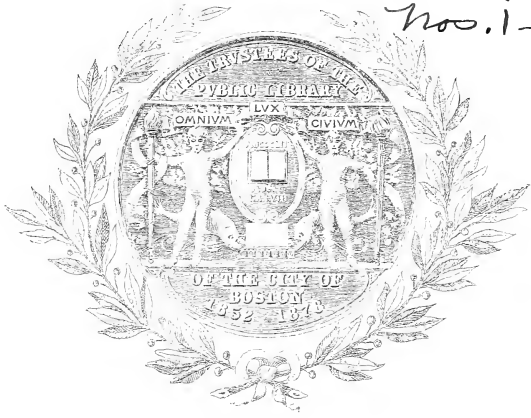




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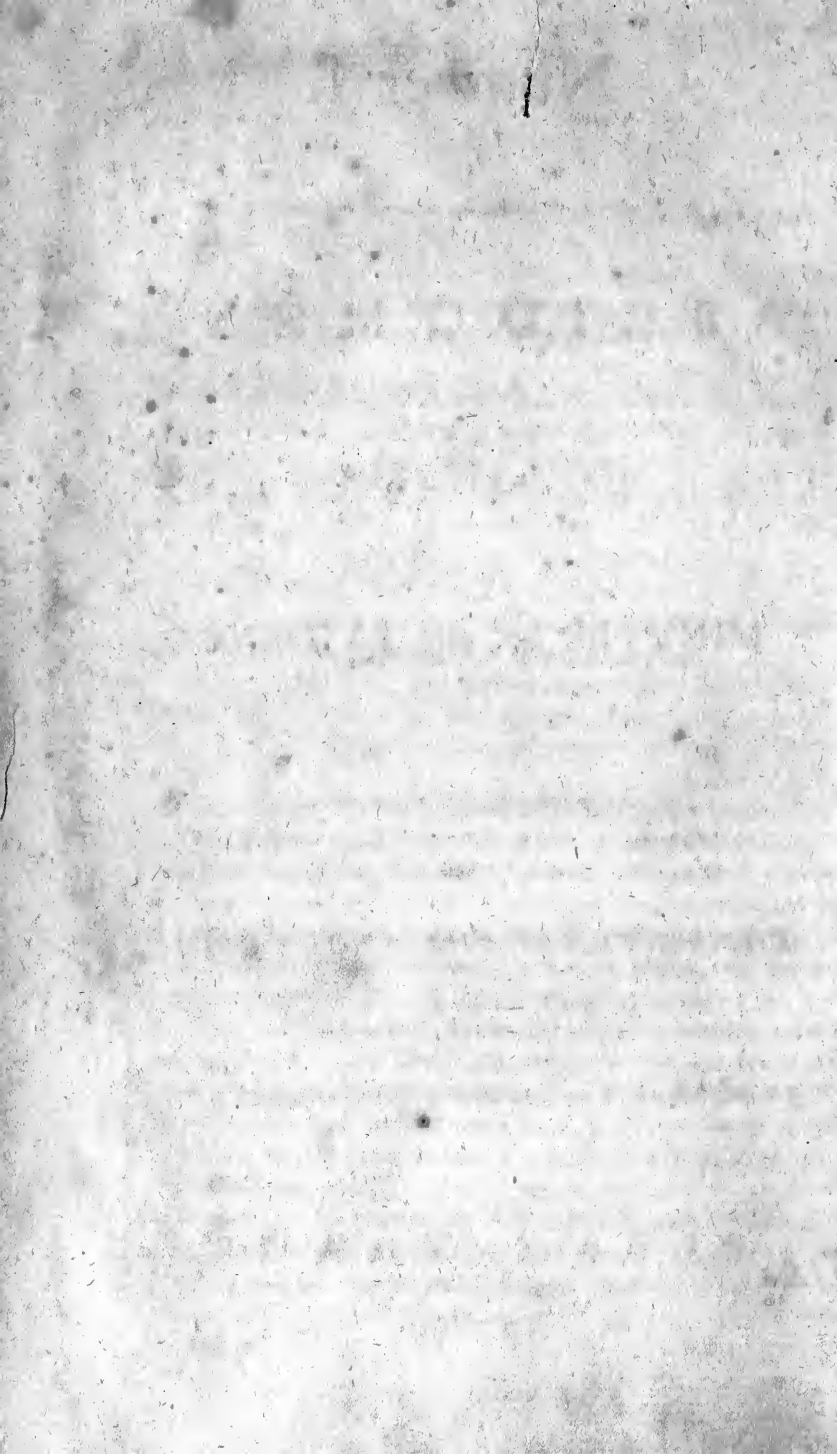
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# Number I.

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## A B R I D G M E N T

O F T H E

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE,

TAKEN BEFORE A

COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE,

TO WHOM IT WAS REFERRED TO CONSIDER OF THE

S L A V E - T R A D E,

1789.

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Miss Mary Estlin,  
August, 1899.

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No. 1-2.



# A B R I D G M E N T

OF THE

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE,

TAKEN BEFORE A

COMMITTEE OF THE *WHOLE HOUSE*,

TO WHOM IT WAS REFERRED TO CONSIDER OF THE

SLAVE-TRADE, 1789.

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Witness Examined—JOHN BARNES, Esq.

Governor of Senegal from 1763 to 1766. Thirteen <sup>1789.</sup> years in Africa, (p. 21). Negro government with which he was acquainted, in general, a kind of mixed <sup>P. 5.</sup> monarchy.

There have been slaves in all Africa, as far back <sup>P. 6.</sup> as he has heard of; they become so by capture in war (not a great proportion, p. 8.), by conviction for theft, murder, adultery, witchcraft; also for debt. Has been told of many by gambling. Polygamy universally allowed. Witchcraft frequently charged; the trial always full and fair, before the elders of the town. Understood principals were put to death, rest of the family made slaves. Does not believe it possible, that crimes should have been imputed, from the fairness and openness of the trial. Persons convicted generally sold for the benefit of the party injured.

A

Never

1789. Never heard of princes going to war, or breaking  
 P. 8. up villages, to make slaves. Make war there as in  
 other countries. If prisoners cannot ransom them-  
 selves, must be sold.

Never knew of kidnapping by blacks; is con-  
 fident it would not pass unpunished.

People in the country possess slaves; some an in-  
 credible number. Believes they have not any power  
 over their lives, except prisoners of war in the act  
 of capture.

P. 9. Great numbers brought by slave-merchants from  
 interior parts. Much trade in slaves to North  
 Barbary and Egypt. Neighbourhood of coasts and  
 rivers extremely populous. War is very little de-  
 structive (as he always understood from the natives,  
 p. 18.)

Senegal furnishes from 1000 to 1400 slaves.

Believes, but for slavery, the laws would be more  
 sanguinary.

Senegal, besides slaves, produces gum; Gambia a  
 little bees-wax. Windward coast a few dying woods;  
 all over the coast a little ivory. Trade in these  
 articles could not be increased; nothing else worth  
 mentioning. The country capable of producing all  
 West Indian products; but the inhabitants too in-  
 dolent to cultivate them. Does not believe it prac-  
 ticable to obtain those products from thence.

P. 10. Not worth while to bring down ivory, but when  
 carried by slaves. Very fine cotton grown for home  
 use; could never obtain any great quantity.

P. 11. Knows the coast to the river Sherbro; no landing  
 heavy goods, except within the rivers; believes no  
 safe landing between Sherbro and Benin; all open  
 coast for 300 or 400 leagues. Between Benin and  
 Bonny, 40 or 50 leagues; some small rivers in which  
 a landing may be made.

P. 12. The prince who can sell the slave, can certainly  
 require labour of him.

Increasing the number of cultivators of cotton,  
 would proportionably increase the produce.

If European goods could not be had for slaves, 1789. the princes would be induced to require labour of their people; but is confident could not so obtain goods; because cotton only would bear the carriage; and vegetation liable to be destroyed by locusts. All P. 13. property insecure, from the imperfection of government. Chiefs averse to attempt industry: does not P. 14. believe the prince could secure the produce of the lands distant from the towns.

The people have each their little districts for the year only; the property as secure as it can be in a very loose and imperfect government.

Theft punished generally by fine, as far as the value of the person of the thief, (sometimes 10 or 20 slaves, p. 17, or 30, p. 20.)

The mines, he has heard, are considered as deposit P. 15. of sacred treasure, to be had recourse to only on particular occasions: speaks particularly of Galam, and believes the same of Bambarena.

Between Senegal and Gambia, the women (even of the highest situations, p. ) amuse themselves with spinning cotton of their own growth. Professed weavers (sometimes their own slaves, p. ) weave the cloth for hire. No other mechanicks but smiths, P. 16. who make coarse hammers, adzes, and gold ear-rings for the ladies. Houses of reeds, or mud thatched. Nobility and free people ranked between the prince and the labourer. No improvement in civilization during his 13 years residence. Obstructions to it the same as among the American savages. When in Africa, during the war of 1756, fewer ships arrived, slaves were consequently cheaper. Understood that those which remained on hand were sent to North Barbary and Egypt; no attempt was made to set P. 17. them at work. The slave-trade always carried on openly between ships and the natives.

In 1758 and 1761 (p. 27) very terrible mortality occurred in two King's ships (the London, buss; the Union, hoy; and Goree, sloop, p. 27) at Senegal, while he was there; insomuch that they were

1789. forced to man them with hired negroes, of which there are great numbers at Senegal. (p. 20.)

In merchant-men mortality greatest when up rivers; on open coast as healthy as other ships between the Tropics.

P. 18. Slaves in Africa pretty well treated; allowed to marry, but with their master's consent; punished for slight offences with stripes at discretion; children well treated. For greater crimes generally sold as slaves, with consent of their fellow-servants; speaks of the practice, not the right of the master; believes it a practice of prudence; for were he to treat his slaves arbitrarily or cruelly, he would lose them by desertion.

Wars very irregular. Bush-fighting. About 150 leagues inland they use fire-arms, furnished by the Europeans and Moors; beyond that, bows; and every where the javelin.

P. 19. The people of North Barbary come and buy slaves, and carry them back a distance of 10 degrees; a great part of that district an uninhabited desert, taking provisions with them, even water. House-slaves never sold but for crimes. Slaves near the coast, who see Europeans, do not conceive the transfer from African to European slavery to be a hardship; they know where they are going, and for what purpose; the only hardship is the being separated from their family. But slaves from interior parts are terrified at being put into the hands of people of different colour, not knowing for what purpose.—Asked, if the being sold to the Europeans, be not considered as a hardship; has the dread of it any effect in preventing crimes?—Replied, only where they have a family; and the shame of transportation, though they do not dread it, is still a punishment. (p. 30.) Does not think domestic attachments are so strong, as where polygamy is not allowed.

Were the slave-trade abolished by the British, the African princes might no doubt be supplied with European

European goods by other Europeans carrying on 1789.  
the trade.

Believes, that while it is possible for those princes to get European goods for slaves, through any channel, they would not be induced to acquire them by the improved industry of their subjects.

His evidence, when he mentions Senegal, relates to that only. In his general evidence, his meaning goes as far as he has been, on the Windward coast, as far as Sherbro.

About half the slaves exported from Senegal, P. 21. natives of the coast; and half from the interior country.

The making slaves in the lower country, fell more within his knowledge. He had the mode of making slaves in the interior country from hear-say, from the most respectable travellers through those countries (generally priests, p. 23.) who gave him no information about their government, materially P. 22. different from that of the sea coast, with which he was acquainted.

Has understood, criminals, in interior countries, are tried by the elders openly. Does not undertake to say, there are no unjust convictions; but believes justice is generally fairly administered. The judge has no advantage in the issue of trials.

Conceives the interior countries, of which he speaks, to be the same with those which furnish slaves to the rest of the coast, as far as Benin, namely, Bam- P. 23. barena, &c.

Has understood, that many slaves from those countries, are prisoners of war: they never told him of persons being kidnapped.

The causes he has mentioned, as preventing the exportation of provisions, apply to the countries between, and bordering on, Senegal and Gambia. A little rice is raised by the natives in those countries, but more toward Sherbro. Has always known rice purchased by the ships; though sometimes they find it difficult to get enough,

1789. The little gold which is bought by the Europeans, is got in the mines; and, upon the Gold Coast, he understood it was collected by washing the sands in rivulet. The mines belongs to the districts, and are under the controul of the prince and the priest. The gold is bought with European goods, but always expended again on the coast.

P. 24.

P. 25. During the war, the number of ships to Africa was lessened; but the demand for African produce, gold, wax, ivory, and cam-wood, was always very great; in the poorest state of the trade, infinitely greater than the supply.

The slaves are employed in inland commerce and agriculture.

P. 26. Is confident prisoners of war, and convicts, would not be put to raise cotton, if they were not sold to the Europeans. Does not believe the abolition of the slave trade would make any difference in the people's industry.

There are no public roads; many horses between Senegal and Gambia, but they are never used for draft or burden. Land-carriage is totally impracticable.

Never heard of any rice southward of the Windward Coast.

In Senegal and Gambia, the slaves of black masters are very well fed (except in famines) with corn, flesh and fish. They are not worked for any regular time, nor constantly, and never under the whip.

P. 27. There is no landing-place between Sherbro and the Bite of Benin, fit for landing and shipping goods, without great danger. A great deal of slave trade in that distance. At the several factories there are landing-places, but very unsafe ones. He has heard the anchorage is safe on all that coast. Has never heard of ships being lost by stress of weather on the Gold Coast; because the wind is always along, or off shore. For the same reason ships can put to sea at pleasure.

Senegal is now in the hands of the French, and <sup>1789.</sup> we have no access to it.

All he says of the Gold Coast, is from information. P. 28.

He has not seen an instance of the Tetanus.

For the reasons why fewer females than males are sent out of Africa, he refers to his evidence before the Privy Council.

The punishment for adultery attaches both on the man and the woman. P. 29.

Men have wives in proportion to their quality and opulence. The first wife bearing a child, is considered as the chief one. Believes the marriage ceremony takes place with every wife. P. 30.

Knows the Moors on the northern shore of the Senegal do not cross the river to catch the negroes. Asserts this, from his intimate knowledge of the country, and correspondence with the chiefs, page 32.

The African owner holds one description of slaves as merchandize; another, the domestic, he cannot sell but for crimes.

The Africans are fond of European goods, only as far as their necessities require. P. 31.

In the earlier period of the African trade, beads, &c. were much used, but it is now generally reduced to a demand for necessaries. He is most confident, the natives would rather go without those goods, than raise produce to procure them.

Trials for witchcraft generally secret. He does not know of any fair trial for it.

Does not believe it is the practice to ask those who offer slaves for sale, how they procured them. P. 32.

Between Senegal and Gambia, the inhabitants wear clothing, chiefly of their own manufacture, and of cotton of their own growth. He never knew them have more cotton than they want. With great pains he never could get more than a few pounds. He might have obtained a few cloths at a very high price. Has known two cloths, 3 yards long, 1½ yard wide, valued at two slaves. They are very sel- P. 33.  
dom

1789. dom an article of sale, hence their dearness. The natives manufacture them for themselves. Believes their high price arises chiefly from the indolence of the people. The poorest female slave may have two coarse cloths, which may serve her for a year. They never wear more than two at a time; one over the shoulders, and one round the waist. The opulent will have changes; but does not think the consumption exceeds two for each yearly. Women of the highest condition spin, also their slaves. Professed weavers, sometimes their own slaves, weave it. Does not believe the slaves who, by their master's command, manufacture the cloths; would, if ordered, raise cotton. It is the labour of women and children, except the weaving.

P. 34.

Has never known women do field-work; speaks this of the country between Senegal and Gambia.

Very little wood got from that country. He once imported some very bad ebony, and lost by it; also some coarse mahogany, dearer than it would have been here. Knows much ebony could not be got. Believes more mahogany might; but not at a saleable price. He has not known wood imported from that part before he did it. Thinks he has heard, that the African company made an unsuccessful attempt of this kind. The wood he imported was chiefly cut down by the seamen, and some of it by the slaves of a white trader. Does not believe those slaves would have obeyed their master, had he ordered them to cultivate cotton; because the one is only a service of short duration, to which they would have submitted, to gratify him. Were the cutting of wood constant, they would not do that neither.

P. 35.

The native smiths, free or slaves, make a clumsy hoe, axe and knife. There are iron ores in Galam; the high lands of S. Leone, seemed entirely iron ore; but the natives know not its use.

Is



Is not clear, but believes that the natives, both free and slaves, raise rice. The same countries produce rice and cotton. The slaves obey their masters in raising both, as far as is necessary to the family. Rice (which grows by the water edge, p. 36.) is brought to the ships in canoes. 1789.

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Witness examined,—RICHARD MILES, Esq.

Was eighteen years and a half in the company's P. 37. service on the Gold Coast, from 1765 to 1784. For the first ten years commanded at most of the subordinate posts. For the last seven lived at Cape Coast Castle, and commanded the whole; was absent about twenty-six months of that time.

Gold Coast extends from Cape La Hou, to the River Volta, about 400 miles.

Has been at Senegal, Goree, Gambia, and Sierra Leone.

Understood the Gold Coast language perfectly. P. 38.

His evidence confined to the water-side; knows nothing of the interior country; except once, when he was twenty miles inland; does not believe he was ever five miles from the coast.

The Gold Coast generally petty states; knows but of one despotic monarchy there at Apellonia, which may be eight or ten miles of coast, (p. 47.)

Believes slavery has been practised in those countries for centuries.

The Fantees on the water-side provide near one-fourth of the slaves purchased by us on the Gold Coast; the other three-fourths from inland (p. 41.) believes the whole from 7 to 8000. P. 39.

1789. Slaves are sold by black brokers to Europeans.

They are made slaves for theft, debt, adultery, and witchcraft. They have as fair trials, according to the laws, as elsewhere. Trials for witchcraft are generally in the night; but, from generally seeing all satisfied, except the culprits, concludes the trials fair. Cannot say there are no exceptions; believes many; knows some. Principals in witchcraft are sacrificed; the rest generally sold. Commonly the whole family suffer slavery; but here also are some exceptions.

P. 40. The pynims, judges or elders, in the despotic country, are more dependant on the king's will, than on other parts of the coast.

Convicts sold for the benefit of the injured. Has known thousands of debtors sold for the benefit of creditors. Does not think crimes imputed to make slaves; unless witchcraft comes under that description. Judges have a fee at instituting suits; but believes they have no benefit from convictions.

P. 41. Thinks wars unfrequent; but where they happen, prisoners may be sold. But he generally found that on skirmishes (for he admits not wars) between towns, the difference is made up by mediation, and the prisoners exchanged; except that a man or family causing a quarrel, is sold.

Some have gold in considerable quantities; but a man, speaking of his property, speaks of his slaves; every thing else is secondary.

Does not know he ever heard the word kidnapping mentioned out of this country. It cannot be practised to any extent, without certain detection; for the natives have one general language, and the brokers have daily intercourse with the shipping. Hence a kidnapped slave on board would tell his case to the brokers, who, from interest and regard to the laws, would find out the offender.

P. 42. Has no doubt human sacrifices are generally practised; has had ocular proof of it; many thousands are

are sacrificed at great mens funerals; (to which such sacrifices are chiefly confined, p. 63.) every one who knows the language, know this to be general. 1789.

Knows of no acts of oppression, but by the king of Apollonia; nor of any committed by the Europeans, unless in one or two instances; in which he believes the offenders have been punished in this country.

Skirmishes, so far from increasing the number of slaves, the prisoners are generally exchanged.

Thinks the Gold Coast less favourable to culture than any other part; except a small part between Accra and the river Volta. P. 43.

Very small quantities of gold and ivory, he conceives, could be procured. A ship of 100 tons would carry twice as much ivory as the Gold Coast affords in a year (p. 60.) A very small boat would carry all the gold that could be got. P. 44.

When a broker has slaves, he generally endeavours to get ivory for them to bring down.

No navigable river on the Gold Coast, except the small one at Chama, a Dutch settlement; and he is doubtful, if even its mouth will admit vessels. What little he has seen of the country is an impenetrable wood.

Most of the landings at the forts are very dangerous from the surf. He knows of no bay or harbour capable of admitting a ship of burden; ships generally lie two or three miles from shore; conceives this would be a great drawback on the value of produce shipped.

Should be sorry to attempt to colonize that country; the natives, and, still more the climate, would oppose you.

Never knew the Gold Coast produce grain or cotton for exportation, except Indian corn sold to the ships: the quantity depends on that of the provisions they carry from Europe. The corn to the windward is different.

1789. Never knew of dye-wood on the Gold Coast; can-  
 not say there is none; but thinks if there had been  
 any some of it would have passed through his hands.  
 Wood grows there much like wainscot.

P. 45. While he was there, the Dutch, Danes, and  
 Portugueze, a few French, and a very considerable  
 number of Americans, traded for slaves. The French  
 had then no settlement there; understands they now  
 have, or are building one; but their trade there is  
 now considerable, not with the natives, but with our

P. 46. ships. The Americans traded very considerably on  
 that coast, on the first going, and till the war. Un-  
 derstands that they have taken it up again; and that  
 several of their ships are now there, chiefly from  
 Boston; but he doubts not they will soon have ships  
 from other ports.

The Slave-Trade might certainly be attempted  
 to be resumed, if it were given up for a few years;  
 but he thinks it would be very impolitick to relin-  
 quish it.

The climate is generally very fatal to Europeans;  
 though he enjoyed his health. Believes those on  
 shore are more unhealthy than those on board ship.

Believes land is generally so plenty, that every one  
 takes what he likes, and is not invaded till he reaps  
 his crop.

P. 47. In most towns, on the Gold Coast, there is a  
 Palaver-house, or Court of Justice, where the judges  
 or elders (few under the age of 60 or 70) hear the  
 parties, openly, for theft and adultery. But he con-  
 ceives the trial for witchcraft to be a sort of secret  
 religious business, which they conceal. Only a very  
 few are sold for witchcraft.

P. 48. Not one in 100 of the slaves exported are natives  
 of Apollonia. The late king took more pleasure in  
 killing than selling his slaves; he was a great war-  
 rior and monster; he was many years at war with  
 the Dutch, who attempted to take his country,  
 which he ceded to us in 1765; believes many  
 thousands were lost on both sides.

He does not believe affection is very predominant 1789. in the breasts of the negroes; but rather otherwise; can give no particular reason. He is sure they do P. 48. not look upon exile as the greatest calamity; is certain that they do not expect to be sacrificed in P. 49. the West-Indies.

Thinks they would have the same right to oppose a settlement on their land, as a West-India planter would on his.

Never knew a single instance of seizing their persons.

All his live and dead stock was bought from the natives.

Rice and millet do not grow on the Gold Coast. Thinks the freemen on the water-side may be to the slaves annually exported from the water-side as 100 to one; (p. 51.) supposes the slaves exported from the water-side are mostly domestics.

Often a convict's family redeem him with a slave; P. 50. if not, he is sold. That slave is from the inland country; of whom most people of consequence have some. A towns-man on the coast, to redeem his son, &c. if he cannot get a slave any other way, will buy one from the Europeans.

The women mostly cultivate the land, and do the house drudgery; the men are chiefly fishermen, some are huntsmen; but fish is the great article of trade.

He knows not of any manufacture on the Gold Coast. In most villages there is an awkward sort of a blacksmith, their only tradesman. In the towns the Europeans have shops; the natives none.

Believes a convict's family are not sold, except P. 51. for witchcraft.

He considers domestic slaves as freemen, from having all their advantages; but it is difficult to ascertain who the domestic slaves in a family are.

Guesses there might be more than one, two, or P. 52. three villages, with 3 or 4000 inhabitants, within five miles of his residence.

The

1789. The brokers generally sell the slaves from the inland parts, who make  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the whole, as soon as they can, to save expense of feeding and risk of mortality. They do not employ them. The other  $\frac{1}{2}$  are generally sold just after they are made slaves, &c. He has known brokers keep slaves on hand, to raise the price. Convicts are generally confined till sold.

P. 53. He who receives a slave, in exchange for a convict, may use him as he pleases; he may sell him to the Europeans, or incorporate him among his domestics; supposes such are generally sold to the shipping.

P. 54. For debt and adultery, it is common, and sometimes for theft, to exchange another slave for him condemned. Believes it is stipulated, that an adulterer, with the king's, or a great man's wife, shall not live in the country.

Convicts for witchcraft are generally put to death, as victims, immediately after the sentence. There is very little opportunity of knowing what passes in those cases: but he generally understood, that they put one, or more to death, to appease the injured. The number sold or killed for witchcraft is very trifling. Trials for witchcraft being secret, in the night, their situation can be known only from the sellers, or the convicts, who, not considering it disgraceful, make no secret of what they were sold for.

P. 55. It is not the practice to ask the seller, or the slave, what was his crime; he should not have asked it, had he known the language. Those of inland slaves are different, and wholly unintelligible to Europeans.

Having often missed a man or woman out of a town, he has been told by the town's people, they had been condemned for witchcraft. Witchcraft attaching to the whole family, none of that family remain to redeem the convict: but believes it is not unusual for some of the younger children to be spared. Persons so condemned, are sold under express agreement, that they shall not be put on shore again. Should the European redeem such, he would suffer  
very

very materially. Being considered as dangerous, 1789. they are generally hurried out of the country the moment after conviction. He has not a doubt, that, P. 57. in the total absence of shipping, they would all suffer death.

Few of the 2000 slaves furnished by the coast are prisoners of war. The Fantees, on the water-side, were in peace almost all his time. There was a serious war between the Fantees and Ashantees, the two most powerful nations we know of, shortly after his arrival, for a year or more. It was an inland war, caused, he believes, by the Ashantees wishing for part of the coast; thinks he can confidently say, it was not caused or prolonged for making slaves; it seemed to put a stop to the sale of slaves. Believes, in the skirmishes near his residence, the prisoners were redeemed in 19 cases out of 20.

Conceives that many are sold for theft, fewer for adultery, and the fewest for debt.

Three-fourths of the whole are not confined; being from inland, the black broker is not afraid of their deserting. The men of the other one-fourth have their wrists fastened to a log 25 or 30 lb. weight.

The natives like European goods very well; but do not like to pay too dear for them, preferring their own gold.

Has generally found so little industry in them, P. 59. that he thinks, they would not endeavour to raise produce, to procure European goods; but he does not assert this as fact. Though the ships buy all the corn for sale, yet many are obliged to make up what they want, at the neighbouring islands. This demand is pretty certain; the natives know the number of European settlers, and of ships expected. If they were disposed to industry, he knows of no market for the corn, and the few vegetables they raise.

Near the water-side it is very rocky; except some P. 60. spots. Where he was, (once 20 miles inland) the soil is so rocky, that it could not produce much else than

1789. than Indian corn. There is no inland water communication, no beasts of burden, (p. 61.) and the shipping of bulky articles, except at one season of the year, would be very dangerous and expensive.

Supposes the inhabitants would not be fond of employing the native slaves and those for sale in agriculture. It would be as dangerous as so employing convicts in England (p. 6, 65, 68.)

They have all their clothing from Europe; not a yard of cloth is made on the Gold coast. To leeward of the river Volta, he understands, they use indigo; (and bring it to great perfection, p. 70) but not that he remembers on the Gold Coast.

P. 61. Believes he saw 3 or 4 Arabian horses while he was there. He imported horses, but they did not live.

For the last 10 years of his residence, he saw almost every ship sail, (that had finished her business, p. 63.) When a ship happened to sail at night, it was to take the benefit of an early land-wind; but most ships sail from 5 to 11 A. M. (p. 64.)

He is considerably concerned in the Slave-Trade: should have said that at first, had he not been convinced, that it would not influence his evidence.

P. 62. If a cloth 2 yards square is called clothing, they are all clothed.

Families generally plant corn and a few vegetables, which, with fish (a great article of their trade) form the chief of their food.

Most freemen in the towns have 2, 3, or more slaves, who cut fire-wood for the shipping, by their order. If a slave of his disobeyed him, he sold him; and supposes a free native would do the same.

P. 63. The factory slaves and their forefathers have been handed down from time to time; and now are mostly born slaves.

The Gold Coast produces cotton, which might be cultivated; but it would be difficult to get the natives to do it. He planted the only pieces of cotton



ton he ever saw there, which might be the size of the floor of this house. The natives would not gather it, though offered ten times its value. Doubtless they received for slaves the same articles he offered. 1789.

Does not suppose his having redeemed some slaves from sacrifice, had much effect on the practice; it lessened the number in that instance.

Has generally heard suits for witchcraft have taken place on the sudden unaccountable death of the slave's master or mistress. P. 64.

Cannot suppose couples are so constant there, as where a man has only one wife. If wives have money to pay the forfeit, they generally follow their inclinations. Men and women convicted of adultery, redeem themselves, or forfeit liberty. Says, from much experience, as many females as males could not be had. He has bought some hundreds—some thousands. P. 65.

He never buried 10 slaves, young and old.

Cannot say, whether the free natives are subject to Tetanus.

They have no punishment that he knows of, but death and slavery, (p. 69.)

No doubt the large canoes which carry off slaves, might carry off produce.

The land may be cultivated; but this removes not the general inconvenience of the rocks. Does not suppose 1000th part of the land capable of producing corn, yams, &c. is cultivated. Cotton will grow there, and does grow wild. Rice has often been unsuccessfully tried; it is peculiar to another part of Africa. P. 66.

Believes slaves generally require masters at their heels; and so would free men.

Admits his evidence before the Privy Council as fact (p. 71.) P. 67.

It often happens that 1 slave in a lot of 8 or 10 is refused, for some little defect, though otherwise strong. He has generally found such importunate

1789. to be bought, and endeavouring to show himself as capable of labour as the rest. Generally nine-tenths of all he has bought seemed pleased at exchanging Black for White masters. Believes their joy arises from removing from a situation, where they think their lives in danger, from being subservient to their master's will. Masters put slaves to death in their rites; and probably in cases unknown to Europeans. He cannot speak to the cause so well as to the fact.
- P. 68. The Europeans are, at all times, ready to buy slaves offered to them.  
An inland country, between Accra and the river Volta, makes a trifling number of cloths, which being brought to Accra, may have given rise to the idea that they are made there.
- P. 79. Has been told by judges that the wild indigo, between Accra and the river Volta, is very inferior to that of other parts.  
Mr. Baggs's evidence is a mere burlesque of the cultivation of Africa. He admits that from Accra to the river Volta is level and more fertile than the rest of the Gold Coast; the difference between that and other parts of Africa described by him very striking; but thinks Mr. Baggs paints it in too high colours.
- P. 71. May have stated that indigo grew wild about Accra; but remembers not to have said, it was in use; nor has he seen in the book (viz. The Privy Council Report) that part of his evidence. If there stated, as part of his evidence, he does not recollect having seen it. Certainly had an opportunity of revising the minutes.
- P. 72. Does not know that princes keep women to breed slaves for sale.

Witness



Witness Examined—

KNOX,

• Has been between 7 and 8 years commander of 1789. an African ship (first as master 1782, p. 77.)—not now—but likely to be again. About an equal time P. 73. surgeon of an African ship. Is acquainted with the Windward Coast, more particularly; the Grain Coast, and Angola. Five or six voyages on the Windward Coast, the last for 33 months.

Governments on the Grain Coast are small so-P. 74. cieties very loosely joined, where a few, for safety, find it convenient to assemble for business. Each is the king and priest of his house, and is respected according to his wealth. These judge of crimes, and are entitled to respect when assembled (p. 85.) He knows of no law binding them to mutual defence. Hence depredations are general. Such is the loose government there.

The Grain Coast extends from Sherbro to Cape Palmas.

As far as he has seen, a very small way inland, it is very populous indeed.

It is very low, and, in the rains, much of it overflowed. Apprehends it is unhealthy.

Slavery is universal (see p. 76.) The slaves very numerous sometimes. Bought by Europeans from the P. 75. native brokers between those who bring them from inland and the ships. He apprehends nine-tenths of the slaves come from inland, the other one-tenth from the small district on the beach. That one-tenth made slaves for adultery, witchcraft, theft, and sometimes debt, and prisoners of war. Believes domesticks are not sold but for crimes.

Trials are fair and open, except those for witchcraft, which are secret. Other crimes are generally

1789. punished by slavery; but the principals, in witchcraft, are generally strangled and then burnt. The rest of the family are made slaves.

The north of the river Sherbro produces camwood; the south, malaguetta pepper; the whole rice, and some little ivory.

P. 76. Has made 3 voyages to Angola, and always lived on shore.

That part of Angola we trade to, governed by a king, under many severe restrictions.

Slaves sent from Angola, like most other places, generally come from inland; the rest from the kingdom on the beach. They become slaves for the same crimes, as in other parts. Trials fair and open before the princes of the blood, sometimes the king. The party aggrieved has the benefit of convicts. It is the same on the Grain Coast.

P. 77. The part of Angola we trade to is very small. In a larger sense, it takes in Loango St. Paul's, and extends about 5 degrees.

It produces red or barwood, and a little ivory: knows of nothing else. A very few ships have been in the barwood trade: believes in nothing else.

In his first voyage as master (of the Fairy of Liverpool, p. 103) in 1782, had 45 men, more than one-half landmen: seamen not then to be got. Out between 6 and 7 months. Lost none. Had

P. 78. 450 negroes on board, of whom he lost 17 or 18. Tons 108, perhaps more. Voyage was to Angola and Tortola (where arrived June 1783, p. 103.) Second voyage in same ship to Angola and Dominica. Out about 14 months, more than 7 on the coast, from the number of Frenchmen then there. Crew 33 or or 34: remembers not going to sea, but that more than one-half (always one-half, p. 79.) were landmen. Lost 4 of fevers. Purchased about 320 negroes, and lost near 40, from the length of the purchase, and the want of their natural food, which that country never affords for negroes exported.

P. 79. Third voyage in the same ship, to C. Mount, on the Grain

Grain Coast, and Dominica. Had 34 men. Sent 1789. the ship off, with 25 of the men he took out, after he had been 17 months on the coast. He was in all 33 months: 3 were officers who staid with him, 3 were lost in craft, and 3 died of fevers. Left the coast, as captain of a ship (Lark of Liverpool, p. 104.) Jan. 1788. Had on board 290 negroes, and lost 1. (Arrived in W. Indies, Feb. 1788, p. 104.)

Believes heavy articles cannot be shipped or land-P. 80. ed, on the Windward Coast, from the heavy, constant, and universal surf. Rice is brought generally in very small baskets, in canoes, and is very generally wet. He often could not get enough of rice.

Knows of no dye-woods near C. Mount. River Sherbro produces much camwood, and no where else, that he knows, in the district. Wax here unknown: the whole produces some ivory, malaguetta pepper in one part, and rice over the whole. Thinks our market overstocked with camwood and barwood. Apprehends it impossible to extend the ivory trade in this place.

On the Wood Coast east of Sherbro there is no river where a boat of 4 or 5 feet water could go 12 miles up. P. 81.

Never knew nor heard of kidnapping.

Slaves on board are, most assuredly, treated humanely. Rice is a principal article of their food on the Windward Coast, also cassada, palm-oil, many glutinous herbs, pepper; on the coast often fish. When rice enough cannot be got, ships carry out beans and stock-fish; and from Africa, palm-oil, pepper, sheep, goats, fowls. The beans are generally split, but has seen them otherwise. Never knew slaves on board without plenty of food. It is almost the sole employment of the officers to serve them. The natives of Angola live on cassada, fish, and a little Indian corn. Angola affording no food, ships always carry out beans, and he always called

at

1789. at the Wood Coast for rice, when to be got (see p. 93.) Never saw the negroes want water on the passage. Ships from the Windward Coast sometimes water at S. Leone; though all ships employ the natives to bring water. They constantly take about one gallon per head per day, for two months, but generally 10 weeks, from the Windward Coast. The passage being more certain from Angola, less water is supposed sufficient.

The men are generally in irons (a right and left leg and arm, p. 85) the women never. (This is the case in most ships, p. 106.) Many take off the irons only when they reach the W. Indies. Others, of whom he was one, when they leave the coast, (see p. 109.)


P. 83. Generally ships can only sail very early in the morning when the land breeze blows. They may sail along the G. Coast; but cannot well get from it any other time. A signal for sailing always flying 3 or 4 weeks before. A few mornings before sailing, a gun is daily fired. The natives know these signals.

In good weather, the slaves are on deck all day, and the grown ones below at night. Many of the younger ones run where they please night and day. Never supposed one died from crowding. Trade-wind, they go from under the gratings to keep from cold.

Every attention is paid to the sick. For his 6 voyages as surgeon he visited them 3 or 4 times in the night. All ships are amply supplied with medicines, sago, wine, &c. Cleanliness, fumigations, &c. and above all, fresh air supplied.

P. 84. Never knew repellents used to make slaves up for sale. (Never used them himself, nor heard of their being used, p. 110.) The whites' health particularly attended to. The greatest mortality falls on landmen from being unseasoned to the country.

Saw no manufactures on Windward Coast, but a few sleeping mats. Some chiefs wear clothes from a country they cannot describe. In Angola they make

make a small grass-cloth, the medium of trade, also 1789.  
 a few caps and pipes curiously formed. A ship load   
 would not fetch 5l. in England. Apprehends few  
 of them could be procured.

Has often heard that a very few slaves from in-  
 land are prisoners of war. On the coast war always P. 85.  
 destroys the slave-trade. Never heard they were  
 made or prolonged for making slaves.

The first voyage one man left him in the West  
 Indies. The second voyage also one, and four died.

In most ships you may stand upright under the  
 gratings, in others all over the ship. In very small  
 ships often not above four feet. His ship 5 feet 10  
 inches, under the gratings 6 feet 10 inches, with  
 platforms all round nearly in the middle between the P. 86.  
 decks, about 2 feet 11 inches from each, quite full  
 of slaves.

Slaves who speak the same language are chained  
 together. Recollects not an instance to the contra-  
 ry. (see p. 106.)

Never saw it necessary to force the slaves to dance.

Thinks, but for the negroes, no ivory would come P. 87.  
 down, and that all we receive, and for which we give  
 every encouragement, would not pay carriage, inde-  
 pendent of the negroes.

The natives, no doubt, wish for our goods. Near  
 the beach, making no cloth, they are always clothed  
 from Europe. Guns, powder, spirits, and tobacco,  
 from habit, may be reckoned necessaries.

Ivory is their only article that could be useful to  
 us. Some mats and cloths have been imported, but  
 never fetched a price. Believes more of them might  
 be produced, but not ivory. Apprehends rice could  
 not be greatly cultivated; for the quick vegetation  
 makes the labour of clearing land almost incredible.  
 No doubt some of the soil might be applied to many P. 88.  
 articles of produce. Much is now uncultivated.

Most generally the slaves in his ship had room to  
 lie on their backs — sometimes not. In most of last  
 war, all the French, and many English, quitted the  
 trade.

1789. trade. Those that went found plenty of slaves, and cheap, (believes something under 10l. each, p. 104) hence some crowded ships. In his last voyage, (in the Tartar, p. 103.) as surgeon, to Angola, in 1781 and early in 1782, the slaves wanted room. Of his 602 negroes, few, except upon deck, had the breadth of their backs, and he lost only nine to Jamaica. Believes the tonnage from 130 to 150 tons, (old register, p. 92.) but not positive.—In his next voyage, as master, they were pretty much in the same situation. The vessel, 106 or 108 tons by register, the slaves 450, the loss 17 or 18.—45 whites, p. 89.
- P. 89. In his last voyage, the ship might be about 120 tons, (old register, p. 92.) Seamen slept upon spars between fore and main-mast, as in all Guinea-men. From 50 to 60 slaves perhaps slept on deck, and 40 to 45 in the cabin, the rest below; but does not precisely remember. The cabin, (which would have held 25 to 30, and with platforms supposes 15 more, at least, p. 91.) taken up by a sick white trader, so that perhaps all the slaves had not the breadth of their backs. (70 boys and 20 men slept on deck. None at all in irons, p. 92.) Had 290 slaves, and lost but one. In six other voyages, as far as he remembers, they might have lain on their backs, had they chose.—In the ship of 108 tons, with 450 slaves, the breadth might be 22 or 23 feet.—Provisions abaft in rooms for the purpose. Water in hold; and for 10 days on deck — carried several puncheons to the West-Indies. Water took up little of the deck, and the negroes, not one of whom was in irons, had room enough for amusement. The two boats slung on the quarters. Two main hatchways, about five feet square, but not positive. A small one forwards into the fuel-room. Two small ones abaft, into the provision-room.
- P. 91.

Guinea seamen subject to fevers, seldom to dysenteries. Recollects no other general disease.

Negroes, in Africa, daily rub themselves with palm-oil,



palm-oil, when to be got. This is also done in the 1789. Middle Passage, from cleanliness. }

His greatest mortality was from Angola, where the natives live on cassada soured, which resists the scurvy, of which 9 of 10 that he lost, died.—Of his 600 slaves from Angola, he lost but 9, from quick purchase. From 50 to 200 were then offered for sale in a day. P. 93.

The trade is made on shore, and they are seldom heard of till they come into the factory. He made the trade on shore for two voyages. When they were so plenty, 1782, thinks they cost about one-third of the price he afterwards paid. P. 94.

Guinea ships obliged to take more men than are necessary for navigation. Cannot see that their all remaining on board after arrival in the West Indies would hurt owners. Never knew masters of Guinea-men persuade or oblige seamen to desert in the West Indies. In three voyages he left only three men there. In his passage to Africa, he never restricted the men in provisions. On the coast was obliged to put them to allowance, to prevent embezzlement with the natives—generally 1 lb. beef and 1 lb. bread daily. Never knew them stinted in water. Flour, pease, and oatmeal generally half a pint daily, or more, with some butter. Different masters, he believes, give different articles on different days; with him generally flour twice a week, pease as long as good, oatmeal, if sound, for breakfast, and butter occasionally. He had always water abroach for the seamen. The continuance of this allowance through the Middle Passage, will depend on the length of purchase. Thinks a ship, with two slaves to a ton, and the usual crew, can take enough of provisions to keep up this allowance for the voyage. P. 95.

Thinks no teamen were ever better treated than his. Wishes not to go on hearsay. Never sold spirits to his crew; but has seen it done in one or two ships. His had a dram every morning. They receive half their wages in the West Indies. P. 96.

1789. of no deductions but one shilling per month for the hospitals, and for a few slops they may have had, (see p. 100.) There is an invoice-price; but the sale-price fixed by the captain, who has no interest in it, (see p. 100.) Half-wages paid in the West Indies, to enable men to lay in things to present their
- P. 98. friends with on their return. Has known officers in their agreement prohibited from trading in Africa; but no restriction on the disposal of men's wages in the West Indies. In seamens articles there is one, that if an officer or man enters himself for a situation he cannot fill, the master and two officers, named by him, at sea, shall make a reasonable deduction from his wages, which goes to the owner, one seaman being stipulated to be present.—The captain has a discretionary power to remove any officer of whose conduct he is not satisfied. It is very generally expressed in the articles, that if seamen enter on board a king's ship they shall be paid all their wages in the currency of the country in which they are paid, but
- P. 100. such agreements in the slave-trade between master and seaman having been so often set aside by lawyers and men of war's officers, a man would be a fool to prosecute him who had nothing to lose. Means that the articles would not warrant withholding any of the seaman's pay, however he might have behaved. Considers those articles of very little use indeed, though he never went without them. It is very
- P. 101. generally agreed, that half of their wages shall be paid in currency. On that account we generally give (10s. per month, p. 105.) one-fourth more monthly-money than in any other trade. Thinks this rather given as an equivalent for half-wages currency, than for greater danger of the voyage, (p. 106.) Is very certain they do not consider their 40s. per month as sterling. It is seldom necessary to explain the difference between currency and sterling, for any of the men can do it, as no Liverpool ship carries all new men. Believes Antigua currency 175, at Jamaica and Barbadoes always 140. Thus the wages

wages paid in the West Indies, which is never half, 1789. may fluctuate from 40 to 75. To such as enter in king's ships, they are often obliged to pay the whole P. 102. in sterling, in defiance of the articles, and by the rule of force, by which one delivers his purse to a highwayman, and which has been exerted in unbending the sails and disabling the vessel from sailing. This was done in Kendal's ship, as he often told him, (p. 107.) Wages paid to representatives of dead sea-P. 103. men, in currency and sterling, as if they had lived.

Of his 450 slaves, six only were put in the second P. 104. class, upon sale, and they were sold in an hour—no refuse slaves.

The slaves appeared very indifferent as to their fate.

Never knew an instance of locked jaw on the coast.

Carried nearly two men slaves to one woman, both at the same price. From the number of great men's P. 105. wives, thinks it impossible to procure as many women as men.

Half a pint or more of water served to each slave P. 106. morning and evening; in very hot weather, the same at noon. The slaves mess in classes of 10, so that none can be overlooked. The sick constantly have gruel or rice-water.

The captains, mates, and surgeon's profits, all but a trifle, depend on preserving the slaves health.

A seaman in the navy has less room above his head than an African negro. He makes no account P. 107. of the distance of the hammock from the floor, but only of the space above their heads.

In every cargo there is a few from near the beach who generally speak English. Most of them know the language of their neighbours, and those of others still farther back, and thus surgeons come at the complaints of the negroes, by three or more interpreters.

The leg-iron is nearly a semicircle, each end having an eye to receive a bolt which goes through the eyes of the rings on the negroes' legs. The bolt is

1789. fix or eight inches long. The wrist-irons the same, but more slender.

P. 108. All the negroes are upon deck from eight to five daily. It must be very bad weather when they are not brought on deck.

Has no doubt but the negroes lie in the night in tolerable comfort.

By every symptom, he always understood their complaints proceeded from the body. Never heard otherwise from the interpreters.

The captain and officers, as well as the meanest landman, receive half their wages in currency.

P. 109. The slaves, in his ship, had no additional chain or irons, by night or day, from their sailing from the coast, in his three voyages as master. The safety of the ship and crew depended on his and his people's good behaviour to the slaves.

Never knew any expedients practised to suppress the appearance of diseases previous to the sale of them.

He never was consulted by the owners as to the number, but often as to the accommodation, of the slaves to be taken on board; that is, whether they had room to lie, whether their food was well dressed, whether their little wants were well supplied, and whether their food was duly served, and in sufficient quantity.

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Witness examined—Capt. WILLIAM MACINTOSH,

Commander of a Ship in the East-India Company's Service.

P. 112. Was, from early in 1760, to July 1762, as mid-shipman and captain's clerk of a king's vessel, at Senegal, to defend the river's mouth. She was sta-

P. 113. tioned there in the sickly season, and in the healthier she was generally 20 miles higher, off the fort. The crew was originally 57 men. Were often supplied, with a few men at a time, by men of war, and buried

ried many more than their original complement. 1789.  
 Thinks only two, besides himself, came off the coast. }  
 The vessel was at last sunk in the river, for want of  
 men to bring her off, it not being thought an object  
 to send men to do it.

Went again to Senegal in 1774, as master of a  
 West-Indiaman. Took no slaves on board, as he  
 went merely for information.

Went again in 1775, and again in 1776, in the  
 same capacity. Bought above 200 slaves each voy-  
 age. Did not stay on the coast above two or three P. 114.  
 weeks each time. Sold at Grenada. (the same ves-  
 sel each time, about 250 tons, p. 118.) In both voy-  
 ages, both on the coast, and on the passage, his  
 slaves and crew were in perfect health, till the sale,  
 which was soon; lost none.

Went again 1778, with government stores to the  
 Gold Coast. Staid on the coast five months. Bought  
 70 slaves at Senegal. Stopped at Gambia and  
 S. Leone, and finished his purchase on the Gold  
 Coast, after landing his stores, cargo when compleat-  
 ed under 400 slaves. Crew 48, very healthy. Slaves P. 115.  
 generally so; five or six died. Sold at Grenada.  
 (Ship the Symond, about 300 tons, p. 118.)

When in the king's sloop, he often went into the  
 country several days at a time, and once walked from  
 Senegal to Goree, and back, (ferried across to Goree,  
 p. 118.) Always heard that on the coast of Senegal  
 particularly, slaves were made for crimes; but most  
 of them come down the river from inland. Never P. 116.  
 heard of villages in that country being pillaged to  
 procure slaves. Certainly never heard of their be-  
 ing kidnapped by the natives. Has heard of their  
 being kidnapped by Europeans; but no man ever  
 told him he saw it. Never knew it happen.

In 1778, he was there a single ship, when the war  
 had stopped the slave trade, and he wished to reduce  
 the price. He reasoned with them about the folly  
 of keeping it up, when there was likely to be no  
 buyer. Asked a chief what he would do with his  
 slaves

1789. slaves then? observing that he must let them go again, (meaning prisoners of war.) The chief replied, "What them go again, to come to kill me again." In short, he gave me to understand, that they would put them to death.

P. 117. Ships, from that coast, always sail in the day, generally in the morning. Signals, perfectly understood by the natives, are made several days before sailing.

In 1778, found at S. Leone, that the Minerva frigate, instead of going to the Gold Coast, had gone to the West-Indies with above 80 sick.

Has not understood there is any particular mortality, in slave ships or others on the coast, but only up rivers. He never was up any but Senegal.

P. 118. Senegal produces cotton and corn chiefly. Believes neither is exported.

Has had no connexion with the African trade these ten years, nor likely ever to have any.

P. 119. Attributes this healthiness to the shortness of the time on the coast, not to the small number of negroes on board. He did not carry slaves as a common guineaman, had much room; but few in irons, and had plenty of provisions and water. Thinks a gallon of water a day for a white man, and three quarts for a negro, a great allowance. Includes dressing of food. Never stinted them.

Made no agreement with seamen to pay them one-half wages in currency. Paid them the whole in London. Sold the seamen very little spirits or tobacco, spirits particularly. Recollects not the price; but always treated the men very liberally.

P. 120. Numbers of Guinea sailors come home from the West Indies, by the run, for which they get more than double the wages they would have received in the slave ships; this a strong inducement to desert the African ships.

Does not believe the Moors ever cross the Niger to take the women out of the villages, while the men are at work.

Does

Does not think the natural affections of the negroes by any means so strong, as those of the Europeans. 1789.  
P. 121.

Does not think wars are stirred up to get brandy.

Slaves come from very great distances inland. Many of the 70 slaves he took from Senegal, and who came from Gallam, knew the language of those he got on the Gold Coast. Hence he infers, there is an uninterrupted traffick through all the tract from the Gold Coast to the head of the Senegal.

His ship was not so conveniently fitted up as the Liverpool slave ships then were.

Thinks the slaves in the West-Indies appear contented.

Free Africans seldom come on board slave ships to visit slaves.

Thinks not quite half his 400 slaves were females. P. 122.

Thinks the men cost about £16 or £18 the women about £4 less. Did not wish for an equal number of females; because he thought the men would turn to better account. Certainly an equal number of females might have been procured, when he was there.

Able seamen in the West-India trade have from 25s. to 30s. per month, according to the time of the year in which the ships are fitted out. He generally brought home two-thirds of his men at least. There are few voyages (to any place, p. 123.) in which seamen do not run away. Of the seamen taken out in the West-Indiamen, some die, some go to America, and some to the French islands.

Had he taken 500, instead of 200, slaves, he believes they might have been equally healthy, had he staid no longer on the coast. In general, staying long on the coast is more fatal to slaves and crew, than length of passage or crowding. Thinks the mortality proportioned to the time; for ships are twice or thrice as long on the coast, as on the passage. Thinks the open coast, three or four miles from shore, as healthy as the Middle Passage. P. 123.

More

1789. More die after the ship is full flaved, and is gone  
 off the coast, unless she is long on the coast. When  
 P. 124. there is a greater proportion of mortality on the pas-  
 sage than the coast, it probably arises from crowding  
 or ill fitted ship, unless disease gets among them,  
 which all great numbers of people confined in a  
 vessel are liable to.

Believes, were the trade abolished, it would be  
 impossible to prevent our planters from supplying  
 themselves from the neutral or French islands.  
 Thinks foreigners would immediately take up the  
 slave trade.

The slaves are sold in the West-Indies, in lots of  
 eight or ten. The whole cargo is divided into pretty  
 equal lots. When he said slaves cost £16 or £18 on  
 the coast, he meant prime slaves. The average price  
 of men, women and children was then about £12 or  
 P. 125. £13. They were then particularly low. The ave-  
 rage in the West-Indies was then from £28 to £40.

Slave ships seldom bring home any West-India  
 produce, because there are always plenty of ships in  
 P. 125. that trade. When there are not, they sometimes  
 ship produce on board slave vessels, not else.

Thinks it would answer, as a mercantile concern,  
 to send West-Indiamen to take in slaves on the  
 coast, if ready for them; but it would require only  
 a small proportion of the West-Indiamen, to carry  
 the slaves from Africa; and it would be impossible  
 to get slaves quick enough to dispatch the ships.  
 As far as S. Leone, the delay would not be very  
 great; but if they went below that, it would be a  
 losing concern.

P. 126. Has heard that a house in this town, have agents on  
 the coast, to dispatch their vessels quicker. Does  
 not believe they have a ship stationed there for the  
 purpose; but they order one to stay there for a time,  
 and, when there is no longer occasion for her, she  
 goes off with slaves.

Thinks his being able to get as many females as  
 males,



males, was owing, his being the only ship then on the coast. 1789.

Never heard of sending boats to seduce boys and other people, in order to make slaves of them.

Witness examined,—JEROME BARNARD WEUVES, Esq.

Was fourteen years in Africa, chiefly as Governor P. 128. of most of the British forts on the Gold Coast. Left it more than five years ago. Understood the language as well as most Europeans.

That country is divided into petty states. At P. 129. Anamaboe there is a King. At other parts, Pynims and Elders, and Cabishers above them.

From Succundee to Accra is the Fantee country.

Slaves are the greatest part of their wealth, (see p. 147.) There are born slaves and purchased slaves. P. 130. A born slave cannot be sold but for a crime. They are tried by judges of their own clan, (i. e. slaves belonging to, and inherited by, one man, p. 140.) the punishment generally slavery. They are made slaves for theft, adultery, and witchcraft, and from gaming themselves away. For these crimes freemen are also made slaves.

Criminals sold for the benefit of the injured. Free-P. 131. men are tried by the Pynims, who wear a peculiar straw hat, and who meet in the market-place, if there is no palaver-house (an open court of justice) and try them openly. Believes the Judges, either of a free or slave criminal, receive no reward.

Gamesters become slaves, by throwing dice. There is no trial. They surrender themselves. But gaming is not frequent on the Gold Coast.

Believes there is a trial for witchcraft; but never saw one (p. 140.) He once bought a family of nine (neither of the superior nor inferior class (p. 148) one of whom only had been accused of witchcraft. The whole town came to see them fairly off the P. 132. beach. Hence he infers they had a fair trial. Witch-

1789. craft certainly involves the whole family (who are always extirpated without regard to persons p. 149).

Fancies from 6000 to 8000, perhaps more slaves are yearly exported from the Gold Coast. Dares say above two-thirds by the English, the rest by the Dutch and Danes.

There was no war while he was there. Is certain the natives of the Gold Coast sold in that time were not prisoners of war but merely criminals.

P. 133. Knows nothing of kidnapping, is sure it would be impracticable. Canoe-men being natives it would be impossible to get off kidnapped slaves, without being known. No captain would risk his trade by taking off any person unlawfully.

Ships before they can trade must pay customs. The King sends town-elders on board to receive his customs and their own. Then three, five, or seven guns are fired, and the ensign hoisted, to show that the ship may trade. Scarce a day passes afterwards, but black brokers come and sleep on board, at pleasure, to see the trade properly carried on. Hence a person wrongfully seized would certainly be able to convey his complaints on shore. He hardly knows a trade more fairly carried on. The black broker or slave's owner has the choice of the goods. If they suit him he sells the slave, if not he takes him away.

P. 134. Never heard of breaking up villages to make slaves. Nothing of the kind existed in the fourteen years he was there. Has heard the natives say, there was a want of slaves during inland wars.

A great many, perhaps one-half or two-thirds of the slaves sent from the Gold Coast, come from far inland (p. 154). The black brokers told him they go three, four, or five days journey to a market inland, to which slaves are brought, by more inland brokers, and so from many more inland brokers. He judges such slaves to be of various tribes (from their different mode of marking their bodies, some filing their teeth, above all their different languages, p. 135). Has had 20, 30, or 40 who did not know each

each other's language. Thinks they are bred inland for slaves, because some of them do not seem sufficiently robust and spirited for warriors. Slaves are not bred for sale, on the Gold Coast, but sold for crimes. 1789.  
P. 135.

Human sacrifices prevail on the Gold Coast, and he believes, have prevailed from time immemorial. Slaves, he believes, born so or purchased, are sacrificed on the death of some great man. They think the manes of the dead will be uncomfortable unless persons are sent to wait upon him. Believes refused slaves are generally sacrificed. But recollects no instance of it. P. 136.

The Gold Coast people wear no clothes, but a yard or two of cloth round the waist.

Thinks our abolition of the trade would not abolish it there. It would change its course, and the slaves be dispersed from west to east and bought by the Moors, Arabs, &c. But this only opinion. The other Europeans engaged in the trade would share the number we did not take off. There would not be one slave the less on the Gold Coast, nor one more or less convicted of crimes on the Gold Coast (if the trade was abolished by all the Europeans, p. 141). P. 136.

There are no manufactures on the Gold Coast. They get their clothing from the Europeans, by the slave-trade. That coast produces no articles for commerce but slaves. P. 137.

The Gold Coast extends from Cape La Hou to the River Volta, about 400 miles.

It produces a little Gold and Ivory. Little Gold got on that coast. Believes the little Gold and Ivory there is brought from inland. Ivory generally brought on slaves shoulders. It helps to pay charges of journey. That coast produces Grain and Cotton, but not for exportation. Supplies the ships food for the slaves. Cotton not cultivated. Has heard that the Dutch attempted to cultivate it; they took great pains, but it came to nothing (p. 151 at Axim). The natives would not take to the cultivation. P. 138.

1780. poses the Dutch now hardly raise enough for wicks for the lamps of their settlements. (They had many of their own slaves on the cotton plantation. Very little slave trade near it, p. 147).

Never saw any dye-wood there. Knows of no other woods there, except common wood for gun-carriages and other carpenters use. From the little industry of the natives, even for their own maintenance, he apprehends they would not raise produce for exportation. Believes that, though land is very plenty, they would not permit the Europeans to settle there. They are obliged to pay rent for their settlements. Apprehends they would not sell the land.

While he was in Africa, many Americans resorted there, and he believes, they do now. (They traded briskly till the war, p. 139).

P. 139. Could the natives be brought to raise produce, it must be conveyed to the coast on their heads. The best landings there are indifferent (p. 151) but from May to August the surf makes it dangerous for the natives to go to the ships and return. Thinks it impossible to ship a hoghead of sugar, in those months, when the ships lie about four miles off, in fine weather, about three miles.

Recollects not seeing a ship sail in the night. They generally sail, in the morning, with the land-wind. They always make signals, sometimes a month before sailing, which, he understood was done to make the natives settle their accounts. The signal is a gun, loose fore-top-sail and ensign hoisted every

P. 140. morning.

For the smallest Theft the offender is sold for the benefit of the injured. Does not recollect saying, but might have said, before the Privy Council, that convicts for witchcraft were sold for the benefit of a town at large, but chiefly for that of the principal people: if he did say so, he alluded to nine persons, part of the family of a man condemned for witchcraft, and who were sold at the request of the whole town, who received their value, and he supposes, divided it.

Has

Has heard that some refused slaves have been sold 1789. to be sacrificed. Believes they are religious sacrifices. Sometimes a great man's favourite girl or boy is sacrificed to attend him in the next world. They think this a duty (p. 152). Doubts not, but if refused slaves were not bought for this use, those of the deceased would supply their place. P. 141.

Believes the Dutch or Danes often buy slaves of inferior quality.

As slaves are not bred on the Gold Coast for sale, P. 142. he thinks the number from inland must far exceed any thing of the kind on the Gold Coast. As there were no wars in Africa while he was there, he presumes the slaves brought down must have been bred slaves or convicts. Most slaves of the coast are undoubtedly criminals.

The natives of the Gold Coast are vindictive and P. 143. thievish in general.

Convicts are generally allowed to be redeemed, if they have friends to do it.

Has seen, at a distance, intended victims dressed and P. 144. dancing cheerfully. Has no doubt but this arose from thinking they were about to attend their deceased master.

The Gold Coast not fertile, being very rocky. Indian corn is the chief produce. Has seen the natives raise a few sugar-canes, by just throwing them into the earth. Cotton also grows there. Has seen something called Indigo; but is no judge. Never saw any dying-wood, but what came from other parts of Africa. P. 145.

The Gold coast is very populous. There are a good many considerable towns there, which are supplied with provisions from a good way inland, by people who bring corn on their heads, or from other parts of the coast by water. Canoes are sometimes obliged to go thirty or forty miles along shore, to fetch corn and yams; for though the land behind the towns is cultivated he supposes to some distance, it was not already productive to maintain the people. P. 146.

1789. ple. When he has been obliged to buy provisions from them, they brought corn to him, five, six, or seven miles, on their heads.

They have no idea of cultivation. After cutting the brush-wood, they let it dry, burn it, and throw the corn on the ashes, without digging the ground. This is done by the family where there is no slaves. If a man has slaves, they help him. Famines are

P. 147. frequent. He has known corn very scarce indeed.

The natives do not work in the ships, but when sickness renders it necessary. They are often employed in the boats, to save the seamen.

Where the Dutch attempted to raise cotton, there is very little trade in slaves, but chiefly in gold and ivory, which last is brought down on the slaves shoulders, or by the people brought down to carry back the goods bought with the gold.

The natural indolence of the natives is a total bar to all industry whatever.

Has heard the natives say the Gold Mines are a great way inland. Believes the teeth brought from a good way inland.

There are few iron tools but what are imported from Europe. A kind of hoe is made from the bar-iron imported from Europe, and with which they cultivate yams. Does not know if they can make a hatchet there.

He is certain persons convicted of witchcraft and their innocent relations would be sacrificed, were the sale of slaves prevented. An old woman accused of witchcraft, or the wife of an accused man, whom he refused, had her head cut off.

Does not know he ever purchased a prisoner of war.

Is at present concerned in the slave-trade.

P. 150. On the Gold Coast, the considerable men may have from twenty to three dozen of wives. Has not a doubt but these women may entrap the unwary. Dares say it may be as common there as in London; only in Africa is attended with the loss of liberty.

Does

Does not believe it is usual for chiefs to send out women for this purpose. 1789.

Has been told wars stop the slave-trade. There was no scarcity of slaves while he was on the coast.

Three, four, or five black brokers, according to the ship's size, attend the ship daily, while on the coast. They are paid for this attendance.

Europeans seldom ask the black brokers how the slaves are procured. Being brought on board in canoes, they know they are fairly got, and take no farther trouble. P. 151.

The largest canoes he ever saw were two with 21 paddlers each. No doubt a cask of the size of a water-cask might be carried on board full of sugar as well as water.

Believes they were about a month in landing four or six 42 pounders, on a catamaran, at Anamaboe. P. 152.

The slaves belonging to the Company make hinges, &c. in the blacksmith's shop, in the Castle Yard, at C. Coast.

Believes human sacrifices, on the Gold Coast, are only made on the death of great men. Their numbers depend on the rank of the deceased. P. 153.

When there were many ships on the Gold Coast they did not go off so quick with cargoes as when there were fewer. Hence he apprehends, if the demand was increased, there would be still nearly the same number of slaves, unless they came from other parts.

Thinks, if there was no slave-market on the Gold Coast, petty thieves would be sold to inland tribes, who do not now come there for slaves; because they cannot afford the price, nor give the goods the natives want.

As Europeans could not cultivate the soil themselves, thinks, if they attempt cultivation, they must employ slaves. P. 154.

Thinks slaves from inland, are both bred slaves, and convicts.

The convict for witchcraft whose relations he bought, had his head cut off. His father, mother,

1789. two wives, and three children, were sold to him; on condition they should never return to that country.

Never heard of the locked jaw on the coast.

Thinks as many females as males could not be had on the coast; because considerable men keep as many wives as they please, who do the drudgery, fetch water and provisions; but very seldom work in the fields.

Has known of an insurrection where the slaves overcame the crew, and got back to shore, where he fancied they were all seized by the natives and again sold.

