 per C ^t , is		2,100 — —	36,920 18 —

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John Gregfon and Co.	Gafcoyne	298	39	3,336	5,311	8,647
Ditto	George	237	27	2,391	3,461	5,852
Ditto	Will	128	20	2,357	2,425	4,782

19,281
1,158

Infurance on £.19,281, at £.6 per C^t

20,439

John and Thomas Hodgfon and Co.	Sally	367	37	2,970 8 4	10,039 8 2	13,009 8 6	These Goods was sent out in this Vessel on Freight.	
	Ditto	Mary	—	—	5,052 17 11	5,052 17 11		
	Ditto	Fly	93	16	1,456 — —	3,637 19 8		5,094 7 2
	Ditto	Heart of Oak	—	—	—	—	8,338 10 10	These Goods sent in this Vessel on Freight.
	Ditto	Mercer	54	10	531 3 4	1,618 14 —	2,149 17 4	
	Ditto	Lively	160	30	800 — —	2,200 — —	3,000 — —	Purchased in Africa, and in case of Abolition would be of little or no Value.
	Ditto	Amity	90	20	600 — —	—	600 — —	
	Ditto	George	70	15	300 — —	—	300 — —	
	Ditto	Racehorfe	30	10	200 — —	—	200 — —	
	Ditto	Hope	60	15	400 — —	—	400 — —	
	Ditto	37 other Sloops, Schoon- ers, and Boats	—	—	2,560 — —	—	2,560 — —	

40,705 1 9
2,450 — —

Infurance on £.40,705. 1. 9, at £.6. per C^t

Ditto	James	78	—	500 — —	—	43,155 1 9
Ditto	201 Gremelas or Black Servants, not confi- dered, though pur- chafed at this Sum —	—	—	—	—	500 — —
						4,020 — —
	Carried forwards	11,778	1,766	174,425 7 4	—	47,675 1 9
						530,873 8 6

[503]

OWNERS.	Ships Names.		Tons.	Seamen.	Value of Ship and Outfit.	Cargo.	Amount.	Total Amount.
Amount brought forward	--	--	11,778	1,766	174,425 7 4	-- --	-- --	530,873 8 6
Thomas Stancforth and Co.	President	-- --	254	46	3,030 -- --	4,570 -- --	7,600 -- --	
Ditto	Hornett	-- --	142	31	2,250 -- --	4,250 -- --	6,500 -- --	
Ditto	Æolus	-- --	159	34	3,250 -- --	5,000 -- --	8,250 -- --	
Ditto	Comet	-- --	170	30	2,800 -- --	3,000 -- --	5,800 -- --	
Ditto	Brookes	-- --	350	49	5,250 -- --	14,500 -- --	19,750 -- --	
Ditto	Kitty	-- --	350	39	5,500 -- --	11,700 -- --	17,200 -- --	
Insurance on £. 65,100, at £. 6 per C ^t , is							65,100 -- --	
							3,906 -- --	69,006 -- --
Joseph Ward and Co.	Rose	-- --	147	35	2,852 -- --	4,036 15 --	6,888 15 --	
Ditto	Fancy	-- --	183	38	3,166 10 --	5,588 6 --	8,754 16 --	
Ditto	Hazard	-- --	126	25	chartered.	4,759 -- --	4,759 -- --	
Ditto	Little Joe	-- --	136	30	2,370 -- --	4,800 15 --	7,170 -- --	
Ditto	Joseph	-- --	130	38	3,273 -- --	5,072 6 6	8,345 6 6	
Insurance on £. 35,917. 17. 6, at £. 6 per C ^t , is							35,917 17 6	
							2,155 -- --	38,072 17 6
Ralph Fisher and Co.	Brothers	-- --	119	30	1,800 -- --	3,220 1 11	5,020 1 11	
Ditto	Edgar	-- --	159	30	3,200 -- --	4,593 6 10	7,793 6 10	
Ditto	Martha	-- --	149	35	3,000 -- --	4,003 15 9	7,003 15 9	
Ditto	Fisher	-- --	186	35	3,400 -- --	4,819 6 4	8,219 6 4	
Ditto	Iris	-- --	280	35	3,200 -- --	7,500 -- --	10,700 -- --	
Insurance on £. 38,736. 10. 10, at £. 6 per C ^t , is							38,736 10 10	
							2,324 -- --	41,060 10 10

[504]

William Dickson	—	—	Benson	—	—	169	49	2,986	3	3	3,699	6	2	6,685	9	5
Ditto	—	—	James	—	—	100	29	2,467	16	3	2,782	16	6	5,250	12	9
Ditto	—	—	Mary	—	—	278	45	4,284	17	7	3,527	17	1	7,812	14	8
Ditto	—	—	Sally	—	—	19	6	440	—	3	None	—	—	440	—	3

20,188 17 1

Insurance on £. 20,188. 17. 1, at £. 6 per C', is —

1,211 — —

21,399 17 1

Robert Bostock and Co.	—	—	Little Ben	—	—	45	16	814	4	6	2,136	1	—	2,950	5	6
Ditto	—	—	Jemmy	—	—	83	22	1,653	7	2	3,675	3	2	5,328	10	4
Ditto	—	—	Befs	—	—	132	26	2,400	—	—	4,797	12	8	7,197	12	8

15,476 8 6

Insurance on £. 15,476. 8. 6, at £. 6 per C', is —

928 — —

16,404 8 6

John Fisher	—	—	Robust	—	—	313	52	4,000	—	—	5,700	—	—	9,700	—	—
Ditto	—	—	Philip Stephen	—	—	114	31	2,400	—	—	4,050	—	—	6,450	—	—
Ditto	—	—	Affistance	—	—	37	17	800	—	—	1,680	—	—	2,480	—	—
Ditto	—	—	Fisher	—	—	411	—	3,000	—	—	—	—	—	3,000	—	—
Ditto	—	—	Gainsborough	—	—	50	—	500	—	—	—	—	—	500	—	—
Ditto	—	—	On the Stocks, ready to launch	—	—	—	—	3,000	—	—	None	—	—	3,000	—	—
Ditto	—	—	Ditto	—	Ditto	Ditto	—	1,200	—	—	—	—	—	1,200	—	—

26,330 — —

Insurance on £. 18,630, at £. 6 per C', is —

1,117 — —

27,447 — —

Ellis, Bent, and Co.	—	—	Ellis	—	—	333	44	5,770	—	—	11,800	—	—	17,570	—	—
Ditto	—	—	Clemifon	—	—	247	23	2,600	—	—	2,400	—	—	5,000	—	—

22,570 — —

Insurance on £. 22,570, at £. 6 per C', is —

1,354 — —

23,924 — —

Carried forwards — | 17,149 | 2,686 | 261,083 6 4 | —

768,188 2 5

60

[505]

OWNERS.	Ships Names.	Tons.	Seamen.	Value of Ship and Outfit.	Cargo.	Amount.	Total Amount.
Amount brought forward	— —	17,149	2,686	261,083 6 4	— —	— —	768,188 2 5
Thomas Foxcroft and Co.	Bloom — —	143	27	2,307 19 8	3,672 — 4	5,980 — —	
Ditto — —	Bud — —	162	30	2,003 16 8	3,896 3 4	5,900 — —	
Ditto — —	King Grey — —	145	35	2,526 9 —	4,210 9 —	6,736 18 —	
						18,616 18 —	
				Insurance on £. 18,616. 18. —, at £. 6 per C ^t , is		1,117 — —	19,733 18 —
John Webster and Co.	Hammond — —	96	20	1,800 — —	2,600 — —	4,400 — —	
Ditto — —	Liverpool Hero — —	226	26	2,800 — —	5,000 — —	7,800 — —	
Ditto — —	Vale — —	208	28	2,400 — —	5,300 — —	7,700 — —	
						19,900 — —	
				Insurance on £. 19,900, at £. 6 per C ^t , is		1,194 — —	21,094 — —
Thomas Will ^m Earle and Co.	Fanny — —	106	30	1,470 — —	2,850 — —	4,320 — —	
Ditto — —	Othello — —	150	30	2,600 — —	5,000 — —	7,600 — —	
Ditto — —	Perfeverance — —	300	—	2,400 — —	— —	2,400 — —	
Ditto — —	Mars — —	147	—	1,400 — —	— —	1,400 — —	
						15,720 — —	
				Insurance on £. 11,920 ⁰ , at £. 6 per C ^t		615 — —	16,335 — —
Thomas and Ellis Hodgson, } and Co. — — }	Colonel — —	119	30	1,706 — —	3,318 — —	5,024 — —	
Ditto — —	Renown — —	195	35	2,500 — —	5,830 — —	8,330 — —	
						13,354 — —	
				Insurance on £. 13,354, at £. 6 per C ^t , is		801 — —	14,155 — —

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Joseph Birch	—	—	Sarah	—	—	289	35	3,500	—	—	9,000	—	—	12,500	—	—										
Ditto	—	—	Eagle	—	—	90	15	800	—	—	1,700	—	—	2,500	—	—										
Insurance on £. 15,000, at £. 6 per C ^t , is														—	—	15,000	—	—								
														—	—	900	—	—	15,900	—	—					
Francis Ingram and Co.	—	—	Elliott	—	—	400	59	5,952	1	—	16,160	7	3	22,112	8	3										
Ditto	—	—	Kitty	—	—	350	39	5,236	9	4	11,308	9	8	16,544	19	—										
Ditto	—	—	Mary	—	—	75	20	2,020	12	—	4,200	17	—	6,221	9	—										
Insurance on £. 44,878. 16. 3, at £. 6 per C ^t , is														—	—	44,878	16	3	2,692	—	—	47,570	16	3		
Richard Wilding and Co.	—	—	Diana	—	—	248	35	3,580	—	—	8,330	—	—	11,910	—	—										
Insurance on £. 11,910, at £. 6 per C ^t , is														—	—	714	—	—	12,624	—	—					
Thomas Parke and Co.	—	—	Alice	—	—	205	35	4,300	—	—	7,400	—	—	11,700	—	—										
Insurance on £. 11,700, at £. 6 per C ^t , is														—	—	702	—	—	12,402	—	—					
Joseph Caton	—	—	Rodney	—	—	300	35	2,990	—	—	7,325	—	—	10,315	—	—										
Insurance on £. 10,315, at £. 6 per C ^t , is														—	—	620	—	—	10,935	—	—					
Thomas Leyland and Co.	—	—	Ned	—	—	193	30	2,200	—	—	7,210	—	—	9,410	—	—										
Ditto	—	—	Kitty	—	—	146	28	2,456	5	10	5,434	2	2	7,890	8	—										
Ditto	—	—	Christopher	—	—	170	30	1,988	2	4	6,320	19	7	8,309	1	11										
Ditto	—	—	Hannah	—	—	192	30	3,020	1	5	5,720	7	7	8,740	9	—										
Insurance on £. 34,349. 18. 11, at £. 6 per C ^t , is														—	—	34,349	18	11	2,061	—	—	36,410	18	11		
John and Ja' Aspinall and Co.	—	—	Beatrice	—	—	169	26	2,188	5	2	3,390	13	3	5,578	18	5										
Insurance on £. 5,578. 18. 5, at £. 6 per C ^t , is														—	—	335	—	—	5,913	18	5					
Carried forwards														—	—	21,973	3,394	327,229	8	9	—	—	—	981,262	14	—

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OWNERS.	Ships Names.	Tons.	Seamen.	Value of Ship and Outfit.	Cargo.	Amount.	Total Amount.
Amount brought forward	—	21,973	3,394	327,229 8 9	—	—	981,262 14 —
Crosbie and Greenwood	— Endeavour —	73	20	771 — —	1,419 — —	2,190 — — 121 — —	2,311 — —
				Insurance on £. 2,190, at £. 6 per C ^t , is	— —		
Andrew Aikin	— Margaret —	112	23	1,978 11 —	3,504 11 10	5,583 2 10 335 — —	5,918 2 10
				Insurance on £. 5,583. 2. 10, at £. 6 per C ^t , is	—		
Alexander Willock and Co.	— Boyne —	206	30	2,700 — —	7,500 — —	10,200 — — 612 — —	10,812 — —
				Insurance on £. 10,200, at £. 6 per C ^t , is	—		
Robert Ward and Co.	— Peggy —	81	14	733 7 4	2,477 19 3	3,211 6 7 192 — —	3,403 6 7
				Insurance on £. 3,211. 6. 7, at £. 6 per C ^t , is	—		
Thomas Hinde, Son, and Co.	— Golden Age —	377	50	4,300 — —	8,677 — —	12,977 — — 778 — —	13,755 — —
				Insurance on £. 12,977, at £. 6 per C ^t	—		
Thomas and William Earle	— Lord Stanley —	240	45	3,000 — —	6,000 — —	9,000 — —	
Ditto	— Maria —	271	52	3,058 — —	7,500 — —	10,558 — —	
				Insurance on £. 19,558, at £. 6 per C ^t , is	—	19,558 — — 1,173 — —	20,731 — —
James Penny and Co.	— Madam Pookato —	114	20	1,250 — —	2,600 — —	3,850 — —	
Ditto	— Shelburne Castle —	130	20	1,400 — —	3,000 — —	4,400 — —	
				Insurance on £. 8,250, at £. 6 per C ^t , is	—	8,250 — — 495 — —	8,745 — —

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Willock, Sowrey, and Co.	Molly	—	—	114	30	2,420	—	—	3,800	—	—	6,220	—	—
Ditto	Hope	—	—	160	35	2,850	—	—	5,600	—	—	8,450	—	—
												14,670	—	—
												880	—	—
													15,550	—
Greaves and Denifon	Catharine	—	—	100	15	436	7	10	2,491	14	—	2,928	1	10
Ditto	Mary	—	—	130	25	1,191	5	9	1,976	9	11	3,167	15	6
												6,095	17	4
												366	—	—
													6,461	17
John Chambers, Jones, and Co.	Chambers	—	—	233	30	2,250	—	—	6,239	—	—	8,489	—	—
												509	—	—
													8,998	—
Ledwell, Rodie, and Dover	Sea Flower	—	—	87	15	1,520	—	—	2,175	—	—	3,695	—	—
												221	—	—
													3,916	—
Jonathan Ratcliffe	Nancy	—	—	102	20	2,400	—	—	3,400	—	—	5,800	—	—
												348	—	—
													6,148	—
John and Patrick Newley	Ellen	—	—	89	15	1,020	—	—	2,220	—	—	3,240	—	—
												194	—	—
													3,434	—
William Bramwell	Nancy	—	—	106	—	600	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	600
Thomas, Richard, and Will ^m	Langdale	—	—	209	—	500	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	500
Cha' Lake														
				24,907	3,853	361,608	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	1,092,546
														9
Number of Ships														139
Number of Tons														24,907
Number of Seamen														3,853
Value of Ships and Outfit														£. 361,608
Total Amount														1,092,546

15,550 — —

6,461 17 4

8,998 — —

3,916 — —

6,148 — —

3,434 — —

600 — —

500 — —

1,092,546 — 9

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6 R

ACCOUNT

ACCOUNT of the Number of Men who have been discharged by the different Master Tradesmen of Liverpool, employed in the African Slave Trade only, and are now out of Work, or gone to other Places, in Consequence of the Restrictions laid on that Trade by Parliament; with the particular Occupations of each, and the Amount of Wages paid them in One Year.

MASTER TRADESMEN.	Men, and their Occupations.	Wages per Week.	Amount Wages.	Total of Wages.	
Shipwrights	388 Journeymen Ship-wrights, averaged at	15 s. per Week, is	15,132	25,006 16	
	74 Sawyers	14 s. ditto	2,693 12		
	53 Ship-joiners	14 s. ditto	1,929 4		
	24 Blacksmiths	14 s. ditto	873 12		
	31 Ship-borers	13 s. ditto	1,047 16		
	19 Treenail and Wedge-makers	11 s. ditto	543 8		
	18 Ship-painters	14 s. ditto	655 4		
	82 Labourers	10 s. ditto	2,132		
	Wages paid in One Year by the Shipwrights		—		—
	Boat-builders	25 Journeymen Boat-builders, at	15 s. per Week, is		975
6 Sawyers		14 s. ditto	218 8		
3 Blacksmiths		14 s. ditto	209 4		
2 Boat-painters		14 s. ditto	72 16		
6 Labourers		10 s. ditto	156		
Wages paid in One Year by the Boat-builders		—	—		

Coopers	120	Journeyman Coopers, at	15 s.	per Week, is	4,680
House-carpenters	57	Journeyman House-carpenters	14 s.	ditto	2,074 16
Plumber and Glaziers	6	Journeyman Plumber and Glaziers	15 s.	ditto	234
Braziers	14	Journeyman Braziers	15 s.	ditto	546
Block and Pump-makers	9	Journeyman Block and Pump makers	12 s.	ditto	280 16
Anchor-smiths	6	Journeyman Anchor-smiths	14 s.	ditto	218 8
Ironmongers	10	Journeyman Ironmongers	14 s.	ditto	364
Sail-makers	18	Journeyman Sail-makers	15 s.	ditto	702
Ropers	26	Journeyman Ropers	12 s.	ditto	811 4
White Coopers	10	Journeyman White Coopers	15 s.	ditto	390
	1007	Tradesmen and Labourers			
	22	Masters of African Slave Ships			£. 36,939 8
	47	Mates D° — D°			
	356	Seamen			

1432 Now out of employ in the Town of Liverpool, or gone to other Places in consequence of the Restrictions laid on by Parliament.

N. B. In 1787 there were only 719 Persons in the Poor House of this Town; but in consequence of the Restrictions on the African Slave Trade, there are now in the Poor House 1227; which makes an Increase of 508.

In addition to the above, the Number of Poor relieved out of the House are now 1060; were in 1787 700.— Increase 340.

A List of African Ships laid up in
Liverpool, in Consequence of the
Restrictions on the Trade.

	Tons.
Perseverance	400
Three Brothers	260
Elliot	400
Kitty	350
James	100
Comet	254
Langdale	209
Gainsborough	50
Iris	280
Stag	159
Brooks	350
Golden Age	377
Juba	300
Brothers	325
Joseph	430
Lord Stanley	240
King Grey	145
Nancy	102
Two new Ships in Diverryhouse's Yard, which cannot be sold	300
One D° in Fisher's D°.	160
One D° in Baldwin's D°	175
22 Ships of	Tons 5,366

A List of African Ships fold out of
the Trade, or sent upon other Voya-
ges, in Consequence of the Restrict-
ions on the Trade.

	Tons.
Tartar	190
Tom	206
Mermaid	300
Lady Penrhyn	200
Heart of Oak	150
Apollo	171
Abigail	130
Toms	270
Fanny	180
John	200
Mungo	260
Catharine	94
Neptune	260
Hawke	150
Nancy	200
Joshua	100
16 Ships of	Tons 3,061

RIGHTS OF THE PATENT

AND

SUBJECT OF THE PATENT

AS APPLICABLE TO THE

ENTIRETY OF THE PATENT

OF THE

STATE OF NEW YORK

IN SENATE

January 1881

Wm. H. Rouse

Wm. H. Rouse

Wm. H. Rouse

1881

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES

ON THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Reported 1st APRIL, 1790,

Witnesses Examined,

Mr. FULLER,

Mr. NORRIS.

N° 8.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE.

Jovis, 1^o die Aprilis 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, in pursuance of the Instruction from the House, of the 23d Day of February last, proceeded to take the Examination of Captain Hall, Mr. Falconbridge, and Mr. Wilson.— And, having been informed, that Captain Lace could give some material Information touching several Circumstances mentioned in the Evidence of Captain Hall, they thought proper to take his Examination also.

Lunæ, 1^o die Martii 1790.

CAPTAIN JOHN ASHLEY HALL.

What is your present situation?

I command a ship in the West India trade, belonging to the port of London.

Have you been in the African Slave Trade; in what years, and in what capacities?

I have, in the years 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, and 1776. I have made two voyages to the Coast of Africa on board the ship

Neptune, John Smith, master, belonging to London, as third mate, second mate, and chief mate.

To what parts of the Coast ?

We touched at Cape Mount, on the Windward Coast, and sailed along shore, sometimes anchoring, trading for rice, till we reached Cape Palmas. From thence we sailed, the first voyage, to the river Del Rey, in the Bight of Biaffra, where we flaved. The second voyage, we sailed from Cape Palmas to the river Del Rey ; but finding trade very dull, we went from thence to the river Old Calabar, where we flaved.

By whom and in what manner were the Slaves you purchased brought to the ships ?

They were brought on board by the Black traders, with their arms pinioned behind them, and sometimes I have seen four or five of them with collars about their necks, and chained together.

Did these traders go for them on your arrival ; did they go armed, or in what manner ?

They always went after the arrival of the ship, with the goods they got from the ship ; they went in war-canoes. I have seen from three to ten canoes in a fleet, each canoe having on board from forty to sixty paddlers, and from twenty to thirty traders, and other people with a number of muskets, I should suppose one to each man, with a three or four pounder lashed down on the bow of the canoe.

How long were they generally absent ?

From ten days to about three weeks.

Did you hear from these traders how they got their Slaves ?

I have frequently enquired the mode of purchasing the Slaves inland, and been informed by the traders, that they were prisoners of war, and sold by the people who captured them.

Did you ever see Slaves brought on board with wounds upon them, and in what proportion ?

I never saw one brought on board with a fresh wound ; I have sometimes seen them, but not often, with old scars.

Did you ever hear Slaves in the West Indies describe the methods by which they became Slaves ; and what was their account ?

I have frequently asked them how they became Slaves ; and they have constantly said, they were either surprized in their towns or at work in the fields, or taken in fixed battle.

Were

Were children from eight to twelve or thirteen years of age brought to be sold, and were these brought with or without their parents or other near relations, for whose crimes they might be supposed to have been condemned, and in whose punishment to be involved?

I have frequently seen Slaves brought on board from eight to thirteen years of age; they always came without any relations; I never knew but one instance to the contrary, which was a woman with a child, about six weeks old, sucking at the breast.

Is it usual in the Rivers Calabar and Del Rey to trade by means of pawns?

That is the way the trade is carried on in those two rivers.

Of whom are these pawns supposed to consist?

Very often they are the sons and daughters of the traders, who bring them on board as their pawns.

Did you ever observe in the Africans any indifference as to the fate of the pawns, who had been put into your hands as securities for your goods?

They were always particularly anxious about the fate of the pawns, and seemed very much distressed whenever they took up an idea that the ship would sail away with the pawns.

Did you ever observe in any of the king's houses in Africa a considerable number of guns which were said to be kept for shew?

I never saw more guns in the houses of the kings and principal traders than appeared to be for use, and those were never trade guns, but of a better sort; on the sea coast they were afraid to fire a trade gun.

Can you give any account of a remarkable transaction said to have happened at Old Calabar in the year 1767?

In the river Old Calabar there are two towns, the one called Old Town and the other New Town; the New Town was a settlement from the Old Town: in process of time the New Town became rivals in trade to the Old Town; in consequence of this rivalry a jealousy was spread in both towns; so much were they afraid of each other, that for a considerable time no canoe could leave their towns to go up the river for Slaves—this happened in the year 1767. I beg leave to correct an error in point of time: when I was examined before the Honourable Privy Council, I said this transaction happened in 1768.—In 1767 there were

were seven ships laying off the point which separates the two towns; the captains of six of the ships invited the people of both towns on board the different ships on a certain day, as if to bring about a reconciliation between the two towns; at the same time they entered into an agreement with the people of the New Town to cut off all the Old Town people who should be on board the next morning. In consequence of this invitation, the Old Town people, who were fully persuaded of the sincerity of the proposition of the captains to bring about a reconciliation, went on board without suspicion in great numbers; the next morning, at eight o'clock, one of the ships fired a gun as a signal to the other ships to commence hostilities; the firing immediately became general on board the other ships, some of the traders were secured on board the different ships; some were killed in resisting, and some got overboard, when they were fired upon by the people on board the ships; as soon as the firing commenced the people of New Town, who were lying in ambush behind the point, came forward, and picked up the people of Old Town that were swimming, and had escaped the firing of the ships; after the firing was over, the captains of five of the ships delivered their prisoners, who were persons of consequence, to the New Town canoes, two of whom had their heads struck off in the canoes along side the ships; the inferior prisoners were kept on board the ships, and carried to the West Indies. One of the captains, who had secured three of the king's brothers, delivered one of them up to the principal man of New Town, who was one of the two men who had his head cut off along side the ship; the other two of the king's brothers he kept on board, and promised, when the ship was flaved, to deliver them up to the principal man of New Town. His ship was soon flaved, in consequence of his promise, and the number of prisoners that were made on that day. When his ship was flaved, he refused to deliver the said king's two brothers, and carried them off the Coast to the West Indies, where they were sold; from thence they made their escape in a vessel bound to Virginia, where, after staying above three years, they made their escape in another ship bound to Bristol. When they got to Bristol, the captain who brought them from Virginia, though privy to their leaving Virginia in his ship, fearing he had done wrong, meditated carrying them back to Virginia, or sending them there in some other ship. Mr. Jones, a merchant of Bristol, concerned in the African Trade, who had ships trading to Old Calabar, got them taken out of the ship, where they were in irons, by a Habeas Corpus; and after being fully examined to the manner in which they were brought from
the

the Coast of Africa, they were liberated, and put on board one of Mr. Jones's ships, then ready to sail for Old Calabar. I was at Old Calabar when these two men (brothers to the king) arrived from Bristol in the ship *Cato*, John Langdon, master. They said they were treated very ill in the West Indies, but much better in Virginia. So perfectly satisfied were the people of Old Town, in the year 1767, of the sincerity of the captains who had invited them on board their ships, and of the sincerity of the New Town people towards a reconciliation, that the night before the massacre the principal man of Old Town gave to the principal man of New Town one of his favourite women as a wife. It was said, that from three to four hundred persons were killed on that day on board the different ships, and in the water, or carried off the coast. The king made his escape from on board the ship he was in, but not till he had killed two of the crew who attempted to seize him. After he jumped overboard he got into a little canoe, called a one-man canoe, and paddled from the ship to the shore. One of the ships fired a six-pounder at the canoe, which struck her, and broke her to pieces. He then swam on shore to the woods near the ship, and effected his retreat to his own town, though closely pursued. It was said the king received eleven wounds that morning from musket shot.

