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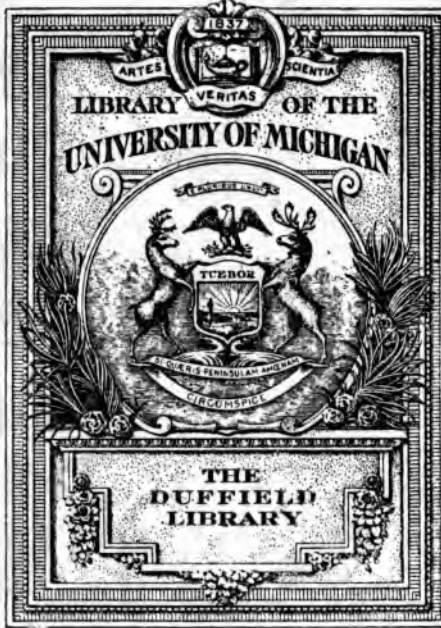
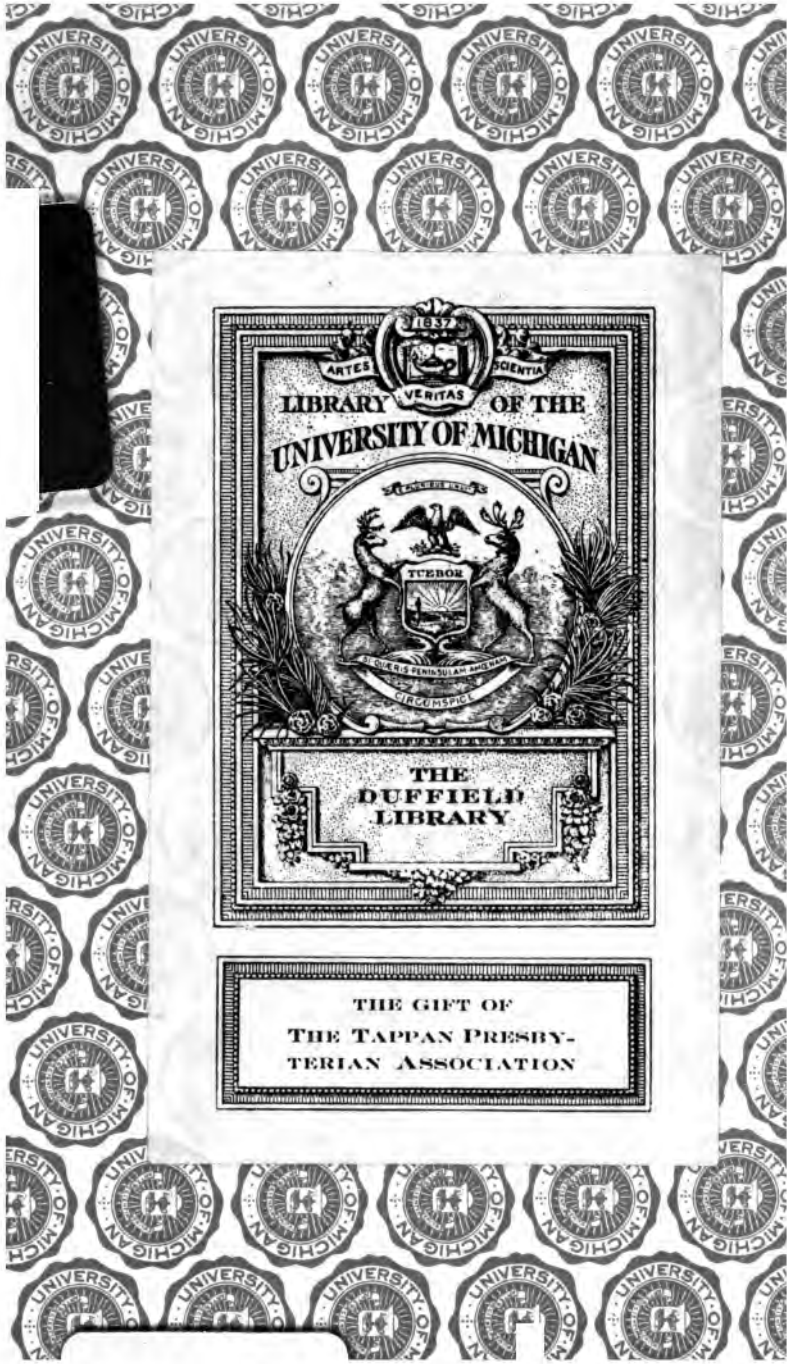
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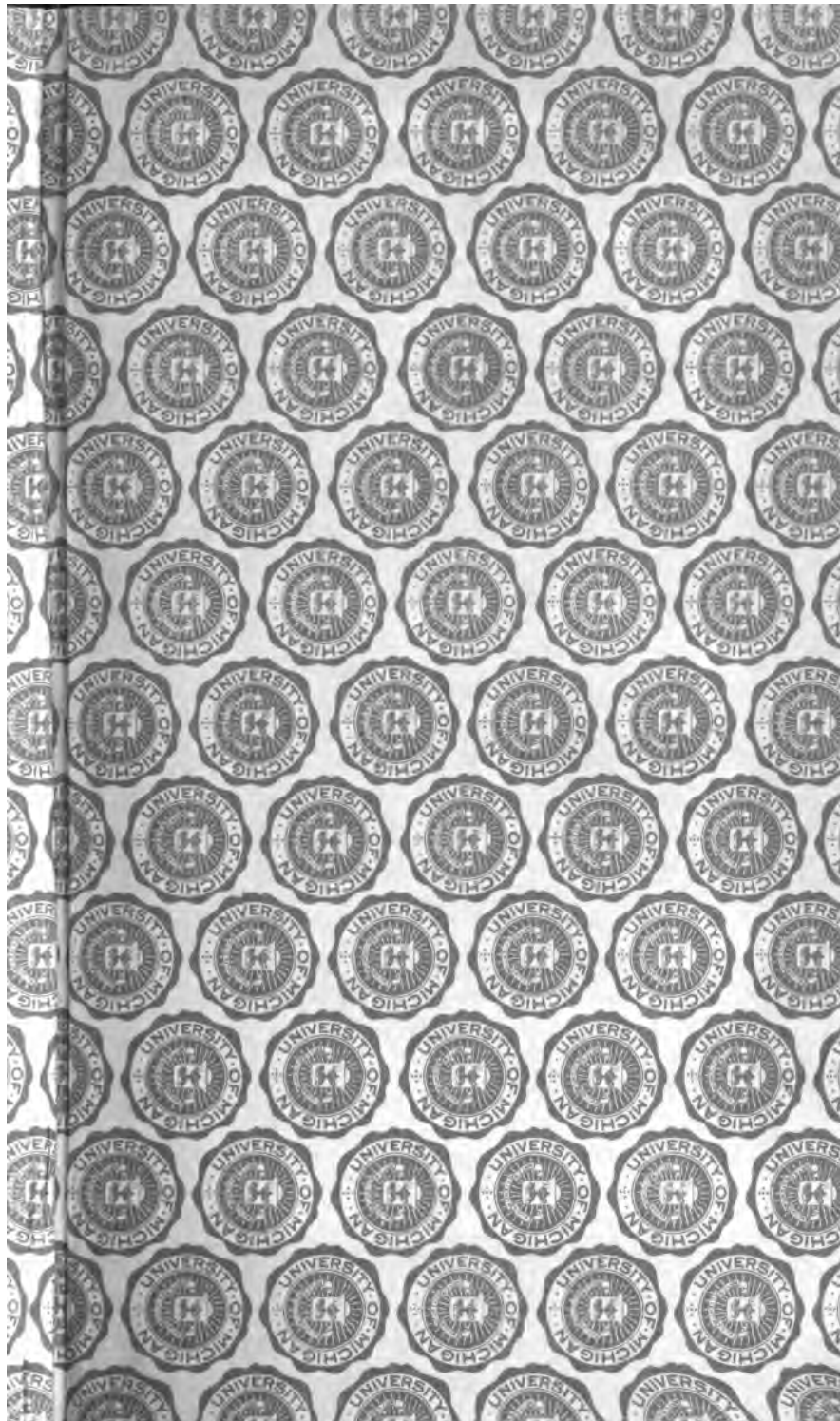
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THE HISTORY,
CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,
OF THE
BRITISH COLONIES
IN THE
WEST INDIES.

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BY BRYAN EDWARDS, Esq. F.R.S. S.A.

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ILLUSTRATED BY AN ATLAS,
AND
EMBELLISHED WITH A PORTRAIT OF THE AUTHOR.

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TO WHICH IS ADDED A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE

BAHAMA ISLANDS,

By DANIEL M'KINNEN, Esq.

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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VOL. II.