P. 155. Thinks the intercourse which the Africans on the coast have had with the Europeans, has had some little effect upon their external appearance, but with respect to government and morals, believes them still in the same state they were centuries ago.

Has reason to believe, from the tradition of the natives, that the mode of trial before described has existed from time immemorial.

There are no cattle of burthen on the Gold Coast, and very few bulls and cows; might say none, for it is a luxury to possess any.

The Europeans have gardens or plantations on the Gold Coast, to supply themselves with vegetables, these they raise with great trouble, the excessive heat and dryness of the soil requiring much attention to the plants.

Has seen free Africans settled on the Gold Coast, who had formerly been transported to the W. Indies, had been carried from thence to London, from whence they were sent back to Africa. These for the first month seemed very proud to shew themselves to their friends in their European dress, and got drunk with them as often as they could: they soon, however, got tired of this clothing which they found too warm, and betook themselves to the two yards of cloth wrapt round the middle as worn by the rest.

Was



Was never present at the trial of any person convicted of offences which subjected them to be sold for slaves. 1789.

Has before said, that the whole town participated in the profit arising from the sale of convicts for witchcraft, but applied this only to the family sold to him for that crime, not supposing it in general to be so. A number of people in that town having died from unknown causes, these deaths were charged upon the principal of this family.

This was the only instance of a condemnation for witchcraft, of which he had ocular proof.

Has generally observed that the large canoes are more easily overset by the surf than the small ones. As to the twenty-one-hand canoes, has before observed, that he never saw more than two, and those he never saw overset.

The surf frequently breaks in upon the large canoes so as to destroy or damage the goods on board. P. 157.

Does not think it possible, by the craft used on that coast, to put on shore, or bring off, with safety, sugar, salt, or any other commodity liable to melt, unless the casks were made so tight, as to be impenetrable to water.

Never saw a canoe upon the Gold Coast capable of taking in a hoghead of sugar.

Corn, the chief article of provisions carried from shore on board, is generally put into tight iron bound puncheons. Sugar in such casks might no doubt be brought on board equally safe.

No expense attends the transporting corn from the shore in this manner, the casks so employed, being the water casks belonging to the ship.

Applies this information respecting the danger from the surfs to the whole Gold Coast, upon which he knows no landing place, where the surf is not more or less hazardous.

Commanded the Fort at Dixcove upwards of two years. P. 158.

1789. Saw once a boat belonging to a king's ship on shore there.

Does not think such a boat could land on Cape Coast.

Sugar, generally loaf sugar, is used on the Coast of Guinea, which is usually landed in tight puncheons.

The coming off shore with a loading is more hazardous, than landing, insomuch, as for one canoe overfet going ashore, ten are overfet going off, taking the coast all along, good, bad, and indifferent.

King's ships, wood and water off Cape Coast, by canoes from the shore, which are frequently overfet.

P. 159. Can specify no particular instance of a canoe overfet when so employed, because the King's ships while he was in Africa, had generally contrived to come there in the fine season when the sea was very smooth, and there was very little surf, which is not the case at other times, from May to the latter end of August.

Does not believe there is any wood to be got on the Coast of Guinea, fit to be split into staves to make tight casks of.

Has heard, that the Fort of Anamaboe (the best built fort in Africa without exception) was built by an engineer, sent out under the direction of the Board of Ordnance.

Does not know what use the Arabs and Moors make of the slaves they purchase, but believes it is a traffick which they carry on for their own benefit.

Witness examined,—JOHN FOUNTAIN, Esq.

P. 160. Has resided at Cape Coast Castle, Tantum, and Accra, from the year 1778, to January 1789.

On his first arrival, had the command of the Company's troops. After that a factor for the Company :  
then

then second of Accra: afterwards second of Tantom: and lastly Governor of Tantom. 1789.

Did not go into the country, further than in passing from one fort to another.

Did not speak the language of the country, but understood the greater part of what was spoke by the Fantees.

Is of opinion that the natives become slaves from three causes, principally convicts, others for gaming, witchcraft, also debt.

Did not know any slaves who had been prisoners P. 161. of war. Heard of few wars on the coast during his residence. Has seen a kind of war carried on between the natives of different towns, but not of any duration. Between 3 and 4000 men altogether might meet; no slaves made prisoners.

Convicts are generally tried openly by the pynims or elders of each district.

Does not believe the judges derive any advantage from convictions, but that they are sold for the benefit of the injured.

Does not include witchcraft among the crimes so P. 162. tried; but remembers one similar sort of trial for witchcraft at Tantom lately, the accused being a person of some consideration.

Witchcraft generally involves the whole family.

The people are very superstitious—a belief in witchcraft is general—but thinks that by it is often meant poison.

Is not concerned at present with the African trade. P. 163.

While resident there, acquired some knowledge of their government.

Thinks, if wars had been frequent, he must have P. 164. heard of them. Very few of the slaves sold off that coast, were prisoners of war.

Never knew Europeans foment wars among the Africans. Has known them frequently assist in settling disputes.

Never knew villages pillaged for making slaves; P. 165 which he considers as impracticable by the whites.

1789.

Never heard kidnapping by Europeans, nor conceives that such a practice ever existed; if it did, it could not be concealed; and any European experiencing a loss of trade in consequence, would complain to the Governor and Council on the coast, as well as to persons in England.

When a slave is brought down for sale, the owner applies to a broker, who conducts him to a European trader; should they disagree, they are at liberty to carry him away, and offer him to another.

There are always some free natives, usually called gold takers, on board the ship, while the trade is carrying on.

Says, if a slave had been kidnapped, he would have had an opportunity of making his complaint; and being himself a member of the Council, had any such practice prevailed, he must have heard of it.

P. 166. Never heard of kidnapping by the natives, though it possibly may have existed; apprehends it would be punished; is sure it would on the Gold Coast.

The natives possess a great number of slaves, which are considered by them as a common medium of traffick.

Slaves purchased by the natives, may be sold again at their pleasure; but such as have fallen to them by inheritance, cannot be sold, but by the general consent of the other domestics, unless convicted of crimes.

The punishment of a free African, convicted of a crime, depends upon the offence committed.

P. 167. A man's slaves may be seized and sold, to make good the fine he has incurred, or debts he may have contracted; but a long process is necessary before he can be deprived of his hereditary slaves. A creditor often prefers seizing one of the family.

A man condemned to slavery, may in most cases redeem himself by substituting another, but there are exceptions. If a man should think himself bewitched, and can fix upon the guilty person, he will

will then sell him under the restriction, that he shall not be redeemed. 1789.

He knew a late instance, in which (Awishee) a man of considerable note, and one of the best traders at Tantum, was said to be bewitched, and a day or two after died. The person accused (himself a pynim) with his family, had a formal trial; the result was, the old pynim was sold, and the family driven out of the town. Another instance occurred, whilst he commanded at Tantum, the Cabosheer, a king, was taken sick in the morning, reported to be bewitched, but died before six in the evening; the deceased not being a man of any connexions, no inquiry was made; the matter fell to the ground. P. 168.

Has been informed, that slaves accused of witchcraft, are tried by their own family, in conjunction with the hereditary slaves. Freeman by the pynims, as above described.

In cases where slaves have been often convicted of ill behaviour, the purchaser is often restrained from redeeming and keeping them in the country. P. 169.

A man of consequence, convicted of adultery, not only forfeits his own liberty, but may have many of his slaves also seized. But should the crime be committed by a slave of a great man, with one of his master's wives, he apprehends he would be put to death.

Human sacrifices are practised in that country; had been informed at Appolonia, by the governor, who was a respectable man, that he had seen persons seized by surprize in the market place, by a rope thrown over their heads, and thus dragged some distance, and executed in various ways. That at the death of old *Baw*, and *Ammoneer*, the two Cabbo-sheers, he believed near 300 had been put to death.

Remembers at Cape Coast, upon the death of Quamina, the governor sent to the family, threatening to fire upon the house, should they attempt to sacrifice any person; but notwithstanding their promise to the contrary, a boy and girl were knocked P. 170.

1789. on the head; one of which was buried under, the other above his coffin.

The governor alluded to above, was Dickson, now dead, but believes many in Europe and in Africa know the circumstances to be as related.

Believes, that from the representations of the whites, the practice does not now prevail so much upon the coast as formerly; but inland it is reported still to exist in a great degree. Concludes, that slaves not saleable, are put to death, from an instance of an old woman at Cape Coast Castle, who, on being refused to be bought, to save her maintenance, was murdered.

P. 171. Is of opinion that the purchase of slaves by Europeans, preserves their lives, and adds to their ease and comfort. Has for two or three months together, had 60 or 70 in the fort at once, who have appeared infinitely happier and healthier than when first purchased; nor did he ever lose one by mortality.

The Dutch, Danes, Portuguese, French, and Americans, traded on the coast while he was there.

The trade of the last has much increased of late. That from America is chiefly carried on from Boston and Salem.

The French have lately taken possession of a spot adjacent to Anamaboe; and though from the unhealthy situation they have lost many people, they still persevere; send many more ships than they did.

P. 172. Trade for slaves is carried on to the eastward of the Gold Coast. From Whydah, all along to Old and New Calabar.

Does not know that the English ships have been in the practice of leaving the coast secretly in the night. The general custom is, to loose the fore top-sail, hoist the ensign, and fire a gun, often for three, four, or five weeks, as a signal for sailing, that such of them as have accounts to settle with the captain, may come on board; the usual time for getting under way, is with the land wind, from two in the morning.

The

The ships which lie off the coast are much more healthy than those which go up the rivers, and lie nearer land; the latter being more exposed to fogs. 1789.

There are no navigable rivers on the Gold Coast; two rivers, Elmina and Shemar, belonging to the Dutch, might admit boats under 20 tons, but even these would soon be aground.

There is neither water nor land carriage for bulky goods from within-land to the coast, insomuch, that P. 173. a tooth of about 170 pounds weight, was cut into three pieces to be made portable.

There are no good landing places on the coast; the best season for landing or shipping goods, is about Christmas, January, or February; but has known it bad in those months.

The coast he alludes to, as having no navigable rivers, nor any good landing places, extends from Cape la Hou to the Volta, about 420 miles; a heavy surf.

It is safer landing than shipping goods, though P. 174. even in landing fishery canoes (which are much the safest) has seen ten in a day overfet.

Believes he might instance certain ships deal for ivory and gold, but these also trade for slaves.

Gold is not an article of export, because it bears a greater price there than here. Ivory is likewise an uncertain commodity. While second at Tatum, he bought a great deal in a month, whereas, while last there, he had not been able to buy five teeth in two years. Thinks it could not be an object of commerce, independent of the slave trade; nay, that it could not be had at all in that event, because the black trader who brings it from inland, loads the negroes with it, whom he is conducting to the coast for sale; and so small is their profit, it would not alone pay them for their trouble.

The Gold Coast produces no articles of commerce P. 175. besides gold and ivory; some few pieces of cloth, matts, &c. are occasionally bought, as matters of curiosity, at so high a price as two or three slaves for a cloth

1789. a cloth of eight yards by six yards; but such are not the kinds of cloth the natives wear.

P. 176. It does not produce corn equal to the consumption, nor more of cotton than what is used for lamp wicks. A sort of attempt was made to extend its cultivation near Cape Coast, but the blacks destroyed by night the work of the day, alledging it was prejudicial to their provision ground.

P. 177. Nor does it produce rice in any quantity; knows of none to leeward of Apollonia.

It produces no dye woods, nor, so far as he knows, any article besides what has been enumerated.

He resided in that country during the late war, which in some degree interrupted the slave trade; fewer slaves were brought down than formerly; the demand not so great; the prices lower. Did not observe that more corn, rice, or cotton, was produced then, than before; but he was rather out of the way, being confined during the war chiefly to Tantum.

P. 178. Does not think that abolishing the slave-trade would materially alter the cultivation of the country, the natives being so indolent, as seldom to cultivate more than is necessary for their family, from year to year.

Believes the blacks would rather starve than cultivate to any extent.

Is certain it would not extend the manufactures of cloths and matts, nor produce new ones.

Knows of no iron in the country; of that supplied them from Europe, they make only a kind of bill or hoe, for cultivating their land; but so coarse and ill tempered that they do not last. Supplied with many articles of iron from Europe.

P. 179. Thinks, if the slave-trade were abolished in Great Britain there would not be a slave the less, as other nations, the French nation in particular would take off, what would otherwise have been brought by the English. The French have lately shewn themselves desirous of extending their trade.



In time of peace, the demand for slaves, has al- <sup>1789.</sup>  
ways been superiour to the supply. }

Thinks, that wars among the natives would be- <sup>P. 179.</sup>  
come rather more frequent, should the slave-trade be  
abolished, because convicts being left in the country,  
would create or foment diffensions among the na-  
tives. So sure the abolition would be productive  
of a scene of carnage all along the coast, (see p.  
166.)

A colony could not be established there but by  
conquest, the natives (except upon the sea coast) be-  
ing very hostile.

Never observed any instance of cruelty exercised  
by the English upon slaves bought by them; but  
much humanity, and particular attention when sick.

Has never seen any particular cruelty to seamen in  
this trade; they may possibly experience inconveni-  
ences from the climate, to which the crews of vessels  
trading there for other purposes would be equally  
subjected, and which would also affect colonies  
settled there. Remembers at the Danish fort at <sup>P. 180.</sup>  
Accra, that the governor, vice-president, seven or  
eight officers, with 100 soldiers, died in a month,  
and this on the sea coast.

Has been three voyages from England to Africa,  
and two from Africa to England by way of the West  
Indies, between 1778 and 1785. Observed no ill  
treatment of the crews. Never saw people happier.

His first voyage from Africa to the West Indies  
was in the Iris, Mafon, tonnage about 220, about  
300 slaves on board; exceeding well treated; plenty  
of provisions and water. It is the interest of the  
owner. If not kept in heart and good spirits, it is  
odds but they sicken and die. Passage to Jamaica <sup>P. 181.</sup>  
six weeks and two days. Slaves not confined below  
above two days in all. Appeared quite satisfied and  
cheerful. Lost but one. Left the ship at Barbadoes,  
but informed by the captain that he lost none going  
from thence to Jamaica.

1789. Before the late regulations, captains were benefited by the numbers they landed. Lost six per cent. on such as died.

Made his second voyage from Africa 30th January last to Barbadoes, on board the Friendship, Lamb, a store ship; carried a few slaves upon freight; though a large ship, worse calculated for their conveyance than the common slave ships in many respects. Slaves exceedingly well treated during the voyage to Barbadoes. No deaths in the ship. Knows not what happened after leaving Barbadoes; were all in perfect health. Had no interest in the slaves on board; nor has he any connection whatsoever with the concern.

P. 182. Resided in Hanover parish, Jamaica, upwards of four years, from beginning of 1770 to 1774. Knows of no practice of captains or surgeons to repel disorders of the slaves. Never knew of any particular mortality take place in a cargo of slaves after their arrival, and before their landing. Has been on board two or three slave ships at the island whose cargoes were healthy. Believes few slaves of these ships were in a very diseased state when sold; one, the Warwick Castle had nearly 500; has forgot the name of the other.

Is convinced that the abolition of the slave-trade would tend to the destruction of many lives on the coast of Africa, and to the ruin of the British colonies in the West Indies.

P. 184. The king of Appolonia is despotick, and by his single authority daily takes away the lives of many.

The length of that district is 25 or 30 miles along the coast, but cannot speak as to the breadth.

It is probable that the slaves whom Quamina put to death, had previously the form of a trial.

Being chiefly confined at Tantum during the war, P. 185. cannot say whether more or fewer slaves were taken off the coast than in peace; but he himself shipped more there since, because, the other forts belonging to the English and Dutch being in a state of mutual warfare,

warfare, the traders chose to bring their slaves to 1789.  
Tantum, where they would not be molested. }

The natives are induced to make human sacrifices from various motives—That their friends may rest quiet in their graves—That the deceased should be properly attended: hence they generally sacrifice his key-bearer or accraw, and his head wench; has besides seen tombs, and burial-places, paved with skulls of persons thus sacrificed.

Persons of consequence possess a considerable num- P. 186.  
ber of slaves, which are retained in a state of absolute idleness, while their women provide them with water and other necessaries. And in such habits of familiarity do masters there live with their slaves, even the king of Cape Coast Castle himself, that unless for a very capital fault they would not be subjected to punishment.

Along the coast, to Accra, the natives owing to their indolence, have little or no supplies of corn; has offered a great price without success. At Accra, a prodigious large district, they depend upon their neighbours for a supply, from Cape Coast, Anamaboe, Tantum, &c. During his residence at Accra, has seen great want among them.

In exchange for corn, when it is in plenty, they P. 187.  
will take, from the whites, cloths, liquors, &c. but when it is scarce, hardly any thing else than gold dust. The blacks, natives of Accra, give in exchange, cloth, gold, and a fish they call Aporge, which is a great article of trade as well as of subsistence among the Accras. What gold they thus barter for corn, they obtain in exchange for slaves and ivory; chiefly the latter, of which there is more sold in that country than on any other part of the coast.

Supposes a great part of the provisions are from inland.

Has not known any other trials for witchcraft than the two mentioned; but believes them still very frequent.

1789. From what he has seen, does not apprehend there is any peculiar mode of trial for this crime, though  
 P. 188. such trials are publick; yet the whites may not have frequent opportunities of seeing them, from its not being customary to introduce themselves into such assemblies; but, in the course of their walks, will often see the Pynims seated in the publick Palaver-place, and may upon inquiry learn the cause. Has heard it said that the trials for witchcraft are conducted in a particular manner, but this must have been from misinformation.

P. 189. The whole family of a person convicted of witchcraft is generally sold; but in the case of Awishee, before noticed, the people of Tantum were contented with selling the old Pynim convicted of having bewitched him, and driving out the rest of the family from among them.

The price obtained for persons so sold, is generally given to the injured family, subject to some deduction for expensè of trial. Persons are sold upon conviction of other offences. Knows it to be so in regard to theft of gold, and some other articles. Thefts of liquor and such like things may be compensated for, by paying back something more than the value.

Judges the natives of the country to be a quarrelsome, turbulent, ungrateful people.

P. 190. A captain never asks a broker how a slave was obtained, because the native is aware, that if he is found to have come by a slave illegally, he and his family are liable to be sold for the offence.

Gold-takers, another name for trading men; however, they do take gold, and are employed in the purchase of every slave brought on board, speaking the language in general spoken by the slaves. Would certainly learn from them if they had been captured or kidnapped.

Slaves are frequently redeemed from the ships, and others substituted in their room, by their families, if their offences have not been great. This  
 most

most common in the case of adultery, if the offence is not committed with the wife of a great man.

It is not customary to sell domestick slaves from one family to another, unless for some heinous offence.

Such not considering themselves altogether as P. 191. slaves, but rather attendants on those they serve; lead a lazy indolent life; employed in making Custom, *i. e.* performing funeral ceremonies for the dead, or in diversion or gaming.

Natives of the Gold Coast, freemen or domesticks, no doubt consider it as a heavy punishment to be sold to the Europeans, especially such as have been resident near the forts, and in the habits of visiting them; but for those brought from the interior parts of the country, is certain from their own assertion, as well as their general appearance, that they rejoice in their change of masters. They are in general poor in flesh; great eruptions over all their skin; very scrophulous, and frequently have bad ulcers; but when sold again to the captains, they are often fat and sleek. Sometimes they are brought to the forts in a healthier state; has seen them low and dejected when brought to the fort, and become very cheerful in half an hour after they were brought; has been entreated by several to buy them.

Freemen sold for crimes, no doubt lament their P. 192. situation; consider it as a heavy punishment, but, conscious that they have deserved it, seldom complained.

That upon the Gold Coast the smallest thefts are punished with slavery, he knows not to be the case.

That a man who should steal an ear of corn would be sold for a slave does happen, but knew an instance of a man guilty of that very act, who being taken, and a slave demanded of his master for him, the affair was compromised for an ounce of gold and some liquors.

Has no doubt that the man condemned to slavery for stealing an ear of corn would be satisfied with the


1789. the justice of his sentence; because he knows that such is the law of the country, if he from whom it was stolen chooses to be severe.

The manner in which slaves are confined to be taken on board ship, depends upon the nation they belong to. Duncoes are never put in irons, they supply a great number of slaves. The Fantees always. The Ashantees and other nations, according P. 193. to circumstances. Slaves generally kept in irons while the ship is on the coast, though he has seen many out of irons. The women and boys never in irons.

The two ships he sailed in from Africa for the W. Indies, and several others he had been aboard of, had no nettings. It is not usual where the rails are high. Believes where it is used, it is to prevent the slaves from falling overboard, or to cut off all communication between them and the Anamaboe traders, who, for the purpose of reselling them, might excite them to cut off the vessel.

The inland slaves are confined in irons to keep them from any connection with the people about the forts who are great rogues, and might excite them to run away; in other respects they are never locked up, but allowed to amuse themselves about the fort, except at night. On board ship, they are kept in irons lest they should be advised by the canoe men, &c. to cut off the ship or jump overboard, which they would never of themselves think of.

The natives from the interior country are paid for the slaves and ivory they bring from thence, in cloth, liquor, guns, powder, gold, brass-pans, and pewter; of pewter and brass they are fond, and will take a great proportion. Has seldom known traders take more than one iron bar; and of late reject it altogether; for these two last years it has been in no great demand from Cape Coast to Tantom; therefore it has been customary to pay iron for provisions when the blacks would take it. The commodities received by

by the natives in exchange for slaves, they carry away 1789.  
made up in small bundles, upon their heads. 

Small defects do not render slaves unsaleable to P. 196.  
Europeans.

Is of opinion, that the slaves in the West Indies would decrease annually without fresh supplies.

Slaves, in passing from the shore to the ship, have sometimes an iron on their legs, or a log on their hands, from which they are released when purchased, unless Fantees, of infamous characters.

Never heard of such a thing in his life as an African trading ship carrying off free negroes against their inclination. Knew, however, that a man, of the name of Griffiths, did carry off two people intrusted to his care, from St. Andrews, or some part to windward, whom he never brought back. He reported, on his return, that either one or both died of the small pox, with which the natives not being satisfied, put P. 197.  
him to death. The act was severely reprobated by the Governor and Council, and Residents, who wrote home about it. This the only instance he ever heard of.

Has heard that gold is procured in the interior P. 198.  
country in two ways, by digging and washing. Believes it is very scarce, and few allowed to dig for it.

Has known two or three slaves refused in a year P. 199.  
for defects.

The people of Accra, when in want of corn, ge- P. 200.  
nerally send their canoes for it all down the coast, though it is sometimes brought to them by the people who have it to dispose of.

When conveyed by land from one country to ano- P. 201.  
ther, it is carried upon the heads of negroes in small baskets.

There is no doubt that war among the natives is injurious to trade of every kind; it stops the paths, and prevents every thing from coming down, ivory as well as slaves. The residents do therefore all in their power to make up any breach among them.

Traders

1789. Traders are afraid to pass through villages when there is war.

Never knew a pound weight of either cotton or indigo, exported from the Gold Coast.

Europeans have no influence over the natives, to make them grow any particular articles; nor to change their customs.

Believes there are five males to one female exported from the Gold Coast.

Europeans, if they chose it, could not obtain a greater proportion of females, because the exercise of polygamy must render women scarcer.

P. 202. Does not think their attachment to their families so strong as that of Europeans; nor that they have such fine feelings; a black woman thinking little to pour a spoonful of brandy into a child's mouth, of two or three months old, at the breast. Seem to have little affection for their children—attributes it to polygamy.

Governor Miles expended considerable sums to keep the natives in peace.

P. 203. Thinks, if there were no market on the coast, they would not bring the slaves from the interior country.

Witness Examined,—Capt. WILLIAM LITTLETON.

P. 204. Went to Gambia as mate 1762. Lived there 11 years, as a merchant.

Has been frequently up the Gambia. Went up about 300 leagues.

P. 205. Knew enough of the language to do his business.

Governments various on the different parts of the river—none hereditary. Kings for life, in rotation from one tribe to another, sometimes from one town or district to another. Line of succession sometimes broken from caprice.

Slavery general. Some freemen keep many slaves.

Slaves



Slaves sold to Europeans obtained various ways: 1789. a great proportion from black Mahometan traders, who traverse the interior parts to get slaves. Some prisoners of war, many convicts, and more from famines, caused by droughts and locusts. The crimes numerous for which they are sold. Believes this, from his own knowledge, and from good information. P. 206.

Knew a famine in 1786, in the South-West of the entrance of Gambia, from failure of rain, and locusts. The natives subsisted some months on roots, and whatever had nourishment, till nothing was left. They were then driven to the dreadful necessity of selling each other to procure subsistence. The Mandingoes bought them from the Phroops, between C. St. Mary's and C. Roxo, for corn and European goods, selling them to the white traders on the river, and he obtained a large proportion of them. Has been told by the Mahometans, who traverse the inland parts, that famines often occur in Africa, which drive them sometimes to subsist on each other, sometimes by killing and eating them, often by selling them. Locusts make dreadful havock, on the corn particularly: but it is generally partial, often confined to a spot of 40 or 50 miles.

Slaves made for adultery, theft, witchcraft, and other crimes, for which they are regularly, and, in general, impartially tried, by the leading men, and are seldom without their friends and advocates. An adulterer loses life or liberty. If he escape, some of the family is seized and detained till he is taken. If he cannot redeem himself, he is sold. Sometimes the whites are enjoined by the sellers, who are generally the parties injured, not to let them be redeemed, on any terms. For witchcraft they are tried, and on conviction, sold — after torture, sometimes even to death. For considerable thefts, the punishment is loss of liberty. Sometimes they are fined, and, if unable to pay, sold. P. 207.

1789.

The injured party has the benefit of the conviction. Has learnt from the natives, that, on trials for witchcraft, the principal people assemble under the palaver-tree. Sometimes, before trial, the accused are dragged into the woods, and whipped till they acknowledge themselves guilty of witchcraft, and, they are often condemned from confession under

P. 208. torture, though innocent. Sometimes they endeavour to prove their innocence, by undergoing a kind of ordeal by fire or by water, which is an infusion of a malignant root, drunk on those occasions, and which they seldom long survive.

Very few prisoners of war, taken near the river, are sold to the whites. Believes they seldom take many prisoners: if they do, they generally fall victims to the ferocity of the captors, and a few are sacrificed to the manes of the victor's friends. Believes but few females are taken prisoners in war, (repeated p. 223.) Female prisoners are frequently exchanged. Females, convicted of witchcraft, seldom exchanged. Recollects not an instance of their being redeemed.

P. 209. Owners of domesticks can, but very seldom do, dispose of them, unless for some enormous crime, when they have generally the approbation of the other slaves to sell them. Has been told they are generally tried by those other slaves.

Never heard of wars made to get slaves. Wars always arise from their own dissensions. Wars near the ports always injure trade of every kind. Has been told by black merchants, they have gone 3 or 400 miles to avoid seats of war. In his time, there were wars between the nations near the Gambia.

Never heard of a white kidnapping a slave. It would have ruined that man's trade. Can only speak of the River Gambia. Never heard *that* of the natives where he resided. On making any such attempt, they would be sold themselves.

Never heard of parties going out armed at night to take slaves, except against their enemies, with whom

whom they were at open war—nor of breaking up and surprizing villages, to make slaves, but in cases of open war. Such wars not very frequent near the Gambia; but inland wars are perpetually carrying on, in one country or another. 1789.  
P. 210.

Produce about the Gambia, country-corn, which is a species of millet, Indian corn, and rice, not in sufficient quantities for export. Never heard of sugar-cane growing there. Believes the climate unfit for it, from droughts from October to June. No articles of export, but wax, a little ivory, and a little gold, not worth mentioning. The ivory generally, he believes, about two tons, brought down on the heads of the slaves. Most of the wax comes from the S. side of the Gambia, chiefly about 30 or 40 leagues up; but in smaller quantities 2 or 300 leagues up, principally from the Phroops. Most of the wax is taken out of hollow trees: believes a little is taken in hives, which are close to their houses. Never saw above two or three hives, which were near the coast. Never heard of any inland. P. 211.

Apprehends it would not be worth the traders while to bring down ivory only from any great distance. Few elephants near the ports.

Apprehends the wax could not be much increased, for lately the whites have given a great price for it, and he has not learnt the quantity has increased from it.

They raise a little cotton and indigo, not sufficient for their own use. They supply the deficiency with our manufactures. They are so indolent, that every attempt of the whites to encourage cotton and indigo, has proved abortive. What little indigo they raise, they cultivate. They do not reduce it to the state of indigo which comes from other parts. They cut it, pound it in a wooden mortar, and hang it up in the form of sugar-loves, in their houses, and then infuse it in water or lye made of ashes, and dye their cloth with it. P. 212.

1789. Their cloths are about five or six inches broad; and they sew them together. There are very few manufacturers. These cloths could not be made an article of commerce among the whites.


Has been two voyages to Carolina, and three or four to the West-Indies. In the first voyage to Charlestown, from the commencement of the purchase in Africa, till the end of the sale in Charlestown, he lost about 13 out of about 140. Looks upon that as a very great and uncommon mortality. The last voyage he was upon the coast from the beginning of May to the beginning of November, and lost from the beginning of May to the close of the sale at Jamaica, 38 out of 242. His ship has since made a voyage to Jamaica, and lost 3 out of 216. The same ship went all the voyages, registered at P. 213. 136 tons. Attributes the mortality of 38 to the slaves being of various nations, and some being very meagre when he received them, from the great scarcity in their country, particularly a number of the Phroops, who had a famine. When he lost 13, his ship was single decked, and he had very bad weather.

We carry hence split and kiln-dried horse-beans, and a great quantity of biscuit and flour. In the country, we buy all the corn and rice we can.

The black traders feed the slaves intended for sale on Guinea corn, chiefly, when they can get it, or any thing else they can procure. They never taste rice, but by stealth.

The ships could seldom get enough of Guinea corn for the slaves in the voyage. The beans are husked in England. They are boiled usually with beef or salt-fish. After eating them once or twice, they become fond of them, so as sometimes to ask for them instead of their country food.

P. 214. Slaves on board, accommodated in the best manner they possibly can. When first brought on board by the black merchants, they have a chain round their necks, generally worn from the place they came from,

from. When the purchase of them is completed, 1789.   
 that chain is taken off, and shackles put on their legs, which have a ring, through which a chain passes, which secures them, while on deck. The men between decks lie close together, just allowing room for a person to step between them. The men are generally before the main hatch-way, the boys in the main hatch-way, the women, girls, and children, are at liberty abaft, except at night, when they are locked down below. They are on deck all day, except in bad weather.

Believes there are air-ports and gratings in all Guinea-men, and sometimes so much air, that they beg to have part of the tarpaulins laid over them.

From Gambia, the weather is generally fair and pleasant after they get to windward of the Cape de Verd islands, when they fall in with the trade-winds. After this, the slaves are very seldom prevented by the weather from being on deck daily. They have P. 215.  
 some heavy but short squalls of rain, when they spread the awnings over them. But it is a general rule to keep them on deck as much as they can, with prudence.

Cleanliness is one of their first objects. As soon as the slaves are on deck, the seamen, and generally some boys, scrape and swab the rooms, and generally air them with fire-pans. Twice or thrice a week they are washed with vinegar and fumigated.

Soon after day-light they have some biscuit, and a glass of inferior spirits and water half and half. At their first meal, they have generally more than they can eat. About four or five in the evening they have a second meal, of another kind. They seldom have the same food twice the same day. They have a regular allowance of water, as often as necessary. This depends on the heat of the weather. To supply the slaves with enough of food and water, is a chief part of the employment, both of sailors and officers, at sea, (see p. 216.) The officers are interested in the cargo's health. They have a privilege slave or P. 216.  
 two,

1789. two, according to the agreement. The chief mate and surgeon paid on the gross average at sale.

Slaves oftener complain of cold than heat in Middle Passage. When they think it too cold for them, they put them below; and even then they beg to have part of the tarpaulin laid over them. They often request to go below, when it blows fresh, and they happen to be on the shady side of the deck.

The surgeon every morning visits them, and often gives them medicines below, as well as on deck.

Sale advertised four or five days after arrival in the West-Indies. Never heard of means being used to repel disorders of slaves, before sale. In all his voyages, slaves always treated with humanity and tenderness.

P. 217. In his voyage to Carolina, lost 2 out of 16, or 18, (thinks 18) seamen. In his last voyage, which was to Jamaica, from being detained on the coast, lost 7 seamen in the Gambia, and 2 or three in the Middle Passage. The crew, with himself, originally 21. The surgeon died first. To his death he attributes the increase of his loss both of seamen and slaves. The seamen's health, as much as possible, attended to. It is their interest to take care of the seamen, the success of the voyage depending on it. (The loss of seamen is from England to the West-Indies, p. 220).

The time of day the ships leave the Gambia depends on the time of the tide. On entering the Gambia, they have 2 or 3 black linguists, a black messenger or two, and 6 or 8 people to row the boats, and preserve the seamen's health. They do not suffer a seaman to go into a boat, if they can avoid it. The blacks attend them out of the river, returning in the ship's long-boat, (which is generally left behind) or in a canoe. They usually stop a tide at the last port of the river, to fill water. The time of sailing is always known to the natives, sometimes before the ship comes down.

The

The climate in general noxious to European constitutions. He found no difference in it 2 or 300 leagues up the river, and at the entrance. 1789.

Rains from about the end of May till the end of October. Dry weather the rest of the year. Believes the rains unhealthful—but he has generally been as healthy in rains as in dry weather. He avoided exposing himself, which they cannot prevail on the seamen to do. Rains the most prejudicial to Europeans. They never carried the seamen up above 140 leagues, and there they were as healthy as at the river's mouth. The French and some English ships go no farther up than James Fort and Albadar. They have as much or more mortality than the ships 150 leagues up the river. P. 218.

One voyage returned to Liverpool, once to Bristol, the other times to London.

Believes there are people in London who make it their business to go on board ships to obtain litigious cases. (Has seen this in London, p. 220). The seamen who have complaints, bring actions against the master or mate, as the case may be. He never had an action commenced against him. P. 219.

In the single deck ship there was a platform, in the other none. In the ship where he said there was room to step between the slaves, there was no platform.

Computes a gallon of water per day sufficient for each man, white and black, including what provisions are boiled in. They have a short passage from Gambia, and allow them plenty of water, generally three or four times a day.

The slaves have water in the night, if they call for it. They have generally something below to hold water, and it is poured through the gratings, through a funnel.

Possibly the extreme heat below, and their being naked, make them so susceptible of cold, when they come on deck. They could not keep them clean and P. 220.

1789. and healthy, if they had clothes. The apartment below is cleared in order to clean it.

More timber than underwood on the coast. Mahogany has been brought thence for trial, but has not answered.

Corn, rice, and other provisions might be cultivated where the soil is fit for corn. About 30 or 40 leagues up the Gambia, the soil is not adapted for corn, and produces but little. The natives cultivate as much land as they can, about the lower parts of the river, but do not raise enough of corn for their own use; hence they send canoes for it up

P. 221. the river. Thinks the land would not be productive without manure. Soil loose and sandy at the river's mouth; up the river more loamy. Believes it would receive the plough, if cleared from roots which the natives do not take up. Apprehends the soil and climate unadapted for European corn. The natives sow their corn early in June, after the first rains. They cut their early corn, which is Indian, in September. Their greatest crop is about the end of October. They generally cut and eat the Indian

P. 222. corn before it is ripe, in the early season. They depend on the October corn. They have little or no manure, and scarce any horses. They tie their cows on the corn ground, in the dry season. The Phoolas have a good many cows.

Seldom above one-third females purchased. They buy all that are fit for the market who offer. The number of females varies every year. The trade to Gambia very much reduced. Has heard the slaves bought by the Europeans, some years ago, on that coast, estimated at 3000 annually: believes it does not now average 1000. Females are always scarce, when slaves in general are plenty. Perhaps 1-4th of the 3000 might have been females.

P. 223. A considerable part of the women are sold as convicts for witchcraft—there are besides some brought from the interior parts of the country—of these it is not always known for what crime they were sold.

The



The gratings over the hatch-way are always kept open—when it rains, a tarpaulin is spread over the booms, 7 or eight feet from the deck, in form of an awning—has known the slaves desire it to be laid close over the gratings to keep them warm.—Never heard them complain of foul air,—if they think themselves at any time too warm, a number of them are immediately brought upon deck. 1789.  
P. 224.

Never heard surgeons, officers, or sailors, when visiting the slaves apartments in the morning, complain particularly of the noisomeness and foulness of the air,—they have observed at times it was very warm,—or that there was a particular smell—but nothing is suffered to remain long below to occasion any offensive smell. A thorough draught of air is kept up between decks, when the weather permits the air-ports to be kept open. A partial air is admitted through the gratings when the ports are shut.

Cannot say the exact height between decks of the slave ships spoke of above—suppose the lowest about 4 feet. Had no platform in his ship. Does not recollect having been on board more than two ships who had. The height between decks in them, he thinks, was 7 feet. P. 225.

Slaves, on board the ships he has been in, might lie on their backs, though perhaps it might be difficult all at the same time.

They are subject to be sea-sick for two or three days. Seldom excoriated by their chains, care being taken upon the first appearance of injury to wrap something round the limb to guard it. P. 226.

It was his endeavour to render the situation of the slaves on board as comfortable as possible, by giving them plenty of food and drink, and the best lodging he could.

The persons charged with exercising witchcraft are supposed to distribute drugs; in particular such as occasion abortion.

Is of opinion the abolition of the slave-trade, by this country, would encourage the evils which it is P. 227.

1789. meant to relieve—such as human sacrifices, and murder of captives and convicts, it being a maxim among the blacks never to give a man an opportunity of revenging an injury.

Does not think the natives could be induced, from any consideration, to raise produce worth the attention of this country. Nor that Europeans could stand the climate, in clearing woods, and cultivating the lands.

P. 228. Cotton, of very excellent quality, is produced there, with very little labour.

Has generally found, that seamen on board slave-ships, were as healthy as those belonging to other ships, trading on the same coast. Did not lose a seaman in his last voyage. Returned in November.

P. 229. Attributes the unhealthiness of seamen in a great measure to their exposing themselves to the night dews, more prejudicial than rains, and not to their food. They will not sleep under cover, but bring their beds upon deck, that they may be cool.

In the voyage, when he lost 7 out of 21 seamen, the rest were in a relaxed state. Did not take on board any fresh men, to re-place the 7. Had on board 236 or 238 slaves at leaving the coast, which were permitted to come upon deck as often, and as many at a time, without additional irons, as if the crew had been full and healthy: some of the irons were even taken off after getting to sea.

P. 230. Cannot say he has been acquainted with any instances of notorious cruelty in the captains of slave-ships. Some are more severe than others. Can only speak to the ships that have frequented the Gambia.

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Witness examined, — THOMAS KING, Esq. a Merchant of London.

P. 232. Went first to Africa in 1766, second mate of the Royal Charlotte, of about 300 tons; not a regular slave

slave ship; carried out the African company's stores to Cape Coast; took in 120 slaves on the Gold Coast. Generally healthy on the voyage. Lost only two or three, till landed in Jamaica. About fourteen days intervened between arrival and landing of the last man. In this interval no means used to repel disorders of the slaves. The sailors, seventeen in all, healthy the whole voyage. Lost not one from leaving London, to return there. 1789.

Sailed next to Africa in 1767-8, in same capacity, same ship. Took in 455 slaves from Gold Coast, for Grenada. In general very healthy. Thinks he lost ten in the voyage. Believes he lost none on board at Grenada, which was for about a week. P. 232.

Thinks the crew were eighteen, very healthy, lost none in the voyage, nor at Grenada, where he left the ship. P. 234.

Sailed a third time to Africa from Grenada, as Captain of the Molly, about 110 tons. Touched at America, there took in the cargo with which slaves were to be purchased. Proceeded to the Gold Coast, where he thinks took on board 105 slaves. Had twelve or thirteen sailors. Was about twelve months on the Gold Coast, and near it. The voyage was unfortunate to sailors and slaves. Of the first, six or seven died. Of the latter, about one half. He attributes this to the following circumstances. Though near twelve months on the coast, he lost few slaves or seamen; but his ship sailed very badly, and lost some of her masts, by which he was driven into the Bite of Bonny, a very unhealthy part of the coast, and was seven months from the Gold Coast to Grenada. During which he was several times obliged to put into different places for provisions, and could get but scanty supplies. Hence both whites and negroes were two or three times, during the passage, reduced to a very short allowance. P. 235.

Sailed, latter end of 1770, a fourth time to Africa, in the brig Ferret, about 70 tons, twelve or thirteen

1789. men, from London to the River Cameroon. Bought 105 slaves, which he carried to Grenada. About eight months on the coast, and about two months from thence to the West-Indies. Crew and slaves in general pretty healthy; lost two or three of the first, four or five of the latter.

P. 235. Sailed a fifth time to the coast of Africa, in December 1771, from London, in the Surrey, of 180 tons, 25 sailors, to the River Cameroon. Staid there six months. Took in 255 slaves. Had a passage of eight weeks to Grenada. Crew and slaves in general healthy. Lost ten slaves.

P. 236. In the River Cameroon (more unhealthy to Europeans than the open coast) himself, officers, and most of his crew were sick. Lost there the surgeon and three seamen.

His sixth voyage to Africa, early in 1773, in the Three Friends, 70 tons, himself and crew twelve. Remained on the Gold Coast three months. Took in 144 slaves for St. Vincent's. Lost two sailors on the coast, and eight slaves in all.

P. 237. Sailed a seventh time to Africa, in 1775, from London, in the Venus of 150 tons. Crew in all 21 or 22. Staid on the Gold Coast four months. Took in 321 slaves for Jamaica. Lost in all one or two seamen and ten slaves.

His eighth voyage was in 1776, from London, in the Harriet, of 135 tons, eighteen men. Staid on the Gold Coast between three and four months. Took in 277 slaves, for Jamaica. Lost seven slaves in all; none of the crew.

Has all along, in speaking to the mortality of slaves, reckoned from the first man brought on board, to the last man landed in the West-Indies.

Sailed for the ninth and last time, in November 1780, from London, in the Cambden, of 335 tons, whole crew 65. Bought on the Gold Coast 580 slaves. Stay six months. Sailed for Jamaica. Lost four sailors, two of them by accident. Lost 50 or 51 slaves

slaves in all, by a diarrhea on the coast. Some it <sup>1789.</sup> was apprehended had brought the disease on board.

Has ever since been settled in London as a merchant. <sup>P. 238.</sup>

All the vessels in which he sailed for Africa (except the two first) were regular slave ships.

In all the ships he commanded, or was concerned in, is sure they never buried one per cent. of the negroes after their arrival in the West Indies, and before sale.

Never knew any means used by surgeons or others, to repel the disorders of slaves before their landing.

Had frequent opportunities of being on shore in Africa, and by the natives accounts, slaves become so chiefly for crimes, witchcraft included; and some few prisoners of war.

Never heard of wars for the purpose of getting slaves, nor, that Europeans ever stirred up such. Nor ever heard of towns or villages pillaged or destroyed for this purpose.

P. 239.

Never heard of the natives being stolen, except from slaves from the inland country. These have mentioned a few being stolen or taken away; but thinks they preferred telling this story, to giving the real fact. Water-side people, had any of them been kidnapped, or improperly detained, would have had opportunities of making complaints, and getting redress.

Free natives are daily on board the ships, with whom the slaves have constant opportunities of conversing.

It is usual for all ships, where he has been, to give a week, more commonly a month's notice, of sailing. Ships generally sail with the land breeze, which is from early in the morning, until nine or ten o'clock.

In the ships in which he sailed, or has been generally concerned, one half the crew consisted of captain, officers and seamen; the other half of landmen, <sup>P. 240.</sup> and of men, who may have been one or two voyages, and boys.

1789. As far as he knows, thinks this the usual proportion in slave ships.


A certain proportion of slaves provisions is always carried from England; because the Gold Coast does not furnish enough; sometimes, though not frequently, none at all is to be got there. Besides, the slaves prefer a change of food; which consists chiefly of split beans, a little rice; has known wheat, but that is now laid aside. Beans are very wholesome, and preferred by the Gold Coast negroes to Indian corn, their native food. When he went first to Africa, instead of beans, at least two-thirds white pease were carried; the surgeons afterwards advised an equal quantity of both. But neither did this agree with the negroes so well as beans given alone, therefore mer-

P. 241. chants now send out only tick beans (a species of Windsor beans as he is told) kiln dried, split and shelled. Never carried or sent, nor ever saw or heard of, horse beans being sent to Africa for the negroes. The beans sent are frequently eaten by the whites.

In a well regulated ship, every possible attention is paid to the slaves on the passage, as also to the dressing and quantity of their diet, which he thinks was more comfortable than in their own country; better seasoned, better dressed, and served in cleaner vessels. Great attention is paid to the health of the slaves on board. Early every morning, inquiry is made, if they have any complaints; and again after breakfast, it is the duty of the surgeon to examine carefully every slave on board. It certainly is the interest, and duty of the captain and surgeon, to take care of the negroes.

P. 242. Has not observed in the parts of Africa where he has generally been, any produce, except provisions, and of these, not so great a surplus as the ships wish to have. Could ships depend on getting a supply there, they would not carry so much out with them.

There are no other articles of produce worth notice. There is some gold dust, ivory, bees-wax, gum-copal,

gum-copal, bar-wood and cam-wood, but not in 1789. quantities, to become a considerable object of trade. 

The genius of the people on the Gold Coast, he thinks, equal to extending commerce in any thing practicable, but from their indolence, thinks that commerce could not be extended among them.

Does not think a colony could be settled on the Gold Coast, but by force.

Besides, the coast is unfavourable to an extensive commerce, in respect of rivers, harbours, or landing places. The rivers have all bars. There are no harbours, bays, or creeks, where even one of our P. 243. boats can land with safety on, except two, on that part of the Gold Coast frequented by English ships; and even those two, are very unsafe, except in fine weather. Believes, that under the Dutch settlements, there are one or two places of the same description, where a boat may land.

Whilst he frequented the coast, the Dutch, French Portugese, and by chance a Danish ship traded there.

The French have exceedingly increased their trade to Africa the last four years; this he has learnt from Frenchmen, both here and in France, and from his correspondence with French houses.

Before the late war, the Americans carried on a considerable trade, chiefly from Rhode-Island and New-Providence, to Africa, which was totally given up in the war, but is revived since the peace, and he believes carried to rather a greater extent than before.

Thinks, if the slave trade should be abolished in P. 244. Great-Britain, the same number of slaves would be bought among the other nations.

Is of opinion, that the treatment of slaves on board English ships, is preferable to that of any other nation.

Has touched at different parts of the Windward Coast, in his way to the Gold Coast, and so far as he observed,

1789. observed, slaves are procured in the same way there, and on the River Cameroom, as on the Gold Coast.

The soil on the river can produce whatever the climate will admit; but they only cultivate provisions, and some little fruits and vegetables; no grain.

P. 245. It never was his practice, nor that of any ships in which he was, or is concerned, or has known, to compel the sailors to take their discharge in the West-Indies. It is not their interest so to do. Though they have, when they arrive in the West Indies, some few men more than absolutely necessary to navigate the ships home; yet the additional charge of getting three men in the West Indies, in lieu of nine men discharged, would be nearly, if not quite, equal to the expence of bringing the nine men home, (vide the Minutes for his explanation.)

P. 246. It is customary for sailors to desert from African ships in the West Indies. Attributes it to their receiving half their pay at the selling; their getting on shore, and intoxicated; and often getting higher wages for the run home, in other ships.

Never knew a captain of an African ship, use his men ill to make them run away in the West Indies; it was ever his wish to preserve them as much as he could, knowing the additional expence, and sometimes difficulty, of getting others at any rate. Believes it is not very common for sailors to go several voyages in the same ship, with the same captain, in the slave trade: at the same time his house have had the same seamen go many voyages in their employ.

His opinion of the probable consequences of abolishing the slave trade from this country only, is, that as many negroes would be exported from Africa as now. Respecting the West India islands, concludes, they would be very materially affected by losing that most valuable branch of the trade, the exportation to foreigners, of a large proportion of the negroes imported in British ships, which are paid for generally in specie, or in West India produce.

Formerly,



Formerly, on the Gold Coast, more than one-third <sup>1789.</sup> females was procurable. For the last two years, believes every possible encouragement has been given <sup>P. 247.</sup> for females, but now they cannot obtain more than one-fourth generally; and by the last accounts, the price given for prime females, exceeded by £5 a head, what is generally given for men. Cannot account sufficiently for this scarcity. Polygamy being tolerated in Africa, believes many prime young females are kept as wives in the countries they pass through.

On the Gold Coast, more has been given by 40s. per head for males than females; but to get more of the latter, they have offered an advanced price.

One house in London has sent goods to the amount of £.100,000 in a year to Africa, including the value of their ships. Has been told of houses in Liverpool that send more.

Believes, that the voyages in which he commanded slave ships, in 1770, 1771, 1773, 1775, 1776, 1780, were all attended with a certain profit.

Has heard of the locked jaw in Africa, but it is <sup>P. 28.</sup> not common there. Does not recollect ever having had a slave ill of that disorder on board.

The natives on the Gold Coast raise a few yams at one or two places; very few sweet potatoes; no rice; no wheat.

The difference in price between pease and such beans as are carried out to feed the slaves, is very little. Thinks that the beans may in common be rather cheaper. Should think the pease as heavy as the beans per bushel.

The customary allowance in quantity to the slaves, was exactly the same of either.

The land towards the sea on the Gold Coast is <sup>P. 249.</sup> generally low and rocky, but rises as you go inland. Some of it in the back country, within view, is mountainous.

1789. Impossible to speak generally to the depth of water within 100 yards of the beach. At the landing places, 100 yards from the shore it may be six to eight feet; in other places it is not deeper near a mile off. At a medium the sea breaks 300 yards from the shore: there are seasons, and particular days in those seasons, when the sea is smoother, and may not break 20 yards from the shore. At other seasons the sea breaks in six fathom water; and in general the sea is worse near the full and change of the moon.

No tide can be perceived in ships at anchor. On shore thinks there may be a rise of at most three feet.

P. 250. Such Guinea seamen as have wives and families, or dependents, the owners pay from 10s. to 15s. per month out of their wages to such relations; and continue their allowance to their return, death or desertion of the seaman.

Thinks a seaman causelessly discharged, against his consent in the West Indies, may, on his return, prosecute the master for full wages till the ship arrives in England; and knows that such prosecutions have taken place here; when the seaman recover his wages, but does not recollect that he received any thing for his passage home, though that might have happened and escaped his knowledge.

Has given the tonnage of the six last vessels in which he traded for slaves, according to the old register, as near as he could recollect: that of the last ship was what she afterwards measured.

He laid upon the table a sample of the said beans, with a note from the person who furnished the sample, and who had always supplied him when in the African trade. The note was read, and is as follows:—

P. 251. “ Mr. Stray says, these are the only sort of beans  
 “ that are sent to Africa, they are called tick-beans;  
 “ they are also sent to the West Indies for provision  
 “ for

“ for the pegroes. If eat when green, they are equal  
 “ to the garden beans produced at this time of the  
 “ year. Horse-beans are a different sort, and not  
 “ used for slaves provisions. Mr. Stray also says,  
 “ he does not know that the tick-beans are used  
 “ for any other purpose than for exportation to  
 “ Africa and the West Indies.”

1789.



Knows that the trade of the French to Africa is considerably increased in these two years, and is now increasing. They grant considerable bounties, to the ships fitted from France for that trade; and also so much a head upon negroes imported into their islands. Believes there are only two or three places in St. Domingo where no bounty is given on negroes; in all their other islands a bounty is allowed.

The idea of abolishing the slave-trade in this country has undoubtedly given additional vigour to the French African trade; and many adventurers in the the French trade, anxiously watch the business now before this House.

Does not know the prices of horse and tick-beans; nor, that when horse-beans fell from 21s. to 22s. 6d. tick-beans are from 19s. to 21s. Knows that tick-beans, at least the beans laid on the table, have never  
 P. 252.  
 been bought here for less than 34s. per quarter in the last five years; have been at 48s. and bought by his house at 52s. in that time; he would be understood to speak to the price of these beans in the state in which they are put on board. What price they may be sold at before they are kiln-dried, split, and shelled, he does not know.

Imagines, that a West India ship of 200 tons usually employs 14 seamen. The number for a slave ship of the same burthen must depend greatly on the part of Africa she is bound to. To the river Cameroon he thinks 30.

Does not think such a vessel on her return from the West Indies to London could be conveniently navigated by 14, out of such a crew as an African ship carries.

1789. Such a vessel when light, might be safely navigated by eight or ten able seamen, and four or five landmen, or less.

P. 253. Their house had a ship which went from England to lie some time at Anamaboe, to buy slaves; some part of which were disposed of in two or three other vessels. She lay there 15 or 16 months; had, when she went out, a crew of 35 or 36, of which has been told by her commander she lost four only.

Has known crews of slave ships cut off while the vessels lay in rivers by the natives, and at sea by the slaves.

P. 254. Believes in well regulated ships the slaves are generally satisfied; but there are nations whose priests induce them to make those attempts, in expecting to get the ship to some shore, where they may form a community of their own. Other nations have an idea, that the whites buy them to kill and eat them. They are sometimes a good while on board before they are quite reconciled. Slaves sold for crimes from near the shore, are for a time discontented at separation from their friends and families; particularly while they lie near the shore, and sometimes attempt to cut off the ship's crew, and by chance succeed.

Is himself now concerned in the slave-trade.

P. 255. Very few ships have been run away with by the slaves, and those only from Gambia, and its vicinity, they having destroyed the whites except one or two, kept to navigate the ship to the nearest land. Thinks, he recollects one instance of their having got back to their coast; and another, of a ship being met with at sea, and taken possession of.

A part of the men slaves only are fettered on board. Out of 500 from the Gold Coast 120 or 125 may be women and girls; of the males, at least 100 or 125 are from the age of 15 downwards; and are never put in irons; and of the rest, a certain proportion, from the most interior parts of Africa, who are quiet, are never put in irons; so that of 500, he estimates,

estimates, not above 200, 230, or 250, would be in 1789. fetters at oncē; and in the latter part of the passage, not near so many. They are generally chained two and two together, the right leg of the one to the left leg of the other. Some of the most resolute are chained by the hand also; the bolt of the fetters is about 14 or 15 inches long; the space between the two shackles about six; but they vary in proportion to the strength and size of the men. The weight of the leg fetters shackle and bolt may be from 2 to 3 lb. Are fettered thus night and day.

The largest proportion he ever had on board was P. 256. rather better than two slaves to a ton, who certainly had room to lie on their backs.

On Gold Coast he, and he believes others, laid in from 45 to 50 gallons for every white and black on board. From the river Cameroon rather more, the passage from thence rather the longest and more uncertain. The usual passage is from seven to nine weeks, and the calculation is made for 90 days, at half a gallon per day. Provisions also for 90 days; and for some time after the ship sails, care is taken not far to exceed that allowance; but, when they get into the S. E. trade-winds, when they can calculate pretty nearly the rest of the passage, they have generally as much water and provisions as they choose.

In some slave ships from London, a still-head and worm is fixed to the slave's boiler to procure more water. When he mentions the estimate of half a gallon of water, that used for boiling, &c. was included.

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Witness examined—ALEXANDER ANDERSON, Esq.

Is a merchant in partnership with his brother, four P. 258. or five years proprietors of Bance Island, in S. Leone. They have in that time, shipped several cargoes of slaves

1789. slaves for the West Indies and S. Carolina. The average mortality from sailing to arrival at the port of delivery, has been about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. and about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. more, between arrival and sale, a space, at P. 259. an average, about ten days.

They put on board, for the negroes, provisions considered sufficient, with the addition of rice, which the captains might get on the coast. Wine was also supplied for the sick slaves, and plenty of medicine.

They have attempted to buy ivory and camwood, the only produce in that part fit for a European market; and, to encourage their agent to procure these articles, have allowed him a commission about three to one more than for buying slaves; yet not more than 120 tons of camwood in a year, and about three or four tons of ivory has been obtained.

A statement from the books, bills of lading, and letters of the house, of the average mortality of the slaves, was delivered in at the table, and read; and is inserted p. 260 of the Minutes at large. By that statement it appears, that of 1318 slaves shipped, not one three-fourths per cent. died on the passage, and not one 1-fourth per cent. died between arrivals and sales; in all not three per cent. died.

P. 261. The house keeps considerable stores on the island, and factories, with goods on other parts of the coast.

They have an agent and several clerks on the island to buy slaves, camwood, and ivory, loading their ships with those goods; and when their own ships are not on the coast, chartering others. The people on the island are altogether dependant on them.

The house had an intention of settling a cotton plantation in the neighbourhood, but were dissuaded from it by their friends, who knew the impossibility of making the Africans labour, otherwise is certain from the lands and slaves they had, they must have made a good plantation. Has heard, that Mr. R. Oswald, proprietor of the island for 20 or 30 years before they bought it, in 1785, had often regretted that he could not make the people labour; and, in

1783, he directed one of his captains to offer a premium to the natives for indigo and cotton, and that the slaves residing at Bance Island (Mr. Oswald's order produced, see p. 283) might be employed in raising rice, but without effect. 1789.

A letter produced concerning a settlement at the mouth of the river S. Leone, of free negroes from this country. Their conduct, and a great mortality among them (see p. 271 to 278) Minutes at large.

A second letter produced (see p. 279) Minutes at large.

The three voyages by the snow Mary in 1785, P. 279. 1786, 1787, and the two of the ship Concord in 1787 and 1788, referred to in the statement given in, he considered as profitable.

Has no other account of voyages for slaves, besides those delivered in. P. 281.

The slaves are brought to the factories of the house, and a valuable consideration paid for them by their agent. P. 282.

The slaves on Bance Island, called Grumettas, are generally good servants, though there are sometimes complaints against them.

#### Witness examined—Captain JACOB LORAN.

Has been 20 years master in the West India trade. Made 50 voyages in that time, reckoning out and home as two. P. 263.

In St. Kitts, there is an act against leaving sailors on shore. The master, with one security, enters into a bond of £2000 currency, that he will carry off the sailors he brought with him. This law extends to ships coming from other places, as well as Great Britain. Yet he could not prevent his sailors from deserting in the West Indies. Has been often obliged to hire others to bring his ship home. Did not know from what vessels they came. Some from merchantmen. P. 264.

1789. merchantmen, some from Guineamen. Has had  
 four, five, or six from Guineamen at a time. The  
 sailors in the African trade look on the West Indies  
 as a second port of delivery, where many of them in-  
 sist on their discharge. They go into West India  
 ships which want hands, where they generally get  
 more for the run home, than they would get by their  
 months wages in the ship, African or other, they  
 were in. Greater wages for the run home, is most  
 certainly the reason, why sailors belonging to African  
 ships, wish to go into West India ships.

Has known, in war, from 25 to 30 guineas, and as  
 many gallons of rum, per man, given for the run  
 home. In peace, from 7 to 10 guineas, according  
 P. 265. to circumstances; and generally they agree for a gal-  
 lon of rum for every guinea. In 1775, at Dominica,  
 in the ship Amherst, he engaged four by the run, and  
 gave 8 guineas and 8 gallons of rum; but though  
 he still commands a ship, he knows of no such thing  
 in the present peace. That in every trade he has  
 been in, seamen are engaged for the voyage out and  
 home; but, upon getting to the West Indies, they  
 generally go on shore, get drunk, and the first cap-  
 tain who wants men, if he advance them a little  
 money to pay their debt, will get them to go by the  
 P. 266. run. Those in the West India trade are not paid  
 half wages there, nor are entitled to any, until a  
 month after their return to the Thames. Seamen  
 desert in the West Indies, both from African and  
 West India ships; can make no distinction. Has  
 known the security, in such a bond as he has men-  
 tioned, threatened; and has seen a security pay for  
 a master £40 for a man left. Seamen deserting from  
 West India ships, in the West Indies, by the articles  
 they sign, forfeit all their wages

Seamen happened to be scarce when he was at  
 Dominica, and shipped those people, though it was  
 not wholly owing to that, that he paid so much;  
 for when he sees a good hearty fellow that he can  
 trust in a gale of wind, he always gives him a guinea  
 or



or two more, than to a man he could not trust. Believes one or two of his sailors came out of a Guinea ship Has employed men out of the King's ships. 1789.  
P. 267.

Never sold spirits, tobacco, or cloths to the seamen in his life.

Sailors often leave their ships in the West Indies. Knew an instance about four months ago, where all the sailors but one deserted; not know the cause. Was never prosecuted on his bond for sailors left behind, but has an account of a negro unintentionally carried off, whose value, £98 he was afterwards obliged to pay.

He never knew the owner or captain get a farth-P. 268. ing by desertion, though the articles stipulate that the wages shall go to them. When a seaman runs away, he generally applies to a lawyer, and the act is over-ruled generally. What is given to a sailor for the run home, is generally a good deal more than the amount of wages due to him who deserts; hence it is a heavy charge upon the ship to have their men run away. Does not know what becomes of the forfeited wages.

West India ships desire in general to come home P. 269. stronger handed than they go out.

The crew of a West India ship have their river pay, and in general a month's advance, on leaving Gravesend; and notes left with several of their wives, for so much a month till the ship's return. All which, in general, amounts to more than the wages due to the seaman at his desertion; hence it is certainly for the owner's interest, that the same people who go out in his ship, should return.

Ships of equal tonnage, by register, very much differ in real tonnage. Suppose two ships of 300 tons each, carpenter's or register tonnage, one nine feet depth of hold, the other twelve, the latter would certainly carry most.

Does not well know the construction of African P. 270. ships. Has sometimes been on board them. Never

1789. was in the trade. Believes they are in general sharp built, for sailing. The West India ships are built for burthen, full.

Witness examined—Captain JOHN MAN.

P. 284. Captain of the Grenville Bay, West Indiaman. Has been nearly 20 years in the trade. About 16 years to Grenada, and 4 to Jamaica.

Is not, nor ever was, at all concerned in the African trade.

It is the law or practice, in Grenada and Jamaica, to compel the captains of West India ships, to carry back all the sailors they carried out.

It is in general very much an object to the sailors, to get discharged from their ships in the West Indies, that they may get home by the run.

P. 285. Has always understood, but not from his own knowledge, that the West Indies was considered as the second port of delivery in the African trade.

It is common for sailors to demand their discharge at the second port of delivery.

In war, the pay they get for the run home, is more than their wages would have been, had they continued with the ship they came out in; but in peace it seldom is so much.

Has known them paid for the run home, in war, from 10 to 18 guineas, and sometimes from 25 to 30 guineas; and generally a gallon of rum for every guinea.

Has shipped sailors in the West Indies, which have desired, against the master's wish, to be discharged from African ships.

P. 286. When the ship is entered at the Custom House, Grenada, the master must enter his muster-roll, and with a surety, sign a bond, each a £1000 penalty, that a single man shall not be discharged. Yet sailors very often get away in war; the temptation of going by the run in the West Indies, may make them desert; but believes this has little or no effect in peace.

Number II.

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A B R I D G M E N T

O F T H E

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE,

TAKEN BEFORE A

*COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE,*

TO WHOM IT WAS REFERRED TO CONSIDER OF THE

S L A V E - T R A D E,

1790.



# A B R I D G M E N T

OF THE

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE,

TAKEN BEFORE A

COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE.

TO WHOM IT WAS REFERRED TO CONSIDER OF THE

SLAVE - TRADE, 1790.

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Witness Examined—JAMES FRAZER,

Has been 20 years in the African slave trade—<sup>1790.</sup> Part II.  
went out first as second mate, afterwards as chief mate, till 1772, when he became commander. P. 3.

Has made (from Bristol) 4 voyages to the coast of Angola, 1 to New Calabar, 5 to Bonny, 1 to the windward and gold coast—a part of a voyage to the windward coast, where he was captured—another voyage to the windward coast, drove from thence by a man of war—went to Angola, where, having purchased half her cargo, returned and completed it upon the windward coast. P. 4.

In his first and second voyages as master, to Angola, he resided on shore on Melimba hill—3 months the first, and in the second voyage 7 months.

The government is monarchical at Melimba, Cabenda, Loango, and at different other places he has heard—each of which are governed by distinct monarchs—whose authority, however, is frequently opposed by the principal officers.

Numb. 2.

A

These

1790.

Part II.