Upon what different testimonies do you relate this?

First from Thomas Rutter, who was boatswain of the ship *Neptune* the first voyage I was in that ship. The same Thomas Rutter was boatswain in the year 1767 on board the ship *Canterbury*, Captain Sparkes, belonging to London, and concerned in the massacre of the Old Town people. Thomas Rutter told me the story exactly as I have related it, as far as relates to that day: he never varied in his account.—The second voyage I heard the same account repeatedly from the king's two brothers, who came to Calabar in the *Cato*, Captain Langdon, and who were the two men taken off on that occasion. Their story agreed exactly with Rutter's.

Have you any grounds for believing that the natives of the Windward Coast have sometimes been carried off by the Guinea ships by fraud and violence?

When sailing along the Windward Coast, I have often seen canoes hovering about the ship for a considerable time; and after much entreaty they have come on board, but with so much caution and suspicion that they have kept constantly near the ship's

sive, in order to jump overboard the instant they saw any inclination to stop them. I have asked them the reasons of their suspicions and fears; and they have replied, that they were afraid of being taken off the Coast, for that some of their countrymen had been carried off in that manner.

When the Slaves are brought on board to be sold, do they usually appear dejected?

Always; it soon wears off with the young Slaves, and some of the women; but the men are dejected, and appear unhappy in the extreme, the whole of the voyage.

To what did you ascribe this dejection?

To their being taken forcibly from their nearest and dearest connections, and their native country.

Are the Slaves brought on board in irons, and are they kept in irons when on board?

They are always brought on board with their arms pinioned behind them with small cords twisted, from the bark of trees and grass; sometimes three, four, and five men have been brought on board with collars about their necks, and chained together. They are immediately put in irons on their coming on board, two men together, and kept in irons, on hands and feet, till their arrival in the West Indies, unless they are taken ill, in which case they are taken out of irons.

Do you mean to speak both of male and female Slaves?

I never saw a female Slave put in irons, in either of my voyages.

Are there ever disagreements between the Slaves that are linked together, and on what occasions?

They frequently disagree in the night about their sleeping places; and frequently the men linked together disagree and fight, when one wants perhaps to obey the calls of nature, and the other has been unwilling to go with him.

What is the usual food of the Slaves on board?

Horse-beans, rice, and yams, with a little palm oil and pepper for sauce.

Have you known them refuse to eat, and what methods have been taken on those occasions?

They

They frequently refuse to eat, particularly beans; and when they have so refused, they are corrected with a cat o'nine tails.

May not their refusal to eat have been sometimes attributed to fullness, when it has in fact been owing to indisposition?

I have met with such instances, particularly one man who was corrected for not eating (but not immoderately) supposing he had been stubborn, which man was found dead the next morning.

Do the Slaves ever dance when on board, and in what does this dancing consist?

They are made after each meal to jump up and down upon the beating of a drum; this is what I have heard called dancing, but not what I consider as dancing, as it is not to music of their own.

Are they ever compelled to it, and by what means?

Whenever they refuse to dance, or jump up and down, they are compelled to do it by the use of the cat, which is a very common instrument on board every African ship I have been on board.

Have you ever observed the Slaves to suffer much in consequence of heat, or for want of air?

I have frequently heard them crying out when below for the want of air; and between decks of an African ship with their Slaves on board, it is so violently hot, that I have frequently, after being below but a few minutes, had my shirt so wet by perspiration, that I could have wrung it as if it had been steeped in water.

What was the tonnage of your vessel, and how many Slaves did you purchase in each voyage?

Her tonnage by register was about 180 tons; we purchased the first voyage about 270 Slaves; the second voyage I can speak with more accuracy to, we then purchased 280 Slaves.

How many did you lose in the course of the two voyages respectively?

In the first voyage we lost, I think twenty; in the second voyage we lost exactly ninety; the reason I could not speak with the same certainty to the number purchased and lost in my first voyage, proceeds from my having been ill, and obliged to give up my journal; of the second voyage I have a very correct journal.

What

What is your opinion of the loss of Slaves on board other vessels ?

From the ships I have seen come into the West Indies, I have found the loss to be very considerable on board many of them ; I have known instances of ships burying half their cargo of Slaves, some a quarter, and some a third ; and it is a very uncommon instance to find ships come into the West Indies without the loss of some of their Slaves.

How many seamen did you lose in those two voyages respectively ?

We lost ten the first voyage out of twenty-three ; and on the second voyage, nine of thirty.

Have you any journal of these losses now in your possession ?
I have.

Was it made at the time ?

Both journals were kept daily, so that the transactions were immediately mentioned after they happened.

Can you bring those journals before the Committee, if required.

I can.

Was any other vessel employed in the Slave Trade at the same time as yours, belonging to the same concern ?

There was a Ship, called the Venus, that sailed with us both voyages from England, belonging to the same owners ; we kept company to the river Del Rey the first voyage, where we sailed ; that ship buried in that voyage eighteen men out of thirty. The second voyage we kept company to the river Calabar, where we both sailed ; and in that voyage her mortality of seamen exceeded ours in proportion to her complement, but I cannot speak to the exact loss.

Have you met with instances of other Guinea-men on the Coast, which have experienced a great mortality in their crew ?

In my second voyage we spoke to the ship York, captain Adams, on the Windward Coast ; she had been ten months from Liverpool, and had lost fifty-one of her people, among whom were six mates, out of a complement of seventy-five men, which she left Liverpool with.

Do you mean that she had set out with six mates, or that she had lost six persons who were either originally her mates, or were successively appointed to that office on the death of the former?

The ships trading upon the Windward Coast, by procuring their cargoes of Slaves chiefly by their boats, generally carry out more mates than the other African ships; and I should suppose the six mates said to have been lost were mates originally with the ship upon leaving Liverpool.

Do you relate this instance entirely from memory, or from any journal you may have kept?

I relate this instance from a remark made in my journal on the day we spoke the York on the Windward Coast of Africa.

Do you know of any Guinea-men which, on their arrival in the West Indies, have been found to have suffered considerably in their crews?

I do; in the year 1788, in the month of May, two ships arrived from Africa, called the Hornet and Benfon; they anchored close to my ship; I went on board the Hornet, and was informed they had lost eleven men out of thirty-five (their original crew); when the Benfon came to anchor I was on board my own ship, and could only see two White men upon her yards handling the sails, the rest were Black boys, Slaves.

In what state is a Guinea-man's crew commonly landed in the West Indies?

The crews of the African ships, when they arrive in the West Indies, are generally (I do not know a single instance to the contrary) in a sickly debilitated state, and the seamen who are discharged, or desert from those ships in the West Indies, are the most miserable objects I ever met with in any country in my life; I have frequently seen them with their toes rotted off, their legs swelled to the size of their thighs, and in an ulcerated state all over; such is their situation, that however inclined to relieve them, by taking them on board our ships, we are deterred from it by not having surgeons on board to give them that assistance that they stand so much in need of: I have seen them on the different wharfs in the Islands of Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica (particularly at the two last Islands); I have also seen them laying under the cranes and the balconies of the houses near the water side in Barbadoes and Jamaica expiring, and some

quite dead. I met with an instance last July of a dead seaman laying on one of the wharfs in Bridge Town Barbadoes, who had been landed out of an African ship.

Have you ever shipped a single African seaman, or how many, in the West Indies in any one of the voyages you have made there?

I never shipped an African seaman in any voyage I have made to the West Indies.

How long have you commanded a West Indiaman, and how many voyages have you made since you have been in that capacity?

I have commanded a West Indiaman ten years, and have made ten voyages.

Can you state the number of seamen you have lost in each of those voyages respectively, and the causes of the mortality?

I never lost but one seaman since I have commanded a West India ship, and that was owing to the man's own intemperance.

Do you then consider the Slave Trade as being more destructive than any other to the seamen employed in it?

I believe the African Slave Trade to be particularly destructive to the seamen employed in it, and beyond every degree of comparison with any trade I am acquainted with.

In your opinion are seamen worse treated in the Slave Trade than in any other?

I believe they are in general treated with great barbarity in the African Slave ships; and I do not know of their being treated ill in any other service.

What are the productions which you remember to have seen on the continent of Africa?

On the Windward Coast I have seen rice, ivory, and Malaguetta pepper, which are articles of commerce; I have also seen plantanes, bananas, yams, and many of the tropical fruits. On the Leeward Coast I have seen palm oil, ivory, and bar-wood, and also yams, plantanes, bananas, and most of the tropical fruits; I have seen very fine sugar canes brought on board the ships.

Have you ever seen tobacco?

I have

I have seen the traders and canoe-men smoking tobacco of their own growth.

What is the quality of the African rice?

It was considered, in the ship I failed in, much heartier food than the Carolina rice?

Do you remember any circumstance in confirmation of that opinion?

We used to put two cruets of water to one cruet of rice of the Carolina production, and three cruets of water to one cruet of rice of the African production. I speak this as being the practice of the ship wherein I was.

Do you know concerning the rice plantations in America, and is there any difference of the soil in which the rice of the two continents is produced?

I have been at South Carolina, but never saw rice growing; yet I have been constantly informed, upon enquiry, that it grew in swamps and marshy grounds. I have seen rice grow in Africa, and it has been in a dry soil.

Is the rice on the continent of Africa brought on board the vessels in any quantity at a time, and is it frequently lost in the surf, or not?

I have been purchasing it on the Windward Coast from the natives, who bring it on board in small canoes (frequently only one man in a canoe) in a kind of basket; and I have been frequently on shore purchasing it in our own boats, and I do not recollect of ever losing any from the surf.

Is the surf in any of the West India Islands, from whence hogheads of sugar or other bulky articles are shipped, as great as on the Gold and Windward Coasts of Africa, or as on other parts of that continent?

I have seen the surf at the Islands of Dominique and St. Christopher full as high as I ever saw it on the Windward Coast of Africa. I never was on the Gold Coast, therefore cannot speak as to the surf there; and on the Leeward Coast I was in the rivers where there was no surf.

Are there any rivers on the Windward Coast, that might be used in shipping articles of commerce?

There are rivers on the Windward Coast, but I never was up any of them, therefore cannot speak to that question.

Do

Do the Europeans who trade for Slaves in the Bight of Benin purchase any articles from the natives of the island of Furnandipo?

They purchase great quantities of yams and eddoes from the people of Furnandipo.

Is it considered as a regular market, and are the natives in consequence prepared to furnish the shipping with yams to the extent of their demands?

I have frequently been at Furnandipo in the ship's long-boat, from the rivers Del Rey and Calabar, for the purpose of purchasing yams, and I always found them very ready to trade. We always completed our purchase in a very short time.

Is the number of ships considerable which they thus supply?

The ships from the rivers Old Calabar, Del Rey, and the Cameroons, I believe all send to Furnandipo for yams and eddoes, as I have frequently spoke with boats from those rivers trading to that island; and I believe at some time the number of ships must have been considerable.

Have you ever been yourself upon the island?

I have.

Did you observe that agriculture was carried to greater perfection there, so far as related to the articles of yams and eddoes, than on the continent of Africa, where there is no market for the exportation of these articles?

I have been seven miles at least in the interior part of the island of Furnandipo, and the yam and eddoo plantations I have always found kept in the highest order, and much more so than those of Calabar.

Was the culture of them carried to as great perfection as in the West Indies?

The yams were much better and larger than any I ever met with in the West Indies, but I cannot say whether the production is greater for the land planted.

Do you know if there is any difference in the mode of culture?

I do not; only that at Furnandipo they put small sticks in the ground for the yam vines to run upon.

Is there any commerce in Slaves carried on by the natives of Furnandipo?

There is not. There are some instances in which they have been taken off by the ships and boats touching there.

What proportion do the Slaves bear to the free men, so far as you have been able to observe, in the parts of Africa where you have been?

As I never flaved upon the Windward Coast, I never had an opportunity of seeing any Slaves there. At Calabar and Del Rey the only people that I heard called Slaves were the canoe-boys, who bear a small proportion to the people of those places.

What have you observed concerning the treatment of the Slaves in these places?

I have always seen them treated with great kindness and familiarity; so much so, that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the master from the Slave.

In the different villages which you have seen in Africa, did you observe children in any number, or any other marks of populousness?

The towns and villages which I have seen in Africa appeared to be fully peopled; and I have seen as many children, in proportion to the grown people, as I have met with in this country.

What is your opinion, in general, of the disposition of the Natives on the continent of Africa?

I believe them to be as tractable and ingenious as the people of Europe, under the same disadvantages; and I believe them capable of all the virtues in as eminent a degree as Europeans.

Do you conceive them to be insurmountably indolent, if they had proper inducements to industry?

I never saw them particularly indolent when there was an opportunity of employing themselves to advantage.

What was your reason for quitting the Slave Trade?

I quitted it from conviction that it was perfectly illegal, and founded in blood.

Could you have had a ship in that Trade if you had chosen it; and would such an appointment have been a profitable one?

I could frequently have obtained the command of a ship in that service,

service, and it was at that time a very lucrative service for the masters employed therein.

Have you any information to give respecting the treatment of Slaves in the West Indies?

Called upon as I have been, I have delivered my sentiments of the Slave Trade as far as it relates to the Coast of Africa and the Middle Passage; but I am not competent, nor do I wish to speak to the West Indies.

Of what age was you when you went out as second mate in 1772?
In my twenty-second year.

Was you often on shore at that time?

I was frequently on shore on the Windward Coast, and frequently on shore in the river Calabar, not often at Del Rey.

What was your situation on your second voyage in 1774?

I was second mate and chief mate in the course of that voyage; we slaved that voyage at Old Calabar, but called first at Del Rey.

Was you often on shore at Calabar?

Very frequently, sometimes three or four different times in one day.

Had you any particular duty to call you on shore?

Whenever I went on shore it was on the ship's duty.

What did that duty consist of?

To bring on board sometimes Slaves, and sometimes palm oil, and other articles.

Did you attend the Slaves to the ship?

Yes.

Was that your last voyage?

Yes.

Was you not engaged to have gone a third voyage with Captain Smith, as chief mate?

I was not.

Did you quit the Trade to go to the West Indies to receive a legacy, or from conscientious principles?

I quitted the Trade from conscientious principles, and not to receive a legacy in the West Indies.

Did

Did you go to the West Indies ?
I did.

And did you receive a legacy ?
I did not.

Why did you go to the West Indies ?
To see my friends.

Who offered you the command of a ship afterwards in the African Trade ?

I was offered the command of a ship in the African Trade, in the Island of Antigua, by Mr. Taylor, in 1782.

Had you any offer of a ship from 1774 to 1782 ?
Not for the African Trade.

Have you had any other offer of a ship in the African Trade than the one you have mentioned ?
I have.

From whom, and when ?
From Mr. Cox, in the year 1781 and 1782.

Who is Mr. Cox ?
A merchant in London.

Is he an African merchant ?
No ; he would have purchased a ship for that Trade, and given me the command of her, but I declined it.

What employment was you in at that time ?
I commanded a ship in the West India trade.

Had you any other offers in the African Trade ?
I had not, because I had declared I would never go there again.

In the transaction which you have mentioned at Calabar, and which you heard from Rutter and the king's two brothers, did you take that account down in writing when you first heard it ?
No, I did not.

Do you speak then only from memory ?
I saw at Calabar the depositions that were taken at Bristol of these

these two men, and of William Floyd, who was mate of one of the ships when the transaction happened.

Did you take a copy of those depositions?
I did not.

Do you speak then only from memory?
From nothing else.

When was this account first told to you?
In 1772, in my passage to Africa.

And did the fact alluded to happen in 1767?
Yes.

In whose possession were the depositions you saw at Calabar?
In the possession of the two men (brothers to the king) who had been carried off on that occasion.

What were the names of the ships, and the names of the captains, that were at Calabar at that time?

I cannot remember the names of all of them, but of some I can; namely, the ship Duke of York, Captain Beaven, of Liverpool; the ship Edgar, Captain Lace, of Liverpool; the Indian Queen, Captain Lewis, of Bristol; the ship Nancy, Captain Maxwell, of Bristol; the ship Canterbury, Captain Sparkes, of London.

Did you ever hear of Captain Lace's taking under his care any of the king's sons?
No.

What number of people from the Old Town came on board the ships?
I was informed more than 400.

Did they all stay the night on board the ships?
I apprehend most of them did.

Were the king and his brothers on board the ship?
They were.

How near were the ships to the Old Town?
I should suppose about three miles.

And

And how near to the New Town ?

I never saw the New Town, therefore cannot say ; but I have been informed that the towns are about eight miles distant from each other.

Were the ships much nearer the Old Town than the New Town ?

I should suppose they were.

When the people from the New Town were on shore to intercept the Old Town people swimming from the ships, were there no people from the Old Town on shore to be witnesses of the transaction ?

The New Town people were in their canoes round the point of land, which was a very thick wood, near the ships ; and the Old Town people were all of them along side the ships in their canoes, and on board the ships.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Martis, 2^o die Martii 1790.

Captain Hall called in, and further examined.

Were the English as well received at Old Calabar, after the transaction which happened there, as they were before ? Captain HALL.

I was not there before the transaction happened, nor did I go to that river till seven years afterwards.

Did not you inform the Privy Council the English were as well received after that transaction ?

They were very well received when I was there.

Question repeated.

I did ; I alluded to my going there.

If you did not know that they were as well received after as before, why did you give that account to the Privy Council?

Ships had traded there between that transaction and my going there, and I never heard there had been any dispute.

Is Rutter the boatswain still alive?

I have not seen him since the ship returned, in the year 1774.

Do you know whether he is alive?

I have never heard of him, or about him, since we parted.

You have said, that the Slaves came pinioned to the ship, and were continued in irons during the voyage; is that the practice in African ships?

I have seen them brought on board Guinea-men; they do not put the first eight or ten in irons, but after that every man is put in irons when he came on board; and on board my ship they were kept in irons, unless in case of sickness, till we reached the West Indies.

Question repeated.

It was the practice in my ship.

Do you or do you not know that it is the practice in other African ships?

I believe it is the general practice.

Did the boats you saw going from Calabar, in which many men were armed, go for the purpose of trading, or to make war?

I believe for the purpose of trading, as I never heard to the contrary.

You said that the Negroes in the West Indies told you, that they were either taken from their houses in Africa, or in the fields; do you not know that the lands in Africa are commonly cultivated by women?

I do not.

Do you imagine that the Slaves which were carried to the West Indies, having been convicted of crimes, would confess their guilt?

I do not believe they would.

You

You mentioned, that the African natives were very much attached to their pawns; did you ever know of a ship sailing from the Coast of Africa, without giving notice of its intention of departure?

I did not.

Is there not always time given for redeeming the pawns?

I can only speak to my own ship, and in her that was the case.

You mentioned, that on the Windward Coast some men came on board your ship from a boat, and that they shewed great caution; is that your only ground for thinking they are often improperly taken away.

And the question being objected to;

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

And the following answer being read to him, .

“ When sailing along the Windward Coast, I have often
 “ seen canoes hovering about the ship for a considerable
 “ time; and after much entreaty they have come on
 “ board, but with so much caution and suspicion,
 “ and that they have kept constantly near the ship’s
 “ side, in order to jump overboard the instant they saw
 “ any inclination to stop them. I have asked them the
 “ reasons of their suspicions and fears; and they have
 “ replied, that they were afraid of being taken off the
 “ Coast, for that some of their countrymen had been
 “ carried off in that manner;”

He was asked,

Did you ever know or hear of any persons being carried off from the canoes by the ships to the West Indies?

I heard one instance.

State that instance?

Captain Jeremiah Smith informed me, that the voyage before I was with his brother, which was in 1772, that the vessel had taken off some of the people from the Windward Coast.

What vessel was it, and of what nation?

It was an English vessel; I never heard the ship’s name, but
 the

the captain's name was Fox; Captain Smith also informed me that Captain Fox had called himself Smith, and that in consequence of it he had a dispute near Cape Palmas.

Was it an African ship?

Yes.

Do you know of any instance, from your own knowledge, of persons being taken away?

I do not.

You mentioned the Slaves being made to dance on board the ships; is that a common practice on board African ships?

I believe it is.

You have stated, that the crews of the African ships, when they arrive in the West Indies, are generally in a sickly debilitated state, and the seamen who are discharged or desert from those ships in the West Indies are the most miserable objects you ever met with in any country; and that you have frequently seen them with their toes rotted off, their legs swelled to the size of their thighs, and in an ulcerated state all over;—can you inform the Committee what had occasioned those calamities?

I believe they proceed generally from the scurvy.

Is that complaint confined to African ships?

I believe it is oftener in the African ships than in any other that I know of.

Are sailors in ships in other trades liable to it?

I never saw a man in any ship that I have sailed in labouring under the scurvy in a great degree.

Did you ever see any body in the Island of Barbadoes that was afflicted with that calamity, that had not been in an African ship?

I do not recollect ever seeing a sailor afflicted with it belonging to any other ships in the merchants service.

Question repeated.

I have seen people labouring under the black scurvy or leprosy.

Does the black scurvy produce that effect on the toes and legs?

I believe it does, but I do not know myself the difference between the scurvy and the leprosy.

Have

Have you known frequent instances of sailors running away, or being discharged, that had their toes rotted off and their legs swelled?

I have seen many with their legs swelled, and with ulcers on their legs; but not many (though some) with their toes off.

On the Windward Coast, was you able to obtain as much rice as you chose?

We carried out both voyages some Carolina rice, in case we should not be able to get any on the Windward Coast; but we were two ships in company both voyages, and we procured as much rice, in addition to what we had on board, as we wanted.

Could you have got rice enough to have loaded a vessel of 200 tons?

I do not know.

What is the most distant plantation for rice from the sea shore?

I never was more than from three to four miles on the Windward Coast.

Did you see any plantations of rice there?

I have seen fields of rice.

What is the most distant plantation of rice from the sea shore that you have seen?

From three to four miles.

In what manner could that rice be carried to the ships?

In baskets, on person's heads.

Is that the common or only conveyance?

I have never seen them bring the rice out of the country, but I have seen them bring it down in that manner from the towns near the shore to the water-side.

How is the rice carried from the plantations to the towns?

I do not know.

How is it carried from the towns to the water-side?

In baskets, on person's heads.

Are there any carts or beasts of burthen there?

I never saw any.

Are there any roads?

There are tracks and path-ways.

In what manner do you think the rice could be conveyed from the plantations to the water-side?

If the plantations were at no great distance, I think it might be carried on person's heads.

And if they were at a great distance, how could the rice be carried?

I cannot answer that question.

Did you see much ivory on the Windward Coast?

Very little.

From whence did that ivory come?

I cannot say particularly from what towns it came, but it was brought on board in canoes.

Did it come from a distant country?

I do not know.

Do you imagine that a greater quantity of ivory could be obtained?

I do not know.

You said that on the Leeward Coast you saw some ivory, was that ivory in any quantity?

I believe we might have purchased about three tons in each voyage.