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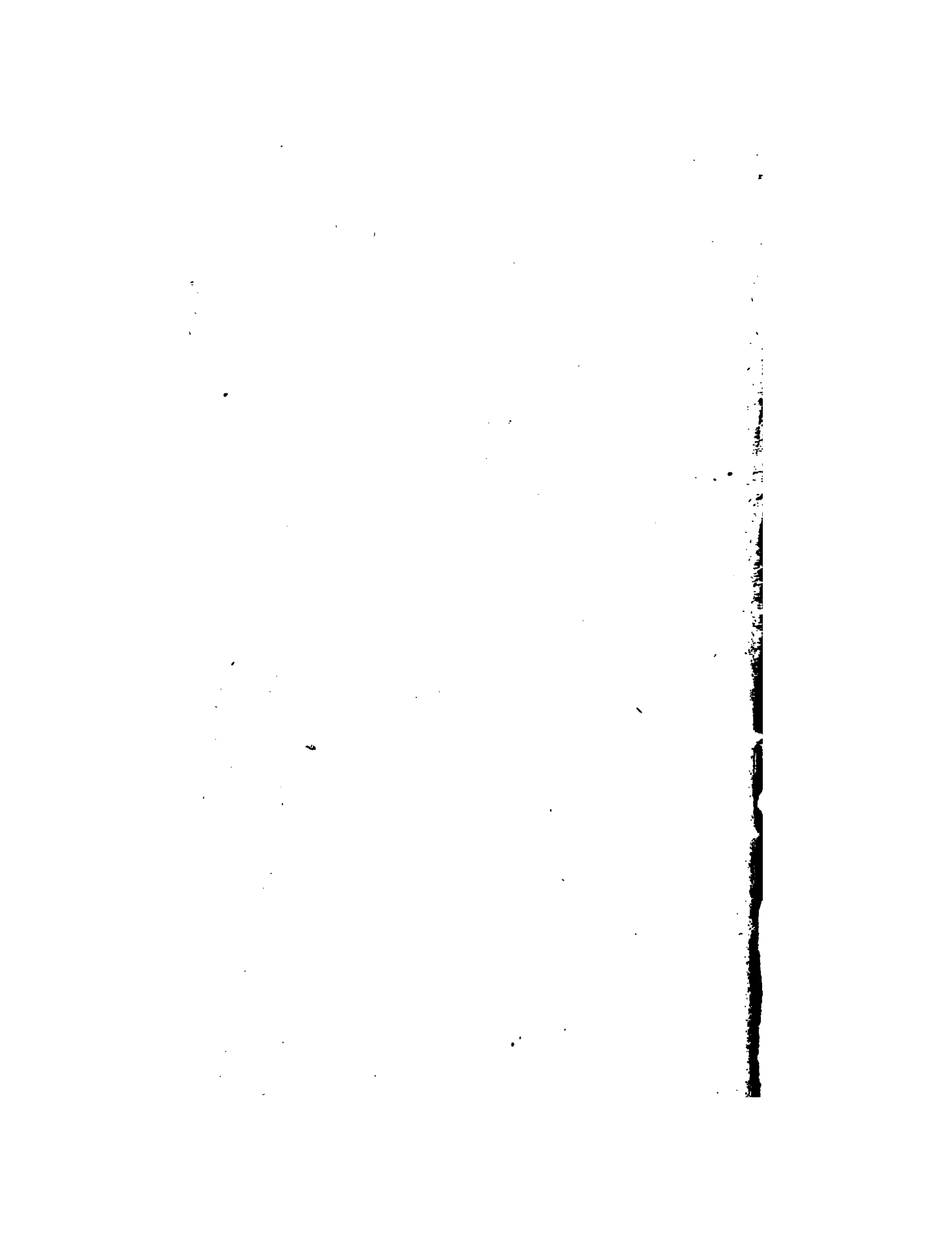
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THE HISTORY,  
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BOOK III.  
ENGLISH CHARAIBEAN ISLANDS.

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CHAPTER I.

BARBADOES.

*First arrival of the English at this islaad.—Origin, progress, and termination of the proprietary government.—Revenue granted to the crown of four and a half per centum on all produce exported—how obtained.—Origin of the act of navigation.—Situation and extent of the island.—Soil and produce.—Population.—Decline, and causes thereof.—Exports and imports.*

**T**HE island of Barbadoes, of which I now propose to treat, was probably first discovered by the Portuguese in their voyages from Brasil; and from them it received the name which it still retains.\*

\* It is said not to have been noticed in any sea-chart before the year 1600.



It was found without occupants or claimants. The Charaibes, for reasons altogether unknown to us, had deserted it, and the Portuguese, satisfied with the splendid regions they had acquired on the continent, seem to have considered it as of little value. Having furnished it with a breed of swine for the benefit of such of their countrymen as might navigate the same track, they left the island in all other respects as they found it.

Of the English the first who are known to have landed in this island, were the crew of a ship called the *Olive Blossom*, bound from London to Surinam, in 1605, and fitted out at the expense of Sir Olive Leigh, whom Purchas styles ‘a worshipful knight of Kent.’ Finding it without inhabitants, they took possession of the country, by fixing up a Cross on the spot where *James-town* was afterwards built, with this inscription, “James King of England and this Island;” but they began no settlement, nor made any considerable stay in a country entirely uninhabited and overgrown with woods; yet it furnished them with fresh provisions. They found pigs, pigeons, and parrots, and the sea abounded with fish.

Some years after this, a ship of Sir William Courteen’s, a merchant of London, returning from Brazil, was driven by stress of weather into this island, and finding refreshments on it, the master and seamen, on their arrival in England, made so favourable a report of the beauty and fertility of the

country, that lord Ley (afterwards earl of Marlborough, and lord high treasurer) immediately obtained from King James the First a grant of the island to himself and his heirs in perpetuity.

Courteen himself was a man of extensive views and magnificent projects. He immediately began (probably under the patronage of Marlborough) to form ideas of establishing a colony in the distant but promising territory. Having engaged about thirty persons to settle in the island, and furnished them with tools, provisions, and necessaries of all kinds for planting and fortifying the country, he appointed William Deane their governor, and sent them away in a ship called the *William and John*, commanded by John Powell. They arrived safe in the latter end of the year 1624, and laid the foundations of a town, which in honour of the sovereign they denominated JAMES-TOWN; and thus began the first English settlement in the island of Barbadoes.

For some time previous to this, it had become fashionable in England, for men of high rank and distinction, to engage in sea adventures, proclaiming themselves the patrons of colonization and foreign commerce. In the list of those who contributed to the British settlements in Virginia, New England, the Bermuda islands, and other places in the New World, may be found the names of many of the first nobility and gentry of the kingdom. Among others who distinguished themselves in

such pursuits, at the time that Barbadoes was thus planted by a private merchant, was James Hay, earl of Carlisle. This nobleman was at that juncture engaged in the establishment of a colony in the island of St. Christopher, (as we shall hereafter have occasion more particularly to relate), and, either not knowing of the earl of Marlborough's patent, or conceiving that it interfered with his own pretensions,\* he applied for and obtained, in the first year of Charles I. a warrant for a grant, by letters patent under the great seal of England, of all the Charaibbean islands including Barbadoes; but when the grant came to be actually passed, the earl of Marlborough opposed it, on the ground of priority of right. The dispute between these noble lords continued for a considerable time; at length the contending parties thought it prudent to compromise the matter, and, on the earl of Carlisle's undertaking to pay the annual sum of £.300 to the earl of Marlborough and his heirs for ever, Marlborough waved his patent, and, in consequence of this arrangement, on the 2d of June 1627, the earl of Carlisle's patent passed the great seal, who thereupon became sole proprietor.†

\* It is said that he had obtained from James I. a grant, or warrant for a grant, under the great seal, of all the Charaibbean islands, which the king erected into a province by the name of *Carlisla*, on the model of the palatinate of *Durham*.

† Among other clauses in this grant are the following. "Further know ye, that we, for us, our heirs, and successors, have authorized and appointed the said *James* earl of *Carlisle*, and his heirs, (of whose fidelity, prudence, justice, and wisdom, we have great confidence),

During this contest about the disposal of countries, most of which were at that time in the hands of their proper owners, the Charaibes; the man, who alone had the merit of annexing the plantation of Barbadoes to the crown of England, seems to have been shamefully neglected. The earl of Marlborough, having secured to himself and his posterity, the gratification I have mentioned, deserted him; and the lord Carlisle, having done him premeditated injury, became his irreconcilable enemy. Courteen, however, found a friend in William

for the good and happy government of the said province, whether for the public security of the said province, or the private utility of every man, to make, erect, and set forth, and under his or their signet to publish, such laws as he the said earl of *Carlisle*, or his heirs, *with the consent, assent, and approbation of the free inhabitants of the said province or the greater part of them, thereunto to be called*, and in such form as he or they, in his or their discretion shall think fit and best. And these laws must all men for the time being, that do live within the limits of the said province, observe; whether they be bound to sea, or from thence returning to *England*, or any other our dominions, or any other place appointed, upon such impositions, penalties, imprisonment, or restraint that it behoveth, and the quality of the offence requireth, either upon the body, or death itself, to be executed by the said *James* earl of *Carlisle*, and by his heirs, or by his or their deputy, judges, justices, magistrates, officers, and ministers, according to the tenor and true meaning of these presents, in what cause soever, and with such power as to him the said *James* earl of *Carlisle*, or his heirs, shall seem best: and to dispose of offences or riots whatsoever, either by sea or land, whether before judgment received, or after remitted, freed, pardoned or forgiven; and to do and to perform all and every thing and things, which to the fulfilling of justice, courts or manner of proceeding in their tribunal, may or doth belong or appertain, although express mention of them in these presents be not made, yet we have granted full power by virtue of these

earl of Pembroke, who represented his case in such a light to the king, as to obtain a revocation of Carlisle's patent, and a grant to himself in trust for Courteen.