These officers have the power of life and death—they punish sometimes by mutilation, but commonly adjudge the convict to be sold. (P. 6.) When sentence is passed, the person in whose favour it is given is generally obliged to put it in execution; and when he cannot, he has often no other redress. In some cases the convict is fined—the fine going to the judge.

Vassals flying from one district, to put themselves under the protection of a master in another, often occasion petty wars—private feuds between particular families, continued from father to son, are another source of war. Many other causes provoke war between the principal men of the country, which the king has not power always to controul.

The number of freemen in the country is proportionally small—many find it unsafe to be free—and for protection, become voluntary vassals, or slaves, to a great man.

There are a certain description of slaves, who, by the laws of the country, cannot be sent out of it; but may be transferred from one master to another, within the country.

P. 6. The crimes cognizable by these judges are:—Blood drawn in any quarrel—abuse of men in power, by cursing in a mode peculiarly offensive in that country—adultery—poisoning and witchcraft; in the latter case, after a summary examination—the accused sometimes farther tried by ordeal, taking pills and a drink, administered by the Feticke doctor—The doctor, it is supposed, according as he is paid, so composing those pills, as to have a favourable or unfavourable effect—if the accused is found guilty, the magistrate pronounces sentence—to be sold, or put to death, if the convict is of the lower or middling rank; and a heavy fine upon such as they cannot compel to undergo the trial personally, but who do it by deputy, and who are too powerful to be reduced to slavery. Having acquired their language in a great

great measure, he has sometimes attended one of these trials for 12 hours. 1790.

Part II.

The families of the persons sold become the slaves of the accuser. The fines are paid, either in slaves, a common medium of payment in purchases of large value, or in goods, or in the proper money of the country (which is a grass cloth). P. 7.

Has understood, that debts of long standing have, by order of the magistrate, been adjudged to be paid seven fold, agreeable to custom. P. 8.

Debtors unable to pay are liable first to have their slaves seized—then their children—their women next—and lastly themselves, if the debt still remains unsatisfied.

Cannot speak to his own knowledge of any human sacrifices in this part of Africa.

The national productions of Angola are, cassada, calavances, plantanes, bananas, a few yams, a few sweet potatoes, pumpkins, water melons, Indian corn, tobacco, and, though he never saw any, there must be some cotton, as they make a sort of cloths like what are made in the Portuguese islands, but of no value in trade—having been long absent from that country, cannot particularize any other articles.

A little tobacco is produced on the banks of the river Ambris (after being fertilized by the inundation in the rainy seasons) with very little labour.

Has heard of partial famines in that country, and felt the effects of them sometimes—in not being able to purchase sufficient country provisions for the slaves—these may be occasioned by a failure in the rainy seasons, but oftener by the indolence of the natives; and, perhaps, by the impossibility of preventing their crops from being stolen. The people are professed thieves. P. 9.

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

Europeans, trading on the coast of Angola for slaves, have factories on shore at Melimba, Cabenda, and Loango—to which the people from the interior

1790. parts bring down slaves, a journey of one, two, and  
 Part II. sometimes three months—those they barter for goods,  
 and sometimes return with fresh slaves in a month or  
 six weeks.

Those brought for sale to those factories are commonly of three nations—the Majumbas, supposed to come from a tract of land situated from the equinoxial line, to the latitude of 3 or 4 degrees south—the Congoes, from the kingdom of Congo, supposed to extend from  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to 7 degrees south—the Madungoes, from the interior part of the country, and are a long time in coming down to the coast; they are supposed to be Canibals, and, when the question has been put to them, if they eat one another in their country, they owned it, saying it was the sweetest flesh they knew—Of the the Madungoes, few are brought for sale.

As to the Congoes and Majumbas, he generally understood that the black traders bought them in the country; and sometimes they were brought down for  
 P. 10. sale by the original proprietors. The number from those two countries are nearly equal, with this difference, that when a war subsists in either country, there are seldom any slaves brought from the country at war. Either from the attention of the natives being by that means diverted from every other object, or that the merchants find it dangerous to travel through the country at the time, war is carried on by ambush and surprize, rather than by pitched battle  
 P. 11. in the open field.

The captives thus made, are sold, and he has had their friends come and redeem such as he had bought some weeks after. Numbers of slaves are obtained in this way, though but few sold to him; and the proportion of such sold to Europeans, small upon the whole, compared to what there may be, upon some other parts of the coast.

Thinks the greater part sold at Angola were born slaves, because they appear generally cheerful and contented, and seldom express any resentment against those



those who sold them. Some Congo princes sold him 1790.  
 some of their own slaves—and one of them in parti- Part II.  
 cular sold him one of his wives (p. 10.)—People of  
 Angola have as many wives as they can afford.—  
 There may be a greater proportion of convicts among P. 12.  
 the slaves sold there than can possibly be known, as  
 they all say they were honest, and knew not for what  
 they were sold. Does not know of any slaves ob-  
 tained by Europeans, by force or fraud. He has  
 been applied to by some principal men of the coun-  
 try to assist in seizing as a slave, a person who, they  
 said, was condemned for crimes, and had armed  
 himself in defence—but he had always refused. Be-  
 lieves (though he has not known any) that cases have  
 happened among the natives of kidnapping each other  
 —the offender, in such case, if discovered, would be  
 severely punished, as well by the friends of the person  
 stolen, as by the sovereign of the country, (p. 9.)  
 The black traders come to the forts attended by some  
 of the people on the coast as brokers. They examine  
 minutely the goods that are offered them, and if satis-  
 fied with the quantity and quality, the bargain is  
 completed. In cases where the assortment of goods  
 has not pleased them, or where the slaves have been  
 refused by the Europeans—has known them sell a few P. 13.  
 to the people on the coast, at very low prices, and  
 carry the rest back—has seen them sometimes beat and  
 threaten the refuse slaves, who appeared always anxious  
 to be sold with the rest. Those of them who were  
 young did not seem to be under the same apprehen-  
 sions as the old; from whence he concluded the latter  
 to be criminals, under fear of some sort of punishment.

Ships usually give long notice on the coast of their  
 intention to sail—the notice given, is loosing the fore-  
 tops sail at sun rising, and firing a gun.—Supposes  
 this notice is understood even by the slaves on board,  
 as well as by the natives—the slaves appear gener-  
 ally impatient to leave the coast.—The hour of sail-  
 ing, is indifferently in the day or night, as the wind  
 serves.

1790.  
Part II. Thinks there is a trade in slaves carried on between Angola and the eastern parts of Africa.

Considered the practice of taking Pawns as a very bad one—it prevails at Angola, the windward coast, and believes at other places—but seldom at Bonny. People will pawn their slaves, children, or other relations, to procure goods—some of the great men, will, perhaps, in a fit of passion, order some of their friends to be sold—those who are obliged to put this order in execution, will sometimes deliver the person as a pawn, taking his value in return—putting it thus in the power of the master to redeem the pawn. Captains of ships are sometimes detained 2 or 3 days after they are ready to sail, waiting for the redemption of the pawns left with them—which, when the friends are unable to do, they will borrow slaves for that purpose from another vessel that is to remain a longer time upon the coast, and pawn them anew—has known epidemical distempers conveyed by this means from ship to ship, to the destruction of many slaves. Pawns are always considered as slaves until redeemed, and when their friends refuse or are unable to redeem them, they are carried off and sold—has sometimes been desired by pawns to carry them away, rather than they should be shifted from ship to ship upon the coast.

P. 16. Used to be daily on shore for 2 or 3 months at a time, in each of his 5 voyages to Bonny, has acquired a general knowledge of the government of the country—has heard there are 17 towns dependent on Bonny, some of which he knows—there are at Bonny a certain number of people who are supposed to have an equal right to be at the head of the government.—As it derives its consequence from commerce, masters of ships have upon the death of a king, a great influence in appointing his successor.

P. 17. There are 9 parliament men, who with the king and a number of principal people of the towns make laws for the time—but at present the king, influenced by the priests, directs every thing. The greater part

part of the inhabitants of Bonny are slaves—but as the safety of the town depends upon the exertions of the whole—many of the slaves scarce know themselves such, until by committing some offences they subject themselves to punishment—or to be sold. 1790.  
Part II.

A certain number of the inhabitants are universally acknowledged to be free—there are also a number of slaves, who themselves possess 40, 50, or more slaves, and are allowed by their masters to carry on trade as freemen. Slaves purchased from the interior part of the country may be sold at the will of their master—but those born in the town cannot be sold out of it, but unless found guilty of certain crimes. It is generally supposed the master, from his own interest, will not falsely accuse his slaves.

Freemen charged with crimes, are brought before a tribunal of freemen, parliament men, and priests; if convicted, he undergoes punishment, which is generally arbitrary; cannot speak particularly to the crimes thus tried; some of them are, poisoning; formerly much practised at Bonny, but rarely now; a freeman convicted of this was to be put to death, and buried under ground—a slave thrown alive to the sharks—adultery and witchcraft are also tried before this tribunal—knows not if theft is—believes it is punished, in a freeman, by fine—in a slave, at the will of his master. For some crimes the convict is adjudged to be sold; but not out of the country, except in particular cases. P. 18.

Slaves at Bonny generally procured by people that live in the Up Country. If there are wars, they go in their war canoes to the places in the Up Country where the fairs are held. The old or unfaleable are sent back by the Bonny canoes, together with the goods received for such as had been sold.

Has known no instances of white traders possessing themselves of Slaves by fraud or force; detection in such an attempt would be attended perhaps with destruction, if not with a heavy fine—the black traders

1790. traders do sometimes arrest men for debts real or pretended, and obtain a judgment allowing them to sell such persons for slaves.

At Bonny there are generally two prices current for slaves—the ships preparing to sail paying higher than those newly arrived. The price is settled by the king, the factors, and a captain—When the king breaks, or opens trade with the ship, the assortment of the cargo is sufficiently known to all the traders—the captain usually goes on shore to view the slaves in the traders' houses—at night—if any then taken on board are found faulty, they are returned early next morning. The trader comes on board when he thinks proper, for payment—and then, not before, he and his people examine the goods very minutely.

Never knew an instance of ships leaving the river Bonny, without giving previous notice, although not necessary there.

P. 21. There are many circumstances by which all the people in Bonny are sufficiently warned of the ships being ready to depart.

The mode of carrying on trade at Calabar, does not differ essentially from that at Bonny.

P. 22. The government there is similar to that of Bonny—the town has been for several years past governed by a man whose condition is that of a slave—his name Amachree—he was obliged to support his master for several years, though his own wealth gave him power over him, and he often flogged him when displeased.

There is generally a weekly fair at Calabar for slaves—they can sell their canoe boys, which the people of Bonny are not permitted to do, even though they may have been brought from the interior country, as they are deemed useful to the country in general.

Believes there are no natural productions in the countries of Bonny and Calabar, which might become subjects of exportation—there is a little ivory—and a few cotton cloths brought thither from other places; but these are too dear, or of too coarse a quality—the kings at both places are obliged to keep a certain

certain number of teeth, 2 or 3 for each ship— 1790.  
 sometimes they make their scarcity a pretence for Part II.  
 non payment—the cloths come from Benin, the Brassa-  
 pan country, &c.—a little palm oil is also sometimes  
 bought at Calabar and Bonny—but seldom more than  
 is wanted for the Slaves provisions.

Has been often on the windward coast—not in every P. 23.  
 part.

The country in general produces rice, Guinea  
 corn, cassada, plantains, bananas, limes, pine apples,  
 oranges, and such other fruits as are to be found in  
 the West Indies—has bought ivory at most parts of  
 the coast he frequented, and camwood at one place.

Ships accustomed to slave there send their boats  
 along shore and up rivers; they also establish facto-  
 ries on shore.

Knows most part of the coast of Africa from Cape P. 24.  
 de Verd to Cape Negro. The soundings are for the  
 most part very regular, and the ground favourable for  
 anchorage. Respecting harbours, says there are  
 several places where he conceives ships may lye with  
 safety, viz. Gambia and Sierra Leon, and, perhaps,  
 some other rivers on the windward coast. There are  
 others at Bonny and Calabar, and believes at Old Ca-  
 labar. The current of the Congo is so rapid that  
 ships cannot at all times get in. At Mount Negro,  
 lat. 10 deg. south, there is a very deep bay, open, he  
 thinks, from south west to north west. The anchor-  
 age good—a good rivulet of fresh water—the coun-  
 try, as far as the eye can reach, an arid sand, desti-  
 tute of all vegetation. There is some risque from  
 the bars and shoals at the entrance of Rivers—but  
 believes that experienced persons may at all times,  
 when the wind permits, go into the river Gambia  
 and Sierra Leon.

On the windward coast, between the shoals of St.  
 Anne and Cape Palmar, and from thence down to  
 the Gold Coast, knows no place where, in the rainy  
 season, ships boats can land with safety. The assist-  
 ance of canoes is at that time necessary, which are

1790. also often overfet and the goods destroyed—it is  
 Part II. much the fame at Bonny in the bad feafon; with this  
 difference, that the Tornado blows from the fhore on  
 the windward coaft, but towards the fhore at Bonny; there are fome places fheltered by rocks, where a landing may be effected, and boats, acquainted with the bars, can go into the rivers, but no veffels that draw much water. The currents are fo ftrong and the fea fo rough, that no feamen are equal to the labour of rowing to and from fhore. The fea beats more violently on the fhores than he ever faw in any other part of the world, at the full and change of the moon.

P. 25. It is feldom that a fufficiency of provifions can be got any where on the coaft, either for the middle paffage or while the fhip is trading; believes moft Englifh fhips buy what country provifions they can get, though generally furnifhed from England with a fufficiency for the whole voyage; that intended for the negroes confifting of beans, rice, fome ftock fifh, flour, bread, and beef.

The flaves while in the hands of the black traders for fale, are fed on corn or plantains; failing thefe, on the root of the caffada.

The flaves who are natives of the fea coaft, fhew a reluctance at leaving it and their relations, but the number of thofe is very inconfiderable.

P. 26. With refpect to the arrangement on board for the accommodation of the flaves, and their treatment while lying on the coaft and on the middle paffage—Says, on the coaft of Angola, they are fo long in purchafing the cargo, that the fhip is fit for fea feveral days before the purchafe is completed. The fpace between decks is ufually divided into 3 apartments—the fexes are feparated, and the boys have a room by themfelves. The Angola flaves being very peaceable, are feldom confined in irons—and they are allowed to keep below or upon deck, as they pleafe—it is defirable to have them all day upon deck, and engaged in fome exercife—thofe who  
 fleep

sleep in the day, disturb others in the night, and if permitted to talk then, it adds considerably to the heat below. Particular attention is paid to keeping the ships clean between decks, and some think, (though he is not of the number) that frequent washing the floors is pernicious, from the difficulty of thoroughly drying them.

1790.  
Part II.

P. 30.

So soon as the slaves are brought up, a canvas hose, or pipe, is fixed to the head pumps, and conveys the water down between decks, which are scrubbed usually with bricks and sand, then washed clean, and swabbed as dry as possible. Pans with strong fires, are placed in different parts, which generally dry between decks perfectly in an hour—but the fires are generally kept an hour or two longer—if the weather and time of day permit—tobacco, brimstone, &c. are frequently burnt below to sweeten the rooms. Every ship has gratings, and most have air ports, others have different contrivances to admit air.

P. 31.

In rainy weather, though not cold, it is thought unsafe to admit them upon deck, when they desire it. There are also cold fogs and dews which make it necessary sometimes to keep them below; but they are commonly so sensible of cold, that no restraint is then necessary—they seldom complain of heat while the air is sweet—they complain often of cold between decks—they will often sleep exposed to the heat of the sun—a proof they can bear heat better than Europeans—they are accustomed in Africa to have fire in their huts, at once to keep them warm, and drive away the Muskitoes—they lye

P. 32.

close together, the face of one to the back of another—this is also a common custom among the slaves on board—care is likewise taken to keep them clean in their persons, by washing and furnishing them with palm oil, when it is to be had. Particular care is taken as to their provisions, conforming them as near as may be to what they had been used to in Africa. Plantains, bananas, &c., will not keep at sea; but in every voyage he has made to Angola or to any other country, he had always as much provi-

1796. fions as they could eat, and sufficient wine and spiri-  
 Part II. tuous liquors for the use of the negroes and ship's  
 company — when ailing, the surgeon's orders were,  
 and he had free leave, to give them any thing in the  
 ship. As good a stock of fresh provisions were laid in  
 on the coast as could conveniently be kept on board.  
 It is desirable, and is their own wish, to make their  
 meals upon deck; and, though their food is boiled  
 to a consistency to be eat without, a spoon is given  
 to each, which, however, they will seldom use—they  
 are generally 10 in a mess—when done eating, they  
 are allowed to drink as much usually as they chuse  
 —they have regularly 2 meals a day, and almost al-  
 ways a middle meal, of bread, and beef, pork, or  
 stock-fish, &c.; sometimes calavances, of which  
 they are in general fond. This middle meal not be-  
 ing customary in their own country, they consider  
 as an indulgence. The most humane of the ship's  
 company are generally appointed to attend the slaves  
 and serve their provisions. The chief officers have  
 their respective stations to attend them. Their ge-  
 P. 28. neral cheerful disposition is encouraged — they have  
 frequent amusements peculiar to their country—lit-  
 tle games with stones or shells, dancing, jumping,  
 and wrestling—they are nevertheless apt to quarrel;  
 and it is the character of an African to be impla-  
 cable.

P. 29. A sum of money is allotted to the surgeon, that  
 he may supply himself with the necessary medicines  
 for the voyage: it is his duty, of which he is often  
 reminded, to inquire every morning into the state of  
 health of the slaves. For the sick slaves some apart-  
 ment is allotted where they are least likely to be mo-  
 lested. The master and officers are interested in the  
 health and safety of the slaves. Should any die, the  
 surgeon loses his head money, which is a fee of a  
 shilling for each slave sold, paid out of the proceeds  
 of the cargo; and the captain his commission of so  
 much per cent. upon the gross or nett produce of the  
 cargo, according to agreement with his owner.

Should



Should the slaves be brought to market in a sickly 1790.  
 state, the officers, 1st and 2d mates and surgeon, will Part II.  
 lose upon their privilege slaves, for which they are  
 paid at the average rate of the cargo. The captain  
 also had formerly privilege slaves and coast commis- P. 30.  
 sions; but the mode of paying him by a commission  
 on the proceeds of the cargo in the West Indies is  
 now most general, and deemed the most equitable,  
 as making the owner's and master's interests reci-  
 procal.

The climate of the coast of Angola generally  
 considered healthy; but the change of the seasons P. 31.  
 have a similar effect upon the constitution as in this  
 country, and affects natives as well as strangers—  
 frequently had severe illnesses himself, but never P. 32.  
 lost any of his crew or slaves there.

The weather to be met with from thence to the  
 West Indies depends upon the season at leaving the  
 coast, but in general the passages from Angola are  
 safe and sure.

In the ships which he has sailed in from Angola  
 the mortality has been very moderate, either among  
 the slaves or the crew.

Made two voyages as second and chief mate from  
 Angola; one in the *Amelia* of Bristol, the other in P. 33.  
 the *Polly*, both commanded by Capt. Thomas Dun-  
 can. In the *Polly* (cannot speak to her tonnage)  
 they purchased nearly 500 slaves; the mortality be-  
 lieves was very small; average price very high—this  
 voyage concluded in 1772.

Commanded the ship *Catherine* in 1772; made 2  
 voyages from Angola to South Carolina; her tonnage  
 about 140 by register; purchased upwards of 80  
 slaves; lost about 8 on the coast; on the middle pas-  
 sage, as far as he recollects, the loss very moderate;  
 lost one seaman on the middle passage, and a boy at  
 Charlestown.

In second voyage purchased upwards of 300  
 slaves; was not permitted to sell them in Carolina;  
 obliged to return to the West Indies; ship in a dis-  
 tressed

1790. treffed condition, nearly foundered at sea; lost, if  
 Part II. he recollects right, 2 or 3 slaves upon the coast;  
 mortality at sea very trifling till the ship became  
 leaky; cannot speak to the exact number who died;  
 lost 3 or 4 seamen on the coast and middle passage.

P. 34. Ships bound for Bonny and Calabar carry generally from England beans, sometimes rice, flour, bread, and beef, but never in so large quantities as to Angola, as the slaves have commonly one or more meals a day of yams; except in this respect they are messed exactly as on the trade from Angola—generally eat the beans and rice with reluctance, always preferring yams, the usual food of their country.

Being more vicious than the Angola slaves, they are kept under stricter confinement; shew also more reluctance at leaving the coast; of opinion that white men intend to eat them; supposed to arise from their being themselves canibals.

Many of them appear half starved when brought down for sale; likewise complain of want of provisions and other hard treatment in their own country; but as officers are not permitted to go up the rivers, little can be known of the inland country.

P. 35. Ships trading at Bonny generally take in their water there; they can water at 3 or 4 different places besides—at Calabar there are 2 watering places, both frequented.

Some vessels call at St. Thomas's for refreshments; he never did.

Does not recollect the mortality on board the Alexander, which he commanded in a voyage from Calabar in 1776, but it was very moderate.

The mortality next year on board the Valiant, commanded by him, was considerable—of about 500 slaves, lost above 100, occasioned by the measles.

On board the Tartar, which he commanded in a voyage from the windward and gold coast, of from 270 to 280 slaves, the loss did not exceed 3; the crew 60, of which 2 that were foreigners died on the  
 gold

gold coast, and 1 drowned on the windward coast, 1790. the remainder he believes he carried in good health Part II. to Jamaica; thinks the burthen of the Tartar was 140 to 160 tons; in this vessel he was taken, and P. 36. lost all his papers, of course has no documents to refer to respecting this or former voyages.

Commanded the Emilia in a voyage in 1783, begun on the windward coast; drove from thence by a French ship of war; sailed to the river Ambris, purchased there 140 to 150 slaves; returned to the windward coast and completed his cargo; had nearly an equal quantity he thinks of Angola and Windward-coast slaves; mortality on the passage very small; reason why he does speak with certainty, came to town on private business, and not expecting to be called upon to speak in this business, brought no papers with him; was on the coast on this voyage he thinks 8 or 9 months.

He made 4 voyages in the same ship from Bonny: in the first, of 490 slaves, lost 50, sold the remainder at Dominica; the mortality in part occasioned by the ship getting aground on the bar in going out, which obliged the air ports to be shut; this was acknowledged by the underwriters, who, upon application, were willing to pay a part of the loss, but P. 37. there being no precedent to go by, the owners dropt their claim; mortality of the crew on this voyage inconsiderable; they were seldom employed from the ship, and sheltered there from the rains and dews by an awning of mats.

In the 2d voyage purchased 420 slaves; lost on the coast and in the passage to Jamaica upwards of 30—the crew 40 to 44, of which he thinks lost 4 on the coast and passage.

Purchased in the 3d voyage upwards of 400; lost in the passage to Grenada about 40—crew upwards of 40, lost about 4.

In the 4th voyage purchased about 570; sent off 150 of these in a tender to St. Thomas's; of these has been informed 5 died, and one of the crew was lost

1790. lost by accident. He carried the remainder of his  
 Part II. purchase to St. Kitt's; lost upwards of 20 on the  
 coast and in the passage; lost near 20 more while  
 lying in Basseterre road by an epidemical disorder  
 which then prevailed over all the island: of the  
 crew (44 or 45 in number) 3 or 4 died, but cannot  
 speak positively.

P. 38. In his last voyage to Jamaica the mortality on the  
 coast, middle passage, Kingston harbour, and on  
 shore, previous to sale, exceeded 100; the hurri-  
 cane came on before the day of sale, and drove most  
 of the ships on shore; the slaves suffered much dur-  
 ing the bad weather; there was a scarcity of water,  
 and a total want of country provisions; the stock of  
 yams brought from Africa was expended; they were  
 indifferently fed, and very badly lodged on shore,  
 the places appropriated for their shelter being des-  
 troyed by the hurricane; had been advertised for  
 sale at two different times, but no purchasers ap-  
 peared; the disorder which they are usually subject  
 to in their own country, together with the fever that  
 then raged in Kingston, broke out amongst them;  
 mortality, after the ship's arrival, 60 to 70, but can-  
 not speak precisely.

With respect to the additional extraordinary pre-  
 cautions taken with the slaves from Bonny, they (the  
 Brass-pan men excepted) are secured as the wind-  
 ward and gold-coast slaves; the full-grown men are  
 chained two and two with leg-irons and handcuffs;  
 when their number is large, and any of the sailors  
 sick or absent, or the captain on shore, it is neces-  
 sary to confine them below; so soon as the ship was  
 out of sight of land, he usually took off their hand-  
 cuffs, and soon after their leg-irons; never had the  
 slaves, even from the gold and windward coast, in  
 irons during the middle passage, except a few who  
 were mutinous.

On board the ships he commanded there was al-  
 ways plenty of provisions and water, but not always  
 the sort they liked best.

He once arrived in the West Indies rather short of provisions, but neither the slaves nor ship's crew were put to short-allowance. 1790. Part II.

As to the crews of Guinea ships, there was a greater proportion of landmen before the last war than since—never knew any exact proportion observed; but, since the last peace, there are many half seamen that are seldom received into any other trade than that to Guinea. In the *Alexander*, his crew of 39 was thus made up; 10 officers, 6 able seamen, about 15 half seamen—the remaining 8 landmen. P. 39.

One voyage with the *Catharine* he had 14 able seamen, both these in time of peace; aboard the *Tartar*, during the war, had 16 or 18 able seamen.

It was his wish and orders, that the seamen should be treated with tenderness; he paid every necessary attention to the health and safety of every individual aboard his ship. The surgeon was constantly provided with a medicine chest, and had liberty to give the sick wine, fresh provisions, and every refreshment on board—their respective mess-mates had orders likewise to give every necessary attendance and assistance. P. 40.

Landmen less fit, when grown up, to bear the change of climate than seamen and young lads; cannot say precisely whether young lads or seamen suffer most, as too many of the latter come diseased on board the Guinea ships.

With respect to wages, it has been the custom at Bristol, to pay from 1 to 3 mos. advance sterling before sailing; in the W. Indies, the wages for half the time that has elapsed since sailing from Bristol, is paid in currency. P. 39.

No part of the crew can be discharged in the West Indies, but by the authority of a chief magistrate, who must indemnify the master of the ship, who has previously given bond of 1500l. and the factor another for same sum at the Secretary's office, that none of the crew shall be left to distress the country.

1790. Some of the crew frequently apply to attorneys at  
 Part II. law to obtain their discharge; and the Vice-President  
 of the Admiralty, on the request, usually issues an  
 order to the Captain to comply; the men so dis-  
 charged, are often a burthen to the country, con-  
 tracting sickness from idleness and intemperance; no  
 seaman or landman can be forced to receive their  
 discharge before the conclusion of the voyage.

P. 41. Thinks it is neither for the interest of the owners,  
 nor the crew, that the Commander should be allowed  
 to discharge a man in the West Indies; because, in  
 discharging one man, he always conceived that every  
 other man in the ship had a right to the same if he  
 desired it; he understood this to be the custom in  
 merchant ships, and that sailors generally avail them-  
 selves of it; for which reason if any offender, sea-  
 man or landman, wished for his discharge, to re-  
 main in the country, he first made him obtain the  
 concurrence of the whole ship's company in writing.

P. 41. In his last voyage to Jamaica, the sailors became  
 very quarrelsome among themselves, and I discharged  
 from 12 to 14 healthy people, upon condition that  
 in case they were not shipped on board other vessels  
 he would take them again, changing their names, a  
 custom very common among sailors.

Has not generally discharged any of his crew in  
 other voyages, unless compelled by the authority of  
 a magistrate, or an officer of the navy.

Some seamen who have made a voyage with him—  
 have waited till he was ready to go on another, re-  
 fusing the offer of other employment in the interval.  
 Some, both able and ordinary seamen, have gone 3  
 voyages, and a few 4.

P. 42. Mr. Alexander Falconbridge sailed two voyages  
 with him, one to the windward coast and Angola,  
 and another to Bonny, and part of a third to the  
 windward coast, when the ship was taken—Mr. F.  
 had always declared that he understood little of the  
 language of the country. In one of the voyages, in  
 which

which Mr. F. was with him, recollects the circumstance of a man being brought a-long side the ship, and delivered on board, who he believes, did not know that he was going to be sold—but from not understanding the language of the country, cannot say whether the man had been invited off to look at the ship or not. (Says he had no business to question the right of that person who sold him this man, as that might have stopped further trade between them. The fact was known to a number of traders, and the man was put on board publicly in the forenoon; never was applied to to deliver him up again.)

1790.  
Part II.

P. 43.

In that voyage to Bonny, when Mr. F. was with him, a few of the slaves there purchased, informed him, that they were taken forcibly or by surprize; (he means in the manner in which he has described the Angola wars) many of them owned they were slaves in their own country, but the little knowledge he had of the language did not enable him to distinguish those that were born slaves, or made such; does not believe the practice of kidnapping by small parties from 5 to 10, and bringing slaves to the black people's houses, can exist at Bonny.

Recollects, that while trading at the river Ambris, a signal was made one afternoon from the land, for him to come on shore with his boat, when a person was sold and delivered to him, who, being a fisherman, was accused of having asked a greater price for his fish than he ought; he was himself the only person in the ship that understood a word of the language of the natives; they told him the man was a great rogue; the principal officers, and the King's people were present when the goods were paid for him; these officers, as their titles implied, he considered as the Minister of Finance and of the war department; knows nothing at all of this man's guilt, observed that he behaved very insolently, and heard him accused of asking more for his fish than customary—does not know of any other crime besides ex-

C 2  
tortion

1790. tortion charged against the fisherman—they were not  
 Part II. obliged to tell if there was.

From his own knowledge while in health, and the report of his officers while sick, he judged that twice as many slaves were returned to the country as he bought—for the reasons before given—that if they had been kidnapped, a trader would probably have sold them at any price, rather than carry them back, at the hazard of a discovery.

P. 44. When arrived at the river Ambris in that voyage, Mr. F. was with him—he was told by the natives, that his was the first ship that had been slaving on that coast for several years—of which he acquainted his officers. His ship was several weeks upon the coast at that time, before any slaves were offered for sale—cannot say the exact time—he purchased at different times a few slaves from the towns on the sea coast—the slaves, when no ships lye there, are sent to St. Paul de Loando or Cabenda—Every time he has traded at the river Ambris, if there was no vessel there before him, it was some time before the slaves from the interior part of the country were brought down—does not recollect any instance at this place, of a slave being reclaimed by the government of the country, as having been improperly sold—but has known instances at Melimba—in such cases, he was always offered and accepted a slave in exchange.

Believes the Captains seldom or never enquire concerning the right which those persons who offer negroes for sale have to dispose of them—believes every Captain would be considered as a fool by any trading man, to whom he put such a question.

The slaves in general have not a great aversion to horse-beans—those purchased at Cabenda and Melimba always eat beans when mixed with rice, with much satisfaction The country about the Ambris produces a great deal of calavances.—The slaves he purchased there, were fonder of calavances, Indian corn and cassada, than of any other food—they are not

very



very fond of beans, but like them well enough when mixed with rice and stock fish. 1790.  
Part. II.

When negroes have refused their food, he has always used persuasion—force is always ineffectual.

Never did hold hot coals to a negro, threatening to make him swallow them, if he persisted in refusing to eat—and defies any person to prove that he has done so. P. 45.

Being at one time sick in his cabin, the chief mate and surgeon once and again came to inform him, that there was a man upon the main deck, that would neither eat, drink, or speak—he desired them to use every means in their power to persuade him to speak, and assign reasons for his silence—desired that some of the other slaves should be employed to endeavour to make him speak;—when informed, that he still remained obstinate, and not knowing whether it was sulkeness or insanity, he ordered the chief mate, or surgeon, or both, to present him with a piece of fire in one hand, and a piece of yam in the other, and to report what effect that had upon him—he was told that the man took the yam and eat it, and threw the fire overboard—this man was afterwards shewn to him, drest in a frock and trowsers, which had been given him by the sailors, for washing and mending their clothes—and he sold for upwards of 40l. at Grenada.

He has sometimes threatened them, when they were sulky, and would not eat their provisions, telling them they should have no yams if they did not eat their beans—has sometimes found it necessary to punish, or cause to be punished slightly, some of the slaves for different offences—Mr. F. was frequently employed to do this with his own hands—who never said he thought what was ordered unreasonable, or did it in a manner that shewed he thought the punishment undeserved—the reason for ordering Mr. F. to do this, was, that he judged him a properer person than any other; because in general, he was attentive

1790. attentive to the slaves.—Says that himself, Mr. F.  
 Part II. and the chief mate have often been provoked to pun-  
 ish slaves slightly without any great cause—their  
 peevishness, perverseness, and obstinacy, counter-  
 acting most of his endeavours to keep them comfort-  
 able, and relieve them in their sea-sickness and other  
 complaints—has with his own hands punished failors  
 for mal-treating negroes.

P. 46. Recollects, that when lying in the river Ambris,  
 very sick in his cabin, a number of women, by ne-  
 glect of locking the gun-port gratings, got out and  
 attempted to swim on shore. There were 3 among  
 the number from the King's town at Ambris. Be-  
 lieves they were all taken up again, and brought on  
 board. The ship was then about a mile from shore.  
 One of the black traders, who had come on board on  
 some pretended business, late at night, contrary to  
 the custom of the country, was suspected of having  
 induced these women to leave the ship.

In the river Bonny, and elsewhere, precautions  
 are used to prevent slaves from going overboard;—  
 on the coast of Angola never knew any precautions  
 taken. Women and boys are never confined.

It was his custom, in the river Bonny, to send the  
 ailing slaves on shore, when there were but few; and  
 if their disorder required the aid of a surgeon, he  
 always sent the surgeon to visit them; when reco-  
 vered, they were brought on board; if they died,  
 they were also brought along side, to be satisfied that  
 they were not stolen away. The female which he  
 supposes alluded to in the question, after suffering  
 much from sea-sickness, and seeming to pine and  
 waste, was sent on shore, and left in charge of one  
 of her own countrywomen; was informed she hanged  
 herself;—all he knows is, that she was brought along-  
 side when dead. She was an Ebo slave from the in-  
 terior country.

Never understood that it was frequent with the  
 slaves of that country to hang themselves.

Never

Never knew any one claim a right to dispute the right of the great men of the country of Angola to sell their friends, relations, or families. 1790. Part II.

As he always paid the price of a slave for every pawn he received, he must have understood that the person who delivered such pawn, had a right to pawn or to sell him; and such pawn not being redeemed, it was considered as a purchase;—but is not sufficiently acquainted with the laws of the country, to answer precisely to the question, Whether no persons are put on board ships as pawns, but such as are liable to be sold by the custom of the country. The laws being often made for the occasion, it is impossible to tell for what description of crimes persons may be sold to the Europeans. P. 47.

On the windward coast, where he has mentioned canoes being often overset, and goods lost, such accidents happen more frequently in going on shore than in coming off. The slaves in general are brought off in canoes, the people on shore assisting to push them clear beyond the surf, when they are taken into the ships boats.

Never knew an instance of slaves confined in those canoes.

He has sometimes allotted a part of the cabin for the sick; at other times, part of the boys room.

It is often necessary on the middle passage, but never knew an instance of the gratings being covered and the air ports shut at the same time. P. 48.

Does not believe it a general practice for sailors to desert from Guinea ships to ships of war in the West Indies; it happened twice to himself.

It is common for sailors to desert from Guinea ships in the West Indies, when seamen are scarce, and a high price given for the run home;—has heard them often declare, before they left England, that this was one of the reasons for which they endeavoured to have a higher advance of wages before they embarked.

1790. Is at present unemployed in the slave trade, but  
Part II. shall be soon.

P. 49. The fines imposed on convicts, go, first, to the relations of the persons poisoned. The doctor is paid by both parties, and shares in the fines, and the King and chief officers have also part of them.

Respecting the treatment of slaves in that country—has seen them at meals sitting round their master.

Never saw an instance of a vessel lost on the coast of Africa; has heard of some, but few.

He used to lay in, for a passage from Angola, Bonny, or the windward coast, from 60 to 80 gallons of water per man, and had generally a fourth of his stock left at the end of his voyage.

P. 51. Does not recollect any instance of Captains being convicted of leaving sailors in the West Indies, and paying the penalty;—never had any law dispute himself with any of his people.

Grass cloth passes for money in Africa as brass money or small change does with us;—has seldom seen a sufficient quantity of it to purchase a slave.—Much of it is destroyed in wrapping up the dead;—has also seen it worn by the natives.

P. 52. Believes persons supposed accessory to witchcraft, are liable to be burnt.

Believes a number of the aged slaves are criminals, or considered as such. A circumstance at the river Ambris, related to him on his second voyage with Capt. Duncombe, makes him think that a number of them are put to death. A Cabenda boy, whom he had with him as a linguist, informed him that a slave whom he had refused to purchase, was put to death in the following manner: The owner, (who was from the inland country) calling the traders and fishers together under a tree, accused him of dishonesty; said that he had run off thrice, and thereby cost him more than he was worth, in the customary rewards for apprehending him; that he gained nothing by his labour; and that the white man having refused

refused him, he would put him to death, to save 1790. further expence, and as an example to his other Part II. slaves. This he instantly executed, with circum-  
stances of most horrid cruelty.

From what befel this slave, who he did not suppose P. 53. to be very criminal, they have a right, it would appear, to put their own slaves to death; and of course any useless criminal, or old slave, may be supposed liable to like treatment; in which he is confirmed by another circumstance. Having gone on shore in the evening, for the benefit of the air, accompanied by his linguist, he was led by him to a spot where some of the countrymen were going to kill a sucking child. Upon being asked the reason, they said it was of no value: having requested, in that case, that it might be given to him, he was answered, that if he had any use for the child, it was worth money; he finally bought it for a jug of brandy, and it happened to belong to a young female whom Captain Lawson had bought that very day. Capt. Lawson thanked him, and carried it on board. On its being presented to the mother, she fell on her knees, and kissed his feet.

The last time he was at Melimba, there were some Romish missionaries settled at Chelango, but it produced no effect on the manners of the natives.

Did not mean to say that the domestic slaves, or followers, were well fed; they might be so, if industrious; most parts of the country which he has seen being tolerably fertile—but never saw any man working in the grounds, that being the women's province. Seldom any of them came to his factory, who were not hungry, and glad of the worst provisions he had to spare. No large tracts that might be ploughed or planted, but here and there very fertile spots.

Has been witness to a mode of carrying on war at Melimba between the great men of the country, P. 55. but no captives were made in it.

Numb. 2.

D

In

1790. In every voyage he has made, there was always  
 Part II. more than room enough for the slaves, except in the  
 first voyage to Bonny in the Emilia.

The disorders incident to seamen aboard Guinea ships, are scurvy and fevers.

The seamen got at Bristol for the Guinea trade, being inferior to those of other ports, it is seldom necessary to give more wages than in the W. India trade; but in general they have had 5s. per month more.

Was a prisoner of war in Niort of Poictiers, France, for 8 months.

Has been since 10 months in France, at Bourdeaux, Nantz, St. Maloes, Havre de Grace, Harfleur, and Rouen.—Returned in August;—made every inquiry he could respecting the African trade.

P. 56. Several French merchants, having all their own vessels and officers employed, proposed to him to fit out from this country, to purchase slaves, under French colours, and carry them to St. Domingo.—Good slaves sell in general, at St. Domingo, for 60l. to 70l. sterl.—has seen the account sales of slaves.—Such friends as he formerly knew on the coast of Africa, and are now established at Nantz, St. Maloes, and Rochelle, have offered him employment for himself, and as many of his officers and friends as he would recommend.

Has been credibly informed, that the African slave trade has been considerably extended in France, since the idea of abolition was taken up in England; has been told in France, and in this country, that the merchants of Bourdeaux and others concerned in that trade, pay from 8 to 10 per cent. for money to carry it on. There were 360 sail of vessels, whose tonnage, on an average, was 252 ts. employed in the African and West-India trade from Bourdeaux;—their cargoes in general are much richer than ours, having more cotton, indigo, and coffee.

Thinks it more than probable, if the slave trade were

were abolished here, that the French would carry it on more extensively than now. 1790.  
Part II.

Believes, from the number of ships laid up in this country, from the late regulating act, the idea of abolition, and encouragements held out by the French, several persons have been employed in ships sold from hence, and fitted out from France. P. 57.

Believes it unnecessary for the Portuguese to extend their trade, possessing great part already, and most of that exclusively. The Danes, supported by Government, have (to his knowledge) tried to extend their trade from the windward and gold coast; believes they already have the means of carrying it on to more advantage than the British, if their officers and men were equally acquainted with it;—thinks there is no reason to suppose the Dutch will ever forego any commercial advantage which they can lay hold of. The people of Ostend have shewn a disposition to carry on every kind of trade that Africa and the East Indies present to them.—The Danish W. Indies are in part supplied with slaves by American vessels, bought on the gold and windward coast, and perhaps elsewhere.—The Spanish Government have opened some of their ports for African ships of all nations, and it is said that the Philippines have attempted, or are trying to commence a trade to Africa, to supply S. America;—has been told, that they wish to get their officers employed in the English or other African ships, to gain experience.

Is certain, the French have deprived the British of the trade on a considerable tract of the African coast, although he cannot prove it formally, from the disguise necessary in conducting such business.

Never made any calculation between the number of slaves he carried and the tonnage; there is no geometrical proportion between the tonnage and the places allotted for the slaves to lie in, that depending upon the form and construction of the ship, few of them being exactly alike;—believes no such idea

1790. ever entered the head of a seaman, as apportioning  
 Part II. the number of slaves to the tonnage.

Has known (to the best of his recollection) two instances, in which nine-tenths of the slaves made no complaint of sickness; has known slaves recovered by the care of the doctor, and other officers, without medicine;—every experienced surgeon knowing how averse the Africans are to taking medicine, does all he can to recover them, without giving what to them is so disgusting.

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Witness Examined.—MR. FRANCKLYN.

- P. 78. Gilbert Franklyn, Esq. a native of England, went to the W. Indies in 1766, where he principally resided in Antigua till the latter end of 1787. He chiefly superintended a number of negroes let by contract to government by himself, and the late Mr. Ant. Bacon, (his partner) in order to attend the surveyors marking out the lands to be sold in the ceded islands, and the troops, &c. employed in the service of the commissioners, which led him much among the islands, from Barbadoes to St. Kitt's inclusive. He lived from 1766 to the latter end of 1767, and from 1768 to 1770, in Antigua; from 1774 to 1776, and from 1779 to 1789, in Tobago. He was about 7 or 8 months, in 1788, in Jamaica.

Was particularly attentive to the negroes belonging to himself and his partner, which were about 400. The first negroes he knew were in Antigua. The first of which he became owner, were bought by his agent, and by contract ought to have been either seasoned, or used to the climate. A knowledge of the English language was also required, to enable them to take directions. This obliged them to give high prices for negroes no otherwise qualified, as good-seasoned negroes were seldom found on sale,  
 except



except from distress of masters; in consequence of 1790.  
 which, when a few seasoned negroes were obtained Part II.  
 for the most necessary employments, the commissioners  
 and others in the service preferred new and active  
 negroes.

These negroes were found, and, in case of death P. 80.  
 or desertion, replaced at contractors' risk. The islands  
 in which they were being in a very uncultivated state,  
 they were obliged to supply them with the same pro-  
 visions, as the troops, flour, peas, beef, and pork.  
 The quantity was directed by the king's officers.  
 They had rum also given them when thought condu-  
 cive to health. There was an agent appointed to  
 take care of them; and the same surgeon who at-  
 tended the troops, attended them at the expence of  
 the contractors.

Except carrying the chain to the woods, which  
 may be an unwholesome task, he believes this work  
 was neither heavy nor laborious. The most of them  
 were employed in attending the officers and soldiers,  
 drawing this wood and water, and assisting to cook  
 their provisions.

There was rather more mortality among them than  
 on settled plantations. They had sores in their legs  
 and feet, disabling them for service, and frequently  
 incurable. They were particularly well clothed;  
 and in order to save their feet, shoes were provided,  
 till it appeared evidently they would not wear them.  
 Some of them, he fears, were ill used by the soldiers;  
 and as he had occasion to complain, and had the sol-  
 diers punished: he knew of none neglected in illness.  
 He does not ascribe their mortality to this ill usage, of P. 81.  
 which not more than ten instances had come to his  
 knowledge.

He bought largely in the ceded islands, particu-  
 larly in Tobago, where, till lately, he had 2,000  
 acres. He purposed cultivating, and by the only  
 practicable mode, the labour of the negroes. He  
 believes there is no other mode by which land in the  
 W. Indies is cultivated, to whatever nation it belongs;  
 those

1790. those negroes he expected to receive from the coast  
 Part II. of Africa. If he had understood the importation of  
 } negroes was to be prohibited, he would not have  
 bought lands he could make no use of. Believes a  
 great part of the lands he purchased is still unculti-  
 vated. There is a great deal of land in Grenada un-  
 cultivated—he is well convinced in St. Vincent, the  
 Grenadines, and Dominica—there are not negroes  
 enow to cultivate  $\frac{1}{2}$  the land—but cannot say so of  
 P. 82. his own knowledge. Many of his friends bought  
 land in Grenada under faith of H. M.'s proclama-  
 tion. He believes in Dominica and St. Vincent's,  
 much the greatest parts of the land sold by the crown  
 under commission is not yet brought into cultivation;  
 but he has never been in either of these islands since  
 1776. He found the settlement of lands in the ceded  
 islands difficult and expensive—he laid out 40,000l.  
 in Tobago.

The negroes being much the most valuable part of  
 a man's property, whose welfare are intimately con-  
 nected with his own interests, it can scarcely be  
 doubted that he will pay every attention to them.

Every prudent proprietor endeavours to study the  
 temper and disposition of slaves; they are therefore  
 treated with kindness and attention. There are some  
 negroes that neither chastisement will correct, nor  
 good treatment reform; such are sometimes treated  
 with severity: but for crimes which most civilized  
 nations would punish capitally, the generality of well-  
 disposed negroes are seldom or never chastised. A  
 prudent master is cautious how he offends a negro  
 of good character; for if dissatisfied, they shew their  
 resentment either by working unwillingly, or fre-  
 P. 83. quent desertions. When negroes, therefore, are  
 treated with severity (which certainly is sometimes  
 the case) the master suffers, both in reputation and  
 fortune. In general, therefore, it may be said, that  
 negroes are well treated, well lodged, well clothed,  
 and well fed; well attended in sickness, and supplied  
 with medicines, and even the incurable with every  
 neces-

necessary. This the interest of the owner requires, 1790. even if not possessed of humanity. Neglect of such Part II. negroes would dispirit a gang, and particularly affect any relations and friends they might have on the estate.

In the ceded islands, and where land is plenty, P. 83. they cultivate large tracts for their own benefit, and in such cases neither require nor receive a large allowance of what is called pound provisions. To those who will receive it, the proportion is from 6 to 10 quarts of Indian corn, flour, and guinea corn, or a very ample allowance of yams, potatoes, and edoes. In Grenada, meal of cassada from 6 to 10 quarts, from 6 to 10 herrings, or from 2 to 3 pounds of salt fish, and in some plantations, of beef or pork, are given for a week's subsistence—A sufficient allowance for a hearty man—Plantanes also make a chief part of their provisions, and (when received) they are allowed of these from 50 to 70 per week — they are of P. 84. a less size than the plantanes of Jamaica. The allotment of land is such that an industrious negro will be enabled not only to supply himself, but to dispose of such a quantity of poultry, pork, and goats flesh, as to enable him to clothe himself, his wives, and his children, very handsomely. If his master opposed his disposition of that property, it would probably occasion an insurrection on the plantation. Thinks he has known where provisions have been scarce, that a master has objected to a negro's carrying his from the estate to sell; but those instances are very rare, and the gang has been shown the impropriety of it. The master does not, in such cases, take the provisions from the negro, or oblige him to sell it against his will; he only forbids his going off the plantation to dispose of it in time of scarcity. If the negro wishes to sell, the master buys from him as any indifferent person; but the negro will seldom sell to his master as he would to a stranger. 3-4ths of all the poultry or pork used by the planter, are bought from his own or other people's slaves.

1790. The crimes, for which punishment of any degree  
 Part II. of severity is inflicted, are generally desertion, break-  
 ing open stores, and stealing rum, sugar, or salt pro-  
 P. 85. visions; breaking open negro houses, or houses of  
 people in the town, robbing negro grounds, &c. The punishments then consist from 20 to 40 lashes on the posteriors, seldom more. He speaks in general. Exceptions to the rule prove the generality of it. There are cruel, severe, and inhuman people, to be met with every where. With regard to the capital punishment of negroes, each colony has its own laws. He has himself scarcely known death awarded, except in the case of premeditated murder. Repeated burglaries have incurred no other punishment than a whipping less severe than a soldier suffers for small offences. A single lash every morning for six weeks, reformed for a time, a negro of his own, who had broke open at least fifty houses. In two years he returned to his practices, and died a natural death on the plantation.

He does not suppose a labouring man in Europe could gain his bread if working no harder than a negro. Conceives the labour of a negro slight compared with any field labour in Europe. They are less affected by the heat of the climate than Europeans; in general they like heat so as to sleep with fire in their houses. Rain injures them most. When rains are heavy in the ceded islands, which is frequently the case, they are sent out of the field into their houses.

P. 86. In the plantations their punishment is a slight whipping, or confinement in the stocks at noon, or after work : they usually prefer the former. For slight offences, such as not coming in time to their work, they are generally struck over their clothes.

As no man chuses to buy a negro of notoriously bad character, the owners of such usually send them to foreign islands, or to N. America, at the risk of receiving but a very small price for them. The time of harvest is in the West Indies, as in all other countries

tries the time of greatest labour; but it is also that of 1790.  
conviviality and happiness. The negroes are gene- Part II.  
rally more healthy and satisfied at crop than at any }  
other time of the year.

However a master may wish to dispose of a slave, P. 87.  
it may not always be in his power; the slave being  
mortgaged or under jointure. Mortgages and mar-  
riage settlements covenant, he believes, in every well-  
drawn deed to keep up the precise No. of negroes so  
mortgaged or settled. To keep up that number  
without importation, is certainly possible, for it has  
been done; but in general otherwise. The punish-  
ments already described are plantation punishments.

It frequently happens in offences of a public na-  
ture, the persons offended remit the negroes to the  
master for that punishment which he would otherwise  
receive from public justice.

One negro, at least, he conceives requisite for  
every cultivated acre in a sugar estate, and the No.  
on cotton plantations must depend on the soil and sea-  
son; in favourable cases one negro is sufficient for 3  
acres—he supposes the gang not to have a great No.  
of old people or children, for otherwise more would  
be required.

He cannot from his experience conclude that a  
sufficient supply of negroes for the cultivation of the  
islands could be had without importation of Afri-  
cans.

As so many reasons why the practice of keeping up P. 88.  
the stock of negroes is not general, while some few  
plantations have maintained theirs, he states the un-  
healthiness of some situations; the disposition of  
males to females; the diseases the sex is particularly  
subject to; for the length of time a breeding woman  
suckles a child, she has seldom two children till an  
interval of two years; the promiscuous amours of  
many; and a custom with the gang women who are  
dissolute, and think themselves handsome, of procur-  
ing abortion.

1790.  
Part II.

Where the females exceed the males, it seldom happens on a plantation that the negroes do not increase; he gives, in proof, a comparison of two estates settled in Antigua, about the same time, one by Mr. Carlisle, the other by Mr. Mackennin: the former purchased chiefly new negro gang women, the latter chiefly young male negroes, with a view to immediate returns from their labour. The result was, that at the end of 50 years, when Mr. Mackennin died, he is said to have purchased the gang twice over, and to have left it in such a state that a large sum of money was then requisite to purchase new negroes; whereas on the Carlisle estate (then Sir Ralph Payne's) there were very few negroes who had not been born upon it; and such was his surplus, that he was able to obtain large sums of money by letting them out to work on other estates. He says, the reason why Mr. Carlisle's example is not followed, is, that the breeding women imported are not on an average 1-4th of the cargo. Instances of plantations that keep up their stock, he believes, are very few.

P. 29. The disorders of children, particularly that called the jaw-fall, which carries them off within nine days, is another impediment to population; they die early in great numbers, but not from want of care. He found their deaths so frequent, and thought breeding so essential to the well-being of a plantation, that he built an hospital close to his house, for more easy inspection; here he observed their customs of refusing their own breast to the child, as not good, for three or four days, and getting a friend to suckle it; of washing the new-born infants in warm water with rum in it; of leaving the children to sleep in wet clothes, and frequently admitting cold air to them in their hot rooms; these he overcame with some difficulty, and from that time to his leaving Tobago, had four or five children born, of which he did not lose one.

The labour of pregnant women is too light in general, from the time they are 5 months gone; they complain

complain of a slight labour, and injure both themselves and their infants by a sedentary life. Those who work hardest and longest, have usually the stoutest children and easiest births; when pregnant women complain they are generally put into the second gang. They are not out so early in the morning. They are employed in weeding, planting provisions, and such light labour. As they encrease they are put to shelling peas, or collecting provisions for the pot-gang. He never knew them treated with any want of tenderness, even by those who thought a child born on an estate cost as much, or more than a new negro. This opinion, he believes, is not entertained by many. It is now the pride of a manager to shew a number of young children in good order.

1790.  
Part II.

P. 90.

A pot-gang consists of negroes, unable, or unwilling, from idleness, to procure and dress provisions for themselves; it is disgraceful, except in sickness, to be fed in this gang, as having plenty is a mark of a good negro.

On every plantation of any magnitude there is a sick-house or hospital, with proper attendance for the sick, of whom care is taken; in proof of this, he relates, that previous to the capture of Tobago, part of the soldiers from an unhealthy situation, became sickly, and ulcerated in their legs. That, in consequence, as fresh meat-provisions were difficult to procure, the gentlemen of the island subscribed money to purchase and supply them, and that several took the soldiers into the negro hospitals, where they received the same care and attention as the negroes did, they found the benefit from it they expected.

Midwives attend the lying-in women: medical advice and assistance is given other negroes when sick; persons of medical skill are annually retained to take care of the negroes, if they fail in their attendance several times in a week, or to attend when sent for, they are discharged.

P. 91.

The negroes in general have very comfortable houses.

1790.  
Part II.

Managers kind behaviour to his negroes, so as to gain their affections, while he makes them do their business, is to him, and believes to most people, a higher recommendation than his skill as a planter. One of the first things enquired into is his character in that respect; no person would employ a manager of a cruel character, believing him to be such; such treatment is scarcely possible to be practised in secrecy.

P. 92.

He does not believe the poor of any country live happier than the negroes on the plantations in the W. Indies;—in many cases they have an evident superiority, their labour is slight; good care is taken of them in sickness and in health, and they have no occasion to fear the distresses of their children from inability to labour, but then they certainly have not those means of bettering their condition, which many English poor of industry and genius may avail themselves: perhaps, therefore, a proper comparison cannot be drawn. He thinks their lot in general to be envied by the poor of all the countries he has seen.

There are several epidemical diseases which contribute to the depopulation of negroes. These are frequent in all countries between the tropics; the negroes bring some contagious disorders from Africa; the yaws in particular which none know how to cure; it kills many, and makes others miserable objects during life, yet they are still nourished and protected by their masters. Ulcerated legs is another disorder in the new settled islands; the loss by that complaint has been very considerable.

P. 93.

A child till 10 years old has  $\frac{1}{2}$  the allowance of a grown person; after that age full allowance. A negro, properly speaking, considering the distinction of master and slave, cannot be said to have property. Opinion, however, and the conduct of masters secures them whatever they possess in the W. Indies, in a manner more secure than perhaps in any other part of the world. No master dares



dares violate their personal property, without being 1790.  
 exposed to detestation and contempt. Even when Part II.  
 the master is ruined, and the negroes with his other effects, sold to satisfy his creditors, their property (though very considerable) is inviolably preserved to them; they carry their money and goods to the plantation of them who buys him. Their plantation-ground is not exchanged without making them a compensation for the crop on it; when they die they distribute their effects among their relations and friends without control. Negroes generally conceal their money, and do not chuse to be thought rich. He had himself a negro, who bought out the freedom of his wife from a lady at Monserrat, at the price of near 80l. and in her name possessed two houses at Tobago; he believes he was worth 6 or 700l. he asked for his freedom, and on his alledging that his property might be lost to him in case of his wife's death, obtained it from the witnesses, who had before endeavoured to dissuade him from his request. There is reason to believe he has since lost above  $\frac{1}{2}$  of what he was worth. Many of the negroes are possessed of a great deal of property. He cannot tell the amount, but almost all the small current money of the islands is in the possession of the negroes. A slave he had at Tobago P. 94.  
 took with him thence to Grenada about 100l. ster. He gave 20l. of it to a sister at Grenada, to help to purchase her freedom, and sent forty guineas to Tobago, to buy a negro. He believes it is not common for slaves to be themselves masters of slaves, few owners would allow it; he knows only the instance he has named.

When he first knew the W. Indies, he bought some negroes at 26l. or 27l. a head: In 1788 he paid 41l. for the same negroes at Grenada, and has since heard of a cargo of 402 sold at Jamaica, on an average of 49l. per head (sterling). He should imagine the report of the abolition of the slave trade has increased the price; it had reached the W. Indies before he left it, but few gave credit to it. In Jamaica

1790. maica he found the alarm great. The idea of eman-  
 Part II. cipation, and the abolition of slavery and the slave  
 trade, and other reports industriously circulated from  
 England, made them apprehend a general insurrec-  
 tion among the negroes might be the consequence.

P. 95. If Great Britain were to try to prohibit the slave  
 trade, 'it would certainly be very difficult to prevent  
 the British plantations from purchasing them. If  
 planters, however, could not procure new supplies,  
 the labour of those they have must be encreased, or  
 the produce of their estates lessened; but the encrease  
 of labour would effect a decrease of the labourers:  
 they would, therefore, run all risks to supply them-  
 selves, while credit or fortune would enable them;  
 and it is probable they would be supplied at a cheaper  
 rate than at present, from nations which would  
 then be unrivalled on our leaving the trade. To sup-  
 port this conjecture he states that Mr. Hartman, of  
 Santa Cruz told him lately that the Gold Coast cargo,  
 in that island averaged only 40l.

If the negro trade was so effectually abolished that  
 the British planters could procure no supply of A fri-  
 cans, the consequence to the W. Indies would be a  
 very rapid decline of produce, its extent he cannot  
 conjecture—He believes an annual supply of Africans  
 into be absolutely necessary to preserve the colonies even  
 their present state, without cultivating a single new acre.

P. 96. He does not know how a proprietor is to supply his  
 male negroes with wives, if no Africans are to be  
 brought.

He conceives it not improbable, that the negroes  
 now in the W. Indies, would be very unhappy if they  
 understood that no more new negroes were to be  
 brought among them. Those under his care, on the  
 arrival of a cargo, always solicited more help; the young  
 men particularly desire to have wives bought for them.

An abolition of the trade on the part of Great Britain  
 would only operate partially, and not prevent other  
 nations from carrying it on. The public proclamations  
 and encouragements of France and Spain to their sub-  
 jects,

jects, sufficiently prove their desire to extend their slave trade; it follows also from their opening ports in the W. Indies and S. America, to slaves imported in foreign vessels, and particularly from the contracts of the French with British merchants, to supply their ships with negroes, on the coast of Africa. 1790.  
Part II.

P. 128.

The proportion of old, infant, and able negroes in a stock, varies with circumstances. On an old estate, where the breeding women are as many as he thinks they ought to be, the able negroes will be fewer than on a new estate, for which the owner would only purchase such as were fit for immediate labour. He judges, from his experience, that in a gang of two hundred, there cannot be more than 60 or 70 able slaves, with about 20 or 30 capable of lighter work: it will be thought a fine gang, and in good condition, that, exclusive of house servants, tradesmen, &c. can turn from 70 to 80 able negroes into the field.

In explanation of his former answer, which declared one negro at the least requisite to every acre of a sugar plantation, he says, that he does not mean that 70 negroes, the able part of a gang of 200, are sufficient to cultivate 200 acres to be cut for sugar; but to a plantation of 200 acres which are under sugar and provision, and in which only half part of the sugar land may be annually planted. No portion of the 200 acres are appropriated to provisions, which are occasionally planted in all. In cane land, corn is often planted in the rows, and gathered when the canes are young, and preparatory to canes, yams and eddoes are often planted. The planters are satisfied in the ceded islands, if 200 negroes cultivate as much land as yields them from 180 to 200 casks of sugar of about 1200 cwt. P. 129.

In general, there are not rooms for the accommodation of lying-in women in the W. Indies; the women prefer their own houses; when he had once persuaded them to try the provision he made for them of this sort, and experienced the advantage to them-

1790. themselves and children, they afterwards were well  
 Part II. pleased to come to the rooms.

For a considerable time, the negroes born on an estate of Sir William Young's, exceeded those purchased, but then fell off, and he believes they have decreased. An estate of Mr. Blizzard, who followed Mr. Carlisle's plan, increased in Antigua; in following this, the witness failed of success himself.— Several estates on the increase have, from epidemical disorders, been reduced to the want of supplies to keep up this number.

P. 130. Where the number is kept up by births, if five able negroes die, the birth of ten children does not supply their room within ten or eleven years, to which add near 25 per cent. for the diminished labour of pregnant women and mothers, and it will be necessary to replace the five able negroes by purchasing others in their room. (The work of the young is not the same with that of the adult able negroes, though equivalent to it, p. 132.)

In the ceded islands, the negroes were forced to clear the ground for themselves; they prefer new ground, and when some years cultivated, request to have it changed. He helped them usually with the gang in clearing.

Scarcity is much more decidedly known in the colonies than in any kingdom in Europe; the master is the sole judge when to prohibit the exportation of provisions from his estate.

Runaway negroes are in general severely punished.  
 P. 131. On his own estates, and those under his care, he thinks himself particularly successful in preventing the loss of children by the locked jaw. His neighbours are equally successful in other instances, making the happiness and comfort of their negroes their principal care.

The negroes had no prejudices in this respect which could not yield to the reasoning and entreaties of those they have a good opinion of, and think solicitous for their welfare.

Some

Some land rattoons longer than other; frequent replanting is preferable. 1790. Part. II.

The ceded islands will therefore require an additional number of slaves to continue the cultivation of land already cultivated, without cultivating any new lands.

The negroes prefer carrying burdens on their heads; they would not use wheelbarrows, which were imported for them; they even put them on their heads. P. 132.

Between 1779 and the capture of Tobago, he believes but few slaves were imported into that island, and none thenceforward till after the peace, but cannot speak with precision. During the war, he believes there was a considerable diminution.

The age at which a negro, born on the plantation, should be put to holing, depends on constitution.— Young men, as soon as able, desire to be put into the holing gang; from 16 to 18 he thinks the time when they are willing and desirous of being employed in the hardest work of the plantation. It will take 16 years to acquire strength to undergo the harder degrees of field labour, as holing, turning dung, &c. which please the able negroes more than lighter works; they generally perform these singular, peculiar to negroes, and a proof of their not considering even that labour as severe. P. 133.

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Witness examined — Sir ASHTON WARNER BYAM;  
His Majesty's Attorney General for Grenada and its dependencies.

Lived in Antigua from 1765 to 1770, when he went to St. Vincent, bought an estate, and lived till 1774, when he went and resided as Solicitor General at Grenada till its capture in 1779; lived the rest of Numb. 2. P. 97.  
F the

1790. the war in St. Vincent, Tobago, and Antigua. From Part II. 1783 till June 1789 resided, as Attorney General, at Grenada.

Owens no land now in the W. Indies but an un-cleared tract in Dominica; never intends to settle. The land he first bought was French leasehold, the other lands contiguous, from the Crown.

P. 98. He found, to his cost, a continual importation of slaves to keep up the stock, absolutely necessary; and he should conceive it to be so, from 24 years' experience. Every increased quantity of land, new or old, will require an addition of negroes. Could he have foreseen that the slave trade would be abolished, he would not have bought land either in the old or new islands. Much land is un-cleared in the ceded islands.

Slaves being property, are settled on marriages, and are the objects of mortgage. In such writings he has known covenants to keep up the precise number of slaves, but they are not uniformly inserted; but in leases such a covenant is almost always inserted. Is satisfied such covenant could not be fulfilled, without buying slaves, beyond what the population would give. This, as far as it goes, would be ruinous to the families concerned.