Do you know from whence that ivory came, and how it was brought down?

I do not.

Has this country any command or controul over the states of Africa?

Not that I know of.

Has this country any power of enforcing regulations of commerce over the states of Africa?

I do not know.

Have you heard of a law for regulating the Middle Passage?

I have.

Do you think that that law may correct many of the evils which you have stated in the Middle Passage?

I never read the act.

You have stated, that it is between thirteen or fourteen years since you left the African Trade; is what you have stated relating to that Trade confined to that period?

It is not.

What period does it relate to?

Till very lately.

Do you speak of your own knowledge, having left the Trade?

I have frequently, since I left the Trade, seen the people from the African ships in the situation I have already stated.

You stated that the provisions given the Slaves on board the African ships were horse-beans, rice, and yams, mixed with palm-oil and pepper; are those the only provisions they are allowed?

Those were the general provisions, but I have known a small quantity of bread given now and then to the sick; and we have got at the Island of Annabona a few cocoa-nuts, and some Cassada flour, of which we occasionally gave the Slaves a little.

Do they give them nothing else?

The sick Slaves sometimes had a dram in the morning.

Had not the ships commonly live stock on board?

Not for the Slaves; I confine myself in my answers to my own ship.

Can you speak to the practice of other ships?

I cannot.

Do you suppose that the armed canoes which you mentioned to have seen in Del Rey river, were equipped in that manner to commit hostilities, or for the protection merely of those who were in them, and their goods?

For the protection of those that were on board them, and their goods.

Do you know whether the chiefs of the Negroes possess Slaves as a property, which they have a right to dispose of?

I never knew of their disposing of any in my ship.

Do

Do you know of their disposing of them in any other ship?
I do not.

Do you know whether the Africans sell those who are convicted of theft, adultery, and other crimes?
I never purchased one.

Question repeated.

I never saw them sell any of them to any other ship.

Do you know whether they do or do not sell them?
I do not.

Did you ever purchase a Slave of any description?
No, I have not.

Do you know any thing at all about the Slave Trade, if you never purchased a Slave?

At Calabar and Del Rey the Slaves were always purchased by the captains; on the Windward Coast they are in a great measure purchased in boats, which is done by the mates.

Did you ever purchase a Slave when you was a mate?
No, we did not then purchase any Slaves on the Windward Coast.

What was your duty as mate?
When second mate, my duty was in the hold when upon the Coast.

Do you know in what situation of life the Slaves had been in before they were brought to the ship, and while they were offered for sale?
I do not.

Then how can you assert that the Trade is founded in blood, and is illegal?

It is my opinion that many Slaves are killed, and of course I must be of opinion that it is a bloody trade.

Upon what information do you found that opinion?
From having heard from some of the traders, that the Slaves were prisoners of war, and from some of them in the West Indies having told me they were kidnaped.

Did

Did not you assert before the Privy Council, that you did not believe any wars were entered into upon the sea coast for the purpose of making Slaves?

I did.

Was your information respecting the kidnapping of Slaves obtained from the information of Slaves in the West Indies?

It was.

You have stated that there were 400 of the Old Town people on board English ships at Calabar, or in their canoes alongside of them, when the transaction which you related is supposed to have happened, and that the king killed two White men who attempted to seize him;—were all his followers unarmed, and were the 400 men that were with him unequal to cope with the crews of the seven ships?

I do not know in what state of defence the people in the canoes were at that time, but when they came on board, in the common course of trade and visits, they had very few muskets in their canoes, and they are never suffered to bring their arms into the ships, therefore those that were on board were incapable of resisting.

How many of these Old Town people do you suppose were on board each of the ships?

I should suppose the greater part of them were canoe-boys (as they are called) and kept in the canoes.

Do you know Ephraim Robin John, commonly called Duke Ephraim, a man of consequence of Old Town?

I know Ephraim Robin John, but when I was at Calabar he was called King George.

Do you know Captain Lace of Liverpool, and did he protect Duke Ephraim's son from the vengeance of the New Town people; and though offered a very high price for him, did he bring the young man to England, keep him there several years, till the war was over, and then send him to his father?

I do not know Captain Lace, nor have I heard the story as related in the question.

From what information are you now able to correct the date of the transaction at Calabar?

I have, since I have been examined by the Honourable Privy Council, seen a second copy of the depositions of William Floyd,

mate of the Indian Queen, Captain Lewis, and of the King's two brothers, taken at Bristol.

What is the general character of the people at Old Calabar?

They behaved very well to the ship I belonged to, in the voyage we sailed to that river.

Question repeated.

I never heard any thing against them by any body while I was in the Trade. I heard Captain Jeremiah Smith, of the ship Venus, having had a dispute with them, I think in the years 1777 or 1778, but what was the cause, and who the aggressor, I know not; that is the only instance of their having had disputes with any body that I know of.

Did you ever hear of the Calabar people seizing, imprisoning, and poisoning Captains Fidler and Doyle, of Liverpool, in the year 1775?

I have heard that those two captains were poisoned; but, as far as my memory serves, it was by the New Town people.

How far did your ship lay from the New Town?

My ship lay abreast of the Old Town.

What was the character of the inhabitants of the Old Town?

They always behaved very well to my ship, the voyage it sailed in that river.

Did you ever hear that they were a ferocious and vindictive people?

I never did.

Do you believe the story of Fidler and Doyle to be true?

I do.

Can you account for it?

I cannot.

Do you believe the people of New Town are more ferocious than those of the Old Town?

I never had any connections with them.

Have you, from any information, or from any thing you have

have ever heard, reason to believe they are or are not more ferocious, more vindictive, or worse disposed than those of the Old Town?

I have heard the Old Town people charge them with being rogues.

Question repeated.

I have not.

Can you account for their cruelty to the two Liverpool captains, Fidler and Doyle?

I cannot.

Do you know that the natives upon the Windward Coast have frequently stooped and detained the officers from ships on shore, and extorted goods for their release?

I have heard of such instances, but never saw one.

Do you know that they attempted to seize and actually boarded His Majesty's ship Chesterfield, Captain Barton, off Cape Palmas?

I have heard of that being once done.

Do you know that they frequently attacked trading shallops and boats, murdered the crew, and plundered the goods on board them?

No, I do not.

Have you ever heard it?

I have heard of such instances.

Do you not think that such actions may be the probable cause of the caution you have stated, when they come on board our ships?

It may in some instances.

Have you not heard that the natives on the Windward Coast have frequently passed base metal for gold in their transactions with the British ships?

I have not.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Joris.

Jovis, 4^o die Martii 1790.

Captain Hall called in, and further examined.

Captain HALL.

Have you brought the journal alluded to in your former evidence?

I have brought the journal of my second voyage.

Could you not procure the journal of your first voyage?

I have lost it.

When did you first discover the loss of that journal?

Upon looking among my old journals the day before yesterday.

Can you recollect when you last saw that journal which is lost?

I cannot.

Can you recollect whether you have ever seen it since your last voyage was completed, and when?

I have; about seven years ago.

Has the evidence which you have given respecting your first voyage been given from memory, or from any written memorandum?

From memory.

As a mate on board the Neptune, in the capacity of first, second, and third mate, what was your duty while the ship remained in Africa, and on the Middle Passage?

My duty upon the Coast, as second mate, was in the hold. I was shipped as third mate on the first voyage in London river, and made a second mate the same voyage, before the ship left the river. I continued second mate till the ship arrived at the island of Dominique. The captain stayed at Dominique about some business; the chief mate commenced captain, and I came home chief mate. The second voyage I shipped as second mate. The chief mate was discharged at Jamaica, and I came home chief mate. I beg leave here to explain my answer to the

preceding

preceding question. My duty, as second mate, was in the hold, when the provisions and water were to be served, or goods wanted for trade; upon every other occasion I deemed my duty upon deck and in the boats as necessary. In the Middle Passage, my duty was to serve out the provisions, and to attend upon the quarter-deck and round-house when the Slaves were messing.

Explain what you mean by necessary duty?

Over-hauling the rigging, going on shore according to the directions of the captain on various occasions, and any other of the ship's duty that was requisite.

What was your particular duty in the ship, in the boats when you were sent on shore; and was you at all concerned in the purchase of Slaves as mate of the ship?

My duty on board the ship was to do every thing that was necessary, and every other duty required in a ship; when I was sent ashore in the boats, it was to bring on board fire-wood, and any thing else that was wanted by the ship from the town; I have been sent to the island of Furnandipo as officer of the boat, to purchase yams and eddoes; I never was employed to purchase Slaves; it is not the duty of the mates so to do at Del Rey and Calabar, the captains managing that business themselves.

Did all the time that you spent on shore in Africa amount to one week?

Yes, to a great deal more; I never slept on shore in Africa.

Describe the different times you went on shore, the business you went upon, and the places you were at, and how far you went inland into the country at any one time?

With respect to the different times I have been on shore, it is impossible for me to say; on the Windward Coast I frequently went on shore on both voyages to purchase rice and to procure wood; I have been, on the Windward Coast, about three miles inland, as near as I can guess.

Was you ever in any higher rank than that of second mate, either upon the Coast or on the Middle Passage?

I have said before I was not.

Did you ever go on shore for the purpose of gaining information respecting the Slave Trade, and manners and customs of the Natives.

I was not sent from the ship for that purpose. With respect to the natives, the knowledge I obtained was from the necessary intercourse I had with them on the ship's duty.

Can you recollect how long you were absent from the ship at any one time, and who did your duty while absent?

I do not believe I was ever absent from the ship more than eight or nine days at any one time; and during that absence the chief mate did my duty on board.

When you were on shore, did you entrust yourself with the natives, or did you reside in some of the English factories?

I trusted myself with the natives—I never saw an English factory on the Coast.

Do you mean that you trusted yourself with the natives eight or nine days together?

No; when I was absent from the ship eight or nine days, it was when I was sent from the rivers Del Rey and Calabar to the island of Furnandipo.

What other time was you absent besides that when you went to Furnandipo?

When I was on shore on the Windward Coast, or at Calabar.

For how long a time together?

On the Windward Coast for some hours; at Calabar frequently an hour, sometimes more.

What part of the Coast was you upon, when you went about three miles up the country?

I cannot recollect—it was between Cape Mesurado and Cape Three Points.

Did you understand the language of the natives?

I did not.

Did you take any interpreter with you, when you went on shore?

I did not.

Then how did you gain your information respecting the manner of Slaves being made in that country, the reasons of their being offered for sale, and other circumstances relating to the Slave Trade?

From

From the traders, who all of them speak English, some of them very good.

Do you mean to state, that every thing you have said relating to the Slave Trade is hearsay evidence, collected from other people?

Yes; I have said so before.

On the different parts of the Windward Coast where you have been, did you land with equal safety as at St. Christopher's and Dominique?

I did.

Do you know that upon the Windward Coast the surf in general runs very high, and that the sea breaks to a considerable distance from the shore, which frequently makes it inaccessible?

The surf does sometimes run very high on the Windward Coast, and the sea, in some places, does break at some distance from the shore.

Can you at any time land on the beach with safety in a boat?

I always went on shore without meeting with any accident to the people or boat.

How long was you upon the Windward Coast?

As near as I can recollect, from sixteen days to three weeks each voyage.

Was you ever there in the rainy season?

I was not.

Have you ever heard whether there is more or less surf there in the rainy season?

I have not.

Is it not the usual way to anchor on the Windward Coast in a boat at a distance, and land in a canoe?

I have anchored in a boat on that Coast, and I have also gone on shore in a small boat, landed upon the beach with her, and hauled her up while we staid.

Why did you anchor at a distance from the shore?

On account of the surf.

Why did you go in a small boat?

On account of the surf, and not having any bulky articles to take on board the large boat; had that been the case, we could have effected it in the same manner as it is done at the Islands of Dominique and St. Christopher, which is by anchoring at a little distance from the shore, and having two long joists, called skids, placed over the boat's stern, reaching to the shore; which is the manner of taking off fugars in those Islands where there is a surf.

Why did you haul the boat on shore?

On account of the surf, and it being a small light boat.

Do you mean to say, that during the time you were on the Windward Coast you could at any time have landed in that boat?

No, not at all times.

Could you have landed as often as you have been prevented by the surf?

I believe I could.

Did you observe the same precautions in landing at St. Christopher's and Dominique, as in landing upon the Windward Coast?

I did.

Are not ports at St. Christopher's and Dominique in general to leeward, and guarded by the highlands from the trade winds?

The ports I have been in at Dominique and St. Christopher's were, at Dominique, Roseau Bay; and at St. Christopher's, Baffterre. Those ports are at the leeward of the Island; but I have frequently known the sea breeze to blow very strong in both those ports.

Did you ever know the sea breeze to blow so strong as to do any mischief, or to make it difficult in landing?

I have.

What do you mean by the sea breeze?

The wind that blows in the day-time is generally called the sea breeze; and when the trade wind had been far to the southward of the east (which it sometimes is) it makes a large surf on shore.

Is that the regular trade wind?

The

: The trade wind is not confined to any one point of the compass; I have known it blow from north-north-east to south-east.

Does it not generally blow from east-north-east to east-south-east?

Generally.

How many points of the compass does it ever vary?

I have said from north-north-east to south-east, which are ten points.

Is not that during the hurricane months?

I have known it blow in that manner from April to July, not constantly, but at times, in each of those months.

Can the wind that varies ten points be called a trade wind?

I cannot say it can very properly be called so, but yet it is generally called so.

When goods are to be shipped on the Windward Coast, at what distance does the large boat anchor from the shore?

I never anchored at a greater distance than about fifty fathoms from the shore.

Did you use the same precautions at the ports you have said you have been at in the Islands of Saint Christopher and Dominique?

At Dominique I did, but not at that distance, because I had bulky articles to take on board, which was not the case upon the Windward Coast. I never loaded at Saint Christopher's, I have only gone in there in the war, to join the ships of the fleet; and I have seen them use the same precautions, but I did not do it myself.

If you had had bulky articles, would you have gone so near the shore as within fifty fathoms on the Windward Coast?

I should have gone in some places as near as I did at Dominique.

How near did you go to the shore at Dominique, under those circumstances?

So near, that joists of about thirty feet reached the shore from the boat.

Could you have gone as near as that upon the Windward Coast?

I could.

On what part?

I cannot say particularly the name of the part, but it was between Cape Mesurado and Cape Three Points.

Could you have done it on any other part?

I do not know whether I could or could not.

You have said that ivory is an article of trade on the Windward Coast; is it customary with the natives to cut a hole in each elephant's tooth, and why?

We purchased very little ivory on that Coast, and I cannot recollect the circumstance of the hole; the ivory we bought on the Windward Coast was all small.

You have said that rice is an article of commerce on the Windward Coast; did the ship to which you belonged call there for the purpose of procuring that article?

It did.

Can you recollect the quantity which was purchased each voyage?

About five tons.

How long did it take to procure that quantity?

From sixteen days to about three weeks; there was another ship in company with us both voyages, which purchased about the same quantity.

Is the rice generally wet with salt water, so as to require drying in the sun before it is fit to stow away?

It sometimes is when brought in the little canoe.

Is it not oftener so than otherwise?

I cannot say it is.

Can you say it is not?

I believe it is not; but I cannot speak with correctness to the number of times that the rice came on board wet or dry.

What appearance has the African rice?

It has a reddish appearance.

Do you know the distinction between red and white rice?
I do.

What is the distinction, and are they equally fit for the European market?

The African rice which I have seen has generally a red colour externally, the Carolina rice is white; I do not know whether the African rice would sell at an European market, but I know it to be a very hearty and good food.

Do you not think that exercise is necessary for the health of the Slaves in the Middle Passage?

Certainly.

In what manner are the Slaves prevailed upon to take that exercise?

In my own ship, after they had done messing, a man struck upon a drum, and they were made to jump up and down; those who refused were compelled with the cat.

Did it often happen that they were compelled?

It sometimes happened among the men, but very seldom among the women.

You have stated that the Slaves room was very hot, have you never known the Slaves complain of being too cold at night, and do they not more frequently complain of being too cold than too hot?

I never knew them complain of being too cold in the ship I belonged to.

Was the ship you belonged to properly furnished with gratings and air ports?

She was properly furnished with gratings, but had no air ports.

Do you know whether African ships in general have air ports, and that an African ship cannot be said to be properly fitted out that has not got such air ports?

I have frequently met with African ships without air ports, but since I have left the Trade I have seen more with air ports coming to the West Indies than without.

Were those persons who died on board the Neptune able or ordinary seamen, landsmen, or apprentices?

They

They were most of them able seamen, but I cannot distinguish the proportions; we had no landsmen on board but the cooper and armourer, and the carpenter's mate, I think, one voyage; and we never had an apprentice in the ship.

Were any boys in the ship who were not apprentices?
I believe there were two each voyage.

Do you know how many of those persons who died on board the Venus were able seamen?

I do not; but the Venus, to the best of my recollection, lost all her officers the first voyage, except the chief mate and captain.

Do you know that the York was a small vessel not 150 tons burthen?

I do not; in looking over my journal for that transaction respecting the York, I found it was the York's boat which we spoke with, and which gave me the account alluded to in my former evidence.

Do you know the number of men that the York carried?
The boat informed us, that she left Liverpool with 75 men.

Is it usual for a vessel of 150 tons burthen to carry 75 men in time of peace?

It is not; but I did not know the size of the York, whether it was 150 or 300 tons burthen.

Is it usual for a ship of 300 tons burthen to carry 75 men in time of peace?

The ships in the African trade carry a great many men, but I do not know the regular proportion to the tonnage.

After you had made two voyages in the Neptune, did you not agree to go as chief mate with Captain King?

I did; I wished to see the Gold Coast where Captain King was bound, but before the ship had got in a forwardness for sea I wrote a letter to Mr. Calvert, who was owner of the ship, thanking him for his offering me the birth, but that I begged leave to decline proceeding in the ship. This happened in the very year that I finished my second voyage.

Did you state, in any part of that letter, that you had a legacy left you, which you were going to the West Indies to receive?

I do

I do not recollect that I did ; I told Captain Calvert, in the letter, that I was going to the West Indies.

Do you recollect that you did not ?

I am not positive. I had a legacy left me in the West Indies, but I did not receive it till two years afterwards.

Did you not go out to the West Indies in expectation of receiving it sooner ?

I did not.

You have said that you touched at the island of Annabona, and procured some cocoa nuts and Cassada flour, were those all the refreshments you got there ?

They were.

Do you know whether there are refreshments of live stock, plantanes, and bananas to be procured in great plenty there ?

I saw some live stock, some plantanes, and some bananas brought along-side our ship ; the captain purchased some of them for the use of the cabin.

Were any of the sick Slaves supplied with any refreshments of that sort ?

They were not. The Slaves had in that voyage a dysentery, and the captain was afraid to give them plantanes and bananas in that state ; and we had no room upon deck for coops for fowls.

Was there no room in the ship or boats for live stock, or could they not have lashed the coops on the quarters of the ship for that purpose ?

There was no room in any part of the ship, except in the boats ; the boat wherein we might have put coops was a small one ; coops might have been lashed on the quarters of the ship, but she had no coops lashed there.

Do you know that the island of Furnandipo was ceded by Portugal to Spain, with an intention to establish a factory there, to carry on the African Trade ?

I have heard that that island was in possession of the Spaniards, but for what purpose I have not heard.

Is not the land at Furnandipo high and dry, and, in consequence

frequency thereof, produces better yams than the swamps about Del Rey and Calabar?

It is very high land; they have a great deal of rain there in the rainy season. The yams are much better than at Calabar, which, I should suppose, proceeds from the difference of soil; and the people of Furnandipo, not having any other trade, give the whole of their attention to the cultivation of the land.

State to the Committee all the instances which you know, of your own knowledge, of the natives being carried off by ships and trading boats from Furnandipo, or any part of Africa?

I have said before, that I never knew an instance upon the Coast of Africa. At the island of Furnandipo, in my second voyage, a boat belonging to the ship *Venus*, Captain Jeremiah Smith, which had been sent for yams from Calabar to Furnandipo, enticed a canoe to come along-side, with about ten men in her; as soon as she got very near, the men fired into her from the ship's boat, upon which they jumped over-board; some of them were wounded, one of whom was taken out of the water, and died in less than an hour on board the boat; two others were taken up unhurt, and carried to the river Calabar to the ship. Captain Smith was angry at the officer for his conduct, and sent another officer in the boat to land the two men in the bay from whence they were taken. Immediately after the boat had brought off these two persons, I went into the bay in our own long-boat, and, upon sending on shore two persons to fill some water, they were surrounded by the natives, who drove three spears into one of the men, and wounded the other with a large stick. This must have been in consequence of taking away the two men just mentioned.—I know of no other instance.

Did the Negroes who were in the canoe attempt to cut off the boat; and what was the provocation which made it necessary for the men in the boat to fire at the canoe?

They did not attempt to cut off the boat. The boat had seven men in her, and was well armed; the people of Furnandipo had no fire-arms, therefore it is not probable they would attempt to cut off a boat armed and protected in the manner the boat of the *Venus* was.

Have you ever heard of the natives of Furnandipo attempting to cut off boats with Europeans in them; and is it likely that the Europeans would fire into the canoe without having had some provocation?

I never

I never heard of their attempting to cut off a boat. Sometimes they have disputes with the people on shore trading with them for yams; this was said to be the case in this instance, but they had not done any of the boat's crew any injury.

Was the ship offered you by Mr. Cox a store-ship, or a regular African ship?

She was a store-ship; but Mr. Cox would have had me purchased Slaves (after delivering the stores) to carry to the West Indies.

Have you that competent knowledge of the countries of Del Rey and Calabar to affirm that there are no Slaves there but the canoe-men?

I never saw any others, except the women.

Have you any other knowledge of the African Trade but what you have gained in your two voyages as mate, from the year 1772 to 1776?

I have not; and from conversing with persons who have been much longer in the service.

As you have said you never slept a night on shore at Del Rey and Calabar, in what space of time did you go fifteen leagues up the river Del Rey and return to the ship?

I never went more than two miles from the ship in the river Del Rey, except in the long-boat to Furnandipo. When I spoke of fifteen leagues up the river Del Rey, I said the ship lay at anchor about that distance from the river's mouth.

You have said before the Privy Council, the country was well inhabited as far as you went up the rivers, which was fifteen leagues up the river Del Rey, and ten leagues up the river Calabar;—how long did those different excursions up those rivers occasion you to be absent from the ship?

I never was more than two miles from the ship; I said the ship went up that distance from the river's mouth.

Where, and before whom, did you say so?

I told the Honourable Privy Council that the ship went up that distance.

Did you go into the houses of many of the kings and principal traders in the country?

I did.

How

How long was it after you quitted the African Trade in 1776, before you went to see your friends in the West Indies?
Immediately after.

To what Island did you go?
To Barbadoes.

How long did you continue there?
About a fortnight.

Where did you go to from Barbadoes?
To England.

When did you first enter into the West India trade as commander of a vessel?
The latter end of the year 1780.

In what employ were you from the time of your quitting the African Trade to the latter end of the year 1780?

I made a voyage to the West Indies in 1777, and between that time and the latter end of 1780 I was on board the ship Tartar, Captain Edward Fiott, a private ship of war.

From what port in England did the ship you first commanded in the West India trade sail, and to what Island?

She belonged to the port of London, and sailed to the Island of Antigua.

How long did she continue in that trade?
I made one voyage in her.

Who husbanded that ship in London?
Henry and Samuel Cox.

From what ports, and to what Islands, were your other voyages as commander?

My second voyage was from the port of London, and we were lost in the Downs going to Antigua. My third voyage I sailed from London to the Island of Antigua, Messieurs Lane, Son, and Frazer were the ship's husbands; in that ship I made a voyage from Antigua to America. My next voyages were from London to the same Island in another ship, husbanded by the same gentlemen. My seventh voyage was from London to the Island of Barbadoes, the ship's husband Samuel Whitehead. My next two
voyages

voyages were from London to the same Island in another ship, hufbanded by Messieurs Cox and Sherrin.

Do you continue in that ship, and are you in that employ at present?

I am.

Are you shortly bound out for Barbadoes?

I am, and expect and hope to sail on Monday or Tuesday next.

Were the offers of the command of a vessel in the African Trade, which were made to you in 1781 or 1782 by Mr. Cox of London, and in 1782 by Mr. Taylor of Antigua, the only instances which you mentioned to have refused accepting of?

They were; but I constantly declared my aversion to the Trade, which I believe has prevented similar offers.

Did you ever declare that aversion to Mr. Cox and Mr. Taylor before their offers to you?

I did not.

