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Vol. 3-4



GIVEN BY

Miss Mary Estlin



Number III.

A B R I D G M E N T

OF THE

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE,

* 586.71

TAKEN BEFORE A

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COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE,

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TO WHOM IT WAS REFERRED TO CONSIDER OF THE

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

1790.

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Miss Mary Estlin,

Aug. 7, 1899.

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No. 3-4

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A B R I D G M E N T

OF THE

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE,

TAKEN BEFORE A

SELECT 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.

N U M B E R III.

Witness examined—Captain WILSON.

Was between five and six months in Africa, be- 1790.
tween Cape Blanco and the River Gambia, in 1783 Part II.
and 1784, as commander of the ship Racehorse, and
resided chiefly at Goree, where he learnt how slaves P. 3.
were generally procured for the trade, as matter of P. 4.
publick notoriety, from frequent conversations with
many respectable inhabitants, themselves traders in
slaves, (p. 13.) who spoke the French, English, and
negro languages; and who were frequently at his
table.

Slaves are principally procured for the slave-trade
by intestine wars; kings breaking up villages; crimes,
or imputed crimes; and kidnapping.

Villages are broken up by the king's troops sur-
rounding them in the night, and seizing such of the
Numb. 3. A inhabitants

1790. inhabitants as suit their purpose. This practice most
Part II. common when there is no war with another state.

It is universally acknowledged, and he firmly be-
P. 5. lieves, that free persons are sold for real or imputed
crimes, for the benefit of their judges.

Soon after his arrival at Goree, the king of Damel
sent a free man to him for sale, and was to have the
price himself. A king's guard being asked whether
the man was guilty of the crime imputed to him,
answered, that was of no consequence, or ever in-
quired into. Captain W. returned the man.

P. 6. Kidnapping was acknowledged by all he conversed
with to be generally prevalent. It is the first prin-
ciple of the natives, the principle of self-preserva-
tion, (p. 17.) who never go unarmed while a slave-
vessel is on the coast; and on being asked the reason,
alledge their fears. A courier of Captain Lacy, his
predecessor, though a Moor, a Mussulman, a free man,
a native of Senegal, spoke the French language
fluently, and had dispatches in his pocket on his
P. 7. Britannick Majesty's service, (for particulars see the
Minutes) was kidnapped, sold to a French vessel,
and his release with difficulty obtained by the wit-
ness. The French captain endangered the man's
life by his inhumanity.

P. 8. Never heard of slaves being bred for sale.

Never heard of the practice of eating human flesh
in Africa, and is morally certain that it did not exist
on the part of the coast where he was.

Was informed, that the governments near Goree
were absolute, but more or less so according to the
strength of the princes. King's dues seem to be
P. 9. very regularly collected in every village: they were
always paid by the ship commanded by witness, and
he doubts not are required from others. Has heard
that when payment has been refused, boats and men
have been seized, (p. 17.)

Fully believes Africans to be equal to Europeans
in capacity. They have various manufactures,
chiefly for home consumption. They make cotton
cloths

cloths beautifully fine, under every want of machinery; also very curious ornaments of gold, and weapons, and tools of iron, which their experience makes them prefer to those sent from hence, which are made for them. On this account, unmanufactured iron is preferred by them in their barter with us. They have several manufactures in cane and leather. They supplied the ships and Goree with every thing they could raise, produce, or with safety catch, and entirely found them with provisions. Perceived no indisposition to labour or commerce in the Africans.

According to his experience, the Africans are grateful and affectionate. They treated him most kindly when many miles up their country, and unprotected, and numbers shed tears on his departure.

The natives dare not explore Africa during the continuance of the slave-trade, which subjects them to the risk of being kidnapped.

Has boarded slave-ships when a midshipman—the stench intolerable—such a stench proceeded from two (he believes French) which anchored to windward of his ship, that he ordered them to leeward for fear of infection, and also ordered that no part of their crews should be suffered to board her.

Believes the slave-ships are not a source of supply to the Royal navy. He never would recruit his ship from them, even when short of his compliment, to which he attributes not having lost a man while on the coast, out of a crew of about 100. The Guinea sailors, who offered themselves to him, besides their cadaverous looks, were the most filthy vagabonds he ever saw. Rather than take into his ship seven men who were wrecked in a Guinea-man, he fed them on shore, and sent them home in some transports.

When he presided in a court at Goree, a Maraboo swore, with an energy which evinced the truth of his evidence, that his brother, another Maraboo, had been kidnapped in the act of drinking, sacred by their religion, at the instigation of a former governor,

1790. nor, who had taken a dislike to him: and two or
 Part II. more slaves being offered for his release, declared
 that he would not liberate him for any consideration.
 This was a matter notorious at Goree.

The natives would enter a king's ship on her arrival off any part of the coast, and traverse her with as much ease and confidence as if they had been on shore, but he never saw a canoe board a slave-ship, and concludes this arose from the reasonable fears of the Africans.

P. 14. The slaves employed by the Africans live with their masters, and are so treated as scarcely to be distinguishable from them.

Guinea sailors frequently applied to be taken by witness, and do not seem attached to their ships as in other trades.

P. 15. Has been in most of the West India islands, in 1762, 1781, and 1782. The new-imported slaves appeared dejected, and very different from those in Africa. The country slaves appeared more dejected, and bore stronger marks of slavery than the town slaves, many of whom (the domestic ones) were fat and saucy. A great proportion of the slaves were indelibly marked with the lash. Has seen runaways working in clogs and pothooks. Has relieved negroes placed by the road-side, in the most abject state, and from inquiries on the spot, fully believes, that, being unfit for labour, they are turned off by their masters to subsist on charity. It was generally understood, that where planters resided, the slaves were better treated than when under overseers. Heard from respectable merchants at Kingston, that importing slaves was preferable to breeding them, but does not know the general opinion of the resident planters. So far from the slaves appearing as happy as the lower orders in Britain, &c. he never saw any signs of happiness among the imported slaves, except at their funerals, when they shew extravagant joy from a persuasion that the deceased is escaped from slavery

to his native country. In Africa their funerals are attended with the most mournful cries. 1790. Part II.

Has been great part of his life in America, and always thought the slaves better treated and clothed, more domestic and happy, marriages among them more frequent, and fewer imported in proportion than in the West India islands.

Has seen some branded with letters, which he thought were not made in Africa, but these were not common.

Has long entertained a most decided opinion against the justice and humanity of the slave-trade.

In 1762 he was a midshipman, in 1781, 1782, a first lieutenant in the navy. Never resided on shore or lodged on a sugar-plantation, but made his observations wherever he occasionally visited. Was frequently on shore at several plantations in 1781, 1782, where he was a few days at Antigua, and five or six months at Jamaica. P. 17. P. 18.

Witness examined—WADSTROM.


Mr. Wadstrom is a native of Sweden, and the Chief Director of the Assay Office there. Was in Africa near 3 months, in 1787, 1788, (p. 37) with Dr. Spaarman, engaged by the King of Sweden to make discoveries. The department allotted to witness was mineralogy, antiquities, and what regards the state of man. They had the protection of the Senegal Company, obtained through the French minister, at the request of the Swedish Ambassador, as appears from letters produced. P. 18. P. 19. P. 20.

Witness visited the coast from Senegal almost to Gambia, those parts being then in the hands of the French. Was on shore at different times several days, and once or twice seven or eight days, and was up the river Joal. He made it his business to obtain information, and could always converse with the natives P. 21.

1790. natives by means of the English, French, and Dutch
 Part II. languages, which are generally spoken by the chief
 negroes. He offered to produce a journal kept at
 P. 22. the time, in which the facts he should deliver in
 evidence were noted down.

He thinks he knows perfectly how slaves are obtained, between Senegal and Gambia, viz. by the general pillage, robbery by individuals, stratagem, or deceit.

The general pillage is executed by the king's troops, armed and on horseback, who seize the unwary. Parties were sent out for this purpose by king Barbeffin almost every day during the week. He was at Joal, accompanying one of those embassies, which the French Governor used to send every year, with presents to the black kings, to keep up the commerce. It is customary for the king to make a return for these presents, by a gift of slaves; and though unwilling to pillage, he was excited to it by means of a constant intoxication, kept up by the French and Mulattoes of the embassy, who generally agreed every morning on taking this method to effect their purpose. When sober, he always expressed a reluctance to harass his people; thought it hard that he should be obliged continually to do so; complained that the inhabitants of Goree, continually coming under pretence of trade, took occasion to make him insignificant presents, which he neither liked nor wished for: that they then came upon him with long accounts, debts said to be due, and pretensions without end: that the Governor of Goree living among them listened too readily to their tales and complaints, and thought little of the sufferings of the negroes; and that he must have been imposed upon to suffer his name to be used on such occasions. This speech was interpreted on the spot, and put in a journal by witness, who also heard the king hold the same language on different days, and yet he afterwards ordered the pillage to be executed. Witness has no doubt but that he also pillages in other parts
 of

of his dominions, since it is the custom of the Mu- 1790.
 latto merchants (as both they and the French officers Part II.
 declare) when they want slaves, to go to the kings, 
 and excite them to pillages, which are usually practi-
 fied in all that part of the coast.

King of Sallum practises the pillage. Witness
 saw 27 slaves from Sallum, 23 of whom were wo-
 men and children, thus taken. Was told by captains P. 25.
 and merchants that this was the usual practice.

Was told by merchants at Goree, that the king of
 Damel practises the pillage.

Robbery, in which individuals seize on each other, P. 25.
 was a general way of taking single slaves. Mentions P. 26.
 a woman whom he saw in the Captiveries, and a
 boy, who belonged to a French officer. The latter
 was taken in the interior part above Cape Rouge by
 stealth from his parents, and declared that such rob-
 beries are very frequent in his country. The former
 was taken at Rufisque, from her husband and chil-
 dren. The children are themselves articles of mer-
 chandize, if not so far from the shore as to be inca-
 pable of walking to it. Could state several instances
 of this robbery: very often saw negroes thus taken
 brought to Goree. Ganna of Dacard was a noted
 man-stealer, and employed as such by the slave
 merchants at Goree. Witness was very near being
 in danger of being taken by this man to the king of
 Damel, then at war with the French, who would
 have demanded a high ransom for his release; he
 having agreed to travel to Senegal with Ganna, but
 the great Maraboo of the village cautioned him to
 beware, and on his return to Goree, he was congrat-
 ulated on his escape by several of the inhabitants.

As instances of stratagem being a way of obtain-
 ing slaves, witness mentions a negro whom he saw
 brought from Dacard, where he was on a visit. A
 French merchant taking a fancy to him, persuaded
 the village to seize him. He was taken from his P. 27.
 wife, who wished to accompany him, but the mer-
 chant had not merchandize enough to buy both.

The

1790. The village agreed with the merchant about his price. . Witness saw him at Goree on the day of his arrival, chained, and lying on the ground, exceedingly distressed. The king of Sallum prevailed on a woman to come into his kingdom, and sell him some millet. On her arrival, he seized and sold her to a French officer, with whom witness saw this woman every day during his stay at Goree.

Was on the island of St. Louis in the Senegal, and on the Continent near the river.

All the slaves sold at Senegal are brought down the river, except those taken by the robbery of the Moors in the neighbourhood, which is sometimes conducted by large parties in what are called petty wars. These wars are promoted by presents given to the Moorish kings regularly every year by the Senegal Company, to engage them to procure as many negroes as possible, and to prevent gum-arabic from being carried to the English at Portandick. Witness heard this from the inhabitants and French officers at Senegal, and from the Moors, even in the presence of the Director of the Company.

P. 28. King Dalmanny having been brought up as a Grand Maraboo, prohibited strong liquors, and also the slave-trade, so as not even to suffer the passage of slaves through his dominions; nor would he receive some valuable presents sent by the Company, to induce him to alter his resolution. Witness was shewn the presents by the Director, on their return. The king's dominions, including both sides of the Senegal, his prohibition stopped the whole trade with Galam, and prevented the Company from receiving 800 slaves, which they had purchased there. In order to obtain their compliment of slaves they had recourse to their usual method on similar occasions, bribing the Moors, and supplying them with arms and ammunition, to seize king Dalmanny's subjects. By January 12th, 1788, when witness arrived at Senegal, 50 were taken, whom the king desired to ransom, but they were already sent to Cayenne.

Cayenne. Some were brought in every day afterwards, and put in the Company's slave-hole, in a miserable state, the greater part being very much wounded by sabres and balls. The Director conducted the witness thither, with Dr. Spaarman, whom he consulted as a medical man in their behalf. Witness particularly remembers one, lying in his blood, which flowed from a wound made by a ball in his shoulder.

1790.
Part II.
P. 30.

Mentions an instance of a slave-taker being himself taken.

Though the Company, for many reasons, seldom purchased Moors, being now pressed for slaves, to fulfill their agreement, according to their charter with Government, they took all of whatever quality. This witness heard from the Director, and immediately noted it down in his journal.

Was told by the French officers, that European ships, particularly Dutch and English, frequently carry off natives, by treachery, from the coast.

P. 31.

Was informed at Goree, by Captain Wignie, from Rochelle, who was just arrived from the Gambia, that a little before his departure from that river, three English vessels were cut off by the natives, owing to the captain of one of them, who had his cargo, being tempted by a fair wind to sail away with several of the free negroes, then drinking with the crew. Soon afterwards the wind changed, and he was driven back, seized, and killed, with all his crew, and two other vessels. Witness has by accident met with the insurer of two of these vessels, in London, who confirmed the above facts.

Witness has very often seen the merchants defraud the negroes in their dealings with them. There are many methods of deceiving the negroes in almost every article.

Thinks the negroes understandings capable of equal improvement with whites.

P. 32.

Thinks the Africans very honest and hospitable; often passed days and nights alone with them, with-


1790. out the least fear, and was treated with all civility
 Part II. and kindness; he never was deceived by them.

Is clearly convinced, that the negroes surpass such Europeans as he has known, in affection, and are capable of being soon brought into the state of society enjoyed by Europeans.

Has been surpris'd at their industry in manufacturing cotton, indigo, iron, soap, wood, pottery, leather, and other articles. They work gold so well, that witness never saw better wrought trinkets and ornaments in Europe. They manufacture cloth and leather with uncommon neatness. The latter they tan and work into saddles, sandals, and a variety of useful and ornamental articles. The former they dye blue, yellow, brown and orange. The blue is produced from indigo. The indigo grows abundantly all over the country, so as to spoil their ground for millet and rice plantations; and equal, in the opinion of merchants, &c. who have been in America, to the best in Carolina. The yellow and brown dyes are produced from vegetable productions noticed by Dr. Spaarman. Witness has in his collection, a kind of bean used in dying, and carried in quantities on camels to Morocco. The whole army of the king of Damel, is clothed in cloth dyed orange, and brown. They forge iron very dexterously, on anvils of a remarkably hard and heavy wood, when they cannot get stone for the purpose.

Witness offered to shew specimens of the productions of Africa, raw and manufactured, which he had brought with him.

P. 34. The canoes are generally made by negroes near the shore; but wood of a sufficiently close texture being seldom found there; this is brought without being hollowed, from the interior parts, being drawn by a great number of negroes (for weeks together) each village generally undertaking to drag it to the next, and receiving in return, partly European merchandize, and partly fish and salt. Salt is prepared from sea-water by the negroes. The ropes are made

of a kind of aloe, and when well made, are exceed- 1790.
ingly strong, this aloe grows abundantly on the Part II.
coast. 

The Africans have an extraordinary genius for commerce and industry, fully equal to the supply of their wants. They would extend their cultivation P. 35. and manufactures, if in some degree civilized (which it would be easy to effect, were not the slave trade the only means of commerce; and it would be greatly promoted by European settlers not going thither as at present, with the sole view of making a fortune shortly, and then returning home) and if the slave trade did not occupy the minds of the natives, who are continually incited, and the merchants to engage in it, and have no encouragement to cultivate their country.

Slaves are kept by the natives at Goree and Senegal, but scarcely any on the continent. They are very well treated, and never sold, lest there should be an insurrection among their fellow slaves. Even the French officers at Goree and Senegal, generally observe the rule of not felling them, very strictly.

The island of Goree is supplied by free negroes with provisions, from the continent.

Rice of an excellent quality, with a brownish husk, P. 35. but very white kernel, is cultivated in great quantities, south of Sallum, as far as Gambia, and especially at the River Caramansa; but there is but little north of Sallum. Witness has seen many small vessels and boats, loaded with it, for the supply not only of Goree and Senegal, but of the shipping there; has samples of it. P. 36.

Doctor Spaarman declared, he found a great part, if not the whole, of the materia medica in Africa, and drugs for various manufacturing uses.

The slave trade makes it dangerous for the negroes to pass from one part of their country to another, and is the chief hindrance to the improvement of their cultivation, since they never venture into the fields, unless very well armed.

1790. The negroes print their cotton cloths with wood-
Part II. en stamps; has patterns of cloths so printed.

He resided in all about three weeks on the continent. At Joal he was his greatest distance from the shore, about six miles. When there, he went to several villages, Dacard, Bain, &c. When on shore, he visited the interior, as far as he could in one or two days (as his time permitted) and at Dacard and Bain he was quite alone for several days, and went with the negroes five or six miles up the country. He was about a week at Senegal, and went sometimes to the continent.

P. 38. His evidence is the result of observation and information on the spot, except as to the names of the vessels and their captains, which were cut off in the Gambia; particulars which he learnt in England.

Kidnapping is not allowed by the laws in Africa, but it can scarcely be discovered by the kings, and he never heard of an instance of its being punished; if discovered it would be punished, he believes, and particularly if some European trader were present at the trial. He was present at a trial for some offence at Joal, when the king was incited to condemn by the Mulattoes of Goree, who wished to purchase the man when convicted; but the king acquitted him.

There are some slaves by birth on the coast, particularly at Sallum, but few higher up the coast; and on the continent opposite Goree, very few. The wealth of great men is not estimated from the number of slaves they possess, but at Sallum from the silver and European merchandize; and higher up the coast, from the quantity of millet, and of their cattle, camels and horses. The king of Sallum generally takes silver for his slaves, and generally kidnaps his neighbours; but higher up the coast, the kings kidnap their own subjects.

Was informed by the mulattoes at Goree, that 1200 slaves were procured at Joal, but he believes the real number is not so great. He was informed that more than 1000 slaves were procured at Senegal.

The

The manufactures specified are carried on from 1790. Senegal down to Goree. The negroes are particu- Part II. larly skilful in manufacturing iron and gold. They probably derived their art, with regard to the latter, P. 39. from the Moors, but now are themselves the artists; P. 40. witness seeing but one Moor work in that branch. They are equal to any European goldsmith in fillagree, and even other articles, as buckles, except the chafes, tongues, and anchors. The best manufacture of cotton cloths is at Sallum, which is probably chiefly owing to the goodness of the cotton, this becoming better and better lower down the coast. Witness has samples manufactured from the principal parts of the coast where he was.

The Maraboos in some parts deal in slaves, but generally not. They support themselves in the same way as other negroes.

The French excite not only petty wars, but man- P. 43. stealing, in order to obtain slaves. Witness has heard that the English and Dutch frequently do so. The English possessed the coast he visited, previously to P. 44. its belonging to the French. He never heard that the practices he has mentioned in his evidence, were newly introduced.

As far as he knows, all the fabres on the coast are P. 43. from Europe.

Except working in gold, the Moors are known for no industry, except seizing on negroes, and collecting gum arabic.

At Joal the king has a certain interest in the trade, but no particular taxes; king Damel has some taxes, but no regular system of taxation: what they receive is in cattle and millet, which they sell in great quantities at Goree.

Never heard of any instance of the king's sending out parties to enforce the payment of taxes in arrear.

At Sallum the trade in slaves is almost entirely in the hands of the king. At Sin the king has the principal

1790. principal share, but suffers his subjects to trade also.
 Part II. King Damel has no prerogative in this trade.

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 P. 44. Was told by two French captains, and French merchant, that the French Guinea ships are provided with poison, with which they may destroy their negroes, if subjected to a calm, short provisions, or contagious sickness; and captain Le Loup instanced a vessel from Brest, the commander of which was obliged to poison his slaves, in a passage of two or three months; but on reaching the Cape out of a cargo of 500.

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Witness Examined—GEORGE ROOKE.

P. 45. Was at Goree from May 6th to August 16th, 1779.

Never saw the pillage executed by the king of Damel on his villages, or wounded people brought from thence; he always understood that when he wanted slaves for sale, he made war to procure them, and does not know whether this war was of the nature of a marauding expedition or not.

P. 46. He knew that kidnapping took place in the neighbourhood of Goree. It was spoken of as a common practice. It was reckoned disgraceful there, but cannot speak as to the opinion on the continent. As instances of kidnapping, he remembers two or three negroes being brought to Goree, but he could not discover by whom. At their request he immediately sent them back.

P. 46, 47, 48. It was proposed to him by three captains of English slave ships lying under the fort of Goree to kidnap 100 or 150 men, women, and children, the king of Damel's subjects, (some of whom were Maraboos) who came to Goree in consequence of the friendly intercourse between him and Damel. He refused, and was much shocked by the proposition. They said

said such things had been done by a former governor, 1790. but the chief Maraboo at Rufisque did not recollect any such event. Part II.

As to the natives being fraudulently taken off, P. 46. recollects being informed by a Maraboo, that four or five of the king of Damel's subjects were on board a merchant ship. He had them brought on shore, and sent to the king. The captain said in excuse, that they came on board drunk, and that he meant to send them ashore.

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Witness examined—ROBERT NORRIS, Esq.

Says, that the evidence delivered by him before P. 50. the Privy Council (in their Report to the House of Commons) is, he thinks, to the best of his recollection, a correct account of the information he then gave: cannot speak with precision, but supposes that the printed account of the evidence delivered by him at the bar of the House of Commons, on the Bill for regulating the transportation of Slaves, is a correct statement of the information he then gave.

Had several interviews with the Rev. Mr. Clarkson at Liverpool, latter part of 1787, who expressing a wish to have the slave trade abolished, told him of some part of his plan; which was, to encourage by bounties a trade with Africa for its natural produce; and to subject vessels in the slave-trade to a license tax, from which to defray the said bounty: also spoke of making a settlement on the coast, and thinks that he (Mr. Norris) proposed Caramansa river, as a proper place: that slave ships should be restricted from bringing home West India produce was also a part of Mr. Clarkson's plan; of which he has now given the substance. Believes he said in reply, that confining slave-ships entirely to the slave-trade, P. 52. would give greater latitude to ships trading in African produce. Thinks he could not suppose the plan proposed

1790. proposed, could abolish the slave-trade, but encourage a trade in the productions of the country. Mr. Part II. Clarkſon appeared to have two objects, viz. to confirm his good opinion of the trade for the natural products of Africa, and to discover the abuſes in the ſlave-trade. He diſcovered an anxious ſolicitude to effect the abolition of the ſlave-trade, but Mr. N. could not conceive that he could accompliſh it, and it was not an immediate but a gradual abolition which he underſtood him as aiming at; for he recollects, that he (Mr. C.) wiſhed him to get a particular friend (Mr. Falconbridge) recommended to the command of a ſlave ſhip.

Underſtood abolition of the ſlave-trade to be the avowed object of Mr. C. but by a gradual operation. Really does not recollect what he then thought the propoſitions from that gentleman would effect; preſumes he thought they tended to a gradual abolition. P. 53. He gave his opinion of them at the time to Mr. C. who is, he dares ſay, more able than himſelf, at this diſtance of time, to recollect what he ſtated his impreſſions to be; but as well as he recollects, it was, that they tended to a gradual abolition; and he gave him every information that he poſſeſſed frankly on this ſubject, Mr. C. will, he dares ſay, do him the juſtice to ſay, he heard him with temper; and though he could not think an immediate abolition practicable or politick, yet he withheld no advice on the ſubject from him.

He did expreſs his concurrence with Mr. C. in his object as ſtated of gradual abolition, and ſtill entertains the ſame opinion, that the ſlave-trade will gradually come to the abolition he wiſhed for.

As to the propoſitions above alluded to, believes he ſuggeſted one of them himſelf, and the others he thought conducive to the end propoſed.

He could approve of no abolition of the ſlave-trade that was not compatible with the ſituation of the Weſt India iſlands; and when the neceſſities of planters there no longer required the aid of labourers from

from Africa, he has always reckoned that the trade will cease of itself. 1790. Part II.

Is not casuist enough to decide on the merits or demerits of the slave trade on any other ground, than that of political and commercial necessity.

Previous to the period referred to, he had formed his own private opinion; which was, that the subjects of that trade are in general more happily situated in the colonies, than at home; and when conducted with propriety, thinks it consistent with his notions of humanity: conceived the necessities of the West India islands ought to prescribe the continuance of the slave-trade; for, he considered slavery as a condition of mankind in every age, and in every country; and whilst the necessities of the West India islands require a supply of African slaves (convinced that their state there, is in general as happy as it was at home) and whilst those necessities exist, he does not discover that the cause of humanity is violated by continuing that trade. P. 54.

Did not think the necessities of the West Indies should prescribe the extent to which the slave trade should be carried on, as well as the continuance of it; for, whilst the colonies of other states require a similar supply (which they would endeavour to get for themselves) as a commercial man he considers we should relinquish an important share of our commerce, were we to regulate it by the necessities of the British colonies alone. Declares, he does not recollect whether any thing passed in his intercourse with Mr. C. at Liverpool, about preventing our ships from supplying settlements of foreign powers with slaves; but if there did, is persuaded that Mr. C. can inform the Committee, but so far as his memory serves, believes they had no conversation on that point.

Really does not recollect, whether Mr. C. made at the time, any minutes of what passed in the conversation.

Numb. 3.

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1790. As to the necessities of the colonies for slaves, pre-  
 Part II. sumes his opinion then was the same as now; that the  
 islands want a supply of 10 or 12,000 annually, and  
 P. 55. as to the time such supply may be wanted, it was then  
 as impossible for him to define it as now. As to the  
 slave trade being carried on for the purpose only of  
 keeping up the slaves then in the islands, he cannot  
 recollect his opinion, in a conversation that he has  
 almost entirely forgotten; but it is his opinion, that  
 along with what is wanted to keep up the stock, an  
 additional strength of labourers is requisite to extend  
 the cultivation of the islands.

Was informed by Mr. C. that he had been at Bris-  
 tol, to collect what he could, relative to the abuses  
 said to have been committed in the slave-trade, with  
 a view of bringing those officers and masters to justice  
 who had treated their seamen harshly.

Understood the object of his journey was, to re-  
 dress the injuries said to be sustained by individuals,  
 and gave him credit for the attempt; but does not  
 recollect his mentioning any other object of his in-  
 quiry there than to discover what violences had been  
 committed by the officers against the seamen.

Understood he had the same object in view at  
 Liverpool, together with his plan for an establish-  
 ment in Africa, and gradual abolition of the slave-  
 trade.

P. 56. Conceived the redress of the injuries suffered by  
 seamen, to be his immediate object, the other parts  
 of his plan he conceived to be a more distant con-  
 sideration, as they could not be effected immediately.

Is not competent to answer what was his main  
 object.

The conversation before alluded to with Mr. C.  
 was at Liverpool in 1787, probably at his own house.  
 Was not before acquainted with Mr. C. had seen his  
 book on the Commerce of the Human Species. Mr.  
 C. was introduced to him by a Mr. Rathbone, a  
 merchant, as desirous of some information respecting  
 the African slave-trade, in which he (Mr. N.) had  
 been



been long engaged: he replied that he would give 1790.  
him what information he knew, and shew him a ma- Part II.  
nuscript respecting Africa.

Does not recollect if it was then mentioned that P. 57.  
Mr. C. was pursuing the object of an abolition of the  
trade. Believes there was then no mention made of  
the Society instituted in London for that purpose, ei-  
ther by Mr. Rathbone or any other of the party.  
Does not recollect, whether the interview, in which  
the propositions for the gradual abolition of the  
slave-trade were discussed, was by appointment or  
not.

As to being supposed, from what he said before,  
to concur with Mr. C. in his design and wish for the  
abolition of the slave-trade, or only to declare his  
opinion that the propositions if adopted would tend  
to that effect. Says, that Mr. C. being introduced  
to him by a friend whom he respected, he wished to  
treat him with courtesy. He found him strongly  
impressed with the accomplishing of a particular  
object. Courtesy to a stranger induced him to ac-  
quiesce in, rather than discuss the merits of the ques-  
tion, and it was his opinion that the propositions if  
adopted, would tend to that effect. At that time he  
had no idea of ever seeing Mr. C. again, nor could he  
interest himself either in the abolition of the slave-  
trade, or the emancipation of the negroes in the  
West Indies, which was also one of his propositions;  
but the redress of abuses of seamen was an object that  
he desired as earnestly as Mr. C.

He acquiesced as well from complaisance to a P. 58.  
stranger, as from a conviction which he still enter-  
tains, that a day will come when the slave-trade will  
cease. Could not but approve of Mr. C's. philan-  
thropy, though he doubts of the policy of reducing  
his principles to practice; if he was to point at any  
thing reprehensible in Mr. C's. conduct, it is the  
abusing a private conversation, in the manner he  
suspects he has done, by making him stand here to  
sustain an examination upon it nearly three years  
after

1791. after it passed; he little expected ever to have heard  
Part II. any future mention of it.

Could not but condemn the measure if carried on with precipitation, as ruinous to the commerce of this country, and to the cultivation of the islands; but at same time courtesy to a stranger, whom he never expected to see again, prevented him from debating the merits or demerits of the measure.

P. 59. As to whether he understood Mr. C's. object to be precipitate and immediate, or gradual abolition, does not recollect the whole of his object; their conversations on the subject were much too short for a full explanation of so important a measure; but believes a gradual abolition, to be precipitated by his plan, was one object of his inquiries at Liverpool: he gave Mr. C's. heart full credit for the philanthropic measure which he pursued, without weighing (in his opinion) the political and commercial inconveniences annexed to it; and civility to a stranger induced him to acquiesce in the measure, rather than condemn it. Does not recollect that he used any arguments with Mr. C. to dissuade him from pursuing his object of gradual abolition, for he found him to cherish it so warmly, that any attempt would have been fruitless.

Cannot recollect when Mr. C. left Liverpool, nor after what interval he was appointed delegate, which was in his absence, and without his knowledge.— From his first seeing Mr. C. to his appearing before the Privy Council, might perhaps be six months.

P. 60. Does not recollect the particular abuses in the conduct of the slave trade, the correction of which Mr. C. had in view, except as before intimated, too much severity said to be practised by the officers, and also the regulation of the price of slops, and the custom of paying half the wages in the currency of the West Indies. He gave him all the information on that head that he possessed. Differed from him  
in

in opinion as to the frequency of ill treatment. Mr. 1790.  
 C. quoted more instances than had ever come within Part II.  
 his knowledge. Never heard of many instances in  
 15 years experience. Some he has known.

Thinks one single instance would justify Mr C's.  
 endeavours: conceives wanton severity always merits  
 punishment; the instances he has heard of not oc-  
 curring under his own eye, he cannot judge of the  
 provocation that might occasion them; but if they  
 were, as represented, he should heartily embrace  
 Mr C's. sentiments respecting them.

Does not recollect that he gave any opinion to  
 Mr. C. as to the general practice of kidnapping in  
 Africa by natives, though he might have mentioned  
 it: for, a few months after, he stated, in his evidence  
 before the Privy Council, that he suspected it was  
 practised in some instances between the unconnected  
 tribes of the Windward Coast.

Does not recollect stating his opinion to Mr. C.  
 upon the utility of the slave-trade considered as the  
 source of supply to the marine of Great Britain;  
 but if he did, he probably coincided on that as on  
 other points to the opinions which that gentleman  
 entertained, rather than harrass his feelings, by dis-  
 puting opinions which he cherished.

The inhabitants of the vicinity of Cape Appolo-  
 nia, are subject to nearly a similarly oppressive  
 tyranny with the state of Dahomy. These are the P. 61.  
 only two arbitrary governments which he has visited;  
 the other districts of the Gold Coast have a milder  
 government.

Whether from the condition of the inhabitants of  
 Dahomy or Appolonia, any fair conclusions can be  
 drawn as to the people of Negroland in general,  
 observes, that in drawing fair conclusions, they  
 should be taken from the particular countries, and  
 not by general comparison. These two countries  
 are not a standard by which to judge of the adjoining  
 nations on the sea coast, and he knows but little  
 of the interior country.

1790. As to the weight of a basket or crue of rice on the Part II. Windward Coast,—a basket is an indefinite weight; when brought aboard in baskets, it is measured in a crue, which is about 20 lb.


Has read the entries from Capt. Frazer's journal, mentioned in the examination of Mr. Falconbridge, before the former Select Committee on the Slave Trade.—The date of the first entry is 19th Sept. of the last 10th of November. The amount of the total rice mentioned in these two entries, is not quite  $12\frac{1}{2}$  tons, not quite 6 tons of which appears to have been gotten at Junk. The daily consumption of the ship's company, and of the few negroes on board, during the period mentioned, was, he believes, not included in the quantity stated in Captain Frazer's journal.

P. 62.

Whether the abolition, for which Mr. Clarkson wished, was an abolition to be accelerated by means to be used for that purpose, and not merely a discontinuance of the trade, from the circumstance of the West India islands ceasing to want any further supply, he cannot at this distance of time take upon him to say; nor does he recollect more of it, (Mr. C's. plan) than a gradual abolition of the slave-trade, and the emancipation of the negroes now in the islands.

Might be led, from the perusal of Mr. C's. Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, and from his conversation, that he had in view the accelerating of the abolition; but, with respect to the concurrence which he has stated to have expressed, with Mr. C. in his object, he calls his conduct in all his communications with that gentleman, rather an acquiescence from deference to a stranger of his character and functions, than a concurrence with his measures.

Even had he disapproved of that object, which he supposed Mr. C. to be in pursuit of at the time, he would have suggested means which, in his own  
opinion,

opinion, conduced to the attainment of it; because 1790.  
 Mr. C. could not reasonably suppose him totally Part II.  
 ignorant of the trade which he was investigating,   
 and if he had withheld every hint or communication,  
 he would have been charged with not treating a  
 stranger, (introduced to him by a friend he respected)  
 with that civility and hospitality which he wished to  
 do, during his visit to Liverpool. Besides, one part  
 of Mr. C.'s plan met his most sincere concurrence,  
 that of redressing the abuses said to be practised to-  
 wards seamen, and he found it impossible to converse  
 with him on the one subject without being insensibly P. 63.  
 led to the other.

He found Mr. C. so zealous on the subject, that  
 his acquaintance with him would not justify his pre-  
 suming to reason with him against a system ruinous to  
 the commerce of this country, and which he thought  
 at the time he could not possibly effect. He con-  
 ceived it to be a fine spun theory of humanity, and  
 could not bring himself to think, that men and  
 measures were so powerfully combined, as he has  
 since found them, to promote his (Mr. C's.) views.

Cannot say now, that he was of opinion that any  
 of those propositions in which he concurred, and  
 which he apprehended to tend to accelerate the  
 abolition of the trade, would tend also to accelerate  
 that period at which the West India Islands would  
 cease to require any further supply of slaves. Does  
 not recollect that at that time any such consideration  
 occurred.

As to the period, he may be supposed to have  
 fixed in his mind for the abolition, when he stated  
 that such an event would gradually take place, it  
 would have been presumption in him to have fixed  
 any; for in all his conversations with Mr. C. on a  
 subject, which he deemed equally imprudent and  
 impolitic, he had scarcely one serious consideration,  
 beyond being commonly civil to him.

The grounds upon which he entertained the opi-  
 nion, that the African slave-trade will gradually come

1791. to be abolished, are, the restrictions already laid  
Part II. upon the trade, and the measures so ably and unre-  
mittingly pursued in this country to effect it.

P. 64. Whether, as a commercial man, he thinks it  
would be for the interest of this country to furnish  
the colonies of other powers with slaves, after our  
own have ceased to need further supply, this being  
matter of opinion, should he live to see the day  
when the British islands have ceased to require any  
further supply, he will be more competent to form  
a judgment on the question than at present.

But he fancies there is not a politician or merchant  
in this country but will admit that such a commerce  
would be to the advantage of this country; for it  
would be securing to the merchant that profit which  
would otherwise center with other merchants and  
manufacturers that continued it.

Whether “ The African slave-trade is carried on  
“ as much to the ease and comfort of those that are  
“ the subjects of it, and also of those that conduct it,  
“ as it is possible for human ingenuity to devise:”  
begs leave to object to the question, because it is a  
quotation from a pamphlet, which he does not think it  
incumbent on him to support before the committee.

P. 65. Has no reason to doubt, that all the ships in that  
account from Liverpool, which he delivered to the  
committee, stated to have been laid up in consequence  
of the act, commonly called the Slave-carrying Act,  
were actually driven out of the trade by the opera-  
tion of that law.

Has recently received an account of a late rapid  
increase in the French trade to and from the Coast  
of Africa, which states, that there had sailed, or  
were fitting out, between 1st June, 1789, and 18th  
January, 1790, for the African trade, from Nantes  
42 vessels; Rochelle 12; Bourdeaux 32; St. Maloes  
4; Harfleur 8; Marseilles 4; and from Havre 28;  
in all 130 vessels, in seven months and an half, or  
thereabouts. His information does not specify whe-  
ther any of these vessels are employed in trade for  
the

the productions of the country, in contradiction to 1790.  
 the slave-trade; which induces him to believe that Part II.  
 the slave-trade only is meant. }

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Witness examined,—REV. THOMAS CLARKSON.

Went, in company with Mr. Rathbone, of Liver- P. 66.  
 pool, to Mr. Norris's house, but not finding him, was  
 introduced to him upon change, as the author of an  
 Essay on "the Slavery and Commerce of the Human  
 "Species;" and as coming to Liverpool for infor-  
 mation on the slave trade. Mr. Norris said, he had  
 read his book with much satisfaction, adding, as near  
 as he can recollect, that it contained the truth. He  
 promised him also every information as to the object  
 of his journey, and appointed Sunday following, for  
 a meeting at his own house.


Was afterwards at his house 6 times; and was wait-  
 ed upon also by Mr. Norris, 3 or 4. Each time they  
 had long conversations on the slave trade. On the  
 first of these (Sunday) witness read a manuscript, in-  
 titled, "An account of the wars and customs of the  
 "Dahomans," which Mr. Norris lent him. After- P. 67.  
 wards, on same day, in speaking of productions of  
 Africa, Mr. Norris stated them such, as they were  
 afterwards set down, in consequence of his evidence  
 in the Privy Council report. He affirmed also, the  
 almost universal way in which such became slaves,  
 as he had transported from the coast, was this, That  
 they were kidnapped (by the natives, p. 68) either  
 as they were travelling on the roads, or fishing in  
 the creeks, or cultivating their little spots, which  
 history he had learnt from themselves. In future  
 conversations also, as to this being an universal mode,  
 his reply was, "Undoubtedly, no person can deny  
 "it."

At a future time, Mr. Norris gave him some black  
 pepper, brought with him from Whydah, as one  
 Numb. 3. D argument

1790. argument of the impolicy of the slave trade. Being  
 Part. II shewn also copies of some muster-rolls of Bristol  
 ~~~~~ Guineamen, which witness had collected, he said,  
 he would find nearly the same loss of seamen in those
 of Liverpool, as in those then shewn him.

At another time, when informed by witness, that
 he was on point of discovering a murder by captain
 Brown, on Peter Green, a seaman; he allowed great
 cruelties practised on seamen in slave trade. Called
 afterwards on witness with a journal of a voyage in
 that trade, to convince him he had not been deceiv-
 ed in information collected on that point; and to
 confirm witness more, of his being of the same mind
 P. 68. with himself, invited him to his house, to communi-
 cate on clauses for a bill, that would bring about
 abolition of slave trade. Witness went, and after
 some conversation, Mr. N. dictated, and witness
 wrote. He wrote the clauses with Mr. N's own pen
 and ink, and in his own room.

Witness had such confidence in Mr. N. as a man
 of veracity, and a zealous friend to the abolition of
 slave trade, that on making a second edition of his
 work, "On the Slavery and Commerce of the Hu-
 man Species," he inserted the circumstance of
 kidnapping, as well as that of the king of Dahomy
 breaking up a village when he wanted slaves, as be-
 fore communicated to him by Mr. Norris. As a
 farther proof, when he waited upon Mr. Pitt, to ex-
 press his hopes, that the committee of the Privy Coun-
 cil (then about to examine into the slave trade)
 would examine witnesses on both sides of the ques-
 tion. He mentioned Mr. Norris having material
 information on that side of the question, which re-
 lated to the abolition; repeating the substance of his
 different conversations with him on the produce of
 Africa; the new trade that could be established
 there; the loss of seamen, and cruelties exercised on
 them in the slave trade; mentioning, at the same
 time, the clauses which Mr. N. had given him for a
 bill for its abolition. Was afraid, however, that
 Mr.

Mr. N. on being written to only by an individual 1790.
 like himself, would not come to London, connected Part II.
 as he was at Liverpool; though he knew his heart 
 to be engaged on that side; wished therefore an or- P. 69.
 der to be sent him by the committee, which would
 take off the risk of disobliging connections there.
 On being told by Mr. Pitt, that attendance to such
 order could not be enforced, witness wrote himself
 to Mr. N. at Liverpool, but was answered by Mr.
 Rathbone, that he Mr. N. was then in London.

On this information, witness wished much to find
 him out, to intreat him to persevere in the same line
 of conduct, as manifested to him at Liverpool.
 Found his address, but before he could see him, was
 told by the bishop of London, very greatly to his
 surprize, that Mr. Norris "had come up as a Liver-
 pool delegate, in support of the slave trade." Wit-
 ness upon this, tells his lordship, and afterwards states
 in writing, how Mr. Norris had behaved, as above
 stated. Distressed at the time, and balancing be-
 tween the thought of violating the rights of hospita-
 lity, by exposing Mr. Norris, and the duty due to
 the cause he had undertaken, he asked his lordship
 how to act; who advising him to call personally on
 Mr. N. to explain the reasons of his conduct, he
 went, but not finding him at home, left his card. P. 70.
 Soon after Mr. N. waited upon witness, who was
 out, and left the following letter, which the commit-
 tee desired to be produced, and taken down.


" My dear Sir,

" The letter, which you did me the honour to
 " address to me at Liverpool, missed me there, and
 " reached me here only a few days ago; being
 " brought to me by a gentleman from thence, who
 " was so obliging as to charge himself with the care
 " of it. It gave me the sincerest pleasure to receive
 " this testimony of the regard of a gentleman, whom
 " I shall ever respect and esteem, and whose phi-
 " lanthropy claims the admiration of every person
 " whose

1790. " whose bosom contains a spark of humanity. Upon
 Part. II. " my return to my lodgings last night, I was ho-
 " honoured with your card, announcing your address,
 " and resolved to wait upon you this morning; but
 " the arrival of a packet from the West Indies,
 " which called on its way at Charleston, has brought
 " me letters from my connections there, which
 " oblige me to relinquish my intention, from avo-
 " cations which require my immediate attention
 " elsewhere; and as I am under an engagement to
 " visit a friend in the country to-morrow, and shall
 " not return till Monday, I find I shall not be able
 " to enjoy the pleasure of waiting on you until some
 " day early in the ensuing week.

" Since we parted last, the subject of our con-
 " versation has frequently employed my thoughts;
 " and the force of your arguments, and the justice
 " and humanity of your sentiments, have impressed
 " on my mind a due deference for your opinions;
 P. 71. " but we differ in some points: from commercial
 " and political considerations, I am induced to
 " think, that the benevolence of your plan cannot be
 " acceded to in toto. If you will be pleased to turn
 " to my favourite author, the Abbé Raynal, vol. 1.
 " p. 9, you will see a strong argument against one
 " part of it; and other objections occur to myself;
 " but I assure you, that whatever my own private
 " opinions may be, I should gladly have declined
 " any publick interference in this business, could I
 " have refused it with propriety. The present in-
 " vestigation will, I hope, tend to correct whatever
 " abuses exist in the African trade, as well as to im-
 " prove the condition and situation of that unhappy
 " part of our fellow-creatures, whose unfortunate
 " lot it is, perhaps, for some wise, though inscruta-
 " ble purpose of our Creator, to toil for their breth-
 " ren; and every idea, tending to so desirable a pur-
 " pose is, I trust, as dear to me as it can be to any
 " person whatever.

" Your

“ Your kind remembrance of Mrs. Norris, claims 1790.
 “ my warmest thanks, and I am, with every senti-Part II.
 “ ment of respect and friendship, 

“ Dear Sir,

“ Your obliged and most obedient servant,

Salopian, 29th Feb. 1788. I “ ROBERT NORRIS.”

P. S. “ I am so pressed for time, that I must beg
 “ you will excuse this very incorrect letter, which I
 “ assure you I have not leisure to copy.”

The Rev. Thomas Clarkson, No. 10, Gerrard-Street,
 Soho.

Witness says, that he stated this conduct of Mr. N. to Sir William Dolben, so early as the time of his regulating bill: as also 2 or 3 times to Mr. Cruden, to see if Mr. Cruden, who was present at the first conversation at Mr. Norris's house, and knew Mr. Norris's great pains to give him intelligence, perfectly recollected it, and if such conduct did not appear equally striking to him as to witness. Mr. Cruden's reply to witness, in the presence of another person or persons, was, “ My opinion of Mr. Norris, whom I P. 72.
 “ have known for years, is of the highest kind, but I
 “ confess his conduct to you at Liverpool, and since
 “ as a Liverpool delegate, embarrasses me much.”

Says, Mr. Norris could not but have known his object at Liverpool to be abolition of slave trade, even had he not heard it from himself. It was notorious that witness went there with that view, he dining daily in publick, and merchants pointing at him as he passed the change, as a person of that description.


Is sure the information he is now giving, is precisely what he received from Mr. Norris; for as to the two facts relative “ to kidnapping, and the king
 “ of

1790. "of Dahomy," before related, he put them down in Part II. a book, soon after the conversation, he kept for that purpose; and as to the clauses given him by Mr. N. for a bill for abolition, he put them down also, with this difference, that he put down the latter with Mr. Norris's own pen and ink, and own room; has that book to produce, if necessary.

The committee requesting the book to be produced, the following clauses were taken from it.

- P. 73.
1. "Make every slave vessel take out a licence, and let the sum paid for such licence, be at least £50.
 2. "Let no slave vessel, under severe penalties, be suffered to take a tooth, a puncheon of palm oil, or any of its productions, from the coast.
 3. "Let no slave vessel be permitted to bring a bale of cotton, a hoghead of sugar, or even a passenger, from the West Indies.
 4. "£1000 fine for a vessel that supplies the Spaniards and French.
 5. "Let every vessel that goes to Africa for the natural productions of the country, receive a bounty. £500 for bounty would be adequate to the wages of seamen, their provisions, and the stores of a vessel of 200 tons, for 8 months; £300 to be paid at outset, £200 at her return.
 6. "The Bananas to be head quarters and first settlement; they belonged to one Cleland, a mulatto; perhaps his family, who remain, would sell it.
 7. "That the De Lofs Islands be the second from Sierra Leone to Cape Mount. To windward of Sierra Leone there is a tract, where the blacks are descendants of the Portuguese; these people are industrious at present, more civilized than the natives, good boatmen, craftsmen, &c. They are free, and not dependant on the Portuguese; a sort of mulattoes, and would easily be brought over.

8. "The

8. " The River Caramanca, on the Windward, 1790.
 " or Gold Coast, runs parallel to the sea, and would Part II.
 " be a most eligible situation, both in point of de- 
 " fence and productions.

9. " These regulations will destroy the slave P. 74.
 " trade in a few years."

Says, the clause relative to a licence for slave ships, came from Mr. N. that relative to a bounty, from himself; though Mr. N. calculated the sums annexed to it; that relative to hindering slave ships from taking off the produce of Africa, came from himself also; but that for hindering them from taking West India produce, &c. from Mr. N. As to that relative to the trade carried on for the French and Spaniards, cannot say who proposed it; but Mr. N. mentioned the fine of £1000, saying, this branch of it ought immediately to be abolished, as supplying foreigners at the expence of the English marine. The settlements also were mentioned by Mr. N. in the order in which they stand, though witness cannot say positively whether proposed as necessary by Mr. N. or himself. Mr. N. however, gave his sanction to the whole, for witness put down no clause not approved of by Mr. N. after conversation on the propriety of it.

Recollects Mr. Norris stated the slave-trade to be a losing trade, in presence of Messrs. Cruden and Copeland, the latter of whom had been a slave-merchant.

Was introduced to Mr. N. he supposes, in the P. 75.
 beginning of Septemb. left him the end of October, and in the February following was told that Mr. N. had come up as a Liverpool Delegate.

Never asked Mr. N. to procure a slave-ship for Mr. Falconbridge. Should have thought he would have suffered in Mr. N's. opinion from such a proposal. Besides, Mr. F. had previously declared to witness at Bristol, before a gentleman, that he had left the trade from principle. Adds that the object of Mr. Falconbridge's journey to Liverpool, was to
 aid

1790. aid him in procuring facts for abolition of the slave
 Part II. trade: nor did he make such a proposal to any other
 person. Thinks it not improbable he might have
 told Mr. N. that as the slave-trade could not immediately be abolished, it was a pity that humane men should not be selected to command slave-ships in the interim, but does not even recollect this.

P. 76. Says there were very few meetings of himself and Mr. N. at which Mr. F. was present. Does not recollect being at the Exchange with Mr. F. and Mr. N. or of seeing Mr. F. at the Exchange at any distance, when with Mr. N. though this might have happened. Was about six weeks at Liverpool.

P. 77. Thinks, in his calls on Mr. N. found him at home five or six times; dined with him twice; saw him in a morning, when he shewed him copies of the Bristol muster-rolls; received from him another morning, at his house, the pepper from Whydah: saw him also when he went to tell him of the probability of proving the murder of Green, by Capt. Brown: a sixth time was, when he received from him the clauses.

Was of opinion, that Mr. N. did not consider the abolition as an extraordinary plan, but as one which ought to be executed. His whole conduct to him, (Mr. C.) at Liverpool, made him believe so.

Recollects Mr. N. shewed him some papers, and gave him one, viz. "An Invoice for a Cargo to "Whydah;" but none about the loss of seamen. Must, however, do Mr. N. the justice to say, he has heard him state the loss of seamen in his own ship to be little or nothing. This, however, he did not state, to shew Mr. C. had been deceived, but that there were ships that went to the coast without any material loss; and Mr. C. considered it as a proof of Mr. N's. own humanity.

Understood kidnapping, from Mr. N. to be the general practice, as far as he, Mr. N. could judge from his own experience, except only Dahomy, for that king was said by him not to kidnap, but to seize

seize on a village, when in want of slaves. Mr N. 1790. never discriminated between kidnapping by hostile Part II. nations or by individuals. His words were, (which witnesses will never forget) “that on inquiry into the P. 78. history of those whom he had taken from Africa in his own vessels, their almost universal answer was, that they were kidnapped either as they were travelling, or fishing, or cultivating their little spots.” On returning from Mr. Norris’s he put down these words in his journal, produced yesterday. Says it P. 79. is impossible for him ever to have misunderstood Mr. N. on this particular; was never clearer of any thing in his life. Says also, that though he inserted the circumstance into the second edition of his “Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species,” he did not insert it as the basis upon which he built the assertion there, that kidnapping was a general practice, but only to corroborate other circumstances mentioned in the former edition of that book.

Does not recollect that Mr. N. alluded to any particular period, when he stated the slave-trade to be a losing one.

Never heard Mr. N. express any approbation or disapprobation of his, (witness’s) measures to redress abuses of Guinea seamen. Knows only Mr. N. concurred with him, that such enormities were practised, and the seamen were worse used in that than any other trade, which Mr. N. not only expressed at his own house, but when he lent him the journal before described, (p. 67.)

As to any plan said to have been communicated by him to Mr. N. for freeing of the negroes, says he was never so absurd as to think of such a plan. His sole object at Liverpool was to collect facts for the abolition of the slave-trade. This distinction between abolition and emancipation he set out with as a first principle, and has preserved till now.

As to the supposition that Mr. N. could not be P. 80. serious in condemning a trade he had long pursued, witness believes he sincerely meant the abolition of

1790. the trade in many branches, as neither justifiable on Part II. the principles of humanity nor policy; and witness's conduct, as explained yesterday, proves he thought so; for he not only mentioned him to Mr. Pitt, as he then stated, as a proper evidence for abolition, but even wrote him to come to London in that capacity.

On being asked the character of Mr. Rathbone, witness replied, that he was recommended to him as to a very worthy man, and found him so; and being asked again, if civility to a stranger, recommended by Mr. Rathbone, might not prevent Mr. N. from controverting opinions, which he, witness, warmly espoused, replied, in his opinion, civility to a stranger, ought not to prevent any man from telling the truth; neither does he believe it did him, because Mr. R. repeatedly told witness Mr. N. condemned the trade.

Witness examined—Dr. THOMAS TROTTER,

A Surgeon in the Royal Navy.

- P. 80. Was a voyage in the African slave-trade, from Liverpool, in 1783, surgeon of the Brookes, Clement Noble, master. Ten months on the coast, from the time they reached Cape Palmas, till the cargo was completed at Anamaboe. Made many inquiries into the mode of procuring slaves, of slaves themselves, of traders, and particularly of Accra, a trader at Cape la How, who was a most intelligent man, of uncommon modesty and gentleness, and well known as a man of great integrity. The information received was, that the natives were sometimes slaves from crimes, but the greater part of slaves were what they called prisoners of war. Of their whole cargo recollects only three criminals, one sold for adultery, and one for witchcraft, whose whole family shared his fate. One of the first said he had been decoyed by a woman, who told her husband, and he was sentenced

sentenced to pay a slave; but being poor, was sold 1790. himself. Such stratagems are frequent: the fourth Part II. mate of the Brookes was so decoyed, and obliged to pay a slave, under threat of stopping trade.

Of the family sold for witchcraft, consisting, he P. 82. thinks, of the man, his mother, wife, and two daughters; the women shewed the deepest affliction, the man a sullen melancholy: said, that having quarrelled with the Cabbosheer of Salt-pan, he, in revenge, had accused him of witchcraft: he refused food: early next morning it was found he had attempted to cut his throat; the wound was sewed up, but the following night he had not only torn out the futures, but had made a similar attempt on the other side: from the ragged edges of the wound, and the blood upon his finger ends it appeared to have been done with his nails, for though strict search was made through all the rooms, no instrument was found. He declared he never would go with white men, uttered incoherent sentences, and looked wishfully at the skies. His hands were secured, but persisting to refuse all sustenance, he died of hunger in eight or ten days.

Has often asked Accra, what he meant by prisoners of war. Found they were such as had been carried off by a set of marauders, who ravage the country for that purpose. The bush-men making war to make trade, (meaning it seemed to make slaves) was a common way of speaking among the traders. The practice was also confirmed by the slaves who shewed by gestures how the robbers had come upon them; and in the Brookes, during the passage, some of the boy (slaves) played a game, P. 83. which they called slave-taking, or bush-fighting; shewing the different manœuvres thereof in leaping, falling, and retreating. Inquiries of this nature put to the women, were answered only by violent bursts of sorrow. Upon asking Accra, what they made of their slaves when the English and French

1790. were at war, he simply answered, "Suppose ship no
Part II. "come, massa, no take slave."

Had many boys and girls on board, who had no relations in the ship; many of them told him they had been kidnapped in the neighbourhood of Anamaboe, particularly a girl of about 8 years, who said she had been carried off from her mother, by the man who sold her to the ship.

Once saw fat Sam, their gold taker, send his canoe to take 3 fishermen, employed in the offing, which were immediately brought on board, and put in irons, and about a week after, he was paid for them. Remembers another man taken in the same way from on board a canoe along side. Fat Sam very frequently sent slaves on board in the night, which, from their own information, he found, were every one of them taken in the neighbourhood of Anamaboe: he remarked, that slaves sent off in the night, were not paid for till they had been some time on board, lest, he thinks, they should be claimed; for some were really restored; one in particular, a boy, was carried on shore by some near relations; which boy told him, he had lived in the neighbourhood of Anamaboe, and was kidnapped (p. 90.)

As to kidnapping by Europeans, has only heard of it; but the master of the Brookes, urged his gold-takers daily, to get him slaves by any means.

P. 84. Slaves in the passage are so crowded below, that it is impossible to walk through them, without treading on them; those who are out of irons, are locked spoonways (in the technical phrase) to one another; it is the first mate's duty to see them stowed in this way every morning; those who do not get quickly into their places, are compelled by the cat. In this situation, when the ship had much motion, they were often miserably bruised. In the passage, when the scuttles must be shut, the gratings are not sufficient for airing the rooms; he never himself could breathe freely, unless immediately under the hatchway. Never saw ventilators used in these ships; a wind-
sail

fail was often tried on the coast, but he remembers 1790. none used in the passage. Has seen the slaves draw-Part II. ing their breath with all those laborious and anxious efforts for life, which is observed in expiring animals, subjected by experiment to foul air, or in the exhausted receiver of an air pump; has also seen them, when the tarpawlings have inadvertently been thrown over the gratings, attempting to heave them up, crying out, "Kickeraboo, kickeraboo," i. e. "We are dying;" on removing the tarpawlings and gratings, they would fly to the hatchway with all the signs of terror, and dread of suffocation; many whom he has seen in a dying state, have recovered, by being brought thither, or on the deck; others were irrecoverably lost, by suffocation, having had no previous signs of indisposition. P. 85.

Slaves, on being brought on board, shew signs of extreme distress and despair, from a feeling of their situation, and regret at being torn from friends and connections; many retain those impressions for a long time; in proof of which, the slaves being often heard in the night, making an howling melancholy noise, expressive of extreme anguish; he repeatedly ordered the woman, who had been his interpreter, to inquire the cause; she discovered it to be owing to their having dreamed they were in their own country, and finding themselves when awake, in the hold of a slave ship. This exquisite sensibility was particularly observable among the women, many of whom, on such occasions, he found in hysteric fits.

They failed after dark in the night, when the slaves P. 86: were secured below, to prevent their shewing signs of discontent at leaving the coast; he thinks this the reason, because every ship that left the road while the Brooks was there, left it in the night; has heard the custom is general.

Thinks they bought upwards of 600 slaves, and lost about 70 in the voyage.

As to insurrections among the slaves; a number of the strongest men in their ship had one night sawed

1790. sawed off their irons with an old knife, notched for Part II. the purpose, furnished by a woman from the cabin; but were detected by the information of another slave.

A man jumped overboard at Anamabœ, and was drowned; another, in the Middle Passage, who was taken up; a woman was, for some time, chained to the mainmast, after being taken up; being let loose, made a second attempt; was taken up and died under the floggings given her in consequence.

Believes the practice of dancing them is general in the trade; in the Brookes it was not used till exercise became absolutely necessary for their health; those in irons were ordered to stand up, and make what motions they could, leaving a passage for such as were out of irons, to dance round the deck. Such as did not relish the exercise of dancing, were compelled to it by the cat; but many still refused, though urged in this way to a severe degree.

P. 87. Besides the instance already given, of a slave starving himself to death—remembers another. A woman was repeatedly flogged, and victuals forced into her mouth; no means however could make her swallow, and she lived the 4 last days in a state of torpid insensibility.

The cargo was disposed of in Jamaica, p. 94, by what is called the scramble. The buyers stand ready, when the signal is given for opening the sale, to rush all at once upon the slaves, and affix their tallies to those they wish to have; this unexpected manœuvre, had an astonishing effect; the slaves were heard crying out for their friends, in language expressive of the deepest affliction. Some husbands and wives were parted, and many other relations.

The seamen lay, in the Middle Passage, under the booms, according to custom, and, when the weather was bad, were certainly exposed very much.

During the Middle Passage, some of the seamen were most cruelly flogged by the master, so much so, that on one occasion he saw from the quarter deck, some

some of the sailors coming aft from the fore-castle, to 1790.
 rescue a man, upon which the master let him go, and Part II.
 never afterwards punished any of them in that manner. ~~~~~
 Same master was carrying, in a former voyage,
 12 paroquets to the West Indies; they died, and sus-
 pecting a sailor of having killed them, ordered the
 man to be lashed to one of the topmasts for 12 days,
 in which time he had no other food but one of those
 birds, and a pint of water a day; though wonderful,
 the man survived this. He was a native of Phila-
 delphia, and was discharged in the West Indies. Has
 heard the master who perpetrated this wanton barba-
 rity, relate it in a publick company, with triumph.

From what he has seen, he should suppose the P. 88.
 minds of Africans very capable of cultivation; some
 part of his evidence shews them susceptible of all the
 social virtues; has seen no bad habits, but among
 those engaged in trade with white men; of those,
 Accra an exception.

Food of the slaves on the passage was, rice, horse-
 beans, and unclean corn, with usual condiments of
 palm-oil, salt and pepper: the beans from England,
 the rice was got to windward, and the Indian corn at
 Anamaboe: they had abundance of cheese: a quan-
 tity of the Indian corn was sold in the West Indies.
 At Anamaboe it was in such plenty, that many canoes
 of it were sent away after their corn room was full.
 The rice was a very wholesome food; had a red
 husk, but white within.

Does not remember the surf was too high, during
 the whole time they were on the coast, for canoes to
 come off (nearly 10 months) except two or three
 days.

The 3 fishermen, before-mentioned to have been P. 89.
 seized, said they were free men. Another case is
 mentioned of a man taken out of a canoe along-side:
 both done with so much indifference, that he thinks
 the practice was frequent, of seizing and selling
 free men.

As

1790. As to the 3 fishermen complaining of the illegality
 Part II. of their capture; all communication is prevented
 between the slaves on board and the traders; and
 canoe-men who come to sell slaves; hence it could
 not be supposed that any of their connections were
 P. 90. informed of their situation. Traders are not allowed to go forward after the barricado, and they cannot, from its height, look over it; nor are they permitted to look over the ship's side.

As to the case of the child reclaimed, before-mentioned, it is probable that the trader who sold him, perhaps not being the kidnapper, had informed the boy's relations.

P. 91. The man who attempted to cut his own throat, had all the appearance of a fullen melancholy, but was by no means insane; believes a degree of delirium might come on before death; but when he came on board, believes him to have been in his perfect senses.


P. 92. Cannot be positive as to the particular amount of the mortality on board the Brookes.

P. 93. Engaged to go as surgeon in the Brookes, in the spring of 1783, at the close of the war.

P. 96. Is at present surgeon to the Edgar M. W. Had his medical education at the University of Edinburgh, and also his doctor's degree.

Many slaves died of the scurvy; thinks only a very quiet passage saved half the cargo; for between 2 and 300 were tainted with this disease on their arrival at Antigua. Does not think their food was such as would have produced this disease, independent of other causes, viz. their peculiar confinement; the contaminated atmosphere of the ship, with all those depressing passions, inseparable from the state of a human being, torn from all that is to be valued in life.

P. 98. Was often thwarted (by the master) in his prescriptions for the sick, who in violent bursts of anger, swore they fell victims to his medicines: his (the master's) contradictions, were particularly observable

servable when the scurvy broke out; he treated with 1790.
contempt the proposal of carrying out a great quan- Part II.
tity of fresh fruits; of which not a 20th part of what
was necessary, was in the ship at leaving the coast; 
the event justified the proposal, for when a liberal
supply of fruits was had at Antigua, the recovery of
slaves was rapid beyond example.

Among the slaves, were many related in different
degrees; remembers two or three husbands and
wives; one of these had a child, which he often car-
ried from the mother to the father, who always re-
ceived it with much affection: it died on the pas-
sage.

Any intercourse between husbands and wives on
board, is carried on by the boys which run about,
and are allowed occasionally to go ast: other rela-
tions, of the same sex, commonly wished to mess to- P. 99.
gether, and their affection to each other was cer-
tainly very conspicuous, particularly when diseased;
in some instances their feelings were such, as would
bear a comparison with those of any civilized people.

Boys and girls, under the age of puberty, gene-
rally kept separate; boys with the men, girls with
the women.

First heard the master relate the story of his punish-
ing the Philadelphia seaman (by having him tied to
the topmast, and fed on a paroquet a day, as already
mentioned) on a Saturday night, when he had com-
pany, in the Road of Anamaboe; does not recollect
who were present; the fact itself, as related, struck
him so forcibly, that he thought of nothing else at P. 100.
the time; he was so shocked, that he immediately
left the cabin, and told the story to one of the mates;
shall never forget the impression it left upon his
mind at the time, and he has since mentioned it a-
mong his friends, as a piece of unparalleled cruelty
(p. 98.)

1790.
Part II.



Witness examined—WILLIAM DOVE.

- P. 100. Mr. William Dove, of Plymouth, was 1769 on the coast of Africa, from Sierra Leone down to Piccipini Sisters on board the Lily, Captain Saltcraig, from Liverpool.
- P. 101. Respecting the mode of getting slaves, he observed an instance of a girl that was kidnapped being brought on board by one Ben Johnson, a black trader, who had scarcely left the ship in his canoe with the price of her, when another canoe with two black men came in a hurry to the ship, and inquired concerning the girl. Having been allowed to see her, they hurried down to their canoe and hastily paddled off. Overtaking Ben Johnson, they brought him back to the ship, got him on the quarter deck, and calling him "teeffee" (which implies thief), to the captain, offered him to sale. Ben Johnson remonstrated, asking the captain, if he would buy him grand trading man; to which the captain answered, if they would sell him he would buy him, be he what he would, which he accordingly did, and put him into irons immediately with another man. Was led to think from that instance, that slaves were kidnapped, and as well as from having seen children brought separately on board, and men and women without fresh wounds, or marks of old ones on them.
- P. 102. They had on board between 30 and 40 children, boys and girls, some on their mothers breasts; four or five were born during the passage.
- The slaves in his ship were in general very well treated, as well as any ship on the coast, two or three instances of great cruelty excepted.
- Captain Saltcraig coming on board one evening somewhat intoxicated, scolded the officers for not manning the sides to receive him, then with a rope's end beat many white people on deck; he then stretched a rope across, and ordering a negro, a stout fellow, out of irons, made him stand on one side

side of the rope, while he stood on the other, and 1790.
 setting his foot to the black man's, squared as if to Part II.
 box him, saying, that he would learn him how to fight, and signified to the black fellow to make a
 blow at him again, which, though at first he knew not how to do, at last he did, and gave the captain a terrible blow; the captain turned about, went to the cabin, brought up a horse-whip, and beat him most unmercifully, first with the lash, then with a full sweep with the but end, till the black man evacuated both by urine and excrement, insomuch that the ship's company thought he could not survive it.

The other instance; the black men between decks had drawn the staple of the fore lazaretto where the horse-beans were kept, and taken as witness supposed through hunger, two or three gallons; at night they P. 103.
 were overheard eating them; five were severely whipped by the captain's order, two of the ringleaders thumbscrewed; a punishment so severe, that while under it, the sweat ran down their faces, and they trembled as under a violent ague fit.

The men slaves were fettered all the Middle Passage till in sight of Desida, a West India island, except a few sick slaves who were let to walk the deck, and taking great care to recover them. This confinement may be necessary from their great superiority of numbers. Has known men fettered together quarrel in the night; but this was put to rights by the second mate or boatswain's going down.

As to capacity among the negroes, he observed some that seemed apt at taking any thing. Two boys from a little oakum given to them, would very dexterously work a curious fishing-line, twisting it only on their knees; it was used often to catch cat fish; there were others not so apt. In the West Indies he has seen them at different handicrafts, make as good workmen as white people.

Was not on shore in Africa to observe their disposition either to agriculture or trade, but in the West Indies he has seen some diligent and attentive to the P. 104.

1790. duties required of them; others there are of a lazy
 Part II. cast, just as our common people at home. He has
 ~~~~~ no doubt but that a trade might be cultivated with  
 them in Africa. Sierra Leone afforded rice to the  
 ship; they took about two tons. Pine apples, plan-  
 tains, bananas, and yams, were brought to them in  
 abundance; some honey also, and a few bottles of  
 the juice of the sugar-cane. Both natives and the  
 ship's boats brought them off, but chiefly the na-  
 tives.