P. 99. He believes the trials of slaves vary in the islands. In Grenada, a slave is triable before one magistrate for small offences; for capital crimes, before two or more, one being of the quorum. Since he left the island, he understands a law has passed, taken from the Antigua practice, by which 3 or more freeholders are to be called in by the magistrates as jurors or assessors.

Compared with the punishments in England on the same offences, he thinks the criminal slave laws far from severe.

Whipping and confinement are the only punishments, by the master or manager, which are considered as legal. The quantity of punishment will undoubtedly vary with the master's disposition; but  
any

any abuse of the master's power was always considered punishable by indictment or information, (see Part II. p. 118.) If such abuse was frequent, he never knew it; and, considering the nature of the master's power, and the variety of persons who may acquire it, he has always thought abuses of it not more frequent than similar abuses of power in England. (The slave's comfort, in this respect, depends as much on his owner's temper, as that of the English apprentice does on his master's temper, p. 119.) Thinks the comfort of the apprentice and the slave depends on the temper of their respective masters, not exactly in the same proportion, p. 125.) In the few cases where he has had occasion to prosecute for such abuses in their Court of King's Bench, Court and Juries always appeared desirous of seeing the offenders brought to exemplary punishment.

In general, thinks the W. India laws sufficient to protect slaves in life and limb; though he has no doubt some may escape who have abused their power over their slaves. When he was Solicitor General, in 1775 or 1776, a white man was executed for murdering a slave, either his, or in his service. A motion in arrest of judgment was made, on the ground that the culprit ought not to suffer death for killing a slave; and a contrary practice having subsisted in some of the old islands, the prisoner had counsel, and the point was solemnly argued; after which the Court decided, he thinks, unanimously, that it was no ground for arrest of judgment, and sentence was passed. Lawyers hardly had any doubt about it; and he considered the Court's having it argued as a tenderness to the prisoner, and to remove any such doubt. Believes, since then, no one has doubted that a criminal would suffer for the murder of a slave exactly as for that of a free person.

On his estate, and all others he saw, slaves were at their field work by daybreak; but nursing women had always an hour or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hour beyond that time. With  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour for breakfast, and 2 hours rest in their

1790. houses at noon, they wrought till the close of day.  
 Part II. They then threw grass to the stock, and went home  
 for the night. In crop they work later; and, on  
 some estates, the work then goes on all night and all  
 day, by spells, both of white servants and slaves.  
 As far as interruption of rest, and number of work-  
 ing hours, are concerned, the crop is doubtless the  
 season of severest labour. Negro boilers and fire-  
 men bear a heat, without suffering, which to white  
 P. 102. men would be intolerable. It is universally re-  
 marked, that the negroes are most healthy and cheer-  
 ful in crop.

The only mode he knows of preparing cane-land  
 is by holing, which is certainly harder than most  
 other works; but it is only done by the ablest ne-  
 groes, and is but a small part of the yearly labour.  
 To an able negro he thinks it cannot be called severe.  
 He has often seen negro women boast of holing  
 quicker than men. When holing, the men have  
 grog, and the women sugar and water, and work  
 not only without repining, but singing cheerfully.  
 On other estates, holers may have extra food; but  
 does not think his had, or desired it. (Thinks ho-  
 ling and dunging, if constant, would be harder work  
 than he should wish to put negroes to, p. 124.)

Labour is most certainly proportioned to the age  
 and strength of negroes; but he thinks the sex  
 makes no difference in field-work. General practice  
 for invalids, and women some months gone with  
 child, to be put to slight work, as weeding, &c.,  
 as much for their health as for the work.

P. 103. Conjectures that some works in England must be  
 severer than any done by the slaves.

In the first settlement of St. Vincent the slaves  
 were fed, at a heavy expence, with grain in large  
 quantities; but, after his slaves had completed their  
 provision grounds, they voluntarily offered to give  
 up all their provisions, except salt ones, for Satur-  
 day afternoon, out of crop; afterwards grain was  
 only given to invalids and nursing women. In St.



Vincent and Grenada the slaves' grounds are such as not to require much imported food, except in droughts, when they have weekly 8 to 10 measures (knows not whether pints or quarts) of grain, with 8, 10, or 12 herrings, according to the size, or an equivalent in salt meat, and beef, pork, and flour, at Christmas. The allowance is ample for any slave that will work even a few hours in his ground. If a slave fall off, it is usual to view his grounds. If indolent and incorrigible, he is fed by the master.

1790.  
Part II.

He gave children no fixed allowance of grain, but directed the mothers, when they asked help, to be amply supplied, according to their families. His, and he thinks the general custom, was, to give the mothers  $\frac{1}{2}$  allowance of salt food for children under the age of 8 or 10. He had no pot-gang; but has heard of them, and that they consisted of negroes inattentive to the providing and dressing of their food. He usually gave such in charge to some trusty negro to see him fed. He thinks this is the uniform practice where there is no pot-gang, unless among the French, in our islands, who, he believes, often take improvident slaves into their kitchens, or feed them from their tables. But, without some such regulations, many slaves would undoubtedly perish.

By the late Grenada act, proprietors are obliged to allot land to their slaves, and guardians are appointed to inspect each estate's provision grounds.

Saturday afternoon, out of crop, and all Sunday, the whole year, were very generally allowed for working such grounds; and he thinks the said act has fixed it from 12 o'clock on Saturday. This time is sufficient not only for raising the necessary food, but also for the slave's carrying to market his surplus provisions and his poultry, &c. Negroes have usually surplus produce, except perhaps a very few idle ones, probably in all gangs. He recollects no instance of a master interfering with the property his slave has acquired by selling such surplus. Cannot remember particular instances and sums; but from  
the

1790. the Sunday cloathing of industrious slaves, and their  
 Part II. comfortable furniture, has no doubt many acquire  
 and spend yearly at least from 10l. to 20l. sterling,  
 P. 106. which they lay out openly on luxuries and comforts.  
 He knows of no restraint, except in rum. (He  
 speaks of field negroes, for he has no doubt that  
 many tradesmen acquire and dispose of double that  
 sum, p. 120.)

He has known many such slaves buy their freedom, and generally for higher prices than he should have valued them at. (Can't certainly say if they were field slaves; but is sure that 1 or 2 who applied to him on the subject had been, or were field negroes, when their masters allowed them to provide for their freedom, p. 120.)

Slaves near the towns sell grass every evening, and vegetables on Sundays, for their own benefit; but on other days it is purchased of slaves sent in by the proprietors of gardens to be sold for their master's benefit.

Believes King's ships and merchantmen are chiefly supplied with vegetables, poultry, &c., by negroes, on their own account.

Negroes' cloathing varies, in quantity and kind, with the master's disposition; but lately, in Grenada, the minimum has been fixed by law. This, he dares say, is sufficient; but recollects not what it is. But most negroes have much more cloaths than the master allows. (Field negroes' cloathing is generally sent from hence ready made; but their finer cloaths are bought ready made in the island, or made by themselves or persons they employ, p. 127.)

P. 107. Negroes' houses are wattled and daubed, and covered with cane-tops. But tradesmen and other chief negroes usually contrive to get wooden houses. The negro houses are quite wind and water tight; but usually made much hotter than whites could bear. Slaves generally bear a heat that surprises Europeans. Cold affects them severely. Has often known them bask in the sun when hotter than he could

could bear for a few minutes. It is usual to allow a negro, with 2 or 3 others, time to build his house. He usually brought home the materials for him.

Every estate has a hospital. A surgeon visits the slaves twice a week, or oftener if required. One or more nurses attend the sick. The owner provides wine and other comforts recommended by the surgeon. It is usual to keep convalescents about the house or kitchen, to be better fed than usual. Negroes generally dislike going into the hospital; but the practice of allowing the sick to stay in their own houses is attended with some danger. Never allowed any to do so but trusty negroes, or lying-in women. His surgeon, besides the yearly sum of 10s. for each slave, was paid for fractures, &c., and had 20s. for each inoculation.

He remembers no ill effect from allowing the women to lye-in in their houses. He was more fortunate than most people in rearing negro children. Some months before his women expected to lye-in they were put to light work; but this period varies with appearances; so that sometimes a negro woman is not delivered till 2 or 3 months after she has pretended to expect it. Instances may have occurred of pregnant women being punished; but he should think very early in their pregnancy, or perhaps before it was known. Confinement would be substituted where she was evidently pregnant.

Thinks there are local laws providing for old, disabled negroes; but he should think that suffering them to beg about would be cognizable, as a misdemeanor, independent of any positive law. Thinks they are, in general, properly taken care of.

The women, on all the estates he knew, were allowed to lye-in in their own houses, and such negro women as they wished were usually allowed to stay with them the first 5 or 6 days. She had candles, flour, wine, and any other things recommended. With him, and many others, they were not expected

1790. to work till a month after delivery. A sufficiency  
 Part II. of old linen is provided for the infants. It is generally remarked that  $\frac{1}{2}$  the children die under 2 years, and most of that  $\frac{1}{2}$  the first 9 days, from the jaw-fall. If they survive that, they seem pretty healthy while sucking. Some time after weaning they very often have worms, which he has known very fatal. Children, as well as adults, have also yaws, which immediately, or in their effects, are very fatal. Fluxes, though not very peculiar to negroes, are a great cause of mortality, and baffle the ablest physicians, as they have often told him. Epidemics are frequent in the W. Indies; but he does not know they are peculiar to adults. Venereals are common, and he thinks tend to lessen population. Small-pox, measles, chicken-pox, dysenteries, and lately the liver complaint, affect young and old, and very often are fatal to many, especially the putrid flux, of which he has known several examples.

Few hurricanes happen without the loss of several lives. Their effects are fatal, by destroying the negroes' houses and provision grounds.

The annual loss of negroes varies greatly. Of 100 and odd slaves of his own, he has more than once not lost one adult in a year. In other years he has lost 5, 6, and 7. He should suppose from 3 to 4 per cent. might be about the average loss, even on a settled estate. In the 18 years that he owned slaves, though he had what was thought a very good proportion of births for his number of breeding women, and reared more children than his neighbours, (and mothers and children had every indulgence and attention, p. 112) he was obliged, every 2 or 3 years, to buy new negroes, or seasoned ones, from the other islands.

Ventures to say, that on his estate diseases were lessened, as far as possible, by human skill; he concludes that, from humanity and interest, all other proprietors pursued the same conduct.

He

He always thought promiscuous intercourse, the 1790. early prostitution of females, and the abuse of rum, Part II. as the chief obstructions to population; he adds the } too long suckling of children, which he knows the } P. 112. negro women are fond of, though against the opinion of medical men. Hence, they seldom have a second child in less than two years.

He never had an idea that the treatment or labour of slaves was such as to interfere at all with population.

It is most clearly impossible for Europeans to cultivate W. India lands; and a free negro never was known to hire himself for any kind of field-work.— Europeans may do carpenter's or other work, under cover.

Thinks cattle are now used as much as they can P. 113, be in W. Indian cultivation; and that the present implements are perfectly fit for the work, and adroitly used by the negroes. The plough has been much talked of: he knew 2 or 3 very zealous for it, who tried it in Antigua and St. Vincent, but were soon obliged to abandon it. (Even if the plough could be more generally used, as he thinks it could not to advantage, so many slaves are requisite in crop, that he thinks its use would not make fewer hands necessary on an estate, p. 127.)

He hardly remembers any importation of negroes into St. Vincent, Tobago, Grenada, and Antigua, in the war. Hence, in Grenada, instead of 30 or 31,000, the number of slaves before the capture, the first return, after the restitution, in about 5 years, he thinks exceeded not 27 or 28,000; but cannot be accurate. He believes, the negroes then decreased in the other islands named.

It depends on the soil, whether it is advantageous to ratoon, or re-plant, canes. In Grenada, where the soil is stronger, there is much more ratooning than in St. Vincent; but generally, in both, they P. 114. now ratoon to a 2d or 3d year. Formerly, in Grenada there were ratoon-canes above 20 years old.—

1790. The number of slaves necessary for an estate, varies  
 Part II. with the soil, position, &c. Rattooning lessens the  
 land to be holed, but increases the acres to be cut in  
 crop. Many estates have most of their holing done  
 by task-gangs; so that he thinks rattooning does not  
 unavoidably lessen the number of negroes necessary.

It is certainly the planter's interest to keep up the  
 slaves by breeding, if possible. Has known people  
 think differently on the value of new negroes and  
 creoles. A seasoned slave, though more sensible, is  
 thought more apt to be ill-disposed, and a young,  
 healthy, new negro, near as valuable as a seasoned  
 one not brought up by themselves. But for a slave  
 which, if new, he would give 50l. sterl. he would,  
 if seasoned, and not of bad character; give 70l. sterl.  
 Probably, most of the negro tradesmen are creoles,  
 and are the most valuable. He looks on an African,  
 bought young, and seasoned by 7 or 8 years work in  
 the W. Indies, full as valuable for field-work as a  
 creole; but others think differently. P. 117.

Were it possible to keep up the slaves by breeding,  
 15 or 20 years must elapse before those born could be  
 P. 115. fit for field-work. In that period, the working ne-  
 groes must, in the course of things, be diminished  
 near  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

He heard of a Frenchman who lived long ago in  
 Grenada, pretending that it was his interest to ex-  
 haust his slaves by labour in a few years; but it was  
 always mentioned as a singular absurdity, and he is  
 sure no planter acts on a maxim so horrid.

He always heard severity deemed a reproach to  
 a manager, and as likely to preclude him from em-  
 ployment.

Industrious slaves are happily situated, and they  
 appear perfectly contented.

He was well informed of a slave who accidentally  
 lost  $\frac{1}{2}$  his foot, and was sent by his master to the part  
 of Africa whence he came, and found many rela-  
 tions; but the slave refused to stay, returned to  
 Grenada, and continued, as a slave, with his master.

Can now state all the circumstances with certainty; 1790.  
thinks it must have been before 1779. Part II.

He scruples not to give his opinion, that slaves, in general, have fewer wants unsatisfied, enjoy more comforts, and are freer from fear of want, than the English labourers, and not having those ideas which would make their state intolerable to Britons, do not feel the pain people are apt to think, from their degradation in society. P. 116.

Besides lessening their comfort, by increasing their labour, he concludes, from observation, that as nothing pleases slaves more than new negroes coming to an estate, so, if the supply was long stopped, they would grow discontented, probably mutinous. The report of the abolition had reached the islands before he left them, and gave great uneasiness to all persons there, and, he supposes, raised the price of slaves. The fear of the effects likely to follow the abolition, was one cause of his selling his slaves when he sold his land.

As many estates are cultivated by money borrowed P. 117.  
on the credit derived from the slaves, he thinks such credit will be hurt by the abolition, and, of course, the means of cultivating such estates destroyed.

Thinks, while new slaves can be had, at almost any price, they will be smuggled into the islands, in spite of every regulation likely to be adopted.

He knows of no other instance than the one he has mentioned, of a freeman having been executed for slave-murder; nor has he heard, in Grenada, where he has lived almost entirely since it happened, (in 1775 or 6) of any other murder of a slave by a free person. The man so executed was an underling in P. 118.  
the Marshal's office, an obscure, illiterate man.— Remembers nothing of this character; but that Mr. Porteous, the Marshal, handsomely feed one or more counsel to argue in arrest of the judgement.— Thinks that the slave murdered was a woman hired by the prisoner, who, having disobeyed him, he re-  
proved

1790. proved her; that she gave him some abuse; that, in  
 Part II. his passion, he stabbed her, as was stated, he thinks,  
 partly by the deceased and by the prisoner's confession; but he cannot speak with certainty.

P. 119. Slaves are hired by the day, month, year, or years. The price varies accordingly, and as the renter is bound, or not, to make good the slave's value. Thinks about 1s. 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d. the prevailing daily hire. He has known slaves hired by year, at 10l. per cent. on their value, (the hirer maintaining them, p. 126) but much more has been given, according to the party's necessities, and the difficulty of getting slaves.

Thinks the maintenance of his slaves in St. Vincent, exclusive of provision-grounds, was 7l. or 8l. sterl. for each man, woman, or child above 12; and perhaps  $\frac{1}{2}$  as much for a child under that age.

P. 120. Certainly, far more domestics are kept in a West Indian than a British family of the same rank; and this prevails much more among the French in our islands than among English planters. He doubts not that an English family is better served by 2 or 3, than they by 8 or 10 servants.

Thinks he had 40 and odd men, 30 and odd women, and 30 and odd children, when he sold his slaves at St. Vincent.

P. 121. The only efforts to instruct the slaves, worth mention, as far as he saw, were those of the Moravians in Antigua, but he did not live there, and only learnt from those who did, that they thought the Moravians had considerably improved the slaves.

A free negro's comfort depends on his ability to provide for himself and family. Many, in Grenada, live well; others, he thinks, have only a bare subsistence; but thinks, in general, their situation may be full as comfortable as that of slaves.

P. 122.

Droughts are more frequent and longer in the old, than the ceded islands; hence the planters in the latter can feed their slaves better than those in the former, so far as relates to provision grounds. Were not the trade



trade with N. America restricted, no doubt more negro provisions would be imported into the islands. 1790. Part II.

The number of domestics varies with the planter's family and disposition. Recollects no case where he thought extra domestics were kept as a mark of superior state. But the thing is much lamented by all. Yet, on considering his own case, and some others, he never found he could well spare any one slave he employed. Thinks the true cause of more domestics being kept in the W. Indies is, because it is not easy to get a negro servant so handy as a good English one. Believes no planter would buy, for the field, a negro who had been long a domestic. When a man happens to sell a house negro, it is usual to let him chuse a master who will not put him into the field; and this from humanity, lest he might be put to harder labour than he had been used to. He believes planters would rather buy new negroes, than domestics, for field-work. (House-slaves, though numerous for the use, would be so small an addition to working gangs, and are so unwilling and unfit for field-work, that he should think that resource almost nothing. P. 123.)

The weight of baskets of dung varies probably on estates, and must vary with the state of the dung; but it is so easy to the slaves, who carry that and all burdens on the head, that he has pretty generally seen them run or go quickly with it. He does not mean that the slaves would voluntarily and constantly use that pace; but thinks the drivers would not practise it, if found unreasonable. He never heard slaves complain of dunging; though he has no doubt they would prefer any lighter work. (Dung-baskets may be 2 or 2½ feet over the top, shelving to the bottom, and 7 or 8 inches deep, p. 124.)

In the ceded islands, crop lasts from the 1st of Jan. to about the end of May; after which the rains usually fall, that would interfere with sugar-making. In Antigua, crop may last 2 months longer.

1790. In the ceded islands, the land is holed and dunged  
 Part II. from Sept. to Jan. according to the state of other  
 work. In estates that ratoon long, the land to be  
 P. 125. opened is a small proportion of the whole. Knows  
 few estates well enough handed to do all their holing  
 themselves. Thinks, generally speaking, negroes  
 are seldom holing above 5 or 6 weeks, and, per-  
 haps, as long dunging.

Whites, in the W. Indies, work as plumbers,  
 masons, &c. and many negroes work under their di-  
 rection. On the whole, he thinks the labour of such  
 whites not so severe as that of field negroes. The  
 great difference is, that the former are not so con-  
 stantly in the sun as the latter. They do not so con-  
 stantly work, but leave it occasionally to the negroes  
 under them.

Thinks planters would be indifferent whether per-  
 sons hired were slaves or free, if the hire were rea-  
 sonable; but he never knew free negroes so hired.  
 Unless it were to be frequent, he thinks he foresees  
 inconveniences from mixing many free hired persons  
 P. 126. among slaves. Thinks planters would prefer having  
 work done by free negroes, if it could be done, to  
 maintaining many women, children, old men, and  
 invalids; and that it would be much cheaper, unless  
 the price of free negroes' work were very exorbi-  
 tant.

Taxes are raised differently in the islands. He  
 remembers one or more instances of a poll-tax on  
 slaves of all ages, though a contrary practice had pre-  
 vailed during the French Government. A poll-tax  
 still exists in Grenada on negro sailors and others not  
 employed on estates, to make their owners contri-  
 bute, as well as planters, whose produce is taxed.—  
 It has varied from 18s. to 12 or 14s. cur. per head;  
 and, he thinks, last year, slaves, under 10 or 12  
 years old, were excepted.

Witness examined.—ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, Esq. <sup>1790.</sup>  
 Part II.

He resided in the W. Indies, from 1754 to 1763. <sup>P. 134.</sup>  
 Has since spent about half his time there. Left the  
 W. Indies June 1788. In 1763, he, on the faith of <sup>P. 135.</sup>  
 Royal Proclamations, bought 2 sugar estates, not  
 then  $\frac{1}{2}$  cleared, in Grenada, with above 300 negroes,  
 which cost him upwards of £40000 ster. Has since  
 bought 14 properties, in the new Islands, with 350  
 slaves on them, some settled in part, others un-  
 cleared, but since partly cleared and settled by him. Can't be  
 exact, but believes, he has bought, since 1763, above  
 1200 new negroes, to put on his properties; and,  
 since then, has sold 5 or 6 of his purchases, with  
 about 450 slaves. While in the W. Indies, he yearly  
 visited the other (many English and some French)  
 Islands. From 1766, till now, has had from 500 to  
 near 1000 slaves: Has now above 900 (more than  
 180 of them children, p. 180) Has cultivated sugar,  
 coffee, cocoa and cotton. Journals of deaths, births  
 and work have all along been kept on his estates, and  
 sent him.

Those who know the W. India climate must think the <sup>P. 136.</sup>  
 lands can't possibly be cultivated by whites, and that  
 the manual labour necessary can only be done by ne-  
 groes. It is impossible to keep up the stock of slaves  
 by births. Would not have bought lands in the Ceded  
 Islands, had he conceived the sla. trade would be  
 abolished.

Grenada is thought to contain upwards of 80000  
 acres, some of which has been in sugar, and aban-  
 doned for want of negroes, besides as much granted,  
 but never cleared, fit for coffee, &c. (Much land in  
 the Ceded Islands is yet un-  
 cleared, p. 178.) He knows  
 not how much land has been sold in St. Vincent;  
 but believes  $\frac{1}{2}$  of that sold is not cultivated; and that  
 $\frac{1}{4}$  of the land sold in Dominique is not cultivated.  
 Both these islands are very mountainous: but, in ge-  
 neral, all that is sold is fit for some W. India produce. <sup>P. 137.</sup>  
 Has

1790. Has an estate in Grenada, near the sea, of 320  
 Part II. acres, 173 slaves, has long made 250 to 300 hhds.  
 It is strong land and rattoons; so that only from 24  
 to 30 acres is to be holed yearly. On the adjoining  
 estate, farther from the sea, of 450 acres and 180 ne-  
 groes, more canes are cut yearly, yet he makes not  
 above 180 or 200 hhds. On the next adjoining es-  
 tate, of 460 acres and 206 negroes, he makes not  
 above 180 or 200 hhds. A foot of cane on the lower  
 estate yields as much as  $1\frac{1}{2}$  foot on the upper; and he  
 makes 3 hhds on the former with less work, fewer  
 and carriage, than 2 on the latter. These facts shew  
 the impossibility of accurately stating the proportion  
 of negroes to acres, or hhds.

P. 138. Is certain, not 3 estates in Grenada are fully slaved,  
 and that at least 15000 more slaves would be neces-  
 sary fully to slave the lands cleared, and fit for cul-  
 tivation. Does not think St. Vincent, to cultivate all  
 the cultivable land, above  $\frac{1}{2}$  slaved, nor Diminique  
 $\frac{1}{4}$  slaved. Believes Grenada and its islands contain  
 33000 or 34000 slaves, St. Vincent 12000, and Do-  
 minique 17000.

A gang of negroes consists of tradesmen, boilers,  
 field-negroes, &c. The crop is from January or  
 February, to June or July, according as the estate is  
 slaved; if underhanded they begin soon. Then some  
 tradesmen work at their trades, others help to take  
 off the crop. In 180 or 200 negroes, there are com-  
 monly 50 cutters and tiers, 20 or 25 carters and mule  
 boys, about the works and mill from 30 to 40; about  
 the works from 15 to 20, watchmen, &c. about 15.  
 These, from 12 to 15 years old, weed canes,  
 children from 10 to 12 pick grass. The rest are  
 superannuated, sick, or infants. When crop is over,

P. 139. in Grenada, they have 2 or 3 days to clear and put in  
 order their gardens. After that they all weed rat-  
 toons and plants till the middle of August, when  
 many of the strongest (40, more or less) go to holing,  
 the rest still weeding. When the land is holed, and  
 the dung carted out by mules they, carry it to the  
 holes

holes, then they plant the land. This, with making 1790.  
dung, repairing roads, and clearing the estates' pro- Part II.  
vision-grounds, employed the field-negroes, out of

They are commonly in the field from sun-rise, never earlier, till sun-set, which never differs  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour from 6 o'clock. In Grenada, and, he believes, the other Ceded Islands, they have from  $\frac{3}{4}$  to 1 hour for breakfast, and, from 12 to 2, for dinner.

A field-negro works the same time in, as out of crop. But in Grenada, and the other Ceded Islands, they boil sugar all night, and commonly have 3 spells of boilers, mill people, &c. which are changed at midnight; so that only every 3d night, they lose their 6 hours rest. On fully slaved estates, there are often 4 spells.

The cutting of canes is not very hard, tying them easy; the feeding the mills and fires are the most laborious. The rest of the work is very easy. On the P. 140.  
whole, thinks the negroes are most healthy in, and like the crop best. Never knew them complain of work then. The mill-gang commonly sing all night. Certainly labour in crop is the hardest, as  $\frac{1}{2}$  their time, out of crop, is weeding. Holing is the most severe work out of crop.

A basket of dung for the strong, holds about 30lb. for the weak about 15lb. These gangs go in a row, the drivers with them. Some put more, others less into the baskets. It is impossible for any healthy grown slave to think this laborious. Dung, in Grenada and other islands, where carts and mules with P. 141.  
baskets can go, is carried out by them, universally, and the negroes seldom have above 200 yards to carry it to the holes.

In Grenada, they gave no provision to the healthy (except herrings or salt fish) unless their grounds fail them, and if so, they give no more food at one time than another. They often give holers weak grog twice a-day. Holing does not occasion sickness. Negroes seem fond of it, and commonly sing at it. He

1790. knows several task-gangs who hole, all the year, by  
 Part II. task-work, equally healthy with those employed in  
 other works. Nor does he think holing so hard as  
 mowing, and other works here. The work of field-  
 negroes much easier than the common labour here.

Negroes are fed differently in different Islands.  
 In Grenada, where estates are large, and have much  
 P. 142. new ground, they have as much land as they can  
 work, to maintain themselves and sell the surplus,  
 as it has been universally considered the greatest be-  
 nefit to a planter, that his slaves should have plenty,  
 and the more money they got, the more attached  
 they were. They have an afternoon weekly, to work  
 their grounds, and the manager or overseer calls  
 over the list, twice a day, to see who were in their  
 grounds, and always on Sunday morning, 9 o'clock,  
 when the negroes were ordered into their grounds,  
 except such as had passports, to go to market, or  
 church, or to see their countrymen, which he never  
 knew refused, when there was occasion. The ma-  
 nager sometimes, and the overseers twice, weekly,  
 viewed the negro-gardens, and always gave an al-  
 lowance, and often further time, to such whose gar-  
 dens were neglected, or when there was not sufficient  
 food in them. If negroes had not sufficient grounds,  
 they would rob their neighbours, and might revolt;  
 and it is of the greatest consequence that all the ne-  
 groes be properly fed. As some were not so atten-  
 tive to their interest as others, the Grenada legisla-  
 ture passed a law for inspecting negro grounds, in  
 P. 143. 1766, and another in 1788, inserted in the P. Coun-  
 cil's Report. Negroes may raise poultry and hogs,  
 and sell them for the best price they can get. (They  
 are forced to labour at their own ground, p. 179).

They raise, for their own use, or for sale, in Gre-  
 nada and the Ceded Islands, plantanes and fig-bana-  
 mas, cassada, yams, &c. &c. also cabbages, shal-  
 lots, &c. likewise pine-apples, water-melons, &c.  
 Every one of these the negroes have in their grounds,  
 at some time or other of the year. Very little la-  
 bour


bour in planting them, and they only require 2 or 3 1790. weedings, which can be done by the children. Part II. Plantanes are very fruitful, 3 or 4 weedings the only cultivation required. The negroes need not work half their allowed time in their gardens, and that only out of crop, as the rains set not in till May or June, before which they cannot plant.

In Grenada, the negroes commonly have from P. 144. 8 to 12 herrings weekly, or salt fish in proportion; children and infants have half allowance. They have beef and pork at Christmas.

In Grenada and the Ceded Islands it is customary, and, in Grenada, there is a law, that provisions should be raised by the whole gang, for the sick, and for the indolent who neglect their grounds, or who, from casualties, have not food enough in them; (repeated, p. 179) and parish guardians are appointed to inspect the grounds; and in case of want, the masters commonly buy provisions.

New negroes are clothed, and placed with the chief negroes, and regularly feed thrice a day, for a year or more, till they have enough food in their grounds, and can provide for themselves. Their first work is to plant their grounds, and they are allowed, at times, days to weed them. They generally are allowed to sell the first provisions they raise, to attach them to the estate and encourage them. Property they can call their own makes them happy, and gives them a better idea of their state. Masters very often give them poultry and encourage them to rear them. P. 145.

In general, the negroes sell provisions, poultry and hogs. A slave who makes proper use of his time, may sell produce to the value of from £7 to £15 ster. yearly. Some industrious negroes, who have good land, often sell from £30. to £40 ster. Slaves with children have a greater proportion of land than single slaves; and, he believes; in the Ceded Islands,  $\frac{1}{2}$  the current specie is the property of the negroes.

1790. Part II.  Negroes are naturally fond of gay drefs, and tho' allowed fufficient working day cloaths, they buy fine cloaths for Sundays. It is very common, in Grenada and the Ceded Iflands, to fee field-negroes in white dimity jackets and breeches, and fine Holland fhirts; and the women in muflins, and 4 or 5 India muflin Handkerchiefs on their heads, at 8 or 10 fh. each. He has often feen flaves give feafts to P. 146. 100 or 200 other flaves, with every rarity and wines, which he could not have given for £ 60 fter. and they very often borrow their mafter's plate and linen to entertain their friends. Thefe feafts are very frequent amongft the flaves. When large hogs are killed by the plantation-negroes, they are commonly fold to the reft, in fmall quantities.

Negroes with families, or fingle ones, who wifh for houfes, are affifted by their mafters to build them. They are commonly from 25 to 30 feet long, from 12 to 15 feet broad, the fides and tops covered with wild cane, and thatched with cane-tops. They are warmer, drier, and efteemed healthier, than if boarded. At one end there is a hog-pen outside, and at the other a hen-rooft.

Knows no where a greater proportion of able, experienced, medical men, than in the W. Indies. There are about 40 in Grenada, where they are allowed 7fh. 6d. cur. for each flave, young and old, and paid befides for fractures and operations, and 20fh. cur. per head for inoculation. Sick flaves are immediately fent into the hofpital, where 2 nurfes always attend to nurfe and give them phyfick. The Doctor, if not refident, always vifits them thrice a week and oftener, if neceffary, and the owner or manager, and chief nurfe, examine all the fick every morning. The hofpitals are conveniently divided. P. 147. There is one on every eftate, obliged by law to be properly kept. Wine and every neceffary is generally found for the fick. Believes the plantation hofpitals, in Grenada, are generally as well attended as thofe in England. If the leaft fore appears on a negro's



groe's leg, he is laid up, as it is difficult to cure  
fores without confinement. Negroes are regularly  
fed in the hospital. They often remain a day or  
two in the hospital, with only a dry skin.

1790.  
Part II.

An estate of 3 or 400 acres, with sufficient slaves  
and stock, may be worth 30 or £ 40000 ster. The  
manager ought to have sense, humanity and good  
conduct. He must study the slaves tempers, and  
know the care of stock and land, so that he should  
possess the first abilities. It is the owners interest  
and care to get such a man. Planters, knowing it  
the chief point to have the negroes in good heart,  
look first to his humanity, without which no planter  
would employ his brother. Managers in Grenada,  
and the Ceded Islands, have commonly from £ 150  
to £ 300 per Annum, which, with the provisions and  
stock they raise, enables them to live well, and to  
save most of their wages. If humane, they are ge-  
nerally as much respected as owners, and very often  
become owners. Are very often gentlemen's sons  
from Europe, who, having experienced, as over-  
seers, the management of slaves and manufacture of  
produce, become managers.

Negroes are generally subject to thieving and drink-  
ing; and a number of ill disposed negroes coming  
from Africa often break open stores and rum cellars,  
steal provisions, quarrel, and run away. These are  
the causes generally for which masters punish them.  
All estates are obliged to guard negro gardens, &c.  
In Grenada, by law, owners or managers cannot or-  
der above 39 lashes, on the breach, for any one  
crime—and overseers cannot themselves punish, or  
order above 12 lashes. Plantation-punishment is not  
so severe as 50 lashes given to a soldier, and is soon  
cured. Great crimes are often forgiven to negroes  
who have not been punished before, because after  
several floggings, they consider it as little punish-  
ment. Good negroes feel the disgrace more than  
the whipping. Whipping are more frequent on some  
estates than others. Owners or managers seldom or

P. 148.

1790. ever punish for small crimes; but it is sometimes re-  
 Part II. quisite to punish, but not too severely—it is the owners  
 interest not to punish so severely as to keep negroes  
 from working: nor did he ever see a punishment  
 which he could call very severe, or more than the  
 P. 149. negro could bear. In the W. Indies, as every  
 where else, some are more indulgent than others;  
 but he never remembers to have seen any cruelties;  
 tho' he has heard of owners severer than others.

In 10 years, ending 1788, he saw no beggars or  
 miserable objects, except at Barbadoes, where he  
 saw many whites of that description, some serving  
 free negroes and slaves, who pay a weekly sum to  
 their masters.

French domesticks are very often made com-  
 panions by their owners. Many of them are their  
 masters' mulatto children. Their domesticks are  
 generally better treated than the English; but they  
 do not feed and cloath their field-negroes so well as  
 the English: they generally work them more and  
 punish them more severely.

He thinks the French slaves considerably better  
 disposed than the English: they are not such thieves.  
 Being mostly Christians, they have better ideas of  
 right and wrong. Every evening, out of crop (and  
 on Sunday evenings in crop, p. 150.) they meet of  
 their own accord, and pray, and sing hymns, with  
 fervency and devotion. (The Grenada negroes are  
 equally devout, p. 150.)

P. 150. All the new negroes he bought seemed to be in  
 the savage state. Those of the Gold coast appeared  
 more tractable and industrious. They generally  
 shewed themselves off to be bought and when ex-  
 amined seemed disappointed, if refused. On seeing  
 their countrymen, on the estates, clothed and com-  
 fortable, they seemed very happy. He knows  
 not that he ever saw one otherwise. He has often  
 asked some of his slaves, if they wished to return to  
 Africa, and their universal answer was, "No master,  
 me know better". They wish not to be thought  
 Africans

Africans, and, with them, "Salt water negro" and "Savage" have the same meaning. 1790.  
Part II.

In Grenada, all the creoles and most new negroes are Christians, being generally christened 2 or 3 years after their arrival. They often read the service over their dead. They often attend the churches, English and Catholick. The clergy, by law, must christen them gratis, and certain times, yearly, visit and instruct them. Believes the negroes in the other Ceded Islands are equally religious; tho' there is no such law. P. 151.

He had an estate 2 years, near the Caribs in St. Vincent, and he has an island 5 leagues off, where they fish. They have the richest land in St. Vincent, and have cleared some spots where plantanes, tobacco, and cassada are planted by the women. The men fish, get crabs, eggs and birds, and make baskets, which they sell among the Islands for liquors: are quite idle at other times. They have only a rag round the waist, and live in the savage state they did in Africa. They generally speak French; and there were always French missionaries among them till the Island was ceded to us; but they never could convert them. He has often seen his negroes feed them out of pity. They are free, and their lands have been confirmed to them by treaty with England, when they were supposed to have 800 fighting men. It is thought they have since decreased; but believes their exact numbers have never been known. P. 152.

In 1787, he went from 20 to 30 miles into Trinidad, and saw parties of yellow Caribs. The women and children had only rags about their waists. They seemed perfectly savage. The Governor told him they were numerous, and had many parcels of the richest land in the Island, but not cultivated, except with a few plantane and orange-trees near their houses which were temporary, as they often changed their grounds: also that tho' that Island was one of the first settled by the Spaniards, yet the priests, with P. 153.

1790. with all their zeal, never could convert the yellow  
Part. II. Caribs. They are free.

Most of the free negroes in the Islands, have been freed by gift. He has known many repent of their being freed, finding it difficult to support themselves and get comforts when sick, equal to what they had before. The women commonly huckster, and often receive stolen goods from slaves. Some free tradesmen work till they can buy a negro, and then leave off. Some live idle on wench's gains. Never knew a free negro work, nor does he think such would work in the field, for any wages. Their general idea of liberty seems to be exemption from work.

P. 154. It is impossible for Europeans to stand W. India field-work of any kind. Soldiers and sailors exposed to the sun, are liable to disease. It is customary to exercise soldiers before sun-rise. Often give overseers umbrellas to keep off the sun and rain. White tradesmen there seldom work, in, or out of doors. They direct negro tradesmen how to lay out the work, and do light, nice jobs. (Repeated p. 173.)

The Ceded Islands, being generally very mountainous and stony, very little land can be ploughed. Not 1000 acres in Grenada. Steep land ploughed would soon be washed away. The flat land is mostly strong clay, and could not be ploughed in wet weather, and, in dry, its hardness would make it difficult. Land ploughed would still want some negro labour. Lands in the Ceded Islands ratoon. The lands can generally be holed by the negroes, after weeding, when they have little else to do, and the same number must be kept to take off the crop. Ploughing would save very little, from the difficulty and expence of getting a proper ploughman, the expence of horses and cattle, and the various structures of ploughs; the charges of ploughing would be double that of holing by task-work. Ploughs have often been tried without success. Believes the planters would eagerly pursue any mode that promised to ease their slaves. (Believes it possible to plant,

P. 155.

after

after the plough, (without holing) with a good 1790.  
 ploughman, but he believes few could plough a Part II.  
 furrow straight enough. Knows not that it ever was           
 or can be successfully practised in the W. Indies, p.  
 180).

Thinks it impossible to cultivate a W. India es-  
 tate without negroes attached to it, where 2 or 300  
 negroes are requisite for 3 or 400 acres. The ablest P. 156.  
 planter cannot tell when the constant attendance of  
 the negroes is most wanted. Their absence for a  
 fortnight would be very injurious, and might not be  
 recovered in years. It would be impossible, with-  
 out negroes attached, to hire, lodge, or feed the  
 number requisite.

Believes women in the W. Indies breed not so  
 soon, nor so long, as in colder climates, seldom  
 have above 5 or 6 children, have early and more  
 various connexion, which tends to hinder breeding.

From 27 years experience, and the opinions of  
 medical men, has found, that many infants die of  
 locked-jaw, of worms, and of the putrid sore throat.  
 Most children have the yaws, which, at times, have  
 baffled the first physicians in England. All the W.  
 India Islands are, at times, subject to long droughts,  
 heavy rains, calms and cold north winds, causing dis-  
 orders, and often great mortality. It is generally most P. 157.  
 fatal to the healthiest, ablest slaves.

In the W. Indies, hurricanes or excessive rains,  
 destroy the provisions, from July to November when  
 no ships are there; and this country being too dis-  
 tant to supply them, the slaves are forced to eat un-  
 ripe provisions, often causing great mortality from  
 fluxes, which he has often known attack  $\frac{1}{2}$  a gang.  
 Thinks this cause destroys as many slaves as the  
 country disorders. Formerly they could soon get  
 dry provisions from America; and this evil may be  
 remedied by a trade, in small vessels, with that  
 country.

Seldom above 3 or 4 years pass in any Island but  
 the whites and blacks are visited by epidemics.

1790. Very often an estate will increase by births for a time, Part II. and, in 1 or 2 months, lose  $\frac{1}{4}$  or  $\frac{1}{5}$  of its slaves.

He has an estate, with about 200 slaves, in the healthiest part of Grenada, where, from 1766 to 1786, his numbers diminished not above 10: In 1786 they were 12 less; in 1787, he lost 25, most of them the stoutest he had, with a liver-complaint. All his neighbours suffered equally, and one particularly lost 47, out of 300, of that disorder. In P. 158. 1788, it was fatal, both to whites and blacks, in other parts of Grenada, where it had never been so fatal before; but it has since been more frequent in all the Islands. In the year ending June 1789, his Grenada slaves have increased 8 by births; but, by letters of October last, he lost, in 6 weeks, 17 by the flux, mostly able slaves. Believes all the Islands have suffered as much. In St. Kitts and the Leeward Islands they lost a great many slaves 2 years ago.

If he could not have bought grown slaves to replace his loss, even 15 or 20 lost in 170, would have lessened his crop by at least 60 or 70 hhds. sugar and 40 punch. rum. Fears, that in spite of humanity, rather than suffer such loss, his other slaves would have been worked more than if the estate had been fully slaved, and it might cause a greater loss of slaves and crop the next year. But, by buying 20 new slaves he should pay this country for manufactures, herrings, &c. duties and freight of 60 or 70 hhds. of sugar, and of  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the rum, above £. 2000, and he should be repaid his loss in one year; and humanity would be protected, by saving his other slaves and bringing 20 slaves from a savage state to be well used and made christians of.

P. 159. A weakly handed estate, must begin crop January 1. and continue till June or July, hence the canes being then watery 2500 or 3000 gall. of liquor will go to 1 hhd. of sugar; but a full handed estate may begin crop in March, April or May, and then 1500 gall. liquor or less would make a hhd, with half the labour of slaves and stock. Newly cleared estates,

in the Ceded Islands, if neglected a year, grow into 1790.  
wood and brush 10 or 12 feet high, and if weak-Part II.  
handed, part must be abandoned.

If the Ceded Islands were now fully cultivated and  
slaved, the number of slaves would not be sufficient  
to continue to raise the same produce; for now the  
land there is new and rattoons, and takes less dung.

Thinks, if the sexes were equalized by buying P. 160.  
more women, it would still be impossible for the  
slaves to be kept up by breeding.

His estates, as healthy as any in Grenada, having  
good and abundant provision grounds, attended by  
able medical men, yet, he believes, have lost 3 per  
cent. of slaves, annually, on an average. From  
what he knows and has heard, believes the decrease  
in that and the other Ceded Islands has been fully as  
great, and near as great, in the old Islands, which  
are healthier but worse off for provisions. (Decrease  
3 per cent. yearly, mostly of the able slaves, the loss  
of labour may be 2 per cent. more, and the increase  
of labour also 2 per cent. p. 162, 176). From 1779  
to 1784, the loss in Grenada was estimated at 4 per  
cent. tho' the Island was then uncommonly healthy  
and few whites died. Believes the additional mor-  
tality was owing to the scarcity caused by the war.  
Is interested in 3 estates, in a healthy part of Domi-  
nica, having plenty of ground provisions, and a doc-  
tor constantly resident; but the decrease on them,  
he believes, has been 4 per cent. No negroes have  
been put on them since 1779. 2 of the works have been  
abandoned, from the decrease, have grown into P. 161.  
brush and wood, and make not  $\frac{1}{2}$  the produce they  
did in 1779.

In case of the Abolition, the slaves, sensible part of  
the lands growing into brush and wood would be un-  
healthy, and their labour would be harder, would  
despond. Buying new negroes makes the slaves  
happy, as easing them and affording them wives.  
By late letters from some of the Grenada legislature,  
he learns that the slaves begin to be a little turbu-

1790. lent, saying Parliament would free them, but for  
 Part II. their masters. With these ideas the whites might be  
 destroyed in a day. Believes if they knew Parlia-  
 ment meant to abolish a trade so essential to their ease  
 and comfort, and could come at those who should  
 pass such a law, they would not scruple to destroy  
 them.

The Sl: trade, having been almost intirely stop-  
 ped in the war, the Islands suffered greatly in num-  
 bers and cultivation—Grenada lost near 7000, and  
 he believes the others proportionally; and, since then,  
 all our Islands have been and are in great want of  
 slaves. Foreigners have given  $\frac{1}{2}$  as much more than  
 we have, and their demand being great, we were  
 obliged to take young and old slaves, setting aside  
 the sick, not being able to get women, and a great  
 many imported are past breeding.

P. 162. The planters creditors are alarmed at the discus-  
 sion of the question of Abolition, and wish for their  
 money. It has totally stopped loans and sales of W.  
 India estates. The planters holding their property  
 by charters and acts of Parliament, and finding they  
 are likely to be deprived of the only means of pre-  
 serving it, by acts of Parliament, they consider their  
 estates as in a more uncertain state.

Were epidemicks to carry off  $\frac{1}{2}$  the people in this  
 kingdom, the loss could be supplied, from this and  
 the neighbouring kingdoms, and the same may be  
 said of Africa; but, in case of the Abolition, the  
 loss from diseases in one Island, it could not be sup-  
 plied, from any other, as slaves could not be bought  
 at any price. Hence, in time, the Abolition will  
 ruin the W. Indies and the slaves now there.

His reasons for thinking that, if this country abo-  
 lish the slave-trade, the other European nations  
 would carry it on and extend it. The French, whose  
 P. 164. W. India Colonies are not  $\frac{1}{2}$  cultivated, have granted  
 bounties on slaves and the ships carrying them.  
 Spain could buy slaves cheaper, were G. Britain to  
 abolish the trade, and has, by a late edict, opened  
 all



all her W. Indian ports, and offered bounties on 1790.  
 slaves. By another edict, she has offered freedom Part II  
 to slaves deserting from other colonies. It is well  
 known many English Sl: ships, with English masters  
 and French seamen, have, in the last 2 years, sailed  
 from France, as French vessels, to get their bounties.  
 In case of the Abolition, our Merchants will go to  
 France and Ostend, to carry on the trade with the  
 French and other foreign colonies who, in their  
 turn, will carry slaves to our colonies. Most goods  
 sent to Africa are cheaper in France than England. It P. 165.  
 is well known, the value of W. India produce, at  
 an under-price, and in a bad year, was £.9000000,  
 exclusive of exports to Ireland and N. America.  
 Above £.3000000 in duties freight, and the other  
 £.6000000 consumed in manufactures and center  
 here.

The planter, having hitherto considered that he  
 could not be deprived of his property without an  
 equivalent, and seeing his slaves wasting, would P. 166.  
 think it incumbent on him to get slaves in any way,  
 and at any price. He would be obliged to buy them  
 at the free-ports, and to carry them in small incom-  
 modious vessels in which the slaves, in a few days,  
 would suffer more than in a voyage from Africa, and  
 would cost near double the present price. Thinks no  
 Act could prevent the planters from getting slaves; nor  
 does he see, if men of war should seize them, how  
 they could sell them. (Repeated, p. 177.)

Thinks it was stipulated, in the Ceded Island  
 grants, that  $\frac{1}{2}$  the land granted should be cultivated,  
 in 20 years, and that there was a penalty for non-per-  
 formance; but knows of none being enforced.

Most of those who abandoned lands in Grenada P. 167.  
 were new subjects, and carried their slaves to foreign  
 Islands to avoid paying their debts to British mer-  
 chants: others from the decrease and non-importa-  
 tion of slaves were obliged to abandon cultivation:  
 others, as no slaves were to be bought, took their  
 slaves off their coffee, &c. estates, and put them on  
 their

1790. their sugar estates to supply their loss: And some  
 Part II. whose slaves had decreased, had not the means to re-  
 place them and abandoned their property.

When Grenada was ceded in 1763, the British laws were considered as in force there. In 1764 or 65, a legislature was formed there, which passed laws for the government and protection of slaves; but no law was passed to prevent owners from punishing as they thought proper, it being considered by the legislature, of which he was a member, that no local law could prevent improper punishment so much as the  
 P. 168. British laws then in force there. All the inhabitants were interested in protecting the slaves, as insurrections might be occasioned by cruelty. The Islands being small, and estates not above 3 or 400 acres, the conduct of masters is generally known. Several masters have been indicted and fined for cruelty, by the Justices, at the Sessions, and one white man was hanged, but whether a master or not, he cannot say.

Some of the many Grenada laws for protecting and managing slaves having been found inadequate, in 1788, a Committee (of which he was one) was appointed to revise and reform those laws. He believes they restricted punishment to 39 lashes, to shew G. Britain, who had been petitioned against the slave-trade, that there was such a law. Thinks  
 P. 169. the slave was as well protected before as he is by this law; for it certainly was always understood and practised, that the slave was protected by the common law of G. Britain.

The Quantity of slaves-grounds depends on their quality and situation. Some having more land than others, give the slaves as much as they can work. Never knew less than an acre given to 6 persons of all ages (exclusive of the common provision-grounds worked by the whole gang, p. 179.) When an estate is said to consist of so many acres, the slaves-grounds are included.

P. 170. In Grenada negroes are not commonly allowed to keep goats. Other things are cheap for that country;

try: Pork about 5d. per lb, fixed by law; a fowl 1790.  
 from 18d. to 3s. other poultry in proportion; a roast- Part II  
 ing pig 4s. 6d.—all sterling. Knows no whites who  
 raise stock, except a little by proprietors, but most  
 of it is bought of the slaves.

In the French Islands, he believes, the slaves have much the same quantity of provision-grounds as those in Grenada. Has seen the Code Noir, and knows the French mode of treating slaves. Many regulations of that Code were incorporated into the first Grenada slave-laws.

French use their domestics better than the En-P. 171.  
 glish, but field-negroes of both are on a footing, except that, till the war, American and European provisions were dearer to the French than the English, who could and did feed their slaves best. Cloathing coming cheaper from England, they cloathed them yearly, while the French slaves were generally obliged to cloath themselves, except the domestics whom their masters cloathed for show. The French Islands have few eminent doctors; nor are their sick slaves generally so well treated as the English. The French, both in their own Islands and in Grenada, work their slaves much harder and punish them worse than the English. But the French now enjoying the American trade, can feed their slaves better than the English.

Woollen cloaths, thought more proper, from P. 172.  
 damp and bleak winds, he never knew given to French slaves.

Believes the French Procureurs have not attended P. 173.  
 to their duty to the slaves in any one Island. Insurrections have been more frequent in the French than English Islands, as is now the case at Martinique, which shews that their slaves are worse treated than ours.

He never knew but one man in Grenada, who was said to use his slaves more severe than common, but what his property was ruined. Thinks slaves are treated

1790. treated much better than when he first knew the  
Part II. W. Indies.

In most Islands there were laws obliging proprietors to keep a white man for so many negroes, for fear of revolt and invasion, and that proportion of whites being more than what was requisite to direct the estates, white tradesmen were sent from hence to instruct the negroes, which being accomplished, very few whites are employed on the estates, as formerly at Antigua, the wages and expences of a white-man, being double that of a black, the fines for deficiency of whites nearly pay the whole Island expences. He believes the other Islands follow the same custom.

P. 174. Has often changed his managers, but not for 4 or 5 years; except at Tobago, where his attornies have frequently changed his managers, since he left the country.

Owners or attornies generally buy slaves, but with the managers' assistance.

Most managers buy slaves with their savings; but such slaves are seldom kept or hired on the estate he directs. They are generally let to others, the first year, for their maintenance; afterwards they hire them at yearly wages, or in gangs for task-work.

Before the capture of Grenada in 1779, the taxes were partly raised by a poll-tax, sometimes on all slaves, sometimes on those of certain ages: but since the restoration in 1784, the taxes were raised on the produce. On town-negroes, there was a poll-tax from 12 to 18s. cur. per head, according to the exigencies of government. In 1784 a perpetual tax, of 18d. cur. per head, was laid on all slaves, in Grenada, to support the clergy.

P. 175. The roots on which negroes are fed are liable to injury by hurricanes.

P. 176. Domestic and field-slaves are equally healthy: if any thing, the former die faster than the latter, owing probably to their rambling more at nights, especially the young men.

Does not know that the Regulating Bill has increased the price of slaves; but it is apprehensive the fear of the abolition, and most estates being under handed, such as had money or credit to buy, and the demand of foreign colonies being great, prices rose from £ 40 to £ 50 ster. for gold and windward coast slaves, and are rising daily. 1790.  
Part II.

The British African merchants, having at command British and India goods fit for that market (which are now sent to France to assort their cargoes for Africa, at 25 per cent. advance) having greater capitals and knowing the trade better, will certainly keep and increase the slave-trade, and undersell foreigners. P. 177.

In Grenada the negroes go to their grounds at 9 on Sunday morning, and return about 12. They then dress, and dance, or walk till about 7 o'clock, when they assemble to prayers, which they never neglect. After prayers, they pass the rest of the evening in their houses.

Men are usually preferred for the more laborious plantation-duty. P. 178.

At the first settling of the Ceded Islands, men sold considerably higher than women, who were not fit for felling trees; but at present, estates being settled and nearly fully flaved, women are most wanted, and from the age of 15 to 20, fetch full as high a price as the men, generally higher; but, after 25, they sell considerably under the men. Boys and girls, from 12 to 15, sell at equal prices.

He has a manager and 2 overseers, on each estate, an eminent mill-wright occasionally, and a doctor attends, but does not reside. Scarcely knows a sugar estate but has at least as many whites, that number being requisite. One white superintends each gang, in the field, boiling-house, or mill.

In all the English and French islands, he knows, free negroes and mulattoes are considered as a nuisance, as they never cultivate land themselves, and the women huxter provisions, sell rum, and receive P. 179.

1790. stolen goods, corrupting the slaves' morals. Their Part II. only use is in case of invasion.

Thinks the labour now required of the slaves is proper, may be done with ease, and without hurting their health. Thinks a workman here does more work in 5 hours than the slave in 9.

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Witness examined—JAMES BAILLIE, Esq. W. Indies,

P. 181. Resident in the W. Indies about 16 years at different times.

P. 182. Purchased an estate in Grenada in 1765, and was concerned in the purchase of another in St. Vincent, which latter was a grant from Government, to General Monckton, and cost £33000. The estate in Grenada was in a very imperfect state of cultivation.

Would not have purchased had he conceived that G. Britain would prohibit the importation of African negroes. Was an attorney for other plantations in St. Kitts and Grenada, and knows the mode of cultivation and treatment of negroes.

His land in St. Vincent is covered with wood.

His purchase of General Monckton was 4000 and a few hundred acres—Of this about 3000 acres have been sold to different proprietors, and if they can procure African slaves, it may be brought to a state of perfection; but should the trade be abolished, the lands must return to their natural state.

P. 183. About 1400 acres remain unsold, till the present question is determined. If the abolition takes place, these will be entirely left to the proprietors. The land would never have been sold, if it had been understood at the time that G. Britain would prohibit the importation of African negroes.

Large tracts of land so sold, particularly in Dominique, are yet uncultivated. Estates in the Ceded Islands

Islands are by no means in perfect cultivation, and are capable of great improvement, if the proprietors have a market for African slaves

1790.

Part II.

Large sums of money have been expended in improvements, and buildings made with accommodations for taking off the crops which the whole of the lands are capable of producing.

Similar improvements have been made on the estates bought from the French in Grenada, which island never was sufficiently stocked with slaves, and the number has been greatly lessened by excess of labour or the French military works during the capture, &c. Thousands have been purchased since the peace, but the estates in general are far from being sufficiently handed. Large tracts in Grenada are uncultivated, which may be improved if proprietors are permitted to purchase slaves.

P. 184.

Improvements must cease in all the W. India islands, without a regular supply of African slaves. The present stock is not sufficient to keep the lands in their present state, without occasional supplies from Africa.—Cannot be kept up by breeding—could not do it on his own estate, which is a remarkable healthy situation in Grenada, where only two whites have died in 24 years. From 1765 to 1771, he was in the habit of improving the estate, and increased the stock of slaves from about 140 to 300 by purchase. From 1771, till the capture of Grenada in 1779, there was not a decrease in the estate of above one per cent. per ann. (reckoning the births) though no new negroes were purchased. During the French captivity the negroes decreased for the reasons before-mentioned. In the year 1786, a contagious distemper, in a few months, carried off 47 of the best slaves, which number has been since replaced by purchase, or the cultivation of the estate must have diminished in proportion.—The disease was a complaint in the liver, and the work of the plantation was in great backwardness the whole year it appeared. It lasted from 4 to 6

P. 185.

1790. months. No plantation could be better appointed  
 Part II. in provision grounds; there were warm and convenient hospitals for the sick, and though the negroes had always of their own the greatest abundance of provisions, he always supplied the hospital with flour, rice, bread, wine, and other refreshments. There was a general order to supply the sick with mutton, and such other fresh meats as the estate afforded. The sick had such medical aid as was proper. For the first 10 years a surgeon was kept for the sole purpose of attending the negroes, and, during the distemper, a physician went from the town of St. George to attend this estate, and some  
 P. 186. others in the neighbourhood.

Many children die of the Tetanus, or Locked Jaw; but this does not arise from want of care, or excess of labour in the mothers; for when women are known to be pregnant, their work is gradually diminished, till within 2 or 3 months of their delivery, when they pick grass, and do other light work. During confinement they are comfortably lodged at home, and are attended by able midwives and nurses. They have proper refreshments and cordials; (see p. 202) are allowed 4 or 5 weeks to recover; and it is generally 2 or 3 months after their delivery before they return to the harder labour of the plantation. When in the field, some elderly women are generally employed in taking care of the children. Believes these regulations prevail generally.

P. 187. Negroes are well provided with food and cloathing in all the islands he has been in; but there is a greater abundance of provisions in Jamaica and the Ceded Islands, than in the smaller, when they are more circumscribed, and the climate more uncertain. Negroes supply the markets in the Ceded Islands with fresh provisions, roots, and vegetables, the profits of which they apply to their own use. Some of them have property to the amount of 40, 50, 100, or even £200 sterling, which is transmitted



mitted from one generation to another. Labour is <sup>1790.</sup> in proportion to ability, and cannot be considered <sup>Part II.</sup> as severe, when compared to the labour of the lower order of people in Europe.

Holding of land, which is from August to January, P. 188. he has always considered as the hardest labour on a plantation, during which they have generally a certain allowance of bread, and very frequently spirits mixed with water.

Punishments not severe when compared with the discipline of the army or navy.

The mortality in the interval between the arrival P. 189. of the ships and the sales (which is generally about 10 days) cannot even be estimated at much more than 1 per cent. on an average, in the Windward Islands—Knows of no instance of medical arts used to conceal the real state of health in the slaves.

Greatest attention is used to prevent the separation of slaves, connected either by relationship or friendship.

Never knew slaves express a desire to return home.

Slaves in Grenada are generally Christians, and in a state of comfort and happiness.

Recollects negro freemen marrying slaves, though P. 190. they know the children of such marriage will be born slaves.

Introduction of new slaves cannot be prevented by any regulation in this country.

France pays a bounty on the importation of slaves into her colonies, amounting nearly to £ 7 per head. Number of seamen in the French W. I. trade, believes, is upwards of 50,000. Thinks the number imported from Africa to her W. I. islands, by France, must exceed 20,000.

Spain is giving every possible encouragement P. 191. for the pursuit of the trade in her own colonies.

Insurances are now making on Guinea-men from Boston, Virginia, and Charles Town, S. Carolina.

A considerable number of Guinea-men will be fitted

1790. fitted out from Copenhagen the instant the trade is  
Part II. abolished in this country.

Is of opinion that the gross value of the W. India and African trade, together, exceeds 7 millions sterling per ann.

Is of opinion, that if an abolition of the slave-trade was to take place for a few years only, it could not be recovered.

P. 192. The abolition of the trade would throw slaves in the W. Indies into a state of discontent and despondency. Every fresh importation is highly acceptable to them. Abolition will produce disorder amongst the white inhabitants, and alienate their affections.

Thinks his produce was 240 hogheads of sugar per ann. on an average.

Many negroes have purchased their freedom.

P. 193. Had a greater proportion of females than were upon estates in general, believes they may amount to more than two-fifths, having, when he left the W. I. sent all his female house-slaves to his estate.

Field-slaves are as happy as house-slaves.

Had a great proportion of deaths among the children within the 9th day, notwithstanding the situation was healthy, and the slaves well attended to.

P. 194. Slaves are much better used now than formerly— are increased in value from £ 25 to £ 33 sterling per head: before the war, to £ 30 or £ 40 sterling. Many cargoes in Jamaica, have averaged lately from £ 42 to £ 50 sterling.

P. 195. Fifty acres of the best, out of 400 which his estate contained, was allotted for provision grounds.

Proprietors of plantations in the French islands are much more commonly resident on their estates than those on the English islands.

French field-negroes not so comfortable as ours; punishment more severe; consumption of slaves greater.

The number of whites in the French islands, is <sup>1790.</sup> much greater than in the British; number of white Part II. servants pretty nearly the same.

The Danish government have given every possible encouragement to the introducing the Christian religion among their slaves; and if the government of Great Britain was to pay more attention to the instruction of slaves, their morals might be very much improved, and it might in the end prove a greater security to the welfare of the W. India islands than people in general are aware of. The Danish islands, though perfectly cultivated, are under a necessity of purchasing annual supplies. P. 198.

Has always considered the Regulating Act to be an advantage to the trade. P. 199.

\* Lands, in the Ceded Islands, were sold considerably beyond their value, and settled at a great expence. P. 200.

Plough cannot be used. P. 203.

Lands cannot be cultivated by Europeans. Old islands more straitened, as to provision-grounds; deficiency made up by importation.

There are considerable mortgages on estates. P. 204.

Accounts of pawns carried off from Cameroons, by Captain Bilby, other English vessels stop'd thereupon; pawns claimed in the W. Indies, sent back to Africa, but refused. Vide Particulars. P. 205.

The credit of the islands is materially injured by the apprehensions of abolition, in which case the security will come to nothing.

\* Prohibition to supply foreigners with slaves, would much injure the trade and manufacture of Great Britain.

Had a field-slave, a driver, worth £ 200.

In Grenada, the slaves found there on its cession to us, were all baptized, and continue in the practice of the Roman Catholic religion. And it has an exceeding good effect on their morals. In the old English islands, and in St. Vincent and Dominique, negroes shamefully neglected as to religion. P. 206.

Thinks it will require ten years to get any considerable return from a new settled estate.

Never

1790. Never was on the coast of Africa, and therefore  
 Part II. cannot say whether the negroes imported from  
 Africa are taken from a more happy state to be  
 placed in a worse; but believes, from information,  
 that they are more comfortable in the W. Indies  
 than in their own country.

Provisions in the islands are of quick growth.

Witness examined,—MR. JOHN CASTLES.

P. 207. Resided in Grenada from 1766 to 1788 (except one year) as a surgeon till the last 2 years.

Purchased some uncultivated land, and furnished it with negroes from Africa.

Population, he thinks, will diminish every year, without recruits from Africa: because negro wo-

P. 208. men are not so prolific as women of this country, owing to early, excessive, and promiscuous concubinage. Children are subject to the tetanus, or locked jaw, arising from an irritability of constitution induced by the warm climate; the wound on the laceration of the navel-string, retention of the meconium, bad milk, and sudden exposure to cold. No remedy for jaw fall. Fatal epidemical distempers.

$\frac{1}{3}$  of the children die within the month. Few imported women breed.

P. 210. Gave all attention to raising children on his estate.

It was his interest. Negroes injure their health by night visits and dances more than by labour. Ill treatment of negroes not the cause of the want of species by breeding.

P. 212. Would not have bought the estate had he understood the means of supplying African negroes were to be cut off. Has kept up his number, but not his strength.

If the Planters cannot recruit his numbers he must be ruined.

Condition of negroes much more comfortable than that of the labouring poor in England.

Brought

Brought two negro slaves to England, who, after staying about 3 months, begged to return. Said they did not like this country; it was dull. They pined after their dances and other customs. He sent them both home, where they remain contented. 1790.  
Part II.  
P. 213.  
P. 214.

They were exceedingly struck with the number of beggars in the streets, and used to say, "Buccra not good".

On their return, one of them (the man) had the option of what trade he would be put to. The woman was hired to hawk merchandise about the country. P. 215.

Two males are imported to one female. Lost by deaths about 6 per cent. per ann.

Planters always go upon the system of breeding slaves; it is their interest. P. 216.

Adults also are subject to tetanus. P. 217.