Do you not apprehend that the property acquired on board a private ship of war may be said to be a traffic, though legalized by act of parliament, in some measure founded in blood?

I do not think myself competent to answer that question.

Is not the property acquired by the African Trade equally legalized by act of parliament; and if so, you having given it as your opinion that that Trade is perfectly illegal, are you not equally competent to deliver your opinion in that respect as to privateering?

When I was in a private ship of war I considered the war we were then engaged in in a very different light from the wars and pillage carried on in Africa, commonly called war; and when I entered into the privateer service, the ship I served on board was a very respectable ship, of 34 guns and 230 men, and I thought and wished to have an opportunity of serving my country in that ship, and I served on board that ship as first lieutenant.

By whose labour is the sugar, rum, and other produce of the

Island of Barbadoes, which you now gain your livelihood by the transporting of from that Island to Great Britain, manufactured?

By natives of that country, and Africans.

Are they called freemen or Slaves?

Slaves.

Are not the means which you therefore necessarily draw from the employment which you are now in, of maintaining yourself and family, necessarily connected with that Trade on the coast of Africa, which you have abandoned from conscience sake as being founded in blood?

It is no doubt connected with the African Trade; I knew that to be the case when I made my former declaration.

Did you serve on board the private ship of war for the good of your country, or your own private interest only?

For both.

Do you know a place in the Island of Dominique called Woodbridge's Bay?

I have seen such a place.

How far may it be from Roseau?

A very little way.

Do not ships lay there in smoother water, and where the surf on the shore is commonly of very little obstruction to the shipping and landing of goods?

I never was more than one voyage at Dominique, and then no ship lay there; I know the surf is less there than at Roseau, but I never heard of any other produce but that belonging to the estate of Mr. Woodbridge being shipped from thence.

Do you mean by that to say, that the beach is private property, and that no other produce but that of the proprietor of that estate can be shipped from thence?

I do not; I believe all beaches are considered as the King's property, and free for any body to use as far as high water mark.

Do you not know, or believe, that Woodbridge Bay is the general place where all Guinea-men in particular bring up on their arrival, and where they take on board their homeward-bound cargo?

I have heard that was the case.

Is or is not the port at Basseterre at St. Christopher's directly open to the south, or to what other point of the compass?

It is open to the southward.

Do boats, which take the sugar from the shore to carry on board the ships in that road, generally come to an anchor at the distance of fifty fathoms from the shore, and receive the sugar from thence in smaller boats?

The large boats I have seen come to anchor at some distance from the shore.

What distance?

I cannot speak with accuracy.

Do not the boats which employ skids come close on the beach, and receive the sugar over their sides by means of those skids?

I have seen them receive the sugar over the sides and over the sterns of the boats. I have not seen much sugar taken off from the Island of St. Christopher.

Do you not know, or have you not heard, that the surf at Basseterre is frequently so high, as to prevent the boats from taking off sugar for days together?

I do not know that to be the case, but I have frequently heard so.

Do you know a shipping place called Half Moon Bay, on the windward side of St. Christopher's?

I do not.

State to the Committee what you know, of your own knowledge, as to the manner of feeding, cloathing, lodging, and the general treatment of Slaves, as far as your observation has gone, in Barbadoes, and the other West India Islands where you have been?

I am not competent; and as so much information has been given to the Committee on that subject already, I beg leave to decline answering that question.

You have been two voyages to the Coast of Africa, and have thought yourself competent to give particular information respecting the manner of the African Trade; and you have been ten voyages to the West India Islands, and yet you are incompetent to speak of the manner in which Slaves are treated there—State
what

what you know of that matter, as far as you may be competent thereto?

I wish to decline answering that question, as I am really not competent; as my duty, while in the African service, called upon me more immediately to make the observations I have given to this Committee.

And then the Witnesses was directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 5^o die Martii 1790.

Captain Hall called in; and further examined.

Captain H A L L.

Can you tell how the receiving a legacy should induce any man to leave one line of sea-faring life for another, not requiring a larger capital to carry it on?

I do not know that it would induce a man so to do.

Do you think any comparison can be instituted between the cases of fighting the declared enemy of your country, in lawful war, under a commission from your King, and of exercising cruelties upon a number of individuals, who are defenceless, and have given no offence?

I think there is no comparison.

Do you think that a man, who should assign motives of feeling and tenderness for the animal creation as the reason for not chusing to exercise the trades of a butcher or drover, might, without subjecting himself to the charge of insincerity, continue to sustain himself and his family upon meat bought of butchers?

Most certainly.

Did you hear the Calabar story from any persons besides those you have already mentioned?

I have heard Captain Jeremiah Smith, who arrived a very short time after in the river Calabar, mention the story, but not in that particular manner—He spoke only to the supposed number killed and carried off, and conceived it to be a very bloody transaction.

What

What was the number of seamen which you heard was lost in the Benson, when you saw her in the West Indies?

I heard that she had lost thirty-one persons.

Did you ever see the Slaves in Africa eating with their masters?
I have.

What causes in general have you heard assigned for the Natives of Africa detaining the officers and crews of ships boats, and requiring a ransom for their release?

I have heard that it has proceeded from disputes with the ships and ships boats, and done by way of retaliation.

You have said before the Privy Council, that the surgeon of one of the London ships attended on shore the king, who had been wounded in the Calabar transaction; was it the surgeon of one of the ships which had been actively engaged in it?

It was not.

Were the two brothers of the king, who, you have said, agreed with Rutter in the particulars of the Calabar transaction, carried off to the West Indies on board the ship of which Rutter was boatwain?

No.

Before the Privy Council you said, that the king of the Old Town gave his daughter for wife to a principal trader of the New Town, and you have before this Committee said it was his favourite woman; can you account for this inconsistency?

The boatwain informed me she was the daughter of the king; but the two brothers said she was a favourite woman.—I think it is likely the boatwain might be mistaken as to the quality of the woman.

Are you sure, on recollection, that the Duke of York, Captain Bevan, was a Liverpool ship?

Upon recollection, I believe she belonged to Bristol.

Was it your general custom, during your voyages to set down in writing any thing you might hear of what had passed at former periods, or only the transactions of the present time?

Only the transactions of the present time.

Did you hear the Calabar story once only, or frequently, from Rutter?

Frequently.

Was Captain Smith, with whom you sailed, of a harsh and cruel disposition, or the contrary?

I never knew an instance of harsh or inhuman treatment practised by Captain Smith, in either of the voyages I was with him; on the contrary, he was particularly attentive to the sick, both of the crew and the Slaves.

Can you give any particular proofs of his humanity?

I remember an instance of a woman being purchased, with her child about six weeks old; the child was very cross from indisposition, and had made much noise at night; the boatswain wished much to have permission to throw it overboard, he even solicited the captain for that permission, and gave as a reason, that the child would not live, and if it did it would fetch nothing in the West Indies; which request the captain received with horror and detestation.

When asked, "Do you suppose that the armed canoes which you mentioned to have been in Del Rey river were equipped in that manner to commit hostilities, or for the protection merely of those who were in them, and their goods?" You answered, "For protection of those that were on board them, and their goods."—Do you mean to give it as your opinion, that the armed canoes would not take any opportunities that might offer of seizing and carrying off any persons whom they might be able to surprize?

I believe they would.

When asked, "Do you mean to state, that every thing you have said relating to the Slave Trade is hearsay evidence, collected from other people?" You answered, "Yes, I have said so before."—In your answer to this question, do you mean to confine yourself to what you had learned respecting the Slave Trade to refer to what you had just said you had heard on these topics from the traders, or to what you had seen with your own eyes?

To what I had heard from the traders.

Have you often known the rice that has been brought on board your
your

your ship so wet as to require drying, when it has not been brought in the little canoes ?

Very seldom.

In saying that it sometimes happened among the men, that they were compelled with the cat to dance, did you mean that they were sometimes only actually whipped, or that it was only sometimes necessary for a person to be present with the cat to superintend their dancing ?

It was always necessary for the person to have a cat who attended the Slaves while messing and taking their exercise ; and they sometimes received a few strokes when they refused to perform that exercise, or to eat their victuals.

Have you known the surf in the West Indies so great sometimes as to prevent your landing ?

I remember at Dominique an instance that we could not land with either of the ship's boats for forty-eight hours.

Was Mr. Cox, who made you the offer of a Slave ship, the same gentleman who husbanded the ship you commanded to the West Indies ?

He was.

Did all the ships and all the captains which you have enumerated combine with the people of the New Town at Calabar to surprize the people of the Old Town ?

No.

How many do you except from that combination ?

One.

What was the name of the captain, and the name of that one ship, which did not combine with the rest in surprizing the people of Old Town ?

I do not recollect either.

Have you ever known any instances of Slaves jumping over-board ?

I remember one in the river Del Rey.

Do you recollect any other instance ?

One in Antigua.

If the boatwain misinformed you about the king's daughter, might he not likewise have been mistaken in other particulars?

The mistake respecting this woman might have been from the information he had received; but the greater part of the transaction came immediately under his own sight and observation.

By whose order did the person with the cat attend the messing and dancing of the Slaves?

By the captain's.

By whose order did the person use the cat in any particular instances?

He used it at his own discretion, without particular orders.

You have stated that Captain Smith was a very humane man, was the making the Slaves dance considered as an act of cruelty?

It was considered as a necessary act.

You have said, that you believed the armed canoes would have taken an opportunity of surprizing and carrying off the natives; have you known any instances of it?

I have not.

On what grounds do you believe it?

I do not believe that the persons in the canoes would have considered it a crime, from being in the constant habit of selling people.

Are they in the habits of taking people in that manner?

I do not know that they are.

Do you think the planters in the West Indies, or the African merchants of these days, are at all responsible for this supposed transaction at Calabar?

I do not believe that any person who was not on board the ships, and actually engaged in the business, is at all responsible.

Do you think it would be just to punish the planter, or the African merchant of these days, for that supposed transaction?

Certainly not.

Is it not a common practice in the trade to the Windward Coast to employ the boy Slaves on the ship's duty, particularly in going aloft?

I do not know that it is.

Do you suppose that the boy Slaves in the ship Benson were sent aloft for want of seamen, and not because it was the practice to employ them occasionally in that service?

I heard that it was from the loss of seamen in the course of the voyage.

From whom did you hear that?

From general conversation on shore; and some of her people when on shore informed my boat's crew that that was the case.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. ISAAC WILSON, Surgeon in His Majesty's Navy, was called in, and examined.

How many voyages have you made to the coast of Africa for Slaves?

One.

In what ship, under what captain, and to what port?

The ship Elizabeth, John Smith, master, from the port of London.

When did you sail on the said voyage, and when did you return?

I sailed on the 10th of May 1788, and returned on the 6th December 1789.

What was the tonnage of the Elizabeth?

I believe about 370 tons.

Was she well fitted for the voyage?

I believe as well as most vessels are.

Were the crew and Slaves as well treated as the nature of the trade appears to you to admit?

The crew and Slaves were as well treated as in any other ships.

What number of Slaves did you take on board?

Six hundred and two.

Were they all confined between decks at night during the voyage?

They were, a few women excepted.

Were they crowded in that situation?

Yes.

What was the general appearance of the Slaves when brought on board the vessel?

A gloomy pensiveness seemed to overcast their countenance.

Did this appearance of melancholy continue?

Yes, in a great many.

What number of Slaves did you lose in the course of your voyage?

One hundred and fifty-five.

Of the 155 who died on board your ship, was there, in your opinion, a considerable proportion, the primary cause of whose disorders and death might be reasonably deemed to be this melancholy?

Yes; I am of opinion in the proportion of two to one.

Were the symptoms of these persons' disorders uniform?

They were generally the same.

Did you ever recover any of the Slaves whose illness you attribute to that cause?

I do not recollect any.

Have you any other reason for believing that the deaths of these persons might be attributed to melancholy resulting from their situation?

Yes.

What are the other reasons?

Some who were taken ill, and who had not that melancholy on them, medicines were administered to them with a very good effect.

Did you ever hear the Slaves say any thing which confirmed the opinion of their melancholy, which you had formed from other circumstances?

I have heard them say in their language, that they wished to die.

Have you any grounds, besides those of your own experience and observation, for attributing the mortality of the Slaves in any considerable degree to the dependency occasioned by their situation?

Yes; Captain Smith informed me the mortality of the Slaves was owing to their thinking so much of their situation.

Was the flux prevalent on board your ship?

It was.

Did you conceive it to have been owing in any degree to this melancholy?

I conceived it in a great measure owing to their taking their situation so much to heart, and refusing sustenance, by which means they became debilitated.

Had you any other very destructive disorders amongst the Slaves besides the flux?

None that I recollect.

Have you ever heard the Slaves on board complain of heat?

Yes.

Can you mention any ill effects that have resulted from this heat, and the confinement of their situation?

Yes, such as weakness and fainting.

Do you apprehend it has ever been the cause of the death of Slaves?

Yes, I believe it has, having seen them frequently brought upon deck, some fainting; and I have also seen some die within a few minutes after they have been brought upon deck, which proceeded from the corrupted state of the air and heat jointly.

Were any of the persons, whose deaths you assign to these causes, in apparently good health before they had been subjected to the operation of them?

I have seen them go down apparently perfectly well at night, and found

found dead in the morning, and others in a similar situation as that above described.

Had you an hospital or sick birth on board your vessel?

We had an hospital.

What did the sick Slaves lie on there?

Bare planks.

Did the motion of the vessel render this very uncomfortable or injurious to them?

It occasioned frequently excoriations from the most prominent parts of the body.

Was your loss of men or of women the greatest?

Of men.

Were the men Slaves generally kept in irons?

They were; those in a sickly state excepted.

Is it your opinion, that the persons employed in this Trade can pursue it with safety to themselves, if the men Slaves are in general not kept in irons?

I think not.

Is this opinion founded on speculation merely, or is it confirmed by any particular facts?

They attempted to rise on us when at Bonny; a few of them jumped overboard, and were picked up, and brought on board again.

Do the men Slaves on board ever dance?

Yes.

In what does this dancing consist?

It consists in their jumping, as far as the nature of their confinement will admit of.

What do you mean by, "as far as the nature of their confinement will admit of?"

Being in irons, and chained to the deck.

Explain the mode of their being chained to the deck?

On their being brought up they are placed close to each other,
and

and on each of their irons there is a ring, through which a chain is rolled, and fastened with ring bolts to the deck by a lock.

Are they ever compelled to dance, and by what means?

They are compelled to dance by means of the cat frequently.

Is it common for the Slaves to refuse sustenance?

It is very common.

Are any means of compulsion used on such occasions?

Yes.

What means?

On their first refusal, mild and gentle means are made use of; but if that does not succeed, the cat is generally applied.

Did the Slaves on board your vessel appear to be much crowded when below?

Yes, they did.

Were you obliged to use any precautions in order to go about amongst the Slaves?

Yes, we generally took off our shoes prior to going down amongst them, and were very cautious how we walked, for fear we should tread on some of them.

Was there any other vessel belonging to the same house as your's, which sailed to the Coast for Slaves?

Yes, there were three.

State to the Committee their names, and other specifications?

The first was the Elizabeth, Captain Wallis, of London; the second was the Favourite, Captain Bamfield, of the same port; and the third was the Elizabeth, Captain Marshall, which sailed from Liverpool, and was marked on her stern "The Elizabeth of London."

Had the Elizabeth of London, the first-mentioned vessel, delivered her Slaves before your vessel arrived in the river Plate?

She had.

How many Slaves had she purchased in Africa, and how many had she lost before her delivery?

I was told she purchased about 450, and buried upwards of 200 before her arrival in the port of delivery.

By whom were you told this?

By the commissioner of the Royal Phillipine company of Spain.

Do you know how many Slaves the Favourite had purchased in Africa, and how many she had lost before her delivery in the river Plate?

I was told she purchased 466; the mortality was 73, and delivery 393.

By whom were you told this?

By the chief mate and surgeon of the ship.

Do you know how many Slaves the Elizabeth, Captain Marshall, had purchased, and how many she had lost before her delivery?

I have been told she purchased 546; mortality 158, and delivery 388.

By whom were you told this?

By Captain Marshall, and his surgeon Mr. Duffin.

Were any persons on board Captain Marshall's ship in the small-pox when she arrived in the river Plate?

Yes.

Can you state how many?

Two or three.

Did any of the Slaves die of this disorder after delivery?

Yes.

How many?

220.

Is this loss to be added to the 158 before mentioned?

That loss was not from one ship alone; the mortality of the 158 was prior to the delivery of the cargo of one ship, but the mortality of these 220 was from the different ships after they were landed on shore.

Where

Where did you obtain the information you have given respecting this mortality after the delivery?

A few days after my arrival at the river Plate I was with a Spanish surgeon appointed to take care of the Negroes on shore. All these instances came under my own inspection.

What number of seamen had you on board your own vessel on your going out, and what number did you lose in the course of your voyage?

My ship's company, including all, amounted to fifty-five, out of which we lost eighteen, sixteen of which were lost by sickness, and two were drowned.

Do you know of the number of the crews, and of their losses, on board any other of the ships?

Of the number of the crews of either of the other ships I do not know; of the crew of the Elizabeth, Captain Marshall, I have been informed by the surgeon the mortality was twenty-seven.

Was there any instance of suicide on board your vessel?

Yes.

Specify it, or them, and describe the circumstances?

The first instance was of a woman; she found means to convey below, the night preceding, rope yarn, or something of that nature, which she made fast to the head of the armourer's vice, which was then placed in the women's room. She fastened it round her neck, and on the morning she was found dead, with her head laying on her shoulder; from whence it plainly appeared that she must have made use of very great exertions to have accomplished her design, her neck being in that situation as coming near in contact with the upper part of the vice.

From whom did you hear this?

It is customary, when any accident of that kind happens, to send for the surgeon; and in the situation above described I found her.

Was there any other instance, and describe the circumstances of it?

There was. A young woman also found means to convey rope yarn below, which she made fast to a batten contiguous to that part of the platform where she usually lay. She made a noose,
and

and put her neck in it, slipped off the platform, and put a period to her existence. The morning following she was found warm, but every symptom of life gone.

Did you see her yourself after her death?

I did, and made use of the necessary means employed on those occasions for her recovery, but without effect.

You have said that compulsive means are sometimes resorted to for obliging the Slaves to take sustenance; can you mention any particular instance wherein it was necessary to have recourse to any other than the ordinary means of compulsion; and if you do, relate the instance and the circumstances?

Yes, the instances were many, but I shall relate a particular instance which happened on board, of a young man whom I conceived starved himself; he had not been very long on board before I perceived him to get thin; we found he had neglected taking his provisions, and had at this time refused taking any sustenance whatever; mild means were made use of to persuade him or divert him from his resolution: we endeavoured to make him understand that he should have any thing he wished for, but he still refused any sustenance; we had then recourse to the cat, which proved to have as little success; he always kept his teeth so fast shut that it was impossible to get any thing down; we endeavoured to introduce a speculum oris, but the points were too obtuse to enter; we next tried a bolus knife, without any effect. In this state he continued for four or five days, when he was brought up by the surgeon's mate as dead, in order to be thrown overboard; but I having given particular directions that no body whatever should be committed to the deep without my having previously seen it, I was called, and found life still existing, and that in a much stronger degree than I could have supposed from his weak and debilitated state: we repeated our former endeavours with as little effect as usual, and two days afterwards he was brought up in the same state, and in a similar situation as before; he now seemed to have an inclination to get up; we assisted him, and brought him aft to the fire-place, where in a low and feeble voice, in his own native tongue, he asked for a little water, which was immediately brought him, and he drank: we began to entertain some hopes of dissuading him from his resolution, but he again shut his teeth as fast as ever, and he resolved to die; and two days following, being the ninth day from his first perceivable refusal, he died.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Sabbati,

Sabbati, 6° die Martii 1790.

MR. Wilson called in, and further examined.

Have you ever known instances of Slaves jumping overboard, or attempting to do so; and with what intention do you suppose them to have so attempted or done? Mr. WILSON.

Yes, I have; and I believe with an intention of drowning themselves; I can relate two instances of it from our own ship: the first of which was when laying at the island of Annabona, a Slave that was on the sick list jumped overboard, and was picked up by the natives; the second instance was when at sea, the captain and officers were at dinner in the cabin, we heard the alarm of a Slave being overboard, and found it too true, and perceived him making every exertion he could to drown himself, by putting his head under water, and lifting his hands up, and thus went down as if exulting that he got away; the person picked up in the former instance died soon after.

Is the ship fitted up in a way to prevent attempts of this sort being effectual?

Yes, it is, by nettings round the quarter deck, main deck, and poop, to a considerable height.

Do you believe the despondency of the Slaves, arising from their situation, ever produces madness?

We had a case on board of a man who came on board apparently well, but shortly after became to look pensive and melancholy; a certain degree of wildness appeared in his countenance; he began to eat his food voraciously, and sometimes as if insensible what it was; at other times he refused it entirely; at length he became noisy, and made use of the expression, 'Armourer,' that person being in general called upon to take the Slaves out of irons when necessary; he continued to disturb the ship's company and the Slaves for a considerable time, and at length he died insane.

So far as your acquaintance with the Negroes has enabled you to form an opinion, what do you think of their capacities and dispositions, and of their natural and social affections?

We had one instance also on board which induces me to believe that they are equally susceptible of affections and tenderness

as most other people. I beg leave to relate the circumstance: When in the river at Bonny, one of the people called Breeches, who are styled of the higher class, was brought on board, he seemed to take his situation a good deal to heart, and got ill; but from indulgences granted to him (which none of the rest experienced) he in some measure recovered. When he was in a convalescent state, a young woman was also brought on board, from the similitude of whose countenance and colour we supposed them to be relations, which we afterwards found to be true: she proved to be his sister. On their first meeting they stood with silence and amazement, and looked at each other apparently with the greatest affection. They rushed into each others arms—embraced—separated themselves again—and again embraced. I perceived the tears run down the female's cheeks. The man had a return of his former complaint, and his sister attended him with the greatest care imaginable. The first thing she did of a morning, was to come to me and enquire how her brother did. He at length died. Upon the news of which the sister wept bitterly, tore her hair, and shewed other signs of distraction. We carried her safe to South America, and there delivered her.

Did you find it difficult on the Coast to purchase as many female Slaves as you wanted?

We generally found more females than males.

Which sold at the higher price?

The males, I believe.

What number of Slaves were sick when your vessel arrived in the river Plate?

Sick and on recovery about eighty.

What was your reason for quitting your late employment?

My reason for it was, I did not like to continue in a trade that did not perfectly coincide with my ideas, and that was not to my satisfaction.

In what respect was it incompatible with your ideas, and not to your satisfaction?

By being obliged to make use of means for the preservation of the cargo, contrary to my feelings and sense of humanity.

To what means do you allude?

The application of the cat, to which I have had frequent recourse;

course; and, even in the act of chastisement or flagellation, I have seen the Slaves look up at me with a smile on their countenance, and in their own language say, "Presently we shall be no more."

For what purposes were you at those times chastising them?
In order to get them to take their food.

Was the captain of your ship a man of extraordinary severity?

No, he was not; on the contrary never was there a more humane man, or a man of greater feelings, or a man who paid more attention to the preservation of the Slaves for the sake of his employers, &c.—he never permitted any person to chastise the Slaves except himself and the surgeon.

Do you know of any vessel having lost a considerable number of Slaves by the small-pox at the island of St. Thomas, or elsewhere?

Yes; I have been informed by the surgeon of the Elizabeth, Captain Marshall, that while they lay at the island of St. Thomas, the Hero, Captain Withers, was also there, and that the said vessel Hero had lost 159 Slaves of the small-pox.

Were you on board any other ship in the river Bonny, the crew of which had suffered considerably from mortality?

I was on board a vessel, which I afterwards found to be Spanish property under American colours, the Saint Antonio; the captain had buried the surgeon, mate, and all the officers (the boatswain excepted) and the major part of the crew; he himself was also taken ill, and begged I would attend him, and order whatever I thought necessary, or whatever might be conducive to his speedy recovery; I did so, and found the means ineffectual—he died going over the Bar, by which means a Spanish gentleman (super-cargo on board of our ship) went down to this vessel; upon finding Spanish papers on board, he thought proper to put officers in her from our vessel, and the two others which were then there in the same employ. Prior to the death of Captain Daniel, who commanded the St. Antonio, he informed me that he came from Carthagena, in North America, went into some port of Holland with the cargo, for which he got goods there in order to purchase Slaves on the Coast of Africa, and carry them to Carthagena, or some other Spanish settlement. This information he desired me to give the Spanish gentleman who was on board our ship, and which I accordingly did.