The African rice is in quality equal to the Caro-  
 lina; is thought to go farther; it has a redness in  
 it, which, when the husk is taken off, does not pene-  
 trate the grain, but lies as a little dust upon its  
 surface.

The tarpaulins are only put on in case of rain;  
 when taken off there is a steam comes up between  
 the gratings, by which means the air is communi-  
 cated to them below, and has relieved them when  
 they have been panting for breath.

P. 105. Treatment of sailors on board with him was in ge-  
 neral oppressive, particularly in one or two instances;  
 the chief mate finding a leak in a barrel of tar, told  
 the captain, who called the boatswain to account for  
 it; the boatswain saying it was not his fault, for that  
 tar would run in that warm climate; the captain told  
 him he would make him prevent it, and then took  
 an end of a rope, and beat him in so unmerciful a  
 manner, that he did not recover for some weeks.

Another instance; John Coffee, assistant surgeon  
 was taken ill of a disorder prevalent among the whites,  
 which first seizes them with a sleepy heaviness and  
 disinclination to move. A swelling of the legs soon  
 takes place, which makes it painful even to stand or  
 walk; this the captain said was idleness, and that if  
 they would exert themselves, they would soon get  
 well, and to make them do so, repeatedly beat them  
 with a rope's end. In this manner he treated Coffee,  
 and when at last he could not stand, insisting on it  
 that he would make him, he ordered one of the  
 hands

hands to seize him up to the shrouds, where, after a few minutes in that position, Coffee begged him for God's sake to shoot him and put him out of pain; to which, in a most brutish manner the captain answered, "No, no, do you think I'll be hanged for you?" Coffee repeatedly begged him either to let him down or shoot him, yet still he kept him there for near three hours. When loosed he lay down on his bed upon the deck, and in about two hours he expired. 1790. Part II.

In the outward bound passage they were tolerably well off in point of provisions: they had 4 lb. of bread a week, 1 lb. of salt beef a day, with a proportion of potatoes, which being out when they arrived on the coast, they felt it a little sharp, but caught cat-fish to supply their place; this however the captain forbid, and refused also to add half a pound of bread to the week's allowance. Once a week they had stock-fish, with only a little vinegar, chiefly on the Middle Passage. On the most part of the outward bound passage they had a breakfast also of oatmeal boiled thick, called Burgou, which was very comfortable. P. 106.

From the year 1774 to 1783, he resided at Boston and New-York. There are there many negro slaves and free blacks; half the inhabitants may be black. In general the slaves were treated very well there, as are servants here. There was not a single importation of slaves while he resided in either of those places. Thinks the numbers did not decrease, and from the great multitude of black children running about the streets, he infers that population was kept up. He never saw nor heard of a driver in America. Negroes are not punished ordinarily there with whipping; beating was never found to answer the purpose; they are transferred to other masters, such as they like themselves, for they have liberty to choose. P. 107.

He was paid two months advance-money on the ship's sailing from Liverpool, which was accounted for in West India currency, on his arrival in West Indies.

Having

1790. Having soon left Liverpool, he does not know  
 Part II. whether captain Saltcraig was discharged for his  
 drunkenness and misconduct. He was repeatedly  
 requested by Mr. Rice, one of the owners, to remain  
 in the service and promised promotion in it, but he  
 objected because of the ill treatment of the ship's com-  
 pany, and not only so, but because he did not like  
 the traffick. He had an assurance afterwards, from  
 Mr. Rice, that Saltcraig should be prevented in fu-  
 ture from using the ship's company as before. Mr.  
 Dove had made a point of stating it to the owners  
 himself.

He does not know whether Piccinini, Sisters, and  
 Wappoa, are distinct states, nor while there, did he  
 hear of any hostility between them.

He never heard of families sold on account of  
 witchcraft, nor heard of such a thing as witchcraft  
 while on the coast.

Upwards of half the ship's crew were landmen.

He has often eaten horse-beans, and thought them  
 an excellent mess.

He went to Boston as cooper of His Majesty's ship  
 Preston, under Admiral Graves; at New-York he  
 was cooper to the same ship under Com. Hotham.

At Boston white people cultivate the land as well  
 as negroes; and they indiscriminately work together.  
 Both at Boston and New-York he was appointed to  
 offices on shore, where he accordingly resided during  
 the whole war, till 1783, and that has afforded him  
 an opportunity of being so particular in his obser-  
 vations.

He thinks an English constitution equal to field-  
 labour at Boston. He has not a doubt, that were  
 there a sufficient number of white people there, the  
 country could be cultivated without any negroes  
 at all.

Witness examined—CLEMENT NOBLE.

Has been nine voyages to Africa, two as a mate, P. 108. and seven as a master.

Recollects the voyage when Mr. Thomas Trotter P. 109. was surgeon, they sailed 3d June, 1783, and arrived at Liverpool in August 1784. Had no previous knowledge of Doctor Trotter; who was recommended by one of his friends, to one of the owners of the ship. Thought him often very remiss in his duty, and spent a great deal too much time in dress, which he often reproved him for.

Vessel about 300 tons; bought 638 slaves; lost 19 on the coast, 33 on the passage, and 6 in Kingston harbour, in all 58. In preceding voyage, bought 666, buried 26 in whole.

In the voyage with Mr. Trotter, had 49 seamen, one died in the small-pox ten days from Liverpool, another fell overboard from a boat and was drowned, another a natural death; total loss three, which he thinks might be the average of all his voyages. P. 110.

Does not remember a dead man and a living ever being found chained together, nor slaves suffocated from the tarpaulins laid over the gratings through inattention, which it is impossible can happen, for slaves are always ready enough to call to the people on deck to put the tarpaulin either up or down as they feel heat or cold. Rain is kept out of the rooms by a tarpaulin or awning spread 10 or 12 feet above the deck from mast to mast, like the roof of a house.

Has been often at Cape la Hou; trade is there chiefly carried on by the Dutch; English or French ships stop a day or two only, perhaps sometimes a week. Believes slaves cannot be taken off the coast, that have not been sold under the laws of the country. Never knew an instance.

Really

1790. Really does not believe slaves could be kidnapped  
Part II. with impunity on the Gold coast.

Remembers a man slave on board his ship attempting to destroy himself, and believes the man was perfectly mad, is sure of it. Did not appear so at first, or he should not have bought him; it appeared some few days after; he stormed and made a great noise, worked with his hands, &c. and shewed every sign of being mad. Believes he generally refused sustenance. Had no conversation with him, except at times when he seemed to be rather better than at others. He gave no reason at all for his violent conduct; could seldom get him to speak (p. 113.)

Has known many slaves fall overboard by accident, but generally picked up. Remembers one  
P. 111. only in the voyage Dr. Trotter was with the ship, who was subject to fits, and fell out of the fore chains in a fit and was drowned; also a woman who was insane and very troublesome, believes she did jump overboard once or oftener. Ordered her to be confined to prevent her from doing it again, but punished her no other way. Does not recollect whether she died or not.

Never had any slaves die on board in consequence of correction.

His officers and seamen were in general desirous to sail again with him.

Remembers, in the voyage Mr. Trotter was with him, flogging a sailor for abusing the slaves, and being insolent to himself. Believes it was the only time a seaman was flogged in the voyage; same man came home from Jamaica with the ship, and behaved well, and offered to go again with Mr. N. in preference to any other ship (p. 112 and 120.)

Does not know Mr. Trotter ever expressed himself dissatisfied with any occurrence on the voyage, and has no reason to think he would not have gone with him, but the ship was laid up (p. 116.)

P. 112. Does remember a voyage, when he had a number of paroquets on board, it was in 1774, they were all  
killed

killed in one night, by a black man of the ship (not a slave) who told some of the people he would do as much for him (Mr. N.) the next night; when asked if he said so, he said, yes, with all the insolence in the world; he was ordered to be confined, and by advice of the officers of the ship, who judged it unsafe to keep him below, he was sent to the mast head; at two days end he sent to say he was sorry for what he had done, and hoped to be let come down; he was immediately ordered to be brought down and let out of irons; but for the remaining part of the voyage he (Mr. N.) took care to have the cabin door made fast in the night: the man was very turbulent, and at Kingston was caged almost every night till he went off the island: when so confined he sent every morning to Mr. N. for money to relieve him: he never blamed Mr. N. for sending him to the mast head, but told many of the sailors it was very fortunate he was so confined, otherwise he was sure he would have murdered Mr. N. for his resolution was fixed.

Does not recollect he had ever any trouble with his sailors, employing attorneys, or any thing of that sort.

Did not often receive slaves in the night; but every now and then; that the other captains should not see them come on board, he judged was the cause, for the traders wished to keep on good terms with all the captains. P. 113.

He was nine months and eight days on the coast. P. 114.

Does not remember receiving three men that were fishing in the offing, but has frequently seen them taken out of canoes and sold: they were slaves to be sure. The greater part of those that paddle the canoes, and go afishing, are slaves.

Believes persons in the condition of slaves on the coast, may be sold to the ships, without being convicted of any crime: always understood they had a right by the laws of the country to do what they pleased with their own property. Never made any inquiry whether the slaves brought for sale, were the

1790. property of the sellers; they being usually brokers  
 Part II. only; never enquired how these brokers came by  
 ~~~~~ them, thinks there is no occasion; always supposed,  
 and did not doubt, but they had a right to sell them.

Instances of slaves falling overboard in Guinea ships are not very frequent; it happens every now and then.

Is not at present engaged in the African trade; quitted the sea above four years since.

P. 116. Some of the slaves appear dejected when brought on board, but in general soon mend of that, and are in very good spirits while on board.

Now and then met with sulky ones that would not eat without force, then endeavoured to persuade them, and if that would not do, to force them to it.

Has been often below when the slaves were all in their rooms: they had room enough to lie down, and were as comfortable as could be expected on board a ship: could walk among them without treading upon them, it is done every night by the officers
 P. 117. after they go to rest: all the ships he has had, had platforms. It was much hotter below at some times, than at others; that depends chiefly on the weather: when calm it is sure to be very warm. Never found any bad effects from the air: the air cannot surely be so good as upon deck: it is rather foul and offensive, but more so in calm weather than at other times.

Refers in what he has said of the state of the ship between decks, &c. to the voyage that Dr. Trotter was with him.

Cannot say with certainty how many slaves were in the mens room in this voyage: from the number on board thinks there must have been something short of 300; cannot say the exact proportion of males in the cargo, but should suppose about two-thirds males, and one-third females.

Cannot recollect number of boys; in general they reckon in their accounts, without distinguishing; they had many of both boys and girls.

Does

Does not remember the length of the mens room, 1790. the breadth about 26 feet: there were in the breadth 4 Part II. rows of slaves on the deck, and one on each plat- form: stowed on their backs or sides as they chose P. 118. to lie: chief mate and boatswain generally stow them in the mens room: never measured, nor calculated what room they had; they had always plenty of room to lie down in, and had they had 3 times as much they would all lie close jammed together; they do so before the room is half full: the space in the middle between the two rows of slaves varies according to the lengths of the slaves; in some places perhaps a foot, in some more, in some less: sometimes when the weather is cool they will lie as near the side as they can, and when it is warm crowd more under the gratings. Cannot recollect how they were distributed as to numbers; are divided so as not to throng one room more than another: they were he believes distributed as the cargo usually is on board of Guinea ships, where he understood it the rule to distribute them equally fore and aft: there were men stowed in the boys room adjoining to the mens; which is generally the case (p. 120.)

The slaves were sold in the West Indies after this manner: the men are on the main, and the women all on the quarter deck; the buyers come in at the gangway between, where they remain till the sale is opened, when they rush in fore and aft, and suit themselves as they can, clapping their tallies on whoever they mean to take.

Believes this is the common way of selling a cargo P. 119. of slaves by scramble in Jamaica; in other islands it differs.

Remembers the slaves being in great distress, and making grievous outcries on the sale by scramble in this particular voyage; the cause of it is, because they are parting; it is a general cry and a noise throughout the whole ship; but more particularly so with some that think they are going to be parted from their husbands, wives, mothers, children, &c.

1790. but the purchasers are always very particular in
 Part II. making exchanges, so that husbands, wives, mothers,
 and children, and even acquaintances, shall go together. Never knew it otherwise.

The men slaves take exercise during the passage; a drum is beat, and they jump or dance to it, as well as their situation will admit; the stout men are all in irons, and a right leg and a left, and their hands the same: a chain fastens the greatest part of them to the deck, a few days before leaving the coast, and a few days after; then those chains are taken away, and many of the slaves let out of irons; they are always very ready and very fond of dancing, except a few sulky ones; but in general there are very few of them. As to the means used to compel them to dance when sulky, the master or people that are among them endeavour to persuade them, and if they will not, they let them do as they please.

P. 120. He was supplied with rice or corn by the natives while on the coast.

Witness examined—ISAAC PARKER.

P. 122. Isaac Parker, Ship-keeper of the *Melampus* Frigate, sailed in 1764 from Liverpool to the River Gambia, in the *Black Joke*, Captain Pollard, who treated the slaves well, but who dying off St. Jago, was succeeded by Capt. Marshall, who did not behave so well to them, but pinched them in provisions and water, while there was plenty in the ship. One exception to Captain Pollard's good treatment was, a child of nine months old which refused to eat, for which the captain took it up in his hand, and flogged it with a cat, saying at the same time, "Damn you, I'll make you eat, or I'll kill you."

The same child having swelled feet, the captain ordered them to be put into water, though the ship's cook told him it was too hot. This brought off the
 skin

skin and nails. He then ordered sweet oil and cloths, 1790. which Isaac Parker himself applied to the feet; and Part II. as the child at mess time again refused to eat, the captain again took it up and flogged it, and tied a P. 123. log of mango-wood 18 or 20 inches long, and of 12 or 13 lb. weight round its neck as a punishment. He repeated the flogging for four days together at P. 127. mess time; the last time after flogging he let it drop out of his hand, with the same expressions as before, and accordingly in about three quarters of an hour, the child died. He then called its mother to heave it overboard, and beat her for refusing. He, however, forced her to take it up, and go to the ship's side, where holding her head on one side to avoid the sight, she dropped her child overboard, after which she cried for many hours.

The crew consisted of 13 of whom only 5 survived. P. 126.

In 1765, he sailed again from Liverpool, in the Latham, captain Colly, to Old Calabar, and there, for want of provisions, left the ship, which, though bound for the West Indies, lay windbound then upon the bar. He went with the surgeon to buy slaves, with the goods that were left, to Newtown, where Dick Ebro, a king's son, who knew of the ill treatment given the crew by captain Colly, concealed him for three days in a room till the ship was gone. He then came out, and employed himself in fishing, cleaning their arms, &c. and remained there for five months.

When there, Dick Ebro' asking him to go to war P. 124. with him, he complied, and accordingly having fitted out and armed the canoes, they went up the river, lying under the bushes in the day when they came near a village; and at night flying up to the village, and taking hold of every one they could see. These they handcuffed, brought down to the canoes, and so proceeded up the river, till they got to the amount of 45, with whom they returned to Newtown, where sending to the captains of the shipping, they divided them among the ships. About a fortnight

1790. night after they went again, and were out eight or
 } nine days, plundering other villages higher up the
 P. 125. river. They seized on much the same number as
 before, brought them to Newtown, gave the same
 notice, and disposed of them as before among the
 P. 133. ships. They took man, woman, and child as they
 could catch them in the houses, and except sucking
 children, who went with their mothers, there was
 no care taken to prevent the separation of the chil-
 dren from the parents when sold. When sold to the
 English merchants, they lamented, and cried that
 they were taken away by force.
- P. 135. Dick Ebro' was certainly not at war with the peo-
 ple up the river, nor had they made any attack up-
 on him. Slaves were very slack in the back country,
 at that time, and were wanted when he went on these
 P. 135. expeditions. He took no goods with him in the
 canoes. He was not at war with any body, nor did
 J. P. hear that there had been any war before his
 coming there. The old town and new town of Ca-
 labar were at peace with one another.
- P. 133. Dick Ebro' had many slaves of his own, whom he
 employed in cutting wood and fishing, &c. but he
 treated them always very well.
- P. 132. The Guinea captains fixing on a certain price,
 agreed to lie under a £50 bond, if any one of them
 should give more for slaves than another; in conse-
 P. 133. quence of which, the natives did not readily bring
 slaves on board, to sell at those prices; upon which
 the captains used to row guard at night, to take the
 canoes as they passed the ship, and so stopping the
 slaves from getting to their towns prevent the traders
 from getting them. These they took on board the
 different ships, and kept them till the traders agreed
 to slave at the old price.
- P. 133. He has known presents made by the captains to
 P. 135. the black traders to induce them to bring slaves.
 Captain Colly in particular gave them some pieces
 of cannon, which he himself saw landed.
- P. 134. Captain Colly did not behave so well to the ship's
 crew

crew after his arrival on the coast as during the voy- 1790.
age. He kept them on short provisions, giving them Part II.
only fish for four months, with nothing but palm oil
to it, and sometimes not that. He gave also 4 lb. of
bread by the week. The quantity of fish, when
boiled, was not sufficient for a meal, and the rest of
the day they were forced to go without victuals.
When up in the country, he took a yam from off
the coppers, for which the captain charged him a
shilling against his wages.

He has been more than once in the West Indies; P. 134.
and in Jamaica, Barbadoes, Antigua, and the Gre-
nadas, has seen seamen sick, with swelled feet, and
begging for want of food and employment; and
these informed him that the ships they came from
were Guineamen.

He did not know, when he went out with captain P. 135.
Pollard, that any part of his wages was to be paid
in West India currency, and accordingly objected to P. 136.
receiving it in that manner when there; declaring to
capt. Marshall, that "he would not go home with
the ship if he did not give full pay;" upon which
the captain threw him and some others of the crew
into prison, where they lay two or three days, and
then agreed to go with him, on the captain's paying
their gaol fees. The governor, though applied to,
gave the sailors no redress.

Since his return to England, in 1766, he has been P. 131.
some time in the coasting trade, and some time in
his Majesty's service, and in 1768, entered the En-
deavour bark, in which he went round the world
with captain Cook, as boatswain's mate. He served
after in the Monarch, captain Joshua Rowley, and
is now by appointment of the master-attendant of
Plymouth dock, ship-keeper of the Melampus.

The slaves on board ships very often refuse to eat;
they take sick, and will not eat: blows make them
only more sulky, and in general they seem very me- P. 136.
lancholy and dejected. P. 137.

Witness examined—Rev. JOHN NEWTON, Rector of St. Mary, Woolnoth.

1790. Part II. P. 137. Made five voyages to Africa, the last in 1754, as master of a slave-ship. Lived ashore about a year and a half, chiefly at the island of Plantanes, at the mouth of the river Sherbro.

The Purrow, the legislative and executive power there. A sort of free-masonry, to which the obedience paid may be a mixture of superstitious charms, and submission to government.

P. 138. Always judged, that, with equal advantages, the natives capacities would be equal to ours. Has known many of real and decided capacity. The Sherbro people are in a degree civilized, often friendly, and may be trusted where not previously deceived by Europeans. Has lived in safety among them, when the only white man there. The best people he met with were on the R. Gaboon and at C. Lopas. These had then the least intercourse with Europe. Believes they had then no slave-

P. 139. trade, and has heard them speak against it. They traded in ivory and wax. One great man said, "If I was to be angry and sell my boy, how should I get my boy back when my anger was gone?"

Has known ships and boats cut off, but never at Gaboon or C. Lopas. Sometimes at Sherbro, usually in retaliation.

Natives, having few wants, make fewer exertions; but he does not think them naturally indolent. P. 140. Many of them hired to work in our boats and ships. On the Windward Coast, they cultivate the land, not only to supply themselves, but the ships with rice.

Polygamy being practised, the affections may possibly not be so strong as in other countries; but he never heard of a mother selling her children.

They

They are generally worse in their conduct in proportion to their acquaintance with us. 1790. Part II.

Believes the African trade very fatal to seamen, from exposure to weather, intemperance, and ill treatment. Thinks in a trade in African produce they would not necessarily be exposed to weather so much, and that the slave-trade is a great cause of their hard treatment. The real or supposed necessity of treating the negroes rigorously, gradually benumbs the heart, and renders most of those engaged in it too indifferent to their fellow creature's sufferings. He has seen them when sick, beaten for laziness till they have died under the blows. P. 141.

Once when on shore, the traders suddenly put him into his long-boat, telling him that a ship just passed, had carried off two people. Had it been known in the town, he would have been detained. Has known many other such instances; but after 36 years cannot specify them. It was a general opinion, founded on repeated and indisputable facts, that depredations of this sort were frequently committed by the Europeans. (p. 147.)

Knows little of punishments, except the selling offenders for slaves. Believes many were sold for slaves, whose punishment otherwise would have been trifling.

Many considered frauds as a necessary branch of the slave-trade. Has known them put false heads into powder-casks, cut off two or three yards from the middle of a piece of cloth, greatly adulterate the brandy, and sometimes steal back articles delivered. P. 142.

The men slaves always fettered. He never put them out of irons, till they saw the land in the W. Indies. Thinks the ship would not otherwise have been safe. Two or three plots, in his ship, were timely discovered. He was mate of a ship where one white man and three or four negroes were killed, in an insurrection.

The slaves had more room in his ship, because he
Numb. 3. H new

1790. never compleated his purchase; but their situation
 Part II. in a full ship is uncomfortable indeed, being kept
 constantly in irons, crowded in their lodging, and
 often, in bad weather, almost destitute of air to
 breathe; besides what they suffer from the ships
 motion, in their irons, and the difficulty in the night
 of getting to their tubs, which are sometimes
 overfet.

P. 143. In plots or insurrections, they suffer most generally
 severe floggings, to which the masters of some ships
 he has been on board of, added thumb-screws. A
 captain told him repeatedly, that he had put negroes
 to death, after an insurrection, by different cruel
 tortures. In many ships the sufferings of the women
 were aggravated by the brutality of the crews. He
 knew many women in Sherbro, whom he thought
 modest, but knows not how to compare their mo-
 desty with that of women in other countries.

The slaves are fettered in pairs, not chained. He
 has often, in the morning, seen one of the pair dead.

He has known pawns taken off the coast by Euro-
 pean traders. Individual Europeans were thought
 well of by the natives, but they had no good opinion
 of them upon the whole, and sometimes when charged
 with a fraud or crime, would say, "What, do you
 think I am a white man?"

Small slaves, from 8 to 16 years of age, used to
 constitute about 1-4th of the cargo.

P. 144. He was at three slave sales in the West Indies, and
 at one in South Carolina. Relations were separated
 as sheep and lambs are separated by the butcher.

His concern in the slave-trade was not profitable
 to his employers. There were more losing than
 gainful voyages. The trade was generally considered
 as a sort of lottery.

He made three voyages as commander of a slave-
 ship. He first went on board a slave-ship as a fore-
 mast-man at Madeira, in 1745, having been dis-
 charged from a man of war; but was made steward
 for about six months. He was left by her when the

ship sailed with a person who was part owner, on the coast, where he lived perhaps 18 months, as a servant to white traders. He left the coast in the end of 1747, as passenger in a ship which called at Gaboon, and arrived in England 1748. He counts all that time his first voyage. In that time, they traded to R. de Nuna, about 40 leagues northward of S. Leone, but has no knowledge of the intermediate country, and 20 leagues to the southward of that river, in the R. Sherbro. 1790.

He once went three days journey inland, which he supposes might be fifty miles from the head of the river or creek Caramanca. Believes he did not stay above two days. He never went so far at any other time, seldom above 3, 4, or 5 miles from the coast. P. 146.

He has sometimes found all trade stopped, and the depredations of European traders have been assigned by the natives as the cause, and he has, more than once or twice, made up breaches of this kind between the ships and the natives. P. 147.

He believes several captains of slave-ships were honest, humane men, but has good reason to think they were not all so. The taking off slaves by force has been thought most frequent in the last voyages of captains. He has often heard masters and officers express this opinion. Depredations and reprisals made to get them were so frequent, that the Europeans and Africans were in a spirit of mutual distrust: he does not mean that there were no depredations, except in their last voyage. Has known Liverpool and Bristol ships materially injured from the conduct of some ships, from the same ports, that had left the coast. It is a fact that some captains have committed depredations in their last voyage, who have not been known to have done it before. P. 148.

He was, for most of his residence, in an abject state of servitude and sickness. He knew the natives better, when a master to the same part. P. 149.

He felt the trade very ineligible, but had no scruple of its lawfulness while engaged in it.

Witness examined,—JAMES MORLEY, Gunner of the
Medway.

1790. Made 6 voyages to Africa, the first in 1760, the
Part II. last in 1776: ever since in the king's service. Let
the African trade from the ill usage he himself re-
P. 149. ceived, and saw towards others. He continued in
P. 150. the trade from a promise of promotion, and to main-
tain his family. In the first ship, being then 9 or
10 years of age, he was a servant; also in the second;
in the third before the mast; in the fourth gunner;
in the fifth boatswain and mate; in the sixth mate.

Has been much on the coast, and far up the
country. Has been, by computation, 3 or 400 miles
up the river Nazareth, and about 200 miles up the
river Gaboon (above Parrot's Island, p. 164.)

P. 151. Has also been at Angola, Assenie, Cape Apollonia,
Cape Coast, Anamaboe, and Old Calabar (at this last,
3 voyages—and at Commenda, Succundee, Dixcove,
Amunda, Brandenburgh, and many other places,
p. 164.)

Africa produces cotton, gold, rice, peppers, palm-
oil, tobacco, and dye woods. He never was ricing
on the coast, but has bought some of it off the river
Sisters, and different places on the Windward Coast.
This rice was brought alongside in canoes, without
any inquiry for it (in baskets holding about 2 gal-
lons, p. 167.)

The natives were always willing to do any ser-
vices, for which they had a prospect of being paid
immediately. He has had much intercourse with
P. 152. them, and apprehends they would raise produce, if
made to see that they could get as much by it as by
selling slaves. They traffic only in provisions and
ivory at their markets; also for slaves all through
the country.

They

They treat their slaves with the greatest kindness, 1790. more so than our servants or slaves in the West-Part II. Indies. They do not care to sell canoe-boys and house-servants, who raise provisions, fish, get palm-oil, and palm-wine, make grass and other cloths, build houses, go in the canoes, and do the house business. Is convinced it is a common practice for them to set slaves to work, who are refused by the Europeans. In Old Calabar he saw a slave that was offered to his ship, at work in the plantation.

He owns, with shame, that he has made the natives drunk, and has given an extra price for a good man or woman. He has seen this done by others. Captain Hildebrand paid an extraordinary price for one of the wives of a man whom he had made drunk, and who wished to redeem her next day, as did the person he (Mr. M.) bought the man of; but neither of them was given up. Supposes they would have given one-third more than their price to redeem them (knew of no other instance, p. 166.)

Most of the slaves, as far as he saw, were obtained by purchase. He knew and saw only one taken by fraud by the black traders. It was one that came down to get shell-fish, that he bought. Has been told by the natives at Calabar, (but never saw it, p. 165.) that they took slaves in what they call war, which he found was putting the villages in confusion, and catching them as they could. A man on board the ship he was in, shewed how he was taken at night by surprise, and said his wife and children were taken with him, but they were not in the same ship. Had reason to think, from the man's words, that they took the whole village, those that could not get away.

In Old Calabar, persons are sold for slaves, for adultery and theft. On pretence of adultery, he remembers a woman sold. He learnt that this was only a pretence from her own mouth, for she spake good English, and from the respect with which her husband, king Ephraim, treated her, when he came

1790. on board; whereas, in real cases of adultery, they
Part II. are very desperate.

He has seen children on board, without parents or relations.

P. 155. Off Taboo, two men came along-side in a canoe. One of them came up and sat on the netting, but would not come into the ship, on which the captain intoxicated him so with brandy and laudanum, that he fell in upon deck. (Does not know laudanum, but the captain ordered him to pour in laudanum, and he (Mr. M.) saw him pour out the liquid, which was of a very dark brown, p. 165.) The captain then ordered him to be put into the mess room, with a centry over him. The man in the canoe, after calling in vain for his companion, paddled off fast towards the shore. The captain fired several musket balls after him, which did not hit him. About 3 or 4 leagues farther down, 2 men came on board from another canoe. While they were on board, a drum was kept beating near the man who had been seized, to prevent his hearing them, or they him.

P. 156. When they came into Gaboon, in the Tom, captain Matthews; desired the mate to call himself captain, while he hid himself. Two of the chiefs sons coming on board, told the mate that he lied, and that he was not the captain: on this the captain came up the scuttle, laughing. The chiefs sons asked him what he had done with their sons, and the boys he had carried off, and told him in English, that if he came on shore there to trade, they would have his head. They then went into their canoe, and left the vessel, calling to him and making motions to the same purpose. Is not positive as to any other instance.

When at Furnandipo, in the Marcus tender-sloop, in the height of trading with the natives for provisions, a man stole a few strings of beads. Bishop, the master, striking him, the natives flew up to the wood. Bishop fired among them, and ordered the
boat's

boat's crew to do the same. A great shrieking was heard, and they immediately all disappeared. The boat's crew left the boat, and saw the track of blood for many yards; but they could never learn whether any of them were killed. Does not remember that any of the natives had offered violence to the boat's crew.

From Old-Town, Calabar, to the Duke's-Town, is 4 or 5 miles, by the creek; but by the mouth of Cross River, 16 or 18 miles, or more. New-Town is a long way from the shipping. Before the towns parted, they always went by the creek.

When there has been a full purchase, the slaves are closely stowed; but, when a short purchase, and they have had mortality, they have more room. He has been employed in a full ship, in stowing them as close as he possibly could. In most ships he has been in, the men were in irons all the passage. In full ships, he has seen them in great perspirations, especially when rains obliged them to keep the gratings long covered. He has wiped them, and seen them wiped, in perspirations so violent, as to give reason to think, if they had been long kept so close, suffocation must have ensued; but this he never found. He has seen them under great difficulty of breathing. The women particularly, often get up on the beams, where the gratings are raised with bannisters, about 4 feet above the combings, to give air, but they are generally driven down, because they take the air from the rest.

He has known rice held in the mouths of sea-sick slaves, until they were almost strangled. He has seen the surgeon's mates force the pannikin between their teeth, and throw the medicine over them, so that not half of it went into their mouths, the poor wretches wallowing in their blood or excrements, hardly having life, and this with blows of the cat, d—ing them for sulky black b—. He declares he has known the doctor's mate report a slave dead, and have him thrown overboard, when he has

seen

1790. seen him struggle in the water; no one could imagine why, only to get clear of the trouble.

Part II. In his first voyage, in the Eagle Galley, 700 were taken on board; believes above 250 were lost. In P. 159. his second voyage, in the Amelia, about 200, or more, were taken in, 18 or 20, more or less, were lost. In his fourth voyage, in the Tom, about 150 or more taken in, 25, more or less, lost. In his fifth voyage, in the Venus, between 250 and 300 taken in, about 20 lost, but is not sure.

Some slaves sold on board, most commonly on shore. He never saw them sold by scramble, except in his last voyage, in the Whim. Refuse slaves are P. 160. sold by vendue. He has seen refuse slaves, that came out of the ship he was in, lying about in St. Kitt's, in a very bad condition, and apparently deserted. He has known the poorer people buy slaves at vendue, for a trifle, not thinking of the expence of cure; when they find the raising of them will cost a good deal, let them go about any where. He has been on an inquest at Jamaica, where, from the appearance of the body, the verdict was, "Died for want." Upon inquiry, the person suspected to be the owner, has denied that it was his slave.

Some seamen enter voluntarily, but knows others are kept by landlords, till in debt, when they offer them a Guineaman or gaol. One Sullivan, a landlord in Bristol, got 2 or 3 young fellows in debt, and forced them, in his hearing, to go on board the Guineaman he belonged to, or to gaol. He helped to carry them on board himself; cannot positively say this is a common practice.

The seamen in the Guineaman he sailed in, were generally treated with great rigour, and many with cruelty. Recollects many instances. Matthews, the chief mate in the Venus, would knock a man down P. 161. for any frivolous thing, with a cat, a piece of wood, or a cook's axe, with which he once cut a man down the shoulder. In the Amelia, captain Dixon, the men were tied up, and had 4 or 5 dozen lashes at a time,

time, and then rubbing them with pickle, he told them, "They should not stink, for he would salt them well." He has heard him tell them so often. He (Mr. Morley) when his cabin-boy, for accidentally breaking a glass, was tied to the tiller by the hands, flogged with a cat, and kept hanging some time. He has seen great severity in all the Bristol vessels he has been in; but capt. Butler, in the *Whim*, from Liverpool, neither treated the slaves nor the men severely. He has known him send the only bit of fresh provisions he had from his table, to the sick slaves.

The seamens provisions were usually scanty. Have no shelter. Has seen them lie and die upon deck. In all his first 5 voyages, he has seen seamen sick and ulcerated; for it was all to a sickly part of the coast that he went. They are generally treated ill. He has known men ask to have their wounds or ulcers dressed; and has heard the doctor, with oaths, tell them to take their dung and dress them. Never knew the captain compel the doctor to do his duty; nor does he know that the doctor made this answer in the captain's hearing. P. 162.

The seamen were paid in West India currency, in every ship he was in. There are more deserters from Guineamen, than from any West Indiaman he has been in. He has frequently seen Guinea seamen lying about the wharfs, &c. in almost all the islands, with ulcerated legs, and other disorders, almost dead. He has often relieved them.

In Jamaica, he saw a man hoisted up taugt to a crane on a wharf; with 3 or 4 fifty-sixes to his feet, and flogged with a short whip, and the skin swelled up in great lumps: it was not broke, but bruised. The negro flogger then flogged him with ebony on the same parts, until the blood ran from most of his back. He was told the slave's crime was running away; and that the ebony was used to let out the bruised blood. Another time, he saw a woman cruelly flogged at Kingston. He was told she was to pay her mistress so much a month, which she had

1790. not done. He knows many such instances. In Ja-
 Part II. maica, he once (and only once) saw marking irons
 heated over the flame of rum, and applied to the
 thick of the thigh of the slaves, as they came through
 the barricado-door one by one.

Captain Briggs's chief mate, in Old Calabar river,
 lying in ambush to stop the natives coming down the
 creek, pursued Oruk Robin John, who, jumping on
 shore, shot the mate through the head.

Mr. Walker, master of a sloop, was on board the
 Jolly Prince, captain Lambert, when the king of
 Nazareth stabbed the captain at his own table, took
 the vessel, putting all the whites to death, except the
 cook, a boy, and he believes one man. Captain
 Punter, of the Prince of Wales brig, asking Walker
 why the king of Nazareth took this step? he said,
 "It was on account of the people that Matthews
 had carried off from Gaboon and Cape Lopas, the
 voyage before." Walker escaped, by knowing
 P. 164. the language. The Jolly Prince belonged to the
 same owners as Matthews's ship.


He was sometimes a week, sometimes 2 or 3 days,
 on shore at Gaboon. He saw a great quantity of
 ivory there, which comes from inland, on the should-
 ers or heads of the negroes.

By the water-side about Gaboon, the country is
 flat or marshy in some places, but the farther up the
 river, the better the land. It runs so high in the
 back country, as to be seen a great way off. The
 country was never overflowed while he was there,
 and he never heard that it was.

P. 165. There are great quantities of cotton at Calabar and
 Gaboon, but no rice that ever he saw. Never saw
 any cotton exported from thence; but he has made
 pillows of it. It is very fine, but very short in the
 pod.

Sailors in the West Indies are called wharfingers,
 by seafaring people in general, because they have
 ulcerated legs, and are sickly, lying about the wharfs
 and private places. The sailors call them so where
 there

there are wharfs; but they call them beach horners, 1790.
and other cant names, where there are no wharfs. Part II.

Very particular in most captains purchasing no slaves but such as appeared to be in good health. 

They had always an hospital forward, before the men's room.

Witness examined—Capt. THO. BOLTON THOMPSON,

Of the Royal Navy.

He was second lieutenant of the *Grampus* in 1784, P. 167.
1785, and 1786, and commanded the *Nautilus* in
1787, in carrying out the black poor to S. Leone,
where he was from May to September.

The principal products are cotton, indigo, tobacco,
sugar-canes, cam-wood, gums, cardamums, rice,
ivory, and gold-duft.

Were the natives instructed and encouraged, he
supposes they would cultivate those things. Several
natives at S. Leone, assisted the blacks he carried
out, in building their houses, at a small expense.

The natives did not appear inferior in capacity to P. 168.
other uncivilized people. On the contrary they ap-
peared possessed of great quickness and cunning.
Those of S. Leone appear harmless and inoffensive.

He has heard that the word "panyar," which is
common on the coast, means kidnapping, or seizing
of men.

From the many complaints which he received from
them, he concludes that seamen are far from being
well treated in the slave-ships. One Bowden swam
from the *Fisher*, of Liverpool, captain Kendal, to
the *Nautilus*, amidst a number of sharks, to claim
his protection. Kendal wrote for the man, who
refused to go, saying that his life would be endan-
gered. He therefore kept him in the *Nautilus* till P. 169.
she was paid off. He was a diligent, willing, active
seaman.

1790. seaman. Several of the crew of the Brothers of Part II. Liverpool, captain Clark, he thinks, swam towards the Nautilus, passing by; two only reached her, the rest, he believes, regained their own ship. The majority of the crew had, the day before, come on

P. 169. board the Nautilus, in a boat, to complain of ill usage: but he had returned them, with an officer to inquire into and redress their complaints. This was in July, 1787. He received many letters from seamen in slave-ships, complaining of ill usage, and desiring him to protect them, or take them on board.


Is inclined to think the seamen in ships trading in produce are not so ill used as those in slave-ships. Several of his own officers gave him the best accounts of the treatment in the Iris, a ship trading in wood, &c. and of the healthiness and good order of the P. 170. ship. She was near him several weeks.

He should suppose the slave-trade is not a nursery for seamen, as those on board the slave-ships appear very sickly, from their being very much exposed to the sun, rains, and dews, in small craft. Thinks a trade in the produce of Africa would not be so unhealthy as the slave-trade. A crew may be kept as healthy in those parts of Africa he has been in as in any other tropical climate. Only one man was lost in the Nautilus, while there, and that was from neglect.

Thinks more are crowded in a slave-ship than can be carried with a due regard to their health or comfort. His ship was about 320 tons, and she had her full peace compliment, 100 men. It would have been impossible to stow 4 or 500 people in her, with P. 171. a due regard to their health and comfort. It was as much as he could do to stow his 100 men, with any comfort; but, on his return, by the West Indies, being ordered to take in 70 or 80 invalids for England, the ship was much crowded.

Thinks the S. Leone settlers were landed at the most improper season, the beginning of the rains.

At Barbadoes he has seen several seamen begging, apparently

apparently very sickly and destitute. He believes 1790.
 most of the Guinea seamen receive a great shock to Part II.
 their constitutions. 

In the West Indies, he has very often seen the negroes backs bear indelible marks of the whip.

Believes there are several species of gum in and P. 172.
 about S. Leone; but the principal is gum copal.
 Has always understood there is a great demand for
 gum copal here.

Each man has from 18 to 24 inches for his ham-P. 173.
 mock, in a man of war, according to the room they
 can spare.

Believes about 380 free negroes were sent to Sierra
 Leone. Many more were embarked, but some got
 ashore, and others died. Their behaviour was ge-
 nerally very bad: most of them were worthless,
 lawless, and drunken. Some of them, he believes, P. 174.
 were mechanicks; but most of them vagrants who
 infested London. Thinks a colony may certainly be
 established there, by people of a different character,
 under proper laws, with every prospect of success, as
 it is a very fine fertile country. The river is a good
 port.

At sea little more than half a man of war's crew
 are in their hammocks at a time, as they are generally
 at watch and watch. Height between decks from
 5 feet 4 or 5 inches, to 5 feet 10 inches.

He seldom or ever visited a Guineaman, as his
 disgust always overcame his curiosity. Certainly no P. 175.
 comparison can be formed between the situation of
 seamen in a man of war and slaves in a Guineaman.

Cardamum is in great plenty in Africa. He has
 seen some black pepper; red peppers of many species
 in abundance, and, he has been told, wild nutmegs.
 The island of St. Thomas abounds in wild cinnamon,
 (which he cannot distinguish from cassia) but he
 never saw any on the continent, though he thinks it
 equally calculated to produce it. Wild grapes, tho'
 not very palatable, are in plenty at S. Leone, and
 he

1790. he planted some cuttings of Teneriffe vines, which Part II. throve very well.

Witness examined—Captain JOHN HILLS,
Of the Royal Navy.

P. 176. Was at Goree and the Gambia as commander of his Majesty's sloop *Wasp*, he thinks, in the end of 1781 and beginning of 1782. (In all near 6 months in Africa, p. 181.)

Knew at Dacard, Moriel, a high priest, very intelligent.

He saw the natives, in an evening, often go out, in war-dresses, as he found, to obtain slaves for the king of Damel, to be sold. Some pirates, who had obtained a slave improperly, brought him bound on board the *Zephyr*, to sell him to him. On his releasing him they desired he might stay till morning, to be carried to governor Wall; who would take him. Next morning the man jumped out of the canoe, and was rescued by the Dacard people.

P. 177. He has seen them tied back to back in several huts. He was told by one person, that the king was very poor, not having received his usual presents, and that parties were sent to get slaves for him on that account.

At Dacard, where the ship watered, Capt. Ganna, received the king's dues. This Ganna brought the kidnapped man to him as aforesaid. Moriel, his brother, a respectable man, held this mode of seizing the natives, in high indignation. They were both the king of Damel's subjects, and chiefs of villages. (Understood Ganna was not a Maraboo, p. 180.)

The natives all go armed: he imagines for fear of being taken.

When in the river Gambia, wanting servants on board,

board, he expressed a wish for some volunteers. A 1790.
 black pilot in the boat, called two boys who were Part II.
 on shore, carrying baskets of shallots, and asked
 captain H. if they would do, in which case he would P. 178.
 take them off, and bring them to him: this he de-
 clined. From the ease with which he did it, con-
 cludes this was customary. Black pilot said the
 merchantmen would not refuse such an offer.

He was advised not to go ashore at Gambia, by
 the merchants there, for fear of being taken by the
 natives, who owed the English a grudge, for some
 injuries. A man at Gambia, who called himself a
 prince's brother, had been carried to the W. Indies,
 in an English ship, and was sent to Europe by the
 governor.

A boy, whom he bought from the merchants,
 had been carried in the night from his father's house,
 where a skirmish had happened, in which, he believes,
 he said, both his parents, but he well remembers
 one, were killed. The boy said many were killed,
 and some taken.

Several natives spoke very good French and Eng- P. 179.
 lish. He had a letter from a man at Gambia very
 well written in French. A man, whose child was
 to be buried, could not stand the shock, and re-
 quested to stay on board the Zephyr, till the cere-
 mony was over, and he shewed much grief and
 emotion.

He was often applied to by the merchants (Eng-
 lish, p. 180) for help, owing to deaths and sickness
 among their seamen. He did not lose a man in his
 own ship.

Never saw the women working in the fields; but
 has often seen the men raising provisions near Dacard.
 Has seen them dress their corn in a large hole, by
 cutting it to pieces with sharp instruments on staves.
 Has seen them working their common cloths in their
 looms.

He apprehends the boys (aforesaid) were free peo- P. 180.
 ple

1790. ple from the pilot's mode of speaking, and from his
Part II. winking, implying it was an illicit thing.

Was informed the person's brother who was brought to him bound, was a great man in the village he was taken from. He should apprehend no crime was alledged against him; because the next day he returned to his own village.

They always paid the king of Damel for wooding and watering. There was a fixed price for every boat landing.

P. 181. He attributes the healthiness of his crew in Africa to medical precautions, (which were used to guard against the noxious land-vapours, p. 181). Bark and Madeira wine were always given the men when they went on shore, and returned on board.

The natives in Damel appear very lazy and idle. In the Gambia, he had no opportunity of landing to see their industry. He does not think they could be very easily induced by any encouragement, to manufacture their produce so as to become articles of trade.

He had on board the Zephyr, on an average, about 90 men, which was her compliment. She was about 200 tons.

Witness examined—GEORGE BAILLIE, Esq.

P. 182. Resided 25 years in South Carolina and Georgia. Commenced merchant in Charleston in 1756, (p. 193.) afterwards planter in 1767, (p. 194.) and as Commissary General of Georgia. Settled there in 1762, (p. 197.)

Many vessels arrived while he resided at Charleston and Savannah, with slaves from Africa. He saw many of the crews of those ships who had squalid countenances, and ulcerated limbs.

Notice of the sale having been given some days before, the slaves were ranged in a close yard, a great gun fired, and buyers rushed violently in, and seized

seized the best looking slaves, afterwards picking and culling them to their minds. They were immediately purchased and hurried out of the yard; so that, in a few hours, only the refuse slaves remained; whose health had suffered, generally, as he conceived, from crowding and confined air on board, and who were afterwards sold at a great under-price. 1790. Part II.

In America, the overseer roused the slaves and set them to work in the morning. They did not work for set hours, but by task-work, generally a rood of land to each, when easily cultivated; if otherwise, the overseer set the strongest to the hardest work, and vice versa; and indeed it was usual to lessen the piece of land considerably when uncommonly foul. The negroes generally helped those who could not finish so soon as the rest; so that they left the field at once, pretty early in the afternoon when their work ceased, and they were at perfect liberty for the rest of the day. They had no other time but Sunday, and a few holidays at Christmas. Sunday was intirely at their own disposal. P. 183.

Each man and woman slave had weekly a peck of Indian corn or clean rice, each about 14lb. or a bushel of potatoes, near 40lb. and the children, in proportion to their age. (A peck of Indian corn about 7½d a peck of rice 10d. a bushel of potatoes from 8d. to 10d. p. 196.) Besides they had generally as much ground as they chose to cultivate, the produce intirely at their own disposal. P. 184.

Each man received, at the beginning of winter, a coat, waistcoat, and breeches and boots of white plains, also a milled worsted cap and a pair of strong shoes. In summer they commonly have an Osna- burg's shirt and trowsers. The women were clothed much in the same way, except the boots. The children had each a long warm gown down to the heels. They had also every second year, a warm duffel blanket.

It was usual to have overseers to superintend every plantation, and drivers under them. Generally from

1790. thirty-two to thirty-five workers were under one
Part II. overseer and one driver.

~ In America, he has seen marks on them, but not very often, and seldom when they had humane masters. The drivers seldom or never whip the slaves through their day's work; because it was impossible to know, till towards the close of the day, whether a slave would or would not finish his task; and it was thought time enough to punish, when their neglect deserved it. He has very rarely seen them, in America, with clogs on their legs; but never with chains.

The rearing of children was very much attended to in America. Pregnant women did no work for a considerable time before delivery. Coarse child-bed linen was provided, and sufficient care taken of them when lying-in. The child was properly clothed,
P. 186. and taken care of. Believes they are raised in as great a proportion as children in Europe, when they are in healthy situations. Never heard of the tetanus in that country.

The chief produce was rice, indigo, and humber. Lands intended for rice, if swampy, are drained and banked to keep water from lodging on them. When perfectly dry, the rice is sown (about March 20th, p. 195.) in straight trenches, weeded as it grows, and, when about three feet high, and quite clean, the sluices are opened, and the water admitted about June 20th, which stands about a foot deep, till towards the first week in September, when it is ripe. After the ground becomes a little dry, it is cut and cocked up in the field. Having stood there some little time, it is stacked, in the barn-yard, like corn in Europe. It is thrashed like European grain, winnowed, put through wooden mills, to take off the external coat, and into mortars, worked by horses or water, to divest it of the inner skin. It is then sifted, and put up for exportation.

P. 187. In October or November 1777, he went to Jamaica and the Bahamas, having been forced from the continent

continent by the disputes there. Was several months in 1790. Jamaica, (viz. from about Dec. 1778 to February or Part II. March 1779, p. 198.)

Having then had little to do in Jamaica, he went from curiosity to various estates, and to compare their management with that of the continent. (He crossed the island for the same reason, p. 198.) He must confess, he differed in opinion with several planters in their way of working the slaves, as thinking it rather served to depress their spirits, and their general appearance was, by no means, favourable. He observed that they worked, almost from sun-rise to sun-set, he might say; (they had almost an hour for breakfast, and nearly two hours for dinner, p. 200) and that they were constantly followed by drivers, who forced the weak to keep up with the strong, as far as possible. Looking into the books of an estate (of Mr. Gray's, p. 199) under the direction of a friend, (Mr. Hugh Polson, who was rather attorney, he believes, than manager, p. 199) to his utter surprize, he saw that the negroes were turned out on Sunday as regularly as on any other day, to work in their own grounds: but it appeared that the produce was appropriated to the negroes subsistence, and not to their emolument, unless perhaps there was a surplus of food. How far that surplus was applied to their benefit, he is not perfectly clear.

He thinks he could perceive a considerable difference between the general appearance of the field and the town slaves; because the latter were much better fed and clothed, and not worked so hard. Believes that might be the reason. P. 188.

The situation of married men-slaves on the continent was generally very comfortable, as they had a house and ground where they could raise many little necessaries; and they took great pleasure in raising their children, for whom they seemed to have the sincerest attachment. He must confess, he did not think the W. India slaves seemed to enjoy the same

1790. comfort in that respect; as he apprehended it was
 Part. II. not so much the wish of planters there to increase
 ~~~~~ slaves by births, as on the continent.

He has in companies in the West Indies (he does not think they were very serious neither—it is a very invidious thing) heard them say, that after giving a certain price for a negro, if he worked a certain time, there would be no great loss sustained by his death; but believes they are too humane to wish a man to die. Does not think, that on the continent, any gentleman would have suggested such a matter. (These matters passed only in cursory conversation, probably at a table. Does not say this opinion was general, by any means, p. 200.)

Except their not being so much driven through the day, believes punishments, on the continent, as severe as in the West Indies.

P. 189. Planters in America resided almost entirely on their estates; but, from what he could observe, considerable Jamaica planters mostly lived in Europe. It appeared to him, that the slaves of a resident proprietor had a chance of better treatment.

Several of his slaves took every step in their power to be taught to read. On Sundays many of them went regularly to church (or meetings, p. 197.) which he encouraged. In evenings they very often had a kind of regular worship, among themselves. They bought spelling-books, with their own money, and with the help of other negroes that could read, some came to read tolerably.

When near a town, they regularly carried their produce to market. Some masters bought it of them; or little vessels bartered with them for their produce, poultry, and pigs.

P. 190. Has known several town-negroes buy their freedom; but the country ones never did, or could come at property enough to do it. Free negroes in America may hold every kind of personal property; but, he thinks not land. Is not very clear.

The

The negroes in summer were much healthier than in winter. 1790. Part. II.

The field-negroes in Jamaica appeared worn down with extreme labour, and being constantly pressed upon, through the day, by the drivers.

He thinks the climate of Jamaica, in every respect, much more favourable to negroes than that of America, and hence they were subject to fewer disorders: is also of opinion, that many of their complaints arose from extreme fatigue, and that rest generally restored them, without medicine.

The negroes on the continent, in winter, were extremely subject to pleurisies and peripneumonies, and sometimes dysentery. In summer rarely so comparatively. P. 191.

Jamaica families had considerably more domesticks than those of Europe.

He thinks negroes perfectly capable of learning any trade. Has known many, and some of his own slaves, who almost without instruction, became good common house carpenters and coopers. He bought an African lad who, without instruction, but just seeing carpenters work, and using tools at times, became so good a carpenter, that he could frame and build any common house, and also build boats for the estate. He has known many silversmiths, blacksmiths, taylors, and ship-carpenters. A mercantile house, of his acquaintance, had a number of black ship-carpenters and blacksmiths, with the superintendance of two or three whites, built ships of 400 tons, which were sent with rice to the Thames, and sold for above 3000l.

There might be some few worthless fellows among the negroes; but, upon the whole, they were always very willing to work.

He has seen many instances of very affectionate parents, and of their being possessed of every social idea. A slave of his, whose son was drowned, did not recover his spirits for many months. All his slaves shewed him a very firm attachment, and were fully P. 192.

1790. fully grateful for every favour. During the siege of Part II. Savannah, he and another had rice estates on Hutchinson's island opposite Savannah, where there was much grain and forage, to protect which, the commander ordered the slaves on the island to be armed, and sent several whites to lead them on. A French 34 gun frigate anchored to batter the town, and landed troops on the island, to destroy the barns. His slaves and others beat the French, who, he thinks, never made another attempt.

Is perfectly satisfied that the cultivation of cotton or coffee is much easier than that of sugar, but that of rice fully as laborious (p. 201.)

P. 193. He bought a man about 35 years old, seemingly very steady. While the other slaves were cheerfully reaping, he shewed him how manage the hook. He disappeared for several days, and at last he was discovered hanging to a tree, about which the birds hovered. As he had not been at all ill treated, and did not see the negroes at extremely hard work, he conceived he committed suicide, because he would not brook slavery. He was an imported African (p. 201.)

On almost every American estate there were great numbers of very thriving children, who soon became useful, and always made the best slaves.

A child, soon after birth, was valued in America at 5l. sterling.

Field-work on the continent was not held degrading to Mulattoes or free negroes, nor does he think it would in Jamaica. Both certainly worked in the field, for their own benefit, in America. Not positive whether they did so in Jamaica.

P. 194. He had various tracts of land, but planted from 120 to 130 acres of rice, chiefly on Hutchinson's island, where had between 200 and 300 acres of very

P. 195. valuable land, and about 40 working slaves. The land could produce any thing, and, at times, he planted (perhaps 40 acres of) indigo, with Indian corn, pease, &c. for the negroes.