Has heard they are not fond of felling, in Africa, those women best adapted for breeding.

Fancies negroes in Africa do very little work, must be habituated to labour by degrees; in 2 or 3 years are said to be "seasoned." Not many die within 3 years, though more afterwards. Relations always sold together. The loss of field slaves would be supplied in a very trifling degree by sending house slaves into the field. P. 218.  
P. 220.

Witness examined,—JOHN GREG, Esq.

Was in the W. Indies for about 20 years, from the year 1764. Was in the Ceded Islands 2 or 3 times each year, twice in Jamaica, at Antigua, Hispaniola, Martinique, and St. Lucia, but resided mostly in Dominique. Secretary to the King's Commission, and Auctioneer in disposing of the lands in the Ceded Islands. Sold 174000 acres for £.620000, under a covenant for the purchaser to cut down, clear and cultivate one acre out of 20, every year, till half

1790. the uncleared land shall be cleared; under penalty of  
 Part II. paying 5 per ann. for every acre neglected. Vide  
 Grants.

P. 222. The greatest part of St. Vincent and Dominique remains in wood. More than  $\frac{1}{2}$  of each have been disposed of.

P. 223. The lands, in numerous instances, were sold far above their apprehended value.

P. 224. Immense sums have been laid out in buildings and other works, in some instances more than the purchase money. Number of negroes in Dominique and St. Vincent, a year ago, was about 27000. Judges the present number inadequate for the lands already cleared, without large annual supplies. Some plantations are falling back to a desert state, from the high price of negroes caused by the rumour of abolishing the trade. 120000 additional negroes would hardly be sufficient to clear and cultivate the uncleared lands.

Had it been apprehended that the slave trade would be abolished no person would have purchased these lands.

P. 225. There will be a great deficiency of labour, from the present full grown negroes growing past their work. Has observed negroes in all the Islands much happier in general than the lower people in England. Recollects no beggars, or deserted slaves.

P. 226. Number could not be kept up by breeding: This not the effect of severe treatment.

Effect of abolition would be general ruin of the whites, and destruction of the blacks.

Besides common causes of mortality, negro-women plunge in rivers immediately on delivery, and under other improper situations, put on wet cloaths, which bring on complaints unfavourable to propagation:

All possible means have been attempted to counteract the several causes of mortality.

P. 227. The negroes apply hot linen to the navel string, which produces irritation and brings on the fall of the jaw.

Some estates in Dominique were begun to be <sup>1790.</sup> worked with capitals unequal to the enterprize; be- Part II. fides which, ufurious loans, an imposition of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the produce, and a duty of 30s. on every <sup>P. 228.</sup> imported negro, served to complete the ruin of the adventurers.

French house negroes better, field much worse <sup>P. 229.</sup> treated than our own.

The price of negroes in 1765, was £. 26 10s. per <sup>P. 230.</sup> head. At present they are £. 50. Before the report of an abolition prime negroes sold at £. 35 to £. 38.

The relief held out by Parliament in cases of fa- <sup>P. 233.</sup> mine, by permitting the Governor of any Island to import provisions from the foreign Islands, is futile; because no stores of provisions are, or can be, kept there. Hurricanes have done great damage.

It is the maxim, and the interest of Planters to raise Creoles.

Witness examined,—JOHN ANTHONY RUCKER, ESQ.

Is a considerable proprietor of lands in Grenada, <sup>P. 235.</sup> Cariacou and St. Vincent.

Would not have adventured his property if he had understood that Great Britain would prohibit the importation of negroes; wishes he had not. Has lent large sums, which he would not have done, had he apprehended abolition of slave-trade. Has not sufficient numbers to keep up the present cultivation. Cannot positively say, whether the stock may, in future, be kept up by breeding, having never been in the W. Indies, but is informed by his agents they cannot.

Abolition will have a dreadful effect, as we must have recourse to foreigners to supply us with sugar, which will cause a balance of trade against Great Britain of 1000000 to 1200000. The loss of shipping would also be great.

1790. The credit of W. India property was very bad before  
 Part II. the agitation of this question, and it is now grown  
 much worse. The security of the large debt from the  
 P. 237. W. Indies to G. Britain would be materially injured.

The purchases he made in the W. Indies were particularly fortunate and advantageous.

The experience of 25 years has taught him the stock of negroes cannot be kept up by breeding.

Witness examined,—JOHN HANKEY, Esq.

Is a very large proprietor of lands in the Ceded Islands, since 1764, has also very large sums outstanding. Would neither have purchased lands nor lent money, had he conceived the importation of negroes would have been prohibited.

P. 239. His estate can by no means be cultivated without negroes, nor has he, at present, a sufficient stock, nor can he keep up a stock without supplies from Africa.

Believes the defect of population not owing to ill treatment or excessive labour.

Effect of abolition will be the gradual decay and, at last, ruin of the Islands.

The agitation of this question has injured the credit on W. India property, and if the supply of negroes be stopped, the security of the large debt of the planters to G. Britain will be very materially injured.

P. 240. Never was in the W. Indies—W. India credit was very good before the war, and since would have revived but for the question of abolition.

Amount of the advances of this house on W. India property, was about £ 250000, at 5 per cent.

Witness examined,—WILLIAM TOD, Esq.

P. 241. Is a merchant of London, and proprietor of lands in Grenada and the Grenadines, since 1774 or 1775.



—Is also a creditor on the security of W. India estates. 1790.

Estates cannot, in his opinion, be cultivated but Part II.  
by negroes.

Would not have purchased, or lent, if he had understood that the importation of negroes would be prohibited.

Estates have not a sufficient stock, nor could that be kept up without supplies from Africa.

Defect of population not owing to ill treatment, nor excessive labour.

Effect of stopping the importation from Africa, in his opinion, would be fatal.

Has refused to lend money on W. India security, till he saw the event of the question of abolition of slave trade.

The security of the debt from the W. India planters will not be so good as it was if the trade be stopped.

Never was in the W. Indies.

Witness examined,—Mr. ROBERT THOMAS.

Resided about 9 years in St. Kitts and Nevis as a P. 246.  
surgeon, and attended between 4000 and 5000 negroes annually.

A surgeon's attendance expected once or twice a P. 247.  
week, or daily, if necessary. On most estates 6s. per head annually allowed, besides extra charges for capital operations, &c. and night visits.

Had every opportunity of observing how negroes were treated, worked, fed, lodged and clothed. They are divided into three classes or gangs, the 1st or great gang able-bodied negroes (exclusive of tradesmen and watchmen) who do the most laborious part of the work. The 2d, or weeding gang, from the age of 12 to 18 or 20, such as are weakly or ailing, and employed in light work. The 3d gang, from the age of 6 to 12, employed in picking grafts for the manager's or proprietors stock.

1790. Negroes in Nevis appear in the field about 6 o'clock:  
 Part II. work till about 9, when they breakfast; at  $\frac{1}{4}$  before  
 10 resume their work, which is continued to 12, they  
 P. 248. are then discharged till 2, in this interval, out of  
 crop, the major part of the gang are expected to  
 bring a small bundle of grafs, during crop: the  
 cattle fed with sliced cane-tops. At 2 o'clock they  
 enter the field again, and work till 6, and about 7,  
 if out of crop, a few bundles of grafs are again thrown.  
 Once a week allowance given out to the head of each  
 family, either at 12 at noon, or about 7 at night.

Women with children at the breast have many indulgencies, as coming an hour later into the field, never throwing grafs, retiring to suckle their children; pregnant women, on most of the estates, when 3 or 4 months gone with child, if in the large gang, are usually removed to the small one, and in their 7th month excused from all labour, going where and doing as they please.—A negro midwife attends the lying-in women in natural cases, but in preternatural a surgeon, who has a handsome fee, about £9 sterling. A nurse waits on the woman, when delivered, and her infant, till she can attend to it herself; every comfort afforded which that situation required, and not expected to work till the end of 4 weeks, and not then if the surgeon thought a longer indulgence necessary.

P. 249. For the cloathing of negroes estates, having a credit in England, usually set a sufficient quantity of coarse baize and osnabrgs with worsted caps and proper hats. Each negro man receives a quantity of baize for a blanket, and of osnabrug for a short jacket and trowsers, and each female enough for a short wrapper and petticoat, with a like quantity of the baize. The younger negroes receive a proportionable quantity. Estates having no credit in England, buy these articles of the store-keepers at a high price.

For many of the negroes, who are idly disposed, and not trust-worthy, the proprietors or managers have these articles made into cloaths, and given them.

For

For the negro infants many owners either send 1790.  
 out annually a couple of suits of baby cloaths or, Part II.  
 if resident, have them made up for them by negro sempstresses.

The food usually distributed among the negroes consisted of rice, coarse flour, rye-meal, dried peas and beans, American corn, and also of salt provision, viz. herrings, shad and other salt fish; they had also the Island provision, viz. potatoes, yams, Indian corn, bananas, plantanes and cassada; but these three last articles were the produce of their own provision ground, their private property. The quantity of provision allowed was mostly from 7 to 9 pints a week for each negro, of any of the above articles, and the same number of herrings or shads, or a proportional quantity of salt fish; the above quantity was given on many estates to every child as soon as weaned. This food, in his judgment, proper for the negroes, and though a bare sufficiency for their support, the weekly allowance is not wholly depended on, the industrious having many advantages from their provision ground, the produce of which furnishes them with considerable sums; as well as raising hogs, goats and various species of poultry. Negroes near towns derive advantage from selling grass and fuel to the inhabitants. Hence they have food amply sufficient for their support, insomuch that many of them purchase fine cloaths, and frequently die possessed of what may be called large sums of money to them. P. 250.

Seldom any reluctance to give whatever the surgeon thought proper to negroes in sickness, such as chicken or mutton broth, or even wine, which articles the manager regularly made a charge of to the owner.

The loss of negro children occasioned by dentition, worms, eating dirt; also the putrid sore throat, which usually carries off numbers; but the principal cause is, the neglect of the mothers. Has known few instances of the tetanus or locked-jaw in children, P. 251.

1790. dren, but adults very liable to it from lacerated  
Part II. wounds or injuries in the tendinous parts.

There was an annual diminution of negroes on an estate, whose owners gave a pecuniary reward and other indulgencies to every mother, who reared her child to the age of 2 years.

Pregnant women during the time of their lying-in and afterwards, certainly not under greater disadvantages than the lower class of white women in this country, being exempted from hard labour during pregnancy, and proper care taken of them after lying-in. See 248.

P. 252. The causes of the decrease of adult negroes on the sugar plantations very numerous. 1st. The free and easy intercourse of females with males. 2d. The frequent abortions which the women designedly bring on themselves. 3d. The chronical diseases to which women in warm climates are more subject than in colder ones. 4th. Putrid fevers, sore throats, and fluxes, the last occasioning vast mortality. 6th. The immoderate use of spirits, and many diseases contracted in their nightly rambles and dances. Lastly, too long suckling, viz. about 2 years, besides many diseases prevalent in cold climates.

Except in cases of atrocious offences, corporal chastisement is now seldom inflicted.

Never called upon, in his medical capacity, to negroes after severe punishment.

Resident in St. Kitts, about 12 months commencing in 1776.

P. 253. Resident in Nevis from 1777 to 1785. In 1788 passed 8 months in Nevis and St. Kitts, but not as a medical man.

The preceding evidence relates to the treatment of negroes in St. Kitts, as well as Nevis.

Prefumes a greater proportion of African negroes may die in the first three years after their importation than afterwards, and that the change of climate produces very great effects on the constitution of the negroes

groes, many dying under the greatest care and attention, though put to no laborious employment. 1790. Part II.

Believes labour of slaves by no means tend to shorten their lives, as they always appear chearful during crop time when they work the hardest. P. 254.

The Creole negro generally industrious, the African usually very indolent.

A woman of equal health and strength with a man, he considers far more valuable, because her increase benefits the proprietor; speaks not of field-negroes.

Negroes are not allowed shoes, nor do they wish to wear them. P. 255.

St. Kitts and Nevis are liable to severe droughts, by which almost all vegetation is stopped, and the usual produce of the Islands diminished.

Thinks  $\frac{2}{3}$  at least of the infants born, die under a twelvemonth.

The office of watchman is to keep cattle from intruding on cane-pieces, whilst the plants are young, and when mature, to guard them from depredations of negroes. Watchmen also attend stores, &c. where any valuable effects are deposited.

While resident in Nevis from 1777 to 1785, an epidemical putrid sore throat prevailed once or twice, which carried off many children, and almost every year during the rainy months, fluxes were fatal to a great many full grown negroes, especially such as were weakly. P. 256.

The rains commence about August, and end with November or the beginning of December.

Air impregnated with moist particles, tends to give a certain check to the perspiration, which being thrown upon the bowels, is very apt to end in a flux. Fluxes are apt to prevail after heavy rains, from the water that is commonly drank coming down from the mountains impregnated with noxious particles. In 1786 a putrid fever prevailed in both Nevis and St. Kitts, which swept off many black and whites. The slaves in that and the former year were more

1790. than usually unhealthy, fluxes and fevers of a putrid  
Part II kind prevailing more than common.

— Thinks the colonial laws restrain the master from  
P. 257. exercising any undue authority over his slaves. Any  
owner ill treating them would certainly be despised,  
and not admitted into the society of respectable men.

The planters in Nevis more usually reside on their  
estates than in most other Islands.

The owner of an estate, if resident in England,  
names an attorney, who appoints a manager, whose  
conduct is often enquired into by the attorney, and  
when guilty of a breach of trust, or of any severities  
to the negroes, he is discharged.

As to whether it was generally believed in Nevis  
and St. Kitts, that the law of England extended its  
protection to slaves in those Islands? He says, be-  
fore the framing of the Colonial laws of the different  
Islands, the master had an absolute authority over  
his slave; but as self-interest is a predominant pas-  
sion, and that as it is contrary to every owner's  
interest to be cruel to his negroes, he presumes that  
they were used as mildly as they now are.

The allowance given to the slave is just a suffi-  
ciency for his support, the superfluity arising from  
this and the produce of his provision ground, which  
is not very great, is converted into money for slaves  
private purposes. The usual quantity of ground al-  
lotted each slave, besides that about his house, may  
P. 258. be about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an acre, and generally some mountain-  
land. The  $\frac{1}{4}$  acre is always planted with potatoes  
or some other vegetables for the slave's use. The al-  
lotment of mountain-land is always increased in pro-  
portion to the family of the slave, but not the ground  
round the house. Many estates have no mountain  
ground, the owner then gives a greater allowance of  
food. Where there is no mountain-ground, believes  
the greatest allowance to be 11 pints of any kind of  
grain per week, besides an equal number of herrings;  
the allowance out of crop time being greater than  
during the crop season; the reduction of allowance  
may

may be from 9 to 6 or 7 pints; but at this time the 1790.  
 negroes have many advantages, such as a supply of Part II.  
 hot fyrup, a liberty of eating canes, and are in bet-  
 ter condition and health than at any other period of  
 the year.

The negro-women lie-in in their own houses.

Never saw much whipping, and on his last visit P. 259.  
 to the W. Indies found it was almost disused, con-  
 finement being attended with better consequences,  
 for a negro would rather be whipped than confined.  
 And this discontinuance of whipping he thinks to the  
 interest of both master and slave.

From the interest of the Planter depending on the  
 slave, the tyrannic acts of oppression and tortures said  
 to be inflicted on the negroes, are surely such absur-  
 dities as are self-apparent.

Is very certain the cultivation of sugar estates can-  
 not be carried on by Europeans.

Is perfectly sensible it is the interest and wish of  
 the Planters in general to rear as many negro-children  
 as they can.

Has positive evidence that the slaves in the W. P. 260.  
 India Islands, have a decided superiority, as to every  
 comfort of life over the common labourers and poor  
 people of Ireland and Scotland, by being regularly  
 supplied with every necessary of life, cloathing, food,  
 comfortable houses, protection in health, the best  
 advice in sickness, and, on their decease, having a  
 father and protector for their children.

1790.  
Part II.

Witness examined—JAMES TOBIN, Esq.

P. 261. Has lived 10 or 12 years in the W. Indies at different times, chiefly in Nevis. Has often been in St. Kitt's, and occasionally in most other English and some French islands. Knows the manner of cultivating W. Indian estates, and has an estate in Nevis. Thinks it impossible to cultivate W. India lands by any other than negro labour. Sees no reason why free negroes should not do as much work as slaves, but never knew a free negro do field labour. In St. Vincent are many free negroes, (improperly called Caribs) and there negro labour is very dear; but were they disposed to work, the planters would give them very great prices; they live, however, like savages. In Jamaica there is a good number of free negroes; but he does not find that any of them work in the field for hire.

Does not conceive it possible to cultivate sugar plantations by whites.

P. 262. Does not think that the number of negroes sufficient to cultivate sugar estates can be kept up by propagation, for these reasons—more males imported than females, from the Africans being all Polygamists, and of course unwilling to part with their females—the early and promiscuous intercourse of the sexes—the venereals—young females procuring abortions, to preserve their persons—the obstructions, &c., the female negroes are subject to from their irregularities—the negro women suckling too long—the premature debility of the men by spirits—the little care too many of the negro women are apt to take of their children—the many disorders to which negro children are peculiarly subject, as fluxes, worms, and the fevers incident thereto, the lock'd jaw, and eating dirt. On his estate has had 2 males to 3 females, of whom remarkable care has been taken—a free woman constantly attends the sick and breeding women; yet, for these 4 or 5 years, he has but just been able to keep up his number.

Has



Has never found the lock'd jaw so frequent in Nevis as in St. Kitt's, and several other islands. 1790. Part. II.

Negroes, infant and adult, are subject to fluxes, putrid fevers, and sore throats, besides the small-pox, measles, &c.; and has no reason to think the losses from these diseases would be counterbalanced by breeding.

Negroes are usually fed with flour, Indian corn, rye meal, biscuit, Guinea corn, and other grain; and yams, potatoes, &c., when to be had: they have besides, salt herrings, salt fish, &c. The provisions allowed may be sufficient; but it is always understood that they are to add to their allowance by their own industry, which they can do, having always land to plant, and leave to raise goats, hogs, and poultry, to sell for themselves; also grass and wood, which they sell in the towns. During his residence in the W. Indies, perhaps 2-3ds of the fresh provisions he used were bought of his slaves, or those of others. P. 263.

The negroes have Osnaburghs, or coarse linen, for a jacket and breeches for the men, and a jacket and petticoat for the women; with some woollen cloth, and generally hats and caps, at least once a year. The children of all ages are allowed cloathing.

Negroes' houses are built by themselves, with the masters' help, with, at least, two rooms, one to sleep in, the other for common use; many of their houses have 3 or 4 rooms, with cook rooms detached.

The houses are generally thatched and wattled, and many plaistered; but many head negroes, particularly in St. Kitt's, have boarded and shingled houses. They sleep on raised benches spread with matts and blankets. P. 264.

On all estates there are regular sick nurses, and generally a surgeon employed by the year. Sick slaves have sago, portable soup, wine, fresh meat, &c. Poultry and mutton are often killed to make them broth. He knew a convalescent slave have 16 lambs, each worth 2 dollars, killed for his use.

A negro woman, 4 or 5 months gone with child, works

1790.  
Part II.

works not in any of the gangs, but picks grass, attends the children in the field, or does some light work, more to keep her in exercise than for profit. In lying-in she has the same attention as the sick. A midwife is generally on the estate; but in cases of necessity an established practitioner is called at a very heavy expence; as midwifery, night visits, or capital operations, are paid for extra. They have always 4 weeks to lye in, and more, if necessary; and after coming out, are allowed to come an hour or two later into the field whilst nursing. Never recollects seeing a negro woman far gone with child put to any hard labour.

P. 265.

Lame, incurably diseased, and aged negroes, have the same food, clothing, and accommodation, as if perfectly serviceable. He is warranted to say, that the punishments of slaves are mild, compared to those of British soldiers and seamen.

From observation he has no doubt but the situation of the W.-India slaves (punishments apart) is preferable to that of the labouring poor in Europe, the climate giving an obvious advantage to the slave; for in a cold climate two of the greatest luxuries are warm lodging and warm clothing, both which the labouring poor can scarcely procure; but in the W. Indies cool lodging and cool clothing are two of the greatest indulgencies, both which the negro can easily obtain.

The labour expected from the negroes varies with their strength, and, in some measure, with the seasons. They are generally divided into 3 gangs; the great gang consists of the ablest men and women; the small gang, of the younger and less able; and the grass gang, of children under an old woman, to keep them out of mischief, and use them to employment. The great gang hole the ground; in weeding and in crop the two gangs are generally united.

P. 266.

The negroes are generally called into the field by a bell about 6 o'clock; about 8 they have  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour for breakfast, generally in the field; in about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an hour

hour they resume their work, which they continue till noon; but in very dry seasons (being out of crop expected to bring grass at noon) they are generally discharged at about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 11. At 2 o'clock they return in the field, and continue till about 6, when they are discharged to bring more grass; in crop when the stock is fed on cane-tops, and little or no grass required. A few attend the mill and boiling house some hours after dark; and on some estates being divided into proper spells, they attend them most of the night, so that on the whole the crop may be called the season of hardest labour; and yet the slaves are always then heartiest. On the whole, he is convinced that the labour of a negro through the year is by no means so severe as that of an English labourer.

1790.  
Part II:  
}

Out of crop the negroes can generally go to rest by 7 o'clock; but this partly depends on themselves, as they are sometimes backward in bringing their grass, and generally come to get their allowance at that hour. As it is dark between 6 and 7, it could answer no purpose to keep them out of crop, from their houses, after that hour.

The cultivation of a sugar estate bears a much nearer resemblance to that of a garden, than to that of an English farm. Planters who have kept this idea in view have generally made the most of their property. W.-India lands require very nice preparation. No produce is sown; every thing, even grain, being planted: the plough and other European implements are therefore excluded: they have, he believes, been tried on estates level enough to admit the experiment, but, he is well informed, without any good effects. The young cane sprouts are remarkably tender, and require repeated hoings, to be done most carefully of course by hand. Manure in the W. Indies is not spread as in England, but is carried and carefully placed round each plant separately; so that wheelbarrows or carts could not be used after the canes are come up; but the manure is  
P. 267.  
gene-

1790. generally carted, and made into heaps at proper distances on the land before holing, to save as much of the work as possible to the negroes. In Nevis and Montserrat it would be impossible, from the rocks, (except a very few spots) even to try the plough. The severe droughts, to which the small islands are subject, would also be an invincible impediment to the plough, as lands, if they could be ploughed, would require a long time to mellow. The planters are so sensible of the value of negro labour, that they have left very few experiments untried that were likely to lessen it—it being a maxim among all prudent planters never to employ a negro in doing such work as can be done otherwise.

In St. Kitt's staking cattle, to provide manure and save negro labour, prevails more than in any island he knows. In Nevis they use moving pens, somewhat like sheep folds; by which dung is made where it is used.

There are very few places where small light dung carts, drawn by mules, cannot be used; but in places too steep for such carts, the manure is carried out in horse-hair bags, on mules, to save negro labour.

P. 268. Most planters certainly prefer Creole slaves to Africans, and therefore pay all possible attention to breeding.

Knows in Nevis, that a pecuniary reward is given to the mother on rearing her child to be 2 years old; and that freedom from all labour is granted to every negro woman who is the mother of 6 working children.

From reading, and from conversing with men well acquainted with Africa, and from occasional conversation with Africans themselves, has every reason to think that their situation is better generally in the W. Indies, than it was in their own country; and it is very singular, that there never was an instance of a negro (even an African) who had obtained his freedom, ever returning to Africa, or even expressing a wish

with to do so. This has been said to arise from the 1790.  
 connections they have made in the W. Indies; and Part. II.  
 if so, it proves that they can form connections there  
 equally, if not more, agreeable to them than those  
 they quitted. It is a general mistake to suppose that  
 negroes in the W. Indies are very anxious to procure  
 their freedom; if so, many of them could buy their  
 freedom with the money they save. Has known  
 freedom offered to slaves on the most moderate terms,  
 and refused, because they should lose their friends  
 and protectors. Has little doubt but those negroes P. 269.  
 could have bought their freedom at the sum pro-  
 posed; is positive in one instance, as he (the slave)  
 has bought his son's freedom, and slaves for his son's  
 use, himself (who was a fisherman, 280) still re-  
 maining a slave.

It is very common for free negroes to marry (in  
 their sense of the word) women slaves, though they  
 know that their offspring would be slaves.

Has resided in England as a W.-India merchant  
 since 1784.

Has great reason to think that the agitation of the  
 question for abolishing the slave trade has had effects  
 on W.-India credit, very baneful and very extensive.  
 The house he is concerned in, and, he believes,  
 many greater houses, have been deterred by this  
 consideration alone from making advances.

Was mostly in the W. Indies from 1758 till 1766. P. 270.  
 His father possessed the family estate for that time,  
 and for a great part of it rented another pretty con-  
 siderable property; in the management of both which  
 he was chiefly employed. In 1766 he returned to  
 England, remaining there till 1777, when he went  
 back to the W. Indies, and staid till 1784. Did not  
 particularly attend to his gang till he last left the  
 W. Indies, being before that time employed in get-  
 ting rid of some of the worst, and in procuring a  
 gang, likely to increase. In 1784, had 72 males and  
 100 females; in 1785, 72 males and 98 females; in  
 1786, 73 males and 98 females, having this year  
 Numb. 2. N bought

1790. bought one; in 1787, 77 males and 102 females, 6  
 Part II. new negroes being bought—the increase this year  
 was 3; in 1788, 77 males and 102 females, having  
 with such a superiority of females barely been able  
 to keep up the number, but cannot state the births  
 and deaths in that period.

P. 271. In St. Kitt's the land is so very valuable that the  
 negro houses stand very close; the negro grounds,  
 therefore, are generally at some distance from their  
 houses. In Nevis, where land is not so valuable, the  
 houses stand farther asunder, and there is generally a  
 lot of land to each house; but in both believes it is  
 usual (in Nevis it is) to allow them one crop from a  
 piece of cane land, besides the land round their  
 houses and the negro provision ground. The distant  
 land is generally either mountain land, or gut-sides.

Had about 260 or 270 acres in cultivation, of  
 which in general he planted yearly about 90.

The whites in his service were a manager, an  
 overseer all the year, and a distiller in crop—he hired  
 a free Mulatto woman to attend the sick and the  
 lying-in woman; and the same number were em-  
 ployed in his absence.

Never knew any sensible planter who did not think  
 it for his interest to breed, rather than buy slaves.

Thinks the general treatment of slaves to be better  
 now than it was 30 or 40 years ago; but knows of  
 no particular alterations of late.

The protection enjoyed by the slaves in these two  
 islands was that of the laws of England—he does not  
 recollect any colonial laws in Nevis interfering with  
 these. In St. Kitt's he believes there is a law to  
 punish the maiming of slaves, passed in 1783.

P. 272. Apprehends it to have been the general opinion,  
 that the English law extended to slaves in Nevis and  
 St. Kitt's.

Instances proceedings in Nevis in the case of a  
 supposed murder of a negro by 2 white men, carried  
 on, as he apprehends, under the laws of England:  
 and another of a white overseer, supposed to have  
 wantonly

wantonly murdered a negro of the estate he lived on, who was capitally indicted and tried; but the proofs not appearing satisfactory, found guilty of manslaughter—sentenced to a year's imprisonment.—Vide particulars. 1790. Part II.

Can't say it was commonly understood that the slave was secured by the laws of England from immoderate punishment by his master; but knows it to be a general-received opinion, that all the laws of England are in force in the W. Indies, where they are not counteracted by particular colonial laws. P. 273.

Rooms were not generally appropriated for lying-in women, as many planters, in the old islands, hold even hospitals to be more detrimental than useful, by increasing epidemics; and where the negroes are mostly Creoles, the sick and lying-in women find themselves more at ease in their houses.

There is a poll tax in Nevis and St. Kitt's, which, he believes, commences from the birth.

Few of the slaves pretend to much religion—their morals, probably, as good as those of the very lower order in England.

The regulating act, he has been informed, has raised the price of slaves; and to it he chiefly attributes the late advance. P. 274.

Has reason to think, that the situation of field negroes in the French islands is by no means better than in the English, especially as to punishment—the house negroes seem to be treated with more familiarity than in the English islands, but doubts whether that materially benefit them. The Code Noir appears to be well calculated to secure good treatment to the slaves; but he believes it is far from being rigidly enforced, and sometimes it is impossible for the planter to comply with it, particularly respecting provisions. Believes the French planters oftener reside on their estates than the English. P. 275.

The negroes are not likely to be better used by the proprietor, than by a prudent manager, because the former feels immediately the expence of an ample provision

1790. provision and necessaries, which the latter does not ;  
 Part II. and it is a particular pleasure to the manager, re-  
 { } doubling much to his credit, that the negroes under  
 him look well.

P. 276. Does not recollect any managers discharged for  
 shewing too great indulgence to the negroes in food  
 and labour.

Information, as to their true interest, is equally ac-  
 cessible to the French as to the English planters ;  
 but from observation thinks the former in general not  
 so well educated as the latter.

The greatest time the negroes have to cultivate  
 their own land is all Sunday—sometimes, and in sea-  
 sonable weather, when a little extra time is likely to  
 be particularly useful to them, they have Saturday af-  
 ternoon ; and he believes, on some estates, they ge-  
 nerally have it ; besides there are holidays, 2 or 3 at  
 Christmas, Good Friday in general, and on many  
 estates, a day at the finishing crop, the other times are  
 such as they chuse to take from their rest ; the 2 hours  
 at noon is seldom employed in preparing a regular  
 meal, their chief meal being supper ; so that they often  
 work their ground then.

The allowance from the master generally, he  
 thinks, is regular and settled, but sometimes affected  
 by the scarcity or plenty of provisions to be bought.

The allowance differs in some measure on different  
 estates ; the average may be stated at about 6 to 9,  
 or 10 pints of grain or flour for each negro per week,  
 including every weaned child ; besides this they have  
 6 or 8 herrings per week, or salt fish, &c. in propor-  
 P. 277. tion ; in addition to which, on many estates, and on  
 all which he directed, they had out of crop, a reg-  
 ular breakfast served them in the field, of a biscuit,  
 molasses and water, qualified with rum in rainy wea-  
 ther. Whenever from indolence or inattention to  
 dressing the provisions served out, any negroes fall off,  
 they have more victuals served out to them dressed.  
 Negroes thus fed with dressed victuals, are called the  
 pot gang ; and it is a reproach for a negro to be so  
 careless



careless as to be obliged to be fed that way. On most 1790  
 estates a pot is boiled daily for the children, weak and Part II.  
 convalescent negroes, and those under confinement.

The negroes may neglect their provision grounds, but on some estates they are obliged by their masters to cultivate such grounds, though this is not common. The character of negroes as to indolence or industry, as various as that of whites, and depends much on the part of the coast they come from.

Has found it easy to persuade some negroes to adopt such alterations in managing their own concerns as might tend to their advantage, but in general they are obstinately wedded to their own customs.

Not to be supposed that many negroes possess considerable property in a small island, like Nevis; besides they are very jealous of letting their owners or managers know it. P. 278.

A sum sufficient to buy a field negroe's freedom, would not be deemed a considerable property, if he chose to save the money he could earn instead of spending it in fineries for himself and his wives, and other superfluities.

His property depends chiefly on the quantity of stock and poultry he may raise.

The pastures of the estate, if extensive, are generally more than enough to keep the master's stock in wet, but not in dry weather.

Severe droughts are common in Nevis and St. Kitt's, especially Nevis. In those droughts the master's cattle are often with difficulty furnished with sufficient grass, yet it is very remarkable, that from some cause or other, the negro stock seldom or ever appears affected by such droughts. The managers are not in general allowed to keep stock, at least such as go into the pastures; such stock out of crop are fed with grass or shrubs gathered by grass gang generally. P. 280.

Surgeons, for their attendance in these two islands, have usually 6s. per ann. for each negro, young and old; but such annual sum is the least part of their profit, as they charge for every night visit 3l. 6s.;  
 for

1790. for every midwifery case (in Nevis) 5 times that  
 Part II. sum; and for all capital operations in the same pro-  
 portion; they also charge separately for inoculation.  
 With some of the most useful medicines (bark espe-  
 cially) they are generally supplied by the planters, or  
 charged separately by the surgeons. Currency varies  
 from 160 to 187½ per cent.

It is not very common for field negroes to have more than one wife.

Apprehends that taking the coast of Guinea altogether, the W.-India islands may be said to be in a healthier climate; and yet, from experience, the change of the climates has very bad effects on the negroes, on their first arrival.

P. 281. Doubts very much whether, if the negroes in the W. Indies were to be freed, they would be nearly as happy as they are now; but to such of them as have industry and prudence to make a proper use of it, freedom is preferable; but those who abuse it, are less happy than a good slave.

In the present state of the islands, and few as free negroes are, they can earn more by sundry trades, fishing, &c. with the same time and industry, than by hiring themselves to do field work on estates at the usual price; but were a general emancipation to take place, or the number of free negroes greatly increased, it might probably be otherwise; it cannot therefore be expected, in the present state of the islands, that free negroes should offer to do field labour.

P. 282. The communication between the W. Indies and Africa not very frequent, but vessels are occasionally sent from the island to trade for slaves.

Believes few managers keep negroes to let as jobbing gangs, either to their masters or others.

The cane pieces, provisions, and other stores, are generally watched.

For the protection of free negroes from ill usage, every law is as much open to them as to Whites.

P. 283. Supposes an African cannot lay by a sum to buy his freedom in a short time after his importation, and  
 in

in his comparison of the state of slaves in the W. Indies, and negroes in Africa, and also of the former and the labouring poor of England, he has alluded to the tolerably industrious slaves, which, in fact, are the majority. The profligate and incorrigible are generally apt to run away, to sell their clothes, and to neglect the food allowed them, are often loitering about the towns, and strolling along the bays and sea side, half naked, and apparently half starved; and from such wretches he thinks the state of the slaves in the islands has been described and published in England, by people who have transiently visited them, without knowing the management of estates, and the treatment of the slaves.

Three persons have been tried, convicted, and punished, for ill treating their own slaves, under the common law of England, in St. Kitt's; and of such convictions authentic transcripts have been sent home for the information of the H. of Commons. Such documents evince how much the police of Nevis and St. Kitt's has been misrepresented by assertions that, in those islands, there was no law to interpose between the tyranny of the planters and their defenceless slaves. P. 284.

The slaves, neither before nor after the surrender of Nevis to the French, shewed any disposition to revolt, but quite the contrary.

In St. Kitt's, when attacked by the French in 1782, the slaves eagerly desired arms to defend their master's property; and, on some estates, where the whites were insulted by the French soldiers, the negroes took the most ample and savage revenge.

The instances of conviction and punishment of persons for ill treatment of slaves in Nevis referred only to the two murders before specified.

The instances of conviction and punishment of masters for ill treating their own slaves, mentioned to have occurred in St. Kitt's, were, since the passing of P. 285. the act for punishing offenders for particular kinds of ill treatment; but the indictments under which they

1790.  
Part II.

- they were convicted and punished, were under the common law of England. Knows of no similar convictions and punishments in St. Kitt's previous to this period. Does not recollect having heard the particulars of the several cases of conviction and punishment in St. Kitt's, except the case of Strode for flitting a negro's ear.
- P. 286. By custom the master supposes he has the right of exacting labour from the slave by compulsion, the master being the judge of the labour exacted; but knows no law that gives him such right. And the statute law of England supposes that right to exist in the master, as clearly as any colonial laws, as many acts of parliament relating to the colonies, would be absurd, without supposing such right actually to exist.
- P. 287. Thinks the mode adopted in prosecuting Strode and Burke on the common law of England, and not on the new-island statute, demonstrates, that, in the opinion of the prosecutors for the crown, the statute created no new indictable offence; but that an act of wanton cruelty by a master on his slave was a misdemeanor indictable at common law in that island, before the statute passed.

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Witness examined—ALEXANDER DOUGLAS, Esq.

- Resident in St. Kitt's from 1749 to 1771, except a few months; leased part of an estate, managed two estates besides his own, and was attorney to several
- P. 288. estates of absentees. Had under his care about a 6th or 7th part of all the negroes in the island. Could not keep up the negroes without importation.

On the estate he leased are 100 males and 115 females; but in general, believes the males exceed the females. The stock has not been kept up by breeding,

ing, even on the estate he leased. To increase the negroes by breeding, was a particular object of his attention. 1790. Part II.

Thinks it impossible for whites to undergo field-work in the W. Indies, and free negroes are too idle to do it for hire; never knew an instance of it.— Does not think it probable that the proprietors could keep up the necessary stock of negroes by breeding, having himself tried it and failed. Does not suppose it owing to over-working, neglect, or ill treatment.

Women six months gone with child, do as they please, and their indolence has been deemed one cause of the children dying of the locked jaw, within the ninth day. They are attended by a midwife and sick nurse, and have every thing necessary in their condition, also the assistance of a plantation surgeon, if required. Should the mother be too indolent (which sometimes happen) to provide baby cloaths, most people, he believes, send for them to England. Added to the produce of their own grounds, the general allowance to negroes in St. Kitt's, was from 6 to 8 pints of flour, beans, and Indian corn, or a basket of yams. With 12 to 15 acres of cane land planted in yams, he has been able to feed the negroes, sometimes for 9 months together; but the produce depends on the weather. Each slave has also 6 or 8 herrings a week, or salt fish in proportion; and at Christmas salted beef; but their allowance is more or less, as the masters see requisite. Good negroes live in plenty; the vagrants often want, and it is impossible to prevent it. Good negroes have very large quantities of grass, wood, poultry, pigs, roots, &c. to sell.

In crop, negroes that grind all night, divide their gangs into 3 or 4 spells, but of late, on most estates grinding in the night is left off. Out of crop, they are generally discharged about 6 or 7 at night, and called out in the morning at daylight, about 6.

Thinks the negroes in St. Kitt's have from 9 to

1790. 11 hour's respite in the 24, and they are universally  
Part II. healthier in crop than at any other season.

The texture of the land at St. Kitt's is looser and easier holed than the other islands. A creole is put into the holing gang, according to his growth or strength, at 16, 17, or 18 years of age.

As to masters, in their behaviour to slaves, being actuated by a constant jealousy, not to be satisfied by any exertion, or softened by any attachment of the slaves, the idea is perfectly new to him; never knew masters treat their slaves in St. Kitt's with spiteful severity; thinks all masters treat their slaves with compassion, as their most valuable possession, and recollects no instance of severity. By accounts received, thinks the treatment of negroes in St. Kitt's better, if any thing, than while he was there. Every proprietor, of common sense, wishes to breed as many negroes as he can.

291. A Creole negro of equal age and strength, would, he thinks, from the knowledge of his good quality, be worth 2 at least, perhaps 3, of new negroes, whose qualities the proprietor must be ignorant of.

Managers, in the proprietors' absence, have no reluctance, nor shew any inattention, to rearing and breeding negro children.

The planters generally prefer a single to a married manager, unless the wife happens to be remarkably careful of the negroes.

Does not conceive any want of attention to breeding is consequent on the absence of the proprietors.

Of the 6 estates mentioned in the paper the Rev. Mr. Ramsay delivered in to the Privy Council, he believes about four of the proprietors never were in the W. Indies in his time; of course, their affairs were left to managers and attornies. Mr. Molyneux was there for about a year, he believes; Mr. Crook, after living long in England, spent a few of the last years of his life in St. Kitt's, where he died.

4,781 was the amount of the Treasurer's account of negroes in St. Kitt's in 1768.

20,435 was the number of negroes in St. Kitt's in 1788, as sent by the island, and given in to the Privy Council. 1790. Part II.

Thinks the negroes have certainly more comforts than the labouring poor of Europe: they do not work so hard, and have a master to take care of them and their children when sick. P. 292.

Thinks the effect of the abolition of the slave trade on the negroes now in the colonies, would be sedition, from a fear that their labour would be greater as the gang decreased, and there being no hopes of assistance from Africa, as heretofore.

Thinks no act could prevent the importation of negroes into the English islands; every man would naturally assist his neighbour in the common cause.

Thinks, from 6 to 8 pints of flour, beans, &c. per week was given to each negro, and herrings from 5 to 8.

Recollects no criminal proceedings against whites for offences against slaves, while he was in the W. Indies, but one or two being threatened with prosecutions, left the island.

His whole gang was 215; his estate about 250 acres.

They lost a great many infants, and there were a great many very old people on the estate when he came into possession; the estate is healthy. P. 293.

Very young children, he thinks, have half allowance; recollects having a complaint from some mothers, that they had not time to dress their children's food, but having always looked on the breeding women as the most valuable of the gang, from their sobriety, and always keeping at home, he determined to have victuals dressed for their children daily. They came for this food punctually, a week or two, or longer; but at last they dropped off one by one, and he left off the practice.

Whilst he was in St. Kitt's, Mr. Thomas lost, in a year, by a flux, 34 of his best negroes, out of 170

1790. to 200; and Mr. Thomas, he believes, was remarkably careful of his negroes. Does not believe that losses of negroes by epidemics are uncommon in St. Kitt's, and knows no means by which these losses could be supplied but from Africa.

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Witness examined—THOS. NORBURY KERBY, Esq.

P. 299. A native of Antigua—left it in 1762—returned February 1780—staid till July 1788; was a Member of Assembly till early in 1784, then received a mandamus from home to a seat at the Council.

Has 2 sugar plantations; has been attorney for friends at different periods; cannot exactly say how many years the estates had been in his family—but a considerable time—and descended to him.

P. 300. Thinks most of the estates in the island want slaves; one of his estates is sufficiently handed, the other not: as to those he is concerned for, some are sufficiently handed, others not.

Thinks there may be as many born as die; but by no means raised to maturity. On one of his estates, the increase equals the decrease; on the other, does not: on one for which he is concerned it is equal, on the others not; cannot exactly tell the numbers raised, where the increase equals the decrease, but certainly not all, as many die within nine days of the tetanus.

Believes many die from inattention of the mothers, as they are apt to think young children a burden, and great bar to their pleasures, and to nocturnal meetings and dances.

Having been very unsuccessful in raising children on one of his estates, he built a lying-in hospital, hoping to have the women, lying in, more immediately



diately under the manager's eye, and so greater care would be paid to the little comforts they wanted.— Part II. 1790.  
 But from the slaves' dispositions, and their great dislike to all confinement, his endeavours had not proved, when he came away, very beneficial; and he is apt to believe his losses since have still been in the same proportion. P. 301.

On arriving in the W. Indies, he found that the slave-houses on the estate, where they decrease, had formerly stood exposed to the N. wind, and that medical men had advised re-building them in a different site, which was directly done; yet his losses still continue, though he is confident no estate has greater attention paid to the slaves in every situation, particularly to mothers and children.

The negro women are very partial to their own midwives. A slave in labour, on his own estate, was reported to him as in danger: he directly went to her friends, and told them he had sent for a doctor to give her every help. The answer was, if he came he should not attend her, as she preferred the estate midwife. She was delivered before the doctor came. Doubts not, losses are sustained from want of skill in some midwives. Whenever a difficult case occurs, believes a medical person is always employed.

It is the practice on his estates, and those for which he has been concerned, to pay the midwife for every child born;—to encourage the mothers, he has also made them some present, generally about Christmas.

Certainly does not ascribe the failure of increase and rearing of children, to hard work, harsh usage, or improper food of the mother, while pregnant or afterwards. As soon as a slave says she is with child, and that hard work would hurt her, every attention is paid her. P. 302.

Believes it general to relieve from all hard work a slave 4 months gone with child; sometimes they do not lie-in for 6 or 7 months after. They are always

1790. ways attended by the nurse of the estate and some fe-  
 Part II. male friends; and care is taken that they have every  
 necessary. He allows such baby-linen as is wanted.

Makes the women bring their children to him at the end of the 4th week, then orders them to such work as he thinks they can bear. Believes a woman never goes to hard work till the end of 6 weeks.— Children of careless mothers are always put under one of the nurses, who pay them every attention, while the mother is in the field.

To the children of other mothers every attention as to food and lodging is paid, though they are not taken from them. The work is always proportioned to the slave's strength. The estates in general, and his own, have not a proportionate number of females. Cannot at all times get out of a cargo, the breeding females wanted: the proportion brought from Africa is very inadequate.

P. 303. Thinks it would be impossible to keep up the present stock without supply from Africa; and is confident it would be impracticable, if they had an equal number of women, considering the disorders to which persons in the W. Indies are subject, and the dreadful ravages often caused by epidemical ones. In 1779, it was generally thought in the island, and from his own losses verily believes,  $\frac{1}{5}$ th of all the negroes died of a dysentery. In 1782 many died by an epidemical pleurisy; in 1783, by the measles; and in 1786, there were heavy losses by the small pox and chin-cough, though every attention was paid to inoculation.

Generally speaking, thinks they may, with propriety, be put to the hardest field-work from 18 to  
 P. 304. 20; some are more capable of labour sooner. If he should lose any able slaves, before the Creoles reached this age, if the African trade was abolished, a proportion of his land must be uncultivated, or his young negroes be worked too soon. If the trade was not abolished, he would certainly look to Africa for  
 for

for supply. Thinks every negro brought forward 1790.  
to work beyond his strength, must be worn out very Part II.  
early. His losses in 1779, 82, 3, and 6, have  
not been repaired; though he constantly bought  
slaves, when he could, from Africa or elsewhere,  
as far as he was able; but, from many bad years,  
few planters were able to repair their losses.

The crops in the island in 1779, 80, and 81, were  
generally very bad: he did not make, in 3 years,  
what he ought to have made in 1.

Thinks, if the crop had been large in 1780 and  
81, and there had been no supplies from Africa, it  
would have been impossible for the slaves then on  
the island to have done the work. If the African  
trade should be abolished, and the island again have  
such calamitous years as 1779, 82, 3, and 6, great  
part of the land now cultivated must be neglected.

It has been generally found, that estates which are P. 305.  
best handed, make in proportion the largest crops.

Thinks, were the slave-trade abolished, all the  
slaves would be very sorry, as they would be certain  
the work would fall wholly on themselves: It is very  
well known, they express much satisfaction when  
they hear of the arrival of slaves, and often ask  
their masters to buy a few more help-mates.

In July 1788, he paid 42l. for the same kind of  
slave, which in 1787 he bought for 36l.—Which  
he attributes entirely to the report of the abolition,  
which had reached the W. Indies; but should cer-  
tainly prefer a Creole, even at an advanced price.

Thinks every planter, who studies his interest  
would prefer the breeding of slaves to buying Afri-  
cans. Believes planters constantly pay new negroes  
every attention, and give them necessary time to  
recover from the fatigue of the voyage.

Slaves are lodged in stone, wattled and dawbed,  
and wooden houses, built and kept in repair by the  
master, or by allowing the slave time to do it:—  
Clothed by him (speaks of his own estates and those  
he

1790. he directs) with 1 suit of woollen, and 1 of Osna-  
 Part II. burgs annually.—He always allows from 8 to 12  
 measures of grain per week to each slave—from 26  
 to 36lbs. of yams or eddões;—from 4 to 8 herrings  
 according to the age, or from 2 to 3lbs. of salt-fish.  
 They have also dry salt. Every estate gives each  
 slave yams or flour, with salt beef or pork at Christ-  
 mas, beyond the weekly allowance, and 3 holidays.  
 Believes it a general rule on every well-regulated  
 estate to give any slave that applies for additional  
 food, such help as he appears to want, without re-  
 spect to weather. In bad weather, the whole gang  
 have grog,—and when working hard.

P. 307. He gives allowance to every one on his estates,  
 and those under his care, according to their ages.  
 On every estate land is allotted for the slaves, which  
 they cultivate for their sole benefit. All may raise  
 small stock, goats and hogs, which they dispose of  
 entirely as their own. Never knew a case where the  
 money arising from them was considered but entirely  
 as the slave's own.

Men of war, and merchant-ships are constantly  
 supplied on Sundays with vegetables, the slaves pro-  
 perty;—on other days it is usual to send vegetables  
 to market by the slaves, on the owner's account;—  
 the small stock, goats, and hogs are chiefly the  
 slave's property; and with which the shipping is  
 chiefly supplied.—The people of St. John's have  
 their small stock and vegetables chiefly in the same  
 way as the shipping.—It is common for masters to  
 buy stock from their slaves, and pay as much as  
 other persons.

Remembers a slave giving 200l. for his freedom :  
 Also knows many who spend annually from 10l. to  
 15l.

One afternoon weekly is allowed to the slaves out  
 of crop, to work their own grounds,—sometimes in  
 crop, but not constantly.

They hold every Sunday a market to sell their  
 produce and stock.

Every

Every estate has an hospital for the sick, who are 1790.  
 attended by a medical man and proper nurses,—sup- Part II.  
 plied with every requisite, and never sent to work  
 without the doctor's sanction. A doctor is constantly  
 employed at a certain rate for each slave; attends  
 twice a week, is liable to be sent for whenever ne-  
 cessary—paid also for fractures, midwifery, venci-  
 reals, &c.

Thinks the slave enjoys full as many comforts  
 as the English labourer, in some respects more; as  
 he is sure of being taken care of in sickness, and has  
 not the anxiety of providing perhaps for a wife and  
 young family.

The usual punishment of slaves is, whipping  
 for petty thefts, such as breaking open negro-houses,  
 stores, and stealing from other slaves;—for higher  
 offences they are tried by 2 justices, one being of  
 the quorum, and 6 white jurors balloted for out of  
 12, and punished according to the offence. A master  
 generally inflicts from 10 to 39 lashes for the offences  
 he takes cognizance of.

Believes no planter ever thinks of engaging an over- P. 309.  
 seer, without enquiring his character, and if cruel,  
 he is never employed.

An overseer is never allowed to punish except by  
 an occasional lash at work, and that generally over  
 the clothes;—on ill behaviour he complains to the  
 manager. Every man tries to get a manager of infor-  
 mation and education, with whom to trust his pro-  
 perty, and he is generally associated with by gentle-  
 men. Has himself discharged an overseer and a ma-  
 nager for cruelty;—the last could get no employ-  
 ment afterwards, and was obliged to leave the island.

Thinks holing (which lasts about 3 months) and  
 dunging the hardest work; though in crop the slaves  
 work many more hours.

The dung is carted to the land's side, and thence  
 carried by the slaves in small baskets, on their heads,  
 to the holes. The slaves carry them with the greatest

1790. apparent ease, as that is the usual mode of carrying Part II. weights.

It would be impossible to distribute the dung any P. 310. other way.

Heat appears congenial to the slaves—never knew one complain of it—has often seen them bask in the sun in the heat of the day, when they might have been in their houses.

Thinks it morally impossible for Europeans to do the necessary field labour—for he twice made trial; one with a gardener, the other a carter—after a very short time, not above a fortnight, they each gave up their offices, finding the climate too severe.

Knows the military always complain of the heat, if kept out any length of time. It is the opinion of all the officers with whom he has conversed, that it is too fatiguing for the men to be out, except evenings and mornings. Recollects the regt. quartered in Antigua were obliged to carry their provisions from the king's stores to the barracks, and in a few weeks it was necessary to give them a cart, the work being too severe, though it was not  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile on level ground.

Knows the plough has been used by some, but found not to answer.

P. 311. His slaves cost him 5*l.* per annum each, besides the yams he raises, which generally feed them all between 4 and 5 months; and wine, fresh meat, &c. for the sick.

Were it possible by the plough, &c., to lessen in the least the slave's labour, or the expence, certainly the planter would most readily adopt it.

Recollects another slave, worth 180*l.*, partly inherited, considerable part got by his industry—he thinks, because he was a valuable tradesman, and had constant employ. He who gave, as mentioned, 200*l.* for his freedom, was a mason.

P. 312. When he spoke of many slaves spending from 10 to 15*l.* per annum, he alluded to field, as well as house-

house-slaves. The last acquire their property from 1790. selling their stock, roots, and fruit. These sell at a moderate price, compared with the same or similar articles here. Part. II.

One of his estates consists of 120 acres of cane land, the gang 152; the other of 222 acres, gang 137.

Cannot state the proportion of infants, &c.; but thinks there are about 22 domesticks on the estate where he resides, besides about five more, who wait on the manager and overseer; on the other, about 8 attend on them.

Were he to speak of the acres in an estate in Antigua, he should include every part.

The proportion of slaves' provision-grounds varies in almost every estate: on one of his, the provision-ground is large; on the other, very small. P. 313.

The ground-provision is the produce of a part of the master's land allotted for raising provisions for the whole gang. Every negro family, he believes, has a piece of ground for raising provisions, universally through Antigua.

On one of his estates, where there are the most slaves, he thinks the land for the whole gang not above from 2 to 3 acres; on the other, about 4. Some of it adjoins the negro huts, or within a stone's throw; the rest is at some little distance.

As far as he saw, each hut has between 14 to 18 feet square, which is the quantity on his estates on which the slaves generally allot to stock-pens, and not provisions—some plant fruit trees.

The provision land, divided among the slaves, is seldom the best, but answers for provisions.

Believes a slave sells full as much provision of his own growth as he uses; but as they are generally fond of new provision, they often sell their allowed grain, and eat part of the provisions they raise themselves. In 82, many of his own told him, they often got a dollar a week for the vegetables they sold in the hurricane months to the shipping.

1790. While he lived in the W. Indies, he often knew  
 Part II. the slaves' provisions, as well as the masters', much  
 } hurt by bad weather and winds—in that case they  
 } have an extra allowance.

The slave commonly gets his property by selling his produce, allowed grain and stock, and, from his industry in the time allotted him to rest, has often known field slaves earn  $\frac{1}{2}$  a crown a day as porters; particularly Sunday, that being considered as entirely his own.

P. 315. No field work is ever allowed on Sundays. Mechanics, he believes, work almost every Sunday, if they can get work. It is very usual in crop for slaves to thatch, on Sundays, negro houses.

No master has a right to exact any work, ever so trifling, from his slave on a Sunday without pay.

In crop the slaves' hogs are generally fed with the canes they carry away; the goats with grass, &c.; the poultry with grain. He speaks of canes, ground and unground, especially the last; though slaves are not allowed to take a large quantity of canes not ground, it is done very constantly.

Considers the yearly expence of 5l. each slave, exclusive of ground-provision, to begin nearly from the birth, as he regularly gives food and cloathing from that time; but it was on an average, of old and young.

P. 316. The chief articles in this estimate are food, cloathing, doctor's charges, and parish and public taxes, which begin at birth, continue through life, and are considerable.

Some free negroes work as tradesmen in towns, but in general they prefer sedentary business.

Has bought new negroes, in various lots; the largest, he thinks, not above 16. Bought as many females as possible, and preferred young persons. Thinks the last 2 lots were all under 15. Many were only fit for children's work.

It is not very common to get a lot of slaves, all young;



young; nor should he, had not a friend wished for adults; they therefore accommodated each other. 1790. Part II.

The buyer may reject any slaves out of any lot; and the feller never obliges him to take more than he wishes; but then the price is often raised. Believes near relations, appearing to be so, are never parted. Is confident no near ones were parted by his and his friend's purchase; but in his lot there were 2 sisters and 2 brothers. P. 317.

Thinks a Creole slave so much more desirable, as being attached to the soil, than an African, that the expence can never be worth any planter's attention; though he believes by the time a Creole comes to maturity, he costs as much, if not more.

Believes the motives for pressing an act for regulating the trial of criminal slaves by jury, originated from all the magistrates thinking it too great an undertaking to sit, both as judge and jury, on any person's life.

Never heard any bad effects resulted from the former modes of trial.

It certainly was generally understood that slaves were protected by the common law of England. A slave of his had been ill-treated by a young man without any provocation: he thought it his duty to apply to a magistrate: the man was bound over; but through some of his friends the matter was made up, at the particular request of the slave, to whom he made satisfactory recompence: but for this he should certainly have prosecuted him to the utmost. The slave was a cooper, and coming home from St. John's, the young man very wantonly rode against him; and on the slave's remonstrating, beat him. P. 318.

The slave applied to him directly.

From every information he has gained, the regulating act has certainly tended materially to raise the price of slaves.

Speaking within his own knowledge, does not know any alteration in the treatment of slaves.

The

1790. The Moravian and Methodist preachers have ap-  
 Part II. plied themselves very zealously and successfully in the  
 conversion of negroes in Antigua; and having built  
 P. 319. proper meeting houses, all the slaves are encouraged  
 by their masters to attend.

The general effect on the converts has been a more  
 decent behaviour and religious attendance; and most  
 are become Christians.

Before the Moravians and Methodists came to the  
 island, the negroes very generally attended all the  
 churches, and they considered themselves as influ-  
 enced to pursue the doctrine they heard; but from  
 their having had greater attention paid them by the  
 Moravians and Methodists, he thinks, they are much  
 more enlightened than they were.

Managers have often slaves, (their own). Some  
 wait on them: others are often hired to work with  
 the gang of the estate they manage.

The lives of slaves are full as long as those of free  
 negroes, but not quite so long as that of whites that  
 do not work. Has know negroes live to a great age.  
 P. 320. Doubts not slaves would live much longer, if less de-  
 bauched.

From the situation of his estate close to the sea,  
 where there are most slaves, they want land less than  
 on the other, by being most plentifully supplied with  
 fresh fish from the sea, and the guts adjoining.

A young healthy Creole slave is generally put to  
 the hard work of an estate at Antigua, about the age  
 of 18.

The island is subject to frequent long droughts,  
 sometimes succeeded by great rains. Recollects no  
 rain of consequence from Feb. 80, when he arrived  
 there, to Oct. and he understood, before his arrival,  
 the island in general had wanted rain many months;  
 he has just received from thence similar accounts.  
 Various epidemicks often follow such a change from  
 drought to moisture.

Understands epidemicks have lately raged there,  
 and many have died. On some estates it has been  
 more

more fatal; on one estate, of 240 slaves, 12 died in 1790. very few days; and at different times from 20 to 30 PART II. lay dangerously ill.

Certainly does not think it possible, under such circumstances, for a planter, the most successful in rearing Creoles, to carry on his usual cultivation without interruption, unless he can buy new slaves to supply the occasional losses of slaves by these epidemics.

Witness examined.—DOCTOR SAMUEL ATHILL.

Was born in Antigua. First left it 1764, re-P. 321. turned to it 1779. Was in the assembly 5 years, and appointed counsellor 1786.

Practised physic there, and attended from 8 to P. 322. 9000 negroes. Had so much per head yearly, and bound to attend when called on (at times, twice a day) besides 1 or 2 visits weekly. Had extra pay for laborious deliveries, fractures, &c.

Possesses 2 estates in Antigua.

By far the greater part of estates there were underhanded. Some few perhaps had more slaves than P. 323. they wanted.

As a medical man and a planter, thinks births may equal deaths, but the number raised does not equal the decrease; negro children are liable to the jaw-fall; few had it on his own estates; on those which he attended, he was never called for it, death following so quickly: Thinks the cold and damps they are exposed to, by their mothers night rambles is one great cause why children are not reared; which the owners cannot remedy; they do what they can by exempting nursing women from throwing grass at night, or other work which the rest are occasionally forced to: Many other causes prevent children being reared; unhealthy situation of an estate, its nearness to a town or port: On one of his  
estates

1790. estates far from town, his slaves increased; on his  
 Part II. other estates near English harbour, fewer children  
 are born and raised, from the excesses of both sexes,  
 P. 324. at that port.

Great attention was paid to rearing children on all the estates he attended; a good slave, when settled and had several children, is always careful of them, and is encouraged by her master; many owners give midwives rewards on births. He gives a dollar. Pregnant women seemed more likely to suffer from indolence, than hard work: As soon as they feel themselves with child, and often long before, they withdraw from work; and he has found it difficult to get them to attend the field merely to look on; which he always insisted on, to prevent their carrying heavy burdens to market, or doing other injurious work for themselves. When brought to bed, on most estates, she has any nursing woman she chuses, to attend her the first 9 days: She has sugar, oatmeal, &c. daily, and often candles and other indulgencies: Never works till her month is up, and then she does not turn out till the sun is well up, and retires before it is down: She has the child with her in the field which she attends, as it cries; so that the work of  
 P. 325. a nursing woman is very trifling indeed.

Where he has ordered wine, animal food, or other indulgencies, has no reason to think they were ever withheld.

The dysentery was epidemic in Antigua 1778, 9, 1780, and carried off nearly 1 5th of the slaves. On his estate, east-part of the island he lost few, being a healthy situation, on his other estate he lost more.

Every medical exertion was used to stop the progress of this distemper.

Has known food scarce from a long drought; if the owner gave less food, the work must have been less, and his wants kept pace with the slaves wants; for his last 5 years residence, the island has been more flourishing, and he has seen no signs of scarcity.

The

The scarcity from the drought mentioned, was in 1790. war-time, when the whites also suffered very much. Part. II.

Has in the course of his practice, generally found the negroes in health, spirits, and seemingly content, and when he noticed their houses want repair, on mentioning it to the manager, it was done.

Does not recollect being called to attend any slave in consequence of a punishment; though had it happened, thinks he must have known of it. For great faults they are oftener confined, which they mind more than chastisement.

New slaves are generally very much indulged. From the want of slaves, he thinks there is not enow of females.

The abolition of the slave trade would certainly increase the difficulty of keeping up the stock; a few estates on the island, not very much weakened by mortality, may never require an African slave, but supposes those must originally have had most women.

The loss of 1779 is not yet repaired, the bad crops which followed disabled most from buying, till within these 2 or 3 years.

Many must have stopt cultivation, had the African trade been abolished, as task work would have been so high as to prevent them from doing it that way, nor could the cultivation have been carried on even by this mode. For task work being at 7l. 10s. per acre, instead of 4l. 10s. as prior to 1779, the island must be concluded still very much underhanded.

As a medical man and a planter, thinks the slaves could not be kept up by breeding; some estates are unhealthy, and have other circumstances unfavourable, which makes him doubt if, by any means, the encrease could be made equal to the decrease: the planter would constantly prefer breeding, Creoles being preferable to Africans.

Thinks estates could not be cultivated otherwise than at present: The number of slaves required in crop, could not be otherwise supplied: Whites could not

1790. do the work : Plough-men and boys were brought  
 Part II. out to estates where the plough was tried ; but they  
 could not stand the labour there.

P. 328. Never heard a negro complain of heat, but often  
 of cold.

Thinks the plough cannot be used in Antigua ;  
 where it has been tried in situations most favourable,  
 it has always been given up. The planter would  
 certainly adopt any mode tending to lessen expence  
 and his slave's labour.

In crop, the first work in the morning is cutting canes,  
 in which all that can be, are mustered ; when there  
 is enough cut to put the mill about, 3 able men  
 attend it, and 5 or 7 younger hand them canes ; when  
 2 coppers of juice are ground, 2 more strong men  
 are called as fire-men, and 2 boilers ; as more juice  
 is collected, more men are called, and there are ge-  
 nerally 7 boilers, and 4 fire-men on a moderate  
 estate with 9 coppers ; amounting, with those in the  
 distillery, to 20 or 30, when the work is brisk ; so  
 that few are left to cut canes, drive the cart, and  
 do the other work, except on very well-handed  
 estates : Such an estate with 9 coppers, should pro-  
 duce 200 Hhds. of sugar a year.

P. 329. The number of slaves in the boiling-house is not  
 proportionate to the size of the estate, the produce,  
 or number of slaves ; for, some, over-rating their  
 property, may have erected buildings for 200 Hhds.  
 when perhaps it does not turn out 60 ; but still, the  
 coppers being there, are used and attended.

On estates weakly handed, the canes are cut by  
 the whole gang one day, and manufactured the next.

Canes should be cut just when ripe, when let stand  
 longer, 'tis to the Planters great loss : If not ground  
 immediately, in a few days they sour, and are fit  
 only to make rum.

P. 329. It often happens, that the persons who are em-  
 ployed in cutting the canes, attend the boiling-house  
 afterwards to a late hour ; but they do not in ge-  
 neral

neral turn out with the gang to hard labour the next morning. 1790. Part II.

Though cane cutting is laborious, he does not think it one of the hardest services of the plantation; it is done with such alacrity and good spirits that it seems trifling; women do it with as much seeming ease as the men; The instrument used is a bill, a good cane is from 5 to 8 feet long, it is cut down at the root, then the top is taken off, and, if too long to go into the cart, cut in two; young slaves and women with young children, attend to bundle up the canes as they are cut. P. 330.