Did not that Spanish vessel under American colours suffer more loss than any English vessel you ever knew?

I believe she did, in proportion to her size.

In the West Indies, have you ever known seamen jump overboard?

No.

Do you know to what employ the Slaves were destined, which were carried in your ship to the Plate River?

We had nothing to do with them after delivery, but were informed by the inhabitants, that part of the men Slaves were sent to work in the mines of Peru, and others were sold as servants to those who wished to purchase them.

Might not the expectation of that employment in the mines of Peru have an influence on the minds of the Slaves?

The Slaves knew not where they were to go; and prior to their going to the mines they went to Buenos Ayres, and from thence they travelled to Lima, where they were disposed of for the purpose of working in the mines.

Were the Slaves in the three ships destined for the same purpose?

Any person who wished to have bought them, might have so done prior to their going there; I therefore cannot say for what particular purpose they were destined.

Is not the demand for Slaves in South America for the purpose of working the mines?

I should suppose the men Slaves were bought for whatever purpose the purchaser thought proper, as I before observed; I cannot tell they were particularly for that purpose, of working in the mines.

Do you know to what employment the male Slaves are put in South America?

I think I have fully answered that question before in my former answers.

Were the numbers in your ship within the limitations prescribed by the late regulating act?

I believe not, we failed before the act took place.

Was the regulating act given to your ship?
Not to my knowledge.

On what part of the coast were the Slaves purchased which you carried to the river Plate?

At Bonny.

Do you know whether the Slaves which you purchased were brought from the inland country, or whether from the neighbourhood of Bonny?

Bonny is itself an island, I therefore believe they were brought from the inland country.

Do you know whether they were prisoners of war, convicts, or what their condition was?

I do not.

Do you understand the Bonny language?

No, only some few words.

Had you any interpreter on board?

We had.

Did the Slaves on board your ship speak the Bonny language?

I do not know, the interpreter explained for us; nor did I ever enquire whether the Slaves spoke the same language or not.

How old are you?

Twenty-five years of age.

Where were you educated; by what approbation did you become surgeon; and were you ever examined, and where?

I was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, at Edinburgh, and Glasgow; I have been examined by the surgeons of London at Surgeons' Hall, and received a qualification as being capable of being a surgeon of any of His Majesty's ships of any rate.

Did you receive that qualification before you engaged in the African Trade, or since you have left it off?

Before I engaged in the African Trade.

How many surgeons were there on board your ship Elizabeth?

Three, in the medical line.

In what capacity did you make your voyage to Africa?
As principal surgeon.

Had you any knowledge about the continent of Africa, or the mode by which the Slaves sold were made such?
I had no knowledge of that sort.

In what state of health were the Negroes, when received on board?

We never received any but what were apparently in a good state of health.

How many men and how many women died?

I cannot exactly say; but I believe the proportion of males was two to one, or more.

Did that loss bear a relative proportion to the numbers of each sex that were shipped on board?

I cannot exactly tell, as I do not recollect the number of each sex brought on board.

Did any of the Slaves complain at any time to you of being dissatisfied with their condition on board?

They did not complain to me; but I could perceive they were not by any means content. They have complained of heat frequently.

Explain the symptoms which induced you to believe that they were dissatisfied with their situation?

Their refusing nourishment, and endeavouring to make away with themselves, were strong reasons for my thinking they were by no means content.

Whether sea sickness had not an apparent effect on them?

Not particularly so while in the harbour, that I could perceive.

Whether some of the symptoms you have alluded to, such as refusing their food, were not in a great measure owing to sea sickness?

For the first three or four days we were at sea, we expected that the sickness would prevent them from eating, but that could not be generally said to be of long duration.

Were those symptoms in consequence of the sea sickness?
I have already answered that question in my former answer.

Did not those symptoms which you have mentioned go off in proportion as the sea sickness went off?

I cannot think they did, many still continuing ill, whose primary cause of illness, I conceive, was not sea sickness.

Do you remember the ship being in any, and what, distress in going out of the harbour, or dropping down the river?

I do, I recollect something of her being very near on shore; but being particularly engaged amongst the Slaves at that period, I cannot give any description of it.

How long did she remain in that situation?

I do not particularly recollect the length of time.

Say as near as you can recollect?

I believe we were one day in that situation; that is a question I cannot answer to a certainty.

Were the Slaves during that time kept below, and not brought upon deck?

The men were, I believe; the women were at times upon deck at intervals, I believe; but these are occurrences I cannot particularly recollect.

Whether their health was not visibly affected during the time that they were kept below, by the distress of the ship?

Yes, I believe it was.

Do you know whether a fixed melancholy is the general cause of the death of Negroes on ship-board?

I have already related some cases respecting suicide on board.

Question repeated.

I believe it to be one great cause.

Explain the symptoms?

The symptoms of melancholy are lowness of spirits and despondency; refusing their proper nourishment still increases these symptoms; at length the stomach gets weak, and incapable of digesting their food: Fluxes and dysenteries ensue; and, from the weak and debilitated state of the patient, it soon carries him off.

What

What do the Negroes lay upon in their own country?
I do not know.

At what time did the ship first hoist Spanish colours?
I do not recollect.

Did she ever hoist them?
She did.

Before she got to the Coast of Africa, or after?
I believe it was after we left the Coast of Africa, and were some way to the southward of the line.

Who was the owner of her?
I understood Messieurs Firmin de Taftet and Company were the owners.

Were they Spanish merchants, or agents to Spanish merchants?
I do not know—they might be owners or agents.

Were they British subjects?
I believe they were.

Where did you leave the ship, and how did you come home?
I came home in the ship to the river Thames, and there I left her.

Is the passage from Africa to Buenos Ayres longer or shorter, or attended with greater or less risk, than to the West India Islands?

I do not know; I have never been but one voyage in the Guinea Trade, and that was to the river Plate.

Did your ship come home under English or Spanish colours?
We had English colours.

When were they hoisted again?
I do not particularly recollect; but I believe it was shortly after we left the river Plate.

Under what colours did you go into the harbour of Cadiz?
I have already said we came to the river Thames under English colours; we did not touch at Cadiz at all.

Do you know what became of the two ships in company with you?

I believe they were bound to Cadiz.

Was the English merchant, who sold the ship Elizabeth to Mr. Tafset, induced so to do by the late regulations respecting the African Trade; and was that the reason that induced Captain Smith to go to Buenos Ayres?

I know nothing of the purchase or disposal of the ship.

Did Captain Smith ever give you any information respecting the sailing or destination of that ship?

Yes, after it was settled that I should go with him; I understood we were to sail to the Coast of Africa, take in a cargo of Slaves, and deliver them to commissioners of the Phillippine Company of Spain, at Montevideo, on the river Plate.

Had you a Spanish supercargo, surgeon, and boatswain, on board your ship, and what other Spanish officers?

We had; and also a mate.

You have stated that your cargo of Slaves attempted to rise on you; was that any reason for keeping a stricter guard over them than you otherwise would have done?

I believe it was.

Do you suppose that the Spaniards and other nations would carry on a trade for Slaves to Africa, if that trade was abolished in Great Britain?

I cannot form any idea what other nations would do.

You have stated that the Negroes complained much of heat, was your ship furnished with proper gratings and air-ports?

She was.

Did you ever hear the Negroes complain of cold, and desire the air-ports to be shut?

Yes; but that was when we got near the mouth of the river Plate, where the weather was much colder than on the Coast of Africa.

Was it the practice in your ship to station a White man at night in the male Slaves' apartment?

Sometimes it has been the practice, but not always so.

Did you ever hear a White man object to that service?

I do not recollect to have heard any person object to it, it being so seldom ordered.

Was you ever in practice on your own account, before you went on board the African ship as surgeon?

I was.

When did you quit that ship?

On the 12th of December last.

When did you enter upon your present appointment in the King's service?

I believe it was in January or February last.

In what rank or capacity?

As master surgeon.

What is the name of the ship of which you are now surgeon; what rate is she, and where is she at present?

The *Thistle*, sixth rate, now lying at Portsmouth.

Is she employed in the channel service, or bound on a foreign station?

I believe she is bound on a foreign station.

Do you expect to sail soon?

Yes.

What was the amount of your pay and emoluments on board a Slave ship as surgeon?

I believe it was about £. 147 for the whole voyage of nineteen months, out and home.

What may be the amount of your pay and emoluments in your present station in the King's service?

I had rather not answer that question.

And then the Witnesses was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

He was asked,

What do you apprehend, or had reason to expect, when you entered

entered into the King's service, might be the amount of your pay and emoluments in your present station ?

Our pay is £. 5 per month, two-pence per month from each seaman on board for medicines, a servant allowed us, and in my present employment the bounty of a sixth-rate, which in the whole may amount to about £. 100 per annum, more or less.

Have you or have you not reason to believe, that the Slaves on board the other two ships you have mentioned were destined to work in the mines in South America ?

I have already given an answer to a question similar to that.

Have you ever heard melancholic or hypochondriac habit ascribed by physicians or medical writers as a cause of dysentery ?

I have not.

Do you, as a professional man, conceive that the grief or melancholy which you have described to have existed among the Negroes in the ship you was surgeon of, was the cause of the fatal dysentery which carried off so many of them ?

I believe that the melancholy and pensiveness of the Slaves were reasons why they would not eat ; they became weak and debilitated, and incapable of digesting the food allotted for them ; the consequences were belly-ache, and a dysentery generally ensued.

Is debility then considered by medical men as a cause of dysentery more than of any other disease ?

Debility is frequently the cause of indigestion ; which is the only answer I can give.

Is not melancholy or grief generally held by physicians to have the effect of producing a costive habit ?

These are questions in my opinion rather tending to examine into the abilities of a medical person, and not to the elucidation of the subject ; what I have already urged was only my opinion of matters.

Question repeated.

It has.

Was the dysentery on board your ship a contagious one ?

I believe it in some measure was.

What were the means taken to cure this flux ?

Cleanliness ;

Cleanliness; clearing the stomach or bowels from any putrid matter that might be lodged therein; mild astringents and gentle anodynes were afterwards administered.

Are you certain that the young Negro whom you described to have starved himself to death, did not die of a tetanus?

Yes.

How then do you account for the difficulty of opening his jaw with so great a force as you applied for that purpose, at a time when the patient must have been extremely debilitated for want of food?

The force was only manual; the point of the speculum oris was too obtuse. I therefore can give no other reason why we could not open his mouth; the application of the other instrument, called the bolus-knife (it being very elastic) we could not use much force with it lest it might cut his lips in the operation.

In ordinary cases, when a person is much reduced, and very weak from not taking nourishment, or any other cause, has or has not the lower jaw a tendency to fall down instead of being clenched fast to the upper jaw?

In some cases it has.

As you saw this Negro after he died, what was the situation of his jaw at that time?

I did not particularly examine into that circumstance.

Does not the lower jaw at death generally fall down, if not upheld by a bandage?

Yes.

Did your observation of the conduct and behaviour of the man at the time he asked for water, convince you that the shutting of his mouth had previously been, and was afterwards, a voluntary action?

Yes, I believe it was.

Question repeated.

The circumstances of his asking for water and voluntarily opening his mouth, and immediately closing his teeth again, were strong reasons why I conceived it was a voluntary act; and finding that the case, I thought it unnecessary to make any further

ther great exertions in order to compel him to eat, as he appeared to be determined in his resolution.

Is it your opinion, that that debility of the stomach which is occasioned by long abstinence from food, does frequently produce the dysentery, or increase the disorder, where any tendency to it previously existed?

It increases the melancholy, and we are obliged to give aperient medicines, which the weak state of the body is scarcely able to bear, the consequence whereof is the dysentery—and a doubtful remedy is frequently better than none.

Do you or do you not mean to say, that, in your opinion, melancholy is an immediate cause of the dysentery, or only that it acts as the original or remote cause, by inducing persons to persevere in an abstinence which weakens the stomach, and brings on the other disorder, to wit, the dysentery?

I believe it to be the original and remote cause.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Lunæ, 8^o die Martii 1790.

MR. ALEXANDER FALCONBRIDGE was called in, and examined.

What is your present situation?

A surgeon.

How many voyages have you been to the Coast of Africa, and in what capacity?

I have been four voyages to the Coast of Africa, but only three of them to Africa and the West Indies; in the first voyage I was taken at Cape Mount, in the Tartar.

In what years were you thus employed?

From 1780 or 1781 to the beginning of 1787.

In what ships, under what captains, and from what ports?

My first voyage was with Mr. Frazer in the Tartar, my second with the same gentleman in the Emilia, the third with Mr. Mac-

agart in the Alexander, the fourth in the same ship Emilia with Mr. Frazer.

What part of the Coast of Africa did you visit for Slaves in each voyage respectively?

My second voyage was to the Windward and Grain Coast, and Coast of Angola; my third and fourth voyages were to the Bight of Benin.

According to the best of your judgment, what are the principal sources of supply to the African Slave Trade?

Kidnapping and crimes, I should suppose.

Can you give the Committee your reasons for believing that kidnapping is one main source whence Slaves are supplied to the Slave Trade?

On my second voyage, while laying at Cape Mount, on the Windward Coast, a man was brought on board, well known to Mr. Frazer and his officers by the name of Cape Mount Jack; when he came on board he spoke very little English, in process of time he learnt more; he was a very tractable good-natured fellow—this made me curious to learn his history: he told me he was one evening invited to drink with some of his neighbours; when he was about to depart, two of the people got up to seize him, and he would have made his escape, being a nimble fellow, if he had not been stopped by a large dog; he assured me this was a common practice in his country.

Did he tell you this story once only, or frequently?

He has told me it at different times during the whole of the Middle Passage, till he was sold at Port Maria in Jamaica.

Did he vary in his recital, or was he uniform in the particulars of it?

He always told the story in the same way, he never varied.

Was he a person in whose veracity you think you might reasonably confide, according to the best judgment you could form of him from other circumstances?

From his behaviour on ship-board I think I could; he had generally the care of many trifling things of mine; he used to wash and mend my shirts, as likewise those of the common sailors, and I never lost a single article.

Can you mention any other instances of kidnapping?

In my third voyage in the *Alexander*, at Bonny, a woman was brought on board very big with child, which induced me to enquire, by means of our interpreter, who called himself Billy Frafer, at Bonny, how she came to be sold for a Slave in that situation; she answered, returning home from a visit she was seized, and after passing through several hands was brought down to the water-side, and sold to a trader, who sold her to us. In the same ship and same voyage, a man was brought on board advanced in years, from that circumstance I was curious to know how he came to be sold; he replied, he and his son were planting yams in their field, and that they were seized by professed kidnappers, and sold; I learnt this circumstance also through the means of the same interpreter. In my last voyage at Bonny, in the *Emilia*, I was one day on the quarter-deck, looking through the lattice-work, when a canoe came alongside belonging to a trader, who called himself Blundell Foubre: I saw no Slaves in the canoe; two of the traders who were on board, and who seemed to be in the secret, stepped down into the canoe, and handed up a fine stout fellow, desired he might be put in irons, which was directly done, and he was paid for; the circumstance of his being brought on board in that manner induced me to enquire how it came to pass that he was sold; he said he came to Bonny to the trader's house; he asked him if he had ever seen a ship; replying in the negative, the trader said he would treat him with the sight of one; and he was sold as I before observed.

Have you heard of any other instances?

A Captain Gould told me, who commanded a brig called the *Alert*, that he had taken a man away from Little Cape Mount. I do not know whether this circumstance was known to his owners, but I believe he was turned out of the brig—I cannot say it was for this; but I think it is probable it might have been.

Did you ever hear it was on this account?

I have heard so; but I cannot depend upon that information.

Have you ever enquired of any Slaves in the West India Islands, after the manner of their being brought into that situation?

In my last voyage at Grenada, I was landing some Slaves in a boat at St. George's Town; one of them, who had been sickly on the voyage, on his being put on shore entered into conversation in his own country tongue with a Black man, who was cap-
tain

tain of a sloop, his name was Liverpool. I asked him the subject of the conversation; he told me, that this man knew his father and mother in Africa, and that he told him, that being concerned in kidnaping some of his neighbours, the friends of the people had kidnaped him, or caused him to be kidnaped; he at the same time said, that it was a common practice in his country.

Can you mention any other instance?

I do not immediately recollect any other which comes within my own knowledge; I have heard of an hundred other accounts, but I cannot depend upon the authenticity of them.

Do you think you can depend upon the authenticity of the instances you have mentioned?

I think I can—Neither the Slaves or myself could have had any interest in misrepresentation.

Can you mention any instance of kidnaping on the part of the Grain Coast called Crue Setra?

In my second voyage, while lying at Crue Setra, a canoe came up with two Black traders in her, and informed the captain there was trade a little lower down; we hove up the anchor, and went down to this place. The captain, finding there was no trade, said he would not be made a fool of, but detained one of the canoe-men till he got a Slave; in about two hours time a very fine man was brought on board, and sold, upon which the canoe-man was released. I desired a Black man on board, who acted as our pilot for that part of the Coast, to enquire how this man came to be sold; he said, he had committed no crime, but was surrounded and seized on the beach, and brought on board our ship.

Have any circumstances induced you to be of opinion that the natives of the Windward Coast have been sometimes carried off by the European vessels?

If I may be allowed to judge from the suspicion that many of the people on the Grain Coast shew when they come on board our ships, by always standing as near the gangway as they can, and on the least alarm jumping into the sea, they are so; they are the best swimmers on that part of the Coast I ever saw any where.

You have said that you think conviction for crimes another main source of supply to the Slave Trade; do you believe that crimes

crimes are ever falsely imputed for the sake of convicting, and selling the party accused?

I do. In my second voyage, while laying at the river Ambris, our boat came on board from the shore with several Slaves in it, one in particular had what they call in their own country the *crow-crow*, which is a kind of scabies or itch: I asked one of the boat's crew where they got that man from; the sailor told me, he was fishing at the river, and that one of the King's officers called Mambooka was in want of some brandy and other goods which were in the boat, but not having a Slave to purchase them with, accused this man of extortion in the sale of his fish; and after some kind of trial on the beach, condemned him to be sold.

Had you ever information on this head from the Reverend Mr. Philip Quakoo, chaplain to the fort at Cape Coast?

I had; in my last voyage, going to Bonny, we stopt at Cape Coast Castle to deliver some goods; I was desired to come on shore by Mr. Frazer: while Mr. Frazer was doing business with the governor, the doctor invited me into his house in the castle, and after talking on different subjects, I asked him how the Slaves were made, and he assured me the greatest number were by kidnapping.

Had you any other information from Mr. Quakoo?

I do not recollect at present that I had.

Did you ever hear of the great men dressing up and employing women to entice the young men to their embraces, for the purpose of convicting them of adultery, that they might be sold for Slaves?

I have.

Were children brought to your vessel to be sold?

Yes, almost every day, more or less.

Was it commonly with or without their parents or other persons, in the consequence of whose crimes they might be supposed to be involved?

I never recollect their parents coming with them, or any of their relations that were known to be such.

Do you believe that many of the Slaves purchased by Europeans are prisoners of war?

I believe not, as we understand the word war: by an African war I should understand a piratical expedition for the purpose of making Slaves; and these expeditions they term war.

Whence did you form your opinion of the meaning of the term war, according to the sense in which it is used in Africa?

I have mentioned, in the preceding part of my evidence, a trader of Bonny, called Blundell Foubre, and at whose house I called frequently—he said, the White men went to war like fools, when they knew their enemies were ready to receive them; but their method was to go in the night, and set fire to one part of the town, and as the people fled from the flames they were caught by their enemies.

Had many of the Slaves, when they were brought on board, fresh wounds on them?

I do not recollect ever seeing a Slave with a fresh wound when brought on board—I have seen the skin of the wrist and arms excoriated from the friction of the country ropes with which they were tied.

Have you heard, from good authority, that Slaves were bred for sale in Africa?

I never heard of such a practice; and from the affection the mothers shew to their children, I should suppose it a jest.

It is not meant to ask whether parents sell their own children, but whether you have heard in Africa that there are owners of Slaves who sell the young ones that are produced from them?

I never heard of any such custom.

Do you believe that violent means are ever used by the European ships to force the trade for Slaves?

I do.

Can you mention any instance of this practice?

When I was on board the Alexander, at Bonny, a captain of a Bristol Slave vessel came on board from New Calabar; he said, when his traders were slack, he fired a gun into the town, or over it (I cannot take upon me to say which) to accelerate their motions, or, in his own phrase, to freshen their way.

Have you ever observed, in the houses of any of the chiefs or great men, guns in a considerable number, as if kept for the purpose of shew or ornament?

I believe there are very few kept for shew; I have seen a great number in their houses with different kinds of goods, which I always understood were for trade.

Did

Did the guns seem to be kept as in store like the other goods, or to be arranged and disposed as if for the ornament of their houses?

I mean to say they lay in a heap with India and European goods altogether; I speak of Bonny in particular, being more on shore there than at any other place.

What have you heard concerning the quality of the ordinary trade guns?

Many of the Black people have told me, that they kill more out of the butt than the muzzle.

What do you apprehend is meant by this phrase?

That the guns often burst.

Describe the mode of trade at Bonny in its various particulars?

When a ship arrives in Bonny River, the captain generally goes on shore to make known his arrival to the king and principal men; a day or two after the king comes on board in his canoe, with a band of music, to break trade, as it is called; he is generally presented with some goods called *Dashes*; after that permission is given for trade. In general Slaves are bought every day, from five to ten, more or less; but the greatest numbers are brought from fairs. A number of large canoes, some with a three or four pounder lashed on their bows, and full of goods, go to what they call the Up Country, where they stop eight or ten days, more or less, and return with great numbers of Slaves; I think I once heard to the amount of 1,200: the ship that has been longest in the river has the first choice, and generally sails in a few days after; as near as I could understand this is the practice at Bonny. I forgot to mention that after the king has been entertained on board, his parliament gentlemen expect to be treated with a small quantity of bread and salt beef.

Did you observe whether the people in these canoes were armed or not?

They have generally cutlasses — I cannot say whether they have muskets, but there is always a quantity of muskets in the canoes, but for what purpose they are there I cannot tell.

Do you examine the Slaves previous to purchasing them?

They are always examined by some officers on board; it is generally understood to be the surgeon's business.

Do they appear dejected when brought on board?
All that I have seen in my voyages did appear so.

Did this dejection continue, or did it soon wear off?
With some it continued the whole voyage, and with others till death put a period to their misery.

Have you known instances of Slaves refusing sustenance?
I have known several instances.

With what design do you apprehend it to have been thus refused?

With a design to starve themselves, I am persuaded.

Are compulsive means used to induce the Slaves to take their food?

In every ship that I have been, it has been the case.

Have you ever known them refuse to take their medicines when sick?

I have known many instances of it.

With what intention do you imagine?

With the same intention that they refused their food—that they would wish to die. I had a woman on board the *Alexander*, who was dejected from the moment she came on board; she was taken ill of a dysentery, and would neither take food or medicines: I often tried to make her swallow wine, but never could. I desired the interpreter to ask her what she wanted, or what I should get for her; she replied, she wanted nothing but to die—and she did die.

Have any other of the Slaves expressed the same sentiment?
Many of them have done so.

What was the size of your vessel, and what was the number of your Slaves in your respective voyages?

I cannot speak positively as to the tonnage. I believe there was a very great mistake in my evidence before the Privy Council; I believe the tonnage is there stated twice as much as it really was; but I believe the vessels which I have been in might be between 200 and 250 tons burthen, as near as I can guess: in my second voyage to the Windward Coast in Angola we purchased, as near as I can recollect, 300 Negroes, and lost between thirty and forty; in the
Alexander

Alexander at Bonny, we purchased 380, and lost 105; in my last voyage, we purchased about 420, and lost fifty-one or fifty-two.

What was the mode used in stowing the Slaves in their night apartments?

When I have been employed in that business, I used always to make the most of my room, and wedge them in as well as I could.

Were they then closely packed, or had they room sufficient to lie in comfort?

They had not so much room as a man has in his coffin, neither in length or breadth, and it was impossible for them to turn or shift with any degree of ease. I have had occasion very often to go from one side of their rooms to the other; before I attempted it I have always taken off my shoes, and notwithstanding I have trod with as much care as I possibly could to prevent pinching them, it has unavoidably happened that I did so; I have often had my feet bit and scratched by them, the marks of which I have now.

Did the Slaves complain of heat or of want of air?

They have done so in all my voyages, when the ship was full.

Have you ever observed that the confinement in this situation has been injurious to the health of the Slaves?