In Georgia, light frosts usually set in about Oct. 1790. 25th, which generally checked vegetation. The Part II. greatest severity of winter seldom till Christmas; spring began about March 20th, when grain was sown. (The winter is about the same length in S. Carolina as in Georgia, p. 196.)

In winter, the negroes threshed and prepared the rice, and a little before spring, repaired the banks.

£.110 Georgia currency, and 140 l. Jamaica currency respectively equal to 100 l. sterling.

Before the American disputes, he never knew the P. 197. least scarcity; but afterwards, when people were driven away, and much disturbed in planting, there was a considerable scarcity.

Mr. Whitfield had grants of land for a house and a plantation. He erected an orphan-house, with collections chiefly from England, bought slaves, settled a plantation, and, with the produce, supported the house.

Does not think his residence in Jamaica was long P. 201. enough to give him a complete idea of the system. He only speaks of such things as he saw.

He has heard, and partly knows, that the Eboes P. 202. are very high spirited, and do not brook slavery so well as several other Africans.

He saw a small yellow Indian corn, on several estates, and believes it was for the horses, and perhaps the negroes; also some very large plantane-walks, he believes for the slaves' use.

As it was customary in America, for free negroes P. 203. and Mulattoes to get leave to plant on parts of estates, or to rent a piece of land to plant, and as he can conceive this might be the case in Jamaica, he does not think such labour would be held degrading; yet it was not common for these people to work among field-slaves. Is clear they do not in America, but so positive respecting Jamaica.

His residence in Jamaica was not long: but must confess he did not think the negroes there so robust and good-looking, as in general in America. He does

1790. does think himself so far acquainted with negroes that Part II. the working them by task is far preferable to the W. Indian mode of working them constantly. Really believes the superiority in appearance just mentioned, may be partly ascribed this different mode of working.

P. 204. In the upper parts of Georgia and S. Carolina, where grain or Indian corn was cultivated by the plough, white men sometimes hired themselves as servants.


Witness examined,—SIR GEORGE YOUNG,

P. 205. A captain in the navy. Has been 4 voyages to Africa, in 1767 and 1768—1771 and 1772. From Cape Blanco to Cape Lopas, including every English settlement, and some Dutch.

His opinion (from information of natives and settlers) of the general modes of obtaining slaves on the Coast of Africa, was, that the greater part were prisoners of war; part for crimes real or imputed; kidnapping; but the term there is panyer; and a fourth mode was, the inhabitants of one village seizing those of another weaker village, and selling them to the ships.

When at Annamaboe, at Mr. Bruce's, a very great merchant there, Mr. B. had 2 hostages, kings sons, P. 206. for payment for arms, and all kinds of military stores, which he had supplied to the 2 kings, who were at war with each other, to procure slaves for at least 6 or 7 ships, then lying in the road; prisoners on both sides were brought down to Mr. B. and sent to the ships.

Believes, from two instances, that kidnapping was frequently practised. One, that of a beautiful infant boy, which, after trying to sell at all the different trading ships, they came along side his (the Phoenix) and threatened to toss it overboard, if no one would buy

buy it, saying, they had panyar'd it with many other 1790.  
 people, but could not sell it, though they had sold Part II.  
 the others; he purchased it for a quarter cask of   
 wine.

The second was, a captain of one of the Liverpool ships had got, as a temporary mistress, a girl from king Tom, of Sierra Leone, and instead of returning her on shore at leaving the coast, as is usually done, he took her away with him. Of this, the king complained to him (Sir G. Young) very heavily, and begged him to apply to his brother George (meaning our king) to get her restored to him. This, king Tom called buchra, or white man's panyaring.

The term panyaring, seemed to be a word generally used all along the coast where he was, not only among the English, but the Portuguese and Dutch.

Has always heard, that the sovereign or chief of a district, generally derives a certain profit from the sale of slaves.

Has heard many instances of depredations on the P. 207.  
 Coast of Africa, by European traders. For one; going into the river St. Andrew, and making a present as usual to the king, of a case of gin, was obliged to drink a dram out of each, of 12 bottles; upon asking the reason, the king said it was usual for traders (but did not say whether black or white) to make use of poison; but that he should not have obliged him to drink, if he had known the ship had been a man of war, as he knew a man of war had no design of panyaring.

The natives all down the coast, were fearful of approaching the ship, till convinced of its being a man of war, when they readily came on board.

Many negroes he met with, seemed to possess as strong natural sense as any set of people whatever; their temper appeared to be very good-natured and civil, unless where they suspected some injury; are however naturally vindictive, and revenge the injury done.

1790. He verily believes, that the natives would culti-  
 Part II. vate the soil for natural productions, provided they  
 ~~~~~ had no other means of obtaining European commo-  
 P. 208. dities. He recollects some circumstances in proof
 of their industry. A number of people from the
 Bullam shore, came over to Sierra Leone, and offer-
 ed their services to work, at a very low price; he
 accepted of a few (who worked very well) and might
 have had thousands of the same description. Further
 is of opinion, from observation, that Africa is capa-
 ble of producing every thing of the East or West
 Indies, in equal perfection, with equal cultivation.
 Of spices, he met with two sorts of cardamoms, black
 P. 209. pepper, same as in the East Indies; the bird pepper;
 Chili pepper, or Cayenne; also a species of ginger.
 Brought to England several plants of the cinnamon
 tree, from the island of St. Thomas, where it is in
 great abundance.

Has been several times on board a slave ship; they
 were all in a state of cleanliness; as clean indeed as
 their situation, with the number of men confined on
 board, would admit of. He attempted to go down
 the fore hatchway of one of them, but was deterred
 by the stench, which was intolerable, though there
 was then only 300 on board, and waited for 200
 more. The men slaves were all chained, which he
 considered as a necessary precaution, as there was
 not quite 20 seamen on board at the time.

The African slave trade, not a nursery, rather a
 grave for seamen. Those of them which he saw
 on board the slave ships, complained of ill treatment,
 bad feeding, and cruel usage; all of them wanted to
 enter on board his ship. He asked some of them
 the reason why they were so treated, they answered,
 it was the practice of the owners and masters of the
 vessels to treat them so, that they might run away
 in the West Indies, and so forfeit their wages. It
 was likewise the custom for the seamen of every ship
 in sight, to come by their boats on board his ship;
 most of them quite naked, and threatening to turn
 pirates,

pirates, if the king's ship would not take them; this 1790.
 they said openly, and is persuaded, if he had had a Part II.
 ship of the line to have manned, he could have done
 it in a very short time, for they would all have left P. 210.
 ships. Though he took particular notice, he could
 never see a boy on board any of these ships; in every
 other trade, there are always boys on board.

Has heard many instances of sailors escaping to
 the woods; several he has received on board his ship
 from the woods, where they had no subsistence.

Has seen a great deal of very fine timber; in his
 opinion, useful for ship and house-building, as well
 as furniture; likewise dying woods of great variety;
 some of the wood he brought home, and turned into
 furniture. He is in possession of specimens of ebony,
 iron-wood, and other sorts, all very hard. When at
 Sierra Leone, he saw a vessel belonging to Mr. Pin-
 tard, built upon the rocks, of the woods of Sierra
 Leone.

Has been a great deal in the West Indies; at Bar-
 badoes, Antigua, St. Kitt's, Dominica, Grenada,
 Guadeloupe, Martinique, Port Rico, and lastly at
 Jamaica, from the years 1761, to 1763. Has been
 since there several times in a man of war, and some-
 times a passenger in a merchant ship.

Was twice in the Phoenix, at Barbadoes, Antigua,
 St. Kitt's, Dominica and Jamaica, in 1767, and
 1768.

Farming, and the management of land, has in P. 211.
 England been his amusement and pleasure, ever since
 the last peace. When in the West Indies, has re-
 marked to the gentlemen there, the great want of
 the plough and spade; and considered the hoe as an
 implement much more laborious.

Never saw, or heard of task-work practised in any
 of the West India islands.

Has remarked very bad effects from the absence
 of the proprietors, and the estate and slaves being left
 under the direction of managers, which greatly less-
 ens the value of West Indian estates; he will take

1790. upon him to say, to the amount of at least one-fifth part of the whole; for the overseers or managers, in a little time, always became rich, and frequently more so than their masters. It is also injurious to the slave, because he was made to work harder, than he is sure the owner would have allowed; their provisions were not so good; generally salt provision, sometimes dried fish, or stinking salt meat, which their masters, he is sure, would not have allowed; for he has the honour to be acquainted with some of them. He was informed by the merchants of Kingston, that it was not an uncommon practice for the overseers to buy sickly slaves at half price, or less, and charge them to their masters as prime healthy slaves; those frequently died, as it is said in the seasoning, which he considers as a farce altogether.

Understood, that purchasing African slaves was much the cheapest mode of keeping up the numbers; for, that the mother of a bred slave was taken from the field labour for 3 years; which labour was of more value than the cost of a prime slave, or new negro.

P. 212. The negroes work in gangs, and in regular rows, with hoes, with which they kept regular time in their work, the whole gang together, so that the weak were obliged to keep up with the more robust. For there were black drivers over them, with a whip called a cowkin, with which he supposes, if they had not kept up, they would have been punished.

Has been a great deal in the East Indies; never saw or heard of any labourers working in the field, under the whip of a driver there, or in America.

Recollects a particular instance of the high spirit of the negroes, which occurred at Accra. The governour had bought a slave (of a country, the natives of which, when enslaved, are always known to kill themselves) and was complaining to commodore Collingwood and him, that he had been cheated by the merchants, of whom he bought him; that he was a very fine fellow; asking whether they would not

go and see him, for that he had mortally wounded himself last night; when carried to him, they upbraided him with his rash conduct, by the interpreter, and his reply was, that no man of his country could live as a slave, but that he was very well inclined to serve the commodore in the man of war, but not as a slave; he died the next night.

The negro women on the coast of Africa, appeared to him as prolific, as any race of people he ever saw in any part of the world; the climate of the West Indies not less favourable to them than their own.

P. 213.

Was about 6 months on the coast of Africa each time. The crew of the ship he commanded, amounted to 100, of which lost 2, who were sickly when they went out, and 1 boy by an accident.

The stock of slaves might be kept up, or increased, without importations from Africa. At first indeed, the deficiencies would be felt for a few, perhaps 20 years; but after a while, they would double their numbers, as he sees no physical cause to prevent a black man and woman being equally prolific in the West Indies, as in Africa.


The land of Africa is mostly cultivated by the men; the women sometimes set fire to the grass, but that is very little; the men turn up the ground with pointed sticks, having no European implements there that he saw.

In the West Indies, he resided longer on shore at a time in Jamaica, than any other island; once so long as 6 weeks: never above a week on shore at any other island. At Jamaica, lived for above 3 weeks at Mr. Prevost's, Old Harbour; and Mr. Thomas's, Sixteen Mile Walk, about 3 weeks more; both sugar estates.

P. 214.

In the arguments which he held with the planters, respecting the superiority of the plough and spade over the hoe, was never able to make a proselyte.

Under the present system, the slave trade is necessary to the cultivation of the West Indies; but if the

1790. the breeding of the negroes were promoted there, it Part II. would be unnecessary. His reasons for thinking that  due attention is not paid by the planters to the rearing of children, are, that when he was upon the above-mentioned, and some other estates, he found no encouragement given the blacks to marry; that they cohabited promiscuously, and that the women generally miscarried, as he was told by Mr. Prevost and Mr. Thomas, from their hard field labour; and that it was a rare thing for a negroess employed in field labour, to have a live child.

At the island of Cuba, after the capture of the Havana, he associated with the Spanish planters, and found they made it a serious point to marry their negroes, wherever they could, to make them Christians, and to keep them regularly together: they had them christened, and gave them little rewards, and according to the number of children they produced and reared; and the men used to boast of their being Christians, and wear a cross about their necks; though he inquired all he could, he remarked nothing of the kind done in Jamaica.

P. 215. The planters reasons against the use of the plough were, the hardness of the ground, the negroes ignorance, and that it had ever been the practice to make use of the hoe; such was the substance of their argument, which he thinks was saying nothing.

It seemed to be the universal system, to supply their estates with African negroes, rather than be at the trouble of breeding.

Conceives those parts of Dominica, and the other islands ceded by France (by the peace of 1763) yet in woods and uncleared, cannot be cleared, without the purchase of negroes from some part or other.

The cultivation of the West India islands, to the extent of which they are capable, certainly will increase the trade and navigation of Great Britain: was P. 216. informed there is a great deal of land fit for cultivation still uncleared in Jamaica.

Does

Does not think, that the loss of seamen by the unfavourable circumstances of the slave trade, can be put in competition with the increased number of seamen that must be consequent upon the increased cultivation of the islands; but at the same time he must observe, that the loss of seamen in the African slave trade, as now carried on, is annually greater than the increase in the West India trade. 1790.

From the observations he was able to make at Mr. Prevost's estate, he could not discover any distinction made between the weak and strong; but they were in gangs most certainly.

Where, in the Privy Council Report, he is stated to have said, that he could not get the men to work for him, he meant, of some particular parts of the coast, not in general. And where, in the same report, he is stated to have said, that the field labours are usually performed by women, as to what part of the coast he meant to refer that assertion, says to no part whatever; for he never saw the women do any thing but carry the corn home, and set fire to the stubble of last year. P. 217.

Is of opinion, that by shewing the natives of Africa how to cultivate the land, it would call for the labour of ten times the number that are now transported to the West Indies as slaves; and require a greater quantity of shipping and seamen in the commerce, for the natural productions of that country, without any greater inconvenience in point of health to the seamen, than in the present West India trade.

And believes, if the slave trade were abolished, and every proper regulation adopted, to encourage the breeding of negroes in the West Indies, the stock of negroes would gradually increase, so as to be adequate to the clearing and cultivation of all the islands, to the full extent of which they are capable.

The regulations which he conceives to be still wanting, are, that marriage should be encouraged; that the man and woman should have a hut to themselves; that the woman should be taken wholly from field

1790. field labour, and only put to such as she is capable
 Part II. of, as a woman bearing children. The man should
 be allowed one day in a week to work for himself
 and family; a reward should be given to the woman,
 who had, and should rear, the greatest number of
 children. Under these regulations, he conceives, in
 the course of 20 years, their present numbers may be
 doubled, and the trade in slaves from Africa, totally
 unnecessary.

P. 218. Is not competent to judge, how many additional
 negroes are now wanted, to clear and cultivate the
 present uncleared lands in the British islands. Does
 not know the specific number of negroes in each of
 these islands; nor the specific quantity of lands now
 uncleared and uncultivated; has not been in the
 West Indies since 1772.

The principle upon which he fixes the period of
 20 years, for the purpose above-mentioned, is, the
 circumstance of the Americans doubling their num-
 bers in less than 20 years.

Witness examined—ANTHONY PANTALEO How, Esq.

P. 219. Was in Africa in 1785 and 1786, chiefly on the
 Gold Coast, in the *Grampus* man of war, employed
 by government as a botanist. When at Secundee,
 some order came from Cape Coast Castle; the same
 P. 220. afternoon several parties went out armed, and return-
 ed the same night with a quantity of slaves, which
 were put into the repository of the factory. Next
 morning saw people who came to see the prisoners,
 and requested Mr. Marsh the resident to release some
 of their children and relations. Some were released,
 part sent off to C. Coast Castle. Had every reason to
 believe they were obtained unfairly, as they came
 at an unseasonable time of the night, and from their
 parents and friends crying, and begging their release.
 Had been told as much from Mr. Marsh, who said,

he

Cannot speak from his own personal knowledge as 1790.
 to the conduct of planters and their slaves in the Part II.
 other islands mentioned. The negroes over which }
 Mr. Macvie presided, seemed in a much more com-
 fortable state than any he had seen in the W. Indies.
 He seemed a father to his slaves. Had seen negroes P. 244.
 whipped on the wharfs in Jamaica on Monday morn-
 ings. The mode was to make fast their hands to
 the hook of a crane, and their feet to a weight or
 two. The crane was then hove up to stretch their
 hands, and prevent them from moving, while flog-
 ged by a black man. Their backs afterwards prickled
 with a small bush. Does not recollect the number
 of lashes, or know whether these punishments were
 inflicted by judicial sentence, or the private order of
 the master. In Jamaica, has seen one or two of the
 distressed seamen called wharfingers carried by the
 blacks to a burying-place near Spring Path, the
 blacks themselves telling him "It was poor Buchra
 " man." Believes the blacks performed this office
 of their own accord. P. 245.

At Tobago has known the surf to run so high for
 two or three days together, that they could not land
 or take off goods.

The instrument with which negroes are whipped,
 is generally called a cow-skin; a piece of cow or
 bullock's hide twisted or plaited together, which,
 when dry, becomes exceeding hard.

He recollected seeing once a sailor in a man of war
 receive three dozen with the boatswain's cat, at the
 gangway, and only once being on deck when a man
 was flogged from ship to ship, his hands and feet
 are tied to prevent his moving. In this instance he
 fainted, but cannot describe other particulars. Be-
 lieves all hands are turned upon deck to see the pu-
 nishment as the man comes alongside. His back P. 246.
 receives it.

Always understood that the usual punishment of
 negroes on the wharfs at Kingston on Monday mor-
 ning, were for crimes of the preceding week. Never

1790. understood it was by order of the magistrates, but by Part II. direction of their masters or mistresses. Never saw negroes punished on plantations in Jamaica. Heard there is at Kingston a jumper, a man who punishes the negroes, and is paid for it, but of no such person on the estates. Knows not by whom this jumper is employed, but only that he was employed to whip the negroes.

Witness Examined—Rev. THOMAS GWYNN REES.

- P. 247. Went to the W. Indies as Chaplain in the Princess Amelia. Arrived at Barbadoes end of 1782. Made observations on the situation of slaves, in consequence of being informed in England how they were treated. Had opportunities by going ashore almost daily, and visiting such plantations as were within four or five miles of Bridge-Town. The negroes appeared generally to be in a very bad state. It struck him with the impression that they were not in general well fed. The clothing of the slaves was a small rag to cover their nakedness. Some had breeches or trowsers.
- P. 248. Their lodging, in small huts covered with cane leaves to appearance. Their furniture consisted of stools or benches. Saw no beds or bedding in the houses he was in. They slept on a kind of board raised a little from the ground, and some on the ground. Saw three or four gangs or more at different times, working on the plantations. The first he saw, were working with hoes or mattocks in their hands, with a negro driver after them with a whip, all in a row making small holes to put corn in. A driver attended each gang, whom he observed more than once to use his whip on the negroes at work. One of the women appeared pregnant, and rather behind the rest. He called to her to come on, and going back, struck her with the whip up towards the shoulders. Saw three working with iron collars in one gang, and one with a piece of chain to his leg. Asked a pregnant slave whether

whether

did not mind how they got them, for he purchased them 1790. fairly. Cannot tell whether this practice subsisted before; but when he has gone into the woods, has met 30 or 40 natives, who fled always at his appearance although they were armed. Mr. Marsh said, they were afraid of his taking them prisoners. Part II.

Concludes the slave-trade obstructs industry and civilization of the Africans. Has been at almost all English settlements, and found the culture always in a higher degree there where was less slave-trade, and vice versa. Had been about 50 miles inland from Secundee, and about 15 or 16 from Apollonia, and found the inland every where well cultivated, and hardly any where on the shore. Most cultivation at Winnebaha, Accra, and Goree. Beautiful cotton and indigo plantations at Goree. Saw no European commodities in the interior parts; is sure no European spirits were to be had there. The inhabitants there remarkably industrious, also hospitable and obliging. A village of several hundred houses on the Lake of Appollonia, whence in the rainy season they supply the sea coast with vegetables, grain, palm-wine, &c. Thinks they have but little capacity in regard to manufactures, but quick in learning languages. No manufactures among them except at Goree, where they weave cloth, and have almost abolished the slave-trade in the part now belonging to the French. P. 221.

Abreast of Cape le Hou, several canoes came along side of the Grampus, desired her colours might be hoisted. Finding her an English man of war, they came on board without hesitation, which otherwise they would not have done (see p. 225.) Reason alledged, that an English Guinea trader, a fortnight before, had taken off six canoes with men who came to trade with provisions. The next day about 10 leagues off, several canoes approached, but finding it was a man of war, retreated. On coming to Appollonia were told by Mr. Buchanan, the resident there, that a Guineaman (belonging to one Griffiths, a notorious kidnapper) was in that latitude, the cap-

1790. tain brought on shore, tied to a tree, and flogged for
 Part II. four days, in revenge for a depredation which another
 ~~~~~ had committed: thus accounting for the retreat of  
 the canoes on finding the Grampus a ship of war, and  
 fearing retaliation of the punishment.

Four children of the captives brought in to Secun-  
 dee, sent in the same canoe with himself to C.  
 Coast Castle.

The slaves kept in the Factories chained day and  
 night, and driven to the sea side twice a day to be  
 washed. In the factory saw different kinds of iron  
 P. 223. chains, also an instrument of wood, which Mr. Marsh  
 informed him was thrust into a man's mouth, to pre-  
 vent him from crying out when transported at night  
 along the country. From their mild behaviour to  
 their attendants, in the inland country, concludes  
 they had no domestick slaves; on the sea side this  
 behaviour very different.

The natural productions of Africa consist of cot-  
 ton in abundance, indigo of a fine quality, various  
 dye roots and woods, yams, sweet potatoes, rice,  
 millet, pulse, oranges, limes, bananas, plantanes,  
 cocoa-nuts, palm-trees, yielding wine and oil, black  
 pepper, grains of paradise, cinnamon, cardamoms,  
 affaœtida, cabinet-woods, and timber-trees. Of the  
 latter, a species of the Ficktonia grandis, considered  
 P. 224. as the most eligible for ship-building, the worm nei-  
 ther touching nor the iron corroding it; grows in  
 plenty at Appolonia, Secundee, and wherever he had  
 been. Has specimens of most. Has no doubt but  
 spices in general, and all other tropical productions  
 might be cultivated with success there. The soil  
 and climate adapted to produce the sandal wood.  
 Has seen indigo at Appolonia in its raw state, and  
 P. 225. also manufactured, but not manufacturing. Also  
 cotton growing in great abundance, but knows not  
 that any or either of these two articles were exported.

Was on the coast shortly after the rains, when the  
 indigo began to decay, in November, December, and  
 January. At places, at Appolonia and Winnebah,  
 the

the surf runs high in these months. It is easy to land a ton or two of goods; only performed by the inhabitants in canoes built on purpose: though at Appolonia these pretty frequently overset, seldom any thing is lost in the surf. 1790. Part II.

Cinnamon plants at St. Thomas, at the sea side, about 20 feet high; from what he heard grew inland to a higher size; those on the sea side he considered only as shrubs. He saw a number of them, and from the appearance of the bark brought down, concludes there must be a great quantity inland. The cinnamon and cassia tree of different genera; the one belongs to the class Laurus, the other the Cassia; their genera not quite established. Of the laurus, the leaf oblong, nerved, shining, simple. Of the cassia, the leaves are bipennate; different from the laurus, and not unlike the mimosa or sensitive plant. Is not positive that it is the same cinnamon which grows in India, but the bark, leaves, and whole structure of the tree, the same as those brought from thence to Kew gardens. Had never been at Ceylon, but had seen the tree both at Bombay and Cambay in private gardens, brought as presents from Ceylon. The African cassia not unlike that he had seen in East Indies. P. 226. P. 227.

The soil on the Gold coast, within reach of the surf, every where sandy (Goree islands also sandy) in the rest of the settlements he had been at, a heavy loam or clay: every where fertile. As far as eight or ten miles inland, various woods produced, used in dying, several of which are exported.

At Winnebah and Accra rocky; also about Appolonia within three miles of the coast, but the inland 10 or 12 miles from the shore, very well cultivated with rice, yams, sweet potatoes, indigo, and cotton; are fertile, and plentifully watered.

Within 5 miles up the country from Secundee, it is mountainous and uncultivated; the roads therefore very bad; in parts about five feet broad, but where the country is cultivated, in some parts they are cut through

1790. through the woods from 15 to 20 feet broad. Understood from Messrs. Buchanan and Marsh, that the produce was brought down in the rainy season in canoes.

Knows of no navigable rivers on the Gold Coast, except one at Accra, only navigable for small boats and canoes. The Lake at Appolonia runs inland about 20 miles. Has seen the produce, as far as the Lake extends at Appolonia, brought in small canoes, rowed by a single woman, but never saw them carry any thing in a basket.

P. 229. Griffiths, the notorious kidnapper, was a white man and slave-trader, between Cape Le Hou and Appolonia. Understood from Captain Thompson (who offered him a reward of 100l. if he could catch him) that he was a native of England; but had no knowledge of him himself. Knows neither name of ship or captain, who was flogged for four days by the natives, but understood she was an English slave-trader from Liverpool. Witness is a Polander, left Africa 15th February, 1786. Afterwards went with Capt. Thomson in the Nautilus, commissioned by this government on a private expedition. After his return, staid several months in London, and was again commissioned to go to the inland countries of the E. Indies, from whence he returned 19th of August last, and has been in England ever since.

Slave-trade on Gold Coast mostly carried on in neighbourhood of Cape Le Hou, Secundee, Com-menda, and Anamaboe. Has a quantity of indigo given him by the chief of the village, near Appolonia, who told him it was manufactured there, but had never himself seen it manufacturing. Never understood manufactured indigo was imported into that country as an article of trade.

Witness

Witness examined,—Mr. NINIAN JEFFERYS.

Mr. Ninian Jefferys, master in the Royal Navy, superintending ships in ordinary at Portsmouth, was at Jamaica in 1773, Tobago 1774, Jamaica 1775, Grenada 1776, Tortola 1779, Barbadoes and St. Lucia (in the navy) 1782, Antigua and St. Kitt's 1783, and at Jamaica a few days in 1784. In Jamaica in 1773 and 75, and at Tobago in 1774, had several opportunities, being employed as second mate in landing goods and taking off sugars from the islands, chiefly at Tobago. Observed the field-negroes at work with one or two white men looking after them, and a black man or two, called drivers, constantly cracking the whip over them, and sometimes lashing them, which he thought very oppressive; sometimes a white man whipping them. Had frequent opportunities of observing the plantation-slaves in his visits to Jamaica. The greater part of them had marks of the whip, particularly the back. Says, they must have been the effect of severer punishments than he ever saw inflicted in a man of war, which last are not in the least to be compared with them. Saw wheals on their backs which no time can erase, never any of the kind at a man of war's gangway. Has seen slaves with their ears cut off, and understood it was done by or by order of their masters, though never saw it done; also some with one of their hands cut off, which he understood was for lifting it against or striking a white man (believes by the laws of the island, p. 239.) Has seen negroes sick or past their labour, apparently neglected and destitute. At Tobago, more than once, at an outhouse in a very miserable situation. In Jamaica, and about Kingston, has frequently seen negroes apparently past their labour, and in a diseased condition lying in the streets and roads. Observed a very great difference between the domestick and plantation-slaves; considered the former as a nuisance

nuisance from their numbers, as generally over well  
 II. fed, and faucy; the plantation slaves, as a poor de-  
 pressed part of the human race. Has frequently  
 seen women with sucking infants working with the  
 rest of the gang. Their lodging were little huts,  
 233. with clayed walls, and the roof covered with cane  
 trash. Does not recollect any bedding. The black  
 tradesmen, fishermen, boatmen, free negroes, and  
 mulattoes, seemed in general to be in a much better  
 condition than the plantation negroes. Appeared  
 to him that no comparison could be formed between  
 the situation of the labouring poor of this country  
 and the plantation slaves; who are treated in many  
 respects like cattle. Has seen slaves branded with  
 initials. Has ever understood the picking of grass  
 to be oppressive, as encroaching on the hours of rest;  
 and the most common cause of their desertion is ill  
 treatment. Has seen them at work with logs of  
 wood fastened to their legs; in the stocks; also with  
 an iron collar round their necks, with a perpendicu-  
 lar hook on each side projecting from the upper part  
 of the head, and understood for running away.

In conversations respecting the most desirable qua-  
 lifications of managers or overseers, always under-  
 stood he was considered the best manager who sent  
 home the most sugar. At these conversations, white  
 persons from the estates have been present, but does  
 not recollect whether they were the managers.

Always considered the negroes as good mothers;  
 as to their feelings and capacities, he never con-  
 sidered them, being young when among them. Knew  
 an astonishing instance of high spirit and greatness  
 of mind: was present at the execution of 7 slaves in  
 Tobago in 1774, whose right arms were chopped  
 off; they were then dragged to seven stakes, and a  
 fire of trash and dry wood being lighted about them,  
 they were burnt to death. Does not recollect hear-  
 ing one of them murmur, or their doing any thing  
 which indicated fear. One of them, named Chubb,  
 had been taken that morning, and was executed in  
 the

the evening. Witness stood close by him when his arm was cut off; he stretched it out on the block, and pulled up his sleeve with more coolness than he (the witness) should have done to be let blood; would not be dragged, but walking to the stake, turned about and addressing himself to the witness, said "Buchra, you see me now, but to-morrow I shall be like that," kicking up the dust with his foot. Two other negroes were present at this execution, and shewed no marks of dismay. One of these, named Sampson, was hung alive in chains the next morning, and so lived (to the best of witness's recollection) seven days; believes the other was sent to the mines in South America. A stronger instance of human fortitude he never saw.

Observed a much greater number of children among the domestic or free negroes, in proportion, than among the field negroes.

Saw numbers of seamen, who came on shore from the Guinea ships in the W. Indies, in and about Kingston, in a very distressed state, ulcerated, apparently in want, and lying about on the wharfs, known by the name of wharfingers; has seen them in a dying state. Believes not usual for king's ships to take such seamen on board, especially in time of peace; lest they should bring contagious distempers with them. Believes they were not able to do the duty of a merchantman. Never saw instances of seamen discharged from other trades lying about in a similar situation. Thinks the slave trade is by no means a nursery for seamen, and that the West India trade is not in any degree so destructive to the health and lives of the seamen, though not so much a nursery as other trades.

Was about four months in Jamaica, in 1773: was then aged about 19 years. Resided on board the ship he belonged to; was on three or four plantations; but not more than a day and a night at a time. Was about 4 months in 1774 at Tobago, chiefly residing on board ship, though some time at a friend's house in the country, not a sugar plantation. Was at Jamaica,

1790.  
Part II

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maica, as second mate, about four months in 1775, residing mostly on ship-board, and sometimes a day or two together on shore at Kingston where the ship loaded. Was not then, at above two or three sugar plantations. nor above a night or two at a time. Received sugars at water side.

39. What he said respecting the mode of working negroes, relates to Tobago only, where the greater part of the plantation negroes were marked with the whip.

Travelled through a great part of Tobago, never continuing but two or three nights on one estate, besides that of his friend, which was not a sugar estate.

Believes the field slaves to be more useful to the owner than the domestic ones. Cannot account for so many of the latter being kept, and better fed. The conversation on the qualifications of a manager were held at Kingston, and on board the ship he belonged to; and the doctrine beforementioned, supported by gentlemen about Kingston, and white men from the estates, who he did not conceive to be planters.

40. The crimes for which the men were burnt at Tobago in 1774, were murder, and destroying the property on the estate.


There may be an hospital at Kingston in Jamaica, for the reception of sailors and transient poor, but he never saw it.

42. Had been near a week at a time on Little Courland estate, the proprietor, or chief gentleman whereof was Stuart Macvie, Esq.; and frequently spent a night in the boiling-house of different estates, waiting for sugar being carted down. Saw no punishments inflicted at Mr. Macvie's. Does not particularly know, but believes about 200 negroes on that estate. Recollects no regular punishments; except of those men who suffered death, as he believes, by the sentence of the law. It was in Kingston market, in

43. Jamaica, where he saw negroes with their ears cut off, and understood it was done by their masters, or their orders. In the year 1784, witness had not frequent opportunities of making observations in that island.

Cannot



whether she was forced to work like the rest, and she 1790.  
 said, Yes. Saw sucking infants in baskets on the Part II.  
 ground, just by where the women were at work, and one   
 of the latter suckling her infant. Recollects in a su- P. 249.  
 gar mill a young girl between 20 and 30 years old,  
 chained to a large block, within reach of the mill,  
 which she fed with sugar cane. She said she was to  
 be chained there a twelvemonth, of which two months  
 had elapsed, for running away from her master, who  
 had used her badly, and that she was obliged to sleep  
 where she was, on the ground, having very little but  
 cane juice to sustain her; which was confirmed by a  
 slave present. Says that about half a mile from Bridge-  
 Town, he heard the groans of a person at a small  
 distance. On inquiring of her, she told him that she  
 had been flogged for running away, to such a degree  
 that she could hardly move. Saw the marks. Her  
 left side appeared to be in a mortifying state, almost  
 covered with worms. On her saying she could eat if  
 she had victuals, he sent for some to the town. On his  
 return in a few hours, saw her again. Repeating his  
 visit a day or two afterwards, was informed she was  
 dead, and carried away to be buried. The observa- P. 250.  
 tion made by him and Mr. Vivian, the purser of the  
 Princess Amelia, (then in his company) was, whoever  
 inflicted that punishment would have done a kindness  
 to have killed her.

Supposes they remained on the station a fortnight P. 251.  
 or three weeks afterwards. On shore every day, but  
 did not hear of any public inquiry respecting the  
 transaction. In saying that he saw 3 or 4 gangs or  
 more at different times, he meant that number every  
 time he went on shore. A great many more in the  
 whole.

Often saw negroes returning from their work with  
 bundles of grass; one of them said it was for his  
 Master's cattle, and that, if he did not procure it,  
 he should be flogged; thinks picking grass must  
 make a considerable addition to their labour, and to  
 the length of time they were employed, as in the parts

1790. he saw grafs did not appear to be in plenty. The Part II. whipping the negroes while at work, by the driver, was a common practice. Thinks it impossible to walk in the streets or roads about Bridge Town without seeing some of the negroes, apparently in great distress, some with the leprosy, some enfeebled thro' age, and others who have lost their limbs, begging.

P. 252. Observed very frequently the marks of former severe whippings on the backs of the plantation slaves. Has often seen seamen flogged on board a man of war, particularly in running the gauntlet, which is a violent flogging; but did not observe marks of equal severity on their bodies. Observed marks of former floggings on seamen's backs, but the wounds did not appear so deep, nor the wheals so high above the skin, nor were the scars so long as on the slaves.

Has seen the negro-dance, observed a difference in the dancers, some better dressed than others; was informed the well-dressed were domestic servants, and the others field slaves. In different companies, the well-dressed appeared better in their countenances and in spirits.

P. 253. The negroes appeared to be as reasonable as any other beings whatever (considering their education). Thinks no comparison can be drawn between the state of plantation slaves, and that of the labouring poor in England.

Was between two and three months at St. Lucia, where the condition of plantation slaves seemed much the same as in Barbadoes.

P. 254. Had no idea from what he heard in England before he left it, that the state of slaves in the W. Indies, was so bad as he found it to be.

Remembers a conversation at Mr. Prettyjohn's, on the difference between breeding and buying slaves, in which having asked if they had not enough born without sending to Africa for them, and if population was encouraged; Mr. P. answered, they could not encourage it more than they did, as it was not worth while.

Does

Does not recollect his mentioning any particular means that had been used to encourage population. 1790. Part II.

Was at Barbadoes about five or six weeks. Don't recollect the names of the proprietors of any sugar estates in Barbadoes. Slept once or twice on shore, about four miles from Bridge-Town, but don't remember the name of the planter: thinks it was on a sugar estate: a boiling house on it. Supposes he was not on 20 sugar estates. Knows not how many of them within four or five miles of Bridge-Town; nor how the lands in its vicinity are divided; the chief he saw were in corn and cane plots, and very little potatoes or cassada. Made very little inquiry respecting the food of plantation-slaves. Was told by one of them that it was chiefly of corn and cane juice. Respecting their clothing, huts, and manner of sleeping, his knowledge was got from his own observation. Intended to be better informed by Mr. Prettyjohn, but their sudden departure prevented it. Mr. P. he thinks is both merchant and planter, and that he was generally at Bridge-Town while they were there. Dined twice or thrice, or oftner with him. The first time with Admiral Hughes a week or nine days after their arrival. P. 255. P. 256.

Had conversation with him about ploughing the ground for corn; he said it had been tried, but would not answer. Did not talk to him of using the plough in the cultivation of sugar, thinking it impracticable, the canes being put down in holes. Mr. P. appeared to be an ingenious sensible man, whose opinion would be taken as soon as any body's. Was no otherwise acquainted with the Rev. Dr. Wharton, than by probably having dined with him at a public-house.

Never asked the name of the proprietor of the plantation on which he saw a woman chained to a block, feeding the mill, as it might have prejudiced him against one who in other respects might be valuable. Thinks if it would deter others from similar usage, the perpetrator of said cruelty ought to be published to the world. Did not mention it to Mr. Prettyjohn but P. 257.

1790. but on board the ship. Three or four of them were  
Part II. together when it happened.

Does not recollect to whom the woman said she belonged, whom he found to have been so punished. She was found from half a mile to a mile from Bridge-Town. Thinks he did not tell Mr. Prettyjohn of it, and whether to others, does not recollect. The reason he did not promote her receiving that medical assistance which seemed necessary, was a hope that her master would soon take care of her, and they did not care to interfere about his slaves. Witness resides at Ilchester in Somersetshire, and is not a beneficed clergyman. Asked if he has heard of persons suffering in England for the death of a servant by cruel usage, and has observed in Great-Britain, miserably diseased white persons lying about, apparently neglected, with sores and ulcers exposed to naked view; begging relief, and a nuisance to the public: answers, he has. Never saw a slave punished on a plantation in the W. Indies, but by 2 or 3 licks of the driver. All the poor in England have a parish to go to, which is obliged to maintain them when incapable of work. Their parish furnishes medicine when they are sick, and their labour

P. 258. keeps them from starving. The usual wages pr. week where witness resides, of labouring men, is generally 6s. but less in winter. Is of opinion that a labouring man with a wife and 2 or 3 children and their assistance, although unassisted by the parish, can support himself with the necessaries of life.

Thinks it was in January when he saw the woman chained to a block in the mill, and that they were cutting canes in Barbadoes when he was there. Asked whether, when the woman said she was to continue feeding the mill a twelve month, witness thought she must be mistaken, as she could not have canes all the year to feed it; answers, he thought she must.

Holes for corn made with the hoe, small and not very deep. Thinks not much difference between that labour, and reaping corn in England. The pregnant woman before-mentioned, had a hoe in her hand:  
thinks

thinks he was told she was making holes for corn. 1790. Has seen pregnant women reaping corn in Wales, but Part II. thinks not in England.

Thinks it would have been more for the safety of P. 261. the woman he found in the situation before-described to have communicated it to the owner or overseer of the estate she belonged to, but as a stranger, did not choose to interfere. Did not know how far off she lived; nor, as many must have seen her, whether her master was not informed of it.

Most of the negroes had a little rag to cover their nakedness; some, breeches or trowsers. Could see evident marks of whipping on their backs, and on the breech of those who had only rags to cover them. The women have short coats.

His being suddenly called away, prevented his ob- P. 262. taining that accurate information of the condition and treatment of slaves which he intended. Should have made more inquiry, thinking that those he saw who had been punished, might have been guilty of worse crimes than they acknowledged themselves to have committed. Thinks that two or three that he casually asked whether they ever went to church, answered, No, or very seldom. Does not recollect to have ever had or heard any conversation about any attempts made by the masters to promote their religious improvement. Remembers asking a driver how he could strike a person so hard as he did, and that the answer imported, if he did not beat him, he would not work. Does not recollect the particular objections to the use of the plough in the culture of corn, but thought there was not grass enough on the the island to maintain the cattle, as those he saw were generally very poor. Has known the plough used in a soil wherein P. 263. there was abundance of large stones, and an extremely uneven surface. As at Stapleton, Wiuterborn, Long-Brady, &c; in Dorsetshire, where there are flints; and at Newport in Wales, where are stones under ground, and the plough can scarce go its length without meeting one. Never saw labourers in Britain working

1790. working under the whip of a driver, but has seen Part II. them beat for not working.

~ Thinks that of green provender, they give the cane tops, as well as grafs to the cattle. Knows not whether cattle are fed with potatoe vines, and Indian and Guinea corn. Were used to give Guinea corn leaves to cattle on board. Supposes he was on shore a score P. 264. of times at Barbadoes.

Witness examined—Mr. THOMAS WOOLRICH.

Was in the West Indies from 1753 to 1773; but in the interim took two or three trips to England, and two to North America; was in a mercantile line chiefly in Tortola; but also, occasionally at Barbadoes, Antigua, and St. Kitts. On his first arrival at Tortola, saw much severity used upon negroe slaves, though their situation was more tolerable than afterwards. At that time their number not being near so great, they were allowed sufficient provision ground, which some years afterwards being abridged, had a tendency to a want of food for their support; P. 265. as the island was more and more cleared, more was converted into cane land; the number of negroes increased, their grounds were more divided, or were given them in smaller lots; as the number increased their punishments became more severe. Had many opportunities of seeing field-slaves at work. Lived six or seven years in the house of a principal planter. On lessening the slaves provision ground, food was very seldom imported from abroad; there was no certainty or dependence on it.

Had heard planters comparing the number of negroes at prior dates, with the then number, and they signified their increase by births without importation; there was reckoned a general increase upon the whole, through the island. At that time the planters were altogether in good credit with the merchants;

merchants; none known to be involved in debts to 1790. the merchants in the island or in England. Being Part II. a merchant he had many opportunities of knowing their situations; their payments were very punctual, P. 266. had great opportunities of knowing the produce of most estates; their expences moderate at that time; seldom under the necessity of purchasing provisions for their slaves. The planters he thinks then wholly resided on their own plantations in that island. The chief articles of produce then were Sugar, Cotton, and Rum. But Cotton-planting diminishing, as that of Sugar increased, not near so much Cotton was made the latter part of his time there. Planting of Sugars is more laborious to the slaves; in some instances it proved more profitable to the owners, but in general otherwise. About three or four years after his arrival there, some Guinea ships came down with cargoes of slaves; the planters in general bought: this induced many to turn out cotton and plant canes, which is more laborious. Many of the new negroes often die in seasoning, and Guinea ships coming down time after time, the planters bought to supply their places. This continuing, many P. 267. planters got much involved in debt by purchasing slaves on credit, and were obliged to mortgage their estates and slaves to merchants in England. Has never known a planter who thus mortgaged pay off the debt. Some in consequence have been obliged to have them sold by auction much under value, and the English merchant has suffered in his debt. Has known some of these estates sold, where the owners have become overseers upon them. During the latter part of his stay in Tortola, many field-negroes had small lots to plant provision upon, where it could be afforded, but supposes it was not general. Some planters allowed them Saturday afternoons, except in crop, to raise provisions; many also who had land worked it on Sundays, obliged thereto by the owner or overseer. Very difficult to judge of the

1790. increase of negroes, by births, in Tortola, in the  
 Part II. latter period of his stay there; but in that period they  
 did not increase in the proportion they did on his first  
 arrival, when fewer in number, and more moderately  
 used. Droughts are common in all those islands;  
 sometimes great and long; and a cause of scarcity  
 whereby the negroes suffer greatly, near to a famine;  
 and slaves have pined away and died, as food could  
 P. 268. not be procured. Never saw a gang of negroes that  
 appeared to him any thing like sufficiently fed; their  
 appearance sufficiently proves their situation. A sight  
 of a few gangs of the field-negroes would convince  
 more fully than his description by any number of words.  
 Slaves frequently run away from their masters. It is to  
 be attributed to severe usage for trivial faults. With  
 respect to their emaciated appearance, speaks as  
 to every other island he had been in: has seen it more  
 in Antigua than in Tortola. During the whole of his  
 stay at Tortola, the clothing of the field negroes was  
 very trifling; the men, generally a pair of trowsers;  
 the women, a peticoat, made of coarse Osnaburghs,  
 given them once a year in general by their owners;  
 some do not give so much. Apprehends the field-ne-  
 groes in general do not cost their masters half a crown  
 per head per annum in clothing. Their houses are  
 small square huts, built with poles, and thatched at the  
 top and sides with a kind of Bamboo; built by the  
 negroes for themselves: the field-negroes lie on the  
 ground, in the middle of the huts, with a small fire  
 generally before them; have no bedding; some ob-  
 tain a board or mat to lie on before the fire; a few  
 of the head negroes have cabbins of boards, raised  
 from the floor, but no bedding, except some who  
 P. 269. have a coarse blanket. The usual punishments of  
 plantation-slaves according to the nature of their  
 crimes; of a runaway, it is exceeding severe; four  
 negroes to take hold of each arm and leg, and lay  
 him on the ground, when the chief whipper lays  
 upon their bare back 40, 50, 60, or more lashes,  
 just at the pleasure of the owner or overseer. Has  
 seen



seen negroes whipped, when the first stroke has made the blood spout out immediately. There are other ways of correction very barbarous; such as setting upon a picket, which is standing on one foot upon a sharp stick; also the thumb-screws, which give intolerable pain. It is very common to see marks of whippings on the persons of the slaves, some with their backs an undistinguished mass of lumps, holes, and furrows, by frequent whippings; most of the field-negroes are marked by the whip; all that he had seen, work under the whip, which the drivers carry for their correction, and of which they are continually in dread. It is made generally of plaited cowskin, with thick strong lashes; a formidable instrument in one of the overseers hands, who would take the skin off a horse's back with one of them; has seen them lay its marks into a deal board. Knows not of any protection slaves had from the ill usage of their masters. A negro ran away from a planter with whom he was well acquainted; the overseer having orders to take him dead or alive, a while after found him in one of his huts, fast asleep, in the day time, and shot him through the body. The negro jumping up, said, "What, you kill me asleep," and dropt dead immediately. The overseer took off his head and carried it to his owner. Knew another instance in the same island: a planter offended with his waiting man, a mulatto, stepped suddenly to his gun, on which the man ran off, but his master shot him through the head with a single ball. Mentioned another instance, a manager of an estate in Tortola, whose owner did not reside on the island, sitting at dinner, in sudden resentment, ran his cook, a negroe woman, through the body, and she died immediately. The negroes were called in to take her away and bury her. All the white people in the island were acquainted with these facts, which happened when he was in it, and which none doubted: neither of these offenders were ever called to an account, nor were they at all shunned or considered

1790. sidered in disgrace. Had several times seen slaves  
 Part II. working in the fields, in chains; the most striking  
 instance of it was in Antigua, where a considerable  
 gang were working in one chain. Had seen another  
 gang or two carrying down sugars from the moun-  
 tainous parts of that island, upon their heads in tubs,  
 P. 271. baskets or bags, heavy laden. Their appearance was  
 shocking, from the scantiness of cloathing, their ap-  
 parent great want of food, and other instances of  
 severe usage. It was noticed by some gentlemen  
 who also saw them, and seemed to express themselves  
 in terms denoting resentment at such severity; but it  
 is too common.

In all the islands, so far as he has seen, it is usual  
 to turn the field negroes out to their work as soon as  
 the light well appears, and they are not discharged  
 from their drivers or overseers until the close of the  
 evening, or dark. They have time to eat their food  
 in the morning, and also at noon; but their usual  
 hours, or other particulars of rest, he cannot speak  
 to. When discharged from field labour, they have  
 generally to pull grafs for their master's horses and  
 cattle. By the time this is done, it is dark. If  
 picking grafs be reckoned as a part of their day  
 labour, it lengthens the day; if as an addition to it,  
 it is a great hardship. When grafs is plenty, it is  
 no harder work than field labour, but in droughts it  
 is scarce; and if they fail in their quantity, they are  
 often punished. Are compelled to do this business

P. 272. as duly as any part of the day's labour. Thinks  
 that pregnant women (field slaves) had some little  
 indulgencies, but it is customary for them to work  
 in the field, till near their time. The whip occa-  
 sionally used upon them, but not so severely as on  
 the men, that he ever observed.

The "seasoning of negroes," not any disease or  
 distemper. Always understood the new negroes  
 deaths to be occasioned by being put to hard labour  
 soon after being landed, and from the scarcity of  
 food, and want of almost every other necessary.

Knew

Knew many instances of this seasoning being extremely fatal to slaves. Some planters, who purchased new negroes, told him they have lost one-third of the number, or more, in the first year of the seasoning. Never saw a cargo of slaves, but what had sick or refuse negroes, more or less, which sold at a lower price; probably for cotton planters, an easier business than that of the cane. 1790. Part II. P. 273.

Negro slaves, attached to a plantation, besides field slaves, are house carpenters, coopers, and masons. The treatment of these generally better than of field slaves, they have more certain allowance of provisions. Many of the female domestics are in a pretty good situation: their labour is more moderate, and they have more food and cloathing. Heard but of few instances of suicide among the Creole slaves; but of a good many among Africans. The principal instance: A planter purchased six men slaves out of a Guinea ship, and put them on a small island to plant cotton. They had a white man with them as overseer, who left them of a Saturday night. There were no white inhabitants on the island. On the Monday following the overseer returned, when he found all the six hanging near together in the woods. Had often inquired of the most sensible negroes what could be the cause of such actions, and the answer was, "That they would rather die, than live in the situation they were in." P. 274.

Not able to say particularly what a tradesman slave and a field slave could earn for themselves. Many field slaves have it not in their power to earn any thing exclusive of their master's work. Some few raise fowls, and some few pigs, and sell them: but their number is very few. The black tradesmen in Tortola have very seldom any jobs to do on a Sunday, which is the only day allowed for themselves. The intellect of the negroes are various, as among other people. Some that are brought up amongst the white people, of as good abilities as are common amongst mankind, considering their situation, and want

1790. want of education. Had observed the young negroes  
 Part II. learn trades as readily as whites. Many are ingenious  
 workmen. Knows of no exceptions to their possessing  
 the social affections as strongly as whites, more  
 particularly the Creoles. Apprehends their natural  
 affection for their children and relatives, is as great  
 P. 275. as elsewhere. No kind of religion amongst the negroes  
 of Tortola. The Creoles have a certain belief in a  
 Supreme Being. The Africans, at first coming,  
 speak no language but their own; but he never knew  
 one that could express himself, but allowed of a  
 Supreme Being. If the word of a slave is disputed,  
 he will frequently lift up his hands, and say, God  
 above knows what they assert to be true. After the  
 arrival of African negroes in Tortola, they are ge-  
 nerally kept a few days before they are put to field  
 labour. Never knew any who were not put to labour  
 a week after they were purchased. Knew but one  
 or two planters who branded their slaves. Never  
 saw the operation.

Droughts generally affect all kinds of vegetation,  
 and hurt the provisions. Some kinds are less injured  
 by them than others, and it is said yams least.

The lower orders of people in this country cannot  
 be compared with the general condition of slaves.  
 The situation of these is very lamentable, (would  
 not wish to use any word to exaggerate) but it can-  
 not be described to the full to the understanding of  
 those who have never seen it. Never knew any  
 planter or owner of a gang of slaves that used them  
 as well as either a good or bad master uses his ser-  
 vants in England. Hard labour, with the want of  
 necessaries of life, wages, or cloathing, are sufficient  
 to make their condition much harder than the lowest  
 degree of servants in England. Certainly the mas-  
 ter's interest to treat his slaves well, as the contrary  
 never fails to bring loss and embarrassment on their  
 owners. Believes it is from want of wisdom that  
 they are treated ill. Apprehends the masters of  
 slaves become morose and cruel by being used to that  
 kind

kind of business, and that it considerably hurts the 1790.  
 morals of the white people. Part II.

Since he left Tortola, by means of correspondence, or seeing some person from the island, (which is generally every year) he has been informed of its state from year to year, to the present time. The last information represented the planters to be in very distressed circumstances. Divers of their estates, mortgaged in England, had been sold at public vendue, upon very low terms, because few were able to pay for them; and the general credit so low with the planters, that but few could obtain the necessaries they want from the stores kept there, by reason of the debts to English merchants. It has been his opinion for many years, that the unnecessary purchasing of African slaves, has been the main cause of their embarrassments, and the accumulation of their debts. Many new negroes dying soon after imported, the planters are induced to buy again upon credit, by which their debts have been increased with the English merchants. P. 277.

Has asked many African slaves how they were brought into that situation—amongst others a waiting boy he had, who told him, that he and his sister being caught together in the field, tending some corn, were both carried away. Men slaves had told him they were surprized, and made prisoners of by the enemy, in the night, in their own houses or village: others, that they were prisoners of war.

Amongst different planters there are different usages of their slaves. Some feed and treat them better than others. Fully believes the circumstances of the owners have a great effect in that case. The slaves of those who are much in debt, are generally more severely and worse treated, than slaves of such as are in easy circumstances.

The planter, with whom he resided 6 or 7 years, was named John Pickering, whose house was on his plantation, and he had none in town. Lodged there P. 278.  
 that

1790. that space of time, but was never so long at one time  
 Part II. in Tortola, but a longer space at two different  
 ~~~~~ periods.

The lands in Tortola, which used to be planted in cotton, could not have been cultivated for sugar in so short a time, without the importation of slaves
 P. 280. from Africa. Apprehends the planting of sugar would require a larger body of negroes than the cotton planters generally have. There never has been any cotton planted in those parts of the island where the sugar-cane is planted. As to comparing the planting of cotton and sugar by equal quantities of land, is not a judge of the difference of labour. Cotton is planted upon the poorest parts, upon rocky and steep places, mostly where canes are not planted. No regular plantations of cotton but upon keys and rocky hills. When he first went there, he thinks more than one-half was in its native woods. The best parts were in the hands of different proprietors, who cleared small parts of it from year to year, whereby they enlarged their sugar plantations, and made new ones.

P. 281. During the whole of his residence in Tortola, a court of justice was held the first Monday in three or four months of the year, by the governor and six magistrates, but no assembly: though the island was not under the same settled administration of justice that prevailed in the other islands, justice was administered in as good and regular order, as in any of the others before mentioned.

The wood lands, by clearing of which the sugar estates were increased from 10 or 12 to 50 or 60,
 P. 282. could not have been in so short a time if there had been no importation. Is very certain the event has been greatly to the loss and embarrassment of the planters, owing to the bad management and hard usage of the slaves; and that 7-8ths of the planters would have been in much better circumstances, if they had not bought any negroes during the time of his
 his

his residence there, but had used those they had with 1790.
humanity and care. Part II.

Water brackish and scarce in Tortola.

Never resided on any other sugar plantation than J. Pickering's. Thinks a pair of trowsers and a shirt are quite sufficient cloathing for a working negro in the field; and that a petticoat and jacket for a woman is an equivalent. Cannot say that a shirt is absolutely necessary, but it appears beneficial, and is what they would chuse. Has never known those who had one on, to pull it off, when at work in the field. P. 285.

When he settled in the Road Town, his family consisted of a clerk and two apprentices in his store, and occasionally three, four, or five black domestics. Sometimes fowls or vegetables were to be bought from the negroes, but very rarely. The supply of these articles in the stores was very small. Generally used salted beef and pork. Sometimes dried pease from America. Fresh meat dear and scarce through the island. Beef and mutton, killed by the planters, at times to be bought. A good supply of fish at times, and always at a reasonable price.

Heard of a great number of wrecks of ships upon the island or reefs of Annigado, but was never there: also that a Spanish ship was wrecked a year or two before he went to Tortola, and that before his arrival lieutenant-general Fleming, the commander in chief of the Leeward Islands, came down from St. Kitts, to demand and secure for the right owners, the money saved from that wreck. Was told that some delivered to him what they got of it, and that others delivered none, but never heard of any being brought to justice upon that account. P. 286.

Has been two or three times in Barbadoes, but never above two weeks at a time; and then did not reside on any sugar plantation.

Has been four, five, or six times at Antigua: believes the longest was three or four weeks, but did not reside on any sugar estate there.

Numb. 3.

P.


Had

1790. Had been only once, a very short time, in St. Part II. Kitts, and not on any sugar estate.

Kept one horse, while resident in the Road Town P. 287. at Tortola. The grass for him was bought from negroes who sometimes brought it to the road for sale, in the evening. It was their own property, and generally paid for with tobacco, salt herrings, or coarse linens. In crop time their horses were fed from cane tops, which were had for fetching. Apprehends such of the other merchants in Road Town as had no estates of their own, supplied their horses in the same way. Computes the grass bought for his horse every night when the negroes came, to have cost two bits, or about 11d. sterling, but without oats thinks two bits worth would have been insufficient. Grass picking in the evening on plantations, continues in crop time and all the year.

P. 288. Never saw any cane tops carried home for planter's horses or stock; the draft mules at the mill live entirely upon them during crop time. They are a nourishing food for mules, who altogether live on them; and for horses also. Does not know whether horned cattle, sheep, and goats, eat them or not. Negroes in a plantation who have a hog to feed, have what quantity they please to take for that purpose. The pork fed on them reckoned the best. They had generally, he thinks, the skimmings of the boiling of sugar. Cannot say if that skimming is allowed or not by their masters; thinks some prime negroes would not be debarred of it, as it seemed not to be fit for any other use. Knows of no negro being flogged for feeding his hogs with it. J. Pickering had a distillery for rum on his plantation. Apprehends the skimmings of the sugar-coppers are not a main ingredient used in the distil-houses, for setting of liquor in the casks for making of rum. Molasses is the main and principal ingredient; but thinks skimmings are also always used with the molasses for setting casks for distilling.

P. 289. He traded at Tortola, in most kinds of manufactured

tured goods; also in Irish provisions; sometimes in 1790.
 American cargoes of flour, bread, and other articles; Part II.
 but no corn. Has sold Osnaburghs, checks, and 
 other coarse linens, &c. to the negroes. Has frequently imported and sold salt herrings from Ireland; never any cod or mackrel, that he recollects; sold the salted herrings to the planters; for the slaves in crop time were generally employed at hard work the whole 6 days of the week. They are a perishable commodity, and he thinks will not keep good a whole year in that island. Knows no instance of great scarcity of Irish salt provisions, since he kept a store in the road. There was a scarcity of flour and bread, but not much to distress the white people. There was never, to his knowledge, any certain supply of provisions, suitable for the negroes, at all times of the year. There was, more frequently, no necessary P. 290. food for them to be bought at the merchant's stores. Never had any concern in planting, or as proprietor of any plantation at Tortola, or elsewhere. Never had more than 4 or 5 slaves at one time. One of them came to England with him, the others were left at the store with a partner. During his stay in Tortola, there was no complaint that white people could not obtain legal redress for injuries they might have received. The inhabitants were sensible there was not in the island a sufficient authority to bring capital offenders to trial and punishment, without a special commission from the governor general. While he was there, a murder was committed by one white person upon another. The murderer was tried, in P. 291. consequence of a commission from the governor general, by a jury, who acquitted him. Redress was to be had on complaints of smaller offences, from the governor and council. White mechanics or tradesmen pursued their occupations in Tortola, throughout the day, as in other countries. Did not serve on the jury; is one of the people called Quakers. In speaking of Tortola, he also included the Virgin Islands.

Witness examined,—HENRY HEW DALRYMPLE, Esq.

1790. Was lieutenant in the 75th regiment, in garrison
 Part II. at Goree, and on various parts of the coast, from May
 to the end of September, 1779. Made it his business
 P. 291. to inquire as to the mode of obtaining slaves; had
 P. 292. his information from French mulattoes and natives,
 particularly the Maraboo of Dacard, a sensible and
 intelligent man. Inhabitants of Goree respectable.
 He was weekly on the continent, with a view of
 knowing the situation of the country, and modes of
 procuring slaves, because he held slaves himself in the
 West Indies, and wished to ascertain that matter be-
 yond doubt. In consequence, was informed that the
 great droves (called caffillas, or caravans) of slaves
 brought from inland, by way of Galam, to Seneg-
 al and Gambia, were prisoners of war. Those sold
 to vessels at Goree, and near it, were procured either
 P. 293. by the grand pillage, the lesser pillage, or by rob-
 bery of individuals. The grand pillage is executed
 by the king's soldiers, from 3 or 400, to 2 or 3000,
 who attack and set fire to a village, and seize the
 inhabitants as they can. The smaller parties gener-
 ally lie in wait about the villages, and take off all
 they can surprize; which is also done by individuals,
 who do not belong to the king, but are private rob-
 bers. These sell their prey on the coast, where it is
 well known no questions, as to the means of obtain-
 ing it, are asked.

It seemed to be universally believed on the coast,
 that their wars are undertaken for the purpose of
 procuring slaves. Whenever he asked the negroes
 in the West Indies (who had been brought in those
 caffillas, or droves) how they had been made prison-
 ers, they generally told him, had been thus taken by
 surprize, either at night in their villages, straggling
 from their huts (particularly the women) or when
 cultivating

cultivating their fields. He does not say no wars ^{1790.} arise in Africa, but from a desire of making slaves; ^{Part II.} but that this, from answers received, appeared to be the general cause. Every body on the coast reported that these wars were seldom of more than 8 or 10 days continuance; that seldom, in the most decisive actions, the number of prisoners or killed, amounted to more than 20 or 30, and that it is principally on the coast marauding expeditions are found. Kidnap- ^{P. 294.} ping is so notorious, that he never heard any person, French or native, deny it there. Two men, while he was at Goree, offered a person, a messenger from Senegal to Rufisco, for sale, to the garrison. They did not deny he was a free man, but rather boasted of what they had done, in making themselves masters of him. Witness indisposed, withdrew. On a subsequent day, desired to explain the former part of his evidence, having been so ill when he delivered it: said, that as to the marauding expeditions, informa- ^{P. 295.} tion from slaves in the West Indies, tended to convince him, they were procured in that manner in the interior of Africa also. Many were brought to Goree while he was there, but seldom more than 3 or 4 together, and oftner only one. He understood it common for European traders to advance goods to chiefs, to induce them to seize on their subjects, or neighbours. Not one of the mulatto traders at Goree, ever thought of denying it. These depredations are also practised by the Moors; saw many slaves in Africa, who told him they were taken by them; 3 of these, one of them a woman, cried very much, and seemed to be in great distress; the two others more reconciled to their fate. All crimes in the parts of ^{P. 296.} Africa he was in, were punished with slavery. At Goree, where most inhabitants are mulattoes, slaves are common; but on the continent there are but few, and these are treated so well, eating and working with their masters, that they are not distinguishable from free men. Never saw any whip or instrument of torture used there; nor did he believe, on inquiry,

1790. inquiry, that slaves there were used with severity.
Part II. They believe in witchcraft.