But the hopes of this worthy citizen were of short continuance. The earl of Carlisle was, at that juncture, absent from the kingdom, a circumstance which gave some colour to his charge of injustice and precipitancy in the proceeding. On his return to England he complained that he had

presents therein to be made; which laws so absolutely proclaimed, and by strength of right supported as they are granted, we will, enjoin, charge and command, all and every subject and liege people of us, our heirs and successors, so far as them they do concern, inviolably to keep and observe, under the pains therein expressed; so as notwithstanding the aforesaid laws be agreeable and not repugnant unto reason, nor against it; but as convenient and agreeable as may be to the laws, statutes, customs, and rights of our kingdom of *England*."—  
 "We will also, of our princely grace, for us, our heirs and successors, straightly charge, make and ordain, that the said province be of our allegiance, and that all and every subject and liege people of us, our heirs and successors, brought or to be brought, and their children, whether there born or afterwards to be born, become natives and subjects of us, our heirs and successors, and be as free as they that were born in *England*; and so their inheritance within our kingdom of *England*, or other our dominions, to seek, receive, take, hold, buy, and possess, and use and enjoy them as their own, and to give, sell, alter, and bequeath them at their pleasure; *and also freely, quietly, and peaceably, to have and possess, all the liberties, franchises, and privileges of this kingdom*, and them to use and enjoy as liege people of *England*, whether born or to be born, without impediment, molestation, vexation, injury or trouble of us our heirs and successors, any statute, act, ordinance, or proviso, to the contrary notwithstanding."

been condemned and deprived of his property unheard; and the monarch on the throne, who seems, through the whole of his unfortunate reign, rather to have wanted resolution to pursue the right path, than sagacity to discern it, trod back his ground a second time; for unable to resist the clamorous importunity of a worthless favourite, he actually annulled the grant to the earl of Pembroke, and, by second letters patent to the earl of Carlisle, again restored to him the privileges of which he had himself a short time before deprived him.

Thus, by an act of power which its repugnancy and absurdity alone rendered illegal, the earl of Carlisle again found himself lord paramount of Barbadoes; and in order completely to ruin all the interests in the colony of his competitor, he proceeded to distribute the lands to such persons as chose to receive grants at his hands on the terms proposed to them. A society of London merchants\* accepted ten thousand acres, on conditions which promised great advantages to the proprietors; but they were allowed the liberty of sending out a person to preside over their concerns in the colony, and they made choice for this purpose of Charles Wolferstone, who repaired to the island, accompanied with sixty-four persons, each of whom was authorized to take up one hundred acres of land.

\* The names of those merchants were Marmaduke Brandon, William Perkin, Alexander Banister, Robert Wheatley, Edmond Foster, Robert Swinnerton, Henry Wheatley, John Charles, and John Farringdon.



These people landed on the fifth of July, 1628, at which time Courteen's settlement was in a very promising condition ; but Wolferstone declared it an encroachment and usurpation, and being supported by the arrival of Sir William Tufton, who was sent out as chief governor by lord Carlisle, in 1629, with a force sufficient for the maintenance of his pretensions, he compelled the friends of Courteen to submit ; and the interests of the latter were thenceforth swallowed up and forgotten.\*

The facts which I have thus recited have been related so often by others, that an apology might be necessary for their insertion in this work, were it not, that by comparing one account with another, I have been enabled to correct some important errors in each. And the claim of the earl of Carlisle, having originally introduced and established the very heavy internal imposition on their gross produce, to which the planters of this and some of the neighbouring islands are to this day liable, I have thought it necessary, to be particular and minute, in tracing the claim itself from the beginning. In what manner it produced the burthen in question, and how Barbadoes reverted from a proprietary to a royal government, I shall now proceed to relate.

\* In this year, Sir William Tufton gave one hundred and forty grants of land, comprizing in the whole 15,872 acres ; and on the 23d of February, 1630, he passed divers laws, and among others, one for dividing the island into six parishes:

The administration of Sir William Tufton, the first governor appointed by lord Carlisle, proving disagreeable to his lordship, captain Henry Hawley was sent over in 1631 to supersede him. Tufton resenting this measure, procured the signatures of some of the planters to a petition complaining of Hawley's conduct. Hawley construed this petition into an act of mutiny on the part of Tufton, for which he had him tried and condemned by a court-martial, and with very little ceremony caused him to be shot to death; a proceeding universally exclaimed against as a most horrid and atrocious murder. Hawley, however, though recalled on this account, not only escaped punishment through the interest of his noble patron, but was soon afterwards sent back again as chief governor; in which capacity he remained till 1638, when he was driven from the country by the united voice of all the inhabitants; who, however, permitted his brother William Hawley, to act as commander in chief, until a governor should be nominated at home. He was succeeded by major Hunckes, who leaving the island in 1641, appointed Philip Bell, Esq. his deputy, and Bell, in 1645, was appointed chief governor.\* But the conduct of Hawley, thus violent

\* During the administration of this gentleman, many salutary laws were passed; among others the following:

1st. “ *Ad act* for the continuance and observation of all acts and statutes not repealed; which act recites that there were divers and sundry good and wholesome laws, statutes and ordinances provided, enacted, and made, assigned, and agreed upon, by and with the assent,

and bloody, and the support which he received from the proprietor, had alienated the minds of the new settlers from power thus delegated and abused; and the proprietor's authority lost ground every day. In the mean time the civil war in England caused many people, of peaceable tempers and dispositions, chiefly royalists to take refuge in this island; and the consequent ruin of the king's affairs induced a still greater number, many of whom had

consent, and approbation of the governor, council, and freeholders out of every parish of the island, intituled, *A General Assembly for that purpose elected, made, and chosen.* And it is thereby enacted, that none of those laws shall be altered, or any thing added to them, without the consent of a like *General Assembly.* And that every parish should have two representatives at least, to be elected by the freeholders.

2d. An addition to an act intituled, "An act for settling the estates and titles of the inhabitants of this island to their possessions in their several plantations within the same:" it is therein recited, that in a clause in the first act it is ordained, that all the inhabitants of this island, that were in quiet possession of any lands or tenements by virtue of any warrant from any former governor, or by conveyance or other act in law, from them who had the same warrant, should have, hold, and enjoy the same, *as their free estate:* and as some scruples had since arisen, whether an estate for life or inheritance might be construed from the same, for want of the words *their heirs;* to the intent the same might be more fully explained, and all disputes of that kind for the future abolished, it is enacted, that by the words *as their free estates,* was meant, *the whole estate and inheritance* of the respective plantations within this island, so that by such possession in manner as by the said act is expressed, the said inhabitants are thereby adjudged and declared to have and to hold their lands of right to them, to dispose of or alienate, or otherwise to descend, or be confirmed to their heirs for ever."

been officers of rank in his service, to follow their example. The emigration from the mother-country to this island was indeed so great during the commotions in England, that in 1650 it was computed there were 20,000 white men in Barbadoes, half of them able to bear arms, and furnishing even a regiment of horse to the number of one thousand.

“ These adventurers,” says lord Clarendon, “ planted without any body’s leave, and without “ being opposed or contradicted by any body.” The case seems to have been that the governor granted lands to all who applied, on receiving a gratuity for himself; and the claim of the proprietor, whether disputed in the island, or disregarded amidst the confusions at home, was at length tacitly and silently relinquished.\*

The colony left to its own efforts, and enjoying an unlimited freedom of trade, flourished beyond example. In the year 1646, however, the then earl of Carlisle, who was son and heir of the patentee, stimulated by the renown of its wealth and prosperity, began to revive his claims as hereditary proprietor; and entering into a treaty with lord Willoughby of Parham, conveyed to that nobleman all his rights by lease for twenty one years, on condition of receiving one half the profits in the mean

\* Lord Carlisle had originally stipulated for an annual tribute of forty pounds of cotton wool from each person who held lands under his grant.

time; but justly apprehending, that the resident planters might dispute his pretensions, he very readily concurred with lord Willoughby in soliciting a commission for the latter, as chief governor, under the sanction of regal authority.\*

This, although an absolute dereliction of the proprietaryship, was asked and obtained; and the lord Willoughby, thus commissioned, embarked for his government; and, in consideration of the royal appointment, was received by the inhabitants, who were warmly attached to the King's interests, with respect and obedience. It seems probable, that at his first coming he said nothing of his lease from Carlisle, trusting rather to future management for he re-establishment of that lord's pretensions, than to an open avowal of them on his arrival. We are told, however, by lord Clarendon, that he obtained from the planters a promise of a contribution to the proprietor; but before it was carried into effect, the regal authority was abolished in England, and Barbadoes reduced to the obedience of the new republic, by whom another governor was appointed.

On the restoration of Charles II. and the re-establishment of the royal authority over all the

\* When this application was made, the King was in the hands of the parliament; the commission therefore, with his Majesty's privity and approbation, was signed by the prince of Wales, at that time in Holland.