Distilling begins 10, 15 or 20 days after the first canes are cut, and lasts through the crop, conducted by a skilful negro, with 4 assistants under the direction of the manager.

The act intituled "An act for settling and regulating the trial of criminal slaves by jury" was passed, to relieve a hardship complained of by magistrates, two of whom (one being of the quorum) sat in judgement upon the slaves for all crimes, thus acting as judge and jury; it was also thought more effectual justice would be done the criminal by a jury.

Ascribes tetanus in young children to a premature exposure to cold, but is of opinion that so many do not die of it even as owners think; none die within the 9th day, but it is said to be of the jaw fall; though it is natural to suppose that many die from the same causes which cut off white children.

His estate on the windward part of the island is 400 acres; 200 in canes, 30 in provisions, the rest pasture: his other in Falmouth divisions, near English harbour is 220 acres; 100 in canes, 20 in provisions, the rest pasture. On the largest he has 220 slaves, of which about 80 are field slaves, on the other 110 or 115 slaves.

Some of the provision ground is planted with Guinea corn by the whole gang, and the produce stored for the use of the estate; the rest is divided among the slaves at the rate of about 70 feet square

1790. per head; as he had so much land, his provision  
 Part II. grounds in general were larger than common, and  
 they had more if they pleased; yams and eddoes  
 were besides annually raised in the cane land.

Besides the produce of their own grounds, they had from 8 to 12 measures (of about a pint each) per head, or 26 to 30 pounds of yams each, a week; such as look ill are fed twice or thrice a day; at dinner they have a very full meal.

P. 332. From the produce of their grounds, their goats, hogs, and poultry, an industrious family both live and dress well.

The pasture ground is allotted for feeding cattle, mules and sheep: a large herd of cattle requires 2 men and 2 young boys, mules one man, and sheep 2 boys. On his windward estate he had fewer by one man, on the other he kept no sheep, and one man and 2 boys were enough to attend the cattle and mules.

It requires an able and trust-worthy slave to attend the pasture grounds.

The potatoe raised by the slaves is thought to exhaust the land more than any other root; on estates where almost the whole land is in canes, the provision ground is taken in exchange for the same quantity of new land once in 2 or three years, to the mutual advantage of owner and slave: the slaves are always pleased with the exchange, as new land yields them more.

P. 333. When their ground provisions fail, which is often, their allowed food is increased; he never gave, as a general allowance, more than 12 pints, but generally gave what more was asked.

Thinks the annual expence of a slave from 5l. to 8l. currency; in war it was fully 8l.

On his estate at windward, his slaves increase; on the other at Falmouth, he placed 20 slaves in the last 9 years, and the number does not now exceed what it was then.

Never bought more than 8 Africans, and those in 1 lot;



1 lot; 7 males and 1 female, all about 15 years of age, from the windward coast. 1790.  
Part II.

Never heard it doubted, that breeding is more profitable than burying to the planter.

In the scarcity before mentioned, large orders for provisions were sent to Great Britain, and supplies tried to be got from the neighbouring islands: quantities of beans, flour, and Indian corn were got from Eustatius, bad, and exorbitantly dear. P. 334.

He desires, in consequence of more maturely considering a calculation made and communicated to him by the late Alderman Oliver, to state sterling for currency in his preceding estimate of a slave's annual cost for maintenance in war time, when every article of food is dearer, as is also the freight and insurance. P. 335.

The various sorts of ground provisions, are yams, the most material, and most productive in a light soil, such as the east, north east and north west parts of the island; eddoes, which do best in a strong or clay soil, Guinea and American corn, which grows in either, and Plantanes, which do best in rich and moist bottoms and near rivulets, cannot therefore be raised with advantage in Antigua as a material article of food; worms hurt every species of provision but it.

In case ground provisions fail, planters have generally a quantity of beans from England, for an emergency, which are kiln dried, and keep a long time: In peace never knew Indian corn altogether wanting at market; it is subject to be hurt by the weevil, and soon gets musty.

The W. I. islands suffered much when the American ports were shut; and even the average price of grain from thence is nearly double what it was before the war; then it might be had for 5s.; now they ask 8s. 3d. or 9s. per bushel. P. 336.

Slaves have not suffered from this circumstance; believes they never were better fed in Antigua than for the last five years: more yams and eddoes have been raised, more beans imported, and there has been

1790. been always American grain at market, though at a  
 Part II. higher price than before.

The cane requires regular rains, the yam will do with less; but in October, when applying, it must have rain; the eddoes require much rain: the uncertainty in raising American corn makes it, he thinks, come higher than buying: the pastures require constant rains.

P. 337. Guinea grass is raised in particular spots, and in the intervals between cane pieces; being more attended to than the general pasture, it can do with less rain, but continued dry weather often kills it.

Does not know there has been any material improvement in the economy and management of a sugar estate of late years.

In case of the abolition of the slave trade, thinks a considerable number of slaves could be introduced into ours, from the neighbouring islands.

Slaves live to as great an age in the W. Indies as whites: on most estates old age is spent in a comfortable and easy way.

P. 337. When they deem themselves superannuated, they do no work for their master; before that, their work is light; they act as assistant nurses for the sick and for children, and wash or cook for the overseers: he had 15 or 16 of the first description at Windward, an old settled estate, and the gang chiefly Creoles; on the other, he had not about two; being near English Harbour, the slaves there lead a more debauched life than the others; are not so healthy, nor live so long: of the second class, can't say how many he had.

P. 338. Slaves are often long lived in Antigua: never knew a slave abandoned by his owner, because unfit for labour from age or disease.

An able field-slave watches canes, &c.—an old slave sometimes lives in the negro grounds and plantain walks to guard them; in that case, his hut is made more durable and comfortable than the common watch-houses.

The late advance of price on slaves, he believes, 1790.  
has been on males and females alike. Part II.

Formerly, he believes, the slaves thought little of religion, and few were Christians; many now attend churches and meetings, and most are baptized, from the settling of Moravian and Methodist teachers in the island; the former have two good chapels, are attentive to their duty, and lead exemplary lives.

Impossible to keep up stock without importation. P. 339.

Never knew a black ploughman in Antigua. P. 340.

It is from the excessive heat that he thinks a white incapable of field labour in the W. Indies. Thinks the medium heat at Antigua may be about 80° of Fahrenheit.

Several estates have a white overseer, who turns out with the slaves in the morning, calls a list, and sees that each is at work, attends the great gang part of the forenoon, when, from the great heat, he retires, and if at a distance, has a mule to carry him home; in the afternoon, he calls the list again, and overlooks the work.

Never saw a white whom he thought could hole; is certain they could not stand the office of fireman, or boiler.

White domestics have so many negroes about them, that they soon become gentlemen; and believes they are generally deemed useless: knew but two cases where they were tried, in both they became sots, and were sent back.

For one European blacksmith in a shop, there are 3 blacks, who do the drudgery; they are not healthy nor long lived. P. 341.

The cutting of canes is so easy, that often more than one cane is brought down by a stroke of the bill.

Though in crop the slaves work harder, yet are they incomparably more chearful than at other times, and are much healthier after a long than a short crop.

1790. In Antigua, they cool down their coppers every  
 Part II. night, but not immediately after sun-set; at an average about 9 or 10 o'clock; seldom begin boiling before sun-rise; hence the slaves have time to rest, if they chuse.

Townspople who have no plantations, and keep horses, are furnished with provender by the negroes of the neighbouring estates, who carry it in for sale at noon and evening, to a great amount; grass, so bought, will cost 2s. 3d., or 2s. 6d. sterl. a day for a horse, besides oats.

P. 342.

Those townspople, also the troops and ships of war, are furnished with vegetables, hogs, and poultry, by managers, by some owners who make it an object; but chiefly, he believes, by the slaves; some poultry is imported from America.

Slaves have the entire property of what they get by their industry; never heard of an owner interfering in any degree with the property of a slave so acquired.

From the observation he has made of the labour, treatment, and general state of the slaves in Antigua, he scruples not to declare, that he thinks the negro and his family happier, and much freer from cares and misery, than the peasantry in many parts of this country.

ALEXANDER WILLOCK, Esq.

P. 343.

Resided 36 years in Antigua, (except in England 18 months, p. 356); had estates there, and was attorney for others; returned to England in 1781.

Most estates wanted hands, especially after the fatal year 1779, before which his estates were full handed. His stock at first was mostly Africans; increased by births till 1779, when on two of his estates, of above 500, he lost 50 by fluxes from Aug.

to Nov. The general loss was computed at 4,500 <sup>1790.</sup>  
or more. <sup>Part II.</sup>

Several negroes have been since imported, but there is still a great deficiency: he happened to be so well stocked as to want no supply. Less sugar must have been made, had no new slaves come; and should a similar misfortune befall the island, and the supplies from Africa cut off, several persons must abandon their estates. P. 344.

He has been lately informed from the island, that Dec. and Jan. last were remarkably sickly, and many slaves were lost: in confirmation, he produced an extract of a letter from a Mr. Lovell to his wife, dated Antigua, 14<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1790, which says, that all Dec. had been dreadful sickly among the negroes: on some estates more fatal than on others; and that at Mr. Brookes's estate (Pope's Head) 12 out of 240 were lost; 30 or 40 down together on the Wood estate. P. 345.

Says, that in the sickness in 1779 every attention, medical and other, was shewn; that himself called two surgeons, in aid of the proper one of the estate, and told them, that they could not put him to too much expence for the negroes. P. 346.


Does not think estates in general have females enow; he bought a great many.

Thinks the present stock of slaves in Antigua could not be kept up by breeding.

Breeding is more profitable than buying, one Creole being worth 3 Africans.

Slaves are, in general, fed, clothed, and lodged, by their owners; their food is corn, beans, rice, herrings, at times pork, flour, biscuit, or beef; they have also provision grounds, and are allowed to keep as many fowls and hogs as they please. He allows his slave generally an afternoon a week (which was not the general practice, p. 354) to work their grounds, where they often employ a part of the hour and half they have at dinner time. P. 347.

1790. Has known several slaves acquire money : a female slave of his bought of him two slaves.

Part II.  A slave of his refused his freedom, saying, white men would beat him, and he should have no master to help him.

Has known many slaves reach old age.

P. 348. He takes dunging, in baskets of about 25lb. in all, to be the hardest field work : they always do it cheerfully, for he generally gave them grog. The basket of dung is not the greatest weight a slave may be required to carry — a firkin of butter will weigh 70lb.

Their houses are from 25 to 30 feet long, with two rooms : they are provided with cabins to sleep on and covering.

Produce depends considerably on the number of hands. He bought an estate with 120 slaves, and made about 70 hogsheds of sugar ; there is now 350 slaves on it, and it averages 150 hogsheds.

P. 349. Breeding is not obstructed by hard labour or ill usage ; he exempts his women, when they declare their pregnancy, from all hard labour ; lying-in they have every indulgence, and any negro they chuse to attend them ; he gives the midwife a dollar (8s 3d. currency) for each child that lives 9 days. Most assuredly the master does his utmost to preserve the children.

As to the effect the abolition of the slave trade may have on the negroes, he dreads it above all things ; thinks that so soon as they knew that there would be no more imported, they would destroy the whites ; there are, he reckons, 15 to 1 in Antigua.

Negroes rejoice on the arrival of a ship which happens to have slaves from their part of Africa aboard.

P. 350. He carried out 2 ploughs from England in 1770 by advice of a Mr. Baldwyn, but they did not succeed. No whites could stand the climate in field work ; never employed any ; never knew a corn hole dug by a white ; has known some employ white gardeners, were obliged to give it up. The lower whites

whites are so drunken, there is no dependence on them. 1790. Part II.

Dung could not be carried through the cane fields in carts, (to ease the slaves), the carts would destroy the cane holes.

Has 2 sugar estates in Antigua; one in the Body Division of 450 acres, 250 in canes and 200 in pasture and provisions, (p. 352) bought in 1768, with 120 slaves; he continued to add to these by purchase till 1781; with an increase of 230 slaves and 30 mules he highly improved it, and raised the produce from 70 hogheads a year to 150 hogheads on an average of 7 years, (p. 353). His other estate in Pope's-Head Division is of 130 acres, 90 in canes and 40 in pasture and provisions, bought in 1777, with 130 slaves; lost 25 in 1779; bought none; there is now 100, which are sufficient, the land being light, work easy; (the proportion of cane land on each the same as when bought, p. 352.) P. 351.

Had more males than females; men are necessary for boilers, tradesmen, carters, and watchmen.

Thinks the planters are fortunate who, upon an old settled estate, have two-thirds of their slaves workers (including the grass gang) from 6 or 7 to 55 years old; of the other one-third, one-fifth may be supposed above 55.

Was factor for all the sales at which he bought slaves; never bought more than 50 at once; always chose them between the age of 10 and 25, but if any old parents in the lot, bought them; never separated relations. As a factor, never suffered a family to be separated; if a buyer had laid out a lot of slaves, and it was afterwards known they had relations in the cargo, he insisted the buyer should take these also, or give up the others. Has bought slaves from Bonny, the Windward Coast, and chiefly from the Gold Coast. P. 352.

On his largest estate his slaves have 10 to 15 acres provision ground, and often a cane piece of about 10 acres for further provision. On the other estate P. 353.

1790. they have about 10 acres. At both the manager lays  
 Part II. out the ground in proportion to each family. Cane  
 { holes are 2 feet, sometimes 4 afunder. His working  
 slaves had generally from 12 to 14 pints of corn,  
 with about 5 herrings, per week; the others from 8  
 to 10 pints, with about 4 herrings: about one-third  
 of the gang were generally fed from the pot; those  
 so fed may have about 21 pints of corn or beans,  
 with herrings, beef, or pork, in the pot per week;  
 sometimes they have rice twice a day, which is de-  
 ducted from the 21 pints of grain. (The stoutest of  
 the pot gang had also provision ground. The over-  
 seers were directed, when any negro had neglected  
 to bring his breakfast to the field with him, to stop  
 his allowance, and feed him from the pot: this,  
 though they got more food by it, they reckoned a  
 disgrace, as treating them like new negroes. p. 354.)

After great damage by a hurricane in 1772 he en-  
 larged his works.

P. 354. The excess, over the usual allowance which the  
 pot gang had, was much more than equal to the pro-  
 duce of the ordinary lots of provision ground.

Slaves near towns can pick grafs, and sell it in the  
 market from 2d. to 6d. per bundle.

General allowance of food in Antigua not equal to  
 his; but where he directed, he kept it up as much  
 as he could.

When the supplies from America were cut off, he  
 did not give an ounce less food to his slaves, though  
 the article sometimes cost him thrice the price.

The ground provisions are, yams, eddoes, Guinea  
 and Indian corn, potatoes, and cassada; all which  
 often fail in droughts, to which they are subject;  
 but the provisions and indulgences he gives his slaves  
 are sufficient without them.

The hardiest ground provisions are cassada, Guinea  
 and Indian corn.

It was not general in Antigua to allow the slaves  
 an afternoon to themselves.

P. 355. Heretofore he thinks there was no protection for  
 the



the slaves against masters and others; but since he came home he is told there is an act in the island, that whites, using a slave ill, are brought to sessions, if the owner prosecutes. Has known slaves beat by whites (not their masters) without redress; but slaves are now much better used than when he first went to the island in 1745, and their good conduct deserves it, as they are much more civilised, and often go to church and methodist meetings on Sunday.

Has heard the slaves instructed at methodist meetings to be attentive and obedient to their masters, with other good advice: never knew the regular clergy pay any particular attention to them. (Has heard that the Society for propagating the Gospel sent missionaries out to convert the slaves, p. 357.)

Thinks a humane master cannot do worse by a slave than to free him.

Had 33 domestics on the Body-Division estate, P. 356. (none on the other), viz. 5 footmen, 2 cooks, 8 washerwomen, 3 sempstresses, 5 small stock-keepers, 2 grooms, 6 women with child, and 2 aged females; no town house; had many more than was generally kept by people of the same rank, owing to his having many children. (Thinks no family in the island kept so many domestics, p. 358.)

Reared most of his negro children from the encouragement to the midwives, and attention to the mothers.

Slaves of 6 or 7 years are put under the charge of a careful old woman, and pick grass merely to keep them employed.

From the increase of slaves and the mules upon his estates, he planted more canes than his predecessor, P. 347.

Provisions have advanced in Antigua 150 per cent. on an average, since the supplies from America were cut off.

The slaves near the towns and English Harbour have a good deal of traffic by their small stock, yams, &c.: they supply also the troops and ships of war.

W.INDIES.—Witness examined—R. HIBBERT, Esq;

1790.  
Part II. A native of this country, resided about 18 years  
P. 360. in Jamaica, left it September 1789, was a merchant,  
knew the management of plantations there, was  
owner also of estates there, and has had charge of  
others.

Is certain Jamaica cannot be cultivated by Eu-  
ropeans; for no European could bear constant  
exposure to the heat, still less when labouring.  
The soldiers are allowed black pioneers to carry  
wood, water, &c. The officers have told him the  
mortality has since decreased much.

P. 361. A sugar estate, at the present prices, could not  
afford proper food and accommodation for the ne-  
cessary number of European labourers.

There are a great number of free negroes and  
tradesmen, of whom many do nothing.

There is occasionally a necessity for more than  
can be done by the plantation negroes. Never  
knew free negroes offer to do field labour; has  
known them offer themselves as tradesmen.

The plough is used in Jamaica, he thinks, whenever  
it can advantageously, from nature of soil and sur-  
face, &c. in most of the islands it cannot be used;  
where it has been long used, has known it often  
worked by negroes. Such parts as may be culti-  
vated with advantage, are far from being all so.  
P. 362. Many estates with full value paid, and extensive  
works built, are only partly settled; must be thrown  
up, or continued with loss, if owners are deprived  
of the means of cultivation. Much land is uncul-  
tivated.

Thinks some uncultivated land unfit for sugar,  
or coffee, cotton, &c. but a large part would do  
well for coffee.

Lessening

Lessening the duties on British plantation coffee has caused many, who could not settle a sugar plantation, to buy some wood-land and a few slaves, and open and till it successfully. Thinks they shall thus gain many useful citizens of the middle class, who will add to the safety and happiness of the island, and increase the commerce and revenue of the mother country. Such settlements cannot be made without negroes. Thinks the old settlements, if stripped for this end, must suffer in proportion; and thinks the new ones, mostly in their infancy, must be thrown up, or cultivated to certain loss. 1790.  
Part II.  
P. 363.

Believes the present cultivation of Jamaica cannot be kept up without annual importation of negroes. The negroes generally decrease on sugar estates; for, in most, males exceed females. Infants are subject to the locked jaw, in a few days after birth; and the young women have indiscriminate intercourse with the men. The adult are subject to the yaws, and every disorder as Europeans. Fluxes are often caused by improper food; and sometimes after hurricanes proper cannot be had. Recollects great mortality among the negroes from such causes; lost about a sixth of about 120 in two or three weeks, on a small estate in parish of Clarendon, by a flux so caused, though the best help in the island was applied. Does not recollect, if confined to his own estate, or general at that time; but it was general after every hurricane he saw. If such disorders, with putrid fever, are common, after every rain succeeding long drought, he thinks they arise from improper food. Some die of them. P. 364.

The Jamaica report, of 1788, proves the proportion of imported males and females has been for many years as 5 to 3. It differs much on sugar estates; in general, males exceed one fourth at least, which is certainly one cause of the decrease.

Cannot state the general proportion of deaths and births; has had many years estates of his own, and others

1790. others under his care, and does not recollect one  
 Part II. case of births equal to deaths, though all attention  
 was paid, and no excessive labour required.

Thinks every attention generally given to pregnant women, on plantations known to him. There may be instances to the contrary: knows none.

P. 365. In general, the locked jaw among children is fatal.—A native is of more value than an African: certainly for planters' benefit to encourage their rearing. Slaves are often so reduced by diseases, &c. as to make it needful to purchase or hire fresh.

Thinks such estates could not be kept up without fresh imports. Sugar estates so reduced, could not be put to other use with equal profit; in some cases might do for pasture, or cotton, but the works and appendages would be of little or no use. Thinks coffee, indigo or pimento could not be raised on old sugar land; that it must be thrown up as such, not to be used in another way, to any thing like the same gain.

P. 366. Never heard domestic negroes in the island computed. In towns, the principal families he knew, have from 10 to 30; in the country, in general, barely what is necessary. Does not think if all the domesticks were turned into the field, fresh importations would be unnecessary. It is mostly thought a punishment. Many would be so hurt in their spirits by such change, as to be of very little use, even if their numbers were greater.

He is a member of the assembly.—A duty of 30s. currency on every negro imported is imposed by their legislature; 20s. paid by buyer, 10s. by importer; makes part of the island fund for subsistence of the king's troops; quite independant of their English pay. Believes, if Great Britain should forbid importation of Africans, they would want rather power than will to continue it; that the plantations only partly settled, must depopulate the small settlements, or be thrown up; and that the full-handed  
 plantations

plantations (the sexes being in general badly afforded) would naturally, in time, decrease in produce, and a total stop be put to improvement. 1790. Part II.

The whites have very seldom any other domestics than negroes. Upon plantations in general no more, he believes, than are necessary. P. 367.

The full-handed plantations are so badly afforded as to sex (5 to 3) because men are supposed capable of more labour; knows not what it is also owing to the deficiency of procuring females in Africa, or disposing of them in the West Indies: Knows nothing of the trade on the coast of Africa: Sugar planters chiefly chuse males.

Believes the number of negroes annually exported and imported from and to Jamaica, very accurately stated in the report of the assembly; cannot now call it to mind: They differ greatly.

When a plough is first used, a white man is mostly employed. P. 368.

On such plantations as he has had care of, the annual usual decrease has been about 5 per cent. increase 2 and  $\frac{1}{2}$ . No true judgement can be formed whether the decrease is greater or less on cotton or coffee plantations being new. Rather thinks the proportion of sexes more equal there, as the work is lighter.

Believes instances of inattention to pregnant women very rare.

White ploughmen and tradesmen have very high wages. Never knew the sun oppressive to negroes in full health; does not recollect one such that complained. P. 369.

Believes many diseases brought on negroes by nocturnal ramblings and dancing.

Their food is in general good and sufficient. They are protected and provided with food and raiment by law: Thinks the last consolidated slave-law indisputably shews the legislature of the island disposed to give them every necessary comfort and protection.

W. INDIES.—Witness ex<sup>d</sup>.—JOHN WEDDERBURN, Esq;

1790.

Part II. Is a native of Great Britain; has lived between 26  
 and 27 years in Jamaica; left it the beginning of last  
 P. 370. May; was a planter, and has property there: had  
 care of several plantations; of full 5000 negroes.

Thinks they are treated with humanity; are in  
 general in a happy state; are attended when sick by  
 a doctor, who prescribes every medicine proper for  
 them; have proper nurses, often provisions of the  
 best sort from owner's or overseer's table. They have  
 often also wine, and whatever other necessary the  
 doctor thinks proper. Has known in dangerous cases  
 the medicines given by whites, who often lose their  
 night's rest by it. Negroes by age or infirmities, inca-  
 pable of labour, mostly live in a comfortable negro-  
 house; have every allowance and attendance, as if  
 still of the greatest value, are still fed and clothed;

P. 371. never knew one such discarded by his master.

The Africans have a remarkable saying in their  
 disputes, to shew that the stronger can take no advan-  
 tage of them; "this no for we country, this for  
 " Buccra country; Buccra country every body have  
 " right;" i. e. in their own country, the stronger often  
 use the weaker as they please, whether justly or not.

The negroes have lands to cultivate for their sole  
 benefit; raise much more provisions than they use,  
 and sell poultry, hogs, and various kinds of fruit,  
 and have the profits. Many might be rich; numbers  
 spend their money in fine cloaths, and salt meat from  
 England; others buy cows and heifers: Has known

P. 372. on different estates from 10 to 40 taken care of pro-  
 miscuously with their masters, who take no part.  
 They sell them when they will. He has bought from  
 different negroes, young steers, and paid them from  
 £ 10 to £ 13 per head.

He

He has known different negroes wish to buy their freedom themselves, and a few friends possessed of money sufficient. Recollects an estate where there were 300 slaves, the owner, in easy circumstances before the hurricane of 1780, by that calamity, other storms, and perhaps some little imprudence, became embarrassed: A writ was issued the marshall came to the estate to secure him, and left it disappointed. In the evening a few of the chief negroes came to their master, told him what they had heard, and brought him between £ 200 and 300. He refused it with thanks.

Such land in Jamaica as may be cultivated to advantage, is not, by many thousand acres.

He thinks the lands now in canes cannot be used to advantage in coffee and cottons; if it could, the loss to many planters would be great, having bought lands and stocks, raised buildings, and had various stores from England, only to cultivate the sugar-cane; thinks cane-land in general not adapted to those articles, and that to oblige the owner to this change, would be much the same as taking part of his property without paying for it. P. 373.

Thinks Jamaica cannot be cultivated by Europeans. They could not bear the necessary labour, and the mortality he thinks would be so great as to stop the attempt.

Thinks the sun's heat not hurtful to the negroes health, and that it affects them little at work; has seen them often at it, and stood with them hours at a time; They seemed to him to feel no inconveniences.

Jamaica cannot be cultivated by the plough: It is used in many parts, but after ploughing they are forced to dig the cane-holes with hoes, to plant the canes, and often to trench the land to dry it.—Great part, steep and hilly, does not admit the plough; many thousand acres have stones and rocks so intermixed with the soil, that the plough cannot turn it up.

1790. Many estates are cultivated so, that the canes are not  
 Part II. stocked up, but it is a rule to keep them on the stock  
 as long as possible. The plough could be of no use  
 there only the hoe.

P. 374. When the plough is used, the same number of  
 negroes are requisite; but it is of infinite advantage  
 to them by breaking the soil, and taking a part of  
 the hardest labour from them: But supposing fewer  
 at ploughing season, the usual number would be  
 necessary in crop-time.

Has heard the legislature of Jamaica has encouraged  
 inventors of machines for saving manual labour.  
 Planters have readily adopted all they thought ad-  
 vantageous, or that have stood the test of experience.

An overseer has commonly from 6 to 10 do-  
 mestic, mostly unable to support field-labour; the  
 most weak and delicate, are generally put to do-  
 mestic uses.

P. 375. Thinks the present cultivation of Jamaica cannot  
 be kept up without annual imports; not that the  
 negroes are used ill; the women do not breed there,  
 as the labouring ones of Great-Britain; greatly from  
 promiscuous intercourse, causing venereal disorders,  
 often destructive of the constitution. Many die by  
 yaws, fluxes, ulcers, and pleurisies; infants besides  
 the disorders to which they are subject in Great-  
 Britain, are liable to the locked-jaw, of which he  
 thinks  $\frac{1}{4}$  die.

Supposes the loss in 20 landed in tolerable health,  
 about 5 in the first 3 years; if with yaws, or other  
 disease, double at least. Thinks they would be  
 dissatisfied in having no more recruits from Africa,  
 having often heard them wish for such help; and  
 that the slaves now in Jamaica would be worse used,  
 because most sugar-plantations being at so great  
 expence, are obliged to borrow of the British mer-  
 chant, and make him annual consignments, and  
 payments; deprived of slaves, they could not;  
 The merchant would be disappointed—the connec-  
 tion,



tion unprofitable to him. He may, to be sure, take 1790. steps, compelling the planter to push his slaves be- Part II. yond their strength, to pay him, in hopes of keeping up his crops, and preventing the ruin of himself, and P. 376. family.

Slaves labour about 11 hours out of crop-time; in crop-time, though the time of labour with some is longer, they are mostly happier, and in better condition, from the canes they eat, and the liquor they drink.

Thinks, if the slave trade was abolished, many planters could not pay their debts. Some small trifling settlement might be practicable; none of much importance.

There are many free negroes in Jamaica, some of them tradesmen; but most idle. The estates often require the help of other negroes, besides the owner's; has known the free then employed as tradesmen, but in no other way. Many estates, where expensive works have been erected, and much money laid out, are only partly settled; no further progress can be made, without supplies from Africa; unless those, who have jobbing gangs, were to sell P. 377. them; then the loss of their help to different estates, would be very distressing, and no other estates could be settled with propriety.

Native negroes, are much more valuable than imported; it certainly is the planter's interest to encourage raising them, and they do.

Many diseases are brought on the slaves by night travelling; feasting, and dancing.

Except after such calamity, as the hurricane 1780, they have plenty of wholesome food.

If an act of parliament for abolishing the slave-trade, should only transfer that trade to other nations, the Africans would not be benefited, or the cause of humanity advanced, as far as he is capable of judging.

1790. Is convinced the slaves there would suffer exceedingly, as their labour would naturally be increased; thinks it would tend to depopulate Jamaica, lessen its cultivation, and prevent its improvement. Thinks it would not be attended with satisfaction to the planters, and other whites there; is confident it would produce alarming discontents.

P. 378.

Quantity of land, negroes, and produce, on as many estates as he can recollect, are as follows:

	Acres.	Negroes.	Hhds. Sug.	Pun.	Rum
Mesopotamia	— 2600	— 310	— 315	— 230	
Grange	— 1500	— 175	— 165	— 70	
Glenesley	— 1800	— 230	— 110	— 80	
Caledonia	— 3000	— 180	— 75	— 45	
Blue Castle	— 1800	— 245	— 240	— 140	
Blackheath	— 1100	— 110	— 180	— 80	
Mount Eagle	— 1000	— 165	— 160	— 80	
Spring Garden	— 2600	— 250	— 165	— 90	
Green River	— 1000	— 240	— 240	— 115	
Richmond Vale	— 700	— 220	— 155	— 80	
Providence	— 1000	— 106	— 110	— 75	
New Forest	— 2000	— 180	—	—	

New Forest is now improving in Cotton and Coffee, Sugar-Work being in a Manner given up.


These estates can make annually the quantity of sugar just stated, if there are no storms, and they have the same support of slaves as now; by more strength they can make much more.

P. 379.

Mesopotamia is level land, and great part only adapted to pastures; many of which are over-grown with logwood, and require more slaves to improve them. The Grange is hilly, of rather poorer nature, and one of those, where the plough is useless.

Believes Glenesley produces the least sugar of all, from the most land. Its cane-land has been so exceedingly injured by the hurricane of 1780, that it does not yield well; about 200 acres are in canes. On many of these estates, the canes lie contiguous; on others, the pastures are dispersed with the canes; the lands in wood, and ruined, lie mostly by themselves.

Does

Does not know that the value of any of these 1790.  
 estates could be estimated from the quantity of sugar Part II.  
 produced, except Green River, and Providence:   
 The others (some of them in particular) have very  
 valuable land, fit for sugar, and when improved,  
 would become exceedingly valuable.

The mode would be to buy more slaves, without P. 380.  
 which it is impossible to improve them; it would  
 require much labour and expence, but would pay  
 very amply, he thinks; great part is at present in  
 wood, morafs, or ruined.

Cannot state the number that would be necessary  
 to cultivate fully all these estates; but as to his own,  
 is convinced, that it's valuable land, fit for sugar-  
 canes, would require 200 more, and without them,  
 the present cultivation cannot be extended, were  
 they to continue nearly the same, as to sugar,  
 pasture, wood-land, &c. Thinks the present stock  
 of slaves, if kept up, not tolerably sufficient. Many  
 of those estates now require more labour than for-  
 merly, when the land was new.

The general proportion of male and female slaves P. 381.  
 in Jamaica, supposed 5 to 3.

On a very few estates there are Moravian parsons,  
 but in general no attention is paid to any religious  
 instruction. The Society for propagating the Gos-  
 pel has not, to his knowledge, employed any persons  
 in converting the slaves.

He has no calculation by which to estimate the  
 ordinary expence of maintenance of slaves at various  
 ages. They have as much food as they can eat,  
 except after such a calamity as that of 1780, when  
 the allowance was not so liberal. Three large  
 plantanes are thought as much as they can eat at a  
 meal; when small, they get more. They in general  
 live on the produce of their own provision grounds.  
 They are naturally lazy and neglectful of themselves;  
 are fed plentifully by their masters. A few estates  
 excepted. they have more land allowed than they  
 can cultivate.

Refers

1790. Refers to the late consolidated act for the legal  
 Part II. protection of the slave from ill-usage by his master,  
 or other whites. Thinks the effect in Jamaica, of  
 stopping the intercourse with America, was the loss  
 of many thousand lives for want of a supply of  
 provisions, rice, corn, &c. particularly after the  
 hurricane of 1780.

Indian corn and cassada are cultivated in Jamaica  
 with good success.

Has often bought slaves soon after their arrival  
 from Africa; the chief part have been deliberately  
 chosen from the whole cargo. They generally em-  
 ploy one day in each fortnight, and Sundays, in  
 cultivating their own grounds, and have often other  
 days allotted to them, when it appears necessary to  
 their employers.

Doubts not, if a law were to pass here to forbid  
 the importation of slaves into Jamaica, they would  
 be secretly brought in, and that most of the planters  
 there would encourage it.

P. 383. Thinks the late regulating act has been attended  
 with much advantage.

The slaves for the plantations are in general bought  
 by the owner, or his attorney.

Many estates in Jamaica are so steep, that the  
 plough would be destructive, by the violent rains  
 peculiar to it washing away the soil.

Thinks an African's constitution perfectly well  
 adapted to bear heat: never knew a slave in health  
 complain of it. Pleurifies are often got by being  
 out at nights; the healthiest and stoutest field-slaves  
 are more subject to them than others: has known  
 many very fine valuable ones die of them. The  
 Owner generally prevents those nocturnal rambles,  
 as far as possible.

The produce of the estates before-mentioned, was  
 exceedingly reduced by the hurricane of 1780, but  
 cannot say exactly in what proportion. The produce  
 was much less than in 1789.

Whether

Whether the crop is great or small, the expence 1790.  
of cultivation is the same, and often increased, par- Part II.  
ticularly by such a calamity as that of 1780; but  
when the crop is smallest, the expence is greatest, P. 384.  
only in particular cases; in storms, a long con-  
tinuance of dry weather, when the cane-stalks are  
hurt by it; if the crops of corn and provisions are  
on the ground, they are destroyed; but the provi-  
sions taken early, before the hurricane months come  
on, are safe. The hurricane of 1780 destroyed the  
plantains, and in many respects, the ground pro-  
visions. The proprietors bought on this account  
provisions from England and America

Never knew but one free negro desire to return  
to Africa; he went to see his friends, and returned  
again. As far as he can recollect, he was a Gold  
Coast slave.

If the estates in an incompleat cultivation for  
want of sufficient slaves, could be cultivated to  
their extent, he thinks the increase of produce  
would be a very great addition to the revenue,  
commerce, and manufacture of the mother country.

It is not usual in general for slaves to obtain their  
freedom, till after a long residence in the West-  
Indies.

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Witness examined.—GEORGE HIBBERT, Esq;—  
A merchant of London.

The house he is concerned in, has had considerable P. 385.  
dealings with Jamaica (as factors to the planters)  
and to whom the house is considerably in advance.

They import from 5000 to 6000 hogsheds of  
sugar, besides other articles, the gross value of which  
may be from £ 200,000 to £ 250,000.

From the concurring evidence of planters, others P. 386.  
who have lived in the islands, and from his expe-  
T rience

1790. rience gained in the course of business, he believes  
 Part II. the abolition of the slave trade will greatly injure the  
 population and produce of Jamaica, and consequently himself as a merchant and creditor.

Any estimate of his, of the debt of the sugar islands to Great-Britain must be from partial inadequate grounds: but could never make it less than £20,000,000. Lord Sheffield conjectures such debt to be one-third of the value of the colonies, which has, since he wrote, been estimated £70,000,000.

Speaks from experience, that the creditors of West India property include these classes, each to a considerable sum, especially the 2 first. 1st. Merchants who have advanced money, to get consignments, support old correspondents, or protect old engagements. 2d. Mortgagees who have advanced money on interest. 3d. Annuitants by purchase, will, or marriage-settlement. 4th Legatees, many under old bequests. 5th. Consignors of goods to the West Indies, captains and mates of ships, &c. 6th. Shippers of goods for the stores, to order. 7th. Creditors on bond, note, &c. 8th. Representatives of the deceased of the above classes, or whose concerns are assigned to others. Their engagements are chiefly under the first class.

P. 387. A considerable part of their capital is lent to creditors, part in settling new, and extending and improving old, estates; and, he believes, part in new machinery and modes of manufacture; also a very considerable part in advances made to repair damages by hurricanes, and to feed the negroes in drought and famines. Their books contain some debts which have existed from 40 to 50 years: and he believes had they not protected those debts by advances to buy negroes and other relief, the estates, now their security, would have been long ago ruined. Believes, that when by short crops, low markets, or other causes, the planters have been distressed, they are generally relieved by British loans. In most of  
 their

their concerns, they have understood the buying new 1790.  
negroes to be absolutely necessary to carry on the Part II.  
estates, and have advanced money for that use.           

Several planters have assured him that they wish  
for new negroes, not to extend estates, but merely P. 388.  
to ease their present stock.

In Jamaica there is a considerable number of store-  
keepers, and importers of British goods, and who  
are not land-holders: Advances to such rest on the  
security of the produce; Agriculture in the West-  
Indies, especially in Jamaica, is the basis of their  
returns and solvency.

Their security rests intirely on the produce of  
estates cultivated by negroes. Real security is either  
an estate with negroes, or negroes alone. Land  
without negroes, or an immediate prospect of buying  
them to work the land, would be considered by a  
merchant here, as no security.

Such West-India properties as give security for  
British loans, he thinks, may, with a very few lucky  
exceptions, be comprized in 3 classes. 1st. Long  
settled estates, which, thro' depopulation, or acci-  
dental calamities, need supplies of negroes. 2d.  
Estates, in a progressive state, prudently adding a  
few negroes yearly to their gangs, till their settlement  
is compleated. 3d. Estates newly settled, or by  
accidents almost without negroes, but which would  
be an ample security to their creditors, if furnished  
with negroes cheap.

Several Jamaica estates mortgaged to them, have  
portions of uncleared land, which are some security,  
while negroes may be bought to make them produc-  
tive. On some of them the cultivation has been  
advantageously extended.

Believes minor's estates leased, with but few  
negroes, have been often improved by such leasing,  
when the minor came of age. Knows a renter of a  
minor's estate, who, on the minor's taking possession of  
it, carried off a good gang of negroes, and settled an

1790. entire new estate, which with a small addition to  
 Part II. that gang, promises to turn out very well; but the  
 proprietor has in his late letters to them expressed  
 great anxiety about working his own estates; and  
 if he can't buy new negroes, will find his present  
 fine canes of little value, and his estate worth almost  
 nothing. Believes the estates of infants, or others,  
 so situated, could not possibly be improved or kept  
 up, without new negroes.

Had their house expected or believed that the slave  
 trade would be abolished, they certainly would not  
 have made the great advances or engagements stated.  
 He never thought of the abolition, as not believing  
 it probable; but knew that his trade, the West-  
 India estates which secure his advances, the African  
 trade which supports those estates, and even the very  
 loans he has made, have been encouraged and sanc-  
 tioned by repeated acts of parliament, of which he  
 produced a list as follows, viz. 1st. Acts encour-  
 aging and protecting the sugar colonies, 15 Cha. II.  
 chap. 7; 22 and 23 Cha. II. ch. 26.—7 and 8  
 Will. III. ch. 22.—6 Anne ch. 30 and ch. 37;  
 8 Anne ch. 13.—4 Geo. II. ch. 15; 5 Geo. II.  
 ch. 24; 6 Geo. II. ch. 13; 12 Geo. II. ch. 30;  
 19 Geo. II. ch. 30; 21 Geo. II. ch. 30.—5 Geo. III.  
 ch. 45; 6 Geo. III. ch. 52; 27 Geo. III. ch. 27.  
 The leading feature in all these acts is encouragement  
 to the sugar colonies, as inhabited by British subjects,  
 and very advantageous to Great-Britain.

P. 391. The 2d division of acts on the slave trade, and  
 stating it necessary for the West-India colonies.  
 Royal charters of Cha. II. of 1664 and 1672.—  
 9 and 10 Will. III. ch. 26.—10 Anne ch. 27.—  
 The Queen's speech, June 1712.—23 Geo. II.  
 ch. 31; 25 Geo. II. ch. 40.—4 Geo. III. ch. 20;  
 5 Geo. III. ch. 44; 23 Geo. III. ch. 65; also, tho'  
 quoted before, 27 Geo. III. ch. 27. Also the pro-  
 ceedings of the House of Commons from 1707 to  
 1713, during all which time the slave trade was under  
 their



their consideration; and it was recommended, by a 1790. message from the Queen, to consider its nature; and Part II. no publick censure was then passed on it; but it was repeatedly voted advantageous to Great Britain, and necessary for the sugar colonies. And, tho' the various bills brought in, and some of which passed the Commons, failed from disputes between the chartered company and private traders, it does not appear the restriction, much less the abolition of the trade, was ever thought of.

The 3d head of acts encouraging loans to the West India proprietors, from British and foreigners, viz. 5 Geo. II. ch. 7; 13 Geo. III. ch. 14, and 14 ch. 79.

The inspector general of imports and exports, P. 392. has stated to the Privy Council, the imports from the West-Indies to Great-Britain in 1787, at

£. s. d.  
4,945,387 : 19 : 10

And from the West-Indies in 1787, was exported to Ireland, value

	£.	s.	d.
The U. S. of America	127,585	4	5
British Col in America	196,460	8	0
Foreign West-Indies	100,506	17	10
Africa	18,245	12	6
	868	15	0
	<hr/>		
	443,666	17	9

Grand total £ 5,389,054 : 17 : 7

The inspector general states these to be mercantile values formed on the prices current published at Lloyd's. This trade employed 1815 vessels, 242,721 tons, and 21,114 seamen. That the exports from Great Britain to the West-Indies in 1787, in British goods, &c. amounted to £ 1,638,703 : 13s. : 10d. and from Ireland, besides what is shipped in vessels cleared out from Great-Britain £ 20,160

The witness believes the annual average of slaves imported and retained in the British West-Indies may be 15,657, amounting at £ 35 per head, to £ 547,995.

The

1790. The inspector general has also stated the quantities, and custom-house values of imports from the West-Indies to Great Britain only in 1788, whence he has, with all the care and exactness he could, estimated their gross mercantile value, (taking the opinion of experienced brokers on the average prices of that year) and which on a very moderate calculation, amounts to £ 6,800,000 of which he finds that the customs and excise received about £ 1,800,000

Ship owners for home freight, about	560,000
British merchants and brokers, for } commissions, about - - - - }	232,000
Under-writers for insurance, about - -	150,000
Wharfingers, &c. including primage } or freight, about - - - - }	95,000
The whole of which is - - £ 2,837,000	

P. 393. The rest, being something less than 4 millions, is the net proceeds passed to the credit of the planters, by the British merchant; but from which must be farther deducted the value of British goods exported to the plantations, with freight, insurance, commission, and port charges thereon; also the sum paid the African merchants annually for slaves; and when to this is added the interest of the debt due from the colonies to Great Britain, there can be no doubt but the whole £ 6,800,000 rested in Great Britain. In confirmation, can assert that tracing the gross produce received through their house, for many years, in his time and his predecessors, (no inconsiderable value) there is a very small part of it indeed, which he cannot follow home to one or other of the above heads.

The tonnage in the West India trade, in 1787, has been stated 242,721 tons; and though in that estimate, some vessels are included which must have made more than one voyage a year, and their tons are counted for each voyage, yet in many cases, the estimated tonnage is somewhat under the real: tak-

ing therefore that quantity, and estimating the West India ships, with all their expences at sea, at only  $\text{£ } 10$  per ton, the amount is  $\text{£ } 2,427,210$ . 1790. Part II.

The amount paid by the British West-India trade to ship owners, for freight alone, may be estimated as follows:

Homewards to Great-Britain, as above	- $\text{£ } 560,000$
Outwards on British manufactures, &c. about	$120,000$
On Irish manufactures exported, and provisions in ships clearing out from G. Britain	} $22,000$
On exports from the West-Indies to Ireland	$14,000$
On exports from ditto to British America, and the United States	} $25,000$
On imports from America to the W. Indies, including ships clearing out from G. Britain	} $200,000$
Total freight — $\text{£ } 941,000$	

To which add the freight paid, in the price of P. 394: negroes, to the African ships, and this Article alone will be found above a million sterling. Most certainly the diminution of West-India produce, will affect the quantity of freight; and if the ships now employed in that trade don't get other employ, it must affect the price. The same causes will reduce the tonnage, and number of seamen. The increase of price of the West-India produce will be necessary to counter-balance it's diminution, to make the estates as productive as at present. A diminution of West-India produce, if caused by any difficulty of getting negroes, will raise their price, when to be had. The increase of price of produce, will certainly diminish it's consumption, and the export of it from Great-Britain.

Having never been in the West-Indies, he can only speak from facts well authenticated, or generally admitted. The committee of council in Jamaica stated, he believes from the tax-rolls, that the slaves there in 1768, were about 167,000. Governor Keith in

1790. 1774, about 193,000. Governor Clarke in 1787, at Part-II. 256,000. The assembly in 1787. stated the slaves at 240,000, at the least: But observes that the number on the tax-rolls, was only 210,894. Governor Keith says, his number, in 1774 was from the tax rolls; but there were at least 10,000 more, as many jobbers and others gave not in their numbers. The witness thinks, the only fair calculation can be from the tax-rolls, according to which, he gave in this statement:

P. 395.

	Slaves
In 1768, the number was about - - - -	167,001
Left in the island to 1774, inclusive - - -	41,038
Left in the island from 1774 to 1787, inclusive	87,624

	295,662
Deduct on the tax-rolls in 1787 - - - -	210,894

The deficiency in 19 years is - - - - 84,768  
or 4,461 annually, i. e. 2.34 (in decimals) 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 N<sup>o</sup>)

The calculation of loss in the first 6 years, will be:

In 1768 the number was - - - -	167,000
--------------------------------	---------

Left in the island to 1774, inclusive - - -	41,038
---	--------

	208,038
Deduct on the tax-rolls in 1774 - - -	193,000

The deficiency in 6 years was - - - - 15,038  
or 2.506 per annum, i. e. 1.4 per cent per annum,  
on the medium number.

1768	—	167,000
------	---	---------

1774	—	193,000
------	---	---------

2)360,000 (180,000 is the medium N<sup>o</sup>)

The

The calculation of loss the last 13 years will be: 1790.  
 In 1774, the number was - - - - - 193,000 Part II.  
 Left in the island to 1787 - - - - - 87,624           
 P. 395.

280,624  
 Deduct on the tax rolls in 1787 - - - - - 210,894         

The deficiency in 13 years was - - - - - 69,730  
 or 5,364 per annum; or 2,65 per cent. per annum,  
 on the medium number.

1774 ——— 193,000

1787 ——— 210,894  
        

2)403,894(201,947 is the medium N<sup>o</sup>

The last 13 years was marked by war and repeated hurricanes, from which for the first 6 Jamaica was exempt. The whole 19 years form no unfair average of the circumstances of the islands; and it appears, the population of Jamaica for those 19 years, has diminished more than two and one-third per cent on the medium number; that it has diminished in an increasing ratio, and not increased in a growing ratio, as has been stated; that admitting 15000 slaves to have perished in the above periods, from hurricanes, the diminished population in Jamaica alone will remain nearly 70000 in 19 years; that a loss of two and one-third per cent. upon 450,000 slaves, said to be in the British West Indies is 10,500 and may be computed as the immediate annual diminution of the number, should the slave-trade be abolished.

He is certain that an abolition of the slave-trade would be followed by an immediate decay of the credit of the British merchants who have considerable engagements with the West Indies, and that they would be obliged, however unwilling, to press their debtors, and to foreclose mortgages, to the ruin of many plantations, whose value would be affected by the quantity of such property at market, and

P. 397.

U.

1790. and the notoriety of the cause of their sale. The  
 Part II. British merchants, finding their profits diminish with  
 the diminished produce of the islands, must necessarily lessen the expence, by which they contribute to the revenue, and must look forward to the ruin of the trade, that they and their families have depended on. He believes many rich West India planters, whose estates are large and full-handed, might for a while feel little injury from the abolition, and even receive a temporary benefit from it, while the present system of colony regulation is continued, as by the ruin of smaller planters, whose slaves they would buy, their rivals would be diminished; but that they and the kingdom at large, must soon feel the ruinous event of the abolition, in the total decay of the sugar colonies, and in the dependance of Great Britain on foreigners for her immense consumption of their produce.

P. 398. In lending money on a West India estate, the annual produce is more considered than the nominal value.

The London merchant has  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. commission on the gross sales of produce, the same on amount of supplies shipped, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on making insurance on each.

Much of the Jamaica rum is sold on the estate, or at the next shipping port. What is sent home by the planter, is generally consigned to him to whom he sends his sugar.

P. 399. Insurance outwards or homewards, is always made on a policy, deliverable to the planter on demand. If the merchant stands part of the risk, it is as an under-writer, as an individual, not in the firm of the house.

The West India merchant is often the husband of ships, and holds his share of them. The share of the merchant in general is supposed much less now, than it was some years ago.

The

The estates do not require supplies in proportion to their produce. 1790.  
Part II.

The planters often draw bills on the merchants to whom their produce is consigned, to pay for the slaves they may buy. The planter has often credit in the island for the slaves he buys. When he draws on his merchant, at the expiration of that credit, he draws at the island usance, or, if for a longer time, interest for such time is included in the bill. P. 400.  
Bills from Jamaica are usually drawn at 90 days sight, they may be, on an average, 2 months on the voyage.

In all casual business, the merchant reimburses himself from the sale of the sugars, for the sums advanced to the planter, for stores sent out, commissions, &c. but where there is a connection (and in such there is commonly an advance) such exactness in keeping the account balanced cannot be expected.

In the war, it was certainly difficult to sell West India estates to advantage; and he thinks the agitation of the question of the slave trade has in part renewed that difficulty. The facility of borrowing money on West India estates has certainly increased since the peace; and, if not entirely prevented by the agitation of the present question, he believes it to be because they who well know the value of the West India trade, cannot believe the abolition of the slave trade, on which that commerce depends, will take place. P. 401.

As to estates which have kept up their slaves without importation, he can recollect but one, among all with whom his house was connected, that of Lord Dudley, which he understands, is peculiarly fortunate in situation, easy of labour, number of slaves and proportion of the sexes. In 1776, their number was 637, in 1788 it had increased only 31, in that time it was exempt from any of those calamities that affected the neighbouring estates, yet

1790. there were two years in which there was decrease, of  
 Part II. one year they have no account, and in one year  
 there was neither increase or decrease. In 1788,  
 there was 222 men, 220 women, 59 boys, 41 girls  
 126 children, 668 in all. The late Lady Dudley  
 said, that the estate did not pay her above 3 per  
 cent. on the capital advanced. He is not certain, but  
 believes, that in the period just mentioned, no new  
 negroes were bought for Lord Dudley's estate.

In 1787, Jamaica did not make its average crop.  
 The importation into London only, was 10,000  
 hogheads less than in 1785. and 13,000 less than in  
 1788. Has always understood the leeward islands  
 made much less than an average crop in 1788.  
 P. 402. the year on which he calculated for all the West  
 Indies.

In Jamaica of late years there has been con-  
 stantly a premium paid to drawers of bills on Great  
 Britain, at usance from 5 to 10 per cent. A large  
 debt due from West India islands to Foreigners,  
 contracted, as he believes, on the faith of parlia-  
 ment, their being an act expressly encouraging it.

A very considerable quantity of herrings is sent  
 from Scotland, Ireland, and Newfoundland, to the  
 West Indies for negroes.

The seamen employed in those fisheries are not  
 included in the above estimate, except such New-  
 foundland seaman as may occasionally carry the fish  
 to the West Indies.

P. 403. When he stated that the rich planter, whose estate  
 is large and full handed, may find a temporary  
 benefit in a greater price, should the abolition of the  
 slave trade diminish the number of his rivals at this  
 market, he presumed on his being able to keep up  
 his slaves and produce during such temporary benefit.  
 Thinks the diminution of produce from the abolition  
 must increase in compound progression, and that a  
 price could not be afforded here any way adequate  
 to such a diminution. If the price was much higher,  
 he



he believes, an equal consumption could not be expected, for it was generally thought much affected by the high prices last war. 1790. Part II.

Has heard lord Dudley's estate is separated from others, in a particular way. Has often heard persons who lived on it say, this peculiar situation keeps the negroes from rambling at night, and getting venereals, pleurisies, &c: which tend to lessen population. And also from being infected with the small-pox, &c. The attorney or manager informs them that when by a late contagion, many of the neighbouring estates suffered, that estate lost none, and had but few ill of it.

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Witness examined. — Admiral SHULDHAM.

Lord Shuldham (Admiral) has observed the behaviour of masters to their negro slaves, in the islands where he has commanded, to have been mild, gentle, and indulgent, equal to that generally shewn by masters to their servants in this kingdom. The slaves were decently clothed, and properly for the climate, and seemed perfectly satisfied with their victuals, and lodging: He never heard them make any complaints; they are in all respects perfectly satisfied, so, that when a midshipman, he envied their condition, and often wished to be in the same situation. P. 404.

In his opinion, the West-Indies could not be cultivated to advantage by Europeans, it must be attended with immense expence, and the loss of a greater number of lives, from effect of climate on European constitutions.

French West-Indiamen he considers as one of the principal sources of the French naval power; these ships he does not think remarkably fine vessels; they are of about 3 or 400 tons, and manned pretty much as our own; but it is 27 or 28 years ago, since he was in that part of the world. P. 405.

## W. INDIES.-Witness examined—Adm. BARRINGTON.

1790. Admiral Barrington has observed, that the masters,  
 Part II. in the islands where he has commanded, have always  
 behaved to their slaves with the greatest humanity. The slaves appeared properly fed, clothed, and lodged; and more labour did not seem to be required of them than they could properly bear. They are, in general, perfectly satisfied with their condition, so much so, that when being miserable himself, (from being 4 months Commander in Chief, without an opportunity of revenging the insults of France) he has seen them so happy, that he wished himself a negro; but when he had his full revenge, he never wished himself a negro afterwards.

P. 406. He does not conceive the plantations in the West-Indies could be cultivated to advantage by Europeans. Ships employed in the French West-India trade, he considers as one of the principal sources of the naval power of France; they are remarkably fine vessels; have, he supposes, double the number of hands that our ships have, and are as large or larger than ours in the same trade. He conceives the French have of late years increased their West-India trade, and also the number of their West-India ships.

The British West-India trade is no doubt a considerable nursery for seamen. He holds it by all means important to keep up, and encourage the slave-trade: its abolition, will tend to reduce the West-India trade, and consequently to lessen the number of ships, and seamen.

P. 407. In the last war, he was three months at Barbadoes, and on shore every day, where he had continual opportunities of observing the situation of the negroes, and conduct of their masters; he never knew any act of cruelty, by the owners, on their slaves, nor ever saw a punishment; but one, which was that of a negro woman by her own husband.

The slaves in Barbadoes are more comfortably lodged, and much cleaner than the labouring people of Ireland, and in general in the West-Indies they appeared happier than the labouring poor in Ireland, and many parts of Great-Britain. 1790.  
Part II.

Whether by proper regulations the stock of negroes could be kept up without importation from Africa, is a question he cannot answer; he has heard, that some very few plantations may keep up their stock;—for example, Comissioner Martin's.

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Witness examined—Adm. MARRIOTT ARBUTHNOT.

Admiral Arbuthnot having commanded on the West India station, has been frequently in plantations, both in St. Kitt's and Jamaica, and never observed the least cruelty to slaves; has seen them punished, but neither inhumanly nor wantonly, and by no means so severely as a British soldier or sailor; they are clothed according to the climate, and fed with the utmost care, having ground allotted for that purpose, besides other Provisions from America, and constantly from England; in point of lodging, and accommodation, they are better off than the labouring poor in Ireland. No more labour is required of them than they can properly bear, their labour is not equal to that of seamen in a man of war, in heaving down or clearing; so far are they from a desponding state, that they have as joyous moments as any of us: He has been very happy amongst them. P. 408.  
P. 409.

He calculates, in Jamaica, there are 16,000 whites, and 200,000 blacks, and that it is impossible for this country to send out 200,000 in their room; therefore the plantations in the West-Indies cannot be cultivated to advantage by Europeans. Says, that in 1730, he was midshipman to a 40 gun ship, that carried out 2 regiments

1790. regiments to Jamaica, where the colonel died in a  
 Part II. fortnight, the greatest part of the officers, and three-  
 fourths of the regiment in little more than a year.

The ships in the French West-India trade, he does not consider as a principal source of their naval power, but of great consequence to them; he knows nothing of the vessels, nor how they are manned,

The British West-India trade, he thinks, is a nursery for seamen, and that important to be kept up, and that the abolition of the slave trade, will assuredly tend to reduce the West-India trade, and lessen the number of ships and seamen; and the grounds of this opinion are  
 P. 410. a certainty, that if all the seamen employed in any trade, do not die by unhealthy climate, those that return, will be useful to their country. The seamen from Guinea ships were of great use last war in manning our fleet, but at what period, he does not know, not having been at the Windward islands, where the ships received great recruits from Africa.

He does not know whether any regulations would keep up the stock of negroes, without importation, but, thinks it impossible that any improvements or better regulations can be made: Our labourers earn their bread with greater difficulty than the negroes.

The negroes are beyond comparison better treated now, than when he first knew the West-Indies in 1763; in particular, they are much improved in Jamaica, where they are treated more humanely, and in general appear comfortable. He answers that their clothing  
 P. 411. is well adapted to the climate; they want for nothing, and seemed satisfied. Every plantation of 150 negroes had a surgeon.

During the last war, he was not in the West-Indies, he was in the West-Indies in the year 1763, and being asked on what grounds he thinks the slaves better treated now than formerly, he answers, that he only confines himself to the year 1763.

## W. INDIES—Witness examined—Admiral EDWARDS.

Admiral (Richard) Edwards served in the West-Indies in 1731, 1753, 1760, and 1761. Has not been resident in the islands, and does not know any thing very particular of the behaviour of masters towards their slaves; does not recollect any particular cruelties; and in particular estates has observed a share of humanity to the negroes; he never heard any complaints of their provisions, and as to their clothing, he has mostly observed them naked, some instances excepted. He never knew any instance of more labour required of them than they could bear. He by no means conceives the West-India plantations could be cultivated by the labour of Europeans.

He has been on the coast of Africa, and when there received and redressed a few complaints of the men on board African ships, of want of provisions, and other casual matters; thinks the seamen treated in this as in other trades; never was any where but men and masters made mutual complaints: believes, if the slave trade were abolished, the French and Dutch would engross the trade of the Gold Coast.

He believes the slaves treated better now than when he first was in the West-Indies; thinks most slaves on the Gold Coast are supplied from the Along-shore-coast, from the different forts, and the boats which go often for a week or longer trading from the ships; thinks the numbers sold to other Europeans would be increased on our abolishing the slave trade, and that we should be forced to buy of them. He never heard of an African slave in West-Indies express a wish to return home. The slave trade, as combined with the West-India trade to England, he apprehends, is of equal consequence in manning the British navy, in time of war, as any trade he knows; thinks the abolition of, or a check to either of these trades would

1790.  
Part II.  
P. 411.

P. 412.

P. 413.

1790. produce no good to the navy. As to preventing the  
 Part II. smuggling of new negroes into the West-India islands,  
 it could no more be prevented than smuggling any  
 where else. The slaves in all the islands furnish the  
 ships of war with live stock, &c. for they have bum-  
 boats, as we have at Spithead, and elsewhere; but not  
 being a judge, he cannot say that this traffic amounts  
 P. 414. to any considerable sum. The African trade by  
 itself is of consequence to the manning the navy; he  
 says, he could have no conversation with any one, as  
 to the inclinations of negroes to return home, because  
 he never knew any thing of their inclinations for it.

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W. Indies.—Witness examined—Admiral HOTHAM.

Admiral (William) Hotham has known the West-  
 India islands from a boy, and never found the conduct  
 of masters to slaves otherwise than very proper. The  
 treatment of slaves was mild and humane; they  
 seemed properly fed, clothed, and lodged; he never  
 thought more labour was required of them than they  
 could properly bear; they did not appear desponding,  
 but very well satisfied with their condition, and always  
 very cheerful. Judges it impossible to cultivate the  
 P. 415. West-Indies by Europeans,—their constitution would  
 not bear it.

The ships in the French West-India trade he thinks  
 a principal source and nursery of the naval power of  
 France; says they are fine ships, as large or larger  
 than British West-India ships, but knows not how they  
 are manned. He thinks the British West-India trade a  
 considerable nursery for seamen, the African trade also a  
 nursery; these two trades are advantageous in supplying  
 seamen in time of war, and they should therefore be  
 kept up; thinks the abolition of the slave trade would  
 reduce the West-India trade, and lessen its ships and sea-  
 P. 416. men. He has been often on shore in the West-Indies,  
 and

1790.

Part II.

and frequently observed the condition of slaves, and the behaviour of their masters towards them; was on Sir Wm. Coddington's estate, for 6 weeks or 2 months, and had daily opportunities of observing their treatment, and has been occasionally on other estates, on all of which they were well treated; with no particular severity; he has been five or six years in the West-Indies, at different times, and does not recollect to have seen more than 3 or 4 punishments, and is far from thinking the planters may be justly accused of cruelty or wanton severity.—The slaves in all the islands carry on a considerable traffic in supplying the fleets with provision, who pay them more with ships provisions in exchange, than with money; but these provisions he believed were for the personal profit of the slave. On the abolition of the slave trade, he should think it almost impossible to prevent the smuggling of new slaves into the islands: What number of ships could prevent it he cannot judge, nor can he speak to the inefficacy of the regulations made to prevent the introduction of American provisions into the West-India islands, not having been there since that time.

P. 417.

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W. Indies.—Witness examined—Captain LAMBERT.

Captain (Robert) Lambert has served in the West-Indies, at different times, 8 or 9 years, particularly in Jamaica; he served first in a king's ship, afterwards as commissioner at Port Royal. He never observed ill usage to the slaves, but thought they generally seemed happy, and saw nothing to the contrary of their being properly fed, clothed, and lodged; it did not appear to him that more labour was required of them than they could properly bear, always saw them cheerful after leaving work; thinks he sees more desponding people in this country, than among the negroes: is sure the West-India plantations could not be cultivated

P. 418.

1790. to advantage by Europeans. From number of  
 Part II. ships and the number of men carried, he thinks the  
 ships in the French West-India trade a principal source  
 of their naval power. Their West-India ships are  
 extremely fine, large, and well manned. The British  
 West-India trade forms a considerable nursery of  
 seamen in time of war; he never had any other means  
 of recruiting his ship than from West-Indiamen;  
 imagines it highly important to keep up and encourage  
 the West-India trade. The abolition of the slave  
 trade would undoubtedly tend to lessen the West-India  
 trade, and the number of ships and seamen. Were the  
 slave trade abolished, it would not be possible to pre-  
 vent the running new slaves into the islands. He  
 thinks he left Jamaica in 1784; says only from hear-  
 say, that the population cannot be kept up without  
 continuing the importation of African slaves; was  
 obliged to have the king's slaves under his direction  
 replenished, to carry on constant work; these were  
 mostly men, who had wives, but neither their wives  
 nor children belong to the king. He has known a  
 greater number of men come to the navy from Gui-  
 neamen than from other ships, because they carry a  
 greater number. Does not know of any considerable  
 number of plantations able to support their stock of  
 slaves, without purchasing recruits.

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W. Indies.—Witness exam<sup>d</sup>—Commodore GARDNER.