~~~~~  
Frauds are often practised on the natives, by European merchants. He has heard mulatto merchants, and European captains, boast of it.

While at Goree, a ship attempted to sail out of the bay with a number of negroes, without paying for them; and this was the reason given for their orders to fire on her, and bring her to. From what he saw and heard, he has no doubt but the thing is common.

P. 297. The productions of the part of Africa he was in, are cotton of 3 kinds, indigo, dyes of different kinds, spices, sugar canes, tobacco, millet of 2 kinds, ebony, and different kinds of cabinet wood. The sugar canes were thought, by judges, to be superior to any produced in the West Indies. The cotton grows spontaneously almost every where, though sometimes cultivated; is of a remarkable fine staple, and as he was told by Mr. Oswald, an African merchant, is esteemed, by the English merchants, far superior to any that comes from the West Indies. The indigo is likewise of a better quality than what grows in our islands; it is reckoned equal to that of Guatemala. He has reserved specimens of these articles. They have beside, at Goree, a root which dyes a beautiful scarlet, and its leaves a bright yellow or orange. The soil and climate seem both extremely favourable for the growth of spices. Cardamoms are found in great perfection near Cape Verd.

As far as he could judge, in natural capacity the negroes are equal to any people whatever: and in temper and disposition (of which, from being constantly among them, he had, he believes, as many opportunities of judging, as any Englishman on the coast) they appeared to be humane, hospitable, and well disposed. The country well cultivated, and from the general disposition of the natives to labour, he is convinced, that had they a proper market for their produce, they would be as industrious as any Europeans.

Europeans. He remarked, that where there was little or no trade for slaves, they were most industrious. They manufacture cotton cloths, almost equal in the workmanship, to those of Europe; they work in gold, silver and iron, remarkably neat; also in wood, and make saddles, bow-cases, scabbards, gris-gris, and other things of leather, with great neatness. Part II.  
P. 298.

Was much and often in the country among the natives; and having learned (from La Brue and other writers) that it was a common practice for their kings to seize their subjects and sell them as slaves for European goods, he wished to know whether the report was founded in fact.

When he was on board the *Atalanta* sloop of war, they fell in with a ship from Gambia, the crew of which had all died but the captain, whose name was Heatly, and the mate. On going aboard he found the captain lying on deck upon a mattress, and the mate appeared in bad health.

He was on his passage to the W. Indies in a slave vessel two months, during which the slaves were exceedingly unhappy, made many attempts to rise: not succeeding, they begged to be permitted to throw themselves overboard, and perpetually regretted their own country. P. 299.

He was three times in the W. Indies; in 1773, at Grenada six months; in 1779 and 1780, at Antigua, Barbadoes, Tobago, St. Lucia, and St. Christophers; and in 1788 and 1789, at Grenada, Coriacou, St. Vincents, and Tobago.

General treatment of the negroes was very cruel. He lived near the market-place of St. George's, at Grenada, where negroes were flogged every day by the particular orders of their masters; they were tied down upon the ground, every stroke brought blood, and very often took out a piece of the flesh. Saw them often in chains, thus marked. A French planter sent for a surgeon to cut off the leg of a negro, who had run away. On the surgeon's refusing

1790. refusing to do it, the planter took an iron bar and broke  
Part II. the leg in pieces, and then the surgeon cut it off.

~ This planter did many such acts of cruelty, and all  
with impunity. It did not appear to be the public  
P. 300. opinion that any punishment was due to him, for tho'  
it was generally known, he was equally well received  
in society afterwards as before.

Walked into the country at Grenada, almost daily.  
Many of the field-negroes bore the marks of the  
whip on their bodies, and several worked in the fields  
in chains. Whip is made of a thong of cow's hide,  
about half an inch in breadth, with large knots on  
it in several places. The day after his arrival at An-  
tigua, he saw three or four old negroes, reduced to  
skin and bone, digging in the dunghills, in the  
streets, for food: and was told by themselves and  
others, that they had been turned off by their owners,  
who could not afford to keep them. This he under-  
P. 301. stood was no uncommon practice. As he was per-  
petually removing from place to place with the fleet  
and army, in 1779, and 1780, he had then but lit-  
tle opportunity of seeing the treatment of the negroes  
in the plantations. In Grenada, the plantation slaves  
generally worked (out of crop-time) from day-light  
to dark. On some plantations he has known them  
called out long before day-light; they generally have  
an hour allowed them for breakfast, and two for din-  
ner. When last at Grenada, he lived in the country,  
about 15 or 16 months; and observed that slaves  
are generally sent to pick grass after the field-labour,  
which continues till sun-set is over. A certain  
quantity is required, and if they do not produce it  
they are punished; though it is often very scarce and  
brought from a great distance. In crop-time they are  
obliged to work as long as they can, which is as long  
as they can keep awake or stand on their legs. Some-  
times they fall asleep through excess of fatigue when  
their arms are caught in the mill and torn off. He  
P. 302. saw several who had lost their arms in that way.  
Except one or two holidays a year, he did not  
understand

understand they had any time allotted them for their own amusement or repose: for on Sundays they labour more than on any other days of the week; it being then that they exert themselves in procuring supplies of food for their own sustenance, and therefore are not attended by the driver. At other times every gang is attended by one or more, who make frequent use of the whip, without distinction of sex. He believes, that in general, their food is neither sufficient in quantity nor good in quality; though the domestic are better fed than the field-negroes. On the fortifications, where their labour is of the severest kind, they had only seven pounds of bread and four of salt-fish per week. They carried bricks, lime, and large planks, from the shore to Richmond Hill, about a mile and an half, and were often scarcely able to move under their burthens.

Is not positive if these slaves were paid for by government or by the island.

Believes it depends entirely on disposition and ability of masters whether they are well or ill fed. In Grenada they were differently fed at different times. He dined at the house of a gentleman, who said his grass field had been plundered the night before, by certain negroes, some of whom he could have taken and punished, but refrained, because he knew their allowance so small that without robbing they could not have existed; but only speaks to this particular instance. The place was near town, where grass sells at a great price. It was the general opinion, that it was more profitable to import slaves and work them out, than to breed them. Believes they are not considered as protected by law; for negroes were often treated cruelly, and even murder had been committed, not only with impunity, but without its being supposed the perpetrators could be punished on that account. At Grenada, in the town of St. George, a mason, named Chambers, killed a negroe, in the middle of the day (he thinks in the church-yard) and no notice was taken of it. The

1790. present chief judge of Grenada (who has permitted  
 Part II. him to use his name on this occasion) assured him it  
 was true. Another instance was of a planter who  
 flogged his driver to death, and even boasted of it to  
 the person from whom witnesses had the account.  
 (Does not exactly know the time this happened,  
 but it was before the year 1773, when he heard  
 P. 305. of it from the Chief Justice, p. 316.) Another  
 was that of the French planter who broke his  
 negroe's leg in order to prevail on the surgeon to  
 cut it off. And in June last, he saw a negress  
 brought to St. George's to have her finger cut off:  
 she had committed a fault, and ran away to avoid  
 punishment; but being taken, her master suspended  
 her by the hands, flogged and cut her cruelly on the  
 back, belly, breast and thighs, and then left her suspend-  
 ed till her fingers mortified: in this state witnesses saw  
 her at Dr. Gilpin's, but no notice was taken of the  
 fact, though it happened months after the new act  
 for the protection of slaves was passed. Another  
 negress who, though a young woman, had no teeth,  
 informed him that her mistress, had with her own  
 hands pulled them out, and given her a severe flog-  
 ging besides, the marks of which she then bore.  
 This relation was confirmed by several town's people  
 of whom he inquired concerning it.

He was in Grenada, 1788, when the act was pas-  
 sed, entitled, "An Act for the better protection and  
 "promoting the increase and population of slaves."  
 P. 306. The principal objection, and which he repeatedly  
 heard, to its passing was, that it might make the  
 slaves believe, that the authority of their masters was  
 lessened: but otherwise, many thought it would be  
 of little use, as it was a law made by themselves,  
 against themselves, and to be executed by them-  
 selves: they observed besides, that such laws were  
 unnecessary for the protection of negroes who were  
 treated well; and that others had so many opportu-  
 nities of evading the law, (the evidence of negroes  
 not being admitted) that it would be of no use.

The



The members of the legislature were not all planters. Some of them were slave merchants and store keepers, in the town of St. George. At the time of passing said act, the proposal in the British parliament for the abolition of the slave trade was a matter of general discussion in the island: and he believes was a principal reason for passing it. For report said, that the agent for the island had mentioned in a letter, that unless they made laws themselves for the protection of slaves, the British parliament would. This letter he never saw, tho' he sought it; and as a proprietor in the island thought he had a right to read the agent's letters. He, however, often heard it urged as an argument that the act should pass. He believes it will prove ineffectual: because, as no negro evidence is ad- P. 307.  
mitted, those who abuse them will still do it with impunity; and people who live on terms of intimacy, would dislike the idea of becoming spies and informers against each other.

Believes the chastity of the wives of slaves is not protected by law: and has never heard that there was any punishment for its violation. That sometimes female slaves are offered by the masters to their visitors; and has known compulsion used to oblige such to submit to prostitution.

Does not say, that slaves never become possessed of much property; but he never knew an instance; nor can he conceive how they can have time for it. Neither did he ever know of field slaves having expensive feasts. A negro woman, who became unfit. P. 308.  
for labour by disease, was turned off by the trustees of his father's estate. She subsisted by charity in the town of St. George.

The tetanus, or locked jaw, was formerly very fatal to negro children; but there are now means of treating the mothers and children, which render it less so.

Field slaves did not appear to him cheerful or  
Q 2 happy.

1790. happy. There are frequent instances of slaves des-  
Part II. troying themselves.

Has a landed estate in Grenada, but it is not cultivated. Part of it has been.

P. 309. His personal observations on the coast of Africa extend to part of the kingdom of Cajore, which is opposite Goree, to the country north and south for some leagues; and to about eight or ten miles inland from the shore. Within that distance indigo is manufactured fit for use; and cloths dyed with it. Never saw the process. The manufactures he mentioned in gold, silver, iron, and other materials, are the work of both negroes and Moors. He saw but few Moors in the country about Cape Verd, and those were strangers; and none at Goree, or in any other parts where he had been. He thinks, as the negroes are remarkably industrious, they might, with proper encouragement, be brought to cultivate the different productions of that part of the coast to a much greater extent than they do at present: for where there was a demand for any article or produce, he observed they were remarkably industrious.

In 1773, went to Grenada on a visit to his father. He was then 22 years of age; and Mr. Leyburne then governor of the island. He then staid 6 months, mostly in town; but was sometimes in the country, when he made frequent visits to different plantations; but in both town and country saw many instances of cruel treatment. Some of the punishments inflicted might be by order of the magistrates; but many, he was informed, were ordered by the masters: and he knows, that by the laws of the island, they have such a power; for there is an act, passed Oct. 18. 1784, for regulating the fees of the clerk of the market, and authorising him to take 18d. for every slave he shall flog, whether it be ordered by

P. 312. the magistrate or owner. These were generally belonging to people in town.

Does not remember the name of the French planter, who treated his negroes so barbarously, nor precisely the year: but was informed of it by several;

ral; and believes many Grenada gentlemen now in England have heard the story. Has seen this man in the best society of the island oftener than once, after the story was generally known. It was spoken of as a thing notorious, and believed. Does not know whether or not such atrocious acts are considered by the better sort of people as worthy of investigation or punishment. Would willingly believe they are, by such, disapproved of; but never heard that there had been any attempt to punish this offender.

1790.  
Part II.

P. 313.

He went, in the slave ship mentioned, to the island of Antigua; was there about three weeks, in the year 1779: from thence to Barbadoes: was there a fortnight or three weeks, and thence to St. Kitt's; where he staid about the same time. In these islands he was mostly in the towns.

His own affairs drew him to Grenada, 1788. At the death of his father he inherited his slaves; but the estate being in possession of the mortgagee, he can give no account of the manner of providing for his own slaves; but he understands the planters in Grenada allow their slaves salt provisions and flour, which are brought from England and America. Many of them distribute these, exclusive of the ground provisions, regularly every week, some of them daily: and at times corn of various sorts either in grain or meal; but many others do not.

P. 314.

The inhabitants of the towns in Grenada are furnished with grass and other green provender for their horses, by plantation slaves in the neighbourhood, who, he believes, sometimes receive to their own use the money or other commodities they get in return: but that is sometimes sold for the account of their masters. The planters do not commonly dispose of their grass; but sometimes sell milk and greens. He is uncertain whether they cultivate grass to sell, or for their cattle.

P. 315.

He frequently conversed with the present chief justice of Grenada, who told him the fact already mentioned,

1790. mentioned, in his own house; and thinks he said it  
Part II. was committed in the year 1768.

Being asked if he, or any other person, ever in-  
P. 316. formed the chief justice of the cruel treatment re-  
ceived by the negro girl whom he saw at Dr. Gil-  
pin's, said, he inquired after some time whether any  
notice had been taken of it, and did not find there  
had. He did not himself inform the chief justice,  
nor does he know whether or not he was informed  
of it. At the time it happened, he was preparing  
to leave the island, and believed as it was known to  
so many people, that the chief justice must have  
been informed of it by somebody; but he did not  
know that it passed unnoticed, till he was just setting  
P. 317. out for Europe, after which he never saw the chief  
justice.

Recollects a clause, or clauses, in the law, for the  
protection of slaves, whereby three persons, free-  
holders in each parish, are appointed guardians for  
carrying it into execution; and their testimony de-  
clared to be competent in all cases necessary there-  
to: but is of opinion, that while a slave's evidence  
is not admitted in a court of law, they can be of  
very little or no service to him. Slaves, however,  
would not be without remedy in every instance:  
but thinks such as are disposed to treat their negroes  
ill, may find ways of evading these laws. Laws for  
the protection of the negroes, and feeding them, had  
been before passed; but it was found necessary, not-  
withstanding, to make a new act. That dated 10th  
Dec. 1766, for the allowance of provision grounds  
to slaves, directs the appointment of four freeholders  
by the justices of each parish, to inspect the grounds,  
and see that there was a sufficient quantity of provi-  
sions: yet the preamble to the last act seems to im-  
ply that this former one had not been sufficiently  
attended to.

He believes it common for plantation slaves in  
Grenada, to bring to market, and particularly on  
P. 318. Sundays, various articles of fruit and vegetables,  
poultry,

poultry, pork, kids, and goats, their own property, and raised by themselves. 1790. Part. II.

Supposes it cost him two shilings a day each to maintain his horses in grass and other green provender, and that grass is more less picked the year round: that the provisions of the slaves on the fortifications at Grenada were only the allowance made by government, of 7lb. of bread and 4 of salt fish per week each, without any ground provisions from masters; but of this is not certain. The rations necessary for their support in this service, he apprehends, were ascertained by the commander in chief; and the quantity of their labour by managers and overseers, no European officer being so competent to judge of either as the W. Indians themselves. A white or a black man was sent by the owner with his slaves, to take care of them; and supposes a person was set over the whole by the commander in chief to see that they did their duty. Does not remember any soldiers were employed to work on the fortifications; or whether the excess of labour, in carrying burthens as before mentioned, was to be ascribed to the person appointed on the part of the king, or those sent to take care of the slaves by the planters. He believes there is an act of assembly, constituting a joint committee of the council and assembly, to see to this service of the slaves and their food: but that nevertheless those employed by the committee can ill treat the slaves in many respects, without its coming to their knowledge. P. 319. P. 320.

Says he might have put his estate under cultivation by getting slaves from the house Backhouse and Tarleton in Grenada; but knowing when in Africa, how happy the negroes were there, and the unjustifiable means of enslaving them, their cruel usage on ship-board and in the West Indies, he could not, consistent with his ideas of right, purchase any slaves, especially as he did not intend to remain on the plantation himself. P. 321.

He

1790. He has seen many diseased and disabled seamen in Part. II. the town of St. George, and on inquiry found they had belonged to Guinea ships which had left them there.

Could not say it was likely any planter would be desirous of interfering very actively, to remedy the smaller abuses practised by white people on their negroes; nor what Mr. Bruce's method was of curing the tetanus; but Mr. B. assured him, from the time he adopted it (which he thinks was two years before) he had lost none, or but one or two children. He thinks one part of his method was, to give the women immediately before the labour, a large airy room.

Does not pretend to say that all slaves in Grenada are ill used, but believes that bad usage is too general. Some he knew who treated their slaves well.

P. 322. As to happy state of negroes in their own country, he can speak positively only of that part of the coast where has been, which might be rather less than 40 miles extent.

His plantation he purchased from Mr. Townsend, the treasurer of Grenada, who was trustee of his father's estate. It lies in the parish of St. David, and about seven or eight miles from George's Town. It

P. 323. was cultivated in cocoa and provisions, and consists of about 250 acres. At present it is uncultivated, and no slaves belong to it.

On inquiry of chief justice, he mentioned one instance of a white man being brought to trial, and hanged for the murder of a slave; but said, he believed if this murderer had been a man of good character, or had had friends or money to pay for the slave, he would not have been brought to trial. He was of a very bad character, and had been obliged to leave Barbadoes on that account. At Grenada he had been a bailiff's follower, and from his rigour in exe-

P. 324. cuting his office, and bad character, was particularly obnoxious

obnoxious to the inhabitants of the town of St. George. 1790. Part II.

He had been at St. Vincent's and Calliaqua, and had conversed with the Yellow Caribs, but not with the Black; the latter he supposes a mixture of the Yellow Caribbs and some negroes cast away on the island. The Caribbs had no other clothing than a clout or girdle about the middle, and no shoes; but all, as far as he can recollect, were armed with cutlasses. The black Caribbs attended the market of Kingston with tobacco and other articles, which the women carried. The sugar estates which he saw under cultivation in St. Vincent's were chiefly bordering on the sea coast. P. 325.

The white man who was hanged for murder he thinks was named Bachus Preston.

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Witness Examined—Rev. ROB. BOUCHER NICHOLLS,  
Dean of Middleham, in Yorkshire,

Was born in Barbadoes; resided there some years in his youth, and two after he was of age, from 1768 to 1770, when in holy orders. While there was enabled to judge of the situation both of field and house slaves: for his uncle, with whom he lived four years, had a sugar estate. Several others whom he visited were concerned in estates; and in his last residence there, he himself resided on a very large estate, and observed the management both of that and surrounding estates. The situation of slaves with respect to food and treatment, he thinks cannot be comprehended under any one general description, some being well fed and taken care of both in sickness and health, and others much neglected and severely treated. The latter so impressed his mind, that he said to a person largely concerned in the management of slaves, 'This people will find a Moses;' which person lately reminded him of the words. Never read the laws of Barbadoes, but understood slaves were not protected by Numb. 3. R them; P. 326. P. 327.