So much so, that I have known them go down apparently in good health at night, and found dead in the morning. In my last voyage I remember a very stout man going down in the evening, to all appearance in good health, and he was found dead in the morning; I had the curiosity to open him, Mr. Frazer permitting that, provided it was done with decency: after all the Slaves were off the deck I opened the thorax and abdomen, and found the respective contents in a healthy state; I therefore conclude he must have been suffocated, or died for want of fresh air.

Were you ever yourself below when the Slaves were there; and describe the effects you perceived from it?

It is the surgeon's business to go below every morning the first thing; and I was never amongst them above ten minutes, but my shirt was as wet as if it had been dipt in water. In the Alexander, in coming out of the River Bonny, the ship got on ground on the Bar, she hung on her rudder, and detained us there six or seven days in consequence; during that time there was a great swell, and a good deal of heavy rain; the air-ports were obliged to be shut, and part of the gratings on the weather side of her covered;

almost all the men Slaves were taken ill with the flux, I went down repeatedly amongst them; the last time that I went down it was so extremely hot that I took off my shirt, upwards of twenty of them had fainted, or were fainting. I got several of them hauled up upon deck, and two or three of them died, and most of the rest before I arrived in the West Indies. I think I had been down about fifteen minutes, and it made me so very ill, that I could not get up without assistance. I was taken ill of a dysentery myself, and was unable to do my duty the whole passage afterwards.

Have you an apartment on board ship appropriated to the use of the sick Slaves?

I believe there is such a place in every vessel.

What accommodations does it contain for the comfort of the Slaves when sick?

There is no accommodation at all, they have nothing but the bare planks to lie upon.

Have you known the Slaves to suffer from the want of better accommodation?

They suffer exceedingly, especially those who are much emaciated, so much so, that I have seen the prominent part of their bones about the shoulder-blade and knees frequently bare—if I have put any kind of plaister or bandage on them, they generally remove them, and apply them to other purposes.

What are the most prevalent disorders on board a Negro ship?

I believe fevers and dysenteries.

Are the consequences ever extremely noxious and nauseous of great numbers being ill at once of this latter disorder?

It was the case in the *Alexander*, as I have said before when I was taken ill—I cannot conceive any situation so dreadful and disgusting, the deck was covered with blood and mucus, and approached nearer to the resemblance of a slaughter-house than any thing I can compare it to, the stench and foul air were likewise intolerable.

Do you think that by proper care many of these inconveniences might be provided against and prevented?

As the trade now stands I think they cannot.

Do those who are sick under these circumstances often recover?

I never myself could recover one who had a bad dysentery, nor do I believe the whole college of physicians, if they were there, could be of the least service, for I humbly conceive a disease cannot be cured while the cause remains.

What do you apprehend to be the main cause?

I think the principal causes are a diseased mind, sudden transitions from heat to cold, breathing a putrid atmosphere, wallowing in their own excrement, and being shackled together.

On what grounds do you ascribe the sickness of the Slaves in any degree to the circumstance of their being shackled?

From their dying in above twice the number of the women, who are not shackled.

Do you believe it is necessary to the safety of the vessel to shackle the men?

I believe no man would attempt to carry them without.

Have you any other reason for believing a diseased mind to be the cause, besides those you have before assigned?

I have known a few instances of some Slaves recovering, who, I conceived, did not reflect much on their situation.

Have you known instances of quarrels between Slaves who have been shackled together?

It is frequently the case, I believe, in all Slave ships.

Have you known any other inconveniences resulting from their being thus shackled?

The inconvenience is great. In each apartment are placed three or four tubs, more or less; the Slaves that are at the greatest distance from these tubs find it very difficult to get over the other Slaves to them; and sometimes when one wants to go his companion will not agree to go with him; and while they are disputing, if one of them happens to be a little relaxed, he exonerates over his neighbours, which is the cause of great disturbance.

Have you ever known an instance of a Slave dying whilst still shackled to another?

In the Alexander I have known two or three instances of a dead and living Slave being found in the morning shackled together.

Have

Have you known or heard of any instance of insurrections of the Slaves when on board ship?

I have. In my last voyage with Mr. Frazer we stopt, as I have said before, at Cape Coast Castle: we purchased eighteen male Negroes; they were part of a cargo which had rose on the White men, killed all except three or four, run the ship on shore, where, I believe, most of them were taken and sold again. I likewise heard of an insurrection on board a Liverpool ship called the Vulture, and another on board the Wasp, belonging to Bristol.

Did you hear of this last from information on which you could rely?

I believe I can rely on it; I heard it at Bristol some time ago.

Are the Slave vessels fitted up with a view to prevent the Slaves from jumping overboard?

They are at Bonny particularly.

Have you reason to believe these precautions are necessary?

I am sure they are at Bonny.

Have you known any instances of Slaves jumping overboard?

I have on board the Alexander; we had eight or ten Slaves brought on board one night, and while the armourer was putting the irons on one of them, another run through the barricado-door, forced his way through the netting on the starboard side of the ship, and was either drowned or devoured by the sharks. In the same voyage near twenty Slaves jumped overboard out of a ship called the Enterprize, Captain Wilson; as did a number out of a large Frenchman, whose name I do not remember. I remember also a circumstance of a sick man on board the Alexander, whom I saw overnight, and missed in the morning; he must therefore have found means to get overboard, as I never saw him afterwards: the place for the sick in that ship being under the aft-deck.

Have you known any instances of Slaves destroying themselves in any other way?

In my last voyage at Bonny, we had a fine young woman brought on board, who was continually crying, and was emaciated very much in the course of three or four days; she refused her food: it was thought proper, for the recovery of her health, to send her on shore to the town of Bonny; I was informed that she soon
got

got chearful again ; but hearing by accident she was to be sent on board the ship, she hung herself.

What reason have you to believe she hung herself ?

I saw her brought alongside in a canoe, dead, but looked quite jolly ; I said to the man, called Billy Frazer, she did not die of disease:—He said, No, she hung herself.

Did you ever know instances of insanity among the Slaves on board ship ?

In my first voyage to Bonny, in the Alexander, I went on board the Emilia, then lying in the river, and which was about to fail ; I saw a woman chained on deck, and I asked the chief mate what was the matter with her ; he said she was mad.

Do you recollect any other instance ?

I recollect, on my second voyage in the Emilia, we had a woman on board, whom we were forced to chain at certain times ; at other times she appeared perfectly well ; and, in one of those intervals, she was sold at Port Maria, in Jamaica.

To what cause do you ascribe the insanity in these instances ?

To their being torn from their nearest connections, and carried away from their country.

How are the male Slaves secured when on deck ?

While lying on the coast, as they come up in the morning a person examines their irons, and a large chain is reeved through a ring on the shackles of each, and through the ring-bolts on deck, and locked.

Do the male Slaves ever dance under these circumstances ?

After every meal they are made to jump in their irons ; but I cannot call it dancing.

What is the term which is usually given to it ?

It is by the Slave dealers called dancing.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Martis, 9^o die Martii 1790.

MR. Falconbridge called in, and further examined.

Mr. FALCONBRIDGE. Is compulsion ever used, to make the Slaves take the exercise of dancing?

I have often been desired myself, in all the ships which I have been in, to flog such as would not jump or dance voluntarily.

Was it necessary for any one to be present with the cat to superintend the dancing?

I generally used to have a cat in my hand amongst the women; the chief mate attended the men, and I believe he had a cat also in his hand.

In case of any sudden accident, as of the ship striking, or blowing up, would it generally be possible to disengage the Slaves from the fetters, so as to enable them to swim on shore, if it was near the land?

I think first every man looks to his own safety. In my second voyage with Mr. Frazer there was a ship, under Imperial colours, blown up off the river Galenas, on the Windward Coast of Africa, her name I do not remember, but she was commanded by a Captain Bell. I was informed by the people of Galenas and Cape Mount, that most of the men Slaves were drowned: one woman, in particular, we had on board, who had made her escape, I suppose by swimming; her face was very much burnt, but it was well when she came on board our ship.

Was more than one woman saved?

I believe there were; but I do not recollect any more on board our ship.

Was it an English ship?

I was informed so. The captain was an Englishman, or a Scotchman.

What is the food usually given to the Slaves in the course of the voyage?

On the Windward and Gold Coast I believe horse-beans and rice is the principal food. At Bonny they have generally one meal a day of yams, and sometimes they have a little bread and beef given them.

What

What quantity of water is each Slave allowed daily?

In the ships I have been in, in the first part of the Middle Passage we gave each Slave three pannicans, each holding about eight ounces, or half a pint; but when we approached the Islands they had as much as they chose to drink.

Did you ever know the Slaves complain for want of water?

I have frequently known them call for it in the night, owing, I suppose, to the heat of their rooms.

Have you ever known the Slaves sing when on board the ship?

I have.

Did you ever hear what was the subject of their songs?

I have desired the interpreter at Bonny to ask what they were singing about; and he has always told me, they were lamenting the loss of their country and friends.

Had you in any of your voyages any refuse Slaves?

We had some in all our voyages, more or less.

In which of your voyages had you the most?

In the Alexander.

Can you state generally the prices at which these refuse Slaves sold in the West Indies?

We had sixteen sold in the Alexander by auction, one or two of them so low as five dollars a-piece.

Did you hear what became of them after they were sold?

I was informed they all died before we sailed.

From whom had you this information?

From some of the purchasers themselves.

Did you ever sell any Slaves by what is called scramble?

In two of my voyages they were sold so; viz. in the Emilia at Port Maria, and in the Alexander they were sold in a yard; but both by scramble.

Describe the circumstances of this mode of sale?

In the Emilia at Port Maria the ship was darkened with sails, and covered round; the men Slaves were placed on the main deck,

deck, and the women on the quarter deck; the purchasers on shore were informed a gun would be fired when they were ready to open the sale: a great number of people came on board with tallies or cards in their hands, with their own name upon them, and rushed through the barricado door with the ferocity of brutes; some had three or four handkerchiefs tied together, to encircle as many as they thought fit for their purpose. At the yard in Grenada the women were so terrified, that several of them got out of the yard, and ran about St. George's town, as if they were mad. In my second voyage, while lying at Kingston in Jamaica, I saw a sale by scramble on board the snow Tryall, Captain Macdonald; forty or fifty of the Slaves leaped into the sea, all of which, I believe, were taken up again: our boat took up some of them.

Are they divided into distinct lots in this mode of sale?
They were not in our ship, but were placed promiscuously.

How is it ascertained what Slaves every particular person purchases?

I have said before, that they come on board with cards or tallies in their hands; they put them about the necks of such Slaves as they make choice of.

From what you saw of the scramble, do you conceive it possible, in this mode of sale, to provide against the separation of parents from children, or that of other friends or relations?

I believe it is very little attended to; but I must do Mr. Frazer the justice to say, that he always recommended to the planters never to part relations or friends.

What precautions were used to prevent their being purchased by different persons in the scramble?

There was no precaution used; but the Slaves themselves used to cry and beg that such a man or woman (their friend or relation) might be bought and sent with them, wherever they were going.

Did you ever know any instance of a person not being allowed to purchase a Slave, unless he would also purchase the Slave's parent, or other near relation?

I do not recollect an instance. I have heard of a person who would not purchase a man's wife, and the next day I was informed the man hanged himself.

Did

Did you always meet with a ready market for your Slaves in your several voyages ?

We did not, particularly in the last voyage ; we stopt some time at Barbadoes, went from thence to Tobago, there was no demand for Slaves there ; went to Grenada, and sold them on the merchant's own terms ; we were forced to take bills at very long dates, the bill for my own privilege was at twelve months.

Explain what you mean by your own privilege ?

I mean the Slaves that the officers are allowed by the merchants.

Were you ever on shore on the different Islands in the West Indies ?

I have been on shore at all the Islands where I have been, except at Tobago.

So far as your observation went, what judgment did you form of the general treatment of the Slaves ?

I used to think it very cruel. I had once the curiosity to go into a gaol at Black River, in Jamaica ; I saw there a man who had been so severely flogged, that he was forced to have a sack of straw between his back and the board he laid on, the lacerations that had been made with the whip were shocking to look at. At Grenada I have seen great numbers of Negroes come to market on Sunday mornings, and I hardly ever saw the back of one but had scars on it ; they have often complained to me, particularly the wharfingers, that they were very hard worked and poorly fed.

Did you understand whether this person, whom you say you saw in gaol, had been whipt in consequence of a legal sentence, or by the order of his master ?

I did not enquire.

What is your opinion of the general treatment of seamen in the African Slave Trade ?

My opinion is that they are treated with the greatest barbarity.

What is their usual lodging in the Middle Passage ?

They have no lodging at all, unless in a frigate-built ship, where they may creep under the fore-castle or aft-deck, there is a tarpawling over the booms ; but for my own part, I always preferred being in the rain to getting under it, on account of the noxious effluvia which is continually rising through the gratings.

Were the seamen in your voyages paid part of their wages in the Islands in West India currency?

As soon as the Slaves were sold, they received half that was due to them in currency.

You have spoken of the general treatment of seamen in the Slave Trade; how were the sailors treated on board the two ships in which you sailed?

In Mr. Frazer's ship they were treated exceedingly well; he always allowed them a dram in the morning, and grog in the evening; when any of them were sick, he always sent them victuals from his own table, and enquired every day after their health; and it was always in my power to give them wine, or whatever I thought proper; if they wanted, it was my fault, not Captain Frazer's: I have often said in private, and I say here in public, that I believe him to be one of the best men in the trade. I have experienced a very different mode of treatment in another ship; I have seen the sailors knocked down with the first thing which came to hand, for trifling and imaginary faults; I have seen them tied up and flogged with the cat frequently: I remember also an instance of an old man who had been gunner of one of His Majesty's ships, but who was our boatswain, having one night some words with the mate, the boatswain was severely beat, and had one or two of his teeth knocked out—he said he would jump overboard; he was tied to the rail of the quarter deck, and a pump bolt put in his mouth by way of gagging him—he was then untied, put under the aft-deck, and a centinel put over him all night, in the morning he was released; I always considered him as a quiet inoffensive man. In the same voyage a Black boy was beat every day; and one day after he was beat he jumped through one of the gun-ports of the cabin into the river. A canoe was lying along-side, which dropt astern and picked him up. I gave him one of my own shirts to put on, and asked him, if he did not expect to be devoured by the sharks; he said he did, and that it would be much better for him to be killed at once than to be daily treated with so much cruelty. In the same voyage a poor man was severely beaten, for what cause I never heard. Some time after he was beaten I went on the main-deck, and heard a seaman grumbling, whose name was Sullivan. I asked him what he was muttering about, because I said to him, "You were never used ill in the ship." He replied, "If I am not, I cannot bear to see my ship-mates so cruelly used." That night this man who had been so severely beaten, and ten others, ran away in one of the long-boats that
was

was left by Mr. Frazer; and, as I have since been informed, intended to go to Old Calabar; but getting up the wrong river, they were seized by the natives and stripped, and marched through the country to Old Calabar. Two or three, I am informed, died in the march. Those that remained went on board a ship called the Lyon, Captain Burrows. I had this information from one of the number, whose name was Sermon, and whom I found in the Bristol infirmary with a bad toe after I came home. I can only say further, that the treatment was of the same complexion during the whole of the voyage. Since that voyage I have made another with Mr. Frazer, and his behaviour was as I have before described.

Was the crew of the Alexander, in general, treated in the manner you have described, or was it only particular failors, in whose cases severity might be requisite?

Every man in that ship was beat, except myself, the chief mate, and Sullivan, whom I have before mentioned.

Have you at different times spoken of the barbarous treatment of the failors on board this ship to any person or persons?

I have. On my arrival from that voyage I described their treatment to Mr. Frazer, and to many other persons in Bristol, and also to Mr. Norris of Liverpool.

Can you give any information respecting the ill-treatment of the steward of the Vulture?

In my last voyage to Bonny the Vulture was lying in the River. I was informed by the king and the Black persons on shore that the steward had been cruelly treated, that he was chained in a boat alongside the ship, and found dead in the morning. Since this time I have been informed by two failors, named Ormond and Murray, at Liverpool, that the fact was as described to me by the Black persons at Bonny.

Did the two failors say how they came to the knowledge of this transaction?

They both belonged to the Vulture at the time.

Has any circumstance fallen within your knowledge, which has enabled you to judge whether seamen are better or worse treated on board French than English Guinea Slave vessels?

I cannot say how they are treated in the French merchant service.

What

What was the number of your crew in your respective voyages, and how many seamen did you lose?

In my second voyage we had forty-two or forty-three persons altogether, and buried three. In the *Alexander* we had fifty persons, and buried nine. In the last voyage we had forty-four or forty-five, and buried three. I beg leave to observe there is an inaccuracy in my evidence in the Privy Council Report, relative to the loss of seamen in my different voyages: the account which I have now given to the Committee is the accurate statement.

Have you met with any vessels on the Coast which have suffered considerably in their crews?

In my last voyage we stopt a short time at Cape Mesurado; a sailor came on board, and informed us that most of their crew were dead; I do not recollect the name of the ship, but was told he belonged to Mr. Barber.

Have you ever practised in the Bristol infirmary?

I was a pupil there upwards of twelve months.

Were many seamen brought to the infirmary during your stay there?

A great many.

Was there a greater proportion from the African than from any other trade?

The greatest number that we had diseased were Guinea seamen; we had many other seamen brought to the hospital, but they were generally for accidents.

Did the seamen from the African Trade, who were brought to the infirmary, generally recover their health?

They have gone out much better than they came in; but I think their health was so far destroyed, as it would never be perfectly restored.

What are the productions in which you have observed the Coast of Africa chiefly to abound?

I have seen cotton, wax, ivory, gold, a variety of different sorts of woods whose names I cannot describe, different kinds of spices, wild cinnamon, all the tropical fruits, the best rice in the world, tobacco, and many other articles which I do not now recollect.

Is there any thing peculiar in the soil in which this rice grows?

I do not know that there is; they cultivate it promiscuously all over the country.

Were you ever in Carolina?

I never was.

Did you ever see the rice grow in Africa on high ground?

I have with my glass seen some plantations on very high ground, particularly at Cape Mount.

Have you ever seen the natives at work in the fields in Africa?

In my second voyage I was once or twice on shore at a place called Manna, between Cape Mount and the River Galenas; I was in a plantation there belonging to a Black man of the name of Tucker, I have seen his people at work on that plantation.

Did they work under the superintendance of a driver, or with apparent willingness?

I never saw or heard of a driver there, they seemed to work with a great deal of willingness and seeming satisfaction.

Did you purchase any rice on the Coast of Africa?

In my second voyage we purchased a good quantity at Junk, about forty or fifty tons.

Was any lost in the surf in its passage from the shore to the ship?

Not that I ever heard of.

Was this at a time of the year when the surf was highest or lowest?

I believe it was not at a time when the surf was very high.

Was it in or out of the rainy season?

In the rainy season.

Were you ever at Cape Coast?

I was, with Mr. Frazer.

Did you ever land any bulky articles there?

I have landed, in a canoe belonging to the castle, three puncheons of goods and an hoghead of tobacaco.

Did you lose any bulky articles in attempting to land them?
We did not.

Can you make a comparison between the furs on the Coast of Africa and those at the different West India Islands?

I think I have seen the fur as great at Saint Christopher's as I ever did on the Coast of Africa.

Did you ever see any cloth in Africa of the natives own manufacture?

I have bought several pieces of cloth that were made by the natives.

From what was the cloth manufactured?
From cotton.

Where did they get this cotton?
It grows in the country.

Are these cloths ever dyed?
I have got some of them which are dyed with a very beautiful and permanent blue.

Are they dyed by natives?
Yes.

Do the Africans ever work in metals?
I have seen many trinkets made by the Africans on the Coast.

Are they manufactured in a very rude and inartificial manner?
No; I have often been surprized to see some of their work in iron, particularly spears and cutlasses.

So far as you have been enabled to form a judgment, is the capacity of the Africans equal to that of the unpolished inhabitants of other countries?

I am convinced their capacities are equal to those of Europeans.

What do you think of their temper and disposition?

I have always considered the natives of the Windward and Gold Coast to be much better tempered than those at Bonny; I think the dispositions of those on the Windward and Gold Coast are very good. I was once landed very sick on the Island of Saint Thomas, and I am persuaded I should have died if it had not been

been for the care of a Black man there: when I was better I offered him some money, which he refused, saying, he had done no more than his duty.

Do you believe the Africans are in general attached to their native country?

They certainly are.

Do you believe they are as much attached to their near relations as the natives of other countries?

Yes. In my last voyage, at Cape Coast Castle, Mr. Frazer desired me to choose eighteen Slaves out of the yard. I objected to one that was meagre, and put him aside—I observed a tear to steal down his cheek, which he endeavoured to conceal. I desired the armourer to enquire of him what he cried for; he said, he was going to be parted from his brother: this induced me to take him. I do not know whether Mr. Frazer knew the circumstance; but, if he had, I am sure he would not have been displeas'd.

Do you think the indolence of the natives such, that they could not be induced to cultivate the ground, if they had sufficient encouragement?

I am persuaded they would work, if proper encouragement was given them.

Have they any notion of making contracts to be performed in a given time?

They have. When we bought the rice I have before mentioned it was contracted for, and I believe part of it was paid for; we found the rice ready at the time it was contracted for, which was at about six weeks distance.

Do many of the natives appear to have a turn for conducting trade?

They have all over the Coast where I have been.

Have you any reason to believe that if the Slave Trade were abolished, any of the natives of Africa, who are now employed in carrying it on, might be induced to betake themselves to the cultivation of the soil?

I have. A man, whom I have mentioned before by the name of Billy Frazer, and with whom I had frequent conversations at Bonny, upon my asking him what was their situation in war when they had no trade, said, they were forced to plant yams.

Do

Do you believe the females in Africa to be as prolific as those of other countries ?

I have always thought they are more so ; out of four or five deliveries on shipboard two of the women had twins.

Did you ever see any persons in Africa of the condition of Slaves ?

I never saw any that I knew to be such from their treatment.

Did you see any persons whom you understood to be of this description ?

I have been told by the persons themselves that they were Slaves.

What was the cause of your quitting your employment as surgeon of a Guinea-man ?

In my first and second voyage I reflected but little on the justice or injustice of the Trade ; in my last voyage I reflected more, and the more I did so the more I was convinced it is an unnatural, iniquitous, and villainous trade, and I could not reconcile it to my conscience.

Could you have continued in the employment if you had wished so to do ?

I could ; and I believe at the time I left it I might have gone again with Mr. Frazer if I had chose it ; I was afterwards repeatedly solicited to go to the Gold Coast by Captain Thompson.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 10^o die Martii 1790.

MR. Falconbridge again called in, and further examined.

What do you mean by professed kidnappers ?

People who make it their constant practice of so doing.

Of doing what ?
Kidnapping.

Upon what authority do you assert that there are professed kidnappers ?

In a former part of my evidence I have said a man in years was brought on board the Alexander, and from his being in years I was curious to know how he was made a Slave—I desired the interpreter to ask him ; he said, that he and his son were planting yams in a field, and were seized by people who made a practice of kidnapping, and they were sold.

Is that your only ground for asserting there are professed kidnappers ?

It is not.

Do you know of any circumstance of kidnapping from your own knowledge ?

The man that was brought along-side the Emilia in my last voyage I saw seized and sold.

By whom was he seized ?

By some of the traders on board the ship who belonged to Bonny ; he told the interpreter, who told me, that he was invited to come and look at a ship, never having seen one ; and he was sold, as I have above related. I was induced to be more curious about this man than I otherwise should have been from his appearing to be amazed and confounded when he was brought upon deck.

Is it the occupation of the men to plant yams at Bonny ?

I cannot say who plants them—I have seen canoe loads of yams at Bonny. I was never out of the town of Bonny above 100 yards on the land side.

Do the women in general do the field work in Africa ?

At Mr. Tucker's plantation, which I mentioned before, they were all men that were at work, clearing the ground for rice.

Question repeated.

I never did see the women at work in Africa, out of doors.

Except that instance of Mr. Tucker's plantation, did you ever see the men at work ?

That was the only plantation in Africa that I ever was on; therefore it is impossible for me to say.

If the old man which you spoke of had been sent to the ship for stealing yams, do you think he would have confessed it?

I should suppose he could have had no reason to deny it, for his treatment on board ship would have been perfectly the same, whether he was a thief or an honest man.

Are professed kidnappers allowed in the different states of Africa?

I am not sufficiently acquainted with the African laws to answer that question.

Have you seen many dogs in Africa?

I have seen several large ones on the Windward Coast; Mr. Tucker in particular had one or two of the mastiff kind; and the Africans on the Windward Coast will at all times give a good price for such dogs.