P. 420. Commodore (Allan) Gardner has served in all the  
 West-India islands, and returned from Jamaica August  
 1789. Cannot point out any particular impropriety  
 of conduct of masters to slaves, as in all countries there  
 may be good and bad; in Jamaica he believes the  
 treatment in general humane and mild. He believes  
 slaves have sufficient food for their work. Little cloth-  
 ing is necessary in tropical climates, but once or  
 twice



twice a year he believes a certain proportion of cloaths is in general distributed to every slave. For their lodging, huts are provided, the comfort of which depends on themselves. No more labour is required of them than they can properly bear; a labouring man in England does twice the work of a negro. Thinks them not in a desponding state; as in this country, there are some constitutionally of a melancholy turn; from their chearfulness out of work-time, and readiness to engage in diversions, he believes them perfectly satisfied with their condition. Firmly believes the West-India plantations could not be cultivated by Europeans, having known Jamaica 24 years; he resided the last three as commander upon a penn allotted to the admiral, and attended to the cultivation of about 80 acres. During the hurricane months he employed persons skilful in farming, from the ships, to plant corn, to mow and make hay; they worked only in the morning early and in the cool of the evening, and yet, though allowed extra provisions and grog, were unable to go through this business: he therefore substituted negroes. From this circumstance, and observing that book-keepers, when attending to negroes, stand under umbrellas, he is satisfied Europeans cannot stand the climate. He thinks it cannot be doubted, that ships in the French West-India trade are one of the principal sources of their naval power; they are considerably larger than our own, and better manned. The British West-India trade is a nursery for seamen, and extremely advantageous for supplying men in time of war; it is important to keep up and encourage it, so long as the islands are thought worth keeping. He considers, if the slave trade were abolished, there is an end of the colonies, as the negroes are the very sinews of the planter. He thinks it impossible to keep up the stock of slaves without importation from Africa; and grounds this opinion on the disproportion of females to males, promiscuous cohabitation, the diseases thence arising

1790.

Part II.



P. 421.

P. 422.

1790. arising, and the diseases they bring with them from  
 Part II. the coast of Guinea. Supposes there are three males  
 to two females in Jamaica. A greater proportion of  
 males than females has always appeared to him. He  
 is confident they are much better treated now than  
 when he first knew the island; their burden grows  
 daily lighter, and they are better fed, clothed, and  
 P. 423. attended to. Believes there are very few if any plan-  
 tations able to support their stock without new recruits.  
 Has not made this an object of enquiry. Has re-  
 sided, except 6 or 7 weeks, for 3 years on shore at  
 Jamaica; is of opinion, if estates had kept up their  
 number without importation, he should have heard it  
 remarked. On the arrival of a cargo, the planters  
 are all anxious to purchase, and many involve them-  
 selves in debt by so doing. They can purchase negroes  
 only because they consider them necessary to the  
 cultivation of their estates. As a proof that the set-  
 tlements of estates are much increased since he first  
 knew Jamaica, he says, that there are now 50,000  
 more negroes there than there were then. He be-  
 lieves he has heard in conversation, that there may be  
 eight or ten estates in Jamaica that have kept up their  
 stock without buying imported negroes.

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W. Indies.—Witness examined—Lord MACARTNEY.

P. 424. Lord Macartney was upwards of 3 years in the  
 West-Indies, as governor of Grenada, the Grenadines,  
 and Tobago, from 1776 to 1779. Treatment of  
 negroes there depends much on the temper of the  
 master, whose behaviour is greatly regulated by his  
 own interest, connected with the well-being of his  
 slave. Thinks in general their behaviour is mild and  
 humane; has heard of a very few bad examples, but  
 not known them. A bad master is always much de-  
 spised by his fellow planters.

Slaves

Slaves in general seemed properly fed, clothed, and lodged. Interest of master and exertion of slave are so connected with these things, that great attention is always paid to them. Thinks no more labour required of slaves than they can well bear. Some parts of cultivation require more labour than others; but thinks a labouring man in England works full as much as a negro. 1790.  
Part II.

Despondency of negroes depends on the countries they come from. They are brought from an extent of coast of 40 degrees of latitude. In some of the countries he has understood they were slaves before exportation; in others the government is different. Some, as the Coromantees, living he believes under a less despotic government, are high spirited, and not very submissive to their condition. Has heard there is one nation of negroes which are prone to suicide at home, and have consequently given the examples of the same disposition when brought to our islands. P. 425.

He believes many slaves, after having been some little time in our islands, would not go back if they could.

Thinks that no man, who has been a year in West-Indies, through all the seasons, can think it possible to cultivate West-Indies to advantage by Europeans. Without great care they can scarcely preserve their health, without labor.

Never having had a plantation, he cannot well answer the question, whether present stock of negroes, in the islands he governed, could be kept up without fresh supplies from Africa.

The present state of residents there he does not know; when he was governor, many persons of large estates were resident, and many absent; but having lost his papers, when the islands were taken, he cannot at once ascertain the proportion. P. 426.

Recollects having heard a gentleman in Grenada had calculated the comparative expence of breeding, and that of buying imported Africans; and that he

1790. was of opinion, it was more for his interest to work  
 Part II. out his slaves in a few years, and supply their places  
 by fresh purchases, than to work them moderately  
 like his neighbours. Whether he reduced his opinion  
 to practice he does not know; but possibly he did:  
 he was a new subject, not an Englishman, and but  
 little respected in the colony.

Does not recollect the laws of the island give any  
 effectual remedy to a slave against his master; one  
 fact of remedy he knows, viz. a little before his arrival  
 a white man was hanged for murdering a black woman.  
 He repeats, that in general, he believes slaves are not  
 ill used, it being contrary to the interest of their  
 masters.

The number of white persons on an estate must  
 depend on number of negroes; on a large plantation  
 there should be and usually are a manager, under-  
 manager, and a doctor: on many estates there are more.

Does not recollect what legal protection free negroes  
 enjoy, but conceives they might be redress'd by a  
 magistrate in the usual manner:—he is not certain.

As to a white person, desirous of committing an act  
 of violence on a slave or free negro, being able to find  
 an opportunity, when all the whites should be out of  
 the way, of executing his purpose without fear of legal  
 conviction, he thinks he might, in the same way as  
 P. 427. against a white, if all the whites were out of the way,  
 conviction depending on a jury, if brought to trial.  
 Does not recollect any instance of negro evidence  
 being admitted.

He conceives the state of a negro, exclusive of liber-  
 ty, which is a sentiment felt by every Englishman,  
 and which few negroes feel in the same extent, to be  
 very comfortable. Being in general well fed, well  
 clothed, taken care of when sick, and having every  
 thing provided for him, he fears no creditors, which  
 on the whole renders his state, exclusive of the idea  
 of being a slave, perhaps as comfortable as a peasant  
 in this country.

To the best of his recollection, the whites on the island were 1,400, and the negroes 33,000. 1790.  
Part II.

Not having had either a plantation or any considerable number of negroes, cannot tell whether they look forward in general to a state of freedom with anxiety. Those of his own family were so happy, that he believes they never had, at least, they never signified a wish to him to be free; he made them free on his arrival in England, and they returned as free to Grenada. Conceives many field negroes desire to be free, but knows not what would become of them if they were: he imagines they would wish to return to their former state. In some cases freedom is held out to them in the clauses of some of the acts, as a reward or a temptation. But no negro can be made free in Grenada without great expence,—he believes 100*l.* currency to his master. Does not know whether the protection of their masters is the best security that negroes enjoy against ill treatment from other persons: it is one undoubtedly; it may be the best. P. 428.

Being asked whether he does not imagine, that as negro evidence is not in any case taken, numberless opportunities of gratifying a disposition to ill-treat negroes may occur to a white man, without any fear of legal punishment, answers, that though he said he does not remember negro evidence ever admitted at Grenada, he does not know that cases may not occur, in which it may; he heard that on Mr. Franklin's trial in Tobago, attempts were made to introduce it, but it was not received. Cannot say what operated on the minds of those British subjects who purchased lands, and extended large capitals in Grenada (whether they were led to it by a dependance on the faith of parliament, for their protection and cultivation, or not.) Supposes they expected their profit from the same mode of cultivation as had been practised before. Has understood they have borrowed large sums of money from Foreigners; and believes P. 429.

1790. they did so under the faith of parliament; he supposes  
 Part II. that if from the want of cultivation, the estates became  
 of no value, some other provision would be made by  
 the legislature to indemnify the creditors. Wishes to  
 avoid giving any opinion as to whether the abolition  
 of the slave trade must necessarily make those estates  
 of no value.

He has heard instances of worse treatment of negroes  
 in Grenada under the French government than after  
 it came under the English government, but does know  
 the facts himself.

Not having any estate of his own, and living chiefly  
 in town, he cannot from his own observation say, that  
 when the proprietor of slaves becomes distressed in his  
 circumstances, the slaves suffer for such embarrassment  
 by a diminution of their subsistence, or increase of  
 their labour; he thinks it possible, and believes they  
 may have suffered just as servants do here by the  
 distress of their masters.

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W. Indies.—Witness examined.—Sir JOHN DALLING.

P. 430. Sir John Dalling Bart. resided as soldier and gover-  
 nor in Jamaica, off and on from the taking of the  
 Havannah till 1781. Great attention is paid by mas-  
 ters to slaves. The worst master is the freed negro.  
 Treatment of slaves is in general mild and humane,  
 particularly of the field negroes. They are well fed,  
 and though sometimes unfavourable seasons make a  
 scarcity, the planters, from humanity, as well as  
 interest, seek provisions for them at any expence.  
 Their clothing and lodging are well adapted to the  
 climate. The general work of negroes is not to be  
 called labour, according to the acceptation of the  
 word here; a well regulated plantation is not an un-  
 pleasant object to the eye and mind. Great attention  
 is paid them in sickness; and in old age they are put  
 to

to slight work. A desponding negro is generally a being that from refractoriness or disinclination does not chuse to work. Among such numbers there must be many of ungovernable temper as among us; in the military line the disgusting punishments are generally divided among 20 or 30 in a regiment from 500 to 700 men. A well minded negro looks forward to something better than his present state. That they are in general satisfied, may appear from their not having been incited to desolation and murder long before this period by the public conduct of this country, which has doubtless been exaggerated to them through various channels.

1790.

Part II.

P. 431.

In the mountains of Jamaica an European might, by his labour, possibly produce enough for his consumption, but no where in the island any of the staple commodities. Great-Britain could not bear the consumption of men to cultivate the plantations; the young people sent out for book-keepers can scarce be kept alive, though without work. Umbrellas were necessary for them when standing out, and would be more so if working; and a negro or white person must be obliged to hold it over them.

He is sure the present stock of negroes cannot be kept up without an annual importation from Africa. The abolition of the slave-trade would by degrees prove the ruin of every proprietor, and produce beggary to his descendants, and by degrees also, he fears bankruptcy to this country.

Cannot speak positively to the annual decrease of a given stock of negroes not recruited by purchase, but it usually depends on situation. Imported negroes bring many disorders with them; exclusive of such, in happy situations, the consumption is trifling, but in unwholesome ones, which are many, it is great. Some of the disorders of imported negroes, such as yaws and flux, are infectious. He infers the impossibility of keeping up the stock by breeding, under proper regulations and expedients, from their own

P. 432.

1790. irregularities. He believes when in health, the negroes  
 Part II. are capable of doing all kinds of work they are  
 called to.

If a man uses his slave ill to a degree, he is amenable to the magistrate; if he destroys him wantonly, he is tried for his life. He does not recollect any instances of conviction and punishment of white men for ill using their own, or other men's slaves. Chief protection of negroes from ill usage by other persons, consists in some degree in the interest their masters have in protecting them, but he hopes from humanity also.

P. 433. Understands the Spaniards treat their slaves better than we; we better than the French; and the French better than the Dutch.

Free negroes in Jamaica follow different trades, as carpenters, masons, &c. but wanting regulation are debauched, and a great nuisance; they raise and bring stock to market for sale.

There are, he believes, many more males than females, but of late he understands the planters would prefer a greater proportion of females. He never heard much about the comparative cheapness of breeding negroes, and working them out and recruiting by buying imported slaves: he holds the importation from Africa necessary, both for keeping up the present cultivation and extending it. A planter in easy circumstances he is persuaded would buy more negroes from humanity, to ease the work of those he already had.

For extending the cultivation of the island, and opening new grounds, a greater number of negroes would be requisite. He is persuaded the loss in clearing new grounds, would be great in proportion to that in working of old settled plantations.

P. 434. Comparing the situation of field and domestic negroes, he repeats, the field negroes looks forward to something better, that is, to the cultivation of his own grounds and stock, which not only produce the necessities



necessaries of life, but, with the overplus, give him what he understands to be the luxuries of it, yet in his opinion the lazy house slave-would not change situations with him. 1790. Part II.

The number of domestic slaves may be trifling at first, but as their progeny are never turned into the field, they augment greatly in a few years.

Many British families carry over white domestics, but the masters and servants soon tire of each other. More of them return to this country in proportion, than of those whose duty requires them to be exposed to the vicissitudes of the climates.

He does not know whether the Spaniards use negroes for working their mines; he has heard, but does not know it, that English seamen taken on the coast of Spanish America, have been condemned to that employ. Has heard regulations exist in the Havannah, empowering domestic slaves to work out their own freedom, but does not know whether they exist among the plantation slaves. He has heard that the planters in Jamaica are frequently induced by the purchase of new negroes, to an unprofitable extension of their cultivation, but while the benefit remains to the successor.

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W. Indies.—Witness examined.—Sir R. PAYNE.

Sir R. Payne, very early in life visited West-Indies twice, to see his friends, and the property he was afterwards to possess. In the latter end of 1771 (which was a few years afterwards) he returned thither as Governor General of the Leeward Islands, continued there almost 4 years, viz. until June 1775, and occasionally visited the principal islands under his governments. P. 435.

The management of slaves in the islands he governed, seemed wise and humane. They most unquestionably appeared in general properly fed, clothed and lodged. More labour never seemed required of them than they could properly bear. He trusts he may P. 436.

1790. may aver without being contradicted, there is no  
 Part II. slave, (at least he never saw any one) whose labour  
 is by any means comparable to that of a day-labourer  
 in England. This opinion may be supported by  
 slaves having better health and spirits in crop-time,  
 than any other, and being best pleased with the  
 labour attending it, tho' the severest they have.

General appearance of negroes does not indicate  
 despondency, nor does he believe they are more  
 dissatisfied with their state, than the bulk of mankind  
 in their respective stations. It is very common for  
 them to perform their labour singing, and with ap-  
 pearance of gaiety. Their necessities are supplied,  
 and their situation has every appearance of comfort,  
 but it will be more or less so in proportion to their  
 industry, by which they may become comparatively  
 affluent, as is proved by numbers being able to pur-  
 chase their freedom. He manumitted a slave, who  
 in slaves, houses, and boats, was worth between  
 £500 or 600, and he is sure this sum was of the man's  
 own acquiring. He had been latterly a distiller on the  
 St. Kitt's estate, seemed between 60 and 63 years old,  
 and was not born in the West-Indies. This man  
 shews the comfort to which a foreign negro, unassisted  
 by the family, and other advantages attending natives,  
 may arrive.

P. 437. He conceives it visionary to employ Europeans to  
 cultivate plantations, and so impracticable, as that  
 there cannot be two opinions among those acquainted  
 with the subject.


Has 2 West-India estates; one at St. Kitt's, the  
 other, named Carlisle's, at Antigua. Having passed  
 2½ years on the Continent, he cannot specify with  
 accuracy the numbers now on the 2 estates. On the  
 latter he had 470 when he went abroad, and guesses  
 the number must now be nearly 500; they are all  
 Creoles. On the former, he thinks he may have  
 about 140 or 150, partly Creoles, partly Africans.  
 In 1771, when he came to this estate, he found on it  
 about

about 170, and it was thought very liberally handed, 1790. Part II. so much that task-work had been occasionally performed by the former owner. But wishing that the slaves might play with the work, as on the Antigua P. 438. estate, Sir R. P. by a purchase completed the number to 200. On the Antigua estate, not a single slave has been added to the stock by purchase, but the number has greatly increased by births, and there are so many supernumerary hands on it, that had he not been unwilling to separate families and friends, he should have supplied his St. Kitt's estate from it.

When Governor of the Leeward Islands, he found the management of his estates incompatible with his public duties. He therefore resided on neither of them, left them in the hands of his attornies, as before, giving no orders as to their management, tho' occasionally riding over them, and sometimes perhaps suggesting his ideas to his attornies. In doing the latter, he omitted nothing which would assimilate the mode of proceeding on the St. Kitt's, to that on the Antigua estate. P. 439.

Thinks he can confidently assert, equal care was taken of the slaves on his two estates. His attornies at St. Kitt's, were men of indisputable knowledge and humanity. Dr. Thomas was in this capacity when Sir R. P. was governor, and continued in it to his death, about 4 or 5 years since. He had the medical care of the slaves, not only under Sir R. P. but under his uncle. He had been regularly bred to surgery, under Mr. Warner of London, who expressed the greatest respect for his personal and professional merit, and Sir R. P. is satisfied, that the loss of slaves at St. Kitt's, was not occasioned by want of skill and attention on his part.

He cannot account for the encrease on the Antigua estate, and decrease on that of St. Kitt's, notwithstanding the purchases for the latter; and its being so circumstanced as to make it probable the slaves would encrease, at least, as fast as on the former. Tho' the situation

1790. **Part II.**  situation of the Antigua estate is not unhealthy, yet it is nearly a flat, and not comparable to that of the other, which is a tract of land gently rising from the sea to a mountain. The slaves at St. Kitt's have as much provision ground as they chuse in the upper part of the estate, besides two guts bounding it on the east and west: the provision ground of those at
- P. 440. Antigua, is very small. The allowance of food and cloathing at St. Kitt's, used to be more liberal under his predeceffors, than at Antigua, where, tho' the estate has been in his family above 80 years, and the slaves always increasing, little or no provisions had been allowed. They have now the same as on other estates in this respect; and also as to cloathing, of which he had from the custom of the estate, and almost without knowing it, not allowed a garb 'till a few years since, when on their request they were supplied with cloathing, as on other estates, tho' experience had shewn it not absolutely necessary. The St. Kitt's estate has sustained that misfortune, as to population, which he fears inseparable from almost all estates in the islands. The only reason he ever assigned for the uncommon encrease on his Antigua property is, his grandfather having always bought women instead of men, and thus made the estate for years a nursery for young slaves. Mr. Blizzard his Attorney, and Chief Justice of Antigua, used to assign as a reason the high opinion these slaves had of themselves, as of a superior rank to all others in the island, because they were all natives on the estate, and most of them the offspring of natives. Mr. Blizzard, tho' desirous of getting some of their breed on his plantation, which was contiguous, could never induce any of the men to marry in it. Their marriages were among themselves, tho' the women might have gallants from other estates.
- P. 441. Thinks it infinitely more advantageous to breed than to buy slaves, and he never had a doubt of this being a general opinion among planters.

When visiting the islands as governor, no act of cruelty from masters to slaves came to his knowledge or hearing. The interest of the master is generally thought to be, and certainly is, a security for the good usage of the slave. 1790.  
Part II.

From his knowledge of the judges and magistrates, he is confident slaves and white persons would meet with equal redress for any cruelty sustained by them. This he fears is much more doubted in England, than in the colonies. He never heard a doubt expressed by any reasonable man, but that a master would be equally tried for his life for the murder of a slave, as for that of a white man.

The nine parishes of St. Kitt's, are served by five clergymen, the difficulty of procuring proper ministers making it usual to give 2 livings to a clergyman, both there, and in all the Leeward Islands. A parsonage house, glebe, surplice fees, and 16,000 pounds weight of sugar (or the current value of the latter, at the option of the clergyman) belong to each living. The income from 2 country livings is not, he believes, over-rated at between £ 5 or 600 sterling per annum. P. 442.

When he spoke of the lightness of a slave's labour, compared with that of an English labourer, he alluded to the former mostly out of crop-time, but he mentioned circumstances to shew that even in crop-time, it does not render the slave an object of commiseration. Tho' cautious of delivering an opinion on the interior oeconomy of an estate, he can say without hesitation from casual observations, he thinks the field employments are not beyond the strength of women. Is convinced negroes only can cultivate West-Indies, and that they are as capable of labour there, as those of other countries are in climates congenial to them. P. 443.

He cannot say, what are the quantities of land in cultivation on his 2 estates. Should imagine from 150 to 170 acres at St. Kitt's, where he knows the

1790. cane-land has been lessened from the diminution of  
 Part II. negroes; and if that diminution continues, and the  
 means of supplying it are taken away, the inevitable  
 (450.) consequence must be a still farther reduction in the  
 quantity of cane-land, and perhaps eventually the  
 throwing of the whole of it out of cultivation.

P. 444. The state of the provision grounds on his 2 estates  
 was, he believes, very different, owing to the different  
 natures of the estates themselves; but speaks with  
 (445.) great diffidence as to all plantation matters. At St.  
 Kitt's, these grounds are in the highest part of the  
 estate, where the cane is not cultivated, but not much  
 above a mile from the sea, and also in the 2 guts  
 before-mentioned. The negro huts are, he imagines,  
 P. 444. rather nearer the sea than the mountain, in a spot,  
 which, like the whole estate, is without exception one  
 of the healthiest in the island. The provision ground  
 is sub-divided, and the negroes have their separate  
 properties in it. Besides this, negro-provisions are  
 raised for general use on other parts of the estate,  
 which at one time of the year bear canes, at others  
 yams, potatoes and eddoes.

P. 445. He does not recollect the quantity of corn and rice  
 allowed his own negroes; but is certain it was as  
 great at St. Kitt's, as at Antigua.

Cannot tell the numbers of males and females on  
 his estates; nor whether the loss on the St. Kitt's  
 estate, since he augmented the slaves to 200 or there-  
 abouts, before he left the islands, has taken place  
 among grown slaves or infants, but believes it has  
 been gradual and regular. He says he has not the  
 least knowledge of the tetanus on his estates.

The manager who was on the St. Kitt's estate in  
 1771, had been appointed when Sir R. P. was abroad,  
 and returned to England a few years after Sir R. P's  
 return thither. A second was appointed, who died on  
 the estate, and now there is a third.

P. 446. He cannot say, whether on his estates, lying-in  
 women were delivered in their own huts, or in rooms  
 for

for the purpose. There are hospitals on both of them, as well as, he believes, on every other estate in the islands, which he believes are attended with all possible care. A physician constantly attended on his, and he believes on all others, twice or thrice a week, who, besides his regular stipend, was, he believes, paid extraordinarily for cases of midwifry, inoculations, and on all extraordinary occasions.

1790.  
Part II.

The field negroes have certainly more or less property of their own.

As to their industry, that is matter of opinion, but those who are industrious are sure to be comfortable.

He apprehends the expence of maintaining negroes has considerably encreased since shutting up the American ports from the colonies.

Is unable to say what alterations have taken place in the treatment of slaves since he left the West-Indies.

In each island there are a chief justice, and, he believes, 4 puisne judges; and also magistrates chosen by the commander in chief, and vested with the powers of justices of peace, which latter he always appointed when governor, out of the most respectable planters and merchants. Sometimes an island has been so fortunate as to have a professional man at the head of its law, but in general this is not the case, owing to the small emoluments of the office, which arise entirely from certain fees established by the law of the island. He has however heard that since he quitted his government, Mr. Robinson has been appointed judge of the Virgin islands, (which form a part of the government of the Leeward Islands) with a salary of £ 200 per ann. sterling. When no proper person of the law will accept the office of judge, the most scrupulous care is taken to select a planter of the fairest character for it.

The present chief justice of Antigua, practiced many years at the bar there with great reputation.

1790. At a distance of 15 years, some allowance must  
 Part II. be made for an inaccuracy of recollection, but he  
 P. 448. does not remember any white being punished for ill-  
 treating a black, nor does he remember ever hearing  
 of any enormity of this sort that deserved punishment.  
 (449.) He cannot say whether the number of slaves em-  
 ployed in working the Antigua plantation, was  
 P. 448. greater, compared with the quantity of cane-land, or  
 of produce, than at St. Kitt's; but the whole number  
 of slaves at the former, was infinitely greater than at  
 the latter estate, even when the number at this was  
 200; for at Antigua there was a task-gang, at St.  
 (449.) Kitt's he never meant to establish one. No particular  
 gang was appropriated to task-work at Antigua, but  
 all were by turns employed in it as occasion offered,  
 and on certain exigencies the whole gang is employed  
 on the estate.
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Witness examined—Sir ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.

- P. 450. Sir Archibald Campbell resided 3 years in the war  
 before last in the French islands of Martinique, Gauda-  
 loupe and Dominique, after the conquest of those  
 islands, in a military capacity. He resided also in  
 Jamaica 5 years during the last war, 2 of these he  
 was governor.  
 The conduct of masters towards their slaves seemed  
 mild, and marked with great kindness. Slaves  
 appeared properly fed, clothed and lodged. He had no  
 opportunity of ascertaining, whether more labour was  
 required of them than they could properly perform,  
 but understands it to be the masters interest not to  
 give them more than they can bear.  
 P. 451. They appeared comfortable and satisfied with their  
 state; heard no complaints to the contrary: cannot  
 compare their condition with that of the labouring  
 poor of England, not being able to judge of the  
 labour here.

Does



Does not conceive it possible that Europeans could cultivate West Indies to advantage.

1790.  
Part II.

Should imagine a stop to the supply of African negroes, would prove an immediate stop to all improvement, and occasion a general decrease in all sugar estates.

The Spanish treatment of their slaves he thinks like ours, very humane. Does not remember any white man's being brought to legal punishment in Jamaica, for ill-usage of his own or any other's slave or free negroes; his time was occupied in defence of the island, being shut up in the garrison. Nor does he know any instance of the sort in the French islands.

P. 452.

Remembers many instances when in Jamaica, of runaway slaves brought in by Maroon negroes, according to their treaty with governor Trelawny. Understands the cause of their flight to have been in some the fear of returning home, after having staid out too long with women they were attached to; in others a disposition to idleness, and hopes of living undiscovered with the Maroons; he cannot specify any other causes. When brought back they were always returned to their masters, if known, or else to head quarters.

Advertisements for runaways often describe the negroes by marks of brands, but these he understood to be marks of their own country, and his reason for thinking so is, that all new negroes imported while he was in Jamaica had their particular country marks; these he does not mean to say were received in the interior country, from which they originally came, but made in Africa previous to their exportation thence: he never saw them appear fresh; understood all such marks to have been made in Africa before they came to the island, but where he never heard. He understood that the tribes in Africa distinguish themselves by tattooing, or impressing marks on their faces and bodies.

P. 453.

When

1790.  
Part II.

When the Maroon negroes made their treaty with Governor Trelawny in 1739, he has heard they amounted to about 3000 men, fit for arms. During his government, he endeavoured to get all the fighting men in their towns, to turn out when Jamaica was threatened by the French and Spaniards, and was surprized to find they did not amount to 300.

He never knew the Maroons hire themselves to field labour.

There are great numbers of free negroes in the towns, and different parishes in the island; in general they are idle, and dissipated. Does not know, but thinks they had matrimonial connections with negro women on the plantations: He thinks it very probable that these connections were formed, in order to derive subsistence from the wives, and so live in idleness themselves.

He ascribes the decrease of the Maroon negroes chiefly to a free access to spirits. They have women among them, and have wives; another cause of their decrease, he has heard, is their cohabitation with the women of the neighbouring plantations. He understands they are daily decreasing; cannot say in what proportion. The decrease from 3000 men in 1739, to 300 in 1782, extends only to fighting men.

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Witness examined—J. O R D E, Esq;

P. 455. John Orde, Esq; had been at Jamaica 3 years as midshipman and lieutenant; a few months at the Leeward islands as lieutenant in the navy, and near 6 years at Dominique as governor; it is 7 months since his return to England. In islands where he has been, has observed the treatment of slaves in general humane and good. Severe masters occur in all parts of the world; one or two he has known at Dominique. A knowledge of these, occasioned the legislature

legislature to pass a law to give farther protection to negroes, and promote religion and morality among them; it obliges masters, under heavy penalties, to give them a certain quantity of food, clothing, and medical aid; limits powers of punishing; secures them a trial by jury in all capital cases; makes it felony in white men to kill them; enjoins masters to christen their children within a certain time, and to have divine service performed by a white person, on the estate, once a week. This law, but lately past, he believes is attended to: The negroes are, as in general before the law, well taken care of. He confines his answers here to Dominique; serving in the navy, when at Jamaica, though he was there 3 years, had but little opportunity to remark, so particularly, the treatment of masters towards their slaves.

1790.  
Part II.  
P. 456.

More labour was not seemingly required of negroes than they could properly bear; 10 hours in the 24 was all the time required; they do not turn the negroes, at Dominique, into the field till after sun-rise,  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour is given them for breakfast, which they eat in the field, and from 12 to 2 o'clock for their dinner, and they cease labour at sun-set, except bringing home a bundle of grass. Believes they are generally thought most healthy at crop time, both at making sugar and coffee. Their labour he thinks not greater than that of a common labourer in England; that of the hedger and ditcher, he thinks full as great.

When sick they are well taken care of; many estates have hospitals for them; some have medical people living on them, and almost all are attended by the faculty once or twice a week, or oftener, if necessary. The old people, he believes, are well taken care of; he never saw a beggar in the street.

They appear very well satisfied with their condition in general; some, he has heard, have been offered to return to Africa, but refused it: Old negroes consider their situation as vastly preferable to that of the new, and go to the Beach to see them when imported. To  
prove

1790. prove the attachment of slaves to their masters, he re-  
 Part. II. lates that a number of foreign runaways had come over;  
 that a number of the negroes of Dominique, perhaps  
 tempted by the French, had left their masters, and that  
 others, perhaps through discontent, had deserted also;  
 that these altogether inhabited the woods of Domi-  
 nique, and were armed, and there committed many  
 acts of violence against the inhabitants, so as to de-  
 termine the legislature, after an ineffectual trial of every  
 lenient method, to endeavour to reduce them by force.  
 Slaves from the different estates were on this service,  
 and through the whole course of it manifested the  
 greatest zeal and desire to bring them back to their  
 duty.

He conceives it impossible to cultivate West-India  
 plantations to advantage by Europeans; many white ar-  
 tificers work in all the islands for very great wages, and  
 are thus enabled to live well; yet these work mode-  
 rately, and almost always under cover; notwithstanding,  
 he believes more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  of those who were at  
 Dominique when he went there, were dead when he  
 came away. The loss of European troops in St. Lu-  
 cia, he has heard, was due to their rolling provisions,  
 for a few hours only in the day, up to Morne Fortuné.

P. 458.

He has his doubts, whether in Dominique, where the  
 negroes have certainly not decreased for 6 or 7 years  
 past, the numbers might not be kept up, if not attacked  
 by epidemical diseases, or other causes of extraordinary  
 mortality, incident to that climate; but Dominique has  
 advantages, perhaps not possessed by any other island;  
 a great quantity of uncultivated lands allows them to  
 raise as much provisions as they please, and a surplus  
 to buy a thousand necessaries and conveniencies. The  
 proximity of the foreign islands, and our frequent  
 communication with them, affords them an advan-  
 tageous market; and the good water, may also con-  
 tribute to their health; but he only says, that the  
 present number could be kept up without importation.  
 There could be no possibility of extending the culti-  
 vation

vation, nor does he believe the quantity of land now in cultivation could be kept so; for as land grows old, it requires more labour. — Dominique contain about 186,000 acres, of these about 54,000 are in occupation, and 26,000 in cultivation. The merely keeping up the stock, therefore, would be very insufficient for the wants of the Dominique proprietors, and should the trade be abolished, they would certainly be great sufferers. If some such encouragements for breeding, were held out to Dominique, as are to the French islands in the Code Noir; and if the practice of separating children from their parents were more precisely dropt than it is, he thinks it would still more contribute to insure keeping up the present stock, without farther importation.

In explanation of the apparent difference between his own answers to the queries transmitted to him by the Secretary of state, and the returns sent home from the custom-house: he says, that in some of his answers, he stated the negroes of Dominique to have encreased in the last 5 or 6 years; whereas the custom-house returns declare, that the negroes imported, from 1784 to 1788, amounted to 27,553; that the numbers exported in the same period, amounted to only 15,781, and of course, that the number remaining in Dominique was 11,772. As a reason for the difference in these accounts, (as at the time explained by him to the Secretary of state) says, that previous to the free-port act of 1787, no slaves could be legally exported in foreign vessels, and in the French islands, so heavy a duty was laid on those imported in foreign bottoms, as to make that mode of sending them disadvantageous to the merchant, and the vigilance of the French cruisers rendered it dangerous to attempt running them illicitly; they were therefore smuggled out of Dominique, of which the custom-house had no returns, nor since the free-port act, can any returns be relied on. The French have, in fact, taken about 4-5ths of the whole number imported, and the Spaniards, and other

1790. foreigners so many more, as not to leave, in his opinion, above 1000 in Dominique, and many of these, refuse negroes, part of which died, perhaps, before they got on the estates. The encrease by births, was stated from documents received from Mr. Constable, deputy treasurer of the island, a person very capable of giving true account. The returns of the French inhabitants, in the parish of St. Patrick, and his own observations, confirm them.

P. 460. The persons to answer the queries of the privy council, were selected by Mr. Orde; finding the assembly backward to answer them, and desirous of collecting the sentiments of proprietors in the island, he sent different copies of the queries to 4 or 5 of the principal settlers in each parish, to be communicated by them to the whole; he sent also to the merchants for the same purpose, and requested answers. He conceives the answers he received, may be supposed the result of the experience, and knowledge of the most intelligent men in the island: Being first communicated to him, he sent them to Great-Britain.

Where there is but little provision-ground on an estate, (a rare case in Dominique) the negroes are almost altogether fed by the owner; he believes they receive 2 lb. of salt fish, salt beef, or pork, or 7 or 8 herrings, and about 7 or 8 quarts of farine each ~~per~~ week; the children in proportion: The same proportion of fish, or meat, and nothing more, is given where there is provision-ground, but not quite sufficient for full subsistence; but where provision-ground is plenty, (generally the case in Dominique) the negroes are allowed to cultivate as much as they please, and have a day in the week, besides Sunday, for it; this is the usual method with the French inhabitants, and the most satisfactory to the negroes.

P. 461. The number of slaves lost in opening new lands in Dominique was ascertained, but being before his time, he cannot state it; they were, he believes, very considerable, and partly owing to mismanagement: A  
 custom

custom then prevailed of working new negroes; which contributed to the loss, but this is not now followed. 1790. Part II.

Does not know that the difference of profit to the resident and to the absentee proprietor of estates in the West-Indies is so great as he stated to the privy-council, he believes it however to be in general very material.

Believes attention to moral and religious instructions of slaves would contribute to their comfort, and their masters interest; the French are more attentive to these points than we are, and benefit accordingly.

Understands that lately in Tobago the French have established a regulation, excusing female slaves from labour, in proportion to the number of children they bear and bring up, and liberating them after having 6 or 7.—Being asked if a slaves's security from ill usage does not depend on the temper of the owner, he answered, the laws in the Colonies are not so well executed as in England; in general, he dares hope the honor and humanity of the owners lead them to attend to the protection of slaves. The treatment of slaves in the French islands he believes more severe than in the English. In Dominique the French follow the custom of the English. The laws provide security for free negroes against ill usage of white men; their evidence is not good, in capital cases, against white. Thinks the Tobago law stated above, rewarding a woman who has brought up many children might be advantageously adopted; at present, negro women are certainly averse to bearing children, and careless in bringing them up; as he thinks bearing children interrupts their libidinous pursuits, and makes them less desirable to the men.

Were the planters to see the benefit of the Tobago regulation, as before stated, they would, no doubt, adopt it. P. 463.

Believes, if the slave trade is abolished, the consequence will be disadvantageous to the empire in general, and in particular to Dominique, the pro-

1790. prietors of which bought their lands of government  
 Part II. at a very high rate, trusting for their cultivation in an  
 uninterrupted importation of slaves; no more than  
 one-third of the island is now in occupation, and only  
 26,000 acres is in real cultivation: A stop to the im-  
 portation of slaves would therefore make it impossible  
 to clear more, and very difficult, perhaps, to keep what  
 is now planted in the same state of improvement.

He does not recollect the refusal of a free negroe's  
 evidence against a white man, except in one instance,  
 which was a case of murder.

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Witness examined.—DAVID PARRY, Esq;

P. 464. David Parry, Esq; resided at Barbadoes near 7 years,  
 as governor of the island, and left it July 6, 1789.  
 Masters behave to their slaves with every possible kind-  
 ness and attention Negroes seem properly fed, clothed,  
 and lodged; had it not been so, he would, as it was his  
 business, have enforced the law to that end. Not half  
 so much labour was required of them, as their owners  
 had a right to demand; the common labour of a negro  
 would be play to any English peasant. Never saw the  
 least degree of despondency among them; has every  
 reason to suppose them perfectly satisfied, as no com-  
 plaints ever reached his ear. Banishment is the severest  
 punishment to a negro at Barbadoes; there is no cor-  
 poral punishment they would not prefer; has known  
 them even hesitate between banishment and death:  
 In general, he thinks their state infinitely more com-  
 fortable than that of the labouring poor in England,  
 or any other part of the world that he knows. He  
 thinks it impossible that the West-Indies could be  
 cultivated by Europeans, without such a destruction  
 of 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.  
 He



He has not the smallest doubt, that a supply of negroes from Africa is necessary to the cultivation of sugar estates, particularly if they mean to improve more land. The abolition of the slave trade, would, in his opinion, prove detrimental both to the colonies, and the empire at large; it would raise the productions of that country, beyond the power of the consumers here to purchase, and consequently lessen the revenue, in proportion as the consumption is diminished, and would injure the individual in his property, by increasing his private expences; it would occasion the immediate declension, and final ruin of the sugar colonies, unless they were at liberty to seek for, and carry their sugar and other produce, to other markets; and this, in his opinion, would be bad policy.

1790.  
Part II.  
P. 465.

If supplies of negroes be totally stopped, the gradual diminution of their produce, and finally the extinction of the sugar colonies, he thinks, would take place, and he thinks it a dangerous and unnecessary experiment to make; the planters of Barbadoes he knows, and the planters in general, he believes to be men of sense, discernment, and humanity; and he thinks, that good policy, ought to leave them in the quiet management of their own affairs, and so render them, as beneficial as possible to this country, to whose laws, constitution, and king, they are warmly and zealously attached.

One man will annually cultivate 3 acres of cotton, but only one of sugar; the substitution of cotton for sugar in many plantations in Barbadoes, arose more from the loss of negroes in the hurricane 1780, than from the depredations of vermin, or other causes. This substitution is going on, though in a less degree, because new negroes have been imported. The greater part of the lands, where cotton was substituted, is now again allotted to sugar. The substitution of cotton for sugar, might have been made immediately, but did not take place to any extent for 3 or 4 years afterwards. The difficulty of obtaining African negroes, was the cause of that substitution, aided by the blowing down

P. 466.

1790. down of the sugar-works and buildings. That  
 Part II. difficulty arose from their not being brought to the  
 island, and from their high prices. The answers sent  
 P. 467. by him, to the queries of the Privy Council, were  
 framed by himself; the answers of the council, and  
 assembly, by those bodies respectively; those returned  
 by individuals, were transmitted by him, for the pur-  
 pose of returning those answers: He selected men, on  
 whose discernment, experience, and integrity, he could  
 rely, and persons also differing in sentiments, in order  
 to give the Secretaries of State, the fullest information.

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Witness examined—Lord RODNEY.

Lord Rodney went first to the West-Indies in 1761, he resided first at Barbadoes, then Martinique, Antigua, St. Kitt's, and a small time at Guadaloupe, when those islands belonged to Great-Britain; he was also in Jamaica  $3\frac{1}{2}$  years.

P. 468. Masters, in the several islands, seemed very attentive to their slaves; it is their interest to be so; he never saw one instance of cruelty, but many of forbearance, on an impertinent answer being given to the masters. Slaves seemed properly clothed for the climate, in all the islands; in Jamaica, seemed better fed than the common labouring people here; the other islands have not grounds to give them such food as Jamaica can afford; they appeared also extremely well lodged for the climate, and their houses calculated for it. No more labour was required of them than they could properly bear: A hundred times he has noticed, that he thought a labouring man in England did more work in one day than any 3 negroes. He has often noticed in the many plantations he has visited, that there is an hospital, called the sick-house, with negro women attending as nurses; there is scarce a plantation without a surgeon; it is their interest to be attentive.

P. 469.

The

The negroes appeared to him to be in a state the reverse of desponding; after the day's work, they were generally dancing, and making merry. Thinks it impossible to cultivate West-India plantations to advantage by Europeans. Believes the present stock in the islands could not be kept up, without fresh importations; for he believes, breeding is encouraged as much as possible; for one Creole is, in value, worth two new ones from Guinea.

Considers the ships in the French West-India trade as the greatest source of their power, for the West-India commerce enabled France last war to dispute with Great-Britain the empire of the sea; their West-Indiamen are generally much larger than the British, and appeared more than doubly manned. Thinks the British West-India trade a considerable nursery for seamen, and the West-India fleet very advantageous in time of war in furnishing men for the service, who are seasoned to the West-Indian climate. Thinks it extremely important to keep up a trade, which he considers one of our principal branches of commerce; without the African trade the West-Indies he thinks could not be supported. In 1787, the French paid 200 livres a head premium for every slave imported into St. Domingo and St. Lucia, and 100 for each imported into Martinique and Guadeloupe, besides a premium on ships that traded from the ports of France to the coast of Guinea, payable immediately on their sailing, at so much per ton.— The abolition of the slave trade would tend to reduce the British West-India trade, and lessen the number of ships and seamen, it would tend to encrease the French marine in general; if the British slave trade were abolished, and engrossed by foreign nations, it would add to the naval power of France, who has already much more than half the West-India trade in her hands, and diminish that of Britain in proportion.

Never

1790.  
Part II.

P. 470.

1790. Never made a comparative estimate of the expence  
 Part II. of breeding a negro till fit for the field, and that of  
 buying an able African: declares that wherever he  
 P. 471. went; it appeared they encouraged breeding and took  
 great care of the children. Does not recollect any  
 regulation for the encouragement for breeding sanc-  
 tioned by the legislature of the islands, but always  
 understood they gave every encouragement for the  
 negroes to breed, and for the settlement of the white  
 people; it appeared so to him,

They were domestic slaves that gave impertinent  
 answers.

The negroes seemed very bad labourers, compared  
 with Europeans. Their inclination to labour was not  
 equal to a labouring man's in England, not 3 of  
 them could do so much work as one white man in  
 Europe. In the West Indies they do more than the  
 climate would permit a white man to do there.

P. 472. They are left to chuse their own wives; if there be  
 any regulations concerning their marriages, he does  
 not know them.

Being asked the grounds on which he concludes  
 that the stock of negroes could not be kept up by  
 breeding without importations from Africa, if pro-  
 per regulations were adopted and adhered to, he  
 answers, that he is not a judge of that. It is a long  
 time before the children come to maturity. This  
 opinion he draws from his own observations on  
 what he has seen and heard; he knows no gentle-  
 man that does not attempt to keep up the stock,  
 at least it appeared so to him.

He never heard what proportion of negro infants  
 die within the month, or what grows up to matu-  
 rity. He has been told they are apt to die very  
 young of the locked jaw.

When we first took Martinique, 1761 or 1762,  
 the French slaves appeared better clothed than the  
 English; he desired the Barbadoes planters to ob-  
 serve that there was no naked slaves there, while  
 in

in Barbadoes there were many naked. In consequence, the Barbadoes people put their laws in force and clothed their slaves. He thinks English negroes better lodged than French. Food in a great measure depends on having proper provision ground; such as have not this, give salt fish, and Guinea and Indian corn to their slaves. Slaves seem better off in the English than in the French islands; the punishments in the French, greater than in the English islands. He never knew cruel treatment to any slave in the English islands, but the reverse. He never knew or heard of any thing in the public administration of justice between a white man and a negro, but strict justice to both. He was at the trial of a white man (about 1772 or 1773) for wantonly murdering a slave. The court condemned the man, and he believes he was executed. He spoke to the governor that he hoped he would not pardon him. The man he believes was not the owner of the slave.

1790. Part II.  
P. 474.

The property of slaves in the produce of their gardens, their poultry and pigs, as far as he has observed, is held sacred, and never taken from them without a just compensation, and at the market price.

If it were possible for a slave to be happy, they seemed to be so. They never knew what liberty was. So far as regards only their food, clothing, lodging and care taken of them in sickness and in health, he thinks their lives as happy as those of the peasants in this country.

As to 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, &c. He does not believe any thing of the sort ever happened in any of the islands. (See page 475 3d. answer.) There may have been drunken seamen.

1790. If the crews of slave ships are ill used by the Part II. masters, they have always a remedy at hand, by entering into any of his Majesty's ships in that port. The ship cannot sail till the master has paid the men their just wages. The seamen of Guinea ships too customarily leave them to navigate the loaded ships to Great Britain, as their wages for the men exceed the wages due from their own ships; he believes there have been many instances of harsh treatment in captains of those ships, to get rid of their men. Regulations to this end are very necessary.

P. 475. He states, that in 1747, he saw 180 sail of French West India ships in one convoy, bound from St. Domingo to France. That we took 40 of them, the value of which was £500,000, and refers it to the committee to judge how much that commerce must have increased the last 40 years. He is convinced that France could not have disputed the empire of the ocean with us last war, but for their West-India commerce.

He never suffered pressing in the West-Indies, without recourse to the governor and council, who always allowed the impress, and gave every assistance in their power towards manning the fleet in every island.

P. 476. The officers of the navy always oblige the captains of Guineamen to pay the wages due to such of their seamen as enter the King's service: If these have been ill-used, by captains of Guineamen, the officer of the navy, if it come to his ears, applies to the attorney-general of the island to prosecute such captains.

The African slave trade certainly supplies seamen to His Majesty's navy, 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.

## W. INDIES—Witness examined—Sir PETER PARKER.

Admiral Sir Peter Parker was captain of a man of war on the leeward island station the war before last about 3 years. He was at the taking of Guadaloupe, and occasionally visited Barbadoes and all the leeward islands except Nevis. In 1777 he was appointed admiral and commander in chief of all the King's ships at Jamaica, where he arrived Feb. 1778, and remained till 1782. 1790. Part II. P. 477.

The treatment of slaves in the several islands was lenient, mild and humane. He never heard of even one instance of severity during his stay at Jamaica. The slaves not only seemed properly fed, lodged and clothed, but in a more comfortable state than the lower class of people in any part of Europe, Great Britain not excepted. No more labour was required of them than they could properly bear. Our peasantry scarce earn a livelihood by labour much harder than these are put to; and in age and infirmities, drag on a miserable life on a pitiful allowance of 1s. 6d. or 2s per Week from their parishes; whereas the negro, when old and infirm, has particular attention paid to make him easy and comfortable; and if he has acquired money, which all industrious negroes may do, he may live in affluence the rest of his days; he knows that his family and friends will be sure of protection, and good treatment after his decease, and that he may bequeath his property how and to whom he pleases. They are far from being in a state of despondency, and generally chearful and merry.—It is absolutely impossible to cultivate the West Indies by Europeans; to shew how inimical the climate is to European constitutions, he says he need only refer to the military returns there of 1779, 1780, and 1781. The very existence of the soldiers depends P. 478.

1790. on their being allowed negroes to carry their stores  
 Part II. and provisions, and do other acts of drudgery. Our seamen work under awnings, to keep off the sun. The manning vessels in our dock yards with negroes, to water and store the King's ships, he is satisfied has saved the lives of thousands. The captains under his command had all leave to enter a few negroes. The ships when once watered, keep up the quantity with their own long boats. In proof that negroes are necessary for this service, he relates that a frigate, about to sail from Port Royal, sent her long-boat to Rock Fort for water, with a midshipman, cockswain, and six seamen, and that on her return next morning, the midshipman and six seamen were taken ill and died.

He thinks the present stock of negroes cannot be kept up without fresh importations from Africa; experience proves it otherwise.

He considers the ships in the French West India trade, as a principal source of their naval power. Their ships in general are larger than ours, and carry double the number of men. Their West India trade is immense, and, in his opinion, two thirds of their whole commerce; should they obstruct their African trade, which he thinks they are too wise to do, they would lose their consequence among the nations of Europe, and not be able to fit out fleets sufficient to alarm their neighbours. He hears, and thinks it probable, that they are endeavouring to improve their West India trade, and their African, as connected with it.

P. 479: The British West-India trade is a great nursery for seamen; we should find it difficult to man a great fleet without it. There can be no doubt, that that trade, and also the African, are extremely serviceable in manning King's ships in the West-Indies in time of war. He received upwards of 2000 into the fleet, under his command, and manned several ships that he bought for the King from West-India merchantmen,  
 and



and African ships: Those traders furnish seamen peculiarly adapted to West-India service, and more able to manage the King's ships in that station than seamen usually employed in Europe. It is important to the kingdom to keep up British West-India trade; but more important to keep up the African. 1790.  
Part II.

The abolition of the African trade would, in his opinion, cause a general despondency among the negroes, and gradually decrease population, and consequently the produce of our islands, and must in time destroy near  $\frac{1}{2}$  our commerce, and take from Great-Britain all pretensions to the rank she now holds of being the first maritime power in the world.

In the same ratio that our power decreases, that of the French will increase.

He has never seen nor heard of sailors dying in the streets of Jamaica in an ulcerated state, objects both of commiseration and horror, as stated in the report of the Privy Council, except in the committee room.

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Witness examined.—STEPHEN FULLER, Esq; Agent for the island of Jamaica.

Produced extracts from the minutes of the joint committee of assembly and council of Jamaica, 3d December, 1789, which are inserted from page 485 to page 496 of the minutes at large\*. P. 481.

He also produced a paper intituled, “ Jamaica export and import of negroes, and negroes retained “ in

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 in the last session of parliament in respect of the said trade, P. 485.

1790. " in the island for 49 years, viz. from 1739, to  
 Part II. " to 1787, both inclusive, distinguishing the years  
 " of war from those of peace." This paper is to  
 shew that the importation of negroes into Jamaica  
 was

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 immediate interest, and in many cases urgent distress from the impertunity 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 encrease 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

was very considerable in war time. He formed the <sup>1790.</sup> calculation from 1739 to 1772, from an original <sup>Part II.</sup> account found among Mr. Rose Fuller's papers,  after

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. 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 the 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 2099 slaves purchased on the Gold Coast, 2042 have been sold in this island, a loss of only two and three-fourths per cent. but that, out of 2550 slaves purchased in the Bite of Benin, only 1642 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 same coast, the Ann and the Vulture: these vessels purchased 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 improvements 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.

1790. after his death, printed part III. of the Privy-  
 Part II. Councils report; thence to 1787, from the Inspector-  
 General's account, printed part IV. of that report.

He

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 Carthage; the expedition to Cumberland Harbour; the siege of the Havana; 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. Resolved, It is the 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*l.* 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 cultivatable 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,

He looked on this last account as more perfect than 1790. his own, which was that of a private gentleman (of Part II. Jamaica) only, and the other that of a publick officer.

vested, and all quit-rents paid on account thereof. The said land, valued only at 3l. currency per acre, is worth 2,700,000l. currency, equal to 1,928,500l. 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 entituled 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 entituled 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, authorising 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 the III. a period when the principles of civil liberty were minutely investigated, well understood, and freely asserted; and more recently, by the act of 23 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. xl. 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 in 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

1790. cer. Hence he has taken the last part of his calcu-  
 Part II. lation from the Inspector-General's account, which  
 reaches from 1772 to 1787. The said account was  
 delivered

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 Hon. Lord Rodney, Sir Peter Parker, Adm. 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 in 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 50l. sterling per head, is 12,500,000l. 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)

delivered in and read, and is inserted from page 1790. 497 to 499 of the minutes at large. By this ac- Part II.  
count it appears that, in (499.)

	Years	Total slaves retained	Average per Ann.
War from 1739 to 1749	10	55230	5523
Peace from 1749 to 1755	7	43645	6235
War from 1756 to 1763	8	49368	6171
Peace from 1764 to 1775	12	88443	7370
War from 1776 to 1782	7	41536	5791
Peace from 1783 to 1787	5	32218	6444
	49	310440	

AVERAGES.

War 25 years.

Peace 24 years.

5523
6171
5791
<hr/>
3)17485
<hr/>
5828

6235
7370
6444
<hr/>
3)20049
<hr/>
6683
5828
<hr/>

Peace annual average exceeds war 855

Annual average retained for 49 years 6335

C c 2

Witness

valuation) amount to 25,000,000l. 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 1,428,521l. 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.

Witness examined.—ROBERT NORRIS, Esq;

1790.  
Part II.  
(483.)

Produced a paper, intituled, “ An account of the vesse's and amount of their cargoes, now employed by the merchants of Liverpool in the African slave trade, 3d March 1790.” It was sent him by the secretary of the committee of African merchants at Liverpool. He believes it to be a true statement of facts. It was delivered in and read, and is inserted from page 500 to 509, of the printed minutes. By this account it appears that there were then 139 ships, 24907 tons, 3853 seamen, employed by the Liverpool merchants in the slave trade; that the value of ships and outfit was £ 361,608 : os. : 8d. and the total amount £ 1,092,546 : os. : 9d.

The witness also produced the following account and lifts.

An account of the number of men discharged by the master tradesmen of Liverpool employed in the slave trade, and who are now out of work, or gone to other places, from the restrictions laid on that trade by parliament, with their occupations, and wages in a year. This account is dated 15th March 1790, and is inserted page 510 of the minutes at large. The persons specified in it, are 1007 tradesmen and labourers, 22 masters of slave ships, 47 mates, 356 seamen: total 1432 persons, in the situations described.—N. B. In 1787, there were only 719 persons in the poor-house of Liverpool; but from the said restrictions, there are now in the poor-house 1227: increase 508. Added to these, the poor relieved out of the house, are now 1060; and in 1787, were 700: increase 340.

A list of African ships laid up in Liverpool, from the restrictions on the trade, inserted page 512 of minutes at large: total 22 ships of 5366 tons.

P. 484. A list of African ships sold out of the trade, or sent on other voyages from the said restrictions, inserted *ibid.* Total 16 ships of 3061 tons.



W.INDIES—Witness ex<sup>d</sup>.—Capt. JOHN ASHLEY HALL

Now in the West-India trade from London, was <sup>1790.</sup>  
 in the African trade from 1772 to 1776 inclusive. <sup>Part II.</sup>  
 Made two voyages to Africa in the Neptune, as third, second and chief mate; touched at C. Mount, <sup>(513.)</sup>  
 and sailed along shore, sometimes trading for rice  
 to C. Palmas; sailed thence the first voyage to the  
 river Del Rey, in the bight of Biaffra, where they  
 slaved. Second voyage, sailed from C. Palmas to Del  
 Rey; but the trade being dull, went to the R. Old <sup>P. 514.</sup>  
 Calabar.

The slaves were brought on board by the black  
 traders pinioned, and sometimes 4 or 5 with collars  
 chained together.

These traders always went for the slaves, after the  
 arrival of the ship, with goods they got, and in war  
 canoes. He saw from 3 to 10 canoes in a fleet,  
 each with 40 to 60 paddlers, and 20 to 30 traders,  
 and other people, with muskets, suppose one to each  
 man, with a 3 or 4 pounder lashed on the bow; they  
 were generally absent from 10 days to 3 weeks.

Often asked the mode of buying slaves inland;  
 was told by the traders they were prisoners of war,  
 and sold by the captors. He never saw a slave  
 brought on board with a fresh wound, and a few  
 with old scars.

Often asked them how they became slaves: they  
 constantly said, either surprized in their towns, at  
 work in the fields, or taken in fixed battle.

Often saw slaves brought on board from 8 to 13 <sup>P. 315.</sup>  
 years old, always without relations; never knew  
 but one instance to the contrary, which was a woman  
 with a sucking child about 6 weeks old.

The trade in the rivers Calabar and Del Rey is  
 carried on by means of pawns, who very often are  
 children of the traders. They were always parti-  
 cularly

1790. cularly anxious as to the fate of the pawns, and  
 Part II. seemed much distressed when suspicious of the ship's  
 sailing away with them.

Never saw more guns in the king's and principal trader's houses than appeared for use; never any trade guns but of a better sort. On the sea coast they were afraid to fire a trade gun.

In Old Calabar river are two towns, Old Town and New Town. A rivalship in trade produced a jealousy between the towns; so that through fear of each other, for a considerable time, no canoe would leave their towns to go up the river for slaves; (537.) which happened in 1767. He corrects an error of its being in 1768, when examined before the Privy Council, from a copy he has since seen of the deposition of William Floyd, mate of the Indian (516.) Queen. In 1767 seven ships lay off the point which separates the towns; six of the captains invited the people of both towns on board on a certain day, as if to reconcile them: at the same time agreed with the people of New Town to cut off all the Old Town people who should remain on board the next morning. The Old Town people persuaded of the sincerity of the captains' proposal, went on board in great numbers. Next morning at 8 o'clock one of the ships fired a gun, as a signal to commence hostilities. Some of the traders were secured on board, some were killed in resisting, and some got overboard and were fired upon. When the firing began, the New Town people who were in ambush behind the point, came forward and picked up the people of Old Town, who were swimming, and had escaped the firing. After the firing was over, the captains of 5 of the ships delivered their prisoners (persons of consequence) to the New Town canoes, two of whom were beheaded along side the ships; the inferior prisoners were carried to the West-Indies. One of the captains, who had secured three of the king's brothers, delivered

vered one of them to the chief man of New Town, 1790. who was one of the two beheaded along side; the Part II. other brothers he kept on board, promising, when ~ the ship was flaved, to deliver them to the chief man of New Town. His ship was soon flaved from this promise, and the number of prisoners made that day; but he refused to deliver the king's two brothers, and carried them to the West-Indies and sold them. Thence they escaped to Virginia, and thence, after 3 years, to Bristol; where the captain who brought them, fearing he had done wrong, meditated carrying or sending them back to Virginia. Jones, of Bristol, who had ships trading to Old Calabar, had them taken from the ship (where they were in irons) by Habeas Corpus. After enquiry how they were brought from Africa, they were liberated, and put in one of Jones's ships, for P. 517. Old Calabar, where the witness was, when they arrived in the ship Cato, Langdon. They said they were treated very ill in the West-Indies, but much better in Virginia.

So satisfied were the people of Old Town, in 1767, of the sincerity of the captains who invited them, and of the New Town people towards a reconciliation, that, the night before the massacre, the chief man of Old Town gave to the chief man of New Town one of his favorite women as a wife. It was said, that from 3 to 400 persons were killed that day, in the ships, in the water, or carried off the coast.

The king escaped from the ship he was in, by killing two of the crew who attempted to seize him: he then got into a one-man canoe, and paddled to the shore; a 6-pounder from one of the ship's struck the canoe to pieces, he then swam on shore to the woods near the ship, and reached his own town tho' closely pursued; it was said he received 11 wounds from musket-shot.

Captain

1790. Captain Hall in his first voyage on board the  
 Part II. Neptune, had this account from the boatswain, Thomas  
 Rutter, who, in 1767, had been boatswain to the Canterbury, captain Sparkes, of London, and concerned in the said massacre; Rutter told him the story exactly as related, and never varied in it; and also from the king's two brothers, who agreed exactly with Rutter.

When sailing along the windward coast, he often saw canoes hovering about the ship for a considerable time, after much intreaty they came on board, but were so suspicious that they kept constantly near the  
 P. 518. ship's side, to jump overboard; they said they were fearful of being taken off the coast, as some of their countrymen had been.

The slaves when brought on board to be sold always appear dejected. It soon wore off with the young slaves, and some women; but not with the men, which he ascribed to their being forced from their dearest connections, and native country.

The men were immediately put in irons, two together, and kept in irons, hands and feet, 'till their arrival in the West Indies, unless taken ill, when the irons were taken off. Never saw a female in irons.

They often disagree in the night about their sleeping places; the men linked together often fight, when one wants perhaps to obey the calls of nature, and the other is unwilling to go with him.

Their usual food on board was horse-beans, rice  
 P. 519. and yams, with a little palm-oil and pepper. They often refused to eat, especially beans, when they were corrected with a cat o' nine tails. He has known their refusal to eat attributed to fullness, when owing to sickness, particularly one man who was corrected moderately for not eating, and was found dead next morning.

They were made after meals to jump on beating a drum. This is called dancing. When they refused, they were compelled by the cat.

Often

Often heard them cry out below for want of air. 1790.  
 Between decks is so hot, that often after being below Part II.  
 a few minutes, his shirt was so wetted by perspiration,           
 that he could have wrung it.

Their vessel was about 180 tons by register. They  
 purchased first voyage about 270 slaves; the second  
 voyage 280. In the first voyage they lost he thinks  
 20; but having been ill, was obliged to give up his  
 journal; in the 2d, exactly 90. In the West-Indies he P. 520.  
 found the loss of slaves to be very considerable on  
 board many ships: Knew some bury half their cargo,  
 some a quarter, and some a third; it was very  
 uncommon to find ships without some loss of their  
 slaves. They lost 10 seamen the first voyage out of  
 23; and the second voyage 9 out of 30. He kept  
 a journal, so that the facts were mentioned as they  
 happened.

The Venus sailed with them both voyages, belong-  
 ing to the same owners; they kept company to the  
 river Del Rey the first voyage, where they slaved;  
 that ship buried in that voyage 18 seamen out of 30.  
 The second voyage they kept company to the river  
 Calabar, where they both slaved, and in that voyage  
 her loss exceeded their's in proportion to her crew;  
 but cannot speak exactly.

In his 2d voyage they spoke to the York, Adams,  
 on the windward coast; she had been 10 months from  
 Liverpool, had lost 51 of her people including 6  
 mates, out of 75 men. He relates this, from a remark P. 521.  
 made in his journal on the day they spoke to the  
 York.

In May 1788, two ships arrived in the West-Indies  
 from Africa, called the Hornet and Benson; they  
 anchored close to his ship. He went on board the  
 Hornet, and was told they had lost 11 men out of  
 35; when the Benson came to anchor, he was in his  
 own ship, and could only see 2 whites handling the  
 sails, the rest were black boys, slaves.

1790. The crews of the African ships when they arrived  
 Part II. in the West-Indies, were generally (he did not know  
 a single instance to the contrary) in a sickly, debilitated state; the seamen who were discharged or deserted from those ships in the West-Indies, were the most miserable objects he ever met with. He often saw them with their toes rotted off, their legs swelled to the size of their thighs, and ulcerated all over; such was their state, that however inclined to relieve them, by taking them into their ships, they were deterred by not having surgeons on board to give them the necessary assistance; he saw them on the wharfs in Antigua, Barbadoes and Jamaica (especially the two last) laying under the cranes and balconies expiring, and some dead. He saw last July a dead  
 P. 522. seamen laying on the wharf in Bridge Town, Barbadoes, who had been landed out of an African ship.

Never shipped an African seamen in any voyage he made to the West-Indies. He commanded a West-Indiaman 10 years, made 10 voyages, and never lost but one seaman, and that was through intemperance. Believes the African trade to be destructive to seamen, and beyond all comparison with any trade he knows; believes they are in general treated with great barbarity in the slave ships; and does not know of their being ill-treated in any other service.

On the windward coast he had seen rice, ivory, and Malaguetta pepper, plantanes, bananas, yams, and many tropical fruits; also on the leeward coast, palm oil, ivory, bar wood, and most tropical fruits, and has seen very fine sugar canes brought on board  
 P. 523. the ships. Has seen traders and canoe men smoking tobacco of their own growth. The African rice was considered in the ship he sailed in much heartier food than the Caroline rice; they put two cruets of water, to one cruet of Caroline rice; and three cruets of water, to one cruet of the African rice. Has been at South Carolina, but never saw rice growing; but informed upon enquiry that it grew in swamps; had seen

seen rice grow in Africa, in a dry soil: has bought it on the windward coast from the natives, who brought it on board in small canoes, (often with only one man) had been often on shore buying it in the ship's boats, and he does not recollect ever losing any from the surf. 1790. Part II.

Has seen the surf at Dominique and St. Kitt's, full as high as he ever saw it on the windward coast. On the leeward coast, he was in the rivers where there was no surf.

The Europeans who trade for slaves in the bight of Benin, buy great quantities of yams and eddoes from the people of Fernandipo, where he had often been from Del Rey and Calabar to buy yams, and always found them very ready to trade. The ships from Old Calabar, Del Rey and the Cameroons, he believes all send thither: has been 7 miles in the inland part of Fernandipo, and the yam and the eddoe plantations he always found in the highest order, and much more so than those of Calabar. The yams were much better than any he ever saw in the West-Indies. P. 524.

There is no slave trade carried on by the natives in Fernandipo, but some of them have been taken off by the ships and boats touching there. P. 525.

At Calabar and Del Rey the only people that he heard called slaves, were the canoe boys: has always seen the slaves treated there with great kindness and familiarity; so much so as to be sometimes difficult to distinguish master from slave.