1790. them; that murders by owners were punished by fine.  
 Part II. But if not by owner, then he received the value of the  
 ~~~~~ negro from the murderer, and the fine was paid into  
 the exchequer, at the suit of the Attorney-General. He never understood that where negroes were stinted or ill used, legal redress had ever been applied for, or could be obtained; what legal provision for it there is, cannot say. Knew often, where the master's regard of his own interest did not prevail, with respect to using his slaves well, and giving sufficient food, &c.

P. 328. Among the rest, that of one M'Mahon, whose severity was generally mentioned, (and always with detestation, p. 338.) had destroyed more negroes, than the value of the additional crops, produced by their extra labour. So that though in eight years he paid off a considerable debt, he was said to have destroyed more negroes than the amount of it. Also recollects where slaves were reduced to a general state of debility and discontent, from a want of necessaries while they were urged to their accustomed labour: so that he heard it observed that the manager of a particular estate, "for a long cane would produce a dead negro." On the other hand, he could mention many instances, where humanity, and a regard to interest joined in providing well for them; particularly that of Dr. Mapp, whose estate was in the most flourishing condition, both in respect to the number of negroes by natural increase, and the success of his plantation.

see page 135

The treatment of slaves appeared to depend wholly on the persons who had the management of them. Sir Hanson Berney's estate was managed by his brother, humanely and judiciously; he believes without any punishment, and that the estate was productive. Has often heard a relation of his who had the care of several large estates, declare, that he would willingly submit to have the power of punishment taken from him, if he might allow sufficient rewards for good behaviour and labour. One estate in particular he conducted for two years; during which, (though the

Witness

Witness visited him almost daily) no instance of punishment had occurred. And yet he declared, when he took the management of that estate upon him, though there was hardly a place on the backs of the labouring negroes free from the mark of the lash, it had not been successful to the owner in point of crops. 1790. Part II.

Says, effects of owners embarrassed situation on slaves, is pushing them beyond their strength, and leaving them without their usual allowance of provisions, or any thing as a substitute, for a week or two ; this was confirmed to him by the manager of a gentleman so circumstanced. This manager also told him that the same person, as well as several others, either abridged or withheld in crop time, the stated allowance given at other times. P. 329.

Usual instruments of punishing negroes were the thong-whip, chains on the legs, irons on the neck, and confinement in the dungeon. In cases of enormous crimes, they were gibbeted alive in chains : but he never saw but two instances of the latter. The punishment of whipping is severe, cutting deep into the flesh, and leaving marks which are visible a long time ; sometimes to old age. The slaves always work under a driver, with a thong whip plaited. P. 330.

The rights of marriage as among the negroes, he believes, are not protected in the smallest degree, either by law or custom ; but the chastity of the women intirely liable to invasion by the manager, or other white persons.

Natural capacity and disposition of negroes, apprehends to be just the same as those of the whites. He grounds his opinion on many instances. One of a negro woman purchased from a slave ship, and given to him by his father. She appeared at first as dull and sullen as any negro he ever saw ; but on instruction, became quite the reverse, and of her own accord desired to be made a Christian.

She afterwards was his domestic servant, and by her fidelity to her husband, and her good behaviour in all respects, manifested a good understanding, and the

1790. best disposition. He observed in many negroes in the northern provinces of America, the same improvement where equal care was taken. He remembers a Phillis Wheatley in Boston, an African slave, who in less than three years, learned the English language, and wrote elegant English verse, which has been published.

He has seen other instances of their ingenuity in arts and letters. Among others, an elegant chair, which a negro of Jamaica carved with a knife only.

Their disposition is in general affectionate where well treated, which he thinks would easily lead to piety, if they were in the way of improvement.

Several in Barbadoes, who had attended the church, expressed to him a wish to become Christians. Many are so in the Northern provinces of America; but knows not of many in Barbadoes, who were instructed or baptized.

They were generally regarded by persons of principle and education among the whites, as unfortunate men entitled to compassion and good treatment; but the bulk of the whites considered them as beings of an inferior species.

P. 331. His father had a boy who said he was the son of a prince in Africa, and taken away forcibly. He afterwards knew a negro woman, who alledged that her father was a king in Africa, and as she could find none her equals in Barbadoes, she would neither eat nor converse with any of the other negroes. This her mistress declared had been the case for 20 years.

Apprehends the slaves frequently robbed the provision grounds of the neighbouring plantations: to prevent which, armed watchmen are therefore set; and he has heard of negroes brought home wounded.

P. 332. Some persons allow their negroes all Sunday, besides 5 or 6 holidays in the year, and sometimes a Saturday afternoon; during the time of holing. Others allowed less vacation, requiring, on Sundays, meat for the cattle, to be gathered twice in the day; and often in the

the crop, continue the boiling of the sugar till late on Saturday night. 1790.
Part II.

In one instance recollects it to have been protracted till sun-rise, on Sunday morning; and the care afterwards of setting up the sugar jars, must require several hours. The slaves had commonly no other day than Sunday, (except as above) to cultivate their own grounds.

The criterion of a manager's merit in general, he apprehends to be the production of large crops.

The quantum of ground allowed the field negroes for raising provisions, does not admit their frequently possessing any considerable property. It is not likely they can spare much of the produce for sale. Sometimes they possess a pig and two or three fowls; and if they have also a few plantain trees, these may be a means of supplying them with knives, iron pots, and such other conveniencies, as the master does not allow.

Cannot positively say they never have expensive treats, but the utmost he ever heard of was, that sometimes, when a negro married, he has provided a pig for his friends. Never understood that the dances were attended with treats; and believes if their entertainments had been expensive, he should have heard of them. The principal feasts they ever give, as he understands, are after the funerals of their friends, when they scatter some provisions on the grave, and eat the rest themselves, with a view of holding a communion with the deceased.

He does not recollect any instances of the Creole negroes destroying themselves, but remembers five or six such instances of African negroes, immediately after they were purchased. P. 333.

He knew very few free negroes. One of them was wife to a Mulatto slave, on Sir Hanson Berney's estate. She was very industrious in the care of her family, and in raising poultry to sell, with the profits of which she paid for the schooling and cloathing of her children, which she was encouraged to do, as knowing

1790. knowing they would be free. They were baptized, Part II. and the whole family so orderly, that he never heard any misbehaviour attributed to them. The husband served in several capacities on the estate, was very skilful in the care of the sick, and remarkably honest. Having met with reward and indulgence, by his own and his wife's industry, it was said he amassed 100l. sterling, which he offered for his freedom; but it was refused, his master not being willing to part with him at any price. What relates to his own and wife's behaviour, the witness knew from his own observation.

The only other instance of a free negro, in his knowledge, was of a Joe Rachell, in Bridge Town. He was a merchant, had large and extensive concerns, and was so much esteemed for his honesty, that he was commonly admitted to the company and conversation of merchants and planters.

The situation of domestic slaves, was not by any means as comfortable as that of the correspondent rank of people in this country, though preferable to that of field negroes. The indulgence given domesticks here, is withheld from the slaves, and these are liable to corporal punishment. In the country domestic slaves are commonly corrected by the driver, and in town a man was employed, who went from house to house for that purpose, who was called the Jumper. Neither does he think the state of field slaves will bear any comparison with that of the labouring poor in this country; because of the severity of the heats, which are little varied by the seasons, because the intermissions from labour are less frequent, and the food less substantial than in England; and because they are perpetually subject not only to arbitrary punishment from the chief overseer, but from the book-keepers and drivers, who follow them constantly at their work with the lash, correct them before an excuse can be heard, and often vent their own resentments upon them, under the plea of punishing them for negligence.

The

The white people called Tenants, who serve in the militia for a small allotment of land, commonly work in their grounds with the negroes, if they have any; or if not, cultivate them by their own labour. These usually raise provisions, but not canes. Many whites in Barbadoes exercise handicraft trades; such as carpenters, joiners, masons, copper-smiths, black-smiths, shoemakers, &c. and also some of the poorer whites spin cotton for the lamps in the boiling houses. Whites are also employed in the coasting vessels, and as fishermen.

In respect to stocks of slaves, kept up by the births only, understood from Dr. Mapp's son, that the stock on the estate to which he had just succeeded, had increased so much, that there was a redundance sufficient, nearly, to stock another estate. Another instance which came within his own observation, was of slaves, the property of the Rev. Mr. Carter, who increased considerably; they cultivated his glebe, and he annually planted canes, which were manufactured into sugar at an adjoining estate. His own brother informed him, that his negroes had doubled their number by natural increase in twenty years; and he believed they were generally employed in common field business, as other negroes. He had heard of several others of his acquaintance, who had kept up their stocks by the natural increase, without purchase. In conversation with judicious planters, he understood it to be their opinion, that the rearing of slaves on the estates, depended much on the managers.

Remembers to have seen two Guinea sailors, who were lame, begging in the country, at the house of a person who had relieved many such, by extracting the Guinea-worm, and healing sores contracted in that service.

Cannot say what difference a long residence of the blacks in the islands might occasion, as to their happiness, as he did not himself make a long residence; he however remembers both to have seen and heard, that

1790. that those newly imported, were often dejected, Part II. emaciated, and incapable of work, so as even to resist all attempts to console and administer nourishment to them.

P. 336. Never saw the act of branding; has seen marks, but does not remember how they arose, nor whether they were made in Africa, on board ship, or elsewhere. Were not many.

Never heard of any nation of negroes prone to suicide in their own country. Besides the five mentioned, who destroyed themselves the day after they were purchased, he remembers to have heard of a slave who destroyed himself, sometime after he was purchased, supposed from dejection, and certainly not from ill treatment.

P. 337. Does not know by what law the pecuniary punishments, annexed to the murder of a slave, are imposed. He supposes it to be by an act of the island, because the laws of this country inflict a different punishment for murder. When a law is passed in the island, he apprehends it is immediately sent to be presented to the King in council, and is valid unless negatived within three years, without any distinct approbation of the law being expressed.

P. 339. While in Barbadoes, many particulars mentioned by him, which fell not within his own personal knowledge, he had from his father and brother, who resided near him. They at different times had the care of slaves, to the amount of between 1000 and 2000, and knew the state of the whole island; some particulars had been communicated to him by letters, and most of the information since, he had from a person then in England. Has conversed and corresponded with another gentleman of some distinction, a proprietor of estates and slaves in Barbadoes, and has been in both countries, within the last 10 years, but absent from Barbadoes about five years. Has understood from himself and some disinterested persons, that the management on his plantation since his absence,

sence, has not been prejudicial to the slaves in point of treatment and provision in the smallest degree. 1790. Part II.

He lived much with his father and uncle who were humane men; recollects but one instance of correction of a negro by either of them, and that was for breaking open a store, and stealing a pipe of wine, for this he thinks the culprit received 24 lashes. P. 339

During his last residence on the island, he avoided seeing the punishment of slaves, yet recollects seeing them with irons upon the feet and neck, and once to have heard a tremendous punishment administered, which he did not see; it was for running away, and consisted of 60 lashes on the breech with a thick whip. A person in the service of the owner, who ordered that correction, told him that the slave was compelled to run away by harsh treatment; and another who saw the punishment, that the whip had made incisions large enough for the finger to be laid in.

The slave was afterwards sent to the dungeon. This he thinks the severest chastisement he can recollect.

Correction with the whip was generally on the back, on all parts of which, it was common to see very large wheals (the remains of lashes). On sudden provocation believes the blows to be on the back; in formal punishments on the breech. P. 340.

Does not remember an instance of property acquired by any negro slave, beyond that of Tom Perryman, the mulatto already mentioned. Believes they have indulgencies, but to what extent is uncertain. On further recollection remembers another slave, of the same Sir Hanson Berney, who was employed to carry the rum of the estate to market and sell it, and to make bargains for small supplies, with the traders in town; for which he had some indulgence allowed him, and lived comfortably upon it; but whether he had acquired any property or not, the witness is uncertain. This man he believes had also a free woman for his wife.

1790. Speaks only to what he knew; and does not suppose that his want of a more extensive knowledge of the subject, is to criminate other gentlemen, many of whom possessed principles of honour and humanity, though he could not see a detail of their estates.

P. 341. Cannot however think himself entitled to say what encouragement was generally given to negroes of the above description; or, from the sentiment then formed, and ever since possessed (setting aside on one hand particular instances of great severity, and on the other hand particular instances of great humanity) that treatment altogether humane and proper, was the lot of such as he had either observed or heard of.

Has repeatedly seen negroes, at the negro-market, in Bridge-Town, on Sundays, selling several different articles of vegetables, and poultry, sometimes pig-meat; but of other meat but little, as they never keep the larger cattle. Goats are much discouraged, and the pigs necessarily confined, lest they should injure the canes. Whatever returns the negroes obtain, he believes are allowed to themselves.

He resides between his two livings at Middleham in Yorkshire, and Stony Stanton in Leicestershire. One farmer of Leicestershire informed him, that he gave 10l. a year and board to his waggoner. Another, that he gave 9l. a year and board to his day-labourer. In Stony Stanton parish, a day labourer in agriculture had 6s. per week, and a load of coals brought 17 miles from the pits free of expense. In all other matters he found himself, except in harvest time, when he was allowed provisions. In Yorkshire he believes labour is rather dearer. About Middleham he gave 14d. a day for labour in the garden, from between seven and eight in the morning to five in the afternoon.

In Leicestershire the average wages of labouring men in the farming business, who find themselves, and contract to serve the year through, he understands is 6s. per week. The food of such he cannot specify, but as it is a cheese country, supposes that

cheese

cheese enters largely into their diet, with wheaten and 1790.
rye, and sometimes barley bread. They use some Part II.
but not much oatmeal, and fresh butcher's meat on
Sundays, of which they commonly make broth; also
beans in summer; bread with hog's lard instead of
butter; meal fried with lard, sliced apples, and small
pieces of bacon, if they have any; and potatoes.
This is a general description of the fare of such
labourers.

Besides the 6s. wages, such a labourer has some- P. 343.
times aids from his wife's spinning, knitting, and
other work, by which they earn from 3d to 6d. per
day; also from corn-gleanings, which are sometimes
considerable; besides the relief which he obtains dur-
ing harvest, in more substantial living. Some of
them have a little bit of garden ground, others hire
land and keep a cow, or have the privilege of a
common. In Stony Stanton the bulk of the labouring
inhabitants are employed in the manufacturing of stock-
ing. From the means thus stated they generally are
enabled to furnish themselves and families, with ne-
cessary food, and defray the expense of house rent,
clothing, medical assistance, and other incidental
charges. He instances a widow left with two chil- P. 344.
dren, who never had so much after her widowhood,
and yet maintained, and brought them up to be in-
dustrious members of the community, and parents
of families, without assistance from the parish: and
another day-labourer, who had uniformly lived with
comfort, and brought up an useful family. Several other
instances are adduced to shew, that a sober man with
an industrious family, is capable of maintaining them,
as a day-labourer only. In Yorkshire prizes have
been given away to some such, who have brought up
large families, with no other assistance than their own
labour. In the instance above mentioned of the wo-
man and children, the woman spun worsted, and as-
sured the witness, who attended her when dying,
that in order to keep her family from the parish, she
sat up to spin through the whole of two or three
S 2 nights

1790. nights in the week. In the other instance of the day-
 Part II. labourer, his wife was dead at the time mentioned,
 but he brought up two sons in the stocking trade, one of which living with him earns 9s. per week; the daughter is industrious, and appears very decent. In visiting the father when sick, she was sometimes spinning, at others knitting, or nursing her father.

P. 346. So far as he observed, where the slaves in Barbadoes were under judicious and humane masters, they were well fed, clothed, lodged, taken care of in sickness, and treated with moderation and lenity. He considers liberty as the first comfort of life, as well as an unalienable right; that the want of it lessens the comforts of life, and is a source of continual regret, by cutting off the hope of bettering one's condition, as in the case of Tom Perryman, before-mentioned, &c. To shew that this is not mere speculation, he could give instances in England, of agricultural labourers, rising into situations that enabled them to marry with a fortune of £500, and provide well for, and educate their children, at grammar and boarding schools.

P. 347. Does not believe, that negroes are not so susceptible of the sentiment of liberty, as the free peasants in England: for the several rebellions engaged in by the negroes, and especially the 2 great rebellions, mentioned by Long, in his History of Jamaica, sufficiently prove the contrary.

He conceives diet and accommodations of the labouring peasantry here, more substantial than that of the negroes, and is confirmed in that opinion, by the large size, health, and long life, of many of them in Yorkshire, particularly at West Whitton, where, out of about 500 inhabitants, there is a large proportion of peasantry, answering the above description in all points; and in the parish of Bolton, adjoining, there is scarcely a day labourer, who does not keep a cow. Does not say this representation holds universally, but thinks it unfair in forming a comparison, between the negroes in the West Indies, and
 peasantry

peasantry of Britain, to take a part of the one which ^{1790.} is best treated, to compare with the whole of the latter, among which, though there are many in comfortable circumstances, yet there are many others extremely distressed for the subsistence of themselves and families. But if he was to judge from his own ^{P. 348.} observation (setting aside liberty on the one hand, and cruelty on the other) he should prefer the condition of a peasant in England, believing it, if even with equal labour, to be much preferable.

Stated allowance of food to negroes in Barbadoes, under what is called good management, was, 9 pints of Guinea, or India corn, and 1 pound, $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 pound of salt fish, or from 4 to 6 herrings per week. This was the species of provision in most instances, that fell within his observation throughout the year. There was sometimes a variation, by allowing yams or eddoes, or pidgeon peas, the growth of the island, in lieu of the corn: but does not recollect that oatmeal, meal of wheat, or rye, were ever offered as a substitute: nor that there was a sufficient growth of cassada, to answer that purpose. Biscuit, flour and oatmeal, have been allowed in sickness, and particularly in fluxes; but rarely in health. On some estates the weekly allowance was equal to 12 pints of corn, and 6 herrings, to field negroes; but to women not working in the field, and children, it was much short; and also to those past labour. Some humane masters have continued the usual allowance to negroes past labour, and this was noted as very humane.

The above-mentioned articles of food, vary in the ^{P. 349.} degree of nutrition they afford; Guinea and India corn are less nutritious than wheat or barley. When India corn happens to be heated in the hold of the ship, it creates disorders. Eddoes are the most nutritious and wholesome article of food in the islands: yams are less so. Potatoes and pidgeon peas are wholesome, but the latter have a very thick coat. Salted herrings, with other salt fish, often suffer by the

1790. the voyage, and are often in a broken, unwholesome
 Part II. state. Salt beef and pork are seldom given, but
 when other provisions fail, or as a great indul-
 gence, in small quantities; sometimes in a bad, and
 sometimes a good state, as they happen to come to
 market. He never knew them given as a part of
 the stated allowance.

The negroes frequent the Sunday markets in
 Bridge Town, with pidgeon peas, Guinea corn, ed-
 does, potatoes, and whatever other native provisions
 of the island they can spare, which they sell, or com-
 mute for other species of provisions. The hucksters
 often give them, at a disadvantage to the negroes,
 small loaves of wheaten bread for corn; for instance,
 a small half-penny loaf for a pint of Guinea corn;
 and sometimes they sell their provisions to obtain
 rum, and other matters, which they think necessary
 to their convenience. This exchange is often made
 when the negro, tired of his labour, has not time or
 inclination, to grind the corn, or fetch water, and
 procure fuel to boil it for use.

P. 354. It struck him, to speak generally, that negro mo-
 thers commonly went into the field too early after
 their delivery, taking their children, while yet very
 tender, with them; that the milk of the mother be-
 came feverish with labour, and the heat of the sun
 too powerful for the child, which was commonly ex-
 posed in a basket, and in rainy weather unsheltered.
 He understood that this was so generally the practice,
 that some humane gentlemen, resident in England
 many years since, gave directions to their overseers,
 to observe a contrary practice.

He never heard that M'Mahon, already mention-
 ed, ever suffered any other ill consequence from his
 severity to his negroes, than the loss consequent
 thereon.

P. 355. Again, not having any right to their children, is
 a discomfort necessarily resulting from the constitu-
 tion of human nature; and especially as those child-
 ren, if females, may be subjected to the brutal lusts
 of

of their superiors, without remedy from law. The 1790. Part II.
 being obliged to labour at the will of another; the being unprotected by laws, and enduring punishment at the caprice of another, are certainly inconveni- P. 356.
 cies, which necessarily arise out of slavery itself, and prevent a fair comparison being made between a slave and a free man.

Witness examined,—HENRY ELLISON, Gunner of
 the Resistance Man of War.

He thinks his first voyage was in 1759, to Gam- P. 361.
 bia; was in the slave trade till about 1770; was pressed in 1771; was 3 voyages to Gambia, 1 to Benin, 1 to Old Calabar, 2 to New Calabar, and 1 to Isle de Los.

A native, called captain Lemma, came on board their ship to receive his customs; he saw a canoe in shore, with 3 people in it (an old man, a young man, and a woman) he ordered one of his canoes to take this canoe, which they did, and brought the people on board, and Mr. Wilson's chief mate bought the young man and woman, the other being too old; was refused. Lemma ordered the old man into the canoe, his head was chopped off, and immediately thrown overboard. Lemma had many war canoes; some had 6 or 8 swivels; he brought about 10 when he received his customs; he seemed to be feared by the rest of the natives. Mr. E. did not see a canoe P. 362.
 out on the river while he was there, except this, and if they had known he had been out, they would not have come. He discovered by signs, that the old man killed, was the 2 negroes father, and that they were brought there by force; could not conceive Lemma had any right to sell them, they were not his subjects. Lemma staid about 10 days near their P. 363.
 ship; he was on board every day to get his customs, and eat and drink.

He

1790. He never remembers any slaves brought on board
 Part II. with marks of wounds. Does not remember any
 other instance of slaves being obtained by fraud or
 force.

He has known many boys and girls, in every ship he has been in, without parents and near relations. He speaks the Mandingoa, and has often conversed with slaves that spoke it, who all said they had been stolen and sold.

P. 364. He has often known slaves brought on board in the night in the Gambia; supposes they were afraid to be seen in the day; he has assisted in fetching canoe boys on board in the night. It is common, when their masters want goods, or for trifling offences, these boys are brought on board. We fetch them in our own boats from their masters houses, when asleep in the night, for fear they should escape; supposes they could not know they were to be sold, or they would have made their escape; he has known their master call them out of the canoe to bring him something, and when on board, immediately put in irons.

He never saw these canoe-boys ill treated; has seen them eating and drinking in the same house with their masters, and sometimes with them.

He knew 2 slaves taken from Furnandipo while there, by the Dobson's boat of Liverpool, and carried to Old Calabar, where the ship lay. He went for yams a few days after, and fired, as a signal to the natives, to bring them; seeing some of them peep through the bushes, wondered why they would not come to the boat; he swam on shore, some came round him; an old man made signs a ship's boat had stole a man and woman; he was soon surrounded by numbers, who presented darts to him, signifying, they would kill him if the man and woman were not brought back. The people in the boat fired some
 P. 365. shot, when they all ran into the woods; they left a goat and some yams, which they put into the boat, and staid to see if they would return, but they did not.

not. He went to Calabar and told his captain they 1790.
could get no yams, from two people being stole; Part II.
captain Briggs told the captain of the Dobson, there
would be no more trade if he did not deliver up the
people, which he did; when the natives saw them,
they loaded the boat with yams, goats, fowls, honey
and palm wine; they would take nothing for them.
They had the man and woman delivered to them,
whom they carried away in their arms.

The Dobson did not stay above eight, ten, or P. 365.
twelve days. That was the last trip her boat was to
make when they carried off the two slaves.

When they were laying at Yanamaroo in Gambia,
slaves were brought down. The traders raised the
price. Captains would not give it, but thought to
compel them by firing upon the town. They fired
red hot shot from the ship, and set several houses on
fire. All the ships, seven or eight, fired.

They often took children and relations as pawns
for goods. They carried off two in the Briton,
captain Wilson, who were much dejected. All the P. 366.
slaves he saw brought on board were very much de-
jected. He never saw the women otherwise than
modest and decent.

He has seen both men and women work in the
fields.

He has seen slaves faint away in ships from heat
and stench.

They were always much crouded. Had two tier
of people on one deck. One on platform. They
were much crouded in the Nightingale, a small
snow, about 170 tons. Purchased 270 slaves. Thirty
boys messed and slept in long-boat all the Middle
Passage. No room below.

The Briton, 230 or 240 tons. Much crouded. P. 367.
Purchased 375 slaves.

Thinks only buried 6 or 7 in the Nightingale,
were remarkably healthy. They buried near 200 in
the Briton. Last man brought on board had the
small-pox. Doctor told Mr. Wilson it was the

Numb. 3.

T

small-pox,

1790. small-pox, who would not believe it, but said he
 Part II. would keep him, as he was a fine man. It soon
 broke out amongst the slaves. He has seen the plat-
 form one continued scab. Hauled up 8 or 10 slaves
 dead of a morning. The flesh and skin peeled off
 their wrists when taken hold of, being intirely
 mortified.

They buried in the Nightingale's second voyage
 about 150, chiefly of fevers and flux. They had
 250 when they left the coast.

P. 368. Men slaves generally fettered on board vessels he
 failed in, being two and two shackled together.
 When brought on deck, a chain is reeved through a
 ring on the shackle on their legs, and locked abaft
 the barricado. They are chained on both sides the
 deck. They are made dance every day; sometimes
 are willing to dance, sometimes compelled by the
 cat.

Has known in the Middle Passage, in rains, slaves
 confined below for some time. He has frequently
 seen them faint through heat, the steam coming
 through the gratings like a furnace. Has been
 obliged to get on deck, lest they would die in the
 rooms.

Never saw wind sails used in any vessel. Never
 saw slaves treated ill in any ships but the Briton and
 Nightingale.

Has known Mr. Wilson order eight or ten up at
 a time, for making a little noise in the night, tie
 them up to the booms, flog them severely with a
 wire cat, and afterwards clap the thumb-screws upon
 them, leaving them in that state till morning. He
 has seen their thumbs mortify, fevers ensue, and
 death.

The women making a little noise over head while
 the captain was dining, he came out, and with a
 wire cat began to flog away among them: 6 jumped
 overboard, 5 of which were drowned. The other
 he ordered to be ducked at the crotchet-yard-arm:
 she

she was led up and down a dozen times, he believes. 1790.
She died, he thinks, next day. Part II.

The Nightingale was lying in New Calabar river, when the slaves rose on board the Africa. They were quelled, and about eight or ten picked out as the ringleaders, for punishment: they were tied to a spare mast, and the people of the Africa, with the boat's crew of the Nightingale, took spell and spell at flogging them, till they all were tired; yet they were so stubborn they never cried out. Captain Carter came on board, and ordered some cooks tormentors and tongs to be made red hot, and with his own hands burnt their bare breech in a most dreadful manner. P. 369.

Slaves often refuse their victuals; when they do, they are flogged till they eat.

Women are whipped or beaten, but not so very often as men. In the Nightingale, on the passage, a woman disobliged the second mate one day, who gave her a cut or two with a small cat he had in his hand: she flew at him with great rage, but he pushed her from him, giving her three or four smart strokes with the cat. Finding she could not have her revenge of him, she sprung two or three feet on the deck, and dropped down dead. Was thrown overboard about half an hour after, and torn to pieces by the sharks.

The chief mate and boatswain have charge of the men; the second mate and gunner, if there is one, of the women; each having constantly a cat in their hand.

Slaves, at the time of their dancing, always sing to some tune or other in their own way; has often heard them sing mournful tunes in the night. P. 370.

Besides the instance given of slaves rising, they attempted it in the Upton, but it came to no head, (a few, though women, had got out of irons).

As to the situation of seamen in different ships he has been in, respecting food, lodging, and general treatment:—The allowance was small in all the ships, especially in the Middle Passage; were always

1790. at allowance outward and homeward. In the Middle
 Part II. Passage, were obliged to fetch a gun-barrel from the
 top-mast-head when they wanted to drink, and to
 carry it back without permitting another to use it
 at the time: has often been drier before he came
 down again, than when he first went up; but durst
 not bring the barrel down a second time till some
 other had used it: the sick so long as they were able
 were obliged to do so; remembers one who had
 bad ulcerated legs, when he had got half way up,
 the main shrouds, was so weak he could get no fur-
 ther; he and another went and helped him down
 again, and begged of the doctor to give him a little
 decoction, which at first he refused, but afterwards
 gave him a small pannikin full. The man died in
 a day or two after, (p. 372.)

Never was in a ship in which the seamen had a
 place to put their heads in below, but were obliged
 to lie upon deck in all weathers.

P. 370. The seamen he saw worse used, were those in the
 Briton and in the Nightingale: they had nothing
 else but bad treatment in those two ships from the
 first of the voyage to the last. (p. 371.)

On board the Briton was a boy whom Wilson the
 chief mate was always a beating. One morning in the
 passage out, he had not got the tea-kettle boiled in
 time for his breakfast; when it was brought, he told
 him he would severely flog him after breakfast; for
 fear, the boy went into the lee fore chains: when W.
 came from the cabin, and called for Paddy, (the
 name he went by, being an irish boy) he would not
 come, but remained in the fore chains; on which W.
 went forward, and attempted to haul him in; when
 the boy jumped overboard, and was drowned.

Another time, on the middle passage, Wilson or-
 dered one James Allison, (a man he had been conti-
 nually beating for every trifle) to go into the wo-
 men's room to scrape it; he said he was not able, for
 he was very unwell; but W. obliged him to go down;
 he did not however begin to scrape; which W. ob-
 serving.

1790. Part II.
 serving, asked why he did not work, and was answered as before, that he was not able, on which he threw a handspike at him, which struck him in the breast, and he dropt down to appearance dead; he recovered a little, but died next day.

In the Nightingale, on the passage, the gunner was on the barricado with a musket, as a centry, while the slaves were going down; happening to look aft, he was asked by captain why he did not look forward at the slaves, said, "That he could willingly turn the musket, and blow his brains out:" but did not think the captain heard him. When the slaves were down, the captain caused him to be tied up, and flogged very severely. He died in two or three days after.

As to the seamen leaving their ships, on the coast of Africa; the boatswain and five of the crew of the Phoenix of Bristol, Cap. Bishop, made their escape in the yawl, but were taken up by the natives. When the captain heard it, he ordered them to be kept ashore, at Forgé, a small town at the mouth of Calabar river, chained by the necks, legs, and hands, and to have each a plantain a day only. The boatswain, P. 372. who had been a ship-mate of the witness's, and a very good seaman, died raving mad in his chains; the other five also died in their chains.

As to the the motives which induce seamen to enter on board Guinea ships, believes they are compelled by want; by getting in debt to their landlords, when they must go on board a Guineaman, or to gaol. (p. 375.) Landlords are sure of getting paid by the advance-money the sailer has to receive on entering into the Guinea employ, if no other way. (p. 377.)

As to his opinion, which is most advantageous to the country, to become a sailer or go to gaol—to become a sailer, he should suppose. (p. 377.)

Has been in many W. India islands, Barbadoes and Jamaica in particular; where he has often seen Guinea sailers lying on the wharfs, and under the cranes almost at the point of death, with large ulcers upon their

1790. their legs and feet, and in a starving state: and he
 Part II. has often carried them provisions from his ship. Has
 also seen the negroes carrying them when dead to
 Spring Path, and burying them. Believes they had,
 all whom he saw, left their ships from bad usage,
 without wages. It is commonly the case. Many
 told him they got no pay, but were glad to get ashore.
 He knew them to have belonged to Guineamen, be-
 P. 373. cause he knew, and had sailed with some of them, and
 others told him so. Never saw any belonging to other
 ships than Guineamen in that state.

Was almost daily on shore, for eighteen months,
 at Kingston, where he has seen six or seven slaves
 whipped of a morning, by a man they called Johnny
 Jumper; their backs much cut, and the blood run-
 ning down. Saw also a woman at Dominica hung
 up by the wrists, on a stage (erected to punish ne-
 groes on) her feet two feet from the stage, and thus
 severely flogged with a cow-skin, by her mistress's
 order, it was said, for running away.

As to appearance of field and town-slaves, the
 last are always better dressed, and look better; the
 other look very poor and were always badly clothed:
 much marked with the whip.

They often bring down sugar and rum from the
 country to be shipped; when aboard they would beg
 and pray for a bit of biscuit and beef, which they
 are very thankful for, (p. 374).

On Sundays they generally bring some little trifle
 or other from the country to sell, such as oranges,
 plantanes, &c. to the value of half a bit, a bit, or
 two bits each; does not remember ever seeing them
 have any pigs or kids to sell. As to their being so
 well protected by laws, as to be able to sell these ar-
 ticles unmolested and for their own use; does not
 think there is any law for them; has seen their things
 taken by the sailors and then beat for asking their
 money; they would run crying through the street,
 and even follow them down to the boats, but they got
 neither the things nor their money (p. 375).

Has

Has been many voyages to Virginia and Maryland, and has often gone through the tobacco plantations while the slaves were at work. 1790. Part II.

Looked much better than those in the W. Indies; were much better clothed, and not so hard worked, having seldom seen a driver over them with his whip; they generally work by themselves; has seen them at their victuals often, in their houses, and they seemed to have plenty. P. 374.

Has seen the slaves on board when sold in the W. Indies, very much distressed at the prospect of separation. P. 375.

Was fifteen or sixteen years old when he went first to Africa; his first voyages were to Gambia. Talked the Mundingongue tongue pretty well; understood but little of the other negro languages; does not recollect how old he was when told by the slaves that they were all stolen, but they commonly told him so in every voyage he has been, in the best manner they could make themselves understood. His highest birth on board a Guineaman was that of gunner. P. 376.

Has been in the king's service since 1771; first station there, quarter gunner: has been gunner in the Resistance since June 1784 (p. 377.)

The canoes on the coast of Africa are rowed by slaves. Masters often sell their canoe boys. Such canoe boys as have been sold, he believed, to have been slaves to those who sold them. Captain Lemma lived a good way up Benin River: the people whom he seized in the canoes, lived at a little fishing town at the mouth of the river, subject he believes to the king of Benin: he was very much feared by the natives of that part: cannot say whether he was at war with the king of Benin from his taking away his subjects.

Lemma was generally considered as a pirate, (p. 377).

The natives know very well, that if pawns are not redeemed before the ship sails, they will be carried off.

Witness

1790.
Part II.



Witness examined—JOHN MARSHALL.

- P. 377. Has made about 19 voyages, chiefly to the Gold Coast. Never knew Africans go to war, to procure slaves to the ships. On the contrary, when wars have happened, it has been of the utmost prejudice to the shipping.
- P. 378. Was at Annamaboe, when the king of Ashantee made war against the Fantees, which so totally stopt the trade, that he lay sixteen months there, before he was fully flaved. The Ashantees failed of conquering the Fantee country. The Fantees, on the contrary, took many Ashantees prisoners; most of whom would have been sold, and some put to death, but for Mr. Brew, who proposed to the king of Ashantee the redemption of those prisoners, which he gladly acceded to. Thinks kidnapping impossible. Is certain the governors of forts could not with impunity seize and sell the natives; they are themselves too much in their power to attempt it: never knew governors give any such orders. Knows it is impracticable.
- P. 379. Has been frequently at Cape la Hou; never knew or heard of natives carried from thence fraudulently. Natives come on board as freely as a boat would board a ship in the Thames.
- On the Gold Coast the cultivation is very trifling: that for corn (which is very rude) is such, that there is no certainty of supply there; in the Bight of Guinea, at Bonny, the only cultivation he knew was of yams. Is certain, that in Africa they know nothing of the manufacture of indigo, for both indigo and blue are carried from Europe, for the use of the gentlemen in the forts; and you cannot please a female better than by giving her a little of either, with which they paint themselves.
- Never failed in the night from Africa; it is the custom to sail in the morning, to have the land-winds:

winds: from Bonny it is impossible to sail in the night, the river is too dangerous. 1790. Part II.

He is not at present concerned in the African trade, either as captain or merchant.

He took on board the Elizabeth, one of the ships which he commanded, 546 slaves; was peculiarly unfortunate in the loss of slaves and crew; had at one period small-pox, measles, flux and fever on board; whereby he lost 158 slaves; a greater loss than in any 6 of his voyages together. Lost also 22 out of 52 seamen; 45 of which English, and 7 Spaniards. The latter loss was chiefly owing to intemperance; they were not to be controuled. P. 380. P. 381.

Is confident the king of Ashantee's motives for war upon the Fantees, was to conquer their country, as he has often heard from the king's brother and nephew, who were hostages with Mr. Brew; could not suppose he had any view to slaves in making war on the Fantees, having no means of conveying them to the sea but through their country.

Slaves sold to the Europeans, come under the following description; some are born slaves, a few taken in war, others forfeit their liberty by crimes, and many sold for witchcraft; by such means slaves are obtained in general, at least, the natives say so, for in his various voyages he has often conversed with them on the subject. Of the slaves bought on the Gold Coast, one third may be inhabitants of the coast, the rest are Ashantees and Duncoes, who both speak the Fantee language. P. 382.

Believes, the persons sold for witchcraft, undergo a previous trial, though it is secreted from the Europeans.

In his voyages in the Alfred, he had very few boys and girls: in purchasing slaves they generally go by height, and he made a point (it was indeed his orders) not to buy any under 4 feet 4 inches: on his last voyage he was allowed to buy them as low as 4 feet: supposes he might have had from 40 to 60 of that description.

Numb. 3.

U

Where

1790. Where our settlements or forts are, they are tolerably civilized, from their intercourse with the Europeans, at other towns they are not so much so. Their natural abilities he thinks much inferior to the people of other countries; and believes they know nothing of morality.

P. 383. Having said that kidnapping by the natives is impossible: his reason for it is, because it could not be done secretly, nor with impunity. It must be found out, either in conveying them to the water side to be shipped, or certainly after they were put on board; from the free intercourse the traders have with the ships, it is impossible for a person so taken to be concealed long: he speaks here positively, as he never knew an instance of the kind. And should such a thing be done by the first person in the country, restitution, in his opinion, is the least punishment which would follow; does not believe persons are ever unjustly accused with a view to be sold.

Believes that slaves are sometimes sold by their owners through the necessities of the owner. That they have a right to do so, he apprehends, because he has known it publickly done. One of the traders with his ship, sold him two of his household slaves.

P. 384. The crimes which subject convicts to be sold, he believes, are principally, theft, incontinence, and others perhaps, which he cannot speak to.

He was never farther than three miles up the country on the Gold Coast.

Inhabitants did not appear to decrease in number; that this should be the case, notwithstanding the large drains continually made by the European traders, he can account for no other way than by the prevalence of polygamy.

Believes the treatment of seamen in the slave trade to be as in other voyages: as there are men of different dispositions in the African trade, as well as others, their treatment will vary accordingly.

Having said, "That they know nothing about the manufacture of indigo in Africa," he referred particularly to the Gold coast.

Has purchased rice on the Windward Coast, and 1790. corn on the Gold Coast; but the supply at either Part II. place was so uncertain, that he never depended much upon it, but generally carried most of his provisions P. 385. from England.

Believes, Europeans never inquire the right persons have to dispose of slaves; as it is taken for granted they have the right.

Mr. GEORGE MILLAR, Gunner of His Majesty's Ship Pegase.

Has been in Africa; his last voyage to Old Cala-P. 385. bar in 1767, in the ship Canterbury, Capt. Parke.

Says, a quarrel happened between the people of Old and New Town, which prevented the ships lying in Calabar River from being slaved. Believes in June 1767, Capt. Parke came one evening to witness, and told him that the two towns so quarrelling would meet on board the different ships, and ordered him to hand up some swords.

Next day several canoes, as Parke had before advertised him, came from both of the towns on board the Canterbury, witness's own ship, and one of the persons so coming on board, brought a letter, which he gave Parke, immediately on the receipt of which he, P. took a hanger, and attacked one of the Old Town people then on board, cutting him immediately on the head, arms, &c. The man fled, ran down the steps leading to the cabin, and P. still following him with the hanger, darted into the boys room. Witness is sure this circumstance can never be effaced from his memory. From this room he P. 386. was, however, brought up by means of a rope, when P. renewed his attack as before on the man, who, making for the entering port, leaped overboard.

This being concluded, P. left his own ship to go on board some of the other ships then lying in the

1790. river. Soon after he was gone, a boy belonging to Part II. witness's ship, came and informed witness, that he had discovered a man concealed behind the medicine chest. Witness went and found the man. He was the person before mentioned to have brought a letter on board. On being discovered by witness he begged for mercy, intreating that he might not be delivered up to the people of New Town. He was brought on the quarter deck, where were some of the New Town people, who would have killed him had they not been prevented. The man was then ironed and conducted into the room of the men slaves.

Soon after the captain returned, and brought with him a New Town trader, named Willy Honesty. On coming on board he was informed of what had happened in his absence; believes, in the hearing of Willy Honesty, who immediately exclaimed, "Captain, if you will give me that man to cut cutty head, I will give you the best man in my canoe, and you shall be flaved the first ship." The captain upon this looked into Willy Honesty's canoe, picked his man, and delivered the other in his stead, when his head was immediately struck off in witness's fight.

Believes some other cruelties besides this particular act was done, because he saw blood on the starboard side of the mizen mast, though he does not recollect seeing any bodies from whence the blood might come; and others in the other ships, because he heard several muskets or pistols fired from them at the same time. This affair might last ten minutes. Remembers a four pounder fired at a canoe, but knows not if any damage was done.

P. 387. In the voyage a sickly slave got through the necessary, and in swimming bore herself higher upon the water than he had ever seen any person: the circumstance being told the captain, he said, "Damn her, let her go, she is not worth picking up," or something to that purpose.

Recollects

Recollects a woman slave being brought on board, 1790. who refused any sustenance, neither would she speak; Part II. she was then ordered the thumb-screws, and suspended in the mizen rigging, and every attempt made with the cat and those instruments they have generally on board; but all to no purpose. She died three or four days afterwards. He was told by some of the women slaves, that she said the night before she died, she was going to her friends.

P. 383.

The death of 180 in the voyage above mentioned was mostly by the flux, brought on he believes by their being so much crowded in the ship: he had himself the care of the men slaves, and when stowed, there was not room to put down the point of a stick. The ship might be between 500 and 600 tons. The apartments for the slaves were very disagreeable, it could not be otherwise, being so much crowded; but they were kept as clean as possible. The men were generally fettered. The slaves appeared generally dejected when brought on board.

They were frequently made to dance, or jump up and down in their irons; if unwilling, they were frequently compelled to do it by the cat.

Recollects no instances of frauds practised on the natives.

The seamen, in the African ships in which he failed, were very well treated. P. 389.

End of No. 3.—Part II. 1790:



Number IV.

A B R I D G M E N T

O F T H E

M I N U T E S O F T H E E V I D E N C E ,

T A K E N B E F O R E A

C O M M I T T E E O F T H E W H O L E H O U S E ,

T O W H O M I T W A S R E F E R R E D T O C O N S I D E R O F T H E

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

1791.

ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE,

TAKEN BEFORE A

SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE,

TO WHOM IT WAS REFERRED TO CONSIDER OF THE

SLAVE-TRADE, 1790.

NUMBER IV.

Witness Examined,—RICHARD STOREY.

Mr. Richard Storey, lieutenant in the Royal Navy, P. 3.
having been from 1766 to 1770, on every part of the
coast from S. Leone to the river Sabon, declares,
That slaves are generally obtained by merauding parties,
from one village to another in the night. He
has also known canoes come from a distance and carry
off numbers in the night.

In 1769, Captain Paterfon, of a Liverpool ship,
lying off Bristol Town, set two villages at variance,
and bought prisoners, (near a dozen) from both
sides. While resident at Bristol Town, on the W.
Coast, for three months, he was in many villages, but
did not hear of any persons being carried off; on other
parts of the coast he has. P. 4.

Has gone into the interior country between the P. 5.
Bassau and the river Selters; and all the nations there
go armed from the fear of merauding parties: there
Numb. 4. A were

1791. were no wild beasts to alarm them; and the people there have informed him, that they have obtained their slaves by war; these merauding parties are considered by them as war.

P. 6. He was twice in danger from these parties himself. In 1767 he was put into a trading long-boat of the ship; about this time a merauding party from Grand Sesters had come in canoes and attacked Grand Cora in the night, and taken off 12 or 14 of the inhabitants; soon after which, having in his boat a native of Grand Sesters, the people of Grand Cora came to the boat in the river Sesters, and told the mate they had a slave to sell, on which he went ashore with them, leaving only Mr. Storey, a boy, and the black man in the boat. In about four hours after, a canoe came on board the boat, with the four men that the mate had gone with, saying, the mate was in another canoe in fight; and taking him off his guard, two of them seized him, while the other two got the black man overboard. Mr. Storey freed himself, and drove the two men overboard: the mate lay all this time on shore tied neck and heels, which confinement was occasioned by his refusing either to give up the native of Grand Sesters, or pay them the price of a slave in goods. This black man had before told of this expedition of his countrymen against Grand Cora, and often declared himself afraid to go on shore for that reason; he never gave it to be understood that there was a war at the time between Grand Sesters and Grand Cora; the only reason he assigned for the expedition was, that his own countrymen were poor.

P. 7. It was impossible that there could be any existing wars between these two people, as they are 20 leagues asunder; and those of Grand Cora, not having canoes to carry more than two or three men, never go to sea but to fish: the canoes of Grand Sesters carry 12 or 14 men, and with these go merauding among their neighbours. He has seen them at sea out of sight of land in the day, and taking the opportunity of night to land where they pleased.

It

It is his opinion that the natives are often fraudulently carried off by the Europeans: he has been told by them, that they have lost their friends at different times, and supposed them taken by European ships going along the coast. He has himself taken up canoes, which were challenged by the natives, who supposed the men in them had been taken off the day before by a Dutchman.

1791.

That the natives retaliate such injuries is proved from the following facts: When lying to an anchor in his boat between the river Sesters and Settra Crue, a Dutch ship running down the coast sent her long-boat to where he was, to buy vegetables, &c. When come to an anchor, a number of canoes came about the two boats, and one of the head men of the place wished him to go away, as they waited to take the Dutch boat and kill the crew. As a reason, they told him that a Dutch ship some days before had taken four men belonging to the place. P. 8.

Afterwards, in 1768, being driven by contrary winds, in a coasting ship in which he was a passenger into the river Angra, as there appeared a prospect of trade, they staid there. The second day, two canoes with 12 or 14 men each came on board with two men bound, to sell. Having agreed for one of them he went down for irons to put him into; but in coming up again was seized, with the master of the boat and another white man, whose throats were immediately cut. He got clear of those who seized him, but could not get upon deck. Half an hour after, being covered with wounds, and weak with the loss of blood, he proposed to give up both boat and cargo if suffered to go to Gaboon, to which they agreed, and then helping him up on deck they stripped him naked, put him into a canoe, and took him on shore to their town. The reason they gave for this was, that a ship from Liverpool (name forgotten, the captain's name Lambert) had some time before taken a canoe full of their townsmen and carried her away. He heard the same thing afterwards at Gaboon.

1791. He has been at Old Calabar, where slaves are brought down the river in war canoes, carrying upwards of 50 men armed, and a three or four pounder in the bow.

P. 9. Captain Jeremiah Smith, in the London, in 1766, having a dispute with the natives of Newtown Old Calabar concerning the stated price which he was to give for slaves, for several days stopped every canoe coming down the creek from Newtown, and also fired several guns indiscriminately over the woods into the town till he brought them to his own terms.

He looks upon the natives of the Windward Coast to be in general a hospitable friendly people, always willing to sell what they have, and also to give the best provisions the country affords. The men in general are very active and industrious, and chiefly employed in fishing, and trade with the Europeans; the women chiefly in cultivating rice and other vegetables. Old men also taken by merauding parties, and not saleable, they are put into their plantations; and to this employment he believes that slaves refused by the Europeans as too old for service are commonly destined, having seen many such at this work.

P. 10. On the Rice Coast, great quantities of rice are sold to the Europeans, the natives in parties of eight or ten bring it from the interior country, three or four days journey; he has known them take back salt and other European goods in return, and has every reason to believe, that if there was nobody to purchase slaves, they would turn themselves to cultivate their ground, and raise rice, &c. to purchase European goods. The quality of African rice is far superior to that of Carolina, bearing one-fourth more water.

The natives carry on their heads from 40 to 60 lb; has heard from them they go more than a month's journey inland with various articles from the coast, and has seen parties of more than 20 together men and women employed in carrying them.

1791.

In every thing they deal in, Europeans defraud the natives, adulterate spirits with water, and then heat it with pepper, and such guns have been sold to them, that he has seen many with their barrels burst and thrown away; he has also seen several natives without fingers and thumbs, blown off, as they said, by the bursting of these guns.

He has been in the West Indies, and has there at P. 11. St. Christopher's, and part of Grenada, seen surfs as high, and higher than in Africa. At Madras in the East Indies much higher, for a longer time than on the Windward Coast, where there is no place (except where sometimes for a day or two the surf is too high,) boats are not continually loading in most places in Africa, some rocks or points of land break the surf, which is not the case in the clear and open coast of Coromandel. Goods are landed every where along the coast; has seen them sometimes wet, but never lost. They do not use the same expedients here for loading and unloading boats that are used in the West Indies.

In his first voyage to Old Calabar the slaves attempted to rise, but did not succeed. In the year 1769, a Liverpool ship between Cape Mount and Mesurade, had every person killed by an insurrection, except one boy.

In the ships he failed in, the men slaves were al- P. 12. ways kept in irons during the Middle Passage.

In the Regus, first ship he had failed in, provisions were plenty. In the second, the Tyger of Whitehaven, the seamen in ten days after sailing were put to an allowance of 4 lb. of bread per week, and half a pound of beef or pork per day, which was the whole fare for nine months; he has but little complaint to make of ill usage against the ships in which he failed.

Think the slave trade very unhealthy in the rivers, but not on the open coast; they buried 14 out of 32 the first voyage in Calabar river; and in the Tyger in nine months, five or six out of 28. In three voyages


1791. voyages to Virginia they buried one man; in five Baltic voyages not one; in one to the southern whale fishery none; and in two Mediterranean none. Of the three Virginia voyages, the first was 11 months; the other two about seven months each. The number of men in each 16. The southern whale fishing voyage was of 11 months.

P. 13. In the Tyger the bread was tolerable, the beef and pork so salted that in boiling they shrunk to half this weight. Having once in this vessel, when handing rice to the slaves taken a handful for his own use, he was unmercifully beaten with a rope; he has known others who had done the same thing through hunger, treated for it in the same manner.

As an instance of similar ill treatment in other slave ships, he says, that lying in the Tyger at Bassau, he heard the sailors of three different ships complain heavily of their provision, as being bad, and insufficient in quantity; these were, the Lancashire Witch, Captain Coil; the Lilly, Captain Scragham; and the Violet, Browne, notorious all for bad provisions and ill usage; he has seen the sailors of each unmercifully beaten for the most trifling offences; knocked down with handspikes, or any other thing that came in the Captain's or officers way that took offence at the men. One man he saw in the Lancashire Witch confined for some trifle, with an iron collar on his right leg and arm shackled, and then chained to a ring-bolt on the deck, where he remained a considerable time in this condition without any other allowance but bread and water.

Witness Examined,—JAMES TOWNE.

P. 15. Mr. James Towne, carpenter of His Majesty's ship Syren, made a voyage 1760 to the Isles de Los on board the Peggy, Captain Cuthbert Davis, about 140 or 150 tons; and another in 1767 to Grand
Cape

Cape Mount, in the Sally, Captain George Evans, 1791. 
above 200 tons. The first voyage he remained between seven and eight months on the coast, then a boy; the second as carpenter, staid more than six months. He was mostly on shore three months together in the first voyage; in the second, for five or six weeks at a time. Repeated ill treatment was the occasion of his being so long on shore, for having gone in the trading shallop, he run away; he went into the back country among the inhabitants for some time to conceal himself, and was up the rivers and inland together, upwards of between 300 and 400 miles.

The natural productions of Africa are rice and yams in abundance, plantanes, bananas, and all other tropical fruits; plenty of camwood and elephants teeth; some tobacco, cultivated by natives who had been in England, but not yet skilfully cured. Great quantities of sugar-cane, long pepper; a bark like cinnamon; cotton in abundance, and often beautifully manufactured into cloth; a fine blue dye; beautiful woods for cabinet-makers; wax, ivory, palm-oil, palm-wine, and Indian corn.

The natives are hospitable and kind, and capable of learning quicker than white men. They differ as our own people in character, those on the coast learn to be roguish; inland they are innocent. The intercourse with Europeans has improved them in roguery, to plunder and steal, and pick up one another to sell.

Slaves in Africa were never ill used by their own P. 16.
people, but when bought by white traders they were used rather worse there than when on board.

He has seen both men and women cultivating the lands, but not often the women.

When a ship arrives she makes presents to the traders, to encourage them to bring any person down to sell as a slave, and they often pledge their own relations till they procure the slaves wanted. The black kings have told him, that they go to war on
purpose

1791. purpose to get slaves, and he has seen the prisoners, (the men bound, the women and children loose) delivered up to the white traders, or driven in gangs of two or three hundred for sale to the water side. He has known them go in gangs merauding and catching all they could. In the Galenas river he knew an instance of four blacks who took a man that had been to sell one or more slaves, plundered and stripped him naked, and brought him to the trading shallop and sold him. The people on board did not understand his language, nor imagine why he seemed so cast down as they all are, but king Battou coming on board and knowing the man, inquired the cause of his being there as a slave; he related the circumstance; a guard of grumettas, with some of Towne's people, were sent after the blacks to take them, but did not succeed. They could not make the man eat, not even by flogging; they then put him irons, and in a little time he died. He believes the slaves sometimes become so for crimes, as murder, theft, and adultery; the the last, if properly proved, is often punished with death.

P. 17. He has repeatedly heard both from the accused and accusers themselves, and he believes it common on the coast, to impute crimes falsely for the sake of having the accused person sold. One instance of a woman sold by her husband for adultery, and whom he himself brought off to the boat, and from her lamentations, and by her declaration, that she knew not what she was accused of, he thinks he has reason for imagining the crime imputed falsely. Mr. Murray, formerly of Bance island, Mr. Wood, his partner; Mr. Jenkins and Mr. Power, being to the windward of Bance Island, all told him that it was not an uncommon thing to bring on palavers to make slaves, and he believes it from the information of the slaves afterwards when brought down the country and put on board the ships.

Slaves are brought from the country very distant from the coast. The king of Barra has informed him,

him; that on the arrival of a ship he has gone 300 or 400 miles up the country with his guard, and driven down 200 or 300 slaves to the sea side. From Marraba, king of the Mundingoes, he has heard that they had marched them out of the country more than 700 miles, that they had gone wood ranging to pick up every one they met with, whom they stripped naked, and if men, bound; but if women, brought down loose; this he had from themselves, and also that they often went to war with the Ballam nation on purpose to get slaves. They boasted that they should soon have a fine parcel for the shallops, and the success often answered.

1791.

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He was once present with part of the crew at an expedition undertaken by the whites for the purpose of seizing negroes, and joined by other boats to receive those they could catch. To prevent all alarm, they bound their mouths with oakum and handkerchiefs; one woman shrieked, and the men turned out in defence. He had then five tied in the boat, and the other boats were in readiness to take in what more they could get; all his party were armed, and the men of the town pursued them with first a scattering, and at length a general fire, and several of the men belonging to the boats, he has reason to believe, were killed, wounded, or taken, as he never heard of them afterwards. He was wounded himself. What became of the other boats, he knows not, for he knew nothing of the expedition, until ordered to take command of the boat, which though then he thought it a sport, he was afterwards sorry for having done. The slaves he had taken, were sold at Charleston, South Carolina. The natives had not previously committed any hostilities against any of the ships, whose boats were concerned in this transaction; they owed goods to the captain, for which he resolved to obtain slaves at any rate. He has had several shipmates, who have themselves told him, they have been concerned in similar transactions, and

1791. have made a boast of it, and who have been wounded also.

P. 19. The Europeans endeavour to cheat the natives; they adulterate their liquors, and in buying and selling use different weights, to which they give the same appearance, by casing a stone and a piece of lead alike in brass; he kept such himself, and used them in dealing for wax, teeth, &c. by order of his commanding officer, whom he has also repeatedly seen do it himself.

The natives brought to the coast appear not to come on board willingly; on the contrary, they come down with a guard, and are forced into the boats.

P. 20. When on board, they are always fettered with leg shackles and handcuffs, two and two, right and left. They lie in a crowded and cramped state, having neither their length nor breadth, in a space by no means sufficient for their health; and such is their suffocated state below, that he has known them go down well, and in the morning be brought up dead. When they come on deck, they are all in a dew sweat, from the tarpawlings being laid over the gratings in bad weather. The height between decks in the Peggy (tonnage 140 or 150, see p. 15 at the top) was about 4 feet, and in the Sally, 4 feet 4 or 5. The Peggy took on board about 230 negroes; the boys room only had a platform: between 50 and 60 of the cargo died. There were 25 seamen, he does not recollect above 6 or 7 dying.

The Sally (better than 200 tons, p. 15, at top) had platforms in boys and womens rooms, and the aft part of mens. The cargo was nearly 400, of whom about 60 died. The crew consisted of 40 men, of whom above 30 died. They were forced to get men from other ships on the coast; out of 6 mates, not 1 lived.

Something better than a pint of water, after they are fed, served at twice, was the daily allowance of a slave; and after being fed in the afternoon, the boatswain taking one, and the mate the other side of the deck, they are made to dance, and flogged with a cat

cat if they do not. In fine weather they are brought on deck between eight and nine in the morning, and put down again at four, there to remain until next day. He has known them refuse their food in consequence of being confined; ill treated, to induce them to eat; they are flogged, and put into irons separately; both their hands handcuffed, both legs shackled, a collar round their neck, with a chain, and often the thumb-screw applied, to take the stubbornness out of them. This was his task, and sometimes, from their ill treatment, they attempted to jump overboard; at others, have gone mad, and died in that situation. They often fall sick, sometimes owing to their crowded state, but mostly to grief, for being carried away from their country and friends, which being very well acquainted with their language, he knows from frequent inquiries into the circumstances of their grievous complaints. He has known them attempt to rise on board, and on inquiry into the cause, has been asked what business we had to carry them from their country; they had wives and children they wanted to be with. To check them, they are put singly into irons and flogged. He has known women with infants on board, particularly, who, when their infants died, grieved after them, and died themselves. Guinea captains seldom buy women with children. Has heard the slaves singing, but their songs were lamentations. A slave kidnapped or sold, contrary to the custom of the country, to the ships, cannot complain to the black traders on board, for these traders never see the main deck, nor even speak to the women abaft, lest they might make signals to rise. When canoes come to the ship, no slave on the main deck can look over the ship's side; two officers stand with cats to prevent them, and this prevents their seeking release. A barricado of great strength, cuts off all intercourse between persons on the main deck and those in the after part of the ship; the women and the men thus cannot see one another.


1791.

P. 21.

P. 21.

P. 22.

1791. When sick, in the vessels he failed in, the negroes were put forward, which was considered the ship's hospital; and though sometimes medicines are given, and sometimes forced down, they are in general but indifferently attended, so that they often die in their own filth. They are seldom long sick before they die. Never saw one sea sick. Small attention, confinement below, and the situation of being slaves, he supposes the cause of this rapid death of the sick. He looks on their dying as partly due to want of attention; in one instance there was no surgeon on board.
- P. 23.
- P. 24. Mr. Towne has been in the West Indies; at Barbadoes for near a year, in 1779 and 1780; in Antigua for about 15 months, in 1780 and 1781; for 2 months at St. Kitt's, in 1781; and a little while in Jamaica, in 1782. He was in many plantations at Barbadoes, particularly Mr. Gibson's and Mr. Bishop's; on Mr. Tyrrel's and Sir John Laforey's, at Antigua, and on shore at St. Kitts and Jamaica. Slaves are sold in the West Indies sometimes by vendue, sometimes in lots; those of the vessels in which he was, were sold to the best bidder, and sometimes in lots; he never heard of any care taken to prevent the separation of relations and friends. Refuse slaves are such as are sickly from any cause; they are often kept on board to fatten them for sale, but if they do not recover, they are sold then to any body, some even so low as a guinea.
- P. 25. The slaves in the West Indies work from four in the morning, till very late in the evening; if they come but a moment after their time, they are flogged with whips by the drivers, to whom they must come ready stripped for their punishment, to save time. Some, though lame, are obliged to work; if they complain, they are called lazy, and flogged by the driver. Has seen slaves laid down and stretched out to four stakes in the ground, and so receiving 40 or 50 lashes. He has seen them swung up to a crane, with weights at their feet to stretch them, so as to enlarge

enlarge the wounds of the whip; men and women alike. After flogging, they bring ebony switches, full of thorns, and with these flog them again, to let out the bruised blood. To encrease the severity, they use a manner of whipping, which they call crossing. They then pickle them, to keep flies from blowing, and maggots from breeding in their wounds. A jumper who goes from house to house for employment, inflicts these punishments at Bridgetown, Barbadoes, and St. John's, Antigua. In the plantations, a black called the boatswain of the plantation inflicts them, under the manager's direction. The marks of former whippings he has also observed in a large proportion of the plantation slaves; there are in general scarce any without a number of them. They are nearly as large as a man's finger above the skin. 1791. 

Mr. Bishop told him, that in his plantation, at Speight's Town, in Barbadoes, they had not bought a Guinea negro for upwards of 40 years, and that by good usage there were a great many more now there than then. Mr. Bishop told him, the encrease was due to more having been born, than had died on his estate. Knows of no encouragement given to the marriage of slaves. P. 26.

Seamen are procured at Liverpool for the slave ships, by merchants clerks, who intoxicate them in publick houses, and so get them on board. The publicans also get them in their debt, and if they refuse a Guineaman, send them to gaol; the Guinea captains are then informed, that if they want men, they may have so many, for paying these debts; and if then they agree to go, they are sent on board, and never suffered to come out of the ship again; if not, they remain in a gaol on a very scanty allowance; has known many instances himself. P. 27.

On board the vessels in which he sailed, seamen were treated with the greatest inhumanity, in the Peggy, captain Davis; for instance, they were so soon as when round the rock of Liverpool, brought to an allowance

1791. allowance of four pound of bread per week; their chests were staved and burnt, and themselves turned out from lying below. If any murmured, they were inhumanely beaten with any thing that came in the way, or flogged, both legs put in irons, and chained abaft to the pumps, and there made to work points and gaskets. The captain, as he passed by, repeatedly kicked them, and if offended at any thing they said, immediately called for a stick to beat them, and put their necks in an iron collar, with a chain. On the coast of Guinea, if not released before their arrival, they were made to row in boats back and forward, or any duty, in all their irons, and the chain locked to the boat, and at night, when returned to the ship, they were locked fast to the open deck, exposed to the heavy rain and dews, without any thing to lie on, or cover them. This was a common practice, but he adds, that not any of them died in this situation.

P. 28. On board the Sally also, where the ill treatment was general, one of the seamen had both his legs in irons, a collar on his neck, and was chained to the boat for three months, and when he complained, was often beaten most inhumanly, by both the captain and other officers. He grew at length too weak to sit and row. He was then taken on board the ship, and made to pick oakum, with only three pound of bread per week, and one-half pound of salt beef per day; his legs remained in irons, but the collar was taken off the latter part of the time. One evening, on the Middle Passage, coming aft to beg for something to eat, or he should die, the captain inhumanly beat him, and then ordered him to go forward and die and be damned; the man died that night.

One Edward Hilton also, being out in the boat watering, complained of being long without meat or drink, on which the boatswain beat and cut his head with the tiller. When he came on board all bloody, and was telling his story to Mr. Towne, the mate (by the captain's order) with the surgeon and boatswain,

swain, came forward, and beat him with canes (which they call serving out grog) the surgeon's cane struck his eye, which mortified, and was totally lost. His legs, when unable to stand, were then put in irons, and next morning he was sent in his irons, on the same duty in the boat, to which he was locked with a chain, until he was unable to remain any longer; he was then taken on board, and still in irons, laid forwards, and by the surgeon's advice, his allowance was stopped. Hilton lying before the mast almost dead, and Mr. Towne having received orders to go in the shallop to Jack River, when under weigh, the commander of the shallop was ordered to bring to, to take Hilton in, and to leave him on shore any where; he died early next morning. Two brothers, P. 29. William and John Walker, were equally ill used.

The general provisions of the crew were three pound of bread per week, and half a pound of salt beef per day. Water they had from the gun barrel, lashed to the topmast cross-trees, which every one was to take down for himself; he was himself punished for giving the barrel to another half way up.

Captain Colly, on board the Hare Snow, (as he heard from the people of the ship at different times) killed his carpenter, carpenter's mate, cook, and another man, and when the crew complained of these murders in Virginia, they were not redressed, but sent on board, or threatened with the cowskin, 39 lashes, the general punishment of Guinea seamen, who are supposed to offend. He has seen many ships, and always found the same treatment as in his own.

Captain Scrogam, of the Lilly Snow, instead of complying with the request of a sick man, who came aft for something to eat, ordered him to be immediately stripped, and seized to the main shrouds, with his feet clear of the deck; he then stripped him himself to the shirt, and flogged him several times with a cat, the man still hanging by his hands; P. 30. when tired, he called on his officers to flog, but they refused,

1791. refused, on which he made the men slaves come off the main deck, and flog him until he was dead. The ship was then along-side the wharf of Charleston, South Carolina, where some of the crew coming on shore with the surgeon and mate, who was the captain's brother, reported the murder; the corpse being brought on shore next morning, Mr. Towne and many others, stopped and examined it, and had a coroner's inquest, which brought in a verdict of wilful murder, through the evidence of the surgeon and the captain's own brother. Lord Charles Montague, the Governor, sent officers on board to take, and confine the captain in gaol, which was accordingly done, but for want of evidence he was afterwards acquitted.

He has seen sailors apparently diseased and disabled, wandering about in the West Indies, with sore legs, which is common in Guineamen, emaciated; he has known them turned ashore by the captains, and lie upon the beach and the wharfs, where many have died, as he has seen. They are called wharfingers; none chuse to employ them for their wretched appearance, and thus they are left destitute of support. He was himself thus left on shore, without money or friends, at Charleston, South Carolina, with two others, who died. That these sailors came from the slave ships he knows, from having inquired; but without inquiry, they are easy to know, from the abject state of their appearance.

P. 31. He has repeatedly known Guinea sailors jump overboard, and even from ships he belonged to, on the Guinea coast, where sharks abounded. Some have succeeded in getting away, but on the offer of a large reward, which was afterwards charged against their wages, have been brought back by the natives, and immediately punished inhumanly with irons, collar and chain, and locked as before to the boat, to row on the duties of the ship during the captain's pleasure, with a very scanty allowance; he has never known

known sailors jump overboard from any other than 1791.
Guinea ships. }

From the ill treatment he has seen, and the loss of such numbers on board, both the ships he belonged to, and was acquainted with, it is not his opinion that the African trade is a nursery for seamen. He knows that the treatment of sailors in the West India trade, is not similar to that in the African; they are not so hard worked; they live and lie well, and are always taken great care of by the captains.

He assigns as a reason, for staving and burning the P. 32.
seamens chests, that it was done to clear the ships for slaves; their contents, which were wearing apparel, if no bag was found to put them in, were often thrown overboard. The seamen's bedding, as well as their chests, was thrown upon the deck, and none suffered to lie below but the captain and the mate; if caught below to sleep, they were severely punished. This was the case of the ships he sailed in, both during the outward and Middle Passage.

The reason of his being left on shore at Charleston was, the fear of returning to captain Evans, after having been refused to be taken on board by a king's ship, to which he, and the two others, had applied for in vain; redress of grievances against captain Evans.

Being asked whether he meant to assert, that what he has said concerning West India punishments, was the general practice, or only, that he has himself seen the circumstances he has related, he answers, That he only meant to speak to such things as he was an eye-witness to, a number of times.

Witness examined—Mr. CLAXTON.

Mr. Claxton sailed in the Garland, Capt. Forbes, for Africa in 1788, as surgeon's mate, and there on Numb. 4. C the

1791. the Bonny Coast commenced surgeon to the Young
 } Hero brig, Capt. Molyneux.

P. 33. They had 250 slaves, of whom 132 died, chiefly of the flux; so crowded that they could only lie on their sides, if they did otherwise, it created quarrels among them: they stowed so close, that he could not go among them with his shoes without danger of hurting them. This crowded state aggravated their sufferings when ill, and tended to increase the disorder. It was impossible to treat them with the necessary accommodations. The steerage and boys room insufficient to receive the sick, so greatly did the disorder prevail, they were therefore obliged to place together those that were and those that were not diseased, and in consequence the disease and mortality spread more and more. The captain treated them with more tenderness than he has heard was usual, but the men were not humane. Some of the most diseased were obliged to be kept on deck, with a sail spread for them to lie on: this, in a little time, became nearly covered with blood and mucus, which involuntarily issued from them, and therefore the sailors, who had the disagreeable task of cleaning the sail, grew angry with the slaves, and used to beat them inhumanly with their hands, or with a cat. The slaves in consequence grew fearful of committing this involuntary action, and when they perceived they had done it, would immediately creep to the tubs, and there sit straining with such violence as to produce a prolapsus ani, which could not be cured. The same punishments were inflicted for the same cause on those who were not quite so ill.

Slaves, whose flux was accompanied with scurvy, and such cedematous swellings of the legs as made it pain to move at all, were made to dance, as they call it, and whipped with a cat if they were reluctant.

The slaves both when ill and well, were frequently forced to eat against their inclinations. Were whipped

ped with a cat if they refused. They used other means still worse, and too nauseous to mention. 1791.

The parts on which their shackles are fastened are often excoriated by the violent exercise they are forced to take, and of this they made many grievous complaints to him.

That slaves, when first brought on board, are commonly dejected, he shews by an instance of nine purchased on his passage from Bonny to the Isle of Bimbe, who were all very much dejected: one girl in particular, clung to the neck of her seller, and though only ten or twelve years old, could not be comforted. She continued three or four days in that situation. The whole cargo appeared more or less afflicted on leaving their country.

Some had such an aversion to leaving their native places, that they threw themselves overboard, on an idea, that they should get back to their own country. The captain, in order to obviate this idea, cut off the heads of those who died, intimating to them, that if determined to go, they must return without their heads. The slaves were accordingly brought up to witness the operation, one man excepted, who was at length, against his will, forced up, seeing, when on deck, the carpenter standing with his hatchet up ready to strike off the head, with a violent exertion, he got loose, and flying to the place where the nettings had been unloosed, in order to empty the tubs, he darted himself overboard. The ship brought to, and a man was placed on the main chain to catch him, which he perceiving, dived under water, and rising again at a distance from the ship, made signs, which words cannot describe, expressive of his happiness in escaping. He then went down, and was seen no more. A strict watch over them was now kept, yet still they found means to elude all precaution. One of the tubs being set near where the nettings were lashed to the bulk-head, some of the slaves who had premeditated an escape, under pretence of easing themselves, contrived, while sitting

P. 35.

P. 36.

1791. on the tubs, to unloose the lashing, so that two actually threw themselves overboard, and were lost. A third was caught when three parts over.

Once imagined an insurrection was intended.—
(See particulars.)

They sing, but not for their amusement. The capt. ordered them to sing, and they sang songs of sorrow. Their sickness, fear of being beaten, their hunger, and the memory of their country, &c. are the usual subjects; he could even mention their words.—They generally speak the same language, but there was one man who spoke a language unknown to all the rest, which made his condition very lamentable. He never took exercise but when compelled. His situation (he believes) produced a state of insanity, and he died mad.

P. 37. The slaves had not a sufficient quantity of food, owing to the extraordinary length of the passage, which was fifteen weeks. At first they did not like their food, and would not eat, but when used to it, they would have eaten near twice as much as allowed them.

A considerable number of slaves died in the early part of the voyage. After eight weeks at sea, they had only got three days sail from the place they had set out from. On examination, they did not find five weeks provision on board. Two nations being at war, they could not procure food from either. A Dutch ship supplied them with a little bread, and sufficient water. The food, notwithstanding the mortality, was so little, that if ten days more at sea, they should, as the captain and others said, have made the slaves walk the plank, that is, throw themselves overboard, or have eaten those slaves that died.

Fell in with the *Hero*, *Wilson*, which had lost, he thinks, 360 slaves by death, he is certain more than half of her cargo: learnt this from the surgeon. They had died mostly of the small-pox. Surgeon also told him, that when removed from one place to another, they left marks of their skin and blood upon

upon the deck, and that it was the most horrid sight he had ever seen. 1791.

They had on board about fifty boys and girls, but without parents or other relations; there was one instance of two sisters. P. 38.

At Rumbie the natives apprehensive that they were going to war with them. Did not come off the coast for some time. Two canoes at length ventured, and inquired if they were come to war or trade: being told to trade, with apparent caution they attempted to come on board, and asked the captain if he had not two tongues. Captain assured them he would not hurt them, on which one of them ventured on board, declaring if the captain killed him, those in the canoes would kill the ship's crew. The rest followed, and convinced that trade was the ship's object, desired that two might stay to examine the goods; at the same time requiring two hostages, which was complied with. He knew another instance of the same kind.

Whilst lying off the Batteau islands he heard of some Europeans being cut off a little before by the natives, and this from a person close by at the time, so as to convince him of its truth. The terror of the natives on seeing the vessel, lest they should destroy the island, afforded a proof of the fact. They were in arms all night, which obliged the crew also to arm. P. 39.

The natives have a particular pleasure in bartering what they have for European goods of any kind.

The slaves were sold in the West Indies in an infectious state, and some that he believes were going to die, and accordingly out of 14 of this description only 4 lived. He apprized the seller's agent of their danger, and his answer was, it would be best to dispose of them immediately; but such as afforded hopes of recovery, he desired to have purchased for himself, which was done.

Witness



Witness examined—Lieutenant SIMPSON.

1791. Mr. John Simpson, lieutenant of marines, went
 P. 40. out in his Majesty's ship the Adventure, and was on
 the coast chiefly from Settra Crue to Accra, in 1788
 and 1789. From what he saw, he believes the slave
 trade is the occasion of wars among the natives.
 From those of the windward coast he understood
 that the villages were always at war, and the black
 traders and others gave as a reason for it, that the
 kings wanted slaves. If a trading canoe along-side
 the ship saw a larger canoe coming from a village
 they were at war with, they instantly fled, sometimes
 without receiving the value of their goods. On
 inquiry, he learned their reason to be, that if taken
 they would have been made slaves.

At C. Coast Castle, and other parts of the Gold
 Coast, he heard repeatedly from the black traders
 the slave-trade made wars and palavers. Mr. Quakoo,
 chaplain at C. Coast Castle, informed him, that wars
 were made in the interior parts for that sole purpose.

P. 41. There are two crimes which seemed made on pur-
 pose to procure slaves, adultery and the removal of
 fetiches. As to adultery, he was warned against
 connecting himself with any woman not pointed out
 to him, for that the kings kept several who were
 sent out to allure the unwary, and that if found to
 be connected with these, he would be seized, and
 made to pay the price of a man-slave. As to fetiches,
 consisting of pieces of wood, old pitchers, kettles,
 &c. laid in the path-ways, he was warned to avoid
 displacing them, for if he should, the natives, who
 were on the watch, would seize him, and as before,
 exact the price of a man-slave. These baits are laid
 equally for natives as Europeans, but the former are
 better acquainted with the law, and consequently
 more circumspect.

That

That the Europeans sometimes fraudulently carry ^{1791.} off the natives on that part of the Windward Coast where there is no English factory, he believes. The repeated inquiries and disinclination of the natives to come on board the ship, till convinced she was not a slave-ship but a man of war, confirmed his opinion. When they were satisfied, they came on board readily, and in numbers.

The natives sometimes retaliate on the Europeans for such injuries. From Albion slave ship, at Settra Crue, learnt, that two chiefs being at variance, one of them seizing five of the other's party, had sold them to the Albion, for which that party seized three of the Albion's seamen, and would not release them without the slaves were returned.

Believes if the slave-trade were abolished, the P. 42. indolence of the natives is not such as to prevent a commerce with them in their native produce; for to his repeated inquiries what they would do were it abolished, the black traders answered, they did not care, they should soon find some other trade to live by.

Convinced the treatment of seamen on board Guinea ships is very bad. When at Fort Apollonia, the Adventurer's boat was hailed by some seamen of the Fly Guineaman, begging to be taken in the man of war, for their treatment made their lives miserable. The boat was accordingly sent to the Fly by captain Parry, and one or two men brought on board. The Albion at another time, unable to avoid the Adventure, (which she tried to do) spoke to her, and the captain brought a seaman on board, whom he wished to leave, complaining he was riotous and disorderly. The man, in every instance, proved the reverse, and from him he learned that he had been half starved and cruelly beaten, both by captain and surgeon, who neglected the seamen, saying he was only paid for attending the slaves. Also learned their allowance was increased, and their treatment better, when in sight of a man of war; which was confirmed to him by

1791. by another man from a slave ship, who had been left behind with a shockingly ulcerated leg, and recited various instances of ill treatment he had received. The Adventure's boat having been sent to Anamaboo to the Spy Guineaman, returned with three men concealed under her sail, who fled from the slave ship, where they complained their treatment had made their lives miserable, beaten and half starved. Besides these there were other instances not remembered.

P. 43.

He never heard any complaints from West Indians, or other merchant ships: on the contrary, they wished to avoid a man of war; whereas if the Adventure had taken all who complained and offered themselves from the Guineamen, it must have greatly distressed the trade.

Has been in Barbadoes and Jamaica. When first at Bridgetown, his impression as to the treatment of slaves by their general appearance was trivial, they were natives, household servants, and their labour very light; but was impressed with the utmost horror on seeing the field slaves, some working in irons, under the lash of an inhuman negro driver, and their backs in general lacerated by his blows. He never saw a gang without one or two of these tormentors, snapping their whips, and threatening to make them feel them.

P. 44.

When at Cape Coast he saw slaves brought from the interior country, who were bought, he believes, by the then Governor, Mr. Norris. He examined them, and they appeared much concerned at coming into the hands of Europeans. Dejection and despair were strongly painted on their countenances. When at Bridgetown, he saw in the poor-house 18 or 20 seamen, from different slave ships. They related various instances of the barbarities of their late commanders, who had left them behind without any means of getting home. They seemed very much emaciated, and some of them ulcerated and in a condition in which they said neither West Indians
nor

nor men of war would receive them. They had not only been beaten but nearly starved. 1791.

Witness examined—Doctor HARRISON, M. D.

He was above 10 years in Jamaica, from 1755 to 1765, and in America from 1765 to 1778: in the P. 44. medical line in both.

He had every possible opportunity of knowing the situation of the slaves, seeing them in sickness, in health, and often punished. Has been on several sugar works in different parts of Jamaica, at all seasons, for two or three weeks, sometimes only a P. 45. few days.

The field slaves have land enough for their support, had they time to cultivate it. They had no other food allowed on the estates he was on, except salt provisions at Christmas. New negroes were allowed a year's provisions, that is, till they had cultivated their land. They had only holidays and Sundays to work it, which was not sufficient, for they must work their grounds after dark. Saturday afternoon was not allowed them on any estate he knew. They looked much better than one could expect considering their severe treatment, but, in general very indifferent. Believes on all estates slaves often plunder other's provision grounds for support. In the first instance he knew of this, a slave was cut nearly all to pieces for it; but after he knew the estates better, P. 46. he heard and knew it to be frequent.

Not the least attention is paid to the religious instruction of the slaves.

They were very badly lodged, and had no clothes but what they get by their own extra labour, except at Christmas, 2 frocks and 2 pair Osnaburgh trowsers for the men, and 2 coats and 2 shifts for the women, and some had 2 handkerchiefs for the head. In general, their masters give them no bedding at all.

Numb. 4.

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Some

1791. Some new negroes have a few blankets, but not generally.

They were not married, nor encouraged to bring up families; the universal opinion being, that it was better and cheaper to buy than to breed. Humane overseers allowed complaining pregnant women to retire from work; but he has seen them labouring in the field, when they seemed to have but a few weeks to go. They were generally worked as long as they were able.

P. 47. Does not think proper attention was paid to the children. Thinks the labour he saw pregnant women doing, must, at some times, have injured them.

Old slaves, past labour, if they had no friends to give them necessaries, must have wanted every thing. Has seen a number of those objects on different estates.

They usually work from sun-rise to sun-set; sometimes 13 or 14 hours, including 2 hours for dinner. In crop they work night and day, without cessation.

Grass-picking, when he saw it, was always extra work, and, on some estates, was a cruel hardship.

He has always seen the driver with a whip in his hand, and sometimes exercising it severely.

P. 48. The plantation punishments are severe whippings, chaining them by the neck and leg, putting heavy iron boots on their legs, and iron pothooks on their necks, and putting them in the stocks. He has often seen these punishments inflicted with what he thought capricious or severity. On an estate, at Liguanea, he saw the overseer whip several old, decrepid women very severely, only for not picking cotton enough. Has often seen negroes in chains, half famished, and scarcely able to walk, compelled to go into the field.

At Kingston the negroes were flogged in the gaol, round the town, and on the wharfs. He thought the whippings in gaol, and round the town, too severe to be inflicted on any of the human species. He attended a man, who had been flogged in gaol,
five

five or six weeks before he was well. It was by his master's order, for not coming when he was called. He could lay two or three fingers in the wounds from the whip. Knows of many similar instances. The gaol and wharf whippings were by order of the masters or mistresses, sometimes by the magistrate, but generally the magistrate orders whipping round the town. The punishments of soldiers (which he has very often witnessed) were generally mild, compared to the whipping of slaves in gaol or round the town.

Never knew slaves had any legal protection. The only protection they had, was from their masters against any indifferent person. Formed this opinion from a multitude of unredressed violences. Among others, a negro was flogged to death, by order of her mistress, who stood by to see the punishment. The negro died a few days after.—A negro man was put on the picket so long as to cause a mortification of his foot and hand, on suspicion of robbing his master, a publick officer, of a sum of money, which it afterwards appeared, the master had taken himself. Yet the master was privy to the punishment, and the slave had no compensation. He was punished by order of the master, who did not then chuse to make it known that he himself had made use of the money. Neither the mistress nor master were prosecuted for these acts.

A gentleman offended at a negro, named Monday, for mimicking him, bought him. After buying him, he ordered him to be flogged; the consequence was, that Monday cut his own throat.

He thinks the abilities of the negroes equal to our own, and their dispositions much the same. The free negroes are as industrious as the whites, and he thinks slavery causes the unwillingness of the others. In general, slaves are not so good mechanicks as whites, which he attributes to the same cause. Many free negroes are very good mechanicks.

1791.

He has often heard slaves lament their unfortunate situation. A negro man once asked him, whether the old gentlemen of the country had not much to answer for, for not teaching them Christianity, and for treating them so cruelly as they did, not allowing them to obtain their own freedom when they merited it.

A negro boy of his, detested slavery so much, that he refused all support, which brought on a dropsy that killed him. Another negro, who had been a great man in his own country, refused to work for any white man, and being therefore punished by the overseer, desired him to tell his master, that he would be a slave to no man. His master ordered him to be removed to another estate. His hands were tied behind him, and in going over a bridge he jumped into the water, and appeared no more. These are two facts of Dr. Harrison's own knowledge, out of a great many which he cannot now recollect.

P. 51.

A slave of his told him she had been kidnapped, by being put in a bag. A man who was kidnapped told him he was a great many months in travelling to the sea, that there was a traffick for slaves to sell to the whites, even beyond his country, and that kidnapping was common there.

Sales of the slaves of distressed proprietors were frequent over all the island, when families were often separated. He bought a negro woman and child out of compassion, that she might not be taken from her husband. When negroes are seized for debt, the marshal takes them as he can find them, which generally leaves a part of the family on the estate: though when he chanced to seize a whole family, he has known them put all up in one lot; but generally part only of a family was so seized.

He has heard several overseers say, the plough would save a great deal of negro-labour, and lament it was not used.

P. 52.

General opinion favoured those overseers who made most sugar, with little or no respect to lenity; but he

knew

1791.

knew one overseer, remarkable for humanity, who made more sugar with fewer hands than others did with more. In his opinion, were slaves more encouraged and more humanely treated, they would do much more work.

Slaves were certainly worse treated when their masters were embarrassed; for their distresses obliged them to work their slaves beyond their strength, to make sugars to pay their debts.

The planter's residence was of the greatest advantage to his slaves. They were always the better used for it in every respect. It was the general opinion, that the conduct of attorneys was often inconsistent with the interest of non-residents, and in many cases very injurious to them.

It is well known there, that negro women have no security against violation, unless their masters choose to protect them.

He never thought free negroes sufficiently protected against injuries from whites; because their oaths were not allowed, except in cases of debt.

In the outskirts of Kingston, he has always seen several emaciated and diseased sailors, who were left on shore by masters of Guineamen. P. 53.

The Jamaica slaves were generally treated very ill, and only individuals treated them well. In South Carolina, the slaves were in general treated very well, and only individuals treated them ill. In S. Carolina, they were well fed, well clothed, less worked, and never severely whipped. In Jamaica they were badly fed, indifferently clothed, hard worked, and severely whipped. In S. Carolina, the negroes laboured by task-work, which was often finished by three or four P. M. which enabled them to work their grounds, and to hunt and fish for themselves. He never saw a driver with a whip, for generally there was no occasion for it, as they worked by task.

In Doctor Harrison's opinion, as a medical man, the climate of Jamaica is more favourable to the increase of slaves than that of Carolina, notwithstanding

ing

1791. ing which disadvantage, Carolina increased in slaves, while those in Jamaica decreased. Sufficient attention was not paid to the rearing of negro children even in Carolina, because they were of opinion it was cheaper to buy new negroes than to rear children.

Witness Examined,—Doctor JACKSON, Physician,
Stockton-upon-Tees.

P. 54. Went to Jamaica in 1774, resided there four years, chiefly at Savannah-la-Mar, where he practised medicine; his profession led him daily, eight, ten, or more miles into the country; has occasionally been, for a short time, at most parts of the island.

On his arrival found the condition of negroes hard, and their treatment cruel.

First thing that shocked him was, a creole lady (of some consequence) superintending the punishment of her slaves, male and female; ordering the number of lashes, and with her own hands flogging the negro driver, if he did not punish properly.

Though this the only instance he saw, believes it not uncommon for women of rank thus to superintend punishments of their slaves (p. 55): they were not worse received in society for it; it might be said, "such a one is a termagant," but she was not for that less respected; it was indeed thought necessary for an industrious wife to be rigid in the punishment of her slaves.

The punishment seemed to him very severe, blood flowed at every stroke, and if the allotted quantum could not, without danger to life, be given at once, the negro was put into the stocks for some days, and when a little recruited, received the rest of his flogging.

As to mode of punishing, in some cases the offender was tied and stood upright; in others more severe, was stretched between four stakes, so tight that he could

could not shrink or move; the whip, like what our 1791.
 waggoners use, was thrown at the distance of three
 or four paces, which of course greatly increased the
 weight of the lashes: for women too far advanced in
 pregnancy to be stretched flat on the ground, a hole
 was dug in the earth to receive their bellies; this
 last he never saw, but is as certain of it, as one can
 be, of a fact he has not seen.

Thinks severe whippings sometimes occasion slave's
 death: recollects a negro dying under the lash, or
 very soon after; it was generally said the negro was
 killed by it; no attempt to bring the person to P. 56.
 justice: people said it was an unfortunate thing;
 were surprized the man was not more cautious, as it
 was not the first thing of the kind that had happened
 to him; but chiefly dwelt upon the proprietor's loss.

Has seen slaves with a leg cut off, for running
 away, he was told: law there allows owners to do
 so. Has heard of negroes castrated for trespass on
 overseer's black mistress, of which act no account
 was taken.

Never knew a negro complain to a magistrate of
 his master: it was understood he could not have
 legal redress, or if so, negroes were ignorant of it.

In general, no attention paid to the religious in-
 struction of slaves. In the district where he lived,
 the church was never opened but for a company of
 soldiers quartered there; nor to introduce marriage
 among them. Negro men cohabited where they
 pleased. White men had unrestrained intercourse P. 57.
 with plantation females.

Negroes were generally esteemed a species of in-
 ferious beings, whom the right of purchase gave
 the owner a power of using at his will.

After much knowledge of them, he could not per-
 ceive them at all inferious to unlettered white men
 in capacity. As to disposition, they possess many
 amiable qualities. They are charitable to all in dis-
 tress; parents strongly attached to their children;
 and many have given strongest proofs of gratitude
 and

1791. and attachment to their masters. To mention one instance of this; during the American war, in the action at the Cow Pan, a negro who was attached to him, had escaped with the fugitives of the army to a distance of two or three miles; when, hearing from some foldiers that his master had been seen unhorsed, he returned to the field to search for him, and fell into the hands of the enemy.

They often complain they are an oppressed people; that they suffer in this world, but expect happiness in the next, whilst they denounce the vengeance of God on the white men their oppressors: if you speak to them of future punishments they say, "Why should a poor negro be punished: he does no wrong; fiery cauldrons, and such things, are reserved for white people, as punishments for the oppression of slaves."

P. 58. Were slaves well used he cannot conceive why they should not keep up their numbers: they are naturally prolifick, and the islands are in general congenial to their constitutions.

The buying system was generally preferred. Supposes, they are frequently lost, from mothers being forced to work while nurses, as at other times, and so becoming indifferent to rearing their children; not that they want parental affection, but hard usage, and the idea of rearing children subject to cruel treatment, leads them to wish their offspring may fail: Has heard them wish them dead, or that they had never been born, rather than be forced to see them daily punished: hence also they are supposed to procure abortion, to which motive may be added, a fear in such as are handsome, to diminish their charms in the eyes of white men.

Slaves whose owners are in embarrassed circumstances are ill clothed, hard worked, and poorly fed.

P. 59. In general, he considers the hardship of negro field labour to be more in the mode, than in the quantity done. A white man in England would, doubtless, though not superiour in strength, do with ease the work

work of three negroes in the West Indies; because ^{1791.} the slave seeing no end to his labour, stands over the ^{work,} and only throws the hoe to avoid the lash, he ^{P. 59.} appears to work without actually working.

A planter's interest well understood, would doubtless prevent his wearing out his slaves by excessive labour; but, there are few in circumstances to attend to this: they look to the immediate returns of the season only; the other is a view too distant for the most of them.

The slaves of resident owners are generally better satisfied than those of absentees.

The criterion of a manager's merit seemed to be the increasing the number of hhd's of sugar; keeping up the stock of slaves by breeding, was not the thing principally looked to.

Managers have almost always slaves of their own.

Field slaves have land given them, sufficient if in ^{P. 60.} good culture, for their subsistence, and something over to carry to market. Many are allowed to keep a breeding sow, or some poultry; in general they have no other property.

As a medical man, is of opinion that white artificers may, and actually do, work at their trade in the West Indies; that Europeans are, with proper caution, equal to the ordinary field labour, without any material injury to health; he knows from personal experience, they may safely walk 20, 30, or more miles a day.

The mortality among the troops may be ascribed more to want of discipline, encampments on unhealthy spots, immoderate use of spirituous liquors, and perhaps defects in the medical department, than to climate.

Did not perceive any great defect in the medical treatment of slaves, every estate being provided with a medical person who visits the negro hospital at ^{P. 61.} stated times in the week, and in extraordinary cases gives immediate attendance when called.

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1791. The manager visiting the sick along with the surgeon, from his first entering as a book-keeper, becomes equal to the treatment of slight complaints: in general there is a slave on each estate who can let blood, and do other common things.

Superannuated slaves who have no relations, are, he believes, often placed at the corner of a corn field, and have a few plantanes weekly to keep them from dying with hunger; such of them as he has seen, were, dirty and emaciated to the last degree.

What slaves have occasion to carry, they bear on their heads, and can carry great weight in this way.

Runaways are brought back by the Maroons.

P. 62. Has been in America: joined his regiment (71st) in 1778, at York Island, accompanied it to Savannah; traversed all the southern provinces with the army to York-Town, Virginia; on its surrender, passed through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Jersey, to New-York. The negroes of America appeared to great advantage compared with those of Jamaica; their ideas were more expanded, and their bodily exertions greater.

Thrice more domesticks are kept in Jamaica than would be in England for the same work.

Witness Examined,—Capt. ROBERT ROSS.

P. 63. Captain Robert Ross was from 1762 to 1786 in Jamaica. For three years and a half he was book-keeper then on Mr. Dawkin's estate; he was in succession overseer on Mr. Morant's, Lord Dudley's, Dr. Ross's, and Mr. M'Lellan's; he then commanded a company of rangers for six years; settled a property of his own in 1775; resided on it from 1781 to 1786, when he came home.

First impression on seeing the treatment of slaves was, that they were cruelly treated, and that they might

might do their masters work with less severity, and without the whip. 1791.

Has seen a negro woman flogged, with ebony bushes, so that the skin of her back was taken off down to her heels; she was then turned round and flogged from her breast down to her waist, and in consequence he saw her afterwards walking upon all-four, and unable to get up. He also saw a negro man tied up by the wrists, naked, picketed and flogged with two whips; driver stopped for some minutes and then began again. The punishment might last an hour and a half, and was not by order of a magistrate, but privately by the overseer. At Kingston saw a negro flogged by his master with a two inch rope, from his neck to the waistband, so that his back and body rose in lumps as big as a man's finger. He has seen several so severely flogged as to be disabled from working for days, and even weeks after.

Was acquainted with a master who cut off the P. 64. ears of a slave running away, and acknowledged the fact to him. Saw the slave both before and after; and several others he has also seen with one ear cut off. He has known often severity of punishment, with bad care afterwards, occasion the death of negroes.

Law limits number of lashes to be given in private punishment to 39, but has known negroes receive 200 at a time by order of overseers, where the law would only give 39. Never knew an overseer punished for inflicting them.

Is sure they were inflicted by overseers for crimes which the law upon conviction would not have punished with death.

It is understood if a slave applied to a magistrate he could get redress for excessive punishment, or wanton cruelty on the part of his master or other white person. In towns he has frequently known them apply, but not in the country.

1791. General mode of punishing slaves in the towns is
 P. 65. by sending them to wharfs or workhouses, where they
 are punished at the will of their owners. In towns
 where the magistrate was nigh at hand, understands
 they gave redress to the slaves who applied as before
 for it.

For some years he resided near the town, but not
 in any of them, and in that period he has known
 many instances of severity. Numbers carried to the
 wharfs at various times.

Instances of extreme severity already stated were all
 at that time practised in the country. Generality of
 the field-negroes in every place were more or less
 marked with the whip.

Has known many negroes on their first arrival, finding
 themselves to be slaves, destroy themselves; and some
 also on seeing their fellow-creatures punished. They
 often run away too for fear of the whip, and of be-
 ing flogged for neglect of duty. The overseers are
 frequently turned out of place for overwhipping,
 when complaint is made to the master or magistrate,
 and therefore the overseers are now more lenient in
 their punishments than formerly.

Overseers also are more attentive now to keeping
 up the stock of slaves by breeding than formerly.
 P. 66. Except Lord Dudley's estate, he knows of none
 which were not obliged to buy slaves.

There has been a considerable increase of slaves
 on the estate of Messrs. Muir and Atkinson, and on
 Mr. Malcolm's estate, where the overseers have
 taken great care of the slaves both old and young,
 and studied constantly to promote their master's inter-
 est. These the only instances of the kind he knows.

A negro can have no redress for punishment from
 a magistrate. What induced him to say that a slave
 could obtain legal redress was, that a negro who was
 flogged at the wharf at Kingston, and afterwards was
 so beaten about the head, that his eye was knocked
 out, and lay upon his cheek, said that he would go
 shew his eye to Mr. French, who kept a negro wench,
 and

and had therefore a great attachment to slaves; but as to having redress from Mr. French as a magistrate, he never understood he had any. 1791.

Does not know if the person who beat out the slave's eye was his owner or only one hired by him. A dozen white persons were present at the time. Does not know that the man was ever called to an account for it. P. 67.

There is a law in Jamaica forbidding owners at one time and for one crime, to give more than 39 lashes to a slave, and if sufficient evidence were produced he has no doubt that the transgressor might be called to an account by a magistrate, but the evidence of a negro is not good against a white man.

He has seen overseers give above 200 lashes, and afterwards flog slaves about the head and shoulders with a cow skin; he never heard of one being called to account for it before a magistrate.

He saw Mr. John Shackle a magistrate in Jamaica flog a negro three times in one day; at breakfast time; dinner time; and at six in the evening. The negro was in the stocks between the floggings. No public notice was taken of it.

As to persons commonly reputed to have murdered negroes—

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he had hanged a negro on a post close to his house, and in three years destroyed 40 out of 60 by severity. P. 68.

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He has known slaves severely punished, then put into the stocks, a cattle chain of 60 lb. or 70 lb. weight put on them, and a large collar about their necks, and a weight of 56 lb. fastened to the chain when they were drove afield. They often die in a few days of their severe punishments, for having but little food,

1791. food, and little care, to keep the fores clear after the whipping, their death is often the consequence.

Has known negroes flogged as unwilling to work, who were in fact sick and unable to work, they could not work for many weeks after, and the cause was often want of food.

P. 69. Where there are many negroes the work must be lighter, but it depends on the lenity of overseers.

Bought 59 African negroes, but was never forced to buy any one he did not like, with a view of not separating relatives.

Witness Examined,—Mr. HENRY COOR, of Settle, Yorkshire, Gent.

P. 69. Was in Jamaica 15 years, ending 1774, as a mill-wright, chiefly in Westmoreland, but did business in three other parishes.

After he had been near 18 months there, he had 16 or 20 slaves under his direction. Had about 20 of his own, whom he made mill-wrights and carpenters, among Mr. Beckford's negroes.

P. 70. After they learnt their business, he became partner with one David Thomas, who superintended his Mr. (Coor's) slaves, with a few of his own.

Had great opportunities of observing field-negroes' treatment: was on several estates daily, and had people constantly working there. Generally breakfasted, and often dined with overseers, and saw all their actions as much as any man possibly could. Overseers setting slaves to work, in the morning, was mostly attended with loud peels of whipping. Observed when overseers came early to the field, slaves who came afterwards were sure of whipping over the clothes. Breeches for the men, and petticoats for the women, generally of coarse linen. In this case, a few steps before they join the gang, they throw down the hoe, clap both hands on their heads, and

1791.



and patiently take 10 to 15, or 20 lashes: but those who could not stand without shrinking, were sure to be stretched on the ground, or held by four of their fellows, till they had received their compliment. This slight whipping, as it is generally called, is carried on, more or less, all day. In a gang of about 100, are generally four or five black drivers, with each a whip; and in most fields, one or two white drivers who have only sticks to lean on, while they stand along the line, and direct the black drivers to touch up those they think remiss. About eight o'clock the overseer goes to breakfast, and if he has any criminals at home, he orders a black driver to follow him; for it is then usual to take such out of the stocks, and flog them before the overseer's house. The method generally is this: the delinquent is stripped and tied on a ladder, his legs to the sides, and his arms above his head, and, sometimes a rope is tied round his middle. The driver whips him on the bare skin, and if the overseer thinks he does not lay it on hard enough, he sometimes knocks him down, with his own hand, or makes him change places with the delinquent, and be severely whipped. Has known many receive on the ladder, from 100 to 150 lashes, and some two cool hundreds, as they are generally called. Has known many returned to confinement, and, in 1, 2, or three days, brought to the ladder, and receive the same complement, or thereabouts, as before. They seldom take them off the ladder, until all the skin, from the hams to the small of the back, appears only raw flesh and blood, and then they wash the parts with salt pickle. This appeared to him, from the convulsions it occasioned, more cruel than the whipping; but was done to prevent mortification. Has known many, after such whipping, sent to the field, under a guard, and worked all day, with no food but what their friends might give them, out of their own poor pittance. He has known them returned to the stocks at night, and worked next day, successively. This cruel whip-

ping,

1791. ping, hard working, and starving, has, to his knowledge, made many commit suicide. Remembers 14 slaves, who, from bad treatment, rebelled on a Sunday, ran into the woods, and all cut their throats together. He could relate several other instances, (p. 74.) He has been often a juryman in such cases, and remembers no other verdict given than "Felo de se," and except once, never knew it opposed, and that was a slave on William's Field estate, who was whipped by order of the overseer, and afterwards beaten by him most inhumanly with a staff over his head. The negro told him he had broke his arm, which he held up to ward off the blow; yet he kept on beating him, till the man sprang off, and next morning was found hanging to a tree. An eye-witness declared, in evidence, he believed the negro's arm was broke, and that this cruel treatment made him kill himself. A doctor agreed the arm was much swelled, but could not say it was broke. After a long canvas, the verdict was, as usual, self murder. The Gold Coast negroes, when driven to despair, by harsh usage, always cut their throats; and those of the most inland country, mostly hang themselves.

P. 72.

Once, when dining with an overseer, an old woman, who had run away a few days, was brought home, with her hands tied behind. After dinner, the overseer, with a clerk, named Bakewell, took the woman, thus tied, to the hot house, a place for the sick, and where the stocks are in one of the rooms. Mr. Coor went to work in the mill about 100 yards off, and hearing a most distressful cry from that house, he asked his men, who, and what it was, they said they thought it was old Quasheba. About 5 o'clock the noise ceased, and about the time he was leaving work, Bakewell came to him, apparently in great spirits, and said, "Well, Mr. Coor, old Quasheba is dead. We took her to the stocks room; the overseer threw a rope over the beam; I was jack ketch, and hauled her up, till her feet was
" off

“ off the ground. The overseer locked the door, 1791.
 “ and took the key with him, until I now returned
 “ with a slave into the stocks, and found her dead.” P. 73.

Mr. C. said, “ You have killed her ; I heard her
 “ cry all the afternoon.” He answered, “ D—n
 “ her for an old b—h, she was good for nothing,
 “ what signifies killing such an old woman as her.”
 Mr. C. said, “ Bakewell, you shock me,” and left
 him. The next morning, his men told him, they
 had helped to bury her ; so here it rested, till ano-
 ther affair brought it on the carpet. The poultry
 keeper, a girl about 11 or 12 years of age, brought
 the overseer a young duck that had died, to clear
 herself of having killed it ; that not satisfying him,
 he beat her very severely himself, and then forced
 her to eat up the duck guts, feathers and all, threat-
 ening her with 5 times as much beating, if she did
 not. The girl thinking more would kill her, tore
 and eat every bit of it. In the evening she com-
 plained to her mother, who went, at night, and com-
 plained to Mr. Beckford’s attorney, of that and other
 cruelties of the overseer ; and for one, the story of
 old Quasheba, referring for proof of all, to Mr.
 Coor, who was all the time on the estate. The at-
 torney sent for him, Mr. C. to wait on him next
 morning, which he did, and told him old Quasheba’s P. 73.
 story, as related. He was very angry at him, asking
 him how he could see his master’s slaves murdered
 so, without telling him (the attorney) of it. He
 said it was not his business to tell him, but such
 cruelties were so common on the estates, that he had
 thought no more of it. The overseer suffered no le-
 gal punishment. The attorney appeared very angry
 with him, at the time, but all was settled, and he
 went on as usual for about half a year, when he
 was dismissed, Mr. C. cannot exactly say for what.

He thought the treatment by the overseers in P. 74.
 general, very severe. He did not think this seve-
 rity necessary, for many substantial reasons he could
 Numb. 4. F give.

1791. give. He proved it himself from ocular demonstration.

P. 87. One George White, kept up so sharp a discipline over a gang of slaves, which fell under his (Coor's) care afterwards, that he generally flogged them very severely for the smallest faults, so that he reduced them both in their persons and faculties. They were never without sores, from his cruelty. The floggings quite disabled them from using the little leisure they had in working their grounds, which was their chief support. Hence they became poor both in body and property, and subject to theft, which he mostly attributed to want; for their sores from beating made them unwilling to stir, when at leisure. When these slaves came under him (Mr. Coor) he used them kindly, excused small faults, promised rewards for good behaviour; such as allowing them time to work their grounds. His first care was to see them make a good use of this time; but after he found their grounds thriving, he had little more to do, and in a few months, from a poor, scabbed, ill-looking, dispirited gang, they became fat, sleek, lively, and worked as cheerfully as ever he saw workmen in England; and he could have done more work with them, in one-third less time, than White could have done with all the force of the whip. Good treatment changed their very morals: he could have trusted them with any thing. Being a lieutenant, he was once ordered out after outlaws, by the colonel, who gave him leave to chuse a serjeant's guard of the white militia; he told the colonel, if he pleased he (Mr. Coor) would arm his slaves for that duty, which he did, and found as much fidelity in them, as he could have expected in Englishmen. They pitched their tents round his, saying, they would all die, sooner than he should be hurt. Those slaves were under his care $13\frac{1}{2}$ years, during which he never flogged one of them. They would have been more ashamed of a small tap, with a supple jack from his hand, than of 100 lashes from their former master.

They

They were grateful in the highest degree. On Sunday, they often would bring him a fowl, as a present, and never killed a hog, but they saved some choice part for him. He could mention a variety of other instances of their gratitude and affection to him. 1791.

An estate, at which he did business at times, in his neighbourhood, belonging to a Mr. Dunn, was a small one when he first went there, not from want of land, but of negroes. It then made about 50 hhds. of sugar. He worked his slaves moderately, and his wife took great care of the sick, lying-in women and children, who seemed to swarm on this estate, and he never heard any complaint of the locked jaw there. To Mr. C's knowledge, in a few years, this estate doubled its produce, and before he, Mr. C. left Jamaica, he had settled another thriving estate, under his eldest son, which then made about 60 hhds. and all, to the best of his knowledge, had arisen out of the small stock of slaves before-mentioned, except six new negroes bought. He could not but have known it, had more been bought. A neighbouring estate to this, whose situation was far superior for health and ease in getting provisions, yet perpetually decreased in slaves, owing, in his, and other peoples opinions, to inhuman treatment. The owner, who managed it himself, very often, to Mr. C's knowledge, bought 20, 30, or 40 new slaves at a lot, and, in about 10 or 11 years, the estate was very much reduced, both in produce and negroes; so that from good circumstances, his credit was in that time reduced to a very low ebb, which, he verily believes, arose from ill-treating his slaves. It would be to no purpose to tell the particulars. Some instances of his capricious cruelties are too bad to relate. P. 88.

He has always thought the rearing of children well worth the planter's notice; but so inattentive did he always find them to it, that he has heard overseers say, they would far rather the children should die than live; nor did he ever see any proper preparation for the reception of them. The sides of the

1791.



P. 90.

huts they are born in, are no more defence against the cold night damps, than one of our pasture hedges. Bedding they have none, but a board or bafs mat. When the child is born, the midwife asks the overfeer for something for the woman; a bottle of rum, and 2 or 3 pound of falt beef, which does well enough, for they feldom fail to recover. But they never put the infant to the mother's breast, till 8 days be over, for which time a woman out of the field nurfes it, who probably has a child 2, 3, or 4 months old. Here he fubmits to medical men, what effect the milk of a woman, hardly wrought and poorly fed, under a vertical fun, would have on a tender infant. They mostly die convulfed, generally about the 8th day. This want of care is more lamentable, not only from humanity, but intereft, for if they furvive the 8th day, they mostly do well, and he very feldom remembered any dying, from the 8th day to the 8th year. What convinces him farther it is for want of care, is, becaufe, where they have warm houfes, kind treatment, and the child fet to the mother's breast, he very feldom knew any die; and it was neither labour nor expence to raife them, after the fatal 8th day was over. It is his firm opinion, that with kind and judicious treatment of the infants, the flaves in Jamaica will increafe, without any importations from Africa.

It was more overfeers object to work flaves out, and trust for African fupplies, than work them moderately, and keep them up by breeding; for he has heard many fay, "I have made my employer 20, 30, or 40 more hhds. per year than my predeceffors, and though I have killed 30 or 40 negroes per year more, yet the produce has been more than adequate to the lofs."

P. 91.

The flaves can expect no redrefs, but from the attorney. Many of them have commiffions on the produce, and, if they give ear to the flaves complaints, the overfeer will tell them he will leave the eftate. If he makes great crops, Mr. C. has often

observed

observed the attorney wink at his pressing the slaves to perform more work than human nature could bear. 1791.

Most of the field slaves are marked with the whip, not only Africans, but creoles. Has known many very well disposed creole negroes, that have had wheals from their hams up to the small of their backs; but this is nothing thought of, as it is so common.

It is natural to think that slaves will suffer from their master's being in debt; for they are generally hard worked, and ill clothed and fed. He could mention, as instances, 2 or 3 neighbouring estates.

Domesticks are very often treated ill, without redress, from their master's caprice. He has heard many say, they would rather be under the field hardship, than in the house. He boarded about 6 months with a doctor, who used his field-slaves ill, but he daily saw how his domesticks were treated. He made no more of knocking down his waiting-boy, than if he had been a piece of wood, for what Mr. C. thought no fault at all. Two house-wenches were treated the same way. One of them having broken a plate, or spilt a cup of tea, he nailed her ear to a post. Mr. C. remonstrated in vain. They went to bed and left her there; in the morning she was gone, having torn the head of the nail through her ear. She was soon brought back, and when he came to breakfast, he found she had been very severely whipped by the doctor, who, in his fury, clipt both her ears off close to her head, with a pair of large scissars, and she was set to pick seeds out of cotton, among 3 or 4 more, emaciated by his cruelties, until they were fit for nothing else. This girl never applied for legal redress. The negroes generally thought they could have no redress, but from their masters or attornies. He believes no more notice was taken of the deed, than if he had cut off his dog's ears. Thinks some magistrates could hardly miss knowing it; for several visited at the doctors. The girl waited at table with her ears off.

He

1791. He never knew a field slave have more than a breeding sow and a few poultry, and thinks it impossible for such to get any property. Never knew even tradesmen possess any thing, though they have more opportunities of accumulating than a field-slave.

P. 93. Slaves were forced to carry from their grounds, whatever they could spare from the bread of their family, to buy salt provisions for all the week. One negro would carry about 4 bits worth, more or less, according to the varying market price, which they lay out in eatables or clothes; for, in general, they had only 5 yards of cloth, worth about seven-pence, or seven-pence half-penny per yard.

Slaves were fed many ways, but the most common was, depending on their little grounds. The poorer, who never had spirits or ability to cultivate them, depended on some one of the plantation slaves, for whom they worked all the little time they were allowed. Does not speak of new negroes; for they are generally distributed to the plantation slaves, who have the best grounds, under whom they work all the little time they are excused from their master's business. They have land, which overseers think they should bring into some order, while under the said negroes; but too often, from quarrels with the master slaves, they are turned out of doors before their grounds are in perfection, and obliged to steal

P. 94. or beg. Thinks this the greatest reason why there are so many bad slaves. Slaves land, wherever he has been, is quite sufficient; but they have not time to work it.

Dead mules, horses, cows, &c. were all burnt, under inspection of a white man. Had they been buried, the negroes would have dug them up in the night, to eat them through hunger. It was generally said to be done, to prevent the negroes from eating them, lest it should breed disorders.

On Shrewsbury estate, the overseer sent for a slave, and in talking with him, he hastily struck him on
the

the head with a small hanger, and gave him two 1791.
 stabs about the waist. The slave said, "Overseer,
 "you have killed me." He pushed him out of the
 piazza. The slave went home and died that night.
 He was buried, and no more said about it. Mr. C's
 house was on this estate, near the overseer's house.
 About 6 months after, the overseer moved thence,
 to Anchovie-Bottom estate, why, Mr. C. cannot tell;
 but knows it was not for this. This was about
 1770. He was called a very valuable overseer, as
 he worked the slaves hard, and made great crops of
 sugar. It was generally believed he had killed 2
 more at Anchovie-Bottom; as a proof of this,—it
 being whispered, among the neighbours, that these
 two made three slaves he had killed, and it being
 looked upon then, that the killing of three slaves
 was capital, he thought proper to go privately away,
 and Mr. C. never heard more of him. A. Mr. Foot,
 (an inferior attorney under Mr. Herring) Mr. C. is
 clear, knew the particulars of the first-mentioned
 murder, having often talked with him on that, and
 many similar subjects; but knows not, if Mr. Foot
 told it to Mr. Herring. He never heard of the least
 attempt to bring the overseer to justice; but has
 heard Mr. Foot say, he was a very good overseer,
 but a d——d wicked dog when drunk. Mr. C. is
 pretty clear he was drunk when he did that deed.

The slaves allowed food, in Jamaica, was mostly
 herrings. He has known about 2 barrels among
 100, 150, or 160 slaves, at a time; about once a
 month or six weeks; and he is clear, that every
 common man's share, was very seldom above 7 or 8
 herrings. The field-negroes had no other allow-
 ance; and sometimes he has seen herrings so rotten,
 as to have been measured out, all mashed up like a
 porridge.

He bought 6 boys and 2 girls from a Guinea ship.
 He took a slave with him to interpret, and who
 asked the slaves he bought, if they had had the yaws.
 They all told him they had, their skin being then
 very

P. 95.

1791. very clean and black; but in 6 weeks or two months,
 they all broke out violently with the yaws. They
 then spoke a little English, and he asked them, if
 they had not the yaws in their country. They said
 yes; but when they came near buccra country, the
 P. 96. buccra on board rubbed them with something that
 made their skin clean. He has known several Gui-
 neamen in port 2 or 3 weeks, before declaring sale,
 or allowing any inhabitant to go on board (which
 they never allow, until they have declared sale) and
 it was always reported, that this delay was to get the
 slaves in proper trim for sale.

Jobbing gangs were increasing much when he left
 Jamaica. Every overseer or white man, who had
 money or credit, bought new negroes to job them
 out. He could have had £14 per cent. for his
 money, in that way, and have had it insured; but
 masters that work them themselves in that way, make
 much more.

Epidemicks are much more fatal to poor and ill
 fed, than to well fed, hearty slaves. But one fatal
 epidemick (a flux) prevailed while he was there. It
 attacked all ranks of whites and blacks; and it was
 generally poor, ill fed negroes, that died of it. Few
 well fed negroes died of it, and not one white
 person.

On some estates, the negroes provision grounds
 are close at hand; on others tolerably near; but he
 knows several, where they were 4 or five miles off.

Always observed negroes, who had grounds in to-
 lerable order, work with great pleasure; but those
 who were turned into them only covered with woods
 and bushes, had very ill heart to begin upon them,
 and generally were obliged to spend that time they
 should have laid out upon their grounds, in working
 under some other negro, for present support.

P. 97. Has often known the different offices of overseer,
 doctor and attorney, on an estate, filled by the same
 person.

Runaway

Runaway slaves never take refuge among the Ma-
roons; for these are a check on them. They have 1790.
£3 per head for taking them, and a shilling for every ~
mile they bring them. ~

On one estate, most of the slaves were christened and instructed by a person sent from Europe, and they were always the best disposed slaves in that neighbourhood; but on no other estates did he ever hear such a thing named. Of a number of slaves taken from Guadaloupe, one family was bought by a neighbour of his, and the doctor told him, the father of that family had prayers in his house night and morning. He does not remember the estate, where the slaves were instructed, buying any new slaves, and they were always very strong handed. He was very well acquainted with the whole gang, as he took care of their mills, &c. for most of the time he was there.

Promiscuous intercourse was very common, both among the slaves, and between the white men and negro women. There was no restriction. It was the greatest disgrace for a white man, not to cohabit with some woman or other. No attempts were made to induce the men slaves to restrict themselves to one woman. It was not considered any way disadvantageous to an estate, for the men to have 1, 2, 3, or 4 wives, according as they could maintain them with P. 98.
the produce of their little spots of ground. The negroes wives were not at all secure from the attempts of the overseer or book-keepers; for though a man might know of his wife having lain with the overseer or book-keeper, he dared not resent it, either to her or to them, for if he did, he would be sure of a very smart flogging for it, though probably on some other pretext.

In Boston, Rhode-Island, New-York, New-Jerseys, and Pennsylvania, the slaves are treated much like farmers servants in England, and he saw them carry on their masters business just in the same way. Where a master had 3, 4, or more slaves, one of

1791. them was mostly a leading man. He has often conversed with such head man on farming, ploughing, &c. and always found him very intelligent.

Thinks a great deal of his evidence has tended to shew, that the behaviour of the negroes generally correspond with their treatment.

At his first going to the island, a common flogging would put him in a tremble, so that he did not feel right for the rest of the day; but by degrees it became so habitual, that he thought no more of seeing a black man's head cut off, than he should now think of a butcher cutting off the head of a calf.

Witness examined—JOHN GILES,

Near Hay, Brecknockshire, — Farmer.

P. 74. Was in Montserrat from 1757 to 1762; in Grand-terre 1763; in Grenada 1764, and part 1765; in N. America rest of 1765; in St. Croix from 1766 to 1772; in England 1773; in St. Croix 1774 to 1778.

His first impression in the West Indies was, that slaves were cruelly treated, severely punished for trifling offences, and not sufficiently fed.

P. 75. He arrived in crop time; there was then no food allowed, except a furnace of horse-beans or potatoes daily boiled for the weaker part of the gang. Out of crop, the allowance was from four to six pints of horse-beans, rice, or Indian corn, and four to six herrings weekly, to each slave.

A great deal of land allowed them, but no time to cultivate it, except Sunday; when they were also obliged to pick large bundle of grass, morning and night; many too, watched the works in rotation; no other day was allowed in lieu of the time lost to them on these occasions.

Picking of grass is ever a great hardship, particularly in dry seasons: they are forced to do it on week days,

days, in the time allowed for dinner, and after
 fun-fet. 1791.

Has often known slaves steal from hunger.

Knows of no care taken to instruct slaves, or induce them to marry.

Their capacity is good, and their disposition better than might be expected from persons so untutored.

Severe treatment is no ways necessary. On two estates where he lived, the increase of the slaves, under a milder treatment, exceeded decrease by one per cent. There was also more work done, as they did not run away as on other estates, where treated ill. P. 76.

The slaves were very inhumanly treated on the estate he lived on in Montserrat: the field gang was not assorted as to strength, the weak slaves being forced to work as much as the strong.

Recollects several shocking instances of punishment there; in particular, the driver, at day-break, once informed the overseer, that one, of 4 or 5 negroes, chained, in a dungeon, would not rise: he accompanied overseer to the dungeon, who set the others that were in the chain to drag him out, and not rising when out, he ordered a bundle of cane trash to be put round him, and set fire to. As he still did not rise, he had a small folding iron heated, and thrust between his teeth. As the man did not yet rise, he had the chain taken off, and sent him to the hospital, where he languished some days, and died. Though the owner resided on the estate, never heard that he condemned this conduct, which if he had, he, (Mr. G.) must have knew it. He could, if necessary, relate several other instances. The overseer, so far from being punished, or called to account for this action, was always in great favour with his masters. Slaves often ran away, and when retaken were punished by severe whippings, by chains, by very hard work, and often not released from the chain till, being so emaciated, they were in danger of dying. The deaths exceeded the births more than two to one. The estate did not prosper, the gentleman

1791. man was almost ruined by it. The mortality was chiefly among the grown field slaves, by their being hard worked, cruelly punished, and sparingly fed.

Thinks the slaves were often so fatigued by the labour of the week, as scarcely to be capable of working their own ground on Sunday.

The marks of the whip were to be seen on almost all the weaker part of the gang, from forcing them to keep up with the rest.

Pregnant women punished, but not very severely.

P. 78. When slaves were so old as to be past labour, their owners did not feed them.

Negroes might be managed with comparative ease, were their temper and disposition attended to. The business might then be done in a better manner, and without such frequent flogging.

Never heard that slaves had any protection from ill usage from owners, or those under them.

Never knew one planter interfere with the treatment of the slaves of another.

Never heard any thing of the locked jaw. They had children die sometimes; but neither overseer nor doctor interfered; they were left to old women, the midwives.

The treatment in Grenada was exactly similar to that in Montserrat; he saw no difference.

The merit of a manager was estimated by the quantity of crops produced on the estate.

P. 79. A manager of Grenada told him of a great cruelty he had committed. Several negroes and mules had died on the estate; an old woman was suspected of having poisoned them. He, (Mr. G.) asked the manager if they had not given her up to the law, who said no, they had taken a shorter method with her. They made a bit of a thatched hut, put her into it, with some combustibles, and burnt her to death. The manager was not discharged for this: thinks he told him it was done by the owner's desire. It was not told him as a secret.

Never

Never heard of any care taken at African sales to prevent the separation of relations. 1791.

Never knew pains taken to improve mode of cultivation, or implements of husbandry, except in that of cutting cane tops by a machine. Plough might be applied with great effect in these two islands in easing the labour of slaves. P. 80.

Slaves in St. Croix were better used than in either of the two British islands, but not so well as they ought, were the planters attentive to their interest; and if properly treated, believes their increase would be general throughout the islands.

Never heard that the slaves had any protection there.

Planters there reside on their estates, and do not live so extravagantly as in the English islands.

Recollects an instance of the effects of treatment of slaves. Where he was manager, the slaves were forced to be up at two in the morning, at a time when canes were cutting, on 80 acres of a rising ground, which, from a want of mules, they were also obliged to carry half a mile upon their heads. This year the slaves decreased. He prevailed on the owner to buy six mules more against next crop; that and the following year the slaves increased one per cent. Was perfectly convinced that the decrease and increase spoke to, was in consequence of the difference of labour.

Never heard talk of the Code Noir while in Grande Terre: if it had been usual for slaves to be any way relieved by it, they would have sought redress for the very severe usage of a man who was his partner in a distillery: the commanders, to whom he was very obnoxious, would certainly have taken cognizance of his conduct to his slaves, had it been usual to do so.

Thinks one half of the domestics of the planters of Montserrat and Grenada unnecessary.

The Chief Judge at Montserrat was the Honourable
John

1791. John Dyer. Grenada, while he was there, was under
 military law.

The judges were planters—not, he believes, bred to the law—removable at the King's pleasure.

Witness examined—MATTHEW TERRY,

Of Akrig, Yorkshire, Land Surveyor.

P. 82. Was four years in Dominique as book-keeper and overseer, one at Tobago as a land-surveyor, in the King's service, and seven in Grenada, ending in 1781, as a colony surveyor.

His trade gave him full opportunity of observing the treatment of slaves. They appeared in general to be used with great severity; believes they generally understood that the law restricted the number of lashes to 39; but this was not in the least observed; has seen it broken repeatedly; never knew any redress obtained. It was usual to rub their backs with brine after severe punishments.

P. 83.

In his time one Thochard, a French planter, in Grenada, was generally supposed to treat his slaves very cruelly, and for trivial offences to cut off their ears and legs, and otherwise mutilate them. Heard of no attempt to punish him. Saw upon his estate two men-slaves with wooden legs.

The greatest property he ever knew a field slave possess was two pigs, and a little poultry. The slave has not the means of getting much property, (p. 85).

Little or no attention was paid to the breeding of slaves; child-bearing, and consequent loss of labour, was matter of regret to planters; little or no difference in the punishments of pregnant females and others. The planters appeared to prefer increasing their crop to increasing their slaves, (p. 85) to depend upon African supplies, and desirous to have as many males as possible.

Very

Very considerable losses were common among the newly imported Africans. One-third die within the first year. Of a lot of six, bought by himself, two died within the first year, and at the end of five years two only survived. 1791.

Suicide is common, particularly among the Ebos. Never heard of an instance of it among creole slaves. The latter are more industrious, being inured to it from their infancy. P. 85.

Seldom run away. Insurrections are confined to Africans.

Never knew a slave buy his freedom.

No allowance of grain or flour given to any but new negroes. Has known a bunch of plantanes (sufficient for a week's allowance) given to each negro once or twice a year. P. 86.

Many managers possess slaves of their own.

Land surveying is exceedingly laborious in the West Indies; he pursued it for 7 years without injury to his health: has often seen mill-wrights at work in the sun, whose health did not suffer. There are also white blacksmiths and coopers there, but the latter only direct negroes working under them.

Witness examined—Capt. HALL, of the Royal Navy.

Was at Barbadoes and the Leeward islands from 1769 to 1773, and from 1780 to 1782 at those places, and at Jamaica and St. Domingo. P. 99.

The treatment of negroes on the B. islands appeared to him tolerable in the towns; on the plantations rather inhuman. Punishments inflicted were very shocking to persons not used to see them: much more so than on board a man of war. The field slaves he has seen (a great many) were generally marked with the whip.

In cases of ill treatment by their masters, it was generally understood, they could not obtain redress; against

1791. against others, their master assisted them. That this
 { severe system was not necessary, nor for the master's
 P. 100. interest, he is confident, from the good effects he
 has seen result from a lenient treatment in the French
 islands: for instance, the Marquis de Rouvray was
 particularly attentive to population, and the good
 treatment of his slaves at St. Domingo: they were
 never hard pressed in their work: he suffered no
 improper intercourse between the males and females,
 every man had his own wife, and no white was suf-
 fered to disjoin that union: the parties were punish-
 ed for separating without cause.

Hospitals were built for the sick and pregnant;
 the latter, when far advanced, were taken in there,
 and employed in trifling work to the time of deli-
 very. Here they might remain separated from their
 husbands, and excused from field labour, till the
 child could be supported without the mother's help;
 or when their strength would permit, return with the
 child to their husbands, and take the chance of work.
 In consequence, the Marquis had not for some years
 occasion to buy negroes. Having, however, left his
 estate to the care of a nephew, upon his return, after
 an absence of two years, instead of the happiness
 that reigned when he left it, he found nothing but
 misery and discontent; the whites had seized upon
 the pretty women; their husbands through discontent
 ran away; and the labour falling heavier upon the
 rest, they became discontented, and their work
 badly carried on; so that it cost him two years be-
 P. 101. fore he could re-establish order. It was a pleasure
 to walk through this estate, for the slaves used to
 look up to him as a father.

In the British islands breeding not thought desira-
 ble: they rather thought it a misfortune to have
 pregnant women, or even young slaves. They
 esteemed the charge of rearing a child to maturity,
 more troublesome, and greater, than buying a slave
 fit for work; and it was not uncommon for them to
 give away a child of two years old, as you would a
 puppy

puppy from a litter. Has heard an overseer, of some consequence, express this opinion. It was, in fact, his system to prevent population, as far as in his power; and he understood this to be a general system. 1791.

So little care was taken of infants, that mothers deemed it a misfortune to have children. After the month, they were sent to field labour, with their child upon their back, and so little time afforded them to attend to its wants, that he has seen a woman seated to give suck to her child, roused from that situation by a severe blow from the cart whip.

Domestic slaves, from their general good treatment, were understood to increase.

Believes, that slaves suffered from the owner's absence, because it was the business of the overseer, for his own credit, to make as much sugar as possible; to do this, he must work the slaves to the utmost: it being no concern of his whether they died or not.

Knows, from an instance which fell under his eye, that the slave's death may be occasioned by severe punishment, and the master not be called to legal account.

As to the slave-trade being a nursery for seamen, he conceives it to be quite the reverse.

In taking men out of merchant-ships for the King's service, he has from the crew of a Guinea-man, 70, been able to select only 30, who could be thought fit to serve in any ship of war, and when those were surveyed, he was reprimanded for bringing such men into the service, who were more likely to breed distempers, than be of use; and this was at a time when they were so much wanted, that almost any thing would have been taken, viz. in 1782, when they had not men to man the prizes taken on the 12th of April. The instance related was not a particular case, he found it generally so; having had many opportunities between 1769 and

1791. 1773 of seeing the great distresses of crews of Guinea ships, when in the West Indies.

Has great reason to believe, that in no trade are seamen so badly treated; from their always flying to men of war for redress, and whenever they come within reach; whereas men from West Indies or other trades seldom apply to a ship of war.

As to peculiar modes of punishment adopted in Guineamen, he once saw a man chained by the neck in the main-top of a slave-ship, when passing under the stern of his Majesty's ship the Crescent, in Kingston-bay, St. Vincents; and was told by part of the crew, taken out of the ship at their own request, that the man had been there 120 days.

Is clearly of opinion, that white men might do the lighter field work, without injury to their health, as seamen go through very heavy work there unhurt.


Witness examined—Capt. GILES, of the
19th Regiment of Foot.

P. 103. Was in Barbodoes, Antigua, St. Lucia, and Jamaica, from June 1782 to April 1790, except about 15 months in England.

Thought the treatment of slaves generally severe. Field slaves in general marked with the whip.

P. 104. Punishment by whipping (though fewer lashes given) more severe and cruel than that of the army, because of the size of the whip.

Had once an opportunity of observing the treatment of a jobbing gang, which he thought beyond what human nature could support for any length of time, because their allowance of food, (which he daily saw) was not equal to support them, and this he understood to be generally the case. This gang had the same respite at noon as plantation negroes, but as some of them would eat their week's allowance in 3 or 4 days, they were obliged to carry wood
and

and water, between twelve and two o'clock, for the 1791. 
 soldiers, for which they were paid in provisions. Has understood it to be calculated, that a jobbing gang, lasting for seven years, would bring a profit to the owner.

He had no opportunity of seeing that superannuated slaves were not properly taken care of by their owners.

Can speak to the inefficiency of laws to protect P. 105.
 slaves against the ill usage of their masters or other white persons. Was told by a planter, that he once heard one of his own negroes was killed by his overseer. He had the body taken up, and there was found upon it some chains or fetters (p. 106.) but the overseer could not be punished for want of a white evidence.

A free woman, and her two children, were claimed by a person in Jamaica, as his property, who confined them, in order to sell them to the Spaniards. He, (Capt. G.) heard of the circumstance, and interfered, knowing the person could have no claim either to the woman or her children. She, with her husband, had joined the royal army in South Carolina: he worked in one of the public departments as a carpenter, and a driver, and she laboured upon the lines at the quarter-house camp.

After two trials at the Surry assizes, Kingston, the woman and her children were liberated; which must have been the case at the first, had black evidence been admitted; of which he could have produced people bred upon the same estate, and neighbourhood, who also had free tickets from the Governor, Sir A. C.

Without his interference believes this woman and children must have been sold as slaves, because none on the island so well knew the circumstances as himself. Another case, previous to this, was that of a woman claimed by a person in Jamaica, who, supported by Major Nesbit, of the 19th regiment, was also rescued from slavery, after a trial at the Surry assizes.

1791. Once saw, in Jamaica, a negro mason with a wooden leg, at work: upon asking the white people who superintended the work, how he had lost his leg, was answered, that it was for no good, for the fellow used to run away for months at a time.

The slaves situation and treatment will vary according to the disposition and circumstances of the owner; for on one or two estates in the neighbourhood of his station, the slaves were well treated; they appeared much happier than on several others adjoining; (consequently he imagines better fed.) Thinks none of these stole to supply their wants, as was frequently the case with other gangs in the neighbourhood.

Saw the negroes go weekly to market, a distance of 14 or 15 miles.

Witness examined—JOHN TERRY, of Askrig,
Yorkshire.

P. 107. Was in Grenada from 1776 to 1790. First 7 or 8 years an overseer, then a manager.

Thought the slaves treatment very bad; it hurt him much at first; in time became more inured to it.

Has known slaves punished by managers severely for trifling faults; durst not complain to owner, for fear of worse treatment; has known them punished for so doing by owner, and sent back, though their

P. 108. complaint was just. Field slaves usually bear marks of the whip. Never heard that a slave complained to a magistrate of his owner, manager, overseer, or attorney.

Has known the same person both attorney, manager, and doctor, on one estate.

Never knew a planter or manager interfere with another's treatment of his slaves.

Has

Has known estates, where slaves were worse fed ^{1791.} and clothed than on others; in consequence, were great thieves; eat also putrid carcases. Food is the general object of theft among slaves, and at the hazard of their lives.

Picking of grass a considerable addition to their labour. Done at dinner-time, and after sun-set. P. 109.

An overseer, on the estate where he was, (Mr. Coghlan) threw a slave into the boiling cane juice, who died in four days. He was not punished otherwise than by replacing the slave, and being dismissed the service. Was told of this by the owner's son, the carpenter, and many slaves on the estate. Has heard it often.

Has known entertainments given among negroes; some of which might cost a thirty-six shilling piece, but such were very rare, (p. 110.)

A field slave in favourable circumstances, (he does not mean the commonality) may earn about six bits a week: he has known them so poor as not to be able to buy poultry. Never heard of a field negro buying his freedom, (p. 110.)

Slaves were not allowed to keep sheep on any estate he knew. On some they might keep two or three goats, but very few allowed it. Some keep a few pigs, and poultry, if able to buy any. P. 110.

While a manager, he never received any directions about attention to pregnant women or children. Has heard managers say, it was cheaper to buy African slaves than to breed: that they wished the children to die, for they lost much of the mother's work during their infancy.


The best recommendation of a manager was, that he made the most sugar.

On the estates he knew, the sexes were about equal.

Of imported Africans, women have the best chance for life. P. 111.

On the estates he knew, more men died than women.

Never

1791.  Never knew any children die of the locked-jaw. Free negroes were generally as well-behaved as others in the same rank of society. Those who had learnt a trade, worked as journeymen with white masters: those who had not, went a fishing, by which they earned more than by field work.

The driver's whip is a severe instrument, and will bring blood through the breeches. Twenty stripes severely laid on the bare breech, may unfit a man for work for two or three days.

The opinion in Grenada, upon passing the last slave act there, was, that it never would have the intended effect.

P. 112. Did not observe it make any difference, except in the half-days in the week.

The clergymen of the parish where he resided never performed the duty the act imposed on them.

Never heard of any complaints against them for non-performance of it.

Witness examined—JOHN BOWMAN,

Clerk to a Ship-Builder of Whitehaven.

P. 112. Was in the African employ, from 1765 to 1776, mostly on the Windward Coast, as third, second, and chief mate. Sent up the country as a trading mate to buy slaves, ivory, and cam-wood; a distance of 20 to 40 or 50 miles, in the rivers Scaffus, S. Leone, Junk, within the rocks of Grand Bassau, and Little Cape Mount River.

Was eight months as a factor at the head of S. Leone; and 17 to 18 months at that of the R. Scaffus. Traded in a boat at Junk, Grand Bassau, and Little Cape Mount Rivers.

P. 113. Having settled at the head of Scaffus with 10 slaves money, he informed the King, and others, that he was come to reside as a trader, his orders being

being to supply them with powder and ball, and encourage them to go to war. They answered they would go to war in two or three days: by that time they came to the factory, said they were going to war, and wanted powder, ball, rum, and tobacco. They were dressed in some kind of skins, with large caps, and their faces painted white, to make them look dreadful. They asked for a drink of rum, which when given them, they went off to the number of 25 or 30. After six or seven days some of them returned with two women, and a girl, 6 or 7 years old. 1791.

P. 114.

They said they had got these in a small town which they surpris'd in the night, that others had got off, but they expected the rest of the party would bring them in, in 2 or 3 days. When these arrived, they brought with them two men whom he knew, and had traded with. Upon questioning them, discovered the women he had bought, to be their wives. Both men and women informed him that the war-men had taken them while asleep.

P. 115.

The war-men used to go out once or twice in 8 or 10 days, while he was at Scassus; it was their constant way of getting slaves, he believed, because they always came to the factory before setting out, and demanded powder, ball, gunflints, and small shot; also rum, tobacco, and a few other articles. When supplied, they blew the horn, made the war cry, and set off. If they met with no slaves, they would bring him some ivory, cam-wood, &c. Sometimes he accompanied them a mile or so, and once joined the party, anxious to know by what means they obtained the slaves. Having travelled all day, they came to a small river, when he was told they had but a little way further to go; after crossing which, they delayed till dark. When they had got over, (about the middle of the night) he was afraid to go further, and asked the king's son to leave him a guard of 4 men. In half an hour he heard the war cry, by which he understood they had reached a town;

1791. town; in about half an hour more they returned, bringing 25 to 30 men, women, and children, some
 P. 116. at the breast. At this time he saw the town in flames. When they had re-crossed the river, it was just day-light, and they reached Scaffus about mid-day. The prisoners were carried to different parts of the town. They are usually brought in with strings around their necks, and some have their hands tied across. Never saw any slaves there who had been convicted of crimes.

Has been called up in the night to see fires, and told by the town's people, that it was war carrying on.

Whatever rivers he has traded in, he has usually passed burnt and deserted villages, and learned from the natives in the boat with him, that war had been there, and the natives taken and carried to the ships.

He has also seen such upon the coast: while trading at Grand Buffau, he went ashore with four black
 P. 117. traders to the town a mile off. In the way, there was a town deserted, only 2 or 3 houses standing, which seemed to have been a large one from two fine plantations of rice. A little further on, they came to another village in much the same state. Was told the first town was taken by war, there being many ships then lying at Buffau: the people of the other had moved higher up in the country, for fear of the white men. In passing along to the traders town saw several deserted, destroyed, they said, by war, and the people taken out and sold.

Slaves were obtained in the same manner in those rivers where he traded on the Windward Coast

The inhabitants of all these places subsist on rice, yams, cassada, fowls, deer, fish, and an animal called tomboer. They raise more rice, &c. than they consume, and dispose of the surplus to such ships as may be lying in the rivers, sending it down in large canoes. While at Scaffus, he gave frequent
 P. 118. orders for goods from S. Leone, which he desired might be sent up by these periocas, having found the men

men good and honest. Provisions of every kind 1791.
 were abundant in the town. Has seen countrymen
 carrying baskets of 40 or 50 lb. weight of rice, be-
 sides fowls, eggs, &c. which he has bought in ex-
 change for tobacco and beads.

The natives appeared to be industrious, and dis-
 posed to trade in their native produce. Believes
 they would have cultivated more ground, if a greater
 supply had been wanted by the shipping. When
 asked, they have said they would like to trade with
 good white men in their own produce, and would
 soon make more plantations of rice.

When under Captain Strangeways, the ship then P. 119.
 lying in the river S. Leone, at White-man's bay,
 ready to sail, he was ordered down from the factory,
 (all the ship's company being then dead but five)
 and the captain, who sent him on shore to invite
 two traders on board. They came, and were shewn
 into the cabin. Meantime people were employed in
 setting the sails, it being almost night, and the land
 breeze making down the river. When they had
 weighed anchor, and got out to sea, the witness was
 called down by the captain, who, pointing to the
 sail case, desired him to look into it, and see what a
 fine prize he had got. To his surprize, he saw lying
 fast asleep the two men who had come on board with
 him, the captain having made them drunk, and con-
 cealed them there. When they awoke, they were sent
 upon deck, ironed, and put forward among the other
 slaves. On arrival at Antigua, they were sold.

The natives were afraid to come along-side of a P. 120.
 vessel when under sail.

Frauds were practised by Europeans in the articles
 they traded in with the natives; such as in rum, by
 mixing it; in powder kegs, seemingly large, but hold-
 ing only a little; in false steelyards and weights.

The natives, where he resided, were friendly and
 hospitable; just and punctual in their dealings.

When he began to settle at the river Scaflus, there
 were only four or five houses there, and about 25

Numb. 4.

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people,

1791. people, so that he was doubtful if he could do it to advantage: but informing the king, that a white man was come to trade with them, was told that strangers would come and settle there. In the course of a few days, several people came and built houses, and the town increased fast, (p. 121.) So that there might be 40 to 50 houses, and 120 to 130 inhabitants when he left it.

P. 121. Has been in Jamaica, Antigua, Grenada, St. Vincent's, Dominique, and Barbadoes, in most of which he has seen Guinea seamen lying about in an ulcerated abject state, without means of support.

Witness examined, — JOHN DOUGLAS, Boatswain of the Ruffel Man of War.

P. 121. Sailed to Africa in 1771, in the Warwick-Castle slave ship. Only one voyage in the trade; because he could not bear with the filthiness and disagreeableness of the voyage.

Seamen were well used in his ship; not suffered to lodge between decks when the slaves were on board.

P. 122. Lost 7 out of 53. Had plenty of provisions.

Had reason to believe that the crews of other ships on the coast, were neither so well fed, nor treated; because boats from the Gregson, and others, which he cannot mention, came often aboard, and the seamen begged much for provisions.

As to the ways in which slaves are procured: when ashore at Bonny Point, he saw a young woman come out of the wood to the water-side to bathe; soon after, two men came from the wood, seized, bound and beat her, for making resistance, and bringing her to him, desired him to put her on board, which he did; the captain's orders were, when any body brought down slaves, instantly to put them off to the ship.

When

When a ship arrives at Bonny, the king sends his war canoes up the rivers, where they surprize all they can lay hold of. They had a young man on board, who was thus captured, with his father, mother, and three sisters. The young man afterwards in Jamaica having learnt English, told him the story, and said it was a common practice. 1791.

War canoes always armed.

P. 123.

Slaves sent in the king's canoes, came openly in the day, others in the evening, with one or two bound, lying in the boat's bottom, covered with mats.

Near Cape Coast, the natives make smoke as a signal for trade; they saw the smoke and stood in shore, which brought off many canoes: pipes, tobacco, and brandy, were got on deck, to entice them on board; the gratings were unlaid, the slave-room cleared, and every preparation made to seize them; two only could be prevailed on to come up the ship's side, who stood in the main chains, but on the seamens approaching them, they jumped off, and the canoes all made for shore.

The Gregson's people, while at Bonny, informed them, that in running down the coast, they had kidnapped 32. He saw slaves on board that ship when she came in; and it is not customary for vessels bound to Bonny, to stop and trade by the way.

Does not think slaves are much subject to sea-sickness.

Has been in the West Indies, in the king's and merchants service, from 1766 to 1782.

Has frequently seen Guinea seamen lying or wandering about the streets and wharfs, mostly in Jamaica, in a diseased and miserable condition: they were called wharfingers; it was on the north-side of the island he has seen the most; many of whom were not capable of walking to Kingston for relief.

Recollects to have seen 3 funerals of Guinea slaves in the West Indies, at which they sing and are mer-

1791. ry; and naming the deceased, they say, he is going
 ~~~~~ home to Guinea.