Was Mr. Tucker an African?

He was a Black man, born at Sherbro', and spoke exceeding good English.

Have you seen dogs in any other part of Africa?

I have seen many small ones at Bonny.

Were they large enough to hold a man?

Not those at Bonny.

Have you seen any on the Windward Coast that were large enough to hold a man?

I have.

Where, and how often?

At Tucker's and at Cape Mount; I may have seen them at other places, but cannot speak so positively as to those at Cape Mount, and at Tucker's.

Do you believe that it is the practice in Africa to seize men with dogs?

In my former evidence I have mentioned a man having been brought on board the Emilia whom we called Cape Mount Jack; this man assured me he was caught and held by a dog till the people came up and secured him.

Question

Question repeated.

From the last-mentioned circumstance I do believe it; if one case happened I think others might.

Do you mean then to inform this Committee that it is the usual practice in Africa to catch Slaves with dogs?

I cannot give this Committee any such information as that it is an usual practice; I never said so.

Do you believe it is an usual practice?

I believe it to be very common on the Windward Coast.

Do you know, or have you ever heard of any other instance than the one you have mentioned?

I do not know, but I have heard of many from Cape Mount Jack himself.

Does all your information come from Cape Mount Jack on this head?

It does, relative to dogs.

Have you ever been on shore on the Windward Coast of Africa?

I before said I was on Tucker's plantation; and I have been at Cape Mount.

How often besides have you been on shore?

I never kept any account.

Have you been often on shore?

I have been often on shore at Tucker's and Cape Mount, but oftener at Tucker's.

Have you been on shore on any other parts of the Windward Coast?

I do not recollect that I have, on the Windward Coast.

Have you been on shore at Angola?

Many times.

Was you ever at a house or a plantation, or at any village, in Angola?

I do not remember ever seeing a house there; the town was some miles from the water side.

Upon

Upon what grounds did you inform the Privy Council that the religion at Angola appeared to be Roman Catholic ?

From seeing numbers of the people who came down to the river Ambris with beads and crucifixes about their necks.

Was it from those appearances that you gave the account to the Privy Council of their being Roman Catholics ?

It was not from those appearances only ; I was one day talking with one of the king's officers, called Mangova, who told me there were priests in the country.

Have you seen much indigo and cotton on the Windward Coast ?

I have seen and bought large cotton cloths at the river Galenas, and at Bonny. I have seen cotton there also unmanufactured. I never saw any indigo there.

Have you seen the cotton plants grow ?

I never was far enough up in the country to see it.

Have you ever seen the indigo plants grow ?

I have not.

Did you state to the Privy Council that there was plenty of indigo and cotton on the Windward Coast ?

I very likely may have made such a statement from the number of cotton cloths I have bought, which were manufactured by the natives.

Was that cloth manufactured on the Windward Coast ?

It was, and it is no more like the St. Jago cloths than chalk is like cheese.

Do you know of any instance of women being dressed up to entice young men, in order to convict them of adultery, for the purpose of selling them for Slaves ?

Never living in Africa I cannot say I have known it, but I have heard of such a practice, as I have before stated.

Did you ever know of any villages being set on fire, in order to drive the inhabitants out, with a view of catching them, and selling them for Slaves ?

I did not ; but I have heard, as I have before said, from a trader of Bonny, whose name I then mentioned, that it was very common.

Question repeated.

I did not.

Do you know any instance of European ships forcing a trade ?

I remember, while lying at Bonny in the Alexander, a Captain Vickers coming on board from New Calabar. He told me, and other people in the ship, that when his traders were slack, and not disposed to go up the country, he fired a gun into or over the town.

Have you seen any instance of European ships forcing a trade ?

I have not.

Can the ships begin to trade at Bonny without the permission of the king ?

I always understood not.

If the king did not consent to breaking of trade, would firing a gun into or over a town force a trade ?

I think it would.

How then does the breaking of trade depend upon the king of Bonny, as you have stated it ?

I believe it is more the custom to keep him in temper, by giving him dashes, than any thing else.

Do you mean to state to the Committee, that the Trade can be carried on with or without the approbation of the king of Bonny ?

I suppose it might be carried on without his approbation, if it was thought proper by the English and French.

Have the English and French more power than the king of Bonny ?

It is at all times in their power, in Bonny river, to batter his town about his ears at pleasure.

With what are the Slaves purchased at Bonny ?

With iron bars, brandy, India and Manchester cotton cloths, guns, gun-powder, brass pans, beads, and various other articles, which I do not recollect.

Is gold dust one of the articles ?

I never saw any gold dust at Bonny, or heard of it.

Did you state to the Privy Council that gold dust was an article of commerce at Bonny?

I did not. If it is so stated in the Report of the Privy Council, it is their mistake and not mine. It is an article of exchange on the Gold Coast, but not at Bonny. I never heard of gold being bartered at Bonny.

Do you know, or have you ever heard of any instance of the French or English making trade without the permission of the king of Bonny?

I never heard of any such instance.

If the Negro, which you mentioned to have been found dead, had been suffocated, do you think you would have been able to have ascertained it from the appearance of the lungs?

I cannot pretend to say whether I could have ascertained it from the appearance of the lungs; but I know the lungs were found, as were all the contents of the thorax and abdomen.

Do you think it possible that this man died of an apoplexy?

It is certainly possible, but I think it was not the case in this instance, as he did not appear to be a person who was subject to apoplectic fits.

May not a man die of an apoplexy without previously having had an apoplectic fit?

He certainly may, but I believe it is uncommon.

Is the care and cleanliness of the Negroes within the department of the surgeon?

I believe in most ships it is not, the mates in general attend to that business; the surgeon has always enough to do in his profession, and that of the worst sort.

Do the mates always attend to the cleanliness of the Negroes?

In Mr. Fraser's ship the mates always washed, or caused to be washed, their rooms, and dried them with fire pans; in many other ships washing is not permitted, but they scrape the filth off the deck: this latter I consider a very bad practice.

Is the attending to the cleanliness of the Negroes any part of the surgeon's business?

I used to attend to it myself, and I have often taken a sponge and warm water, and washed them from head to foot.

Is the furgeon or the mate the responsible person for the cleanliness of the Negro?

The mate, I believe, is particularly amongst the men, and the furgeon and his mate amongst the women.

Is that the usual division of the care, with respect to the cleanliness of the Negroes?

It was so in the ships I have been in.

Was it so in the Alexander?

In the Alexander I had a flux the whole Middle Passage, and was unable to do my duty, therefore I cannot say how the Slaves were managed.

Can you speak to the cleanliness of the apartments of the men and women during that voyage?

From the number that had the flux in that voyage, their apartments were very disagreeable; for the discharge in that disease being involuntary, it was impossible to keep them comfortable.

Were they kept as clean as the nature of their disorder would admit?

I believe that to be the case in every ship, unless, as it often happens, that the greatest part of the White people are ill.

Had the woman, whom you mentioned to have hanged herself, been afflicted with the venereal disease?

I never understood so.

If she had been so afflicted, should you have known it.

I certainly should. My opinion is, she had not that disease.

From whence do the greatest number of Negroes come, who are bought by the English ships?

I cannot pretend to say.

Do the greatest part come from a distance?

I believe some of them do, but it is mere conjecture.

Do you apprehend that a greater number are brought from the interior part of the country, or are obtained by kidnapping, or on account of crimes?

I have said I cannot say from whence they come; but all that
I have

I have talked to, by means of interpreters, have generally said they were stolen.

Did any of them confess their having been sold for crimes?

I do not recollect that they did; I cannot charge my memory with it if it was so.

Did all those that you asked tell you that they were kidnapped?

I have said before they did.

If criminals were not to be purchased by the ships, what do you apprehend would be their fate?

I imagine they would be set to work in their own country.

By whom would they be set to work?

By the people whom they have wronged.

Is the practice in Africa to do that?

I cannot say what the practice is in Africa, never having lived there; but when my opinion is asked, I give it freely.

Do you know for what crimes those Negroes, whom you saw in prison at Jamaica, and punished, were so imprisoned?

I never asked, but was told in general they were runaways, which I believe to be true.

Who told you so?

The Black gaol-keeper.

Were they committed to prison by the laws of the Island?

I am perfectly ignorant of those laws.

You mentioned a ship in which many sailors were ill-treated; was the captain of that ship dismissed from his employment?

I cannot say whether he was dismissed, but he did not go again in the ship.

Has the captain been in any other African ship since?

Not that I ever heard of.

Did you ever see rice grow on the Windward Coast?

I said I was in a rice plantation at Manna on the Windward Coast,

Coast, and I have seen many patches of it about Cape Mount with my glass.

Have you ever seen rice carried down to the water side ?

I have seen great quantities brought on board our ship at Junk, but how it was carried down to the water-side I cannot say.

You said you thought that the natives would work if they had proper encouragement, from whom did you mean that that encouragement should come ?

From the Europeans.

Have the Europeans any power over the states of Africa ?

They have always power to get what they please done, when they hold out their commodities ; the Black men at Bonny always wooded and watered our ships upon being paid for it.

Do you think that by means of the trade of this country the manners and customs of the Africans might be altered ?

I think so ; so much that I am going to try the experiment.

When did you quit the African Trade ?

I believe in the beginning of the year 1787.

Did your conscience induce you to do so ?

It did in the most unequivocal manner.

Did you apply for employment in an African ship at Liverpool in the year 1788 ?

I did not ; and defy any man to prove it.

Did Mr. Clarkson apply for you ?

I think Mr. Clarkson holds the Trade in too great abhorrence to have made any such application ; if he did, it was without my knowledge.

What has been your employment since you left the African Trade ?

In studying and practising my own profession.

Do you understand the language at St. Thomas ?

I do not understand the Portuguese language ; all the traders and principal people at St. Thomas speak English enough to be understood.

Did you converse with the man who took so much notice of you when you was ill at St. Thomas?

I did, in corrupt English.

What was the largest quantity of unmanufactured cotton you ever saw in Africa?

Perhaps four or five pounds.

What was the largest quantity of rice you ever saw there?

Forty or fifty tons.

Could you have purchased more if you had wished it?

I believe if our business had been to have bought rice, we could have loaded the ship there and at Cape Mesurado.

Why do you think so?

From the natives of those two places saying they had plenty.

Was you ever on board a French African ship?

Yes, at Bonny.

Are they better accommodated for the reception of Slaves than the English vessels?

I know nothing about their accommodations, but the officers told me they had a good quantity of wine given them.

Are the English African ships allowed wine?

They have generally several dozens of wine, but not a sufficient quantity to give it every day to the Slaves, as the French informed me they do.

Do the French take better care of the Slaves on board their ships than the English do?

Having never been on board a French Slave ship, but for a very short time, all the information I can give on that subject is from hearsay.

When you delivered your evidence before the Committee of Privy Council, were you personally examined there, or did you present your information in writing ready drawn up?

I appeared there in propria persona.

Were you examined vivâ voce?

I was.

At whose instance, or by whose official summons, did you appear before the Privy Council for that purpose?

I had several summonses, all of which were signed "W. Fawcener, by their Lordships command."

How many summonses did you receive before you attended the Privy Council?

I attended when I received the first, but after waiting three hours I was told I could not be examined that evening, and that their Lordships would let me know when it was convenient.

Do you know by what means their Lordships came to the knowledge of your being able to give them any information on this subject?

I cannot say how they came by that knowledge; but I suppose, by some of the committee in London for abolishing the Slave Trade. I was at that time dissecting in Broad-street, Soho.

Did you offer yourself voluntarily to any of that committee, or did any of them request you to give evidence before the Privy Council?

I offered myself voluntarily at Bristol to the Rev. Mr. Clarkson, and told him I would give him every assistance and information in my power.

Who is Mr. Clarkson, and what is his station in life?

He is a clergyman of the church of England.

Has Mr. Clarkson, to your knowledge, any preferment in the church of England?

I cannot say.

As far as your knowledge extends, has or has not Mr. Clarkson employed himself in going from place to place to gain information respecting the circumstances of the Slave Trade?

He has; at some of which places I have been with him.

State the several places to which you have accompanied him for that purpose, and when?

I went with him from Bristol to Liverpool in 1787 or 1788.

Who defrayed your expences during that journey, and during your stay at Liverpool?

I believe

I believe my travelling expences were paid by the committee in London ; but I am out of pocket, having expended more than I received.

Who paid your expences during your stay at Liverpool ?
The same committee.

How long did you stay at Liverpool in that expedition with Mr. Clarkson ?

I believe eight or nine weeks.

Did you return to Bristol from Liverpool ?

I did.

How long might you have been absent from Bristol in the whole ?

I cannot precisely say ; I believe nine or ten weeks.

When you went from Bristol to Liverpool with Mr. Clarkson, were you then settled as a practitioner in surgery at Bristol ?

When Mr. Clarkson was first introduced to me, I was practising with a Mr. Goldwiler, an eminent surgeon in Bristol, by way of improvement, as a pupil.

And where have you generally resided since you went with Mr. Clarkson to Liverpool ?

With my father in Bristol, to whom I am considerably in debt.

What were the terms on which you first engaged as surgeon in the Guinea Trade ?

I do not recollect.

Had you the same emoluments when you quitted the Trade as when you entered into it ?

I believe they were pretty nearly equal. Captain Thompson of Bristol, in 1787, offered me any thing in reason that I would ask to go with him.

Do you understand the language of the natives in the several parts of Africa you have been in ?

Not so much as to be able to converse with them in it.

From whom did you acquire the knowledge you possess of the general laws and customs of that part of the world ?

The

The knowledge I have been able to obtain has been from persons who were employed on board the ship, either as interpreters, watermen, or pilots.

Were there no other persons, natives of that country, of higher degree than those you have mentioned, with whom you might have conversed, and acquired as accurate information respecting the laws and customs of the country?

At Bonny I have talked with the king, and Blundell Foubre, who was one of the principal traders, down to the canoe-boys. On the Windward Coast I have talked with some of the first men there, particularly Mr. Tucker, and Robin Gray, king of Cape Mount; but our conversation has been on other subjects than how Slaves were made, those gentlemen I believe giving themselves very little trouble on that head.

Did you receive any information as to the general history of the Windward Coast from either of those persons last-mentioned?

I know little of the general history of the Windward Coast, I never professed so to do; I believe they are little acquainted with any thing out of their own towns and villages.

Does then your knowledge of the productions of Africa, and the progress in arts and manufactures by the natives, extend beyond the account you have already given of those particulars?

I have mentioned no productions or manufactures but what I have seen, and my knowledge extends no further.

Have you often been on shore on the Windward Coast of Africa?

In my second voyage we were several months there, and I have often been on shore, and could have gone much oftener if I had applied to Mr. Frazer for that purpose.

Were you on shore at different places and parts of the Coast?

I have said before, I have been only on shore at Cape Mount, and Manna, on the Windward Coast.

What authority have the king and parliament men at Bonny?

I cannot exactly state what authority they have, but I believe the king never does any thing of consequence without consulting them.

Have they any power of protecting those who reside there, or strangers who come there to trade?

I cannot say how far their power extends.

What is the particular station and duty of the officer called the Mambooka, at Angola ?

I do not know enough of the Angola tongue to say what his office is, I only know him by name.

Did you never hear, or do you not believe, that he is the first officer next to the king ?

I never understood he was the first officer. I believe a person called the Mangova is superior to him ; but to this I cannot speak positively.

But is not the Mambooka an officer of high respect and authority, although not the first ?

I do not know.

Whence did you get your information, of his having falsely charged a fisherman with extortion, in order to have him condemned and sold for that offence ?

I heard it from the boat's crew, who were on shore when it happened.

Did they tell it you of their own knowledge ?

They did.

Do you think the boat's crew understood the language of the place sufficiently to obtain that information ?

I do not think they did ; but being on shore, they must have seen and understood something of the business.

Do you know any thing of the form of trials of criminals in that country ?

I do not.

You said that in your second voyage you purchased forty or fifty tons of rice at Junk ; do you speak with precision as to the quantity purchased at that time ?

I said before I did not, but thought it to be about that quantity.

Can you speak with certainty that the quantity purchased at that time did actually amount to one half of the quantity you say it did ?

I think it did amount to above that. I believe nobody, except Mr. Frazer, has got any journal to produce of the ship's transactions in that voyage.

Should

Should you know Captain Frazer's journal, if it was produced to you ?

I believe I should.

And a book being shewn to the Witnesses ;

He was asked,

Do you believe that to be Captain Frazer's journal or trade book ?

I believe it is.

[Then the said book was delivered in.]

In what space of time was the quantity of rice, which you said was then bought, shipped on board your ship ?

I cannot speak positively to the time or quantity.

Did it take you a month to load that quantity ?

I only know we left some goods at Junk, and came back and received the rice agreed for.

Did it take you one, two, or three months to load this rice ?

Having no book to refer to, I cannot mention any time with any degree of accuracy.

Was there any interruption by the surf in the shipping of it ?

If there was, it did not come within my knowledge.

Did you lay on board the ship generally during the taking in that rice ?

I was always on board the ship.

And then the Witnesses was directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 11^o die Martii 1790.

MR. Falconbridge called in, and further examined.

MR. FALCONBRIDGE. Do you recollect the time when the ship anchored off Junk, and began to take in this rice?

I do not, having no book to refer to.

To the best of your recollection, was it in either July, August, or September 1783?

I do not know in what year the transaction passed, whether in 1782 or 1783.

At what period was the rice contracted for to be delivered?

I do not know.

You have said that the rice was contracted for to be delivered in about six weeks, and that it was ready at the time agreed upon; was it delivered accordingly at the time agreed upon?

I think it was: if I am wrong it is not intentionally so.

Did you ever see any of this rice delivered?

I did.

In what packages or vessels was it delivered?

It was generally brought along-side the ship in a canoc, in a sort of basket of their own making.

Are the baskets generally called crews, or by what other name?

I used to understand them by the name of baskets.

Did you ever hear them called crews?

I might, but I do not recollect at present that I did. I have seen small quantities of rice brought on board in boxes or old liquor cases.

What might these baskets hold in point of weight?

Having never, as I remember, weighed one, I cannot say.

What rule do you go by then in saying that the quantity delivered amounted to between forty or fifty tons?

When

When Mr. Frazer was making the agreement, particularly with a man who called himself Jose Will, I heard the word tons several times mentioned, and I imagined to the number I have before stated: whether they meant as we do, twenty hundred weight to the ton, I cannot say. I have never pretended to be very accurate on this subject.

Did you understand it was twenty hundred weight to the ton, or do you mean to state it so now?

I did understand it was twenty hundred weight to the ton.

Then you cannot recollect by what measure the rice was delivered to Captain Frazer?

I do not recollect whether it was weighed or measured.

Which does the expression of forty or fifty tons, as applied to rice, imply, weight or measure?

It certainly applies to weight, but I have known persons guess at tonnage by the bulk of things.

Did the bulk of the baskets or the liquor cases you have mentioned, give you sufficient grounds to ascertain the quantity of rice in weight delivered?

I have repeatedly said that I could not be accurate in this rice business, and that it was matter of opinion and conjecture.

Then the following entries from Captain Frazer's journal or trade book, delivered in yesterday, were read; and are as followeth; viz.

Junk. " Sept' 19, 1783. Jose Will, King Will, and
 " Jos West, jointly, to 150 lb. tobacco, 20
 " kegs powd. 6 kettles, 2 bafts, 4 nicanees,
 " 20 yds plains, 3 outside jackers, 10 glls bdy.
 " 20 couteaus—By to pay in 40 days 240 bask-
 " ets of rice to contain a certain measure, for
 " which left a girl Slave as security."

" Sept. 21st, 1783. Tom Wilson, to 75 lb. to-
 " bacco, 10 kegs powder, 3 kettles, 1 baft,
 " 2 nicanees, 10 yds plains, 1 outside jacket,
 " 5 glls. bdy. 1 couteau—By to pay 120
 " baskets of rice, for which he left one of his
 " people in pawn."

“ Jose Campbell, to 20 lb. tobacco, 1 nicanee,
 “ 6 yards plains, 1 outside jacket, 3 glls. bdy.
 “ 1 kettle, 3 kegs powder, 16 cousteaus—By
 “ to pay 45 baskets of rice, for which left one
 “ little boy in pawn.”

“ 22. Robin Campbell, to 65 lb. tobacco, 1 out-
 “ side jacket, 15 galls. brandy, 3 kettles, 1 baft,
 “ 1 tapfeel, 1 nicanee, 1 doz. cousteaus, 4 locks,
 “ 10 yds. plains, 10 kegs powder, 3 lanthorns,
 “ 3 bunches B. C. 4 doz. candles—By to pay
 “ 140 crews rice, for which left one man in
 “ pawn.”

“ Robin Gray. To 75 lb. tobacco, 1 outside
 “ jacket, 3 kettles, 1 baft, 1 tapfeel, 1 nicanee,
 “ 5 galls bdy. 16 cousteaus, 10 yds plains, 10
 “ kegs powder—By to pay 120 crews rice.”

Crue Setra. “ 30. 700 rice to 40 lb. tobacco.”

“ Oct 1. 10 cwt. rice, some plantains and cassada—To
 “ 50 lb. tobacco, 2 jugs brandy.”

“ 2. 4 screvilas, 13 lb. and 3 cwt. rice—To 30 lb.
 “ tobacco.”

Setra Crue. “ 5. 3 cwt. rice, 10 screvilas, 27 lb. and some plan-
 “ tains—To 30 lb. tobacco.”

Crue Setra. “ 7. 1 keg powder, 20 lb. tobacco, 1 iron bar—for a
 “ tortoise, some plantains and rice.”

“ 10 cwt. rice, some cassada—To 60 lb. tobac-
 “ co, 5 gallons brandy.”

“ 8. 10 cwt. rice to 40 lb. tobacco; some plantains
 “ and firewood to 10 lb. D°.”

Nefou. “ 10. 9 cwt. rice to 55 lb. tobacco.”

Crue Setra. “ 12. 5 screvilas, 14 lb. 2 cwt. rice, some plantains
 and cassada. To 22 lb. tobacco.”

“ 13. 3 screvilas, 8 lb. 1 bullock, 2 cwt. rice—To
 “ 1 iron bar, 20 lb. tobacco, 6 baft, 3 yards
 “ plains.”

“ 15. 4 cwt. rice—To 30 lb. tobacco.”

Badou.

Badou. " 16. 7 cwt. rice—To 75 lb. tobacco."

Junk. " Nov. 5 to 10. Received all the rice and Slaves, for which
" advanced goods, and discharged the
" pawns."

Was any of this rice, as you recollect, damaged in its passage to the ship from the shore?

I do not recollect that it was.

Do you or do you not recollect laying two days, or any other time, off Manna, to dry the rice?

I do not recollect what time we lay off Manna, or for what purpose. I believe the rain often wetted the rice in the hanoes, for the rain on that coast is very violent at times.

Do you recollect the rice being wet from the surf in coming on board the ship?

I do not know that it was.

Do you remember the loss of any of Captain Frazer's goods by the surf or swell of the sea, as they were landing them for Henry Tucker, or any other person, near Manna, in the year 1783?

I do not remember it if it happened.

Do you recollect Captain Frazer being detained on shore at or near Manna, by the height of the surf, and prevented from sailing for a day or two?

I do not remember that he was ever detained on that account.

Do you recollect how many Slaves you carried in the Emilia from the Coast of Africa, in the voyage of 1783 and 1784?

I have said before, I believe about 300.

How many of that number did you lose in the Middle Passage?

I think till our arrival at Port Maria in Jamaica we lost between thirty and forty.

How many Slaves did you actually sell of that cargo at Jamaica, to the best of your recollection?

I cannot speak positively to that question.

Do you know who were the Guinea factors who sold that cargo at Jamaica?

I believe

I believe Allans and Campbell, I have had a bill drawn by them.

An Account of Sales, signed "Allans and Campbell," being shewn to the Witnesses,

He was asked,

Do you know the hand-writing of those persons?

I do; and the signatures to the account I believe to be their hand writing.

Then the said Account was delivered in, and read; and is inserted in pages 637, 638, 639, 640.

Did you ever, at any one time, see in any part of Africa a quantity of rice, cotton, or indigo sufficient to load a vessel of 200 tons burthen?

I never did on the Coast; what quantity there may be inland, I do not know.

How far have you been in the inland part of the country in Africa?

But a very little way, scarce a mile.

Did you frequently, or at any time, sleep on shore there?

I very seldom slept on shore.

Did you ever sleep on shore?

I slept once or twice on shore at Bonny; I do not remember that I have at any other place.