British dominions,\* lord Willoughby, who had eight or nine years of his lease unexpired, applied to the king for leave to return to his government of Barbadoes. To this application no objection would have been made by the inhabitants, if his lordship had considered himself merely as representative of the crown; but his connection and contract with the earl of Carlisle, were by this time sufficiently understood by the planters, who saw with astonishment, that they were regarded by those great lords as mere tenants at will of their possessions. They solicited therefore the king's support and protection. "They pleaded," says Clarendon, "that they were the king's subjects; that they had repaired to Barbadoes as to a desolate place, and had by their industry obtained a livelihood there, when they could not with a good conscience stay in England; that if they should now be left to those lords to ransom themselves and compound for their estates, they must leave the country, and the plantation be destroyed, which yielded his majesty so great a revenue." Respecting the charter granted to the earl of Carlisle, they insisted, positively, that it was void in law; and they made two humble propositions to the king, either that his majesty would

\* On the 18th of February, 1661, his Majesty honoured thirteen gentlemen of Barbadoes with the dignity of baronetage, in consideration of their sufferings and loyalty during the civil war: They were, Sir John Colleton, Sir James Modiford, Sir James Drax, Sir Robert Davers, Sir Robert Hacket, Sir John Yeamans, Sir Timothy Thornhill, Sir John Whitham, Sir Robert Legard, Sir John Worsum, Sir John Rawdon, Sir Edwyn Stede, Sir Willoughby Chamberlayne.



give them leave to institute in his name, but at their own cost, a process in the Exchequer for trying the validity of the earl's patent; or that he would leave those who claimed under it (for the second earl of Carlisle dying in the interim, had bequeathed his rights in the West Indies to the earl of Kinnoul) to their legal remedy, absolutely denying that either the late or former lord Carlisle had sustained the smallest expense in settling the colony.

Instead of consenting to either of those most reasonable propositions, the king ordered inquiry to be made into the several allegations and claims of the parties concerned, by a committee of the privy-council; before whom some of the planters being heard, one of them, in order more readily to induce the king to take the sovereignty of the island into his own hands, offered, in the name of the inhabitants, to consent, in that case, to lay an imposition of so much in the hundred on the produce of their estates, out of which his Majesty's governor might be honourably supported, and the king dispose of the overplus as he should think fit. To a monarch of Charles's disposition, this was too tempting a proposition to be resisted. We are informed, that his majesty *received the offer very graciously*; "and the next care of the committee," adds the noble historian who was himself of that body, "was to make some computation, that might be depended upon, as to the yearly revenue that would arise upon the imposition within the island."

But the planters, when called upon the next day to give satisfaction in this particular, insisted that Mr. Kendall, the person who had made the offer had no authority to undertake for them, or the inhabitants within the island; and the utmost they could be brought to promise for themselves was, that they would use their endeavours with their friends in the island, to settle such a revenue on the crown, as the circumstances of the colony would admit of, which they said the assembly alone was competent to determine.

The prospect of a revenue, though distant and uncertain, brought forward the creditors of the earl of Carlisle, the patentee, who was indebted, it seems, at his death, in the sum of £80,000, and they had no hopes of being paid but from the profits of his West Indian possessions. The heirs of the earl of Marlborough likewise put in their claim for the arrearage of the annuity of £.300, granted under the original compromise, which I have before mentioned; and the lord Willoughby insisted at the same time on receiving a moiety of whatever profits might arise during the remainder of the term yet unexpired in his lease. The other moiety, during that time, and the whole in reversion, was claimed by the earl of Kinnoul.

To satisfy these several claimants, and secure a perpetual revenue to the crown, was a work of difficulty, and its accomplishment seems to have been the sole aim of the King's ministers; by

whom, after a tedious but partial investigation, (considering the colony as wholly at the king's mercy), it was finally ordered, that the lord Willoughby should immediately repair to his government, and insist on the grant and establishment by the assembly of a permanent and irrevocable revenue of four and a half per cent. to be paid in specie, on all dead commodities, the growth of the island, shipped to any port of the world; the money arising therefrom to be applied as follows:

First, towards an honourable and immediate provision for the earl of Kinnoul, who, it was alleged, had sacrificed his fortune in the king's service, and who covenanted, on such provision being secured to him, to surrender the Carlisle patent to the crown.

Secondly, towards satisfaction and full discharge of the earl of Marlborough's annuity.

Thirdly, it was stipulated that the surplus should be divided equally between the creditors of the earl of Carlisle and the lord Willoughby, during the term yet unexpired of his lordship's lease. On the expiration thereof, the remainder, after providing £.1,200 per annum for the King's governor for the time being, was ordered to be paid among the said creditors till their demands were fully satisfied and discharged:

Fourthly, on the extinction of those several incumbrances it was stipulated, that the whole revenue, subject to the charge of £.1,200 per annum to the governor, should be at the disposal of the crown.

On these terms it was understood that the proprietary government was to be dissolved, and that the planters were to consider themselves as legally confirmed in possession of their estates; and to carry into effect this important point, on which the whole arrangement depended, (the grant of a perpetual revenue by the assembly), lord Willoughby returned to his government in 1663.

It is not wonderful that the planters, on his lordship's arrival, though devoted to the interests of the crown, should have loudly murmured at the conduct and determination of the British government in the progress and conclusion of the whole business. Clarendon himself confesses, that the grant to Carlisle was voidable by law. The king therefore laid them under no great obligation in obtaining a surrender of it. Many of the planters had been obliged to quit their native country in consequence of their exertions in support of the royal cause during the civil war; by the late settlement, they perceived a regard expressed towards every interest concerned but their own; and the return which they met with, both for their former services, and also for augmenting the trade, revenue, and dominion of the parent state by their re-

cent labours, was a demand of a contribution, which they stated would amount to ten per cent. on the clear profits of their estates for ever.

But their complaints, though well founded, were unavailing. The king and his governor were too deeply interested to recede; the assembly was called upon to forge chains for themselves and their children; and if persuasion should fail, force was not only at hand, but was actually employed to compel them to submission. Colonel Farmer, who led the party in opposition, was arrested and sent prisoner to England, on a charge of mutiny and treason, nor was he released till after a tedious and severe confinement. Awed by this example, and sensible that no support could be expected from the people at home, whose privileges lay prostrate at the feet of the restored monarch, the assembly passed an act for the purposes required of them; and their posterity still bear, and it is apprehended will long continue to bear, the burthen of it!\*

\* I have thought it may be satisfactory to the reader to have an opportunity of perusing the act at large, which I therefore subjoin, premising, that the clause which exempts the lands called the 10,000 acres, and also that which stipulates for the building a sessions-house, and a prison, and providing for all other public charges incumbent on the government, out of the monies to be raised by the act, have been equally disregarded by the crown. The session-house and prison were not finished until the year 1730, and the expense (upwards of £.5,000) was then defrayed by a special tax on the inhabitants; and there was raised by other taxes no less a sum than £.19,440 1s. 4d. in three years (viz. from 1745 to 1748) for the repair of the fortifications.

The conduct of the lord chancellor Clarendon in this affair, who indeed appears to have been the person chiefly consulted in it, was afterwards thought so justly reprehensible, as to give occasion to the eighth article of his impeachment by the

*An ACT for settling the Impost on the Commodities of the Growth of this Island; passed the 12th of September, 1663.—No. 36.*

WHEREAS our late Sovereign Lord Charles the First, of blessed memory, did, by his letters patent under the great seal of England, grant and convey unto James Earl of Carlisle and his heirs for ever, the Propriety of this island of Barbadoes: And his sacred majesty that now is having by purchase invested himself in all the rights of the said earl of Carlisle, and in all other rights which any other person may claim from that patent, or any other; and thereby, more immediately and particularly, hath taken this island into his royal protection. And his most excellent majesty having, by letters patent under the great seal of England, bearing date the twelfth of June, in the fifteenth year of his reign, appointed his excellency Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, captain-general and chief governor of Barbadoes and all the Carribbee islands, with full power and authority to grant, confirm, and assure to the inhabitants of the same, and their heirs, for ever, all lands, tenements, and hereditaments under his majesty's great seal appointed for Barbadoes and the rest of the Carribbee islands, as, relation being thereunto had, may and doth more at large appear. And whereas, by virtue of the said earl of Carlisle's patent, divers governors and agents have been sent over hither, with authority to lay out, set, grant, or convey in parcels the lands within this island, to such persons as they should think fit; which was by them, in their respective times, as much as in them lay, accordingly performed. And whereas many have not their grants, warrants, and other evidences for their said lands, and others, by reason of the ignorances of those, want sufficient and legal words to create inheritances in them and their heirs, and others that never recorded their grants, or warrants, and others that can make no proof of any grants or warrants they ever had