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Witness examined,—Major General TOTTENHAM.

P. 125. Went out to the West Indies in 1779, with four regiments under his command. Was about 20 months in Barbadoes, and sometime at St. Lucia, St. Kitt's, and St. Eustatius.

Thinks the slaves in Barbadoes were treated with the greatest cruelty. Cannot judge of the other islands, from his short stay there.

All the punishments he saw were remarkably severe. Was at a planter's house, when the jumper came. Heard him ask the master, if he had any commands for him. He said, no. Jumper then asked the mistress, who replied, yes. She directed him to take out two very decent women, who attended at table, and to give each of them a dozen. General T. expostulated with her, but in vain. They were taken out to the publick parade, and he had the curiosity to go with them. The jumper carried a long whip, like our waggoners. He ordered one of the women to turn her back, and to take up her clothes entirely, and he gave her a dozen on the

P. 126. breech. Every stroke brought flesh from her. She behaved with astonishing fortitude. After the punishment, she, according to custom, curtesied and thanked him. The other had the same punishment, and behaved in the same way. About 3 weeks before the hurricane, he saw a youth, about 19, walking in the streets, in a most deplorable situation, intirely naked, and an iron collar about his neck, with five long, projecting spikes. His body, before and behind his breech, belly and thighs, were almost cut to pieces, and with running sores all over them, and you might put your fingers in some of the wheals. He could not sit down, owing to his breech being in  
 a state

1791.



a state of mortification; and it was impossible for him to lie down, from the projection of the prongs. The boy came to the general, and asked relief. He was shocked at his appearance, and asked him what he had done to suffer such punishment, and who inflicted it. He said it was his master, who lived about 2 miles from town; and that, as he could not work, he would give him nothing to eat.

There were very few slaves that did not bear the marks of the whip. If severely laid on, they retain the marks many years. There is no comparison at all, between plantation and regimental punishments, the former being so much more severe. Military only cut the skin, the others cut out the flesh.

The field negroes were treated more like brutes, than the human species. The house negroes are clothed and better fed.

Slaves in general appeared very ill fed: Was informed, each slave for 24 hours had a pint of grain, which he boiled; and sometimes half a rotten herring, when to be had. When unfit for the whites, they were bought up by the planters for the slaves.

There was no care taken of slaves superannuated and past labour. They are turned adrift, and obliged to live by plunder. He has seen them himself. An old woman, past labour, told him she was set adrift by her master, to shift for herself. He saw her about 3 days after, lying dead in the same place.

No attention at all seemed to be paid to keeping up the stock by breeding. On the contrary, he believes many discouraged it. He saw but a very small proportion of children.

He has seen the women at work with the hoe, and their naked infants lying on the ground, close by them.

In 1780, a Dutch Guineaman was taken, and brought to Barbadoes. He thinks they had about 270 slaves. He attended most of their sales, and observed a number of the sick slaves in an adjoining yard. Those that were not very ill, were put into huts,

1791. huts, and those that were worse, were left in the yard to die, for nobody gave them any thing to eat or drink. Some of them lived 3 days in that state.

The free-negroes seemed very industrious. The greatest misfortune of all negroes is, that they are left in darkness. He observed a vast difference between the negroes at St. Lucia and any others, owing to the attention of the priests, who instructed them in religion and morality.

P. 128. He has seen a great many English seamen in great distress, in Barbadoes; for the captains often set them ashore to shift for themselves. He cannot say from what ships they came; but only from merchantmen. In St. Lucia, while in our hands, he saw several English seamen lying in the same state.

There was no sort of pains taken to prevent promiscuous intercourse, not even with domesticks, waiting on their mistresses.

Is very positive the impression on his mind, of the treatment of slaves, was made at the time, and on the spot; for he repeatedly told the people of Bridgetown, that he hoped to live to see the unfortunate situation of those poor wretches, taken up by some member of parliament; that, should such an event take place, he should look upon it as his duty to offer a voluntary declaration of what he knew of the matter.

He thinks a present abolition of the slave trade, would be attended with very serious consequences; but, if those unfortunate beings were not left to the tyranny of their cruel masters, but were instructed in morality, and their increase encouraged, and they were rewarded for good behaviour, he thinks that, at a future period, the slave trade would die away of itself.

Witness



Witness examined, — ROBERT FORSTER, of Heblethwaite, Yorkshire.

Was in every British island, except Jamaica, in all about 6 years, ending 1778. The first 4 years apprentice in a store in St. John's, Antigua; the rest of the time a midshipman and second master, and pilot of the king's brig, Endeavour. 1791.  
P. 129.

He lived among the town slaves, and often went to collect debts, and visit managers in the country. When in the king's ship, he spent much time among them, having known them before.

The general impression on his mind was, that slaves were severely treated, and in a low, depressed state.

In Antigua, the common allowance was, 7 pints of corn, or horse-beans, for able negroes, with about 3 or 4 herrings weekly; occasionally a little salt, sometimes rum, but not very common. Their work is hard. The bell calls them to it at day-break, and they work till sun-set; have 2 hours at noon; but in their hours of rest, grass is expected. They are treated never as fellow-creatures, but merely as property, and are severely punished for slight offences.

They are allowed a few yards square of ground; but only Sundays to cultivate it, except a few, who had Saturday afternoon.

The plough might be advantageously used, and though perhaps not wholly to supercede the hoe, yet might ease the negroes of many difficult parts of their manual labour. The grinding of their corn at night, by hand, was, in crop, a great hardship: they might be much relieved by some trifling mechanism applied in the sugar-mill, and in many other cases. In general, they seem to have no idea of improvements to ease their slaves. Understood it a general opinion, that if negroes were not constantly kept at hard labour, they would become unruly. P. 130.

The

1791. The instrument of punishment cuts their flesh, and leaves indelible marks.

No attention at all was paid to marriage. It did not appear to him, that they attended as much to the rearing of children, as we do to the rearing of calves. He has known exceptions. A widow Sher-  
 P. 130. vington was left in debt, with 5 or 6 negroes, who, by kind treatment, increased, in 15 or 20 years, to 15, or more. He knows several such instances. As to estates, on the whole of Col. Farley's plantations, they had no need of new negroes. He has heard him say, there was a considerable increase on one particularly. A Mr. Tho. Gravener's negroes also increased. He knew captain Thomason, of Seacow-bay, Tortola, who has wanted no new negroes for many years.

Little or no attention was paid to instructing slaves in religion. He believes none at all by the established clergy. Where instruction has been attempted, as it has on several Antigua estates, by Moravian missionaries, the advantage was evident in their manners and behaviour.

P. 131. Those were not thought the most flourishing estates, which bought the most new negroes. It was exactly the reverse.

He never knew, or heard, of a field-negro buying his freedom.

Domesticks have much less work than field-negroes; but their situation, in some respects, is perhaps harder; for, being under the hand of capricious, passionate masters and mistresses, they are often punished, not only corporally, but with numberless teasing and mortifications; nor are they so regularly fed. He never knew them allowed above one-half bit a day; and he believes some are often driven to theft or prostitution, by want. The women domesticks are expected to dress neatly, and, having no clothes from their owners, they must use indirect means to get them. They are not often whipped publickly; but their private whippings are very severe,

vere, and he has known a creole woman drop hot sealing-wax on a wench's back, after a flogging. He, and many others, saw a young woman of fortune and character, flog a negro man very severely with her own hands. Many similar instances he could relate, if necessary; they are almost innumerable. He has been speaking chiefly of town domesticks. 1791.

Slaves have no legal protection at all against their masters, for any injury short of murder. A little before he arrived in Antigua, one Patrick, a huckster, whom he knew, murdered a woman slave, with circumstances of the most atrocious and savage barbarity. He was tried, convicted, and fined. He was universally blamed, but was dealt with as usual. Slaves have no mode of getting redress from daily injuries of whites, nor their owners; and even sometimes their owners cannot get redress for them. A negro woman was drowned by some seamen of the Favourite sloop of war. A negro man was knocked on the head and drowned, for stealing a piece of beef, alongside a merchantman, at St. John's. These facts were well known, but no inquiry made. A P. 133.

He has known negroes, but not many, turned adrift by their owners, when past labour.

Negroes are liable to be taken for their master's debts, and are confined in a close, disagreeable dungeon, till sold. No regard paid, that he remembers, to selling families together. Saw a family of mulattoes and blacks sold at vendue, and sent to different islands. They discovered great sorrow at being separated.

African negroes shewed the most extravagant joy at their friends funerals, from believing the deceased gone back to their country.

He has seen many of those deplorable objects, Guinea seamen, particularly on the beach at Roseau, Dominique. When the Endeavour was at Grenada, there were 7 Guinea seamen, exceedingly emaciated and full of sores, who complained much of their

1791. ill usage in the voyage. In a few months, they recovered so much, as scarcely to be known for the same men. Captains of men of war sometimes take them, to recover their wages, but generally do not keep them, for fear of infection. Such seamen in Antigua, are called wharfingers, and in Dominique, scow-bankers.

He lived at Lancaster, when slave-ships were fitted out there. From their ill treatment, and the small numbers that returned, the young men were discouraged from entering on that service, and they were obliged to take some ships to Liverpool to man them.

The lives of a prodigious number of negroes were carelessly and impolitically sacrificed in clearing the lee side of Dominique, for sugar estates. He recollects one planter there who bought 30 new negroes, and lost them all within the year.

P. 135. Negro porters, who pay their owners a weekly sum, having no fixed rates, endure great impositions and hardships. If, on being offered too little for their work, they remonstrate, they are very often beaten, and receive nothing: and should they refuse the next call, from the same person, they are liable to be summoned before a magistrate, and punished on the parade, for refusal, and he has known them so punished. Negroes that bring grafs to town to sell, have often their grafs taken away, without pay, and sometimes with a beating. The indignities the negroes receive in markets, from white sailors and others, are frequent, vexatious, and severe.

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Witness Examined,—Capt. JOHN SAMUEL SMITH, of the Royal Navy.

Was in the West Indies in 1772, 1777, and 1778, for above a year altogether.

Had several opportunities of observing the treatment



ment of plantation-slaves, from meeting with an old schoolfellow, a manager, who introduced him to many other managers. 1791.

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First impression was that slaves were treated more like beasts than the human species. The mode of punishment generally was, a negro stretched on his belly, on the ground, a man at each hand and leg; the punishment inflicted by a negro with a long whip, tapering from the size of one's thumb, to a small lash. At every stroke a piece of flesh was drawn out, and that with much unconcern to the director of the punishment.


Grass picking and theft, the most frequent causes of punishment. Some were punished for not getting so much grass as others, and that at a time when he thought it impossible for them to get half the quantity, having been on the spot. The grass is generally picked after their day's work. His idea is, they seldom leave work till sun-set, let the distance be what it may; and they are obliged to pick grass all the way home.

The plantation-slaves were very generally marked with the whip. The only instance to the contrary is what he shall speak to on a Grenada estate. P. 137.

It by no means appeared to him, or to be generally understood, that slaves could get legal redress for ill usage by their masters, or other whites. A slave who paid his master for leave to work for himself, and kept a shop and slaves under him, was employed on a job, by a gentleman of property; on being displeas'd with the man, he sent for him and punished him publickly, and the slave had no redress. This he has no doubt often happens. He has heard of many instances of the like.

Has heard of many cases of slaves suffering from their master's bad circumstances, and has heard it often observed, "If you want to know a proprietor's circumstances, look at his slaves."

Thinks a planter's residence a necessary check on managers, and it was generally understood so. Has

1791.  seen managers particularly attentive to their own stock and slaves, which he thinks they could not have done had the owner been there. This difference of usage must doubtless cause much jealousy to the field-slaves. Has often seen more food given to managers slaves; and it is commonly observed, that it is easy to know the manager's slaves from the owner's, from their better appearance. Has reason  
 P. 138. to believe managers often favour their own slaves, in labour, and other particulars, especially in grass picking, as he has often seen; and he has no doubt but the grass is generally appropriated to the manager more than the owner. Managers never employ their own slaves for this purpose. The keeping stock is generally a part of the manager's income, and he has no doubt it is fed at the proprietor's expense.

Planters never appeared careful to keep up their slaves by breeding. Has seen instances which convinced him that managers attended more to the increase of their own slaves. The managers seemed generally prosperous, and that often when the owners seemed to be going behind hand.

It never appeared to him that any attempts were made to check promiscuous intercourse, and to introduce regular domestick habits. He has often known where people from the ships visited managers, and had opportunities given by them of selecting women for their private ends: nor were the wives of negroes secure from the whites on the estates. He has known complaints made of the overseer having infringed in that particular, against the woman's will, without redress.

P. 139. Has seen many slaves neglected, who were aged and past labour. On observing to the inhabitants the state of such objects, he has been told, that building hospitals for them would be endless, as slaves would bring complaints on themselves to leave the estate.

It was understood, a common practice, and he himself has known instances of women, in respectable stations, standing by to see their slaves punished.

1791.

Always considered negroes as keen, sensible, well-disposed people, when their habits were not vitiated by cruel usage.

Never thought it necessary to treat them so severely, having seen an instance where the reverse usage produced a good effect, and which he often mentioned to managers whom he saw acting differently. Was answered it might be practised in particular cases, but it would be impossible to get the work done, were it general. The manager, in that one instance, told him that more work was done than on estates where the treatment was otherwise. HeP. 140. does not remember asking if the pairing of the slaves was attended to on that estate; but he saw religion the first object of the manager, which he thought had a very good effect.

Believes slaves, if used ill, dare not complain to an attorney except in atrocious cases. Firmly believes, the opinion of the slaves is, that the attorney and manager are one and the same, with respect to understanding each other.

Never saw balls or dances among field-slaves; but often among house-slaves.

On the whole, it by no means appeared to him, that the state of slaves could bear any comparison with that of peasants here. He always considered them as treated and spoken of as cattle.

Has often been employed to board Guineamen to impress men; and though he supposes he may have boarded near 20 vessels, at times, he never could get more than two men, who turned out such inhuman fellows, that they were forced to dismiss them, though good seamen. But the chief reason of his not getting men was, the fear of infection, having seen many of them ulcerated very much, and otherwise disordered; and though often solicited by them, and told, that if he did not receive them, they would be sent ashore  
and

1790. and left behind. To be applied to, by seamen, in any other trade, to be taken out of their own ships into His Majesty's, is so uncommon as seldom or never to happen.

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Witness examined—Mr. WILLIAM DUNCAN.

P. 141. Was in Antigua from Jan. 1785 to July 1789, as clerk in a store six or eight months; as overseer for about two years and a half; the rest of the time, kept store for himself.

First impression was, that slaves looked very poorly and ill treated.

The usual allowance of plantation-slaves is a gallon of Indian corn or horse beans weekly, with sometimes two herrings; at other times, 24 lb. of yams and a little salt.

The negroes, on the estate he was on, which were 162, had only six or seven acres among them, of but indifferent land. They had Sunday to work it, and sometimes Saturday afternoon, out of crop.

Negroes appear in the best condition rather towards the end of crop. At other times, look ill fed. He should suppose they are driven by hunger to theft. They usually steal provisions, at the risk of being cut and beat by the watchmen.

P. 142. Thinks about fourteen pence sterling the utmost sum which an industrious field-negro can earn for himself in a week. He never knew such have any considerable property, nor heard of a field-slave buying his freedom.

Very seldom knew entertainments given by the negroes. Thinks about six dollars might be the utmost cost of such as he has seen.

Thinks provisions allowed by masters, and that which slaves raise in their own grounds, are, in general, insufficient to support them and their families properly

properly and comfortably. He has often heard them complain for want of food. 1791.

He thought the plantation-slaves cruelly treated, and not sufficiently attended to.

The pregnant women, on the estate where he lived, did little work after they were four months gone with child; came out at eight o'clock and went home by four; if wet came not out at all. At times the women work a little, and their children are left with old women, in the field. They are allowed to suckle them. On a neighbouring estate, the usage of pregnant women was the same: cannot say as to others. P. 143.

He looks on the work generally required of field-slaves as laborious, according to their strength to perform it.

Sometimes slaves have 39 lashes, sometimes they are confined with chains and collars; and sometimes with iron boots on their ancles. Their whippings are severe, sometimes wantonly inflicted, and, at other times, disproportionate to the offences. Many negroes bear about them the marks of the whip. He has seen a negro so cut, that he could not lie on his back or sit down.

He knew of no protection which slaves had against ill usage from their owners, or managers, or overseers. The owner was liable to be punished for murdering his slave. He knew a white man, in different circumstances, who was fined 100l. currency, and imprisoned 12 months, for murdering his negro boy. P. 144.

Relates an instance of a slave unjustly beaten by an intoxicated manager. Though laid up in consequence of it some months, he got no redress.

He has known the same man doctor and attorney, and manager and attorney.

The opinion was, that a creole negro, by the time he was fit to work, cost more than one from Africa.

The treatment on the estate he lived on was better than common. The effect was that they increased. Also the slaves on Sir G. Thomas's Belfast estate, and Carlisle's,

1791. Carlisle's, and several others he cannot name, increased, or kept up their numbers, without addition  
 P. 145. by purchase.

On a neighbouring estate, the treatment was worse than usual, and the effect was, the slaves decreased.

He thinks the sexes nearly equal, but he believes, most males.

The capacities and dispositions of negroes are much like those of the whites.

They received religious instruction chiefly from Methodist preachers. The island clergy were not so attentive as the Methodists. The negroes so instructed were improved in their morals and behaviour. Such paid more attention to marriage. He has often known negroes desire to have their children baptized. The clergy usually took a dollar from them for baptism.

P. 146. He has known families sent to different islands, from sales by execution, or otherwise.

He has seen some free negroes very well behaved, and very industrious. They are usually tradesmen and hucksters. He never knew them work in the field. They would think it a disgrace to work with a slave. They can earn more by those employments than by field-work.

He has often heard the slaves say, they were kidnapped; particularly a woman who waited on him, said that when going on an errand, she was carried off in a bag and sold.

He sees no reason why the plough might not be used, especially to loosen stiff land, which would certainly save much labour.



Witness examined—Captain THOMAS LLOYD,

Of the Royal Navy.

Was in the West Indies in 1779. Commanded <sup>1791.</sup>  
the Glasgow, and was burnt out of her in Montego  
bay, Jamaica. P. 147.

His first impression was, that the slaves were very generally considered as black cattle, and very often treated like post-horses.

Relates instance of a man and woman slave executed at St. Ann's bay, in sight of his ship's company. The former for running away, the latter for secreting him.

At Mrs. Winne's, of Mammee bay, saw a woman slave with one hand only, and asked Mrs. W. how she lost it. She said it had been cut off. She had a female slave to whom she trusted her linen and other valuable effects, from suspecting her indented white servant had abused that confidence. She directed P. 148.  
her slave never to issue out linen, without her orders. The white woman wanted a pair of sheets, and attempted forcibly to take them. A scuffle ensued, and six weeks after the supposed offence, the white woman swore the slave had struck her, and she had her right hand cut off, Mrs. W. having in vain endeavoured to suspend the amputation. She spoke of this as an inhuman act, and a great injury to her property.

He was told by a person of veracity, whom he wishes not to name, that it was the practice of a certain planter, whose name he does not now recollect, to frame pretences for the execution of his worn out slaves, in order to get the island allowance: and it was supposed he had dealt largely in that way.

Captain Cornwallis told him, while he was there, that, at a dinner with some of the principal planters, the conversation turning on the profit and loss of

1791. sugar estates, one of them said, that in crop he worked his negroes 20 hours out of the 24. Another said, many of them must have died. He granted that, but, on the whole, it answered.

He has seen, about the streets and roads, many old, miserable objects, and was told many of them had their freedom given them, when no longer able to work. The most wretched object he ever saw was at Port Royal.

He had reason to believe, that negroes might be induced to work properly, without severity. A Mr. Greenland had but a few, who looked well and happy. Captain L. asked him the reason. He said, he never punished them, and he did not find but he was as well off as others who pursued a different conduct.

P. 149. He has heard sensible people ascribe the decrease of slaves, on several estates, to the severity of their treatment.

Many instances of the ill treatment of the slaves, have been told him by his brother officers, upon the station; but why they keep back their evidence he cannot tell. He has heard of military combinations to obtain justice, and to resist oppression; but this is the first instance he ever heard of associations for the suppression of truths.