He believes negroes to be as ingenious as Europeans, under the same disadvantages, and as capable of all the virtues: he never saw them particularly indolent, when there was an opportunity of working to advantage.

He quitted the slave trade from conviction, that it was perfectly illegal, and founded in blood. He could often have had a ship in that service, which was then very lucrative for the masters: was second mate when aged 22. P. 326.

1790. Was often on shore on the windward coast in the Part II. river Calabar, not often at Del Rey. Was very often on shore at Calabar, sometimes 3 or 4 times a day to bring on board slaves, palm oil, and other articles. Quitted the trade from conscientious principles, and not to receive a legacy in the West Indies. Was first offered the command of an African ship in

P. 527. Antigua, by Mr. Taylor in 1782; and from Mr. Cox in 1781 and 1782.

P. 528. He saw at Calabar in the possession of the king's two brothers, their depositions taken at Bristol; and of William Floyd, who was mate of one of the ships when the transaction happened; he took no copy. The names of some of the ships there (i. e. 1767) at Calabar, were the Duke of York, Beaven, of Liverpool; the Edgar, Lace, of Liverpool; the Indian Queen, Lewis, of Bristol; the Nancy, Maxwell, of Bristol; the Canterbury, Sparks, of London. Was told above 400 people from the old town came on board the ships, and most of them remained all night. Has said before the privy council that the English were as well received after the transaction, alluding to the time he went thither.

P. 530.

Believes it not general in Guineamen to put the first 8 or 10 negroes in irons; but after that, every man is put in irons when he comes on board, and so continued, unless in sickness, till they reached the West Indies. It was so in his ship.

Believes the boats he saw going from Calabar (in which many then were armed) went to trade.

Was told by Capt. Jeremiah Smith, that the voyage before, he (Capt. Hall) was with his brother, (which was in 1772) a Capt. Fox had taken off some people from the windward coast.

P. 532. Never knew a ship sail away without giving notice.

Believes the calamity of the seamen, mentioned in page 521, proceeded in general from the scurvy, oftener to be found in African ships than in any others; having never seen a man, in any ship that he had



had failed in, with the scurvy in a great degree. As 1790.  
to having seen people in Barbadoes, with that cala- Part II.  
mity, that had not been in African ships, has seen           
people labouring under the black scurvy. Does not  
know whether the scurvy produces the effect men-  
tioned on the toes and legs, but believes it does.

When on the windward coast they were two ships  
in company both voyages, and procured as much  
rice in addition to what they had, as they wanted.  
Has seen fields of rice. The most distant plantation  
from the sea he has seen, was from 3 to 4 miles:  
the rice was carried to the ships in baskets on persons  
heads: does not know whether he could have got  
rice to load a ship of 200 tons. Saw but little ivory P. 534.  
on the windward coast, which was brought on board  
in canoes; believes on the leeward coast they might  
have bought about 3 tons of ivory in each voyage. P. 535.

Has known a little bread given now and then to  
the sick; procured at the island of Annabona some  
cocoa-nuts and cassada flour, of which occasionally  
gave the slaves a little,—and the sick slaves some-  
times had a dram in the morning—confined his  
answers to his own ship.

Supposes the armed canoes, seen in Del Rey river,  
were equipped for the protection of those on board  
them, and their goods; but believes they would take  
any opportunities that might offer of seizing and  
carrying off any persons whom they might be able  
to surprize, page 558.

At Calabar and Del Rey the slaves were always  
bought by the captain's; on the windward coast, they P. 536  
are in a great measure bought in boats by the mates.

Thinks many slaves are killed, and of course that  
it is a bloody trade, founded his opinion on having  
heard some traders say the slaves were taken in war;  
and from some of them in the W. Indies having told  
him they were kidnapt. Said before the privy council P. 537.  
he did not believe wars were entered into on the sea-  
coast, to make slaves.

Heard

1790. Heard that captains Fidler and Doyle, of Liver-  
 Part II. pool, in 1775, were poisoned; but believes by the  
 New Town people. His ship lay abreast of the  
 Old Town, the people of which always behaved  
 P. 539. very well to his ship. Heard that the natives on  
 the windward coast detained the officers of ships  
 a-shore, and extorted goods for their release, but  
 never saw one instance. Heard that they attemptd  
 to seize and boarded his majesty's ship Chesterfield,  
 capt. Barton, off cape Palmas. Has heard, but  
 does not know, that they attacked trading shallops  
 and boats, murdered the crew, and plundered the  
 goods on board them: and such actions may in  
 some instances be the probable cause of the caution  
 stated, when they came on board our ships. Brings  
 P. 540. the journal of his second voyage. The evidence of  
 his first voyage was from memory, having lost his  
 journal.

- Continued second mate till the ship arrived at  
 Dominique, and came home chief mate; the second  
 voyage he was second mate, and came home chief  
 mate from Jamaica. His duty, as second mate, was  
 P. 541. in the hold, when provisions and water were to be  
 served, or goods wanted for trade; on every other  
 occasion he deemed his duty on deck and in the  
 boats necessary. In the middle passage to serve out  
 provisions and attend on the quarter deck and round-  
 house when the slaves were messing. The necessary  
 duty consists in overhauling the rigging, going on  
 shore according to the captain's directions, and any  
 other requisite duty. When sent a-shore it was his  
 duty to bring on board fire-wood, and any thing else  
 that was wanted. Had been sent to Fernandipo as  
 officer of the boat to buy yams and eddoes. Never  
 bought slaves, it not being the mate's duty, but the  
 P. 542. captain's, at Del Rey and Calabar. Never slept on  
 shore in Africa. Was never absent from the ship  
 more than 8 or 9 days at a time, when he trusted  
 himself

himself with the natives; and gained his information 1790.  
relating to the slave trade from the traders, who all Part II.  
speak English. }

On the different parts of the windward coast, P. 543.

where he had been, he landed with equal safety as at St. Kitt's and Dominique. The surf does sometimes run very high on the windward coast, and the sea, in some places, breaks at some distance from the shore; but he always went on shore without meeting with any accident to the people or boat; and was there, he thinks, from 16 days to 3 weeks each voyage; not in the rainy season. He anchored at a distance, and went on shore in a small boat on account of the surf. Had they had any bulky articles to take into the large boat they could have effected it in the same manner as at Dominique and St. Kitt's, which is by anchoring near the shore, and having 2 skids from the boats stern to the shore, which is the way of taking off sugars where there is a surf. Where they were on the windward coast they could not have landed always, but believes they could have landed as often as not; and they observe the same precautions in landing at St. Kitt's and Dominique as upon the windward coast. At Dominique he has been in Roseau bay; and at St. Kitt's Basseterre. These ports are at the leeward of the island, but he had frequently known the sea breeze blow very strong in both these ports, so as to do mischief, and make landing difficult. The trade wind generally blows from E.N.E to E.S.E. and continues from April to July, at times in each of those months. When goods were to be shipped on the windward coast he never anchored in the large boat above 50 fathoms off shore; and used the same precautions at Dominique, about 30 feet distance, because he had bulky articles to take in. Saw the same precautions used at St. Kitt's, and could have gone as near between cape Mesurado and cape Three Points.

P. 544.

P. 545.

P. 546.

The

1790. The ivory bought on the windward coast, was all  
 Part II. small; he bought each voyage about 5 tons of  
 rice on the windward coast, which was got in from  
 16 days to about 3 weeks. Another ship, in  
 company both voyages, bought about as much.

The rice is sometimes wet with salt water, when  
 brought in the little canoe. Believes oftner dry.

P. 547. It is reddish, and is a very hearty food.

Thinks exercise necessary for the slaves health,  
 in the middle passage.

He never knew the slaves complain of being cold  
 in the ship he belonged to, which had grating, but  
 no air-ports. Has often met with African ships  
 without air-ports, but since he left the trade has  
 seen more with air-ports coming to the West-Indies  
 than without.

P. 549. Most of those who died on board the Neptune  
 were able seamen, had no landsmen on board in  
 one voyage, but the cooper, armourer, and car-  
 penter's mate; and never an apprentice, but 2  
 boys each voyage. Thinks the Venus lost all her  
 officers the first voyage, except the chief mate and  
 captain. At Annabona some cocoa nuts and cas-  
 sada flour were all the refreshments they got. He  
 saw some live stock, plantains and bananas brought  
 along-side his ship; the captain bought some of  
 them for the cabin, but the sick slaves had no  
 refreshments of that sort. In that voyage they  
 had a dysentery, so that the captain was afraid to  
 give them plantaines and bananas; and they had  
 no room on deck for fowl-coops, nor any where,  
 except in one of the small boats, coops might  
 have been lashed on the ship's quarters, but were  
 not.

P. 550. It is very high land at Fernandipo, and much  
 rain falls there in the rainy sea. The yams are  
 much better than at Calabar, he thinks from the  
 difference of the soil, and the people of Fernan-  
 dipo, not having any slave trade, give all their  
 attention to cultivation.

At

At Fernandipo in his 2d voyage, a boat of the 1790. Venus, Smith, which had been sent there for yams Part II. from Calabar, enticed a canoe to come along-side with about 10 men in her; as soon as she got very near, the men fired into her from the ship's boat, on which they jumped over-board; some of them were wounded, one was taken out of the water, and died in less than an hour in the boat; 2 others were taken up unhurt, and carried to Calabar to the ship. Captain Smith was angry at the officer, and sent another officer in the boat to land the two men in the bay, whence they were taken. Immediately after the boat had brought off these two persons, the witness went into the bay in their own long-boat, and sending on shore two men to fill water, they were surrounded by the natives, who drove three spears into one of the men, and wounded the other with a large stick, in consequence of taking away the two men just mentioned. Knows of no other instance. It was said P. 551. they had disputed with the people on shore when trading with them for yams, but they had not done any of the boat's crew any injury.

Never was more than 2 miles from the ship; except in the long boat to Farnandipo. When he spoke of 15 leagues up the river, said the ship lay at anchor thereabouts.

He never saw any slaves in the country of Del Rey and Calabar, except the women and canoe-men. First entered into the West-India trade, as P. 552. commander of a vessel from London in 1780; between 1777 and 1780, was on board the Tartar privateer. As to the property acquired on board a private ship of war being a traffic founded in blood, does not think himself competent to speak to it. The Tartar carried 34 guns, 230 men; he was first lieutenant.

Knows the surf to be less at Woodbridge's bay, P. 544. than at Roseau, and has heard that to be the general

1790. place where all Guineamen in particular bring up  
 Part II. on their arrival, and where they take on board their  
 homeward-bound cargo. The large boats come to  
 anchor at some distance from the shore at Basseterre,  
 P. 555. St. Kitt's, which is open to the south. Has not  
 seen much sugar taken off from St. Kitt's. Docs  
 not know Half-moon bay.

Is not competent to speak of the treatment of the  
 slaves in West-Indies: wishes to decline it: has often  
 heard that the surf at Basseterre is often so high as  
 to prevent the boats from taking off sugar for days  
 together.

When he saw the *Benson* in the West-Indies, he  
 heard that she had lost 31 persons.

Has seen the slaves in Africa eating with their  
 masters.

Disputes were the causes he generally heard assigned  
 for the natives of Africa detaining the officers and  
 crews of ships' boats, and requiring a ransom and  
 retaliation.

Rutter told him, that the king of the Old Town  
 gave his daughter for a wife to the chief trader of the  
 New Town, but the two king's brothers said she was  
 a favorite woman.

P. 558. Capt. Smith was particularly attentive to the sick  
 sailors and slaves. He remembered an instance of a  
 woman being bought, with her child about six weeks  
 old; the child was very cross from sickness, and  
 made much noise at night. The boatswain wished  
 much to throw it overboard, and solicited the captain  
 for permission to do it, alledging it would not live,  
 and, if it did, would fetch nothing; which requests  
 the captain received with horror and detestation.

P. 559. It was always necessary for the person to have a cat  
 who attended the slaves, in messing, and taking their  
 exercise; they sometimes received a few strokes when  
 they refused: he attended by the captain's order, but  
 used the cat at his discretion.

Remembers

Remembers at Dominique they could not land with either of the ship's boats for 48 hours. 1790. Part II.

One of the captains at Calabar did not combine with the people of New Calabar, to surprize the Old Town people; but knows not the captain's or ship's name.

Knew a slave jump overboard in the river Del Rey, and another in Antigua.


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Witness examined — ISAAC WILSON,

Surgeon in his Majesty's navy, made 1 voyage to Africa, in the Elizabeth of 370 tons, John Smith, from London, sailed 10th May, 1788, and returned 6th Dec. 1789, the crew and slaves were as well treated as in any other ship; took on board 602 slaves, who were all confined, and crowded between decks at night, during the voyage; (a few women excepted) when brought on board, a gloomy pensiveness seemed to over cast their countenance, and continued in a great many. They lost in the voyage 155 slaves, of whom there were, in his opinion, two-thirds; the primary cause of whose death might be deemed melancholy; the symptoms of their disorders generally the same, and he does not recollect ever to have cured any of them: Another reason for believing that their deaths might be ascribed to melancholy from their situation was, that some taken ill, who had not the melancholy, took medicines with very good effect. He heard them say, in their language, that they wished to die, and was told by captain Smith, the mortality of the slaves, was owing to their thinking so much of their situation. The flux prevailed in their ship, which he conceived in a great measure owing to the same cause, and to their refusing sustenance, by which they became debilitated, but the slaves had no other very fatal disorder. Has heard the slaves complain of heat; the ill effects which

1790. resulted from this, and their confinement, was weak-  
 Part II. ness, and fainting; which he believed had been the  
 cause of the death of slaves, having seen some die a  
 few minutes after being brought up, which proceeded  
 from corrupted air, and heat, jointly. Has seen them  
 go down apparently quite well at night, and found  
 P. 564. dead in the morning. They had an hospital, but  
 the sick slaves lay on the bare planks, which by the  
 motion of the vessel, often caused excoriations from  
 the prominent parts of the body. The loss of men  
 was greater than that of women. The men were  
 generally kept in irons, the sickly excepted. Thinks  
 this trade could not be pursued safely, if the men were  
 not in general in irons. They attempted to rise on  
 them at Bonny; a few of them jumped over-board,  
 and were picked up. The slaves on being brought  
 P. 565. on deck, are placed close to each other, 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  
 hook, in which situation they are compelled to dance  
 by the cat often. It is very common for the slaves to  
 refuse sustenance; with such, gentle means are used,  
 but if without success, the cat is generally applied:  
 Slaves appeared much crowded below. He generally  
 took off his shoes before going down, and was very  
 cautious how he walked, lest he should tread on them.  
 Three vessels belonging to the same house as their's,  
 failed to the coast for slaves — Elizabeth, Wallis, and  
 the Favourite, Bamfield, both of London; and the  
 Elizabeth, Marshall. The Elizabeth, Wallis, the first  
 P. 566. voyage bought about 450 slaves, and buried above 200  
 before her arrival in the river Plate, as he was told by  
 the Commissioner of the Royal Phillippine Company  
 of Spain. The Favourite bought 466 in Africa; her  
 mortality 73, and delivery 393 in the river Plate, as  
 he was told by her chief mate and surgeon. The  
 Elizabeth, Marshall, bought 546; mortality 158;  
 delivery 388, as told by Mr. Duffin. There were 2  
 or 3 in captain Marshall's ship in the small pox, when  
 she



she arrived in the river Plate; and after delivery of the 1790.  
 cargoes of the 3 ships, 220 slaves died by this disorder, Part II.  
 which he knows, by being appointed, with the Spanish   
 surgeon, to take care of the negroes on shore. His  
 ship's company were 55 in all; of which they lost 18, P. 567.  
 viz. 16 by sickness, and 2 drowned. Of the crew of  
 the Elizabeth, Marshall, he was told by the surgeon,  
 the mortality was 27, (a woman found means to get  
 rope-yarn, the night preceding, which she tied to the  
 head of the armourer's vice, then in the woman's  
 room; she fastened it round her neck, and in the  
 morning was found dead, whence it appeared, she must  
 have used great exertions to accomplish her end. A  
 young woman also hanged herself, by tying rope-yarn  
 to a batten, near her usual sleeping place, and slipping  
 off the platform; the next morning she was found  
 warm, and he used the proper means for her recovery,  
 but in vain. Among many cases where force was  
 necessary to oblige the slaves to take food, he would  
 relate that of a young man, who, he conceived,  
 starved himself; he had not been very long on board  
 before he perceived him get thin; they found he had  
 not taken his food, and refused taking any; mild  
 means were used to divert him from his resolution;  
 they endeavoured to make him understand that he  
 should have any thing he wished for; but he still  
 refused to eat; they then used the cat with as little  
 success; he always kept his teeth so fast, that it was  
 impossible to get any thing down; they endeavoured  
 to introduce a *speculum oris*; but the points were too  
 obtuse to enter; and next tried a bolus knife without  
 effect. In this state he was 4 or 5 days, when he  
 was brought up as dead, to be thrown overboard;  
 but he, agreeable to his general express directions,  
 was called and used endeavours to recover him,  
 tho' in vain; two days afterwards he was brought  
 up in the same state as before; he then seemed to  
 wish to get up, they assisted him and brought him ast  
 to the fire place, when in a feeble voice, in his own  
 tongue

1790. tongue, he asked for water, which was given him,  
 Part II. and he drank; they began to have hopes of dissuading  
 him, but he again shut his teeth as fast as ever, and  
 resolved to die, which on the 9th day from his per-  
 ceivable refusal, he did: has known slaves jump  
 P. 569. overboard, he believes to drown themselves; could  
 relate two instances in their own ship; the first, when  
 off Annabona, a slave on the sick list, jumped over-  
 board, and was picked up by the natives; the  
 second, when at sea; the captain and officers, at  
 dinner, heard the alarm of a slave being overboard,  
 and perceived him making every exertion 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: the ship is fitted  
 up in a way to prevent such attempts, by high  
 nettings round the quarter-deck, main deck and  
 poop. A man who came on board apparently well,  
 shortly after looked melancholy; a certain wildness  
 appeared in his countenance; he began to eat his  
 food voraciously, and sometimes as if insensible what  
 it was, at other times refused it entirely; at length  
 he became noisy, and called out, "armourer," who  
 generally took the slaves out of irons when necessary;  
 he at length died insane.

An instance on board, induced him to believe  
 they were as affectionate as most other people. At  
 P. 670. Bonny, one of the people called Breeches, of the  
 higher class, was brought on board. He seemed to  
 take his situation to heart, and got ill; but from  
 indulgencies, which none of the rest had, he partly  
 recovered. When he was convalescent, a young  
 woman, was also brought on board, who proved to  
 be his sister. On their first meeting, they stood in  
 silence, and looked at each other apparently with  
 the greatest affection;—they rushed into each others  
 arms—embraced—separated themselves again—and

again embraced. The witness perceived the tears to run down the females cheeks. The man had a return of his former complaint, and his sister attended him with the greatest care: the first thing she did of a morning, was to come to the witness, and ask how her brother did.—He at length died—on the news of which, the sister wept bitterly, tore her hair, and shewed other signs of distraction. They carried her safe to South America, and there delivered her.

They generally found more females than males for sale on the coast, and the males he believed sold at the highest price. There were 80 slaves sick and on recovery, when they arrived in the river Plate.

He quitted the trade because it did not perfectly coincide with his ideas, and being obliged to use means for the preservation of the cargo contrary to his feelings, which was the frequent use of the cat to oblige them to take their food; and even in the act of chastisement he has seen the slaves look up at him with a smile, and, in their own language, say, “presently we shall be no more.” There never was a man of greater feelings, of more humanity, or who paid more attention to the preservation of the slaves for the sake of his employers, &c. than the capt. of their ship. He never allowed any one to chastise the slaves except himself and the surgeon. Has been told by the surgeon of the Elizabeth, Marshall, that while they lay at the island of St. Thomas, the Hero, Withers, was there, and had lost 159 slaves of the small pox. In the river Bonny he was on board a Spanish vessel, under American colours, the St. Antonio. The captain had buried the surgeon, and all the officers (the boatswain excepted) and most of the crew, he himself was taken ill, and begged the witness might attend him. He did so, but he died going over the bar; by which means a Spanish gentleman (supercargo of their ship) went down to this vessel: finding Spanish papers on board, he put officers in her from their vessel, and the two others which were there

1790.  
Part II.

P. 571.

1790. there in the same employ. Before the death of capt. Daniel, of the St. Antonio, he told the witness he came from Carthagena in North America, went into some port in Holland with the cargo, got goods there to buy slaves in Africa, and carry them to Carthagena or some other Spanish settlement. This information he desired him to give the Spanish gentleman. Believes, for her size, the said Spanish vessel suffered more loss than any English vessel he ever knew. They bought the slaves at Bonny, which being an island, he believes they were brought from the inland country. Had three in the Elizabeth in the medical line. He was head surgeon; is 25 years of age.

P. 574. Never took any on board, but what were apparently in good health; and believes two or more males died to one female. The slaves oft complained of heat, and he was induced to believe they were dissatisfied with their situation, from their refusing food and endeavouring to kill themselves. Recollects something of the ship being very near on shore in going out of harbour; believes they were one day in that situation, and the men slaves were kept below, but the women were on deck at intervals he believes, and that their health was visibly affected, while they were kept below by the distress of the ship. Believes fixed melancholy to be one cause of the loss of slaves; the symptoms, lowness of spirits and despondency: refusing nourishment encreases them, the stomach gets weak, fluxes ensue, and, from debilitated state, soon carry them off.

P. 575. The ship hoisted Spanish colours after they left Africa, and were someway to the south of the line. He understood Messrs. Firmin de Tasset and Co. were the owners, and believes they were British subjects. The ship came home under English colours, which he believes were hoisted shortly after they left the river Plate. Believes the two ships in company with them were bound to Cadiz. After it was set-

belonged

tled that he should go with capt. Smith, he understood they were to sail to Africa to take in slaves, and deliver them to commissioners of the Philippine Company of Spain at Montevideo on the river Plate. They had a Spanish supercargo, surgeon, boatswain, and mate in their ship. The slaves attempting to rise, was a reason for keeping a stricter guard over them than they otherwise should have done. Their ship had proper gratings and air-ports, though the negroes complained of heat. He also heard the negroes complain of cold, and desire the air-ports to be shut, when they got near the mouth of the river Plate. They sometimes stationed a white man at night in the men's room. Has not heard melancholic habit ascribed by medical men as a cause of dysentery. Believes the melancholy of the slaves was the reason of their not eating, they became weak, and incapable of digesting their food; the consequences were belly-ach, and a dysentery generally ensued. Debility is often the cause of indigestion. This is his opinion. Melancholy or grief has been held by physicians to produce a costive habit. The dysentery in their ship, he believes, was in some measure contagious. Debility of stomach increases the melancholy: are obliged to give medicines, which their weak state is scarcely able to bear. Melancholy, therefore, the remote cause of dysentery.

1790.  
Part II.

P. 579.

AFRICA. - Witness ex<sup>d</sup>. ALEX FALCONBRIDGE

Is a Surgeon, has been four voyages to Africa, in 3 of them to West Indies, from 1780 or 1781 to 1787, first in the Tartar, Frazer, second and fourth Emilia, Frazer, third Alexander, Mc Taggart, was taken in first voyage at C Mount, in the 2d went to windward and Grain Coast, in 3d and 4th to Bight of Benin, supposes Slave Trade chiefly

P. 581.

P. 582.

F f supplied

1790. supplied by kidnapping and crimes; believes so  
 Part II. because on second voyage at C. Mount, a man was  
 brought on board well known to Frazer and his  
 officers, by name of Cape Mount-Jack, then spoke  
 a little English, was very tractable and learned  
 more. He said he was invited one evening to  
 drink with his neighbours. When about to de-  
 part, two of them got up to seize him; would have  
 escaped, but was stopped by a large dog; said this  
 was a common practice in his country; told his  
 story often, (607) never varied. From his beha-  
 viour thinks his veracity might be relied on; was  
 entrusted by witnesses with various articles, of which  
 he lost none, also by the sailors. Has seen several  
 dogs, large enough to hold a man at Cape  
 Mount, on Windward Coast. Tucker has 1 or 2  
 mastiffs. Africans there will always give a good  
 price for such dogs; (606) has seen many small  
 ones at Bonny not large enough to hold a man:  
 (ibid) was told by Cape-Mount-Jack this was a  
 common practice. (607)

P. 583. In 3d voyage at Bonny, a woman was brought  
 on board big with child; asked her by the inter-  
 preter how she came to be sold; said that return-  
 ing from a visit was seized, passed through several  
 hands before brought on board. Same voyage an  
 elderly man brought on board said, (thro' inter-  
 preter) that he and his son planting yams were  
 seized by professed kidnappers, by which he means  
 persons who make kidnapping their constant  
 practice. (604) (605)

On last voyage at Bonny, saw a canoe come  
 along side belonging to Blundell Foubre, a trader;  
 saw no slaves in the canoe; two traders on board  
 handed up a fine stout fellow, desired he might be  
 put in irons, which was directly done, and he was  
 paid for: witness enquiring why he was sold, he  
 said that he came to Bonny to the Trader's house,  
 who asked if he had ever seen a ship? replying

no; the Trader said he would treat him with the fight, and he was sold; was induced to be the more curious about this man, from his appearing amazed when brought on deck. Cannot tell whether Frazer knew the man was thus trepanned, but he was paid for on board the ship. (625)

Capt. Gould of the Alert, told witness he had taken a man from little C. Mount. He was turned out of the brig Alert, perhaps for this.

On last voyage landing some slaves at Grenada, one, when on shore, conversed with a Black called Liverpool, captain of a sloop. Witness asking the subject of conversation, he said the slave knew his parents in Africa, and told him that being concerned in kidnapping some neighbours, their friends had kidnapped him, or caused it to be done, said this was a common practice in his country: thinks he can depend on the authenticity of these instances. Neither the slaves nor himself had any interest in misrepresentation. Does not immediately recollect any others within his own knowledge; has heard an hundred other accounts.

In the second voyage, two black traders came in a canoe, and informed the Captain there was trade a little lower down. The Captain went there and finding no trade, said he would not be made a fool, and detained one of the canoe-men. In about two hours a very fine man was brought on board and sold, and the canoe-man was released. Was informed by a Black pilot that this man had committed no crime, but was surrounded and seized on the beach, and brought on board.

Is induced to think the people on the Grain Coast are sometimes carried off by the Europeans. They shew great suspicion when in ships, always stand as near the gangway as they can, and on the least alarm jump overboard.

1790. Thinks crimes are falsely imputed for the sake  
 Part II. of selling the accused. On the 2d voyage at R.

Ambris, among the slaves brought on board was  
 P. 585. one who had the *craw-craw*, a kind of itch. Was  
 told by one of the sailors, that this man was fishing  
 in the river; a king's officer called Mambooka,  
 wanted brandy and other goods in the boat, but  
 having no slave to buy them with, accused this  
 man with extortion in the sale of his fish, and after  
 some kind of trial on the beach, condemned him  
 to be sold. Was told this by the boat's crew who  
 were ashore when it happened, who told it as of  
 their own knowledge, (618)

In last voyage was assured by the Rev. Mr.  
 Philip Quackoo, chaplain to C. Egaitcaute, the  
 greatest number of slaves were made by kid-  
 napping.

Has heard that the great men dress up and em-  
 ploy women to entice young men, that they may  
 be convicted of adultery and sold.

Children were brought to the vessel to be sold  
 almost every day. Never recollects their parents  
 coming with them, or relations known to be such.

Does not believe many slaves are prisoners of  
 war, as we understand the word *war*. In Africa  
 a piratical expedition for making slaves is termed  
 P. 586. *war*. Blundell Foubres before mentioned, at  
 Bonny said white men went to war like fools when  
 they knew their enemies were prepared. They  
 went in the night, set fire to the town, and caught  
 the people as they fled from the flames. This  
 Trader said this practice was very common. 608

Does not recollect ever seeing a slave with a  
 fresh wound, has seen their wrists and arms exco-  
 viated by the country ropes they were tied with.

Has never heard of slaves being bred in Africa  
 for sale.

Believes violent means are used by Europeans to  
 force trade for slaves. Heard the Captain of a  
 Bristol



Bristol ship lay at Bonny when his traders were 1790. slack, he fired a gun into or over the town, to Part II. freshen their way. Capt. Vickers told this to him and other people of the ship. Has seen no instance of it himself (609)

Few guns kept in Africa for show; has seen great numbers lying in a heap with other goods; always understood they were for trade, particularly at Bonny. Many black people said these ordinary trade guns kill more out of the butt than the muzzle.

Five to ten slaves, more or less generally bought P. 587. every day, greatest numbers come from fairs. Large canoes, some having a 3 or 4 pounder lashed on their bows, go to the up-country, in 8 or 10 days return with great numbers of slaves; heard once to the amount of 1200. The ship that has been longest in the river has first choice, and generally sails in a few days. People in these canoes have generally cutlasses; a quantity of musquets is always in the canoes, cannot tell for what use.

Slaves examined generally by the surgeon. All he has seen appear dejected when brought on board. P. 588. Some are so the whole voyage, others till they die. Has known several refuse sustenance with a design to starve themselves; compulsion used in every ship he has been in to induce slaves to take their food. Has known many instances of their refusing to take medicines when sick, because they wish to die. A woman on board the Alexander, was dejected, taken ill of a dysentery, and refused both food and medicine. Being asked by the interpreter what she wanted, she replied, nothing but to die—and she did die. Many other slaves expressed the same.

A great mistake in his evidence before the Privy Council respecting the tonnage of the ship he sail'd in, being there stated twice the real size, were as near as he can guess, from 200 to 250 tons. On second

1790. second voyage purchased about 300 slaves, and  
 Part II. lost between 30 and 40. In the Alexander, pur-  
 chased 380, lost 105: In last voyage, purchased  
 P. 589. about 420, and lost 51 or 52.

When employed in stowing slaves made the most of the room and wedged them in, they had not so much room as a man in his coffin either in length or breadth impossible for them to turn or shift with any degree of ease, had often occasion to go from one side of their rooms to the other always took off his shoes, but could not avoid pinching them; has the marks on his feet where they bit and scratched him. In every voyage when the ship was full they complained of heat and want of air. Confinement in this situation so injurious that has known them go down apparently in good health at night and found dead in the morning: On last voyage opened a stout man who so died, found the contents of the thorax and abdomen healthy, concludes he died for want of fresh air; thinks it possible he might have died of an apoplexy, but thinks that was not the case in this instance. (610) (626)

The surgeon goes below the first thing every morning, was never among them 10 minutes, but his shirt was wet as if dipt in water. The Alexander coming out of Bonny, got a-ground on the bar, was detained there 6 or 7 days, with a great swell and heavy rain; air ports obliged to be shut and part of gratings on weather-side covered; almost all the men slaves taken ill with the flux;  
 P. 590. last time he went down so hot, he took off his shirt, more than 20 had fainted or were fainting, got several hauled on deck, 2 or 3 died, and most of the rest, before they reached the W. Indies; was down about 15 minutes, and made so ill that could not get up without help, was taken of a dysentery and disabled from doing duty the rest of the passage.

A place in every ship for sick slaves, no accommodations for them, lie on the bare planks, has 1790. Part II. seen frequently the prominent part of the bones of the emaciated about shoulder blade and knees, bare. If plaister or bandage applied they generally remove them.

Most prevalent disorders in Negro-ships are fevers and dysenteries; consequences of numbers being ill of the latter extremely noxious; cannot conceive any situation so dreadful and disgusting. In the Alexander, deck was covered with blood and mucus, resembled a slaughter-house; the stench and foul air were intolerable, from being down a short time in the Alexander is persuaded a night's confinement in that situation would have destroyed him (630) thinks as the tradesmen stand many of these inconveniencies cannot be prevented.

Never could recover a slave from a bad dysentery, thinks it cannot be done while the cause remains, has known some few slaves recover who seemed not to reflect much on their situation. Applies this observation to ship-board (625) principal causes, a diseased mind, sudden transitions from heat to cold, a putrid atmosphere, wallowing in their own excrement, and being shackled together; men die in twice the number of women, who are not shackled, believes no man would attempt to carry them without shackling. Slaves shackled together frequently quarrel; believes in all slave ships: In each apartment are 3 or 4 tubs, slaves at a distance find it difficult to get over other slaves to them; sometimes if one wants, his companion refuses to go; if relaxed, one exonerates, while disputing over their neighbours, this causes great disturbance. In the Alexander, has known 2 or 3 instances of a dead and living slave found in the morning shackled together.

On last voyage purchased 18 male negroes, who were part of a cargo which had rose on the whites, killed

1790. killed all but 3 or 4, ran the ship on shore; most  
 Part II. were taken again. Has heard of insurrections on  
 ~~~~~ board the Vulture of Liverpool, and the Wasp of  
 Bristol.

Slave ships are fitted up with a view to prevent  
 slaves jumping over-board, particularly at Bonny  
 these precautions there necessary.

Has known instances of slaves jumping over-  
 board. In the Alexander one forced his way  
 thro' the netting when brought on board, and was  
 drowned or devoured by the sharks. Same voy-  
 age, near 20 jumped overboard out of the Enter-  
 prize, Wilson, as did a number out of a large  
 Frenchman; remembers missing a sick man in the  
 Alexander, whom he saw over-night, must have  
 got over-board. On last voyage, a fine young  
 woman brought on board, cried continually, re-  
 fused her food, and wasted much in 3 or 4 days,  
 was sent on shore to Bonny for her recovery, soon  
 became chearful, but hearing she was to be sent  
 P. 593. again on board ship, hung herself, as was informed  
 by Billy Frazer. (She had not the venereal dis-  
 ease, would have known it if she had, 611)

On first voyage, saw at Bonny, on board the  
 Emilia, a woman chained on deck, who the chief  
 mate said was mad. On second voyage, had a  
 woman on board whom they were forced to chain  
 at certain times, in a lucid interval, was sold at  
 Jamaica. Ascribes this insanity to their being  
 torn from their connections and their country.

While on the coast, the irons of male slaves  
 examined as they come up in the morning, a  
 large chain is reeved through a ring on the shack-  
 les of each, thro' ringbolts on deck and locked.

They are made to jump in their irons; this  
 called dancing by slave-dealers, has been often  
 P. 594. desired in every ship to flog such as would not  
 jump; had generally a cat in his hand among the  
 women?

women; the chief mate had also, he believes, a cat among the men. 1790. Part II.

Being asked if in case of ships striking or blowing up, slaves could be disengaged from fetters so as to swim on shore; says every man looks first to his own safety. On second voyage, a ship under imperial colours, Capt. Bell, was blown up off river Galenas. Was informed by people of Galenas and cape Mount, most of men slaves were drowned; had one woman on board their ship who had saved herself by swimming, but much burnt; believes others were saved: Was informed the ship was English.

Horse-beans and rice principal food of slaves on Windward and Gold Coast, at Bonny one meal of yams a day, sometimes a little bread and beef.

In the first part of middle passage each slave is allowed a pint and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of water daily, on approaching the islands as much as they chuse; has frequently known slaves call out for water in the night, owing to the heat of the rooms. P. 595.

Has heard slaves sing on board, the subjects always lamentations for loss of country and friends.

Had refused slaves in every voyage, most in the Alexander, 16 sold by auction, 1 or 2 as low as 5 dollars each; was informed by some of the purchasers that they all died before they sailed.

The slaves in the Emilia and Alexander were sold by scramble. The Emilia was darkened by sails, and covered round; men slaves placed on main deck, women on quarter deck. Purchasers on shore were informed by a gun when sale was opened. A great number with cards or tallies in their hands, inscribed with their names, came on board and rushed thro' the barricado door with the ferocity of brutes; some had 3 or 4 handkerchiefs tied together to encircle those they thought fit for their purpose. At Grenada the women

1790. were so terrified that several got out of the yard  
Part II. and ran about the town as if mad.

In the second voyage, saw a scramble on board the Trial, Macdonald, 40 or 50 slaves leaped into the sea, believes were all taken up again.

Were not divided in lots, but placed promiscuously; the purchasers put cards or tallies about the necks of those they chuse. The separation of parents from children, &c. very little attended to.— Frazer, however always advised the planters never to part relations or friends. No precautions used in the scramble to prevent it: slaves used to beg that such a friend or relation might be bought and sent with them.

Has heard of a person's refusing to purchase a man's wife, and was next day informed the man had hanged himself.

P. 597. Did not always meet with a ready market for slaves, particularly last voyage; stopt some time at Barbadoes, went thence to Tobago; no demand there; thence to Grenada, and sold them on the Merchant's own terms for bills at very long dates. Bill for his own privilege (the slaves allowed the officers by the owners) was at 12 months.

Was on shore on all the W. India islands he was at, except Tobago; used to think the general treatment of slaves very cruel. Saw a man in a goal at Jamaica, who had been so severely flogged as to have a sack of straw between his back and the board he lay on; the lacerations were shocking; did not inquire whether it was in consequence of a legal sentence, or by his master's order. Was told by the black gaol-keeper that the slaves he saw in prison were runaways. (612) Saw great numbers of slaves at Grenada; hardly ever saw one whose back had not scars. They often complained to him (particularly the wharfingers) of being hard worked and poorly fed.

Seamen

Seamen in the African Slave Trade are treated with the greatest barbarity. Have no lodging at all except in frigate-built ships, in which they may creep under the fore-castle or aft-deck. There is a tarpauling over the booms; always preferred being in the rain to getting under it, on account of the noxious effluvia which continually rises thro' the gratings. 1797. Part II.

As soon as the slaves were sold, the seamen received half that was due to them in currency. P. 598.

In Frazer's ship they were well treated, allowed a dram in the morning, and grog in the evening; had victuals from his table when sick: he always inquired after them daily, allowed surgeon to give them wine when proper. Believes Frazer one of the best men in the trade. Saw very different treatment in another ship. Sailors were knocked with the first thing that came to hand, for trifling or imaginary faults; were tied up and flogged with the cat frequently. The boatswain a quiet inoffensive old man, having some words with the mate was severely beat, had one or two teeth knocked out, said he would jump overboard, was tied to the rail of quarter-deck, and a pump-bolt put in his mouth as a gag; being untied was put under the aft-deck and a centinel placed over him all night; released next morning. Same voyage a black boy beat every day; once after being beaten jumped thro' a cabin gun-port into the river, was picked up by a canoe; witness gave him a shirt, asked him if he did not expect to be devoured by the sharks; said he did, but that it was better to be killed at once than to be so cruelly treated daily. Same voyage a man beaten severely, never heard the cause. Heard one Sullivan a seaman grumbling, asked what he muttered about having been never ill used in the ship, Replied, "If I am not, I cannot bear to see my ship-mates so cruelly used." Same night the man who had been beaten

1790. and 10 others ran away in a long-boat, and  
 Part II, intended going to Old Calabar, got into the wrong  
 river, were seized and stripped by the natives, and  
 P. 599. marched to Old Calabar; was informed that 2 or  
 3 died on the march, the remainder went on board  
 the Lyon, Burrows: Had this information from  
 one of them named Sermon, whom he saw in  
 Bristol infirmary. The treatment was the same  
 during the whole voyage, Captain did not go  
 again in this ship or any other that he has heard  
 of; does not know that he was dismissed. (612)  
 Made another since with Frazer whose behaviour  
 was as before described. Every man in the Alex-  
 ander was beat except himself, the chief mate and  
 Sullivan. Has mentioned the barbarous treatment  
 of sailors on board that ship to Mr. Frazer, and  
 many others in Bristol, and to Mr. Norris of  
 Liverpool.

On last voyage to Bonny, was told by the King  
 and black men on shore, that the steward of the  
 Vulture then in the river, had been cruelly treated,  
 chained in a boat along side the ship, and found  
 dead in the morning; has had this account con-  
 firmed by two sailors named Ormond and Murray,  
 at Liverpool, both belonging to the Vulture.

P. 600. In the second voyage had 42 or 43 persons alto-  
 gether on board, buried 3. In the Alexander had  
 50 and buried 9. In the last, had 44 or 45, and  
 buried 3. - Is an inaccuracy in his evidence in the  
 Privy Council Report relative to the loss of  
 seamen.

In last voyage stopt at Mesurado, and assail'd,  
 came on board, and said most of their crew were  
 dead. Does not recollect the ship's name; was  
 told she belonged to Mr. Barber.

Was a pupil 12 months in the Bristol Infirmary,  
 a great many seamen were brought there; greatest  
 number of the diseased were Guinea seamen, the  
 others were generally for accidents. The Guinea  
 seamen



seamen generally went out better than they came in, but thinks their health so far destroyed as never to be perfectly restored. 1790. Part II.

The productions observed on the coast of Africa were cotton, wax, ivory, gold, a variety of woods, different kinds of spices, wild cinnamon, all the Tropical fruits, the best rice in the world, tobacco, and many other articles. The largest quantity of unmanufactured cotton he saw on the coast was about 4 or 5 pounds. (614)

Rice is cultivated all over the country, has seen it with his glass, plantations of rice on very high ground, particularly at Cape Mount. P. 601.

In second voyage saw the people at work on a plantation belonging to a black man called Tucker, at Manna, between Cape Mount and the river Galenas. Never saw or heard of a driver there, they seemed to work with great willingness and seeming satisfaction. These were all men, (605) never saw women at work in Africa out of doors (ibid.) This the only plantation he was on in Africa. (606) Tucker was born at Sherbro', spoke exceeding good English. (606)

In same voyage purchased about 40 or 50 tons of rice at Junk. This the largest quantity he saw; believes might have loaded the ship at Junk and Cape Mesurado; the natives of those places said they had plenty, does not speak with precision as to the quantity, has no journal to produce of the ship's transactions. (619) Never heard of any being lost in the surf; believes it was not at a time when the surf was very high; it was the rainy season; has landed at Cape Coast in a canoe belonging to the Castle 3 puncheons of goods and a hog-head of tobacco; lost no bulky articles in attempting to land them; thinks he has seen as great a surf at St. Christopher's as he ever did on the coast of Africa. (614.) (619.)

Has

1790. Has bought several pieces of cotton cloth made  
 Part II. by the natives at river Galenas and Bonny, (608)  
 the cotton grew in the country, has some dyed by  
 the natives with a beautiful and permanent blue.  
 Never saw the indigo or cotton grow in Africa, not  
 having been far up the country. (608)

Has seen many trinkets made in metal by the  
 Africans on the coast; has been surpris'd to see  
 some of the work in iron, particularly spears and  
 cutlasses. Is convinced their capacities are equal  
 to those of Europeans.

P. 603. The natives of Windward and Gold Coast much  
 better tempered than those of Bonny; their dispo-  
 sitions very good. Was landed sick at St. Thomas's,  
 and would have died, but for the care of a black  
 man there, to whom when better he offered money  
 —which he refused, saying, he had done no more  
 than his duty.

The Africans in general attached to their native  
 country; are as much attached to their near rela-  
 tions as the natives of other countries.

At Cape Coast Castle, on chusing 18 slaves he  
 objected to one who was meagre, observed him to  
 weep, which he endeavoured to conceal, on inqui-  
 ry found it was because he was to be parted from  
 his brother, this induced witness to take him.

Is persuaded the natives would work if proper-  
 ly encouraged by Europeans (613) they have no-  
 tions of performing contracts in a given time. The  
 rice before mentioned was contracted for, and he  
 thinks, part of the money paid, it was ready at the  
 time, natives appear to have a turn for conducting  
 trade. Believes, some of the natives now employ-  
 ed in the slave trade, if that were abolished would  
 cultivate the soil. Billy Frazer before mentioned,  
 said at Bonny when they had no trade they were  
 forced to plant yams.

Thinks the females more prolific than those of  
 other countries; out of 4 or 5 deliveries on ship-  
 board two had twins. Never

Never saw any person in Africa when by their 1790. treatment he knew to be slaves; has been told by Part II. the persons themselves they were slaves.

As to the cause of quitting his employment as surgeon of a Guinea-man, answered, that in his 1st and 2nd voyages reflected little on the justice of the trade. On the last reflected more, and the more he did the more he was convinced that it is an unnatural, iniquitous and villainous trade, and could not reconcile it to his conscience.

Could have continued his employment he believes with Captain Frazer, was afterwards solicited repeatedly to go to the gold coast by Captain Thomson. If Clarkson applied for employment for him at Liverpool, it was without his knowledge (613)

Was on the shore many times at Augola, saw P. 608. numbers of people at the river Ambris with beads and crucifixes about their necks, they appeared to be Roman Catholics; Mangova one of the King's Officers told him they were priests in the Country.

Always understood ships cannot begin to trade P. 609. without leave of the King, thinks if King refused, that firing a gun into or over the town would force a trade; dashes are given to keep the King in temper, trade might be carried on by English and French without the King's consent if they chose at all times in their power to batter his town about his ears in Bonny River.

Slaves at Bonny purchased with iron bars, brandy, india and manchester cotton, cloths, guns, gunpowder, brass pans, beads, and other articles. Never saw or heard of gold dust at Bonny.

If stated otherwise in report of Privy Council, their mistake and not his. Gold an article of exchange on gold coast.

The care and cleanliness of negroes generally at- P. 610. tended to by the mates. In Frazer's ships mates always caused the slaves rooms to be washed and dried

**Part II.** dried with fire pans. In many ships this not permitted; but they scrape the filth off the deck: used **1790.** to attend to the cleanliness of the negroes, has often washed them with a sponge and warm water from head to foot. Believes the mate is responsible for the cleanliness of the men. The surgeon and his mate for that of the women. The case thus divided in the ships he was in. In the Alexander having a flux himself during the whole middle passage, cannot say how the slaves were managed. From the number who had the flux on that voyage, the apartments very disagreeable, the discharge being involuntary, impossible to keep them comfortable. Believes the apartments generally kept as clean as the nature of the disorder permits, unless as often happens greatest parts of the whites are ill.

**P. 611.** Conjectures some slaves come from a distance, all he has talked to by means of interpreters said were stolen; does not recollect any confessed they were sold for crimes, apprehends if criminals were not purchased by the ships they would be set to work in their own country.

**P. 613.** Europeans have always power to get what they please done by holding out their commodities. Blacks at Bonny always wooded and watered the ships on being paid. Thinks the manners of the Africans may be changed by means of trade with this country. Is going to try the experiment.

**P. 614.** Does not understand Portuguese. Traders at St. Thomas's all speak English enough to be understood, conversed with the men who took notice of him there in corrupt English. Has been on board a French African ship at Bonny, officers said a good quantity of wine given to the slaves every day, when on board English ships, but not enough.

Offered voluntarily to give the Rev. Mr. Clarkson, at Bristol, all assistance and information in his power. Knows not that Mr. C. has any church preferment,

preferment, has employed himself in gaining in- 1790.  
 formation about the slave trade, went with him Part II.  
 from Bristol to Liverpool in (1787) or (1788)           
 believes his travelling expences were paid by the P. 616.  
 committe in London, is out of pocket, spent more  
 than he received, was at Liverpool 8 or 9 weeks,  
 returned from thence to Bristol. Has since gene-  
 rally resided with his father in Bristol, to whom is  
 considerably in-debt. His emoluments when he  
 quitted the trade nearly the same as when he en-  
 tered into it, Captain Thompson in 1787 offered  
 him any thing in reason to go with him.

Cannot converse in the African languages ; the P. 617.  
 knowledge he has obtained of their laws and cus-  
 toms, has been from persons employed in the ship  
 as interpreters, watermen, or pilots : At Bonny  
 talked with the King, Blundel Foubre, a prin-  
 cipal trader, down to the canoe boys. On wind-  
 ward coast has talked with some of the first men.  
 As Tucker and Robin Gray, King of cape Mount,  
 but not on the manner of making slaves, they not  
 troubling themselves on that head. Never pro-  
 fessed to know the history of the windward coast ;  
 believes the natives are little acquainted with any  
 thing out of their own towns : Has been often on  
 shore on the windward coast. Believes the King  
 at Bonny never does any thing of consequence  
 without consulting the parliament men ; knows P. 619.  
 not how far their power extends ; believes a book  
 which was produced is Capt. Frazer's journal or  
 trade book. Cannot speak with certainty as to  
 the quantity of the rice, or the time in which it  
 was shipped ; was always on board the ship while  
 the rice was taking in. There was no apparent  
 difficulty in getting this quantity (630) thinks the  
 time agreed was 6 weeks, if wrong, not so inten-  
 tionally. Rice was brought along-side in a canoe  
 in baskets ; has seen small quantities brought on  
 board in boxes or old liquor-cases : Never weigh-

1790. ed a basket. When Frazer made the agreement  
 Part II. with Jose Will, heard the word tons mentioned  
 several times; knows not whether 20 hundred  
 weight was meant, understood it so, but does not  
 pretend to be accurate, speaks from conjecture,  
 (see 631)

Extract from Capt. Frazer's journal, by which  
 it appears that from Sept. 19 to Oct. 15, 1783,  
 Jose Will, King Will and Jos. West had several  
 articles, to pay 240 baskets of rice in 40 days, and  
 left a girl as security. Tom Wilson had fundries,  
 P. 622. to pay 120 baskets rice, left one of his people as  
 pawn. Jose Campbell had fundries, to pay 45  
 baskets rice, left a boy in pawn. Robin Campbell  
 had fundries, to pay 140 crews rice, left a man in  
 pawn. Robin Gray had fundries, to pay 120  
 crews rice. Sold fundries in barter for about 60  
 P. 623. cwt. rice and other articles; total 405 baskets,  
 260 crews, and 60 cwt. rice, and that from No. 5  
 to 10. Received all the rice, &c. and discharged  
 the pawns; but Frazer, put down all the rice he  
 bought at Junk-witness to purchase rice at dif-  
 ferent places on the grain coast, of which he be-  
 lieves no account was taken. (631)

Does not recollect that the rice was damaged in  
 its passage from the shore to the ship, or by the  
 surf. Believes it was often wetted by the rain,  
 which is violent at times.

Believes Allan and Campbell were Guinea-fac-  
 tors, who sold the slaves in Jamaica, in the voy-  
 age of 1783 and 4. An account of sales exhibited  
 signed by those gentlemen, and inserted page 637,  
 638, 639, and 640.

Never saw at any one time on the coast in Africa  
 a sufficient quantity of rice, cotton or indigo to  
 load a vessel of 200 tons; but does not know what  
 there may be inland; was scarce a mile from the  
 sea. Remembers to have slept a-shore at Bonny  
 once or twice.

Never

Never knew Frazer refuse any likely good female slaves; knows little of the African laws; understood from the natives that kidnapping was an avowed practice, i. e. a very common practice. Believes all the captains on the trade would purchase slaves, knowing them to be kidnapped. 1790. Part II. P. 625.

Has been at Grenada and Jamaica, and touched at St. Christopher's, but was not on shore, standing off and on at St. Kitt's, saw as he thought a great surf, boats seemed to have some difficulty in getting thro' it; thinks he has seen the surf on the windward coast of Africa as high as that in the road of Basseterre. P. 626. P. 627.

Never a slave flogged in the British Islands; saw one who had been severely flogged; did not enquire by whose authority it was done.

Never saw a soldier flogged, has seen a sailor; never heard of a soldier dying in consequence of flogging. Has been informed slaves are flogged on the back in Grenada. P. 628.

Is going to induce the Africans to cultivate their country, and raise such articles as will sell in this country in exchange for our manufactures—the plan not yet entirely settled—has no fortune—expects to be paid by his employers. The Committee for the abolition of the Slave Trade not concerned; two or three members are subscribers. P. 629.

Slaves so crowded in all his voyages as not to have more room to lie on than a man in his coffin, told the privy council that the ship on the second voyage was not much crowded because they had not the same number as in the last.

Has not heard that the Europeans go up the country to the places from whence the slaves are brought, their information on the manner in which slaves are made is from the black traders and purchased negroes. Has every reason to believe from the concurrent testimony of others that the practice of firing villages for the purpose of making slaves does really exist. P. 630. H h 2

1790. On board the *Alexander* the black cook having  
 Part II. one day broken a plate had a fish-gig darted at him,  
 which would have destroyed him if he had not  
 P. 631. stooped or dropped down. The carpenter's mate  
 having let his pitch-pot catch fire, he and the cook  
 were both tied up, shipp'd and flogg'd, the cook  
 with greatest severity, and had salt water and  
 Cayenne pepper rubbed on his back. A man who  
 came on board in a convalescent state, being fe-  
 verely beaten for he knows not what cause, asked  
 the witness for something to rub his back with,  
 was ordered by the captain not to give him any  
 thing; the man went and lay under the fore-castle;  
 visited him often when he complained of his  
 bruises; had a return of his flux, and died in 3  
 weeks from the time he was beaten; his last words  
 P. 632. were, "I cannot punish him (the captain) but  
 God will"—The boiling over of the pitch pot at-  
 tended with danger, was the fault of the carpen-  
 ter's mate, not of the cook, who deserved no pu-  
 nishment for it.

Attends by desire of the committee for the abo-  
 lition of slave trade, it is at their option to give him  
 any thing or not, but having attended on their bu-  
 sines<sup>1</sup> expects to have his expences paid.

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Witness examined—Captain AMBROSE LACE.

P. 633. Has been in the African trade; was at Old  
 Calabar, in 1767, captain of the *Edgar*. Nine  
 English ships were then there, all in the African  
 Trade. To end a dispute which had subsisted some  
 time between the people of the Old and New Town,  
 both parties agreed to meet on ship-board.

When first there, in 1748, there were no inhabi-  
 tants at Old Town. Some time after disputes arose  
 between those now called Old Town people and New  
 Town people.

Were



1790. Were not invited on board insidiously, to be made  
 Part II. slaves. The chief people of Old Town came on  
 board the Edgar; the duke (chief man of Old  
 Town) was to have met them. Came on board at  
 P. 634. half past 7 in the morning. About 8 witness was  
 going to breakfast with a man calling himself king  
 of Old Town, 4 of whose large canoes were along  
 side; cannot tell where the others were; was just  
 pouring out coffee when he heard a firing; king said  
 Imo, a brother of his, was firing. Went on deck  
 with the king; and was told his gunner was killed.  
 King went into his canoe, left his son with witness on  
 board. Firing lasted 10 or 15 minutes, but cannot  
 be certain. The canoes were then most of them  
 got a-stern of his ship, within 300 or 400 yards.  
 Had not time to make observations of the two  
 parties; wanted to defend himself; was no further  
 molested; the canoes were gone. The small arms  
 are always loaden; they were locked up; the chest  
 was broke open; key afterwards found in the gun-  
 ner's pocket. None of his people concerned in the  
 affray; no guns, great or small, or even a pistol, fired  
 P. 635. from his ship; nor, that he knows, from any other.

The king killed no one on board his ship, nor was  
 the king, that he knows, on board any other. No  
 slaves were made on the occasion.

Went to Old Calabar the beginning of July, sailed  
 first week in December; cannot exactly state when  
 this happened.

Never heard the English entered into this business  
 with an improper view; they reaped no benefit from  
 it; it was against the trade. Knows of no consul-  
 tation of the English captains about this difference.

Never stopt to windward but twice. Rice crews  
 hold from 2 to 3 gallons; differ in different parts of  
 the coast; largest he saw three gallons.

Breakfasted with the Rev. Mr. Clarkson and  
 P. 636. Mr. Rathbone at Mr. Chaffers's, Liverpool. Mr.  
 Clarkson

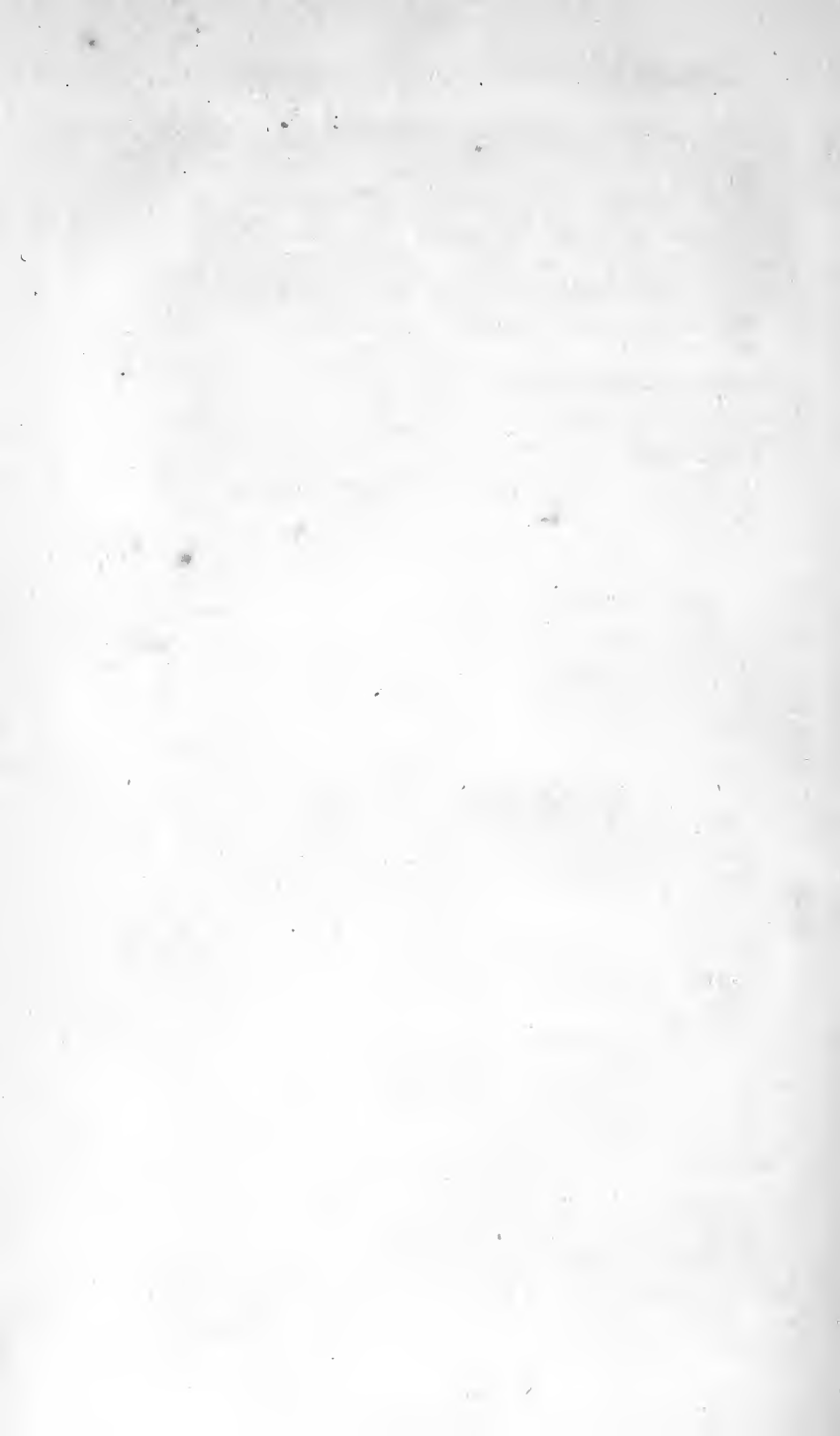
Clarkson asked him some questions about the produce of Africa. The Calabar business was mentioned. Told Mr. Chaffers (who asked him) he could not tell how many blacks were killed that day; that his ship was fired into, his gunner killed, and that he did not know whether they did not mean to sacrifice him. Gave no advice to any of the captains. at that time. 1790. Part II.

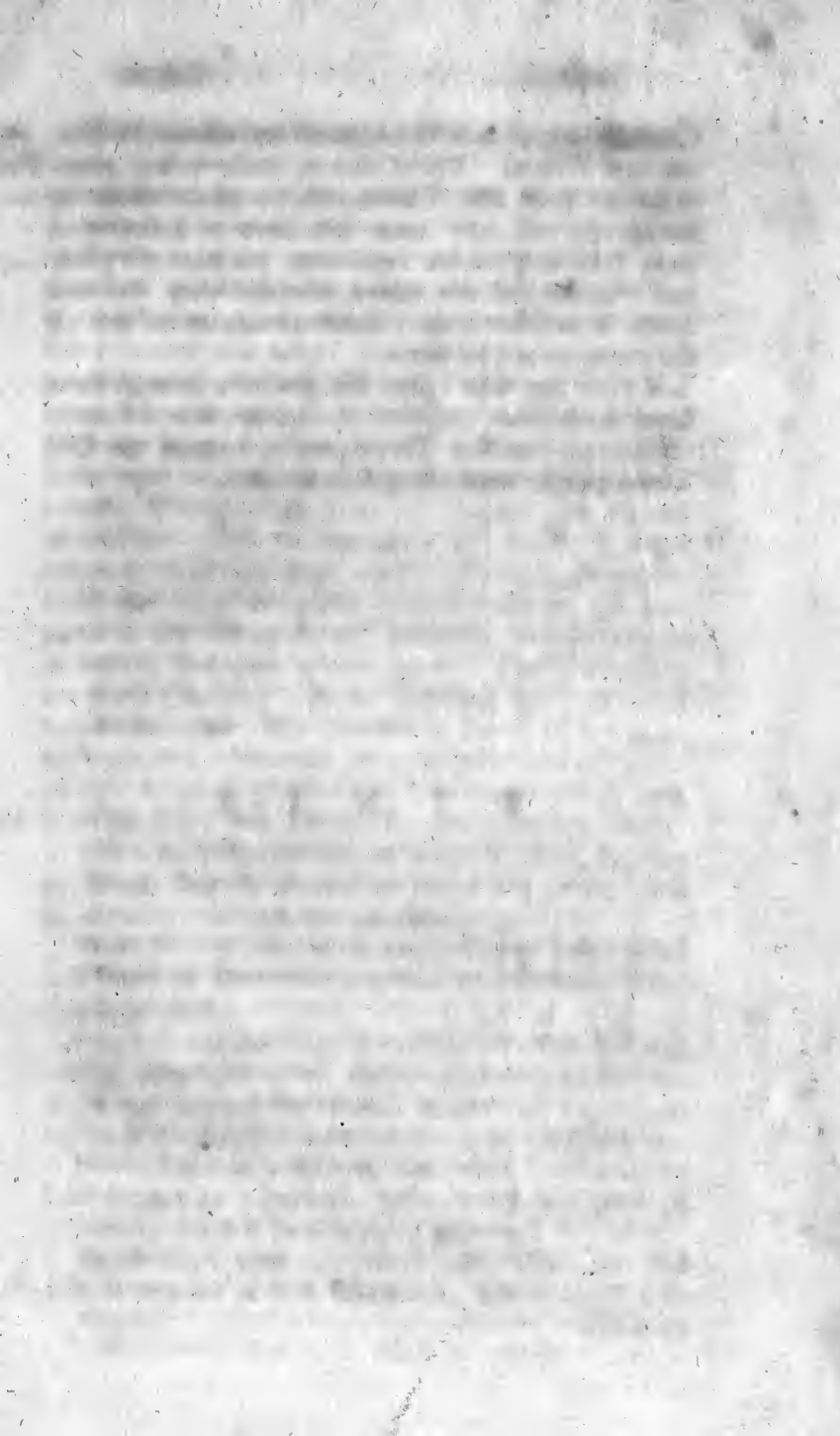
Knows not who killed his gunner; it must have been done from some of the canoes at a distance: thinks from the New Town people, because the Old Town people were along side his ship.

F I N I S.

Clarkson asked him some questions about the pro-  
 duce of Africa. The Calabar business was men-  
 tioned. Told Mr. Charters (who asked him) he  
 could not tell how many blacks were killed that  
 day; that his ship was fired into, his gunner killed,  
 and that he did not know whether they did not  
 mean to sacrifice him. Gave no advice to any of  
 the captains at that time.  
 Knows not who killed his gunner; it must have  
 been done from some of the canoes at a distance;  
 thinks from the New Town people, because the Old  
 Town people were along side his ship.

F I N I S.





My dear friend  
I have just received from  
the sale of Poulton  
supper money 10 1/2  
free that into your  
I know you will  
be very glad to  
hear of it

Religion page 19 - 62 110

Laborer out in work - proof they get  
work is done by laborer

Pay for Sunday work page 16  
Flour page 119 - Pay - 52 page

Miscellaneous - 52 110

Flour page 119 - 112  
Flour page 112 - 112

Comparative Labor page 174  
177, 180, 182, 182, 194

Spain page 172, 173  
Liquor is more preferable than

Food for children 10 years old  
Task page 180

Provision ground 180  
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N. 2 page 101 & 102 - Mortality of negroes 182  
Clubs of partition out as if slave trade