House of Commons in the year 1667. From his answer to that article, I have collected (chiefly in his own words) great part of the account that I have given; and there cannot be a stronger demonstration of the tendency of power to pervert the

for their lands; and yet have been long and quiet possessors of the same, and bestowed great charges thereon. And whereas the acknowledgment of forty pounds of cotton per head, and other taxes and compositions formerly raised to the earl of Carlisle, was held very heavy: For a full remedy thereof for all the defects afore-related, and quieting the possessions and settling the tenures of the inhabitants of this island; Be it enacted by his excellency Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, &c. his council, and gentlemen of the assembly, and by the authority of the same, that notwithstanding the defects afore-related all the now rightful possessors of lands, tenements and hereditaments within this island, according to the laws and customs thereof, may at all times repair unto his excellency for the full confirmation of their estates and tenures, and then and there shall and may receive such full confirmation and assurance, under his majesty's great seal for this island, as they can reasonably advise or desire, according to the true intent and meaning of this act. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the payments of forty pounds of cotton per head, and all other duties, rents, and arrears of rent which have or might have been levied, be from henceforth absolutely and fully released and made void; and that the inhabitants of this island have and hold their several plantations to them and their heirs for ever, in free and common soccage, yielding and paying therefore, at the Feast of St. Michael every year, if the same be lawfully demanded, one ear of Indian corn to his majesty, his heirs and successors for ever, in full and free discharge of all rents and services for the future whatsoever, in consideration of the release of the said forty pounds, and in consideration of the confirmation of all estates in this island as aforesaid, and in acknowledgment of his majesty's grace and favour in sending to and appointing over us his said excellency, of whose prudence and moderate government we have heretofore had large experience, and do

judgment, and cloud the faculties of the wisest and worthiest of men, than the justification he has offered. He even claims great merit in not having advised the king to possess himself of the whole island of Barbadoes, without any regard to the planters or creditors concerned in the issue.

rest most assured thereof for the future. And forasmuch as nothing conduceth more to the peace and prosperity of any place, and the protection of every single person therein, than that the public revenue thereof may be in some measure proportioned to the public charges and expenses; and also well weighing the great charges that there must be of necessity in maintaining the honour and dignity of his majesty's authority here; the public meeting of the sessions, the often attendance of the council, the reparation of the forts, *the building a sessions-house and a prison, and all other public charges incumbent on the government*; do, in consideration thereof, give and grant unto his majesty, his heirs and successors for ever, and do most humbly desire your excellency to accept these our grants; and we humbly pray your excellency that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by his excellency Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, captain-general and chief governor of this island of Barbadoes, and all other the Carribbee islands, and by and with the consent of the council and the gentlemen of the assembly, representatives of this island, and by authority of the same, That an impost or custom be, from and after publication hereof, raised upon the native commodities of this island, after the proportions, and in manner and form as is hereafter set down and appointed; that is to say, upon all dead commodities of the growth or produce of this island, that shall be shipped off the same, shall be paid to our Sovereign Lord the King, his heirs and successors for ever, four and a half in specie for every five score.

And be it further enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid, That if any goods before mentioned, on which the said custom is imposed, and due, by this act, shall at any time hereafter be shipped or put into any boat or other vessel, to the intent to be carried into any



The prosecution of this great statesman, however, on this account, was of no advantage to the suffering planters; for in this, as in many other cases, the redress of a grievance, and the punishment of its author, were objects of very distinct consideration. Those who sought the ruin of Cla-

parts beyond the seas, the said imposition due for the same not paid, compounded for, or lawfully tendered to the collectors or their deputies, or not having agreed with the commissioners for that purpose to be appointed, or their deputies for the same, according to the true intent and meaning of the said act, that then, and from thenceforth shall the said goods be forfeit, the moiety thereof to be to our Sovereign Lord the King, and the other to him that shall inform, seize, and sue for the same in any court of record within this island; which grants are left to your excellency's own way of levying, in full confidence and assurance that your excellency will take such course for the collecting and gathering of the said impost, without any charge, duty or fees, as may be most for the ease of the people of this island.

Provided nevertheless, That neither this act, nor any thing therein contained, shall extend or be construed to bar his majesty, or his said excellency, from his or their right to any land granted, or any incroachments made upon the sea, since the year one thousand six hundred and fifty, or to any lands commonly called or known by the name of *The Ten Thousand Acres*; the merchants land, granted by the late earl of Carlisle, or his father, unto Marmaduke Rawden, esquire, William Perkins, Alexander Bannister, Edmund Forster, Captain Wheatley, and others their associates, on certain covenants and conditions: *Provided also, that the growth and produce of the said lands, mentioned in the preceding proviso, be not liable to any tax, impost, or custom, imposed by this act; any thing in the same seeming to the contrary notwithstanding.*

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That one act made the seventeenth day of January one thousand six hundred and fifty, intituled, An act importing the customs imposed and granted

rendon, had nothing less in view than the removal of oppression, from subjects so remote as those of Barbadoes.

In thus tracing the origin, progress, and termination of the proprietary government in this island, I have purposely chosen not to break the thread of

by the council, and gentlemen of the assembly, to the right honourable Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, lord lieutenant-general of the province of Carolina, and governor of Barbadoes; as also, his lordship's confirmation of the rights of the inhabitants of this island to their several estates, with the tenure and rent thereon created, be; and is from henceforth repealed, made void, frustrate, of none effect, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever.

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In 1684, the assembly of this island proposed to farm the four and a half per cent. for eleven years, for the annual rent of £.6,000 sterling, to be paid into the exchequer; the governor and council concurred, and it was agreed that £.7,000 currency per annum should be raised by a tax of twenty-one pence per acre, on all lands amounting to ten or more acres. The towns and traders to be taxed £.500 sterling. An act passed March 19th, 1684, for this purpose, and was sent home; but the lords of the committee for trade and plantations reported, that the commissioners of the customs with whom they had advised, were of opinion, that they could make no estimate of the duty, until they had experienced the produce thereof, under the then management, for one year at least; and that the commissioners appointed for managing the said duty in Barbadoes, had assured them the duty would be worth from £.8,000 to £.10,000 per annum. So the act was repealed.

This proposal to farm the four and an half per cent. duty, was made in consequence of governor Dutton's signifying to the council and assembly, on his arrival in 1680, that his majesty was inclined to commute the tax, for a reasonable recompense.

my narration, by recording any intermediate events of a nature foreign to that subject. Soon after the establishment of the commonwealth in England, circumstances however arose, respecting this colony, which have produced such effects on the general commerce of Great Britain, as cannot be overlooked in an historical and commercial survey of her West Indian plantations, and of which I shall now give some account.

The reader has been sufficiently apprized of the attachment of the Barbadians towards the regal government. One of the first acts passed by the assembly, after the arrival of the Lord Willoughby for the first time, (1647), was a declaration of their allegiance and fidelity to the unfortunate Charles the First, at that time a prisoner to the army; and on the death of that monarch, the popular resentment against his persecutors ran so high in this island, that the few planters who were suspected to be in the interest of the parliament, thought it necessary to seek protection in England.

To punish such stubborn defenders of a ruined cause, the parliament resolved, in 1651, to send a powerful armament for the reduction of all the English colonies in America and the West Indies; but particularly Barbadoes, at that time the most important and hostile of them all.

Many, indeed, were the motives which instigated the parliament to this determination. From

the beginning of the commotions in the mother-country, the planters, having no other means of conveying the produce of their lands to Europe, had employed in this necessary navigation, many of the ships and seamen of Holland; and at this juncture the English government entertained very hostile intentions towards the subjects of that republic. The reduction of Barbadoes would at once punish the colonists, and enable the English parliament to deprive the Dutch of so profitable an intercourse with them; it would also enrich the treasury of the new government, by the confiscation of many valuable ships and cargoes in the harbours of that and the other islands. The parliament had reason likewise, it was said, to apprehend that prince Rupert, with a squadron of the king's ships, was about crossing the Atlantic, to secure all the English American possessions for Charles the Second.

Ayscue, who commanded the parliament's forces employed on this expedition, arrived at Barbadoes on the 16th of October 1651, and succeeded at length in bringing the island to capitulate.\* But this was not effected without great difficulty; for he met with so stout a resistance, as deter-

\* Ayscue agreed, among other things, that the government should consist of a governor, council, and assembly, according to the ancient and usual custom of the island. The assembly to be chosen by a free and voluntary election of the freeholders of the island in the several parishes. That no taxes, customs, imposts, loans, or ex-

mined his employers at home immediately to enforce a scheme they had projected a short time before, of altering the whole system of the Barbadian commerce, by prohibiting by an act of the Commonwealth, all foreign shipping from trading with the English plantations; and not permitting any goods to be imported into England, or any of its dependencies, in any other than English bottoms; or in ships of that European nation of which the merchandize imported was the genuine growth and manufacture. And thus arose the famous *navigation act* of this kingdom; for immediately after the restoration, its provisions were adopted by Charles the Second, with this addition, that the master and three fourths of the mariners, should also be English subjects.

Whatever advantages the general commerce and navigation of England may have derived from this celebrated law, it must be allowed, that its original framers were actuated by no better motives (as a great writer\* hath observed) than those of punishing the planters, and clipping the wings of the Dutch. The inhabitants of Barbadoes, justly considering the law as a chastisement inflicted on them by the commonwealth for their loyalty to Charles the Se-

cise, should be laid, nor levy made on any of the inhabitants of this island, without their consent in a general assembly; and that all laws that had been made by general assemblies, not repugnant to the laws of England, should be good.

\* Blackstone.

cond, were filled with amazement and indignation, on finding its provisions adopted and confirmed on the restoration of that monarch. By the regulations of this act, and the establishment of the internal duty on their produce, of which I have so largely spoken, they thought themselves treated with a rigour which bordered on ingratitude, and they predicted the decline of their population, agriculture and wealth, from the effect of those measures. How far their predictions have been accomplished, a comparative state of the island at different periods will demonstrate: with which, and a few miscellaneous observations, I shall dismiss my present account.