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Witness examined—Lieutenant BAKER DAVISON,

Of the late 79th Regiment.

P. 150. Was in Jamaica, from the middle of 1771 to the end of 1783, except a few months on the Spanish main. (Practised surgery in Jamaica, many years, before the French war, p. 154.)

Had many opportunities of seeing the treatment both of field and town slaves. Was quartered in many parts of the island; resided some time at a planter's



planter's house, given him and his family for a <sup>1791.</sup> barrack.

The first general impresson on his mind was that P. 151. the slaves were very cruelly treated, by being most unmercifully flogged by their owner's order. Such punishments never were restricted to 39 lashes. Understands there was such a law, but never knew it abided by, where punishment was really meant.

Sometimes owners in town would have them flogged at home, or send them to gaol, to be punished, or have them tied up to a crane on the wharfs. He has very often seen those punishments inflicted, at all times of the day. In houses and on the wharfs slaves are always punished by order of the owners, and often in gaol.

They appeared much more severe than regimental punishments. He remembers a new negro girl flogged by her mistress's order, and who died of a mortification from the wounds two days after.

In towns the slaves are generally flogged with a P. 152. cowskin, and on estates with a long whip.

On estates they are fastened to four stakes driven into the ground, and whipped. He has often seen regular punishments in the field, for neglect of work, and other offences committed on the spot.

He has often seen owners send their slaves to be whipped in gaol; and has very often seen them brought home by persons belonging to the gaol. The precise number of stripes to be given in gaol was not ordered. The owners generally told them to flog them well, according to the crime.

He knew many cruelties; but none followed by death, except that mentioned. The clergyman's wife at Port Royal, was remarkably cruel. She used to drop hot sealing-wax on her negroes, after flogging them. He was sent for, as surgeon, to one of them, whose breast was terribly burnt with sealing-wax. A woman next door to him was often flogging her negroes so cruelly, that he has frequently gone in and insisted on her desisting; and, at last, he com-

1791. plained of her to a magistrate, who told him he had nothing to do with it.

P. 153. He is very sure the slave's treatment depends wholly on the owner's disposition; as some were very cruel, and others not so.

He has very often remonstrated to owners and managers on severity, especially to the clergyman's wife, and the clergyman himself, who said they would not do without severity, and even being half starved, which he often knew was the case at his own house. He has often talked to them on their slaves being ill from severity and hunger. He particularly remonstrated to the woman mentioned (whose negro died) when he has seen the negro at work, kneeling, on her bare knees, on the pebbles, a punishment very common in houses there.

He believes the slaves generally understood they had a right to legal redress, for severity, as he has often had complaints, when quartered up the country, from different estates. He never knew such redress obtained, from negroes themselves complaining. When ill used by others, the owners take care to get redress.

P. 154. He saw a slave both of whose nostrils had been slit, by her mistress's order, from jealousy. No attempt was made to punish this woman, as she was of some consequence, being the wife of the engineer of the island.

It was very common for women, in respectable situations, to stand by, at the punishment of their slaves.

He thinks pregnant women were not, in general, properly attended to, having been sent for to several estates, where the mother scarcely had any cloaths to cover her, nor any baby-cloaths, and was in want of every kind of proper nourishment.

He has seen several pregnant women flogged on estates, and a hole made in the ground to receive their belly. He was once sent for to a woman who had

had miscarried from severe flogging, when both child and herself died. 1791.

The jaw-fall was fatal to negro infants, in many cases which fell under his notice, owing, he believes, to want of proper necessaries, bad houses, and various other causes. It is impossible to account entirely for it. He is sure it was not equally fatal to white children; as in the different regiments he was in, they had a great many children born, but he never P. 155. knew one of them die with it.

Thinks, in general, the slaves were very badly fed.

It appeared to him, that when masters were in debt, the slave's food was reduced; as the slaves of several very poor planters near him, used, in the night, to rob him of every kind of provisions. There were several estates where he knew the slaves were better fed, and who never troubled them.

He is sure the slaves were not universally allowed Saturday afternoon, to work their grounds, as he never knew it; and, had it been common, he must have known it.

He has known the slaves, on the estate where he lived, several times obliged to work, even on Sundays, for their master. His house was very near the works.

He has often known them work all night at the boiling-house and mill.

The taylor, who worked for him the whole time he was in Jamaica, bought his own freedom; and P. 156. when he left the island, had some slaves of his own. He never knew a field-slave buy his freedom.

Has known slaves, (generally Africans) destroy themselves, particularly one at Port Royal, who having been punished over-night, was found hanging in his hut in the morning: He was an African who had not been long bought. He never knew a creole kill himself.

Is sure old negroes, past labour, were not, in general, sufficiently attended to. He knew two old men,

1791. men, belonging to a woman in Port Royal, who  
 subsisted by begging.

The negroes wives were not secure from the whites; for he has known different book-keepers, just come to the estate, take their wives from them. Believes this was very often a cause of discontent to the slaves. (If there be a law against this, he never knew it enforced. It is common for whites on estates to chuse negro women for themselves or friends. p. 181.)

Both house and field slaves were generally marked with the whip.

A great many instances have fallen within his notice, which proved severity unnecessary. He had always 5 or 6 slaves, whom he never found it necessary to punish, as he used them well. A Mr. Malcolm, who had a large estate, would not allow a negro to be punished, without his knowledge. In an insurrection, Mr. D. expressed his surprize, that he would leave his wife and family on the estate, when  
 P. 157. he was 8 or 10 miles off. Mr. M. said, he was sure his negroes would behave as well in his absence, as in his presence. Mr. D. has been often at his house, and has known him most days go among his negroes, and hear their complaints. He told him that he had not bought a new negro for 10 or 12 years. That they never ran away, and that his estate and negroes had considerably increased in that time. Has often heard him say, he had as much work done as others, and that his negroes always worked willingly. Is sure he encouraged their pairing, as he gave them every necessary, and kept their houses in good repair. He knew an estate where the negroes were all creoles. Is sure they were treated better than common.

Free negroes were generally tradesmen, and very industrious.

Saw a mother and her daughter separated at a sale  
 P. 179. by vendue. A negro woman had been sold by her mistress to a Jew, to be sent off the island; but Mr. D. bought

D. bought her from the Jew. She had 2 children, 1791. whom her mistress kept from her, and whom she often begged him to buy, which he could not conveniently do. He bought a new negro, who found his brother, and brought him to the fort to Mr. D. Mr. Chambers, owner of the brother, begged Mr. D. to part with his, as the brother was a very valuable boiler. This Mr. D. reluctantly complied with, for his was equally valuable.

The Maroon negroes in Jamaica, increased most P. 180. certainly. He has often been in all their towns, and always saw great numbers of children. Their numbers were considerably more when he left, than when he went to, the island. He is sure they did not incorporate run-aways among them, as they had a reward and mile-money, for bringing them to the gaols.

Is sure whites, if temperate, could, without material injury, do any kind of out-of-door work. It is well known, that the ship-wrights and other tradesmen, in the king's-yard, Port-Royal, often work all day long, and he never knew them unhealthier than people in general. White artificers certainly do work at their trades, in the West Indies, without materially hurting their health.

He believes thumb-screws are very often used in the West Indies, having seen several negro girls at work with the needle, in presence of their mistresses, with a thumb-screw on their left thumb, and he has seen the blood gush out from the end of them.

Domesticks certainly are particularly subject to their owner's caprice. He has often known their mistress send them to be punished, without telling them for what. He has been frequently sent for, to the clergyman's slaves before-mentioned, after they have been severely flogged, and otherwise ill treated, so that he conceived their lives in great danger: particularly to one woman who had been P. 181. tied up all night, by her hands, and abused with cayenne pepper, in a way too horrid and indecent to mention

1791. mention. He lived next door to a washer-woman, at Port Royal, who was almost continually flogging her negroes. He has often gone in and remonstrated against her cruelty, where he has seen the negro women chained to the washing tubs, almost naked, with their thighs and backs in a gore of blood, from flogging. He could mention various other capricious punishments, if necessary.

He is sure means are used, in Guineamen, to suppress the slaves diseases (which afterwards break out still more violently, or bring on other disorders) especially fluxes, as he made it his business to ask the surgeons, who candidly told him their mode of treatment on board. He made this inquiry, on his wife's father having bought a good number of slaves out of a Guineaman, several of whom broke out in violent fluxes.

He has known new negroes put into the field 2 or 3 days after being bought. They sometimes remain on board in the harbour, 2 or 3 weeks before sale.


P. 182. Has seen a great many ulcerated sailors lying about, in most parts of the island, especially at Kingston. They chiefly belonged to Guineamen, for he particularly asked them.

Has often heard planters say, such an overseer had improved the estate, by large crops: but never heard any such thing mentioned, in connection, as his care of the negroes, or keeping them up by breeding.

He has often gone on the estates of absentees, with attorneys, and came away with them, and saw very little attention paid, except asking the overseer when the sugars would be ready for market. He never heard any inquiries made into the negroes state and treatment.

Has frequently heard owners of slaves say, that a creole, when fit to work, costs more than a new negro.

The attorney and overseer are not always distinct persons. He has known several that were both attorney

torney and overseer. He knew several in Spanish 1791.  
Town, from 20 to 40 miles off the estates they were   
attornies for. Attornies are often directly interested  
in increasing the crops, as he always understood they P. 183.  
have a per centage on them.

Overseers very often have slaves of their own: he  
has known them have jobbing gangs. Has known  
the absent master's house-slaves sent into the field,  
and the overseer's put in their room.

Many more domestics are kept in West India fa-  
milies than in similar English ones. Has known  
from 12 to 20 in a house, where half as many would  
do very well.

Domestics certainly increase, from being better fed  
and treated, and less worked.

Female slaves are very commonly let out, by their  
owners, for prostitution.

Slaves sell vegetables at market, on their owner's  
account; as several mountain estates chiefly depend  
on selling vegetables.

On many estates he is sure proper medical care was  
not taken of the negroes; as the surgeon often lives  
far from the estates, and visits them, when he  
thinks proper.

He brought a Guinea woman to England, who P. 184;  
wished much to be sent to her own country. It is  
common for sick negroes to say, with much pleasure,  
they are going to die, and are going home from this  
Buccra country.

Has often known slaves 12 months in gaol, from  
their master's debts.

Believes owners are very commonly involved with  
Guinea merchants; for they often stay on the estates,  
all the week, except Sundays, with their gates always  
locked. Buyers of new negroes, if planters, are  
credited, from one crop to another; if not planters,  
from 6 to 12 months.

He has very often seen refuse-negroes, sold at  
vendue, in a wretched situation, and very cheap.  
Several make a trade of it.

1791. There was a captain to every Maroon town, and  
 a superintendant over the whole, to keep up order.  
 P. 185. He thinks runaways could not be harboured, in the  
 Maroon towns, without coming to the captain's  
 knowledge, who always lives very near the towns.  
 He is appointed, by the governor, as guardian of the  
 treaty with the Maroons. He is always a white man.

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Witness examined — DREWRY OTLEY, Esq.  
 His Majesty's Chief Justice on the Island of  
 St. Vincent.

P. 158. Resided in the W. Indies since 1776, chiefly in St.  
 Vincent. Has visited Antigua, Tobago, St. Kitts,  
 Grenada, and St. Lucia: was in England about ten  
 months of the time.

Is of the council of St. Vincent's, appointed in  
 1784, and chief justice in 1787.

Managed his own estates there till made chief  
 justice; when, often absent on public business, he  
 employed a manager, whose conduct he constantly  
 superintended.

As to the laws respecting slaves; the old slave  
 acts, which were the general laws throughout the  
 islands and which in many still continue unrepealed,  
 have appeared to him in many cases unjust and in-  
 human, as to the personal security of slaves; which  
 appears only to be provided for, in cases of murders,  
 dismemberment, and mutilation. And as the evidence  
 of slaves is never admitted against whites, the diffi-  
 P. 159. culty of legally establishing facts is so great, that  
 white men are in a manner put beyond the reach of  
 the law: however, supposing the proof full, the mur-  
 der of a slave in some islands is only punishable by a  
 larger fine, and dismemberment and mutilation by a  
 smaller. Some of the acts are silent on the murder  
 of a slave, and it has been supposed, in those islands,  
 that it was punishable by the common law of Eng-  
 land:



land: however, on considering the latter part of the second clause in the St. Vincent slave act, which is also introduced in some of the slave acts of the other islands, is of opinion, that by inference from that clause, the murder of a slave is not punishable by common law as a capital offence. 1791.

There is no law for securing the slave's property, against his master, nor against strangers, unless the master brings an action.

There are laws in most of the islands obliging masters to provide food and clothing for their slaves; but does not think them in general efficient, from the difficulty of bringing proof of the breach of the law.

Some clauses in the St. Vincent's slave act appear to be oppressive and impolitic; particularly that which obliges the whites, under a penalty, to search once a fortnight, the negroe houses on the estate, for runaways or stolen goods; that which prevents slaves from hiring themselves of their masters to work on their own account; those which lay certain restriction on free negroes, and deprive them in some cases of trial by jury; the clause which throws obstacles in the way of slaves buying their freedom; and some others which he does not just now recollect.

In his answers, he confines himself to St. Vincent's where named; where no island is named, his observations extend to all where the old slave acts are yet in force.

The omissions in the old laws are so numerous that P. 160. it is difficult to ascertain them; he will therefore speak to such alterations and provisions as appear necessary for the protection of slaves.

He would recommend the passing a slave act in every island, repealing those now in force, and establishing regulations upon the principle of the late Grenada act, to obviate the difficulty of bringing evidence against whites: councils of protection or guardians, should be named to see that the provisions made for the benefit of slaves are enforced: they should be empowered to inspect provision grounds,

1791.        sick houses, clothing, negro-houses, and the general condition of slaves; and upon just grounds of suspicion, to have power to examine whites, or other free persons, on oath, and to prosecute offenders, where necessary.

Thinks, if the guardians do their duty, and act with impartiality, that the substitute for the evidence of slaves, (provided by the Grenada act) affords as great a degree of protection and security as persons in a state of slavery can enjoy.

Can devise no means, likely to be adopted, for admitting the evidence of slaves, in their present state of ignorance.

P. 161. The laws lately passed in Jamaica, Grenada, and Dominica, (as contained in the Privy Council report) have supplied most of the omissions now noticed; but the Grenada law seems best calculated to have full effect.

The punishments to be inflicted by the St. Vincent's slave act, must be by order of justices of the peace: recollects no provisions there, which limit the degree, or ascertain the nature, of the punishment which a master or manager may inflict.

The general modes of punishment he has observed on West India estates, were, whipping, the stocks, chains, iron collars; the latter not frequent, nor long worn, because deemed hurtful to the slaves health.

As to whipping in a cruel manner and disproportionate to the offence, overseers striking slaves wantonly, subtracting from his allowance, taking away the provisions he has raised, or other arbitrary and cruel treatment independent of punishment for

P. 162. offences, much depends on the temper and disposition of masters or managers. On all the estates he has known, where the master or manager resided, overseers were forbidden to strike any slave, and were liable to be turned off if they did. Sometimes they do it, but does not think it common.

The treatment of slaves, so far as he has observed, is in general humane. 1791.

Instances of cruelty do and will occur, but does not think them common. Certainly thinks them exceptions to general usage.

As to instances of notorious cruelty in the islands going unpunished, never knew but one case where a man was punished by law in St. Vincent's for cruelty to a slave, and that was very lately. Has heard of other cases of cruelty notorious, which have gone unpunished.

In St. Vincent's, industrious field slaves are generally possessed of some property. So far as he can guess, an industrious but ordinary field slave may acquire to the amount of 6l. or 8l. sterling per ann. Of 200 slaves on an estate, not more than one-third can be reckoned field slaves; some of whom will be young and indifferent to property, others lazy. He should suppose 12 to 18 might acquire to the amount mentioned. Has heard of field slaves acquiring to a greater amount, but in general they are careful to conceal their property from their masters. They acquire it by raising hogs, goats, poultry, and by the culture of their grounds, of which they have in general more than they can cultivate, and as good land for the purpose as any on the estate. Out of crop they have half of Saturday, or one day in a fortnight. Thinks the latter better for the slave, as he can go fresh to his work, and has more time to complete any particular job. P. 163.

In St. Vincent's slaves are never married according to the rites of the Church, but they are very often attached to one woman.

Knows of no law to prevent a white from debauching the wife of a slave: but does not recollect any case of the kind. P. 164.

As the females, who are not married, do not seem to prize chastity much, he should suppose the men licentious with regard to women.

Slaves,

1791. Slaves, when past the time of youth, often live faithfully as man and wife.

The men are in general so addicted to the use of spirituous liquors, that they will get drunk as oft as they can.

Has heard young females study to procure abortions, but never knew a case: they are so fond of dancing, that he does not think pregnancy, unless far advanced, would prevent their going a great way for it. Dances are common, but slaves from distant estates are forbidden.

P. 165. The slaves are in general very harmless and peaceable. Never knew a case, even where they have been said to be ill treated, of their attempting to injure their master's property from resentment; tho' were they so inclined, they have many opportunities, particularly in crop time. They discover a benevolent disposition, and a general good will. On every distressful emergency, such as fire, which often happens, he has always observed negroes from the neighbouring plantations, uncalled, even in the night, ready and active to their utmost exertion in relieving the misfortune of the moment. Recollects an instance which occurred in 1785: A fire suddenly broke out among his canes, at a place the most distant from where his own slaves were working. Those of Sir William Young, who were at work near the spot, voluntarily run to the place, and with much trouble and some risque extinguished the flames, which might otherwise have destroyed 50 or 60 hogsheds of sugar; nor did they ask any reward; but of course some recompence was sent them.

Those seasoned to the islands appear to be of a chearful temper; and are so, when well used; which may be known by their returning merry and singing, from their work.

Thinks, on estates well handed with seasoned negroes, and which have a regular succession of children to supply those who fall off by age, the numbers might be kept up, and probably increase without importation,

importation. In many instances, estates, humanely managed, and with a suitable proportion of the sexes, actually have, and do increase their numbers without importation. (p. 167.) 1791.

Is acquainted with the Caribs of St. Vincent's. P. 166. They are mostly of the negro race, said to be descended from such as escaped from a slave ship, wrecked upon the coast.

Believes they do not incorporate runaways, who would be easily distinguished from the Caribs, who have a peculiar flattening in the forehead, produced in infancy; they have a reward too for bringing in runaways; and there is besides a strong antipathy between them and the slaves (p. 169). Their number is said to be 3000, so that they must certainly have increased, and believes they are still on the increase: they are fond of spirituous liquors (p. 169).

As slaves can never live so much at their ease as the Caribs do, and must be more exposed while at work, they will be subject to diseases, to which the Caribs and free negroes are not; they will therefore probably not increase so much, though they may increase.

W. India estates are in general deeply mortgaged: P. 167. in proportion to the weight of debt on them, they will in many instances be worked with greater exertion of labour, and under disadvantages of credit prejudicial to the supplies for comfort, or even subsistence of the slaves, in many cases.

He should necessarily conclude, that where slaves are not supplied equally with the necessaries and comforts of life, they will of course be proportionally defective in increase.

The proprietors of estates pressed by their creditors would, he fears, be induced to work their gangs beyond their strength, were they cut off from fresh supplies of slaves, and thus a sudden and total abolition eventually prove oppressive to many slaves in the West Indies.

Believes,

1791. Believes, the question of the slave-trade depending in the British Parliament, may have directed the attention of the colonial legislatures, to the reform of the laws in favour of slaves; and while the question P. 168. continues pending, believes they will be disposed to adopt any practicable regulations which may be recommended to them; but does not think they would attend to such recommendation with the same good temper and satisfaction were the question decided, and the slave-trade stopt.

Does not think any effectual reform of the slave laws could be made without the co-operation of the colonies, as by the constitution of their governments, their legislative bodies must pass the laws, and the magistrates and others in the islands enforce them.

His letter to Sir William Young, contained in the Privy Council Report, was written in haste, and merely for Sir William's private information.

As the laws now stand in many of the islands, domestick slaves must be peculiarly subject to their masters caprice; and their situation can less be effected by regulations of law, than even that of field slaves, because the conduct of masters to domesticks P. 169. is not so open to the observation of the world.

As to supposing private punishments to be restricted to a certain number of lashes, and masters and overseers should exceed the limitation, or splitting one crime into many, give the limited number for each; can devise no mode of bringing such master or other to justice, while the evidence of a slave continues inadmissible.

Believes there are 400 or 500 whites in all, exclusive of the military, in St. Vincent's; perhaps 150 more in the small islands now connected with it; and imagines the slaves on those islands, which are not many, are included in the number of St. Vincent's slaves.

Never knew a free negro hire himself to field labour, to hire as mechanicks is common.

The

The stock of slaves on his estate when he first went out have constantly increased; but the new negroes he has bought since 1784, have, in spite of all possible attention to them, decreased at least one in eight. Mr. Robley told him, that on his estate Sandy Point, in Tobago, there has been a constant considerable increase by births, though the situation does not seem healthy. In St. Vincent's, upon Sir William Young's estate, Calliagua, there has been for some years past a constant increase by births; the same on Mr. Haffey's estate, and he believes also upon Mr. Winn's; and likewise upon Mr. Collins's and a Mr. Morgan's estates.

1790.

P. 170.

If proper attention was paid to the religious instruction of slaves, he is convinced it would be of the greatest advantage to the planters. Within these three or four years, some Methodist missionaries, have had access to many estates in St. Vincent's, for that purpose. Has heard that in Antigua the slaves have been greatly improved in their morals by the instructions of the Moravians; infomuch, that the actual value of such slaves, considered as objects of commerce, has been raised. An increase of population from the births, would be an undoubted consequence of the moral improvement of slaves (p. 174.)

Does not think, that even on those estates where he has known the stock kept up and increased by births, such attention has been paid to the subject as he would judge proper (p. 174.)

As to whites escaping punishment in atrocious cases, from negro evidence being invalid, recollects, that in October 1789, a slave in Tobago was said, and universally believed, to have been stabbed by a white (thinks the manager of the estate) in the presence of many other slaves. The man died on the spot, and the white was tried, but, for want of such evidence as West Indian courts of law require, was acquitted. Another case occurred in St. Vincent's; a white, was strongly suspected of having shot his brother-

P. 171.

1791. brother-in-law, the fact was said by two or three slaves to have been done in their presence; and, the coroner's inquest (he thinks) confirmed this suspicion, by a verdict of wilful murder, against this white. At a court where he (Mr. Ottley) presided, the cause was tried, and although there scarcely remained a doubt with the jury of the man's guilt, he was nevertheless acquitted, for want of sufficient evidence.

Thinks, that slaves in general are better treated, and more satisfied with their condition, where the owner resides.

Where ground provisions are scarce, and the owner's embarrassments prevent his getting supplies of imported provisions, his negroes must certainly suffer. In 1779, he has heard, many persons suffered in Antigua from this circumstance.

P. 172. Has always heard that in St. Kitt's the chief dependance is on imported provisions, and it must be often so in Antigua, from the droughts to which they are subject.

Where planters, as has often happened, take in more cane land than they can properly cultivate, the labour of the negroes will be increased, and the land will not be productive.

Never knew a field slave buy his freedom. Never heard of act of suicide among creoles.

As to insurrections, whether most to be apprehended from African or Creole slaves, there never was an insurrection in St. Vincent's; but those which happened in Tobago, he has heard, originated with the Africans.

The circumstance of being forcibly torn from their families and friends, will frequently have the effect to shorten the lives of imported slaves; particularly the aged: those who destroy themselves are always found to be adults.

P. 173. The climate of St. Vincent's, when first settled, being covered with wood, was very fatal to Europeans; but now it seems as healthy as any other of



of the islands; and it has been remarked, that no greater mortality has occurred among the troops, for these five or six years past, than is common in England. The Europeans who are resident, from exposure during the hours of labour, are frequently subject to diseases. 1791.

By the court act, slaves may be seized for the owner's debt, but not till his goods, chattels, and produce are found insufficient. Slaves by the laws of St. Vincent's are in general considered as of the nature of real estate, and so descend to the heir, and widows are dowable from them; but where the personal estate is insufficient, executors may inventory slaves, and apply them to the discharge of the testator's debts. But to prevent estates being deprived of slaves, there is a particular law in St. Vincent's, allowing the executors to advance money at 6 per cent. interest, taking security on the slaves.

In case of actual seizure, the marshal is equally responsible for slaves, as for other property.

As to separation of families, by such sales, the law has provided, that a woman and her infant child shall always be sold together. Does not recollect any other provision. P. 174.

Is of opinion, that the reforms in the treatment of slaves hinted in the preceding part of his evidence, would be for the mutual advantage of owner and slave.

With respect to the interests of the owner and managers being sometimes at variance, it is in general the manager's interest to make large crops, to support his character as a planter; and persons often judging from effects, he may feel himself under a kind of necessity of working the slaves harder than he wishes, to keep up to the produce of former years.

Never lost more than two or three children on his estates by the tetanus, but many by worms between three and six years, which seems the most fatal disorder to children in the West Indies, white as well as negro.

1791. Want of food and other ill treatment he should suppose to be one great cause of slaves running away: indeed he has heard of a case, where about 20 negroes, who had been long absent, on the death of a master esteemed very severe, voluntarily returned to the estate: however, has known negroes run away without any provocation.

P. 175. Upon asking his African negroes how they became slaves, some who were imported young, said, they were kidnapped; others, that they had been sold for crimes, or prisoners of war.

Witness examined—Reverend Mr. STUART.

P. 175. Has been at Guadaloupe, Dominique, St. Croix, St. Eustatius, St. Kitts, (at the last about a year) and Nevis. Went to the West Indies about the beginning of 1778, and left them in 1779 for America, P. 177. which he left at Christmas 1782. Has had a twenty P. 175. years acquaintance with the condition of slaves in the different states of N. America.

He is warranted in declaring that the negroes are an oppressed and much injured race, in no better estimation than labouring cattle; and every description of their treatment he has met with, falls short P. 176. of their real state. He read Mr. Ramsay's, in manuscript, at St. Kitts, and comparing it on the spot with the treatment of the slaves, thought it too favourable.

Though there are as humane people in the West Indies as elsewhere, they are from the nature of slavery led into cruel measures. The punishments there often seemed too severe. Has seen many negroes working in chains both in America and West Indies. Has often known runaways put in a dungeon at night, and once saw about fourteen, some of whom were in chains, put into a dungeon, apparently

ly much too small for them. Next morning he saw 1791.  
one of them taken out dead.

Slaves in America seem more hearty and robust P. 177.  
than those in the West Indies, owing, he supposes,  
to their being better fed. Their allowance was a  
quart of Indian corn, pease, or rice, each day, and  
a little salt.

It was generally believed the Carolina slaves in-  
creased without importation.

He was told at St. Croix, that the slaves, instructed  
by the Moravians, were better behaved than the  
others.

The blacks are not inferior to the whites in abili-  
ties or disposition. They have as much generosity,  
fidelity, gratitude, understanding, and ingenuity;  
capable of receiving religious instruction, and im-  
provement of every kind. Has found his black  
servants in nothing inferior to his white ones, and is  
sure that education and opportunity alone make a  
difference between the two descriptions.

Nothing had been done to alleviate the situation  
of the negroes, in general, in the period of Mr.  
Stuarts's residence in America and the W. Indies.

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#### Witness examined—Captain Scott.

Captain Alexander Scott, of the Royal navy, was P. 177.  
on the coast of Africa from Senegal to Cape Coast, P. 178.  
in the Merlin, 1769, during the rainy season. Out  
of 90 men they buried there 8, of whom only 4 died  
of the disorders of the country. The surfs there are  
not an utter impediment to landing and shipping  
goods. He has himself landed from his own boat  
at Dixcove, Commenda, and Cape Coast, and the  
boats without him, also at Succonda. He has been  
in the W. Indies longer than on the Coast of Africa,  
and has of course seen greater surfs there than on the  
coast.

From

91. From a transaction which happened the second day after his arrival in the West Indies, he thought the negroes very cruelly used. He saw a white man pursue a negro into the water, bring him out, and take him to the wharf, where he had him hung up to a crane by his hands, which were tied together, and weights tied to his feet. When thus hoisted up, but so as still to touch the ground, another negro was ordered to whip him with a prickly bush. He walked away from the disagreeable sight. The next day he saw the same negro lying on the beach, and with the assistance of another taking the prickles out of his breech, seemingly swelled and bloody. The negro assigned as a reason for the whipping, that the wharfinger thought he had staid too long on an errand.

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Witness examined—Rev. Mr. DAVIES.

185. Resided at Barbadoes fourteen years; the three last, learning the management of a sugar estate; left it twenty-one years ago.
- It was not understood that slaves had a right to legal redress when ill used by masters.
186. As to field-slaves being well, or sparingly fed, it is difficult to judge from appearance only; before crop many seemed very emaciated, in crop they looked well. Has seen their allowance dealt out; a grown negroe had nine pints of corn and about one pound of salt-fish per week: some principal slaves had as far as twelve pints; but the grain of the West Indies is much lighter than wheat.
- Never knew field-slaves acquire considerable property; they had a few house-necessaries, and were allowed to keep a pig, or a goat, and poultry.
- As to its being a serious object with planters, to keep up the stock of slaves by breeding; it was so much otherwise; as to be generally thought a necessary

fary part of plantation expenſe to buy a lot of new 1791.  
 ſlaves every fix or ſeven years. Thinks the cauſe why  
 the number of ſlaves are not kept up by births is, that  
 females are over worked, in turning dung, carrying  
 it out in baſkets of 60 to 70 pound weight on their  
 heads, and that for about eight hours a day, in the  
 ſeaſon. On their return home, they have to grind  
 their corn by the ſtrength of their arms, rubbing it  
 between two ſtones: they muſt riſe with the earlieſt  
 dawn to prepare their food, that they may be in the  
 field in time to eſcape puniſhment. Their circum-  
 ſtances (particularly the grinding corn) tended to diſ-  
 courage marriage, the woman's life becoming harder  
 then, from being thus a ſlave to her huſband (p. 187).

Pregnant women, and ſuch as had children, are  
 allowed to come into the field a little later than the  
 reſt.

With very good uſage, if the females are to the  
 males as three to four, the ſtock may be kept up by  
 births; as it was on Kendal plantation belonging to  
 Joſhua Steele, eſq. though the proportion was as two  
 to three (p. 188).

Though people in general ſeemed to conſider ſlaves  
 as their moſt valuable property; yet their attention to  
 them (from a ſenſe of intereſt) appeared inſufficient,  
 becauſe a great number of recruits was neceſſary.

To produce large quantities of ſugar at a ſmall ex-  
 penſe, was the chief criterion of a manager's merit;  
 though owners ſometimes diſcharged their managers  
 for too much ſeverity.

Is of opinion they cultivated too much cane land, P.  
 and too little proviſions, as many were obliged to buy  
 American corn: thinks having leſs cane land would  
 produce better treatment to the ſlaves, and be ulti-  
 mately for the maſter's benefit.

The dependance on imported ſlaves certainly con-  
 tributed to embarraſs planters.

As to the practicability of keeping up the ſtock of  
 ſlaves by births, provided it had been an object of  
 ſerious attention to the planters; cannot ſay he attend

7. to it when on the island, but it does appear to him now (from the facts which then fell under his notice p. 188.) that by general good usage of the slaves, and a milder treatment of females in particular, by the use of cattle and instruments of husbandry, especially the plough, their numbers might be kept up, perhaps increase. Knew a few estates which kept up their numbers without importation.

8. Is of opinion slaves were in general too sparingly fed, whether the master was embarrassed or not.

Understood from common report, that there were few estates that were not more or less embarrassed, from debt to the European merchant, or from jointures, or fortunes to brothers and sisters.

On asking African negroes how they became slaves, was answered they had been kidnapped.

Thinks their feelings much the same as Europeans. When removed from their habitations and spots of ground, they have been known to pine away.

As to the practice of slaves constantly working under a driver, does not recollect a single exception.

9. The whip is committed to the hands of apprentice boys, as well as to men, who often punish the slaves for very slight faults, arbitrarily.

#### Witness Examined—Mr. MARK COOK.

Mr. Mark Cook arrived in Jamaica in 1774, and left it, 1790; was three years in planting business: rest of the time as clerk and schoolmaster with different gentlemen there.

His first impression of slaves treatment shocking; for he lived close by a cane-piece, where they worked, and constantly heard the whip going. Slaves used cruelly, hardly looked on better than beasts, and often used worse.

Have not sufficient food nor time to cultivate their grounds. Has known both Africans and Creoles eat

eat putrid carcases, is convinced through want, would not have done it if they had had other sufficient food: <sup>1791.</sup> when they have time and opportunity, are very P. 190. cleanly in their food—are very fond of washing themselves.

Are but indifferently clothed: one half of them almost naked in the field; this not from choice but want; are fond of clothes when they can get any; also badly lodged; if overseers can get their work done, they do not attend to such matters.

Their usual punishments very severe, more so than necessary to procure the work to be done properly: much more of it might be done, were they better fed and less whipped.

Common to dung cane pieces by moon-light, and to oblige them to pick grass after their day's work: this a great hardship. Negroe's grounds generally P. 191. about two miles from the works; common to exact grass picking for overseer's cattle; seldom escape punishment if they neglect it. (p. 191.)

In crop-time they work in general about 18 hours out of 24: are often hurt through mere fatigue and want of sleep: knew a girl lose her hand by the mill while feeding it; for overcome by sleep, she dropped against the rollers. Has heard of several instances of the kind.

Has known negroes own grounds taken from them to be put in canes for master's use, and wood land given them in exchange—a great hardship, and certainly the cause of great dissatisfaction among them.

Thinks they are in general much neglected in sickness. There are doctors on estates, but they seldom attend. Has known negroes, ordered to work by doctor when incapable of doing it, drop in the field, and obliged to be brought back again.

Much the same work is expected from pregnant women as others; has seen them holing within a few hours of delivery; has known 39 lashes given them P. 192. at this time; has heard many of them wish never to

1791. have children to undergo the hardships they themselves have been subject to.

Superannuated slaves have no allowance, and only what they can get among their relations; has seen them wandering about the beach, left to take care of themselves.

Desert frequently, owing to hunger and fear of flogging when threatened: when brought in are generally severely flogged, and sometimes have an iron boot put on one or both legs, and a chain or collar round their neck. The chain is locked, the collar fastened on by a rivet. When the collar is with 3 projections, it is impossible for them to lie down to sleep; even with 2 they must lie uneasily. Has seen collars with 4 projections. Never knew any injury from the chain and collar, but severely galling their necks; has, however, known a negro lose his leg from wearing the boot.

P. 193. A man and his wife, if industrious, and have their due time allowed them, may earn 3 or 4 bits per week, at the utmost. Never heard of a field negro buying his own freedom.

Domestic negroes are often severely punished, but not so often as field slaves: has known many instances: knew a lady, who had both her men and women domestics laid down and flogged every Monday morning for different slight offences, which happened in the previous week.

Knows of no legal protection slaves have against injuries from their masters.

Has known a field slave receive 200 lashes by order of the overseer, and a domestic 50, by order of his mistress.

P. 194. Once knew a runaway slave brought in, with part of a turkey with him, which he had stolen. His master immediately made two negroes hold him down, and with a hammer and a punch knocked out two of his upper and two of his under teeth. Really thinks negro had stolen from hunger, as he was nothing but skin and bones. Master was not reckoned cruel.



cruel. Witness lived with him three years, and remembers no other cruelty committed by him. 1791.

Never knew any complaint made to a magistrate, or punishment inflicted on owner or overseer in any of the cases mentioned, or in any other case whatsoever, for ill using a negro.

Has known negroes often punished for complaining to the owner or attorney against their overseers.

Chastity of negro women is not at all secure against overseers: if overseer sends for a girl for such a purpose, she must come or be flogged. Has known them threatened and flogged for refusing. Knew a Mulatto girl run away, in consequence of being threatened on that account. She was the wife of one of her own colour. Her husband and children ran away at the same time.

Has known both Mulattoes and Quadroons confined in irons 6 or 7 years, at the sole will of their owner. When they came out, (which was on the death of their mistress) their limbs were so distorted they could not walk. Was informed of it by one who lived two years on the estate, and had seen them often, and with whom he lived afterwards in the same employ. P. 195.


Greatest recommendation of an overseer is the magnitude of the crop he makes, without regard to working the negroes hard; must work them hard to make large crops.

Some overseers are paid so much upon every hoghead of sugar, and puncheon of rum. Others have a stated annual salary.

Persons sometimes officiate on estates both as attorneys and overseers at same time. Has known attorneys reside 40 or 50 miles from the estates they were to superintend.

A gentleman, on whose estate he lived, bought 25 negroes in one lot, and at two years end had only 8 or 10 left. A great many African negroes die in the first three years after importation. P. 196.

Has heard African negroes express their praise of their

1791.  their own country, and grief at leaving it. Never knew one but wished to go back again. Was told by one, when asking him the mode of his capture, that they undermined the house in which he and family lived, and came in upon them in the night, and took them all away.

Knew a negro man who hanged himself, also a woman. On the same property a man had shot himself before witness came to it. Has heard of many other instances of the kind; all Africans. Great rejoicings made by African negroes at the funerals of each other, from a belief that the deceased are gone to their own country again.

Capacity of some negroes is very great: as to disposition, they seem stubborn at first coming, but grow better in time. In both these points they do not differ much from lower white people, when they have been sometime in the country.

P. 197. Knows two estates where, he believes, negroes increased by births, which he ascribes to good usage and their not being worked too hard.

Maroon negroes, believes, are increasing very fast.

Domestic used in general much better than field slaves; thinks they usually increase, but not so fast as field slaves, when well used.

Cultivation of cotton, coffee, and pimento, much more easy than that of sugar; and slaves there look better and increase faster than those on sugar estates.

Jobbing gangs are used in general better than field slaves, if they work under their own masters; but if under the overseer of the estate, much worse.

Slaves of a person embarrassed are worse clothed and fed on that account; thinks in general they are used better, when their owner lives on the estate himself.

Knows of no regulation to prevent separation of families, when slaves are sold by writs of venditioni,  
P. 198. or from African ships. Slaves subject to imprisonment when seized for master's debts. Has known them

them lie long in gaol, and then fold, if the debt 1791.  
not paid. ~

Is of opinion white mechanics can do equally as much labour in Jamaica, if under shelter, as in England out of doors, at proper hours.

Believes there are now more drougths in Jamaica than formerly, on account of so much land having been cleared. Has heard many elderly natives say, they never formerly wanted seasonable weather.

Has seen many Guinea sailors lying about the towns, and travelling in the country full of ulcers; seemed very miserable people: a very great proportion of those in Kingston hospital are Guineamen.

Few estates but what have runaway negroes. When the number is sufficient to make it worth while, book-keepers from the different estates, armed with a musket and a couteau, hunt after them in the woods. They fire at them at times, but not with a view of P. 199. killing them. Never knew any killed on such occasions.

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Witness examined—Captain Cook.

Captain Cook, of the 89th regiment, was in Bar-P. 199. badoes, St. Lucia, St. Kitt's, &c. in 1780 and 1781. Thought the negroes in the towns were treated with very great severity. He saw a woman named Rachel Lawder beat a female slave most unmercifully; having bruised her head almost to a jelly with the heel of her shoe, she threw her with great force on the seat of a child's necessary, and then tried to stamp her head through the hole, and would have murdered her if not prevented by two officers. The girl's crime was the not bringing money enough from on board ship, where she was sent by her mistress for the purpose of prostitution.

A domestick slave, an excellent servant, and in general well respected by the officers on whom he attended

1791. tended at mess, having made a mistake on an errand for  
 some cards, his mistress, a person of respectable con-  
 dition, calling him by name said, Go to the jumper (to  
 P. 200. whom she paid 20s. a year to flog her negroes) give  
 my service to him, and tell him to give you 27  
 lashes, with which the poor creature was obliged to  
 comply. The company was displeas'd, and the of-  
 ficers left the house.

Two young ladies of fortune, sisters, one of whom  
 was displeas'd at the pregnancy of a female slave  
 belonging to the other, by the son of the surgeon at-  
 tending the estate, proceeded to some very derogatory  
 acts of cruelty. With their own garters they tied  
 the young woman neck and heels, and then beat her  
 almost to death with the heels of their shoes: one of  
 her eyes continued a long while after in danger of  
 being lost. They afterwards continued to use her  
 ill, confining and degrading her. Captain Cook  
 came in during the beating, and was an eye witness  
 of it himself.

Neither in these nor any similar instances (and he  
 could mention others) did the slave obtain any legal  
 redress, nor does he know of any redress from law for  
 the worst injuries, nor even of punishment for the  
 murder of slaves. Two slaves were murdered and  
 thrown into the road during his stay, yet no legal in-  
 quiry took place that he ever heard of. This ex-  
 cited his frequent inquiries from persons of all ranks  
 and descriptions, and the universal answer was, that  
 they did not choose to make examples of white men  
 there, fearing it might be attended with dangerous  
 consequences.

He never knew an instance of any endeavour to  
 conceal cruelties of this kind. Being on a visit to  
 General Frear at an estate of his in Barbadoes, and  
 riding one morning with the General and two other  
 officers, they saw near a house upon a dunghill, a  
 naked negro nearly suspended by strings from his  
 P. 201. elbows backwards, to the bough of a tree, with his  
 feet barely resting upon the ground, and an iron  
 weight

weight round his neck, at least, to appearance, of 1791. 14lb. weight: and thus without one creature near him, or apparently near the house, was this wretch left exposed to the noon-day sun. Returning a few hours after they found him in the same state, and would have released him but for the advice of General Frear, who had an estate in the neighbourhood. The gentlemen through disgust shortened their visit, and returned the next morning.

The inferior white people, however, have a general impression, that they are punishable by law if they inflict more than 39 lashes at one time on a negro.

This law may be evaded by splitting a crime into many, and by intervals, dividing the times; and of this where slaves are punished at home, there are daily instances. Returning home one evening late with Major Fitch of the 90th regiment, they heard most dreadful cries, and on approaching the square at Bridge-Town, found they proceeded from the house of a man that sold liquor, and heard the repeated lashes of a whip on a creature whom they conceived to be dying. On their requesting admission, the cruelty seemed to be wantonly increased, which so provoked them that they broke open the door, and found a negro girl of about 19 chained to the floor, almost expiring with agony and loss of blood. The man taking refuge behind his compter from their indignation, and P. 202. thinking himself free from the law, immediately cried out with exultation, that he had only given her 39 lashes at a time, and that only three times since the beginning of the night. He then threatened them for breaking his door, and interfering between him and his slave, whom he would flog to death for all any one, and have given her the fourth 39 lashes before morning, which must have killed her as she seemed then to be dying.

When masters were embarrassed their slaves always suffered in clothes and food; they often suffered in the same manner from the rapacity of managers in the absence of their masters.

The

1791. The slaves on large estates, the managers being in general more respectable men, seemed happier than those on the smaller.

Female slaves in the towns are very frequently let out for prostitution, or at least on paying a weekly sum to their owners, have leave to go on board the ships of war for that purpose. This is common with the inferiour people, and frequent even among the better sort. He has known a girl severely punished by her owner for returning without the full wages of her prostitution.

P. 203. On some estates of the better kind, care was taken of those whom age or infirmity had rendered no longer serviceable, and easy offices were assigned them, so that some have grown extremely old, and been useful to the last: but among the inferiour, and sometimes among the most opulent, the reverse is the case; they have been dismissed to poverty and distress: and he does not believe that there is any law to prevent owners from turning such slaves upon the publick, to starve and die in the streets.

He has no doubt, and he speaks from many instances, that white people by habits of temperance, and regularity of hours, might bring themselves to go through nearly as much labour and fatigue in the West Indies as any people whatever.

It does not appear to him that the absence of the owner is in general hurtful to the slave, but that it has sometimes been much so, on one estate in particular, where the manager made a larger fortune than his master.

In general among the white people, and particularly the women, even of the better families, they believe, and endeavour to propagate an opinion, that the negroes are an inferiour species of being.

The clearing of Barbadoes has been thought prejudicial to the fertility of the island, the trees formerly having attracted showers that do not now fall so frequently as before.

He

He has known both mulattoes and African negroes purchase their freedom, but never a field slave. 1791.

When resident at Barbadoes, two instances of negro suicide occurred. A slave who had fled from home for some crime he had committed, was lost for several weeks. Being accidentally met by a man whose business it is to take up runaway negroes, and two assistants with him; the negro too much intimidated to fly, cried out to them, "I will not be taken alive; you and I have lived many years together, and why should we hurt each other." So, brandishing his hanger, he said, "Keep off," and immediately stabbed himself. In the other instance, a slave jumped into a well to avoid punishment for a murder he had committed through jealousy. P. 204.

When up in the country, he heard it said by the manager of an estate, that an old man, whose office it had long been to flog the negroes, could strike with a whip of 7 feet long or longer, so exactly, as to lodge the point of the lash just within the flesh, where it would remain, till picked out with his finger and thumb. The manager offered to shew the experiment, and tendered wagers that he succeeded once in three times, which were of course declined. Negroes, when flogged in the country, are laid on their belly, with a negro at each hand and foot to raise them from the ground. In towns, they stand bare in the open streets, and expose their posteriors to the jumper. He has been shocked to see in the streets of Bridge-Town, a girl of 16 or 17, a domestic slave, running on her ordinary business, with an iron collar, having two hooks projecting several inches both before and behind. P. 205.

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Witness Examined—Mr. WILLIAM FITZMAURICE.

Was in Jamaica from June, 1771, to March, 1786 P. 205.  
As overseer the last ten years, the former time book-keeper,  
Numb. 4. P