Do you know of Captain Frazer ever having refused to purchase any likely good female Slaves?

I do not.

From the knowledge you have of the laws and customs of the African country, do you believe that kidnapping is tolerated there, and that it can be practised with impunity when discovered?

I have said before, that I had but little knowledge of the African laws, therefore cannot say whether kidnapping is tolerated or not; but the instances I have mentioned have been related by the Negroes themselves.

Did you understand from them that kidnapping was an avowed practice in the country?

I certainly did,

A vowed

Avowed by the government of the country, or how do you explain the word 'avowed?'

They told me it was a very common practice.

Did you understand from them that the laws allowed of it?

I never conversed with them about their laws; my curiosity in general led me no further than to enquire how they came there, or by what means?

Do you believe that Captain Frazer, or any other master of a ship in that trade, of the same disposition which you have ascribed to him, would purchase a Slave, knowing him to have been kidnapped?

I believe Captain Frazer, or any other captain that goes for Slaves, seldom trouble themselves how they were caught or made Slaves.

Question repeated.

I believe they all would.

Did you ever know Captain Frazer knowingly to have been guilty of such a practice?

I have mentioned a circumstance, in my last voyage to Bonny, of a man coming along-side the ship, under pretence of seeing her, and was sold. Whether Captain Frazer knew it or not, I cannot tell; the man was paid for on board the ship.

When the ship Alexander run aground on the bar, in coming out of the river Bonny, did she lay in an upright situation, or did she heave?

After giving several thumps we kept the sail set, and she worked herself into deep water, or afloat, when we came to an anchor.

You have said you have never been able to cure a man who has had a bad dysentery; do you think that every surgeon of a Slave ship has had such ill success?

I believe every man of candour will acknowledge it. I have often palliated the symptoms by large doses of opium, but never remember effecting a perfect cure. I mean to apply this observation to ship-board.

Did you ever know of an instance in Captain Frazer's ship of a Slave dying while shackled to another?

I think I did not—but I have in the Alexander.

In the case of a sudden death, and when there is no external appearance of injury, in what part of the body is the cause of such death most likely to be found on dissection?

I think it may be found in various parts; perhaps from the rupture of some large vessel.

As a professional man, you are asked, whether the cause of sudden death is or is not oftener to be found in the head than in any other part of the body?

It may be the case, but in all the heads I have opened, and seen opened, the brain was generally found, or had no appearance of disease.

As you opened the thorax and abdomen of the Slave who died suddenly on board the Emilia, why did you not also open the head, to see the state of the brain?

Every man that knows any thing of anatomy, likewise knows that opening the head in a dextrous manner, so as to expose the brain, is often no easy thing, and I had neither time nor conveniences in that instance to do it; I was forced to do it at candle-light, upon the deck, after all the Slaves were below.

You have said, that you think the treatment of the Slaves in the West India Islands, from the two instances you have adduced, was very cruel; state the different Islands belonging to Great Britain which you have been in.

Grenada and Jamaica.

Have you never been at St. Christopher's?

I have touched there:

How often, and for how long a time, have you been on shore at St. Christopher's?

When we touched there in the Emilia, in 1782 or 1783, Mr. Frazer went on shore there, and we stood off and on till he came on board. I was not on shore myself.

Was you ever on shore there?

No.

Was you ever on shore at Antigua?

No.

At Montserrat?

No.

At Nevis ?

No.

At Dominique ?

No.

At Saint Vincent's ?

No.

How do you form your judgment of the height of the surf at Saint Christopher's ?

I have said before, we were standing off and on at Basseterre ; I saw a great surf as I thought, and the boats seemed to have some difficulty in getting through it.

Did you ever see the surf on the Windward Coast of Africa, as high as that in the road of Basseterre, at Saint Christopher's ?

I think I have.

What month in the year was it that you stood off the coast at Basseterre ?

I do not recollect the exact time.

Did you ever see a Slave flogged by his master, or by any person by his direction, in any of the British Islands you have been in ?

I never saw a Slave flogged ; but I saw one at Black River at Jamaica, who had been severely flogged.

You have said you did not enquire the cause of that Slave having been so much flogged ; do or do you not believe, from the circumstance of his being in the gaol there, that he must have been punished by the authority of some civil magistrate for some offence ?

I cannot say by whose authority he was punished, as I did not enquire.

Did not your humanity prompt you to enquire, because that severe punishment made such an impression on your mind ?

Whatever my humanity might have prompted me to have done, I conceive it would have been giving no relief to the poor fellow.

Question repeated.

It did not.

Have

Have you ever seen a soldier flogged at the halberts ?
I never did ; but I have seen a sailor flogged.

Did you never hear of a soldier dying in consequence of the punishment he had received at the halberts ?

I do not remember having heard any such thing.

You have said you scarcely ever saw the back of a Slave, but it had scars on it ; as far as your information and observation have gone, do you believe that Slaves are in general flogged on the back ?

I believe they are, I have been informed so.

In what Island ?

In Grenada.

You have said, that you think by the means of the trade of this country, that the manners and customs of the Africans might be altered, and that you were going to try the experiment ; explain the nature of the experiment you are going to try ?

The Question being objected to ;

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in,

The Question was repeated.

I am certainly going, (and it is my opinion it may be done) to induce the Africans to cultivate their country, and raise such articles as will sell in this country, and pay them with our manufactures.

Are you a principal in this undertaking ?

I do not precisely know my situation yet, for I do not believe the plan is yet entirely settled.

Is any of your own private fortune to be embarked in this undertaking ?

I have no fortune.

Are you to receive a salary, or any other remuneration for the services expected to be performed by you in this undertaking, and from whom ?

I expect to be paid by my employers.

Are your employers the committee for the abolition of the Slave Trade in London, or any of them?

Not the committee at large, I believe two or three of the subscribers are members of that committee.

Which of the voyages did you allude to when you said the ships were so crowded that the Slaves had not more room to lie on than a man in his coffin?

It was so in all.

Did you tell the Privy Council that the ship was not much crowded in the second voyage, when you had the largest number of Slaves on board?

In my second voyage the ship was not so much crowded as in the others, but I conceived them very thick then.

Question repeated.

I believe I did.

After your evidence was taken by the Privy Council, was it read over to you?

I cannot speak positively whether it was or not.

When therefore you told the Privy Council that the ship was not much crowded in that voyage, what were your grounds for so saying?

I had no other grounds than that we had not the same number of Slaves as we had the last voyage.

Do the Europeans ever go up the country to the places from whence the Slaves are brought?

I never heard that they did.

Do they acquire their knowledge of the manner in which Slaves are made so any other ways than by the information of the Negroes themselves, whether traders or others, and by the conclusions which they draw on the comparison of those different informations?

I believe all their information is derived from the Black traders and the purchased Negroes.

If then the practice of firing villages for the purpose of making Slaves were ever so frequent, would it be in the power of Euro-

peans to state it as a fact of their own knowledge and observation ?

It would not be in their power to describe one of those scenes, as I believe very few White men, if any, have seen them.

Have you every reason to believe, from the concurrent testimony of others, that such a practice does exist ?

I do really believe that that is one of their modes of making war, as they call it.

Does not the king of Bonny know his town to lie at the mercy of the French and English ?

I should suppose he is sensible it does.

If a gun were fired for the purpose of forcing trade, do you imagine that that design would be understood by the king ?

I do imagine if the Europeans were to threaten such a thing, it would induce him to send some of his canoes to what they call the Up Country.

Have you ever experienced the heat to be so great, and the air so foul, in the Negroes apartments between decks, as to induce you to think that suffocation might not improbably be occasioned by a night's confinement in such an atmosphere ?

In the Alexander, as I have related before, being down but a short time, the heat and stench were so intolerable, that I am persuaded a night's confinement in that situation would have destroyed me.

Did you keep any memorandum respecting the quantity of rice bought in the voyage of 1783 ?

I did not.

Can you say whether there was any difficulty in procuring the quantity you did take ?

There was no difficulty apparently.

When you stated that between thirty and forty Slaves died in that voyage on the Middle Passage, did or did you not mean to include those who died on shore before the sale ?

We had none on shore in that voyage before they were sold ; if I have stated the number wrong, it is merely from not having any papers or journal relating to that voyage.

You have been asked whether you were ever on shore at St. Christopher's,

topher's, Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, Dominique, and St. Vincent's, to which you replied no; have you ever said you were there?

I believe I have not said that I was on shore at those Islands.

You have mentioned, in the course of your evidence, that the seamen in general on board the *Alexander* were ill used; do you know any other instances of remarkable barbarity or ill treatment in that ship, besides those which you have stated to the Committee?

I have said that all the people in that ship, except three, were beaten or ill treated. I remember the black cook one day broke a plate; he had a fish-gig darted at him, which would certainly have destroyed him, if he had not stooped or dropped down. One day the carpenter's mate had let his pitch-pot catch fire; he and the cook were both tied up, stripped, and flogged, but the cook with the greatest severity; after that the cook had salt water and Cayenne pepper rubbed on his back. A man came on board at Bonny, belonging to a little ship (I believe the captain's name was Dodson, of Liverpool) which had been overset at New Calabar, this man, when he came on board, was in a convalescent state; he was severely beaten one night, for what cause I know not, he came and applied to me for something to rub his back with, I was told by the captain not to give him any thing, and he was desired to go forward; he went and lay under the forecastle: I visited him very often, when he complained of his bruises; he had a return of his flux, and died in about three weeks from the time he was beaten; the last words he ever spoke to me were (after shedding tears) "I cannot punish him (meaning the captain) but God will." These are the most remarkable instances which I know; but every body was beaten in their turn, as I have so often said before.

Did Mr. Frazer set down all the rice which he purchased on the Coast?

All that he bought at Junk I believe he did set down; but I was employed to purchase rice at the different places we were at in that voyage on the Grain Coast, of which, I believe, no account was taken.

You have said, in a former answer, that you could not be accurate in this rice business, and that it was matter of opinion and conjecture; did you mean to refer this possible inaccuracy to all that passed relative to the rice, or only to the exact quantity which had been purchased?

Certainly, to all of it.

Do you know Mr. Athorn, in Mr. M'Taggert's compting-house at Bristol?

I know a person of that name, who used to be in his compting-house.

Did you or did you not desire Mr. Athorn to intercede with Mr. M'Taggert to give you the command of an African Slave ship?

I never did, or ever thought of such a thing; for if I had been desirous of getting promotion in the African service, Mr. Frazer could have done it much better than Mr. Athorn. I dined one day with Captain Frazer and his officers; he then said, "Every one of you who are here I will make captains"—He has been as good as his word; and I am the only one out of that number that has not commanded a vessel in the Slave Trade.

Do you or do you not know that the boiling over of the pitch-pot is attended with the greatest danger to the ship, and all on board?

I know it is attended with danger; but it was the fault of the carpenter's mate, and I do not think the cook had any right to be punished for it.

Are your expences of coming up to London to give evidence before this Committee defrayed by yourself, or by any other person, and by whom?

I came up to London on a very different business, with an intention of going to Africa. I was desired by the committee for the abolition of the Slave Trade to attend here; and whether they choose to give me any thing or not, is at their own option.

Do you expect any thing from them?

I do expect, as I have attended their business, to have my expences paid.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 12° die Martii 1790.

Captain Ambrose Lace attending according to order, was called in, and examined.

Was you ever employed in the African Trade?

Captain L A C E.

Yes.

Was you at Old Calabar in the year 1767, as captain of any, and of what ship?

I was there as captain in the ship Edgar.

What number of English ships were then lying at Calabar?

Nine.

Were they all ships concerned in the African Trade?

Every one.

Do you remember, that in order to make an end of a dispute which had for some time subsisted between the inhabitants of the Old and New Town, any agreement was made for both parties to meet on ship-board?

Yes.

Can you describe the nature of that dispute?

There had been for many years a dispute between the people of Old Town and New Town.

State the nature and circumstances of that dispute.

When I first went there in 1748, there were no inhabitants in the place called Old Town, they all lived at the place called New Town; some time after disputes arose between a party who now call themselves Old Town people, and those who are now called New Town people.

When the parties were invited to meet on ship-board, was that invitation made with an insidious view, to get them within the power of the English, to make Slaves of them?

No.

Did any of the parties meet on board in consequence of such agreement; and what passed on that occasion?

The principal people from Old Town came on board my ship, where the duke (the principal man of Old Town) was to have met them; they came on board about half past seven in the morning; at about eight I was going to breakfast with a person who called himself king of Old Town; there were four of the king's large canoes alongside of my ship, where the other canoes were I cannot tell: I was just pouring out some coffee, when I heard a firing; the king called out and said, Imo, a brother of his, was firing. I went upon deck along with the king, and my people told me my gunner was killed; immediately the king was for going overboard; I then told him to stay where he was; he told me he would not, he would go in his canoe, which he did; his son who was with him in my ship he left behind, but called to him in his own language to stay with me, which he did; the firing, by what I can recollect, might be for ten or fifteen minutes, but I cannot be certain as to the exact time. The canoes were most of them then got astern of my ship within about 300 or 400 yards; I had not time to make observations of the two parties, I wanted to defend myself after I was fired into; I was no further molested, the canoes were all gone.

At the time the firing commenced, were any of your guns loaded, or were any of the small arms in the possession of your crew?

The small arms are always loaded, but they were locked up, and the chest was broke open.

Was the key of the chest afterwards found, and where?

In the gunner's pocket.

Did you or your people take any share in the affray that then happened?

No more than any gentleman in this room.

Were any guns fired from your ship, great or small, upon that occasion?

No; not so much as a pistol.

Were any guns fired from any other ships upon that occasion?

Not to my knowledge.

Did the king kill any man on board your ship?

No.

Was the king on board any other ship during that bustle?

Not

Not to my knowledge ; if he was, it must have been before he came on board my ship.

Were there any Slaves actually made on that occasion ?
Not to my knowledge.

At what time, and how long after, did you get the complement of Slaves for your ship ?

I went there the beginning of July, I cannot exactly state when this happened, and sailed the first week in December ; I was there within a few days of five months, over or under.

Did the English enter into this business with any fraudulent or improper view ?

Not that ever I heard of.

Did the English, as you know or believe, reap any benefit whatever from this transaction ?

No ; it was against the trade.

Previous to this transaction, had there been any consultation amongst the English captains, relative to the difference between the Old and New Towns, or relative to any other matter connected with this transaction ?

If there was, it was before I came into the river, and unknown to me.

Do you know what a basket of rice on the Windward Coast of Africa generally weighs ?

I never stopt to the Windward but twice ; by what I recollect, some of the baskets will hold from two to three gallons.

Do you recollect what a crew of rice weighs ?
I do not in weight.

Do you in measure ?

They differ in different parts of the Coast, but they are in general from two to three gallons ; the largest I ever saw was three gallons.

What was the largest sized basket you ever saw on the Coast ?

To the best of my recollection, it hardly filled one of these three gallon crews.

Did you ever meet with the Reverend Mr. Clarkson, at Liverpool ?

I breakfasted with him.

Had you any conversation with him on African subjects ?

He asked me some questions concerning the produce of Africa.

Do you know Mr. Rathbone of Liverpool ?

He breakfasted with us at the same time.

Was this transaction at Old Calabar mentioned at that time ?

It was.

Can you recollect what passed about it ?

I may not recollect every word. It was first mentioned by Mr. Chaffers, whom we breakfasted with ; Mr. Chaffers asked me if I could tell what number of Black persons might be killed that day ; I told him I could not ; I also told him my ship was fired into, my gunner killed, and I believe I added, that I did not know whether they did not mean to sacrifice me ; this is the principal part of the conversation which I recollect to have passed.

Do you recollect saying any thing with respect to any advice which you gave to any of the other captains relative to this subject ?

No.

Do you recollect whether you did or did not give any advice whatsoever to any of the captains at the time ?

I did not.

Did you know by whom your gunner was killed ?

It was impossible for me to know ; it must have been from some of the canoes at a distance, but from which I cannot tell ; but I am of opinion the firing must have come from the New Town people.

Why do you think the firing came from the New Town people ?

The Old Town people were alongside my ship, and the New Town people were at a distance from them.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

SALES of 306 Slaves, per the Ship Emilia, Captain James Frazer, on Account of the Owners, Evan Baillie, Esquire, and Co. Merchants, Bristol.

	Privilege Men	Privilege Men Boys.	Men.	Men Boys.	Boys.	Women.	Women Girls.	Girls.		
1784.										
February 5.	Job Bennet -	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	66 & 62, Duty 40/	130
	Joseph Clemfson -	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	66, 64, and Duty	132
	John Barton -	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	126
	Doct. McEwen -	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	65
	James Cuninghame -	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	61
	George G. Brown -	1	2	-	-	2	2	-	-	445
	Thomas Cockburn -	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	104
	John Murray -	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	Girl 58	244
	Robert Currie -	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	126
	James Campbell -	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	199
	William Jeffries -	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	201
	Robert Hepburn -	1	-	2	1	-	-	1	Girl 58	319
	Charles Grant -	3	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	329
	John McCrae -	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	128
	Daniel McIntosh -	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	61
	John Sanderson -	-	-	-	4	2	4	-	-	626
	John Joyce -	1	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	258
	Edward Campbell -	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	130
	James Davidson -	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	130
	John Jacks -	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	132
	John McPherson -	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	264
	Andrew Linton -	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	130
	James Anderson -	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	187
	Alexander Allan -	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	258
	James Duthie -	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	130
	John Hinds -	-	1	10	1	2	2	-	Girls 58	1,022
	Thomas Jackson -	1	-	5	1	2	1	-	Boys 58	636
	Richard Davis -	1	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	457
	William J. Parsons -	1	-	3	-	2	-	1	Girl 58	447
	Captain Orrack -	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	59
	John Grant -	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	124
	Angus Campbell -	-	-	3	1	3	-	1	Girl 58	506
	Erskin Stobo -	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	59
	Dr. Fletcher -	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	187
		21	9	40	10	12	29	5	6	£. 8,432

		Privilege Men.	Privilege Men Boys.	Men.	Men Boys.	Boys.	Women.	Women Girls.	Girls.						
1784.	Brought over	21	9	40	10	12	29	5	6	-	-	8,432	--	--	
February 6.	James Forsyth & Peter Milne	}	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	64,	62,	and Duty	128	--	--
	John Walner		-	-	2	-	1	-	-	Boy	56	187	--	--	
	James Glen	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	250	--	--	
	Peter Milne and George Irons	}	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	187	--	--	
	James Henderfon		-	-	-	-	2	-	-	60 and 58	120	--	--		
	Georgé Ogle	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	63	--	--	
	Richard Benner	-	-	5	1	1	2	-	2	Girls	56	689	--	--	
	John Lowe	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	262	--	--	
	James Barton	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	67	--	--	
	John D. Nibbs	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	67	--	--	
	Andrew Byrne	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	63	--	--	
	Andrew Ramfey	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	63	--	--	
	Joseph Wiggins	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	197	--	--	
	10.	Robert Maſon	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	55 each	112	--	--	
	Nath. Stewart	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	61	248	--	--		
21.	Alex' Lindo	131	of	all denominations.					-	44 and Duty.	5,895	--	--		
	Total	306	131	25	9	56	19	19	32	6	9	17,030	--	--	
Captain James Fraſer's privilege, 2 per C ^t										340	12	--			
John Gould, his privilege 2 Slaves, on an Average with the Cargo, deducting Sale and Import Duty										108	6	1½			
Alexander Falconbridge 1 ditto										54	3	¾			
Benjamin Howard - 1 ditto										54	3	¾			
Robert Mills - - 1 ditto										54	3	¾			
Adventure allowed by the Owners to the Officers, 5 Negroes on the above Average										270	15	¾			
										882	2	7½			
										16,147	17	4½			
Sale Duty on 309 Slaves - - - - at 20/										309	--	--			
Import Duty on 311 ditto - - - - 10/										155	10	--			
Doctor's Head Money on 296 - - - - 1/										14	16	--			
Captain Fraſer's Coaft Commiſſion - - - - 4/104										621	1	5½			
Our Commiſſions, at 5 per C ^t - - - - -										807	7	10			
										1,907	15	3½			
N ^t proceeds to the Credit of Evan Baillie, Eſquire, and Co.										£.	14,240	2	1		

Evan Baillie, Esquire, and Co. in Account Current with Allans and Campbell.

D'

C'

1784.
Feb. 28.

To Cash paid Captain Frazer	- - -	700 -- --
Balance	- - -	13,540 2 1
		£. 14,240 2 1
To the following Bills on our Guarantees, Dyer, Fish, and Co. of London; viz.		
Three Sets in favour of Thomas Dean, Esquire, at 15, 21, and 24 Months Sight, for £. 468 each	1,404 -- --	
Three Sets in favour of Levi Ames, Esquire, at 15, 21, and 24 Months Sight, for £. 468 each	1,404 -- --	
Three Sets in favour of Messieurs Bush, Elton, and Co. at 15, 21, and 24 Months Sight, for £. 468 each	1,404 -- --	
Three Sets in favour of James Baillie, Esquire, at 15, 21, and 24 Months Sight, for £. 468 each	1,404 -- --	
Six Sets in favour of Evan Baillie, Esquire, at 15, 21, and 24 Months Sight, for £. 468 each	2,808 -- --	
One Set in favour of Evan Baillie, Esquire, and Co. at 12 Months Sight	786 19 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	
Sterling	9,210 19 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	
Commission for remitting, 5 per C'	- - -	12,895 6 9
		644 15 4
		£. 13,540 2 1

1784.
Feb. 28.

By Net Proceeds of 306 Slaves per the Emilia	- - -	14,240 2 1
By Balance brought down	- - -	13,540 2 1
		£. 13,540 2 1

[639]

8 E

PRICES

Kingston, 28th February 1784.

(Errors excepted.)

ALLANS and CAMPBELL.

PRICES DAY OF SALE.

Privilege Men	-	-	-	-	66	and Duty.
Ditto Men Boys	-	-	-	-	64	Ditto.
Men	-	-	-	-	-	Ditto.
Men Boys	-	-	-	-	62	
Women	-	-	-	-	62	
Women Girls	-	-	-	-	60	
Girls	-	-	-	-	54	a. 58
Boys	-	-	-	-	56	a. 60



SALES of 306 Slaves, per the Ship *Emilia*, Captain James Fraser, on Account of the Owners, Evan Baillie, Esquire, and Co. Merchants, Bristol.

		Privilege Men.	Privilege Men Boys	Men.	Men Boys.	Boys.	Women.	Women Girls.	Girls.			
1784.												
February 5.	Job Bennet	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	66 & 62, Duty 40/	130 - -	
	Joseph Clemston	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	66, 64, and Duty	132 - -	
	John Barton	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	126 - -	
	Doct M ^c Ewen	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	65 - -	
	James Cuninghame	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	61 - -	
	George G. Brown	-	1	2	-	-	2	2	-	-	445 - -	
	Thomas Cockburn	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	124 - -	
	John Murray	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	Girl 58	244 - -	
	Robert Currie	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	126 - -	
	James Campbell	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	199 - -	
	William Jeffries	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	201 - -	
	Robert Hepburn	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	1	Girl 58	319 - -	
	Charles Grant	-	3	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	329 - -	
	John M ^c Grae	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	128 - -	
	Daniel M ^c Intosh	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	61 - -	
	John Sanderson	-	-	-	4	2	4	-	-	-	626 - -	
	John Joyce	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	258 - -	
	Edward Campbell	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	130 - -	
	James Davidson	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	130 - -	
	John Jacks	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	132 - -	
	John M ^c Pherson	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	264 - -	
	Andrew Linton	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	130 - -	
	James Anderson	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	187 - -	
	Alexander Allan	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	258 - -	
	James Duthie	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	130 - -	
	John Hinds	-	-	1	10	4	-	2	2	Girls 58	1,022 - -	
	Thomas Jackson	-	1	-	5	1	2	1	-	Boys 58	636 - -	
	Richard Davis	-	1	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	457 - -	
	William J. Parsons	-	1	-	3	-	-	2	1	Girl 58	447 - -	
	Captain Orrack	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	59 - -	
	John Grant	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	124 - -	
	Angus Campbell	-	-	-	3	1	-	3	1	Girl 58	506 - -	
	Erskin Stobo	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	59 - -	
	Dr. Fletcher	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	187 - -	
			21	9	40	10	12	29	5	6	£.	8,432 - -
							8	D				James

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES

ON THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Reported 1st APRIL 1790.

Witnesses Examined,

Captain HALL,
Mr. WILSON,
Mr. FALCONBRIDGE,
Captain LACE.

N° 9.