Barbadoes is situated in 13 degrees 10 minutes north latitude, and in longitude 59 degrees west from London. It is about twenty-one miles in length, and fourteen in breadth, and contains 106,470 acres of land, most of which is under cultivation. The soil in the low lands is black, somewhat reddish in the shallow parts; on the hills of a chalky marl, and near the sea generally sandy. Of this variety of soil, the black mould is best suited for the cultivation of the cane, and, with the aid of manure, has given as great returns of sugar, in favourable seasons, as any in the West Indies, the prime lands of St. Kitt's excepted.

That the soil of this island is, to a great degree, naturally fertile, we must necessarily admit, if we give credit to the accounts which are transmitted

down to us, of its ancient population and opulence. We are assured, that about the year 1670, Barbadoes could boast of fifty thousand white, and upwards of one hundred thousand black inhabitants, whose labours, it is said, gave employment to sixty thousand tons of shipping.\* I suspect that this account is much exaggerated. It cannot however be doubted, that the inhabitants of this island have decreased with a rapidity seldom known in any other country. I have now before me authen-

\* The earliest planters of Barbadoes were sometimes reproached with the guilt of forcing or decoying into slavery the Indians of the neighbouring continent. The history of *Inkle* and *Yarico*, which the Spectator has recorded for the detestation of mankind, took its rise in this island; but happily this species of slavery has been long since abolished: and perhaps, such of my readers as have sympathized with the unfortunate *Yarico*, may not be sorry to hear, that she bore her misfortunes with greater philosophy than they have hitherto fancied. The story was first related by *Ligon*, who (after praising poor *Yarico's* excellent complexion, which, he says, was "a bright bay;" and her small breasts "with nipples of porphyrie") observes, that, "she chanc't afterwards to be with child by a Christian servant; and being very great, walked down to a woode, in which was a pond of water, and there, by the side of the pond, brought herself a-bed, and in three hours came home with the child in her arms, a lusty boy, frolicke and lively." The crime of *Inkle* the merchant, however, admits of no palliation; but it is ridiculous enough to hear *Abbé Raynal* (willing to improve upon *Addison*) ascribe to it an intended revolt of all the Negroes in Barbadoes, who, as he asserts, moved by indignation at *Inkle's* monstrous cruelty, vowed with one accord the destruction of all the Whites; but their plot was discovered the night before. it was to have been carried into effect. The *Histoire Philosophique* has a thousand beauties; but it grieves me to say, that in point of historical accuracy, it is nearly on a level with the History of *Robinson Crusoe*, or *Tom Thumb*.

tic returns of the number of its whites in 1724, and of its negroes in 1753: the former consisted of no more than eighteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five, the latter of sixty-nine thousand eight hundred and seventy. In 1786 the numbers were sixteen thousand one hundred and sixty-seven whites, eight hundred and thirty-eight free people of colour, and sixty-two thousand one hundred and fifteen negroes.

It appears too, that the annual produce of this island (particularly sugar) has decreased in a much greater proportion than in any other of the West Indian colonies. Postlethwayte states the crop of sugar, in 1736, at 22,769 hogsheads of 13 cwt. which is equal to 19,800 of 15 cwt. and the author of the *European Settlements*, published in 1761, calculates the average crop at 25,000 hogsheads. As the author first quoted gives a precise number, it is probable his statement was grounded on good authority. If so, the island has fallen off nearly one half in the annual growth of its principal staple. On an average of eight years (from 1740 to 1748) the exports were 13,948 hogsheads of sugar of 15 cwt. 12,884 puncheons of rum of 100 gallons, 60 hogsheads of melasses, 4,667 bags of ginger, 600 bags of cotton, and 327 gourds of aloes. The exports, on an average of 1784, 1785, and 1786, had fallen to 9,554 hogsheads of sugar, 5,448 puncheons of rum, 6,320 bags of ginger, 8,331 bags of cotton; exclusive of



some smaller articles, as aloes, sweetmeats, &c. of which the quantities are not ascertained.

That the dreadful succession of hurricanes, with which it has pleased the Almighty to visit this, and the other West Indian islands, within the last twelve years, has contributed to this great defalcation, cannot be doubted. The capital of this island was scarce risen from the ashes to which it had been reduced by two dreadful fires, when it was torn from its foundations, and the whole country made a scene of desolation, by the storm of the 10th of October 1780, in which no less than four thousand three hundred and twenty-six of the inhabitants (blacks and whites) miserably perished; and the damage to the country was computed at £.1,320,564 15s. sterling.

It might have been presumed, however, from the favourable seasons which have been experienced for the last three or four years, that the prospect was at length beginning to brighten; but although, since the failure of their sugar plantations, the inhabitants have found some resource in the cultivation of cotton, it does not seem probable, that any encouragement is capable of ever restoring this island to its ancient splendor and opulence; unless it be relieved from the heavy imposition of four and a half per cent. on their exported produce, of the origin of which I have so largely treated. It is to be hoped, that an enlightened minister will one day arise, who will have the cou-

rage and virtue to signify to the sovereign, that it is neither becoming the dignity, nor consistent with the character of the common father of all his subjects, to insist on a tribute from a part of them, which, though nominally granted by themselves, was assuredly obtained by fraud and oppression, and of which the continuance is a check to honest industry, and perhaps the immediate cause of the decline of this beautiful and once valuable colony.

Barbadoes is divided into five districts, and eleven parishes; and contains four towns, Bridgetown, Ostins or Charles town, St. James's (formerly called The Hole), and Speight's town. Bridgetown, the capital, before it was destroyed by the fires of 1766, consisted of about fifteen hundred houses, which were mostly built of brick; and it is still the seat of government, and may be called the chief residence of the governor, who is provided with a country villa called Pilgrims, situated within a mile of it: his salary was raised by queen Anne from twelve hundred to two thousand pounds per annum, the whole of which is paid out of the exchequer, and charged to the account of the four and a half per cent. duty. The form of the government of this island so very nearly resembles that of Jamaica, which has already been described, that it is unnecessary to enter into detail, except to observe, that the council is composed of twelve members, and the assembly of twenty-two. The most important variation respects the court of chancery, which in Barbadoes

is constituted of the governor *and council*, whereas in Jamaica the governor is sole chancellor. On the other hand, in Barbadoes, the governor sits in council, even when the latter are acting in a legislative capacity. This, in Jamaica, would be considered improper and unconstitutional. It may also be observed, that the courts of grand sessions, common pleas, and exchequer, in Barbadoes, are distinct from each other, and not, as in Jamaica, united and blended in one supreme court of judicature.

I shall close my account of Barbadoes with the following authentic documents :

An Account of the Number of Vessels, their Tonnage and Number of Men, (including their repeated Voyages), that cleared Outwards from the Island of Barbadoes to all Parts of the World, between the 5th of January 1787 and the 5th of January 1788; with the Species, Quantities, and Value of their Cargoes, according to the actual Prices in London, as made out by the Inspector-General of Great Britain.

| Whiber Board.     | SHIPPING. |        | SUGAR. |               | RUM.   |          | MELASSES.    |        | GINGER.      |        | COTTON. |           | RUSTIC. |   | MISCEL. ARTICLES. |        | TOTAL VALUE in Sterl. Money agreeable to the London market. |    |         |
|-------------------|-----------|--------|--------|---------------|--------|----------|--------------|--------|--------------|--------|---------|-----------|---------|---|-------------------|--------|-------------------------------------------------------------|----|---------|
|                   | No.       | Tons.  | Men    | Cwt. qrs. lb. | Galls. | Gallons. | Cwt. qr. lb. | lbs.   | Cwt. qr. lb. | Value. | Value.  |           |         |   |                   |        |                                                             |    |         |
| TO                |           |        |        |               |        |          |              |        |              |        |         |           |         |   |                   |        |                                                             |    |         |
| Great Britain     | 66        | 11,221 | 833    | 130,242       | 0      | 16       | 28689        | 1,089  | 5,437        | 2      | 18      | 2,640,725 | 240     | 0 | 5                 | 45,948 | 19                                                          | 1  | 486,570 |
| Ireland . . . .   | 3         | 317    | 28     | 2,114         | 0      | 0        | 25200        | 700    | 124          |        |         | 65,235    | 5       | 0 | 0                 | 35     | 7                                                           | 10 | 11,521  |
| American States   | 54        | 6,416  | 379    | 2,668         | 0      | 0        | 213,400      |        |              |        |         |           |         |   |                   | 69     | 16                                                          | 0  | 23,217  |
| Br. Am. Colonies  | 41        | 3,182  | 237    | 2,742         | 0      | 0        | 146,100      | 11,700 |              |        |         |           |         |   |                   | 32     | 0                                                           | 0  | 18,080  |
| Foreign W. Indies | 78        | 5,694  | 458    |               |        |          | 2000         |        |              |        |         |           |         |   |                   |        |                                                             |    | 207     |
| Africa . . . .    | 1         | 87     | 7      |               |        |          | 100          |        |              |        |         |           |         |   |                   |        |                                                             |    | 8       |
| Total             | 243       | 26,917 | 1942   | 137,766       | 0      | 16       | 415,489      | 13,489 | 5,561        | 2      | 18      | 2,705,975 | 245     | 0 | 5                 | 46,124 | 7                                                           | 11 | 539,605 |