1791. keeper, except the first six months, when he was  
 ~~~~~ clerk to a store in Kingston.

In towns slaves were usually flogged on the wharfs, (where they were sent, because the place was public, and for the conveniency of the crane and weights, p, 206.) They are stript, tied up to the crane, with one or two fifty-fixes to their feet, and a handkerchief round them for decency, and flogged with 39 lashes, probably more. Others were sent to the work-houses and flogged every morning, or every monday morning, according to the master's disposition. The punishment was generally so severe, as to cut them and bring blood, so as to make their frocks, if immediately put on, appear as stiff as buckram. He never knew it inflicted by a magistrate's order.

Pregnant women were very often flogged as described, and frequently miscarried from severe whippings.

P. 206. This mode of punishment continued the same during all his stay in the island.

Negroes provision-grounds were always distant from their houses, sometimes three miles off; and sometimes where it was with great difficulty they got at them.

The slaves of involved masters were always pinched in provisions, at storms or hurricanes.

Slaves provision-grounds, if near the cane-pieces, and the owner wishes to enlarge his estate, are always taken from them, and put into canes. Other grounds are given them, and perhaps a day weekly allowed them to bring it to perfection. This is often attended with the greatest destruction to the negroes, who go about new grounds or to new houses with great reluctance. He has changed negroes to a far healthier situation, and lost many from the effect of the change on their spirits.

Some negro houses are pretty dry, but most of them are open to the weather, being wattled without plaster. They sleep on a board on the ground, near the fire, and after it goes out, they suffer from cold
 and

and damp. This causes many disorders, especially 1791.
to lying-in-women, who lose more children by this
than any other cause, as they generally die of the
locked jaw.

Weakly-handed estates, which are far the most P. 207.
numerous, form their negroes in crop, into two
spells, which generally change at 12 at noon, and 12
at night. The boilers, and others about the works,
cut canes from shell-blow, half past one, till dark;
when they carry cane-top, or grass to the cattle-
pens, and then may rest till 12 at night, when they
relieve the spell in the boiling-house, by which they
themselves were relieved at 12 in the day. On all
estates, the boiling goes on night and day, except
sunday. But well-handed estates have three spells,
and intermissions accordingly.

After crop, they form two gangs, if tolerably well P. 217.
handed. The shell blows for turning out at 4 or 5
o'clock, or earlier. It depends on the overseer.
They work till 10: have a quarter or perhaps half
an hour for breakfast; work till one, when shell
blows for dinner: if a rainy season, to take advan-
tage of it, they work till the rain falls, which is two
o'clock, perhaps later. He now speaks of the season-
able parts of the island. They have about an hour
and half for dinner, and half an hour to get into the
field, so as that the last shall get there exactly at the
end of two hours; if not they are generally flogged.
They often run to their grounds, which may be dis-
tant, to get provisions for supper. Hence loss of
time, and frequent flogging. From dinner they
work till dark, when they trash cattle-pens, or carry
home grass. Then the book-keeper calls the list.
When they get home, it may be about 8 o'clock.
This exaction is grievous, as the willing ones must
wait till the lazy are brought up; and it causes whip-
ping to those who neglect it. Some estates do not
exact this duty, but most do.

Various works are considered as detached jobs
from the field-work, as hoeing intervals, which they

1791. can do before day; also moulding the cattle-pens, chopping up dung, making mortar, and other preparations for tradesmen. These are called before-day jobs, which must be done, so as not to hinder the general work.

He never knew but one instance of work being done by task. He hired 60 negroes, all American; from a Mr. Douglas, and they had a task every morning measured out to them by Mr. D. or his overseer, and which they finished by 1 or 2 o'clock, and had the rest of the day to themselves. The driver carried no whip, and only went occasionally to see that the work was properly done. The plantation negroes, on the adjoining land, would not finish till dark (even with the driver) the same quantity of work. From this he thinks, tasks (of work that admit of it) would be to the ease of the negroes.

P. 219. From the negroes working, as they commonly do, in rows, with the driver after them with his whip, it almost necessarily follows that the weak will be hard pushed to make them keep up with the strong. He is sorry to say, that from this cause, many negroes are hurried to the grave; as the able, even if placed with the weakly to bring them up, will leave them behind, and then the weakly are generally severely flogged up by the driver, considered as worthless, and perhaps kept all noon to bring up their rows.

It is the overseer and book-keeper's duty to attend particularly to the negro-grounds. The lazy, or those who give trouble by asking for food, are collected by the driver every Sunday morning, and on the days for working their grounds, (allowed every other week as the overseer chose) and kept to work in a gang, in clearing provision-ground, or putting in order those they have.

Negroes often go 18 or 20 miles to the Sunday market, as he particularly knew the last four years he was in Jamaica. These journies are very hurtful to the Negroes, and it is almost impossible to prevent them.

He

He never heard of a common field-slave buying his freedom. Has known negroes who had saved a little money; generally head-carpenters, &c, endeavour to do it. Some masters have sold them their freedom, when or the border of becoming invalids, and where the estate was not mortgaged. On the last estate on which he lived, a very old, yet valuable man, who was head cattle-man, asked him to speak to the attorney to get him his freedom; but the estate being mortgaged it could not be done. (Africans who have been many years tradesmen or headmen, may probably buy their freedom when old, p. 232).

1791.

P. 220.

Very often, especially in the towns, the poorer whites and Jews let their negroes work out, and pay them a certain weekly sum. Many who have no trades, are pushed very hard to do this, and often skulk into the country, rob on estates, are chopped or maimed by watchmen, or sent to gaol as run-aways. Handsome women are obliged to bring home more money than ordinary, it being expected they will be kept by whites or free persons. This is much the practice in Kingston and Spanish town, where he was a good deal. Old negroes past labour, especially those of Jews, are desired to provide for themselves, and he is sorry to say often suffer by hunger, or rough treatment, when caught stealing on the estates.

On some estates, where the proprietor lives, the doctor may attend twice a week, which is generally expected; but where the proprietor is absent, and the attorney 30, 50, or 100 miles off, the negroes often suffer very severely indeed, for want of medical care. The doctors are often young and inexperienced, which is generally attended with very fatal effects and certain ruin to the owner, as he knows from experience. The ordinary care of the sick depends on the hot house (hospital) man or woman, who bleed, dress sores, and give medicine, as directed by the doctor or overseer. Resident planters allow the hot-house person

P. 221.

son

1791. son a little wine, by the doctor's order; but, on absentee's estates, the overseer, even if so humane as to give it out of his own pocket, is perhaps distant from town, and has no wine. Attornies, generally do not give it, alledging it would not be allowed in their accounts: they always told him so, when he wrote for wine for the sick. He knows some, whose estates are in their own possession, who send out wine from hence; but this is not general. After long droughts, negroes are apt to get fluxes, by eating green vegetables, or bad flour, especially the former.

He lived with proprietors who wished to encourage propagation; but they are often obliged to push them, for good crops. He lived with others who desired to push them, and with whom the loss of a few negroes or stock was nothing compared to large crops, to satisfy their creditors.

Negroes particularly suffer in the hands of mortgagees. In general people in debt push constantly to get out of it, and to raise their credit to buy negroes, which he has known them buy, when, probably, they could not get credit for any other commodity. There is a custom, in Jamaica, of obtaining negroes on bond and judgment.

Some years ago, it was an old saying, in St. Thomas in the Vale (or Sixteen-Mile-Walk) that if a negroe lived 7 years, he paid for himself. The work was so hard there that it was proverbial, "A Sixteen-Mile-Walk book-keeper, and a Clarendon mule, are the two hardest animals in the country." Several proprietors told him, they considered a child born and reared on the estate to be a dear negro, and overseers generally dislike breeding, as interfering with the work of the women. He has known other proprietors take pleasure in seeing the women breed. Many infants die of the locked jaw, within the 14th day, which he believes, from his last six years experience, is chiefly owing to cold and uncleanness. The lying-in women generally have large fires in their rooms, which being often broken, let in the cold,

cold, and when the fire goes out a severe chill follows, by which the infant suffers. A great many die of yaws which require great cleanliness. When overseer, he has been directed to attend to the rearing of children; but speaking generally, from his own knowledge, infants had not the requisite care. Believes the stock of slaves could not be kept up or increased on the present system; it would take some time to bring about. He means the easing the negroes, which he thinks might be done, by using the plough on every estate, and, where it can run, putting in the canes after it.

1791.

P. 223.

On Raimesberry estate, in Clarendon, the negroes increased so fast, that a gang of them was drawn off to settle a new estate called Yarmouth, which he had the care of, but the settlement was discontinued, from the change of the attorney. On Orange in St. James's no negroes were bought, for at least 15 years, and they increased; as also on Eden in the same parish. He lived on both these estates. Negroes worked moderately may be increased. He has known estates where the negroes were worked severely hard, they increased and decreased nearly equal.

Nothing is more common, than negroes suffering by change of management; as new overseers, as well as inexperienced overseers, push the negroes to make greater crops than their predecessors. P. 224.

A gentleman had two estates in Clarendon, one of which Mr. F. managed. He had too few negroes for both, but enough for one. He was also much in debt, and his negroes suffering from being overwrought. He put both gangs on one estate, which were amply sufficient, is now making 400 hogsheads of sugar, and is a clear man. Both estates did not before make 150 hogsheads. Most of the time he was his own overseer. Mr. F. never knew he bought any negroes since then, which is about 13 years ago. But cannot speak of this as a fact.

In St. Thomas in the Vale, on the estate of a gentleman lately deceased, by over-pushing, most of the negroes

1791. negroes were destroyed, while he was in England.

On his return, his estates were almost without negroes and those that lived were taken by writs of Venditioni, and judgments against him to a large amount. Mr. F. bought, at a sale, 50 odd, to cover a debt for a house in Kingston. Two of his estates were thrown up when Mr. F. left the island, the other three are in the hands of mortgagees. Another estate, within three miles of Montego bay, was making from P. 225. 180 to 200 hogsheds, with an adequate strength, when it was put in possession of mortgagees. In twelve years it was reduced to 10 hogsheds. The slaves were destroyed, by making an unnecessary canal in swamps. It was brought to sale in 1788, bought by the mortgagee, and is now brought up to its former crops. The proprietor of the estate was most of the time in England. The overseer of it made 10,000*l.* and retired.

When overseer on an estate in St. John's, the estate being short handed, Mr. F. mentioned to the proprietor that he would not take off the crop with the negroes and cattle. He told Mr. F. to drive them without mercy, as the loss of a few negroes and stock was no object compared to sending home his crop in time. Mr. F. left him about the end of crop, because he would not see 100 lashes given to a domestic, not immediately under his direction, and who he did not think deserved this punishment.

He has known the plough used on many estates with advantage, as it eases the negroes, and pulverizes the soil. (But some soils do not require pulverizing, p. 226.) Dove-Hall, in St. Thomas in the Vale, plows 40 or 50 acres every fall. He has known Mr. Edwards only put in canes after the plough without holing, except on an estate Mr. Pinnock is attorney for, and which made great returns. The chief obstacle to the plough is, that managers have not time to adopt it, looking for immediate labour, and often there is not a blacksmith within 15 miles to repair it.

He

He has often attempted plowing and has been obliged, by these obstacles, to leave it off. 1791.

In some cases, the Doctor's visits are a considerable check on the overseers severity, where the proprietor lives on the estate. But when the attorney lives perhaps 20, 30, 40, or even 100 miles off, then it is the interest of the overseer and doctor, not to find fault with each other.

He is sorry to say, he never knew recourse had to legal redress for wanton cruelty to slaves. Has known people, a Mr. Rushie in particular, whom he had occasion to see, almost daily, commit cruelties which brought negroes to their end. He caught him, one day, in the act of hanging a negroe. On his remonstrating, Rushie ordered him off his estate. He rode away and informed his employer, who was a magistrate and who desired him to go and inquire the next morning, before R. was up, whether the negro was dead. This Mr. F. did; and on privately asking a white man, he desired Mr. F. to go into the curing-house, when he saw the negro lying dead on a board. He returned and told what he had seen to his employer, who was very much shocked; but Mr. F. heard nothing more of it. It was well known this man killed many of his negroes, and that so fast, as to force him to sell his estate. Cases of this kind, he cannot say, are frequent; but severity, and hard work certainly cause a constant decrease of the able negroes. No attempt was made to bring Rushie to P. 227. punishment. His character was generally known, and much despised by the neighbouring proprietors. He thinks, his employer desired him to make the above inquiry more from curiosity than an intention to enforce the law against Rushie, with whom he was on decent terms. He and his employer often visited him, and always found his negroes laid up with cruelties, and those that could work chained to the coppers, or, in gangs linked in the field. Other cruelties he practised, were too indecent to be mentioned. He often found Rushie dropping hot lead

1791. on his negroes, but took no notice of it; as he wished nobody to see him acting those cruelties. He did not interfere; because he got his bread from employers, and did not wish to be disliked, or called officious, p. 231). Other acts of cruelty are often practised, according to the disposition or viciousness of the master or overseer. An overseer he knew well, (and who, as before said, brought down an estate, by the countenance of the mortgage-in-possession, from 180 to 10 hogsheads) was charged with gelding a negro on the estate, for riding out his horses at night, and he believes justly; as afterwards Mr. F. knew he gelt a negro of his own: on which the troop of horse he was captain of, and in which Mr. F. served, objected to do duty with him.

P. 228. He cannot say field slaves, in general, appeared to him marked with the whip. Where there are cruel managers, and large crops exacted, the effects are visible on the negroes.

Negroes are often driven by severity to run away. They go to their masters or attornies, if within reach; but when the attorney lives perhaps 70 or 100 miles off, they prefer going into the woods, being generally taken up as runaways before the journey's end. Planters who employ distant attornies, are sure to suffer by it. Runaways, when caught, are whipped and confined, or if the manager is humane, perhaps forgiven; but they are generally punished to deter others.

He never saw mutilation actually inflicted; but on an estate where he was book-keeper, there was a negro, whose master had had his leg cut off, and had made him a blacksmith. The master said he had, by so doing, made him his most valuable negro; as he did all the iron-work of the three estates, and, before that, he was always running away.

It was generally understood that whipping was limited to 39 lashes: but it is often evaded by putting the negro into the stocks, and giving him 39 more, for the same offence, next day. Hasty and

vicious

vicious people would give perhaps 100 lashes, and if the negro died from it, (which however he never knew) where the owner or attorney lived not near enough, they escaped unpunished. 1791.

Has known too many suicides, among new negroes especially, both by hanging themselves and by dirt-eating, which they knew to be fatal. He lost, one year, 12 new negroes by it, though he fed them well. On his remonstrating, they constantly told him, they preferred dying to living. A great proportion of the new negroes that go on sugar estates, die in this way. P. 229.

They are always talking of their being taken away, and kidnapped, from their country, and of the hardship of slavery.

Nothing is more common than persons buying new negroes, before they have sufficient provision-grounds, and other accommodations for them: and the masters finding it very difficult to buy provisions, the negroes feel hunger, before they can establish grounds, and soil and seasons are often against their raising provisions. Hence such negroes are often lost. New negroes in towns, are better off, being generally employed in the house, and fed weekly.

A man may be attorney for from 1 to 20 estates, according to his interest. He knows several who are attorneys for a great number, in various parts of the island, perhaps at the distance of 10, 30, 60, or 80 miles, or more, as it happened. P. 230.

Some overseers have premiums for all they make, above a certain number of hogsheads; but this is not the common mode. Attornies have salaries or commissions. Believes attornies on most mortgaged estates, draw commissions on the net crops, as well as on what they buy on the island for the use of the estates; and they accumulate great riches.

Some overseers have negroes, others have not; but generally they convert their salaries into negroes. If allowed to work them on the estates where they themselves

1791. themselves live, it causes a jealousy between the manager's and the plantation negroes.

Thinks, on an average at least one-third of the new negroes imported into the island, die in the first three years, and three men die to one woman as he has experienced. The men take every thing unpleasant to heart, and often kill themselves. The women have many protections the men have not, as being taken as wives by the plantation negroes, or being made domestics.

P. 231. In the last four years he was in Jamaica, he bought 95 new negroes; at the end of that time, he sold 52, all that were alive, and those not seasoned. Had he kept them till seasoned, he should have lost more, and for this very reason he sold them.

The lower whites too often looked on the negroes as inferior beings, and often beat them, unless checked by the attorneys or overseers.

He only knew one attempt made to give the negroes religious instruction, and that was by a proprietor in Liguanea, who encouraged one or two American negroes, who professed to be capable to give his negroes some religious notions. But the neighbours considered this as dangerous, by assembling too many negroes, who might be mutinous. The aforesaid gang of 80 American negroes, after work, went to prayers; they were a valuable gang, and worked task-work for him about nine months.

P. 232. The cane land is generally as fit for cotton, coffee, or other articles.

Though domestics may not be the best slaves, they appear so, as the house soon makes a visible change on them.

He has been at twenty sales by scramble, at least. No particular care was taken to prevent the separation of relations, except sucking children, or those under three or four years.

Sales by venditioni are very frequent, where levies are made. He has known them three months or longer

longer

longer in prison, before sale. But this depends on 1791.
occasional circumstances.

Refuse slaves are sold according to their appearance, some as low as three dollars. They are generally bought by the Jews in towns, at vendue or at private sale.

He has always, as overseer, given in to the vestries, the annual returns of slaves, stock, &c. and, as vestry-man, (in 1786, in St. Thomas, in the Vale, where he possessed land and negroes) has received such returns, in which it was not usual to distinguish the sexes.

Has very frequently seen Guinea sailors wandering about the island, in an abject state.

Witness examined,—Mr. THOMAS CLAPPESON.

Was at Jamaica in 1762 and 1763; from 1768 to P. 207. 1778, and 1786 to 1789. The general opinion he formed, was, that the slaves were severely treated, and in a miserable state.

Thinks that, in general, the food which they can obtain, is insufficient.

For the first 2 years, he was in the seafaring line, P. 208. the rest of the time wharfinger and pilot.

Had opportunities of seeing many negroes from the estates; such as he asked, as to their feeding, generally said (particularly in droughts, when provisions were scarce) "Hungry da kill me."

Very commonly suffer both in quality and quantity of food, from the embarrassments of their masters: has known several who had not credit for provisions; others who bought, for cheapness, damaged corn, &c. when better was to be had; which he has himself sold, and which the slaves complained of, when they came to fetch it from the wharf; a neighbour told him his hogs would not eat it.

Knew

1791. Knew a person near him, reputed worth £50,000
 lose 10 or 12 slaves for want of food, when it was to
 be had.
- P. 209. Slaves generally steal provisions, soap, candles, &c.
 which they sometimes steal to sell.
 They are generally ill clothed; never knew any
 go naked from choice.
 The punishments appeared in general severe, to
 the fear of which he chiefly attributes the frequent
 desertions.
 Knew a pregnant woman whipped, and delivered
 on the spot.
 Has heard of very great severities to runaways; has
 seen them wear iron collars on their necks, and pot-
 hooks, with 3 prongs, both rivetted; the prongs pro-
 jecting 2 feet; thinks the wearer cannot easily lye
 down.
 Never heard of slaves obtaining any redress for in-
 juries, by masters or overseers.
- P. 210. An overseer told him, he had often picketed the
 slaves to extort confession.
 Knew a cooper give his slave 200 lashes, for steal-
 ing a little rice from him. He allowed his slaves a
 herring a day, and a bit a week.
 The wharfinger whom he succeeded in 1786, al-
 lowed his negroes a herring a day only.
 Knew, in 1789, a man who had an old decrepid
 woman slave, to whom he would allow nothing. He
 remonstrated with him on it, in vain.
 Slaves are often imprisoned on writs of venditioni;
 at the sale of such, never heard of any attention to
 avoid separating families.
- P. 211. The general recommendation of an overseer is,
 good sugars and large quantities; has known an
 overseer paid a guinea per hoghead, besides his sa-
 lary, for all he could make beyond a certain quan-
 tity.
 Has known several persons attorney and overseer
 on the same estate.

1791.



Slaves are supposed better off where the owner resides; has heard it always supposed, that the better they are treated, the more it is for the owner's interest.

It is common for persons who have a few slaves, and but little work, to oblige them to earn 3 or 4 bits a day, and punish them very severely if they fail to bring home such sum; has known them steal grass and sell it to do this: knew a man compel his old negro, wanting a leg, to pay him 4 bits a day.

African negroes are capable of being made mechanics.

They destroy themselves sometimes, from various causes; fear of punishment, jealousy, &c. it is a very prevailing opinion with them, that at death they return to their own country. P. 212.

Has often heard of their being kidnapped in Africa: he had a slave who had been a negro-catcher in his own country.

Has seen several slave sales on board, all by scramble. In 1789, saw a sale by scramble in a butcher's slaughter-house on the beach. Never heard of any precautions at scrambles, to prevent the separation of relations or friends. Thinks whites, if temperate, are able to labour in Jamaica; he never worked harder than he has done there; no people work harder than our sailors do there.

Has heard, that clearing the lands, has, near the sea coast, caused more drought.

In his returns to the vestry of the number of slaves, he never used to distinguish the sexes.

The free negroes in general behaved well, they were fishermen and tradesmen. P. 213.

Has heard of several people buying more slaves than they could pay for.


Has heard often seamen say, that in Guinea ships, the crews are ill treated, to make them desert; has always understood, that they did not want to carry home as many seamen as they took out; that they
got

1791. got rid of what they could in the West Indies, to
 save their wages.
- P. 214. Was in Jamaica when the assembly passed the consolidated law; he has often heard it was passed because of the stir about the slave trade in England. Never heard that any regard was paid to it, slaves being still treated as before. Never heard of any prosecution for such disregard: recollects an instance of disregard to it, which came under his eye. The owner of an old and decrepid female slave, would allow her neither victuals nor clothing; advised a son of the woman to complain to a magistrate, who would perhaps order her to be taken care of; believes he was deterred from fear of punishment, as that owner treated his slaves very harshly in general.

Witness examined—WILLIAM BEVERLEY, Esq.
 A Student of Lincoln's Inn.

- P. 215. Was born in Virginia, and lived there the first 16 years of his life, returned in 1786, and resided above two years in different parts of America.
- The negroes in Virginia always kept up their numbers, and generally increased. His father's more than doubled their numbers. In 1761 he had about 200, and in 1788, he paid taxes on above 540, of whom not above 20 or 30 had been added by purchase.
- P. 216. Slaves there had no legal redress, for ill usage by their masters. In other cases they had, on proving the fact by two white witnesses.
- In summer, negroes were generally healthier than in winter, when they always complained of the cold, though it did not hurt their health, when well clothed. The diseases most fatal there are agues and fevers, in summer, to which negroes are less subject than whites.

They

They were generally punished with much severity; but that depends greatly on the owner's disposition. 1790. 

Each slave had a bushel of Indian corn meal weekly: besides this allowance, they usually had ground to cultivate for their own use; but this depended a good deal on the master. They were all allowed to raise poultry.

He never heard of any attempts to give the slaves religious or moral instruction.

Has heard of some slaves working by task; but, in general, it was not practised.

Never knew a slave destroy himself.

The slaves of distant proprietors were often treated, P. 232. by the overseers, much more severely, than those under the master's eye. This different treatment was observable in the appearance of the slaves.

Was told in America, that when the abolition of the slave-trade was first agitated in 1774, many doubted the practicability of keeping up the numbers by births; and the persons so doubting have since expressed to him a conviction that their fears were groundless. The slave-trade was abolished in America in 1774.

Witness examined—Mr. GEORGE WOODWARD.

Mr. George Woodward is both an owner and P. 233. mortgagee of W. India property, in Barbadoes; where he resided in 1782 and 1783, and was also P. 234. in 1777.

Both in town and country he thought the domestics very numerous. There seemed to be more females than males in the island. While resident, he never heard any complaint of the want of negroes to carry on plantation or other business. He does not recollect the sale of a single cargo of slaves while

1791. there. The labour of slaves the year round he thinks cannot be reckoned easy.

It is possible in a great degree to relieve the labour of slaves by the plough. He has used it himself: the first he ever saw, he took over himself, and he is sure it tilled the ground better than the hoe did. One plough, two men, and four horses, will do as much work as thirty negroes, and better. The labour of holding the plough is much easier than holing. It did not require much negro labour to prepare the ground for the cane after the plough.

P. 235. There is not much difficulty of ploughing to the depth of six inches, which is the rule, and a sufficient depth for the cane. The plough may be made to plough the strongest clay land that is.

The negroes are capable of learning the management of the plough. He thinks that the largest part of the cane land and ginger land of Barbadoes may be ploughed to the advantage of the proprietor, and saving of negroes labour. The negroes are not averse to the plough: he has seen them both hold and drive it. He did not find the cattle injured by the labour. He is acquainted with the use of the plough in England, he farms land of his own. Capt. Lee took out some ploughs about 3 years ago.

He is not apprehensive that the abolition of the slave trade will injure his W. India property. He thinks it would be of advantage to the island of Barbadoes. By using them well, and by good management, the stock of slaves would naturally increase, without importation.

Witness examined—Mr. JOSEPH WOODWARD.

Mr. Joseph Woodward has been in Barbadoes in 1788, 1789 and 1790. He has there seen the plough in use by Mr. Henry Trotman, jun. He believes he has used it many years.

Mr.

Mr. Trotman informed him that he thought til- 1791.
lage by the plough both better and cheaper than the labour of negroes with the hoe. The soil that he ploughed was not the best, it was rather rocky. Mr. Trotman told him, that the plough then answered his purpose, and in time would become general, when people became acquainted with its utility.

He once at Bridgetown saw a negro lying on the wharf, so very much debilitated that he could not stand, and heard from him, that his owner would not take him in. He appeared about 60 years old. P. 237.

He has known free negroes hire themselves to stow sugars in the ships hold; he has known them so employed on board his own ship. He knows no labour either of blacks or whites more severe than this is.

Witness examined—Mr. JAMES KIERNAN.

Was in Africa in 1775, 1776, 1777, and 1778, to learn the nature of the trade, to carry it on. P. 237.

The trade for slaves in the R. Senegal, where he resided, was chiefly with the Moors, on the northern banks, who got them very often by war, and not seldom by kidnapping; i. e. lying in wait near a village, where there was no open war, and seizing whom they could.

Has often heard of villages, and seen the remains of such, broken up by making the people slaves. P. 238.

Has always heard kidnapping spoken of there as notorious; and has seen proofs of it by persons so taken being ransomed; when, very often, the white trader asks more than the value of the slave, to give him up: never heard of a white trader, before buying a slave, inquire into the right of the feller.

1791.

Never knew any person sold for witchcraft; a belief in it exists strongly on that part of the coast.

The first year, by far the greatest number of slaves were offered to sale, from an open war then subsisting between the Moors and negroes: to which P. 239. the Moors have always a strong inducement, most of the European goods they obtain, being got in exchange for slaves. Hence desolation and waste: in a few years, they extirpated large settlements on the northern banks of the Senegal, and in time they were expected to root out all the black nations between the Senegal and Gambia. The Moors neither follow nor encourage agriculture.

Believes, that to be sold to Europeans, is considered by all negroes from inland, as well as on the coast, as a punishment only short of death.

The inhabitants of the island of St. Louis, are estimated at about 5000, who are supplied with cattle by the Moors, and with corn by the blacks only.

Ships bound to the W. Indies were supplied by the blacks with large quantities of corn, which the slaves preferred to any other food.

The blacks on the south banks of the Senegal raise cotton, indigo, and tobacco, sufficient for their use.

Knows the negroes manufacture cotton, leather, and metals, for they supply Senegal with clothing, articles of leather, and ornaments of gold and silver: they dye some of their cottons very finely, blues and scarlets; believes their consumption of cotton cloths is very considerable.

Never knew the natives backward in supplying any considerable demand for provisions, when properly encouraged.

Never knew the natives encouraged by Europeans to raise for sale other produce than provisions.

Persons of property there, have a great number of persons under the denomination of slaves, whom they

they treat as Europeans would people of their own family. 1791.

Witness examined—HENRY BOTHAM, Esq.

Went to the W. Indies 1770, and, in about two P. 241.
years, visited all the islands, English and French,
and was employed by government in Grenada, to
ascertain the difference of property there between
the old and new subjects.

He was not long a planter in the W. Indies. He
directed Messrs. Bosanquet and Fatio's sugar estate
there, in their partner's absence; but he carried on
sugar works many years at Bencoolen, in the East
Indies.

He has examined the account, in the P. Council's
Report, of the mode of cultivating sugar in the East
Indies, and it is the same which he delivered in.
He drew it up from having long considered the sub-
ject, and, since he delivered it to the P. Council,
sees no reason to make any alteration in it.

The following is an Abridgment of the said ac-
count:

“ Mr. Botham on the Mode of cultivating a
“ Sugar Plantation in the East Indies, &c.”

Having been 2 years in the English and French
W. India islands, and since conducted sugar estates
in the E. Indies; it may be desirable to know that P. 242.
sugar, better and cheaper than that in our islands,
and also arrack, are produced in the E. Indies, by
the labour of free people. China, Bengal, and the
coast of Malabar, produce quantities of sugar and
spirits; but, as the most considerable sugar estates
are near Batavia, I shall explain the improved mode
of conducting those estates. The proprietor is ge-
nerally a rich Dutchman, who has built on it sub-
stantial works. He rents the estate (say of 300 or
more acres) to a Chinese, who lives on and superin-
tends

1791. tends it, and who re-lets it to free men, in parcels of 50 or 60, on condition that they shall plant it in canes for so much for every pecul, 133 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of sugar produced. The superintendant collects people from the adjacent villages to take off his crop. One set of task-men, with their carts and buffaloes, cut the canes, carry them to the mill and grind them. A second set boil them. A third clay and basket them for market, at so much per pecul.

Thus the renter knows with certainty what every pecul will cost him. He has no unnecessary expence, for when crop is over, the task-men go home, and, for 7 months in the year, there only remain on the estate the cane planters, preparing the next crop. By dividing the labour, it is cheaper and better done.

P. 243. Only clayed sugars are made at Batavia, which are equal to the best from the W. Indies, and sold at 18s. per pecul. The Shabander exacts a dollar per pecul on all sugar exported. The price of common labour is from 9d to 10d per day. But the taskmen gain considerably more, not only from extra work, but from being considered artists in their several branches. They do not make spirits on the sugar estates; the molasses and skimmings are sent for sale to Batavia, where one distillery may buy the produce of 100 estates. Here is a vast saving in making spirits, not as in the W. Indies, a distillery for each estate: arrack is sold at Batavia at about 8d. per gallon; the proof of the spirit is about 5-tenths.

After spending two years in the West Indies, I returned to the East in 1776, and in the last war conducted sugar works at Bencoolen, in Sumatra, on nearly the same principles as the Dutch; I confined my expences to what they had done, allowing for the unavoidable charges, on a new and sole undertaking.

The cane is cultivated to the utmost perfection at Batavia; the hoe, almost the sole implement of the West, is there scarcely used; the lands are well ploughed by a light plough with a single buffalo; a drill

drill is then ploughed, and a person with two baskets filled with cane plants, suspended to a stick across his shoulders, drops into the furrow plants alternately from each basket, covering them at the same time with earth with his feet. Young canes are kept often ploughed as a weeding, and the hoe is used to weed round the plant when very young; but of this there is little need if the land has been sufficiently ploughed. When the cane is ready to earth up, the space between the rows, is ploughed deep, the cane-tops tied up, and with an instrument like a shovel, with teeth at the bottom, a spade-handle, and two cords fixed to the body of the shovel, ending by a wooden handle for a purchase, is used by two persons to earth up the cane, the strongest holding the handle of the shovel, pressing it into the ploughed earth, while the other on the opposite side of the plant, by a jirk of the cord, draws up to the plant, all the earth that the plough had loosened. Two persons with this instrument, will earth up more canes in the day than 10 negroes with hoes. The canes in India are much higher earthed than in the West Indies; in moist soils, they, with little labour, earth them as high as the knee, at once making a dry bed for the cane, and a drain for the water.

The improvement in making the cane into sugar, at Batavia, keeps pace with that in its culture: evaporation being in proportion to the surface, their boilers have as much of it as possible. The cane juice is tempered and boiled to a syrup; it is then thrown into vats, which hold one boiling, there sprinkled with water, to subside its foul parts: after standing six hours, is let off by 3 pegs of different heights, into a copper with one fire; it is there tempered again, and reduced to sugar, by a gentle fire; it granulates, and the boiler dipping a wand into the copper, strikes it on the side, then drops the sugar remaining on it, into a cup of water, scrapes it up with his thumb-nail, and can judge to a nicety of the sugar's being properly boiled. The vats I mentioned

1791.

P. 244.

1790. tioned are placed all at the left end of a set of cop-
 pers. After running off for boiling all that is clear,
 P. 245. the rest is strained on the outside of the boiling-
 house; what is fine is put into the copper for sugar,
 the lees kept for distilling.

Claying of sugar is as in the W. Indies. The
 cane trash is not, as in our islands, carried into sheds,
 where it loses much of its strength before it is used;
 but is laid out immediately to dry, then made into
 faggots, set up in cocks, and used immediately when
 dry; hence its force of fire is much greater, and the
 carrying it to and from the trash-house is saved.

The culture of the cane in the West Indies is in
 its infancy. Many alterations are to be made, ex-
 penses, and human labour lessened; the hoe, now
 used to turn up soils of different texture, is of one
 construction, cheap and very light; so that the ne-
 gro, without any help from its weight, digs up the
 earth, (and, the cane roots, on replanting) by the
 severest exertion. In the East we plough up the
 cane roots.

Having experienced the difference of labourers
 for profit, and labourers from force, I can assert, that
 the savings by the former are very considerable.

The West India planter, for his own interest,
 should give more labour to beast, and less to man;
 a larger portion of his estate ought to be in pasture.
 When practicable, canes should be carried to the
 mill, and cane tops and grass to the stock, in wag-
 gons; the custom of making a hard-worked negro
 get a bundle of grass twice a day abolished; and in
 P. 246. short a total change take place of the miserable
 management in our West India islands. By this
 means following, as near as possible, the East India
 mode, consolidating the distilleries, I do suppose
 our sugar islands might be better worked than they
 now are, by two-thirds, or indeed one-half of the
 present force. Let it be considered, how much labour
 is lost by the persons overseeing the forced labourer,
 which is saved when he works for his own profit. I
 have

have stated, with the strictest veracity, a plain matter of fact—that sugar estates can be worked cheaper by free persons than slaves. 1791.

Whether the slave-trade can be abolished, and the blacks freed, is for the consideration of Parliament. In my judgment, these desirable purposes, may be effected without materially injuring the West India planter. He has but to improve his culture, lessen human labour, and the progeny of the present blacks will answer every purpose of working West India estates. [See this account at large in the Privy Council's Report, at the end of Part III.]

The slaves in the French islands appeared to be better cloathed, better fed, and better behaved, than in the British: and their being well fed is chiefly owing to the French planter putting a great proportion of his estate in provisions.

Whether it might or might not be ultimately for the interest of the British planter, and the benefit of his slaves, if he were to allot to provisions, more of the land now destined to sugar, is a question that can only be decided by experiment in the different islands, as the same answer to it would not suit each. In islands that seldom fail in rains, it is no doubt for the planter's interest, to sacrifice a part of the ground allotted for sugar, to provisions; as these feed his negroes better than any dry or other provisions imported: but in islands subject to droughts, he does not think the planter can without materially lessening his crop of sugar, give up any portion of ground to provisions. P. 247.

In 1764, when the East India Company's possessions in Sumatra were returned to them by the French, they were informed by their servants at Bencoolen, that the public works, and other labours of their settlement, could not be carried on without a large supply of slaves; the Company therefore sent slave-ships to Africa and Madagascar, and transported to Bencoolen nearly 1000 slaves, in much the same proportion of men, women, and children, as are

1791. carried from Africa to the West Indies, that is more men, than women and children. These slaves, on the first years of their arrival, from the unhealthiness of the climate, and other causes, decreased: but when they had been at Bencoolen a few years, where they were well fed, humanely treated, and had very little work, they began annually to increase; notwithstanding, from the little attention that was paid to their way of life, both men and women lived in the most abandoned way. The wonder was, that they did increase, as the young female slaves were common prostitutes to the soldiers and sailors.

Witness examined—JOHN SAVAGE, Esq.

P. 247.

Resided in Carolina from 1729 to 1775. Was not a planter, but was repeatedly on many plantations as a visitant for a day or two at a time, and knew the state of negroes there.

Understood labour was performed by task in most operations on estates.

Negroes increased greatly where well clothed and fed; is doubtful if they increased where clothed and fed badly. Heard where masters were harsh, they could not raise children, or but a few.

Where masters were prudent, and kept themselves out of debt, negroes were hearty and strong: hence they got more work out of them than those who did not use them so well, and these were they who made fortunes by planting.

A friend of his, Gabriel Manigault, Esq. informed him, that in 1737 he had on his estate 86 negroes, of whom 12 or 14 were superannuated. The latter he replaced by others. With no more addition than this, they had increased to 270 about a year or two before witness left the country. Mr. Manigault's estate (by purchase) consisted of about 18000 or 19000 acres, 6000 of which were settled, and 12000

or

or 13000 not so; for the latter he had taxes and quit rents to pay for many years till his son came of age, to whom he then gave them. Notwithstanding this charge on the unimproved land, he always made interest of his purchase-money. Mr. M. was a man of humanity, and gave his slaves sufficient clothes, food, and accommodations. 1791.

In the year 1739 there was a duty laid on the importation of slaves to Carolina, which amounted to a prohibition, and which continued to 1744. The purchase of new negroes having involved the planters greatly in debt, was the reason why the legislature laid it.

Witness Examined—JOHN CLAPHAM, Esq.

Was upwards of 20 years in Maryland. Negroes kept up their numbers there by propagation, and increased, so that the overplus in some instances were shipped to the W. Indies. Has known 100 sales, where proprietors have had too many for their use in consequence of increase by propagation; yet they were not thought to be well treated, though better than to the southward, and the climate was subject to great and sudden variety of heat and cold. P. 249.

Attempts were not frequent in Maryland to give religious instruction to negroes.

Witness Examined—ROBERT CREW, Esq.

Is a native of Virginia, and resided there till 1783. Knew the state of the plantation slaves there.

Had sufficient clothing, and as much Indian meal as they could use, and were in general supplied daily with flesh, fish, or something else added to their meal or bread. P. 250.

Overseers on large estates superintended slaves, but

1791. without a whip, as a master on a small estate, or a bailiff would in this country.

Negroes in Virginia increased rapidly without importation, so much so, that it was a general opinion, that it was profitable to hold slaves on this account, exclusive of the profits of their labour.

Treatment was different on different estates. Where the master was involved and did not superintend his own estate, his overseers were directed to make the greatest possible quantities of tobacco, to supply his pressing necessities. Here the slaves were ill used, worked excessively hard, and were not sufficiently fed. Where the proprietor was in good circumstances, and could pursue his own interest, they were not so hard worked, and had better supplies of food and clothing.

P. 251. This severe system in some, though he thinks never so severe in any circumstances (with a few exceptions) as to cause a decrease in their numbers, and indeed small profits of tobacco plantations could not afford fresh supplies, yet had the effect certainly of preventing their increasing so fast as they otherwise would. Such a system was deemed unprofitable.

Spent a few months at Barbadoes and St. Croix. Was struck with the difference of the treatment of slaves there and in Virginia. A driver with a whip stood over them while at work: they were nearly without clothing. These were the obvious differences. No knowledge of particulars. Thinks the use of the whip formed a difference in their treatment considerably to the disadvantage of West Indian slaves.

Thinks the culture of tobacco nearly as laborious as that of sugar; and the climate of Virginia is not so favourable as that of the West Indies, to African constitutions, on account of the severe cold of the winter.

Importation of African slaves into Virginia, has been generally discontinued since 1772.

Witness examined,—HERCULES ROSS, Esq.

Resided chiefly in Jamaica, from 1761, to 1782, 1791. and occasionally in Hispaniola.

Had occasion to be in every parish of the island, P. 252. and to be acquainted with the state and treatment of slaves, which depends on circumstances: under a man of humanity, and where the numbers were equal to the work, they lived happy; it was difficult under one of a different description.

It was not understood they had legal redress against owners or overseers for ill usage; nor against others, unless the owner or manager stood forward to protect them.

He had the mortification of seeing innumerable P. 253. punishments inflicted, many with severity, and he fears, some unjustly. An uncommon one now occurs, though it was long ago, at Savanna la Mar. Hearing, from an inclosure, the cries of some poor wretch under torture, he looked through, and saw a young female suspended by the wrists to a tree, swinging to and fro; her toes could barely touch the ground, and her body exceedingly agitated. The sight rather confounded him, as there was no whipping, and the master just by, seemingly motionless; but on looking more attentively, saw in his hand a stick of fire, which he held so as occasionally to touch her about her private parts as she swung. He continued this torture with unmoved countenance, until the witness calling on him to desist, throwing stones at him over the fence, stopped it. Thinks it right to say, that on mentioning it on the bay, it was heard with universal detestation: the perpetrator was not a man of character: he was not brought to legal punishment. Does not know that the law then extended to the P. 254. punishing whites for such acts.

Slaves in Kingston, when flogged, were tied up by the wrists; if on the wharfs to the crane-hook, with weights

1791. weights to their feet, and the crane wound up so as to extend them greatly; the whip was a cow-skin at first, and then ebony bushes, to take off the bruised blood. A gaol was also a place of correction: in fact, every man's premises was a place of punishment, if he chose; but the wharfs and gaol were used by such as did not choose to disturb the neighbours with the slaves cries; but it was understood that any owner had a right to order such punishments, without a magistrate.

In his residence in Jamaica, it became more cleared and improved, and of course healthier: the stile of living, and manners of the whites, gradually improved, and extended a favourable influence to the state of the slaves.

P. 255. Negroes are as capable of labour in the West Indies, as other people in climates congenial to them: that they are better adapted than whites to that climate, is certain. Negroes on board ships, fed on animal food as the whites, are capable of great exertions. In the last war, on the expedition to St. Juan's, government ordered a number of negroes to be collected, to ease the military; they were chiefly culprits, many taken from gaols, whom the owners were glad to part with; though exhausted by confinement and low diet when shipped, they returned almost to a man, in health, and much improved in looks (having had rations with the rest) while the whites, on that service, suffered great sickness and deaths. Something similar was the case with a greater body of negroes sent from Jamaica, to the siege of the Havannah.

As to slaves suffering from the bad circumstances of owners, unable to buy provisions, in some instances it may be the case, when from storms or other casualties, ground provisions are injured.

Slaves may be seized and sold for their owners debts: whereby near relations are often separated. In Kingston and Spanish town, they are confined in gaols till sold to the highest bidders; some of whom
may

may be foreigners, and carry a part off the island: a hardship which often happens, and to which creoles as well as Africans are subject. 1791.
P. 257.

Has often been at sales of Guinea cargoes. On the day advertised by the agent, buyers attend aboard; at a given hour the sale is declared open, when each exerts himself to get first among the slaves to have a good choice, and the whole of the healthy and likely ones, are often sold that day. There used to be in Kingston many people who bought on speculation those left after the first day's sale, to carry them to the country, and retail them, or to ship them off. Has often seen the very refuse landed and sent to vendue masters in a very wretched state; sometimes in the agonies of death, has known them expire in the piazza of the vendue master. Has seen them sold even as low as a dollar.

Thinks the slave trade has been productive of great destruction to the human race, both blacks and whites; of which he could furnish many instances: one marked with peculiar circumstances of horror, was this.

About 20 years ago, a ship, with about 400 slaves struck on a shoal, half a league from the Morant Keys, (3 small sandy islands, 11 leagues S. S. E. from Jamaica) the officers and crew took to the boats with arms and provisions, and landed. At day light it was found that the slaves had got out of their irons, and were forming rafts, on which they placed the women and children, the men swimming by the side, whilst they drifted towards the little island where the crew had landed; who lest the slaves should consume their provisions, came to the resolution to fire upon them, and actually killed from 3 to 400. Of the cargo, 33 or 34 only were saved, which he saw sold at vendue at Kingston. The ship, he thinks, was consigned to a Mr. Hugh Wallace, of St. Elizabeth's parish.

As it is said to be common when ships are wrecked, for the crew to break up the spirit room and get drunk, he is inclined to think the crew of the Guineaman P. 259.

1791.

neaman must have been drunk to have adopted so horrid a resolution, without first dispatching a boat to Jamaica (5 or 6 hours sail) for assistance. But this is only conjecture, from a persuasion that if they had acted with common discretion, there was no necessity for destroying any of the slaves.

Guinea ships, leaving their seamen behind, was so common as to have been a great nuisance and expense to the people at Kingston, and occasioned a law, obliging the masters of all ships to give security against leaving any disabled seamen behind, or provide for the charge of taking care of them. It was not uncommon for Guinea masters to send on shore a few hours before they sailed, their lame, ulcerated, or sick seamen, leaving them to perish. As to the Guinea trade being a nursery for seamen, he has ever P. 260. considered it the reverse.

As to any compassion between the state of West India slaves and the peasantry of Great Britain, whatever others may think, he considers it as an insult to common sense: the peasantry in this country are obliged to labour it is true; but there is no market for the sale of human beings, where men of all characters may become buyers, and by the laws hold an absolute right in the person purchased. It is impossible to conceive a man so degenerate, as not to prefer the scantiest morsel with freedom and independance, to the luxury enjoyed by the wealthiest slave on earth. A peasant here however poor, cannot be imprisoned for his master's debts; nor purchased without a legal discussion: he beholds his growing family with pleasure, his industry often enables him to give them such an education, as advances them in life, and puts it in their power to comfort his old age: the slave who has reflection, views his offspring with very different feelings; knowing them doomed to eternal slavery, and ignorant of the character of those to whom they may hereafter belong.

His residence in Jamaica for above twenty years of P. 261. the prime of his life, must have given him as perfect a know-

a knowledge of the state of slaves there, as it is possible to acquire. As to the information which may have been got by those holding high commands there he cannot speak decidedly; but if it is meant to know, whether such on occasional visits to estates, were likely to obtain a thorough knowledge of the treatment of slaves, he thinks they could not. 1791.

He has often accompanied Governors and Admirals on their tours there; when, the estates visited (belonging generally to persons of distinction) might be supposed under the best management; besides that all possible care would be taken to keep every disgusting object from view, and on no account, by the exercise of the whip or other punishments, harrow up the feelings of strangers of such distinction.

As to his opinion of the probable effects of the P. 261. abolition of the slave trade, he is at some loss to express himself; he thinks however, that as it would tend to prevent making new settlements in the islands, the produce of sugar not keeping pace with the increasing demand for it, the price must rise and of course the present estates become more valuable: the value of the slaves would also be increased and it would become more the owners interest to attend to their health and population.

Finally, as the result of his observations and most serious reflection, he hesitates not to say, that the trade for slaves ought to be abolished not only as contrary to sound policy, but to the laws of God and nature; and were it possible by the present inquiry to convey P. 262. a just knowledge of the extensive misery it occasions, every kingdom of Europe must unite in calling on their legislatures to abolish the inhuman traffic. This is not a hasty, nor a new sentiment, formed on the present discussion, which has in no respect influenced his judgment. The same opinion he publicly delivered seventeen years ago, in Kingston, in a society formed of the first characters of the place, on debating the following question (proposed he thinks, by the late Mr. Thomas Hibbert, who had been 40

1791. or 50 years the most eminent Guinea factor there)
“ Whether the trade to Africa for slaves, was con-
“ sistent with sound policy, the laws of nature and
“ morality.” The discussion occupied several meet-
ings, and at last it was determined by a majority, that
the trade to Africa for slaves was neither con-
sistent with sound policy, the laws of nature, nor
morality.

The chief ground on which the advocates for the
slave trade rested their opinion (he thinks) was, that
God had formed some of the human race, inferior to
others, in intellect; and that negroes appeared to
have been intended for slaves, or, to that purpose.

Has been in some of the foreign West India islands,
in N. America, and St. Domingo. The state of slaves
seemed similar to that in Jamaica; in America he
had but little opportunity for observation: but upon
the whole, they appeared decenter in their manners;
more domesticated, and to have some notions of
religion.

The following Evidence is printed at full length,
there not being time to abridge it.

Witness examined—THOMAS IRVING, Esq.

Does not your official situation afford you a general view of the commerce of the British empire, and of the relation of its several branches to each other, and particularly to Great Britain? 1791.

The office of Inspector General of Imports and Exports, committed to my management, exhibits a state of the importations into, and exportations from, Great Britain, and the British Colonies and Islands in America and the West Indies, and of all the revenues arising from our commerce. Accounts are transmitted to the office, from the several ports of Great Britain and the colonies, of every article imported into, or exported from, such ports, distinguishing our trade with each respective country, together (in as far as relates to our Colonies) with the number of vessels, their tonnage, and number of men employed in the trade. I am also annually furnished (extra-officially for a special purpose) by the Register General of Shipping, with a similar account of the number of vessels, their tonnage, and number of men, both British and Foreign, which enter and clear in the ports of Great Britain. In a word, the Inspector General's office, as it at present stands, exhibits a complete view of the commerce, navigation, and commercial revenues of the British empire, Ireland excepted. I am the more particular in explaining the nature of the office, in order that it may appear from what sources I draw any information which I may have occasion to offer to the Committee, in the course of the subsequent examination.

Did you ever execute any other office, which afforded you the means of acquiring a knowledge of
T 2 the

1791. the trade of the British Colonies in America and the West Indies?

In the year 1767 I was appointed Inspector General of the imports and exports of North America, and Register of Shipping, which offices I continued to execute until the year 1774, when I was appointed Receiver General of South Carolina, and a Member of the Council.

This office of Inspector General and Register of Shipping in North America furnished me with the means of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the trade and navigation carried on between the continental Colonies and the British West India Islands, and the books and papers of that office are still in my possession.

Have the British West India islands, in their present state, the means of furnishing the supply of sugar and rum that is requisite for the consumption of Great Britain and her immediate dependencies?

The British West India islands produce annually a greater quantity of sugar and rum than is requisite for the consumption of Great Britain, her immediate dependencies, and the kingdom of Ireland. In testimony of this fact I beg leave to lay before the Committee the paper which I now hold in my hand, containing an account of the quantity of British plantation sugar imported into, and exported from, Great Britain, in the years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775, and in the years 1787, 1788, 1789, and 1790. I have selected those years as exhibiting the fairest state of the produce of the sugar colonies; for in the year 1776, our trade began to meet with many interruptions from the war which was then become general on the continent of America: and I am of opinion, that the islands did not recover the shock which they had sustained by capture, and other consequences of war, sooner than about the year 1787.

An ACCOUNT of the Total Quantity of Sugar imported from the British West India Islands into Great Britain, in the undermentioned Years:

A L S O,

An Account, for the same Periods, of the Quantity of Raw and Refined Sugars exported from Great Britain; distinguishing the Quantity exported to Ireland, and other Parts of the Empire, from the Quantity exported to Foreign Parts.

| | Quantity of British Plantation Sugar imported. | Raw Sugar exported to Ireland, and other Parts of the Empire. | Refined Sug. exported to Ireland, and other Parts of the Empire. | Raw Sugar exported to Foreign Parts. | Refined Sugar exported to Foreign Parts. |
|------|--|---|--|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1772 | — | 172,269 2 5 | 27,623 3 23 | 1,391 2 26 | 3,677 — — |
| 1773 | — | 184,252 2 17 | 23,771 3 17 | 2,397 1 2 | 5,772 — 9 |
| 1774 | — | 211,304 1 25 | 28,139 3 25 | 11,950 — 2 | 5,949 — 17 |
| 1775 | — | 255,686 2 16 | 23,034 3 26 | 89,325 3 12 | 46,755 3 22 |
| 1787 | — | 196,636 3 20 | 24,261 2 — | 2,779 1 16 | 52,473 3 19 |
| 1788 | — | 138,681 3 19 | 17,150 3 9 | 6,575 — 20 | 58,250 2 6 |
| 1789 | — | 149,351 2 — | 20,506 1 17 | 4,461 3 15 | 118,033 1 22 |
| 1790 | — | 127,104 1 3 | 13,968 1 17 | 15,011 2 15 | 105,892 2 1 |

I have been told that the nation of the West India
is now in a state of great excitement and
that it will be the first to rise in rebellion
against the British Government.

The Government of the West India
is now in a state of great excitement and
that it will be the first to rise in rebellion
against the British Government.

The Government of the West India
is now in a state of great excitement and
that it will be the first to rise in rebellion
against the British Government.

The Government of the West India
is now in a state of great excitement and
that it will be the first to rise in rebellion
against the British Government.

The Government of the West India
is now in a state of great excitement and
that it will be the first to rise in rebellion
against the British Government.

The Government of the West India
is now in a state of great excitement and
that it will be the first to rise in rebellion
against the British Government.

Do you think that the extension of the West India plantations beyond the degree that is requisite for supplying Great Britain, and her immediate dependencies with the principal articles of West India produce, would materially promote the interest of the British empire? 1791.

This question is of a very extensive nature, and is involved in a variety of objects and considerations, commercial and political, which I am afraid I am incompetent to offer an opinion upon; more especially in the present debilitated state of my health, having only lately recovered from a dangerous illness.

The Committee informed Mr. Irving, that they did not wish that he should, in answering this, or any other question, make exertions to the prejudice of his health, and that he would therefore confine himself to such facts and opinions as shall readily occur to him.

The Witnesses then proceeded as follows:

The extension of the culture of the British W. India islands, beyond that degree that is requisite for supplying Great Britain and her immediate dependencies with the principal articles of West India produce, does not appear to me likely to promote the interest of the British empire; and in support of this opinion, I beg leave to offer the following reasons:

The West India islands have been settled upon a system very different from the British Continental Colonies (now a part of the States of America). I allude to the colonies which are cultivated chiefly by slaves; namely, the tobacco, and rice, and indigo colonies. The settlement of these colonies was undertaken upon small capitals, and the increase of their wealth arose almost wholly out of the growing profits of the industry of the proprietors; whereas our islands in the West Indies have, agreeable to the system hitherto pursued, been settled and extended by

1791. by means of large capitals drawn from the mother country. The Ceded Islands were almost entirely settled with the British capitals; and in the island of Jamaica large sums of money have from time to time been borrowed from this country upon mortgage, in order to extend the cultivation of that island. Thus a capital to a great amount, which might have been employed in carrying on and extending the manufactures, the commerce, and agriculture of Great Britain, has been transferred from hence to the most vulnerable part of the empire; and there invested in pursuits which do not appear to me to have been productive of a profit to the proprietor, or of advantages to the public, in any degree adequate to the precarious situation in which such property stands, from the contingencies of climate, the fate of war, &c. For although the planter resident on the spot will most likely abide by his property whatever change of government he may be subjected to, yet the loss of an island by capture is a complete loss of so much capital to the empire. Notwithstanding our general superiority at sea, the precarious tenure on which we hold our colonial possessions was sufficiently evinced in the course of last war. Thirteen great provinces separated themselves for ever from the empire, whereby property to the amount of many millions was lost to the inhabitants of Great Britain, and her adherents. The provinces of East and West Florida, and the island of Tobago, were ceded to Spain and France; and the islands of St. Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat, St. Vincents, Dominica, and Grenada, were all captured, but restored at the peace.

But besides the reasons already offered—the impolicy of extending the cultivation of the West India islands beyond the degree stated in the question, is in my humble opinion strongly marked by some further considerations.

Notwithstanding whatever may be the difference between the British and Foreign sugars at present, or
for

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of British and Foreign Plantation Sugars, imported into North America, in the following Years; distinguishing each Year, and the British from the Foreign Sugars.

| Y E A R S. | British Plantation Sugar. | | Foreign Plantation Sugar. | |
|------------|---------------------------|-----------|---------------------------|-----------|
| | Cwts. | Qrs. lbs. | Cwts. | Qrs. lbs. |
| 1769 | 49,672 | — | 45,437 | — |
| 1770 | 66,417 | 2 3 | 35,035 | 1 1 |
| 1771 | 47,870 | — | 21,466 | — |
| 1772 | 44,611 | — | 51,333 | — |

for these two or three years past, since the disturbances in France began to convulse her colonies; yet if we take a comparative view of the difference between the price of British and Foreign sugars, even in a period the most favourable to the British islands, namely, before last war, when they received a complete supply of lumber and provisions from the continent of America, it will be found that the French sugars were sold by the planters from 20 to 30 per cent. cheaper than the British sugars could be purchased in our islands. This fact I state from the information which I received time after time from the merchants and others concerned in the trade between America and the West Indies, when I executed the office of Inspector General of the Imports and Exports of North America; and I was the more minute in my inquiries, as the acquiring information of the prices of the several commodities imported into and exported from America formed a part of my duty, in order to enable me to establish a table of the rates of value for the office. But as a further testimony of the Foreign sugars being materially cheaper than the British, I take the liberty of presenting an account of the quantity of British and Foreign sugars, distinguishing each, imported into our colonies in North America, in the years 1769, 1770, 1771, and 1772. The Committee will perceive by this account, that the difference between the quantity of British, and of Foreign sugars imported, was not very considerable, notwithstanding that the Foreign sugars were clandestinely obtained in the French islands by our traders, which enhanced the price in proportion to the risque, and were also subject to a duty of 5s. per cwt. on importation into America: nor were our traders by any means under the necessity of taking these foreign sugars in exchange for merchandize; for they were chiefly purchased with cash which they received for their lumber and provisions sold in our islands. I am the more particular in stating the difference of the prices be-

1791.



1791. tween the British and Foreign sugars, because I conceive it is a maxim thoroughly established in national commerce, that it is unwise to push forward by means of monopolies, restrictive regulations, or bounties, any branch of commerce or manufactures, which cannot be carried on, after a fair trial, within 15 per cent. of the prices of other rival countries: and I am of opinion that this observation will strictly apply even to those branches of commerce from which the nation is supposed to derive the greatest political advantages from the smallest capital employed, namely, our fisheries.

The money expended upon West India estates is in general far from yielding a profitable return, and in this opinion I am supported by the testimony of some of the best informed gentlemen connected with the West Indies, particularly the agent for Jamaica, who states, in his examination before the Privy Council, that the planters throughout that island do not make more than four per cent. upon their capital; and the agent of Barbadoes gave it as his opinion, "That after payment of expenses and plantation losses, even a good crop does not leave the owner more, or so much as six per cent. the interest of the island, on his capital." Besides the return to the proprietor, the publick certainly derives a considerable profit from the freight of the sugars, and the commission paid to the merchants of this kingdom. This latter circumstance I perceive is upon all occasions strongly urged by gentlemen connected with the West Indies; but the same national profit and political advantages appear to me to apply less or more to every other branch of our foreign commerce, and in many instances to our internal manufactures. Indeed, the testimony of the West India gentlemen, which states, that the capital invested in the West India estates is far from yielding a profitable return, is strongly confirmed by the account which I now beg leave to lay before the committee. By this account it appears that the principal article cultivated in the West Indies

has,

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of Sugars, being British Plantation Produce, imported into Great Britain in the following Years; distinguishing each Year, and each Island from whence imported.

| | 1772. | | 1773. | | 1774. | | 1775. | | 1787. | | 1788. | | 1789. | | 1790. | |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | Cwts. | qrs. lbs. | Cwts. | qrs. lbs. | Cwts. | qrs. lbs. | Cwts. | qrs. lbs. | Cwts. | qrs. lbs. | Cwts. | qrs. lbs. | Cwts. | qrs. lbs. | Cwts. | qrs. lbs. |
| Antigua - | 115,364 | 1 23 | 83,965 | 1 20 | 235,815 | 1 23 | 255,861 | 1 26 | 254,575 | 1 18 | 181,813 | 2 — | 144,204 | — 11 | 65,022 | 1 26 |
| Anguilla - | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1,298 | — | 2,129 | 2 16 | 3,728 | 1 2 | — | 3 2 12 | 2,150 | 2 18 |
| Barbadoes - | 141,341 | 1 3 | 110,911 | 2 4 | 159,564 | 1 3 | 70,181 | 1 23 | 130,242 | — 16 | 110,955 | — 19 | 97,389 | 2 27 | 113,038 | 3 21 |
| Dominica - | 10,370 | 2 8 | 26,705 | 1 5 | 53,464 | 2 12 | 40,583 | 1 21 | 5,665 | 1 21 | 47,010 | 1 24 | 34,709 | 3 5 | 50,036 | — 23 |
| Grenada - | 190,362 | 2 5 | 202,679 | — | 185,542 | — 10 | 169,824 | 1 23 | 172,880 | — 9 | 195,783 | — 25 | 164,338 | 3 9 | 191,625 | 1 6 |
| Jamaica - | 874,560 | 1 20 | 1,057,958 | — 23 | 947,073 | 1 1 | 995,387 | 2 18 | 824,706 | 2 15 | 1,124,017 | — 44 | 1,236,603 | 1 27 | 1,185,519 | 2 7 |
| St. Kitt's - | 220,716 | 2 14 | 110,657 | 3 3 | 212,267 | — 15 | 206,049 | 3 17 | 231,397 | 2 12 | 187,379 | 1 25 | 89,755 | 1 23 | 113,379 | 1 16 |
| Nevis - | 65,125 | 1 26 | 30,369 | 1 20 | 68,408 | — 9 | 50,488 | — 10 | 72,475 | 1 11 | 30,050 | 1 4 | 28,151 | 3 — | 35,467 | 3 1 |
| Montserrat - | 58,008 | 2 — | 33,770 | — 21 | 47,590 | 3 9 | 39,327 | 2 9 | 35,449 | 3 10 | 25,113 | — 13 | 25,089 | 2 16 | 19,186 | 3 24 |
| St. Vincent - | 55,909 | 1 18 | 61,084 | — 18 | 65,177 | — 17 | 54,071 | 2 16 | 64,449 | 1 27 | 79,735 | 2 24 | 81,283 | — 18 | 76,747 | 2 1 |
| Tortola - | 31,600 | — 3 | 30,126 | 3 24 | 33,962 | 3 4 | 38,665 | 2 7 | 78,749 | 1 6 | 84,513 | 3 22 | 33,704 | — 23 | 29,830 | 1 14 |
| Tobago - | 13,625 | 2 21 | 14,153 | 3 17 | 27,045 | 2 24 | 50,385 | 2 4 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Total - | 1,786,045 | — 1 | 1,762,387 | 3 15 | 2,015,911 | 1 15 | 2,002,224 | 3 8 | 1,926,121 | — 3 | 2,065,700 | — 12 | 1,935,223 | 2 21 | 1,882,005 | — 17 |

Average of the Annual Produce of the first Period.

Cwts. qrs. lb.
1,891,642 1 —

Average of the Annual Produce of the last Period.

Cwts. qrs. lb.
1,952,262 — —

Increase in the last Period.

Cwts. qrs. lb.
60,620 — — equal to
about 4,040 Hogshheads.

[To face page 154.]

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has, in point of quantity, been in a great measure stationary for these twenty years, and yet there is no part of the empire in which property stands in a more favoured footing. Prohibitory laws were early made tending to force the consumption of West India produce upon the inhabitants of Great Britain, and the other subjects of the empire, whereby the proprietors of the islands obtained (and still retain) a complete monopoly of our markets at a very considerable expense to the British consumer, as appears by the difference of the prices between the British and the foreign islands.

In our colonies in America, in order to encourage our islands, the use of foreign rum is absolutely prohibited, foreign coffee is subject to a duty of two pounds nineteen shillings per cwt. whilst British is chargeable with a duty of seven shillings; and foreign sugars, as I have already mentioned, pay a duty on importation into the continent of five shillings per cwt. and into this kingdom one pound seven shillings and twopence, which is fourteen shillings and tenpence per cwt. more than the British sugars. The whole duties imposed upon British sugars are drawn back upon exportation, and refined sugars are entitled to a bounty, when exported, of twenty-six shillings per cwt. which exceeds the duty collected upon the raw material three or four shillings. In order to give the planters a more extensive market for the sale of their produce, sugars were, by the 12th of Geo. II. taken out of the list of enumerated commodities, and the exportation of them permitted to all parts south of Cape Finisterre, in Europe.

The evidence upon the part of the West India planters, before the Committee of Privy Council, state many natural advantages which the foreign islands possess, as reasons why our islands will never be able to enter into a competition in point of price with the foreign plantations.

For those, and the reasons which I have had the honour upon this occasion of submitting to the Committee,

1791. mittee, I am of opinion, that however just and proper it may be to encourage our own islands to the extent of supplying ourselves, and thereby doing that justice to the proprietors of estates there which they consider themselves entitled to; yet the extension of the cultivation of those islands beyond that degree that is requisite for supplying Great Britain and her immediate dependencies, with the principal articles of their produce, is by no means likely to promote the interests of the empire; because from the great disparity of price between the British and Foreign sugars, the former cannot be made an object of export by any other means than by that destructive system of policy which has been too much adopted in some other branches of our commerce, namely, the granting of bounties out of the Exchequer, in order to enable the British exporter to stand the competition of prices in the foreign market. It is a dangerous principle to force commerce and manufactures like fruit raised on a hot bed. In such cases, the capital and the industry of the individual are too often drawn from objects of profit, to pursuits which can only be carried on by the aid of the national purse.

Do you think, that by a proper attention to the breeding of slaves in the British West India islands, such a number of slaves may be obtained and kept up, without the aid of importation from Africa, as will be sufficient to raise the West India produce that is requisite for the supply of Great Britain and her immediate dependencies?

I have long been of opinion, that by proper attention to the breeding of slaves, the stock might be kept up in the British West India islands, without the aid of importation from Africa. I beg leave, however, to be understood, that this measure is not likely, in my judgment, to be effected by putting an immediate stop to the importations, but by adopting
such

such a system of policy as will gradually do away the necessity for importation. 1791.

Prior to the late war, the provisions for feeding the slaves were chiefly imported from North America, the attention of the planters being almost wholly directed to what is called the crop, namely, sugars, &c. and as these provisions were bought at a considerable expense, the planters did not consider it their interest to encourage the breeding of slaves at the expense of feeding them ten or twelve years before they were capable, by the produce of their labour in the cane walks, to support themselves. Hence grown slaves, whose labour can be brought into immediate effect, were, and still continue to be, imported from the coast of Africa; and of these a greater proportion of males than females.


If a different system of policy were adopted with respect to the cultivation of the plantations in the West Indies, and which system I have many reasons for thinking would be attended with advantage to the planters themselves: I am persuaded a sufficient number of slaves might be bred at least to keep up the present stock; I allude to the cultivating of a proportion of land sufficient to supply the negroes with provisions, in which the little slaves, from seven years old and upwards, might be useful. In that part of America where I was resident, and which was cultivated as much by negroes as the West Indies, the breeding of slaves was considered so advantageous, that the planter generally valued a child on the day of its birth at five pounds. The prevailing opinion, to the best of my recollection, in South Carolina, at that time was, that the increased population of slaves by birth was from two to ten per cent. and yet the climate of Carolina, particularly of the rice plantations, is, I believe, more hostile to the human constitution than any part of the West Indies.

In order gradually to check the importation of negroes from the coast of Africa, I would submit that a slight duty, in the first instance, should be laid upon
all

1791. all slaves imported; the duty imposed on males to be considerably higher than upon females; or perhaps that the latter should for a time be imported free; and that the rate of this duty should be progressively increased as the means should be provided of supplying the deficiency which this check would give to the importation. And in order to encourage the raising of plantation born slaves, and cultivating provisions for their support, which latter circumstance I consider to be materially connected with the breeding of the negroes, I would propose that the produce of the duties collected upon slaves imported from the coast of Africa should be applied as bounties for promoting the above purposes. The raising of provisions in some of the islands, would, no doubt, be less advantageous than others; but I am of opinion, that the cultivation of a sufficient quantity for the use of the slaves would be profitable and politick. Anterior to the late war, the negroes in the West Indies depended in a great degree for their supply of food on the continent of America. When the disturbances broke out, this source of supply was at once cut off, and the importations from Europe, through captures at sea and other causes, were rendered very precarious. The planters, thus impelled by necessity, were obliged to deviate from their former system, and to turn their attention more towards raising provision upon their own estates. The good effects of this plan has been so forcibly felt, that the importation of Indian corn, which may emphatically be stiled the bread of life, with respect to the food of the slaves, is reduced from about 600,000 bushels, the quantity annually imported before the war, to somewhat under 300,000 bushels, the medium importation of the last three years; and pease, &c. in a similar proportion. In a political sense, I conceive that no country capable of producing corn to feed itself, ought to be dependent upon any other for any article which it cannot do without, even for a day.

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of Rum and Melaffes exported from the British West Indies, to all Parts, in the Years 1787, 1788, and 1789, distinguishing each Year, and the Countries to which exported.

| | 1787. | | 1788. | | 1789. | |
|--------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | Rum.
Gallons. | Melaffes.
Gallons. | Rum. | Melaffes. | Rum. | Melaffes. |
| Great Britain - - - | 2,251,346 | — | 3,646,667 | — | 3,396,653 | — |
| Ireland - - - | 344,150 | — | 688,050 | — | 754,700 | — |
| British Colonies - - | 885,186 | 26,380 | 652,200 | 24,889 | 688,470 | 20,192 |
| States of America - - | 1,660,155 | 4,200 | 1,541,093 | 3,923 | 1,485,461 | 1,000 |
| Foreign West Indies - | 345,750 | — | 222,512 | — | 143,443 | — |
| Southern Parts of Europe | 9,560 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Africa - - - - - | — | — | 19,810 | — | 43,450 | — |
| | 5,496,147 | 30,580 | 6,770,332 | 28,812 | 6,492,177 | 21,192 |

If the British West India islands should in future 1791.
 raise a quantity of provisions sufficient to feed the 
 slaves, in what manner do you think the planters
 would be enabled to dispose of that part of their
 rum and molasses, which is at present supposed to be
 applied to the purchasing of provisions?

Before I reply to this question, I beg leave to lay
 before the Committee an account of the quantity of
 rum and molasses exported from the British West
 India islands, to all parts, for the three years pre-
 ceding the 5th of January, 1790, which is the latest
 period to which the account can be made up.

The quantity of provisions suitable for feeding of
 the slaves raised in the British Colonies in North
 America is very inconsiderable, and the barrelled
 mackrel and other fish exported from those Colonies
 to the West Indies, would almost in any event be
 in demand, more especially as it is now sufficiently
 proved, that the produce of the British Herring
 Fishery is far from being equal to the demand of our
 islands. The Continental Colonies would, therefore,
 be very little affected by any change of system in
 raising provisions for the negroes in the West Indies;
 and so far from its being probable that the demand
 for rum in these Colonies is likely to be lessened in
 future, I am of opinion that the consumption will
 increase in proportion to the growing population of
 the country.

By the account which I have just now laid before
 the Committee, it appears that upon a medium of
 three years, about 1,500,000 gallons of rum have
 been taken off by the subjects of the United States;
 which rum, including the freight, as it can be only
 imported in British bottoms, may be valued at about
 3s. 3d. sterling per gallon in America; the total value
 at that rate would be £.243,750. This sum is by no
 means more than equal to the purchasing of lumber,
 flour, and other articles which have little or no con-
 nection with the food of the slaves. In a long exa-
 mination which I underwent before the Lords of the

1791. Committee of Privy Council, in the year 1784, relating to the opening an intercourse between the States of America and the British West Indies, I had occasion to look very minutely into the nature and value of the articles which the West Indies receive from the States, and into those which the States take in return from the islands, and it then appeared to me, (and nothing has since occurred to alter my opinion) that the West India planters will always find a sufficient demand for their rum.

The quantity of melasses exported from our islands is too inconsiderable to merit notice.

If a sufficiency of slaves for the culture of the British West India settlements should be raised within those settlements, do you think that the diminution of British exports to Africa, which may be the consequence of such a change, would be materially prejudicial to the manufacturing interests of Great Britain?

I feel more diffidence in answering this question than any of the preceding, as nothing is more difficult to foresee than the consequences that may arise from any alteration of system in a trade long established. Casting, however, a retrospective eye to the effect which the changes in other branches of our commerce have undergone in the course of public events, and comparing the probable consequences which may take place in the case in question, by those which experience has afforded an opportunity of determining upon, I shall submit such ideas as occur to my weak judgment, as to the tendency that a probable diminution of the British exports to the Coast of Africa, in consequence of the change proposed, is likely to have on the manufacturing interests of this kingdom.

The medium value of the British manufactures exported to Africa, chiefly for the purpose of purchasing slaves, amounts to about £.400,000 a year, agreeable to the rates of value in the Inspector General's

neral's books; but I mention with regret, that from the loose manner in which the entries of free goods are made in the Custom-house, the Inspector General's value of such goods is not absolutely to be relied upon, and therefore the value of the exports to Africa may have been less or more; however, the Committee will please to observe, that in the £.400,000, I include the value of the goods exchanged for gold dust, ivory, cam and redwood, gum, drugs, &c. imported from Africa, either directly into Great Britain, or through the circuitous passage of the West Indies. 1791.

An immediate stop being put to our exports to Africa, would doubtless be felt in a very considerable degree by those artificers, who are at present employed in manufacturing goods for that branch of our export trade; because they would find the channels through which their industry passed to a market shut up before they had time to turn their attention, labour, and capital to other pursuits. It was not less with a view to this object, than to the consequences which the planters in the West Indies might experience by their being at once deprived of their usual supply of slaves, that I took the liberty of suggesting the crude ideas offered in my answer to the preceding question.

In cases of war breaking out, and being of long continuance with countries with which we had been in habits of carrying on commercial intercourse, temporary inconveniences are doubtless experienced, but not to the extent which theoretical reasoning would induce us to imagine. The enterprise of our merchants soon discovers fresh means of vending the produce of the labour of our manufacturers. The superior capital, ingenuity, industry, and integrity of the British artificer, will ever command a market for the produce of his industry. The late revolution in America, affords striking proofs of the justice of this observation. With the independence of these states, it was very generally apprehended, that Great Britain would

1791. would also lose the benefit of their commerce; but experience has proved the fallacy of that opinion. The exports of our native manufactures to that part of the world, instead of being lessened since the separation of the two countries, are increased; and as a proof of the delusion of the idea, that the employment of the capital of this country has for some time past been at its ne plus ultra, I beg leave to inform the Committee, that the value of British manufactures exported from this country of late, exceeds that of the most flourishing period before the late war, when the laws of trade confined those colonies, which now constitute the American States, in their supply of merchandize to Great Britain, the sum of upwards of £2,500,000 annually; and that our shipping has also increased between two and three hundred thousand tons, over that which the empire possessed when the American States formed a part of its dominions. Nor has this great increase of trade and navigation arisen from any special or temporary cause, for it will appear by the books of my office, that the value of our exports has been gradually increasing every year since the late war.

For the facts and reasons which I have thus set forth, I am under no apprehensions that a gradual check to the importation of slaves would materially affect the manufacturing interests of this country.

Do you not know the price of sugars has doubled in Great Britain within the last eighteen years?

I believe the price of sugars in Great Britain is very considerably increased within the last eighteen years; but to what amount I am not prepared to give an answer. A considerable addition has been made within that period, to the rate of duties upon sugars, which will consequently increase the price; and I am inclined to think, that the prices at present, and for two or three years past, have been materially affected, as I have already observed, by the disturbances in the French islands.

Do

Do you not think, if a more ample supply of sugar were sent from the West Indies to Great Britain, that the price in the home market would decrease?

1791.

I have already informed the Committee, that the British West India islands, in their present situation, raise a quantity of sugar more than adequate to the consumption of the whole British empire. If the quantity of sugars in the British West India islands were considerably increased, such increase might probably have some effect in lowering the prices to the British consumer; but the natural consequence must be a diminution in the price to the West India planter, which would tend greatly to discourage him in the extension of his plantation.

Do you not believe, that the consumption of sugar, and consequently the revenue arising from that article, would increase very considerably if the prices were lower?

I conceive I have already answered this question.

Should any errors have crept into the foregoing Work, it is hoped they will be candidly attributed to their true cause—the want of time to correct the press.

F I N I S.