*Produce of the Island of Barbadoes exported, for seven Years, from 1786 to 1792, both inclusive.*

| A D   | SUGAR.  |             | MELASSES. |       | RUM.  |            | GINGER.      |                      | ALDERS.              |        | COTTON.   |  |
|-------|---------|-------------|-----------|-------|-------|------------|--------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------|-----------|--|
|       | Hhds.   | Tres. Blls. | Hhds.     | Tres. | Hhds. | Tre. Blls. | Bags & Blls. | Hlds. Trec. Gouards. | Hlds. Trec. Gouards. | Bags.  | lbs.      |  |
| 1786. | 8,659   | 82 3,419    | 114       |       | 5,199 | 39 693     | 8070         | 1 0                  | 409                  | 8,864  |           |  |
| 1787  | 11,929  | 183 2,415   | 87        | 37    | 3,872 | 27 614     | 6095         | 1 1                  | 688                  | 10,511 |           |  |
| 1788  | 10 309  | 63 3,674    |           |       | 3,386 | 607        | 5364         |                      | 303                  |        | 1,894,365 |  |
| 1789  | 9, 21   | 96 4,520    |           |       | 3,172 | 397        | 5180         |                      | 372                  |        | 1,327,840 |  |
| 1790  | 9,998   | 123 2,935   |           |       | 2,331 | 261        | 4565         |                      | 475                  |        | 1,287,088 |  |
| 1791  | 11,333  | 60 2,340    | 30        |       | 3,008 | 411        | 3735         |                      | 770                  |        | 1,163,157 |  |
| 1792  | 17,073* | 125 2,698   | 188       |       | 5,064 | 512        | 3046         |                      | 515                  |        | 974,178   |  |

\* From this great increase in the export of sugar, and decrease in that of the minor staples, it seems probable, that the advanced price of that article in Europe, has encouraged the cultivation of that article on plantations which had formerly been abandoned, or appropriated to a different line of culture.

*Account of the Number of NEGROES in Barbadoes, and Amount of the Public Taxes for seven Years, from 1786 to 1792, both inclusive.*

| A D  | No. of Slaves. |        | Do. imported. |      | Amount of Taxes. |        |
|------|----------------|--------|---------------|------|------------------|--------|
|      | 1786           | 1792   | 1786          | 1792 | 1786             | 1792   |
| 1786 | 62,115         | 64,330 | 511           | 744  | £.10,138         | 14 2½  |
| 1787 | 62,712         |        | 528           |      | 13,528           | 15 11½ |
| 1788 | 63,557         |        | 1585          |      | 8,382            | 12 4½  |
| 1789 | 63,870         |        | 556           |      | 5,534            | 18 3   |
| 1790 | 64,068         |        | 131           |      | 13,482           | 19 0   |
| 1791 | 63,250         |        | 426           |      | 6,203            | 2 11½  |
| 1792 | 64,330         |        | 744           |      | 9,445            | 19 3   |

The taxes thus levied on the public consist of a capitation tax on negroes.—A tax on sugar mills, dwelling houses, and carriages; together with an excise, &c. on wines imported. Besides all which there is a parochial tax on land, amounting on average throughout the island, to about two shillings per acre; and an assessment in labour for the repair of the highways. The whole is altogether exclusive of the heavy duty of 4½ per cent. to the crown.

## CHAPTER II.

## GRENADA

## AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

*First discovery, name, and inhabitants.—French invasion and establishment in 1650.—War with, and extermination of the natives.—The island and its dependencies conveyed to the Count de Cerillac.—Misconduct and punishment of the deputy-governor.—The colony reverts to the crown of France.—State of the island in 1700.—And again in 1762, when captured by the English.—Stipulations in favour of the French inhabitants.—First measures of the British government.—Claim of the crown to levy a duty of four and a half per cent. on produce exported.—Arguments for and objections against the measure.—Decision of the court of King's Bench on this important question.—Strictures on some positions advanced by the lord chief justice on this occasion.—Transactions within the colony.—Royal instructions in favour of the Roman Catholic capitulants.—Internal dissensions.—Defenceless state.—French invasion in 1779.—Brave defence of the garrison.—Unconditional surrender.—Hardships exercised towards the English planters and their creditors.—Redress given by the court of France.—Grenada, &c. restored to Great Britain by the peace of 1783.—Present state of the colony in respect to cultivation, productions, and exports; government and population. POSTSCRIPT. Appendix.*

**G**RENADA was discovered by, and received its name from, Christopher Columbus, in his third voyage, in the year 1498. He found it pos-

sessed by a numerous and warlike people, amongst whom it does not appear that the Spaniards ever attempted to force a settlement. They had a nobler prize to contend for on the continent, and a century elapsed, before the other nations of Europe considered the regions of the New World as countries, wherein all men might seize on what suited their convenience, without any regard to the proper inhabitants. Thus the Charaibes of Grenada happily remained in peaceful obscurity until the year 1650, when the avarice and ambition of a restless individual devoted them to destruction.

This person was Du Parquet, the French governor of Martinico, nephew and heir of Desnambuc, of whom memorable mention is made in the annals of St. Christopher. Notwithstanding that the French establishment in Martinico was itself of recent date, and that a great part of that island still remained uncultivated; and although another establishment was, at the same time, begun by the same nation, in the large and fertile island of Guadeloupe, yet such was the rapaciousness of this people, that upwards of two hundred hardy ruffians were easily collected, by Du Parquet's encouragement, for an attempt on Grenada; and it is apparent from the nature and magnitude of the preparations, that it was considered an enterprize of difficulty and danger.

The history of this expedition, which took place in June 1650, is related at large by Father du Ter-

tre, whose account exhibits such a monstrous mixture of fanaticism and knavery in the conduct of its leaders, as cannot be contemplated without indignation and horror. Although it is evident, that the French had not the smallest justifiable pretence for this invasion, yet we find the commanders administering the holy sacrament, in the most solemn manner, to all the soldiers on their embarkation; and again, on their landing, Du Parquet, causing a Cross to be erected, compelled them to kneel down before it, and join in devout prayer to Almighty God, for success to their enterprize.

This commander seems, however, to have had a few scruples of conscience concerning the justice of his proceedings; for, having been received and entertained with the utmost kindness and cordiality by the natives, (contrary to his expectations, and perhaps, to his wishes), he thought it necessary to affect some little regard to moderation, by pretending to open a treaty with the chief of the Charaibes for the purchase of the country. He gave the natives (observes Du Tertre) *some knives and hatchets, and a large quantity of glass beads, besides two bottles of brandy for the chief himself*; and thus (continues he) was the island fairly ceded to the French nation by the natives themselves in lawful purchase! After this notable transaction, it is not wonderful that the French should consider the refusal of the poor savages to confirm the agreement, as contumacy and rebellion.



Du Parquet having thus established a colony in Grenada, and built a fort for its protection, left the government of the island to a kinsman, named Le Compte, a man, according to Du Tertre, who possessed very singular talents for government; *and was remarkable for clemency and humanity.* We find this gentleman, however, eight months afterwards, engaged in a most bloody war with the Charaibes; in the prosecution of which he authorised such acts of cruelty, as furnish a portrait of him very different from that which the historian has exhibited. On receiving news of the revolt of the natives, Du Parquet sent a reinforcement of three hundred men from Martinico, with orders to extirpate the natives altogether; but Le Compte seems not to have wanted any incitement to acts of barbarity; for Du Tertre admits, that he had already proceeded to murder, without mercy, every Charaibe that fell into his hands; not sparing even the women and children.

Of the manner in which this humane and accomplished commander, and his civilized followers, conducted hostilities against these miserable people, we may form an idea, from a circumstance that occurred in one of their expeditions, of which the reverend historian concludes his narrative as follows: "Forty of the Charaibes were massacred on the spot. About forty others, who had escaped the sword, ran towards a precipice, from whence they cast themselves headlong into the sea, and miserably perished. A beautiful young girl of

twelve or thirteen years of age, who was taken alive, became the object of dispute between two of our officers, each of them claiming her as his lawful prize; a third coming up, put an end to the contest, by shooting the girl through the head. The place from which these barbarians threw themselves into the sea, has been called ever since *le Morne des Sauteurs*.\* Our people (having lost but one man in the expedition) proceeded in the next place to set fire to the cottages, and root up the provisions of the savages, and, having destroyed, or taken away, every thing belonging to them, returned in high spirits," (*bien joyeux*.)

By a series of such enormities, the whole race of Charaibes that possessed Grenada in 1650, was speedily exterminated, and the French, having in this manner butchered all the natives, proceeded, in the next place, to massacre each other.

The particulars of this civil contest may, without injury to my readers be omitted. I shall therefore only observe, that the supreme authority of Du Parquet and his lieutenant, was at length established in Grenada; but the expense which had attended the plantation from its outset, and the maintenance of the force which Du Parquet had been compelled to furnish in support of his authority, had so greatly injured his fortune, as to induce him to look out for a purchaser of all his rights and

\* Leaper's Hill.

possessions in this island and its dependencies. In 1656 such a purchaser offered in the count de Cerillac, to whom the whole was conveyed for 30,000 crowns.

The conduct of Cerillao towards the inhabitants of his newly acquired dominion was highly injudicious and oppressive. He appointed a governor of so arrogant and rapacious a disposition, and supported him in his extortions with such obstinacy, as to compel the most respectable of the settlers to quit the country and seek for safety under a milder government. At length the people that remained took the administration of justice into their own hands; by seizing on the person of the governor, and bringing him to a public trial. The criminal was condemned to be hanged: but he pleaded noble birth, and demanded the honour of decollation. His request would have been granted, but unluckily an expert executioner in the business of beheading could not readily be found; the judges therefore compounded the matter with his excellency, by consenting that he should be shot, and he suffered in that mode with great composure.

Some years after this, Monsieur de Cerillac, the proprietor, receiving, as it may be supposed, but little profit from his capital, conveyed all his rights and interests in Grenada, &c. to the French West Indian company; whose charter being abolished in 1674, the island from thenceforward became vested in the crown of France.

Under the various revolutions and calamities which had thus attended this unfortunate plantation, it may well be imagined, that cultivation had made but little progress in it; but although order and submission were at length introduced by the establishment of the royal authority, various causes concurred to keep the colony in a state of poverty and depression for many years afterwards. Even so late as 1700, if Raynal has been rightly informed, the island contained no more than 251 whites and 525 blacks; who were employed on three plantations of sugar, and fifty-two of indigo.

After the peace of Utrecht, the government of France began to turn its attention towards her West Indian possessions. Grenada however, for many years, partook less of its care than the rest. It had no constant correspondence with the mother country: some oppressive regulations of the farmers-general ruined the cultivation of one of its staples, tobacco: and the planters had not the means of obtaining a supply of negroes from Africa, sufficient for the purpose of cultivating sugar to any extent. These inconveniencies led them into a smuggling intercourse with the Dutch: a resource which at length changed their circumstances for the better; increased their numbers, and occasioned a great part of the country to be settled, in-somuch that when, in the year 1762, the fortune of war made the English masters of this and the rest of the French Charaibbean islands, Grenada and the Grenadines are said to have yielded annually,

in clayed and muscovado sugar, a quantity equal to about 11,000 hogsheads of muscovado of 15 cwt. each, and about 27,000lbs. of indigo.

Grenada surrendered on capitulation in February 1762, and with its dependencies, was finally ceded to Great Britain, by the definitive treaty of peace at Paris on the 10th of February 1763; St. Lucea being restored ~~at the same time to France~~. The chief stipulations in favour of the inhabitants, as well by the treaty, as by the articles of capitulation, were these; 1st. That as they would become by their surrender, subjects of Great Britain, they should enjoy their properties and privileges, and pay taxes, *in like manner as the rest of his majesty's subjects of the other British Leeward Islands*. 2dly. With respect to religion, they were put on the same footing as the inhabitants of Canada, viz. liberty was given them to exercise it according to the rights of the Romish church, *as far as the laws of Great Britain permitted*. 3dly. Such of the inhabitants of Grenada, as chose to quit the island, should have liberty so to do, and eighteen months should be allowed them to dispose of their effects.

The island and its dependencies being thus become a British colony, one of the first measures of government was to issue a proclamation under the great seal, bearing date the 7th of October 1763, wherein, amongst other things, it is declared, "that  
"all persons inhabiting in, or resorting to, the  
"island of Grenada, might confide in the royal

“ protection for the enjoyment of the benefit of the  
“ laws of England, with the right of appeal to the  
“ king in council, as fully as the inhabitants of the  
“ other British colonies in America, under the  
“ king’s immediate government.”—It also sets  
forth, “ that the king, by letters patent under the  
“ great seal, had given express power and direction  
“ to the governor, as soon as the state and circum-  
“ stances of the colony would admit thereof, with  
“ the advice and consent of the council, and the re-  
“ presentatives of the people, to make, constitute,  
“ and ordain laws, statutes, and ordinances for the  
“ good government thereof, as near as may be  
“ agreeably to the laws of England, and under such  
“ regulations and restrictions as are used in the  
“ other British colonies.”

This proclamation was followed by another, dated the 26th of March 1764, inviting purchasers upon certain terms and conditions.

The governor thus said to have been appointed, was general Melville, whose commission however did not bear date until the 9th of April 1764, and the assembly which he was directed to summon, met for the first time in 1765; previous to which, the British inhabitants were irresistibly called to the discussion of the great constitutional question; of which it is proper I should now give some account.

The question arose from the information, that the crown, conceiving itself entitled by the terms

of the capitulation to the duty of four and an half per cent. upon all produce exported from the newly ceded islands, as paid at Barbadoes, &c. had issued letters patent, bearing date the 20th July 1764, ordering and directing, by virtue of the prerogative royal, that from and after the 29th of September, then next ensuing, such duty or import in specie, should be levied in Grenada; in lieu of all customs and duties formerly paid to the French king.

We have seen, in the history of Barbadoes, in what manner the inhabitants of that island became subject to the duty in question; and to what purposes the money was expressly stipulated to be applied; but unjustifiable as were the means by which that imposition was originally established in Barbadoes, the grant was, apparently, the grant of the people themselves, by their representatives in their legislative capacity. Even Charles the II<sup>d</sup>. in whose reign the grant passed, though a rapacious and unprincipled monarch, did not openly claim the right of laying taxes by his own authority in a colony which had an assembly of its own, competent to that purpose. The king was ready enough to over-awe, or to corrupt the members which composed that assembly; but he left them the form and semblance at least, of a free government.

In defence of the present measure it was urged, that Grenada being a conquered country, the king was invested with the power of putting the inha-

bitants under what form of government he thought best; that he might have granted them what terms of capitulation, and have concluded what articles of peace with them he saw fit; and further, that the assurance to the inhabitants of Grenada, in the articles of capitulation, that they should enjoy their properties and privileges in like manner as the other his majesty's subjects in the British Leeward Islands, necessarily implied, that they were bound to submit to the same consequences of their being subjects as were submitted to by the inhabitants of those islands; one of which was the payment of the duty in question. It was said therefore, that the demand of this duty was most reasonable, equitable and political; for that it was only putting Grenada, as to duties, on the same footing with all the British Leeward Islands. If Grenada paid more, it would be detrimental to her, if less, it would be detrimental to the other Leeward islands.

On the other side, it was contended, that the letters patent were void on two points, the first was, "that although they had been granted before the proclamation of the 7th of October 1763, yet the king could not exercise such a legislative power over a conquered country." The second point was, "that although the king had sufficient power and authority, before the 7th of October 1763, to do such a legislative act, he had divested himself of such authority previous to the letters patent of the 20th of July 1764."



The crown, however, persisting in its claim, and the inhabitants in opposing it, issue was joined on the arguments that I have stated, and the question was at length referred to a solemn adjudication before the judges of the court of King's Bench in England.\*

The case was elaborately argued in Westminster-hall, four several times; and in Michaelmas term 1774, lord chief justice Mansfield pronounced judgment, *against the crown*. The consequence was, that the duty in question was abolished not only in Grenada, but also in the ceded islands of Dominica, St. Vincent and Tobago.

It may be reasonably supposed, that the inhabitants of all these islands had sufficient cause for exultation at a verdict so favourable to their interests; but the circumstances on which the decision was founded, and the doctrines which were promulgated along with it, became the subject of much animadversion; and indeed (if I may obtrude my own opinion in such a case) they appear to me to be of a dangerous and unconstitutional tendency.

The noble and venerable judge who pronounced the opinion of the court, rested the determination solely on the circumstance, that the proclamations of October 1763, and March 1764, were of prior date to the letters patent; observing, that the king

\* The case is related at large in Cowper's Reports.

had precluded himself from the exercise of legislative authority over Grenada, *before* the letters patent were issued. "Through inattention, he said, of the king's servants, in inverting the order in which the instruments should have passed, the last act was contradictory to, and a violation of the first, and on that account null and void." But, although the noble lord confined the mere legal question to a narrow compass, he judged it necessary, at the same time, to enter on a wide and extensive field of discussion, in support of the regal authority over conquered countries; maintaining, "that it is left to the king to grant or refuse a capitulation;—if he refuses, *and puts the inhabitants to the sword, or otherwise exterminates them*, all the lands belong to himself. If he receives the inhabitants under his protection, and grants them their property, he has a power to fix *such terms and conditions as he thinks proper*. He may (said the noble judge) yield up the conquest, or retain it, *on what terms he pleases*, and change part, or the whole of the law, or political form of its government, *as he sees best*." In reply to an observation, that no adjudged case, in point, had been adduced, the noble lord declared, that this was not to be wondered at, "inasmuch, as no question was ever started before but, that the king has a right *to a legislative authority* over a conquered country;" and he quoted an opinion of the crown lawyers in 1722, in respect of Jamaica. The assembly of that island being refractory, it was referred to Sir Philip Yorke and Sir Clement Wearge, to know "what could be

done if the assembly should obstinately continue to withhold all the usual supplies." They reported, that "if Jamaica was still to be considered as *a conquered island*, the king had a right to levy taxes upon the inhabitants; but if it was to be considered in the same light *as the other colonies*, no tax could be imposed on the inhabitants but by *an assembly of the island*, or by *an act of parliament*."

It is impossible, I think, not to perceive, throughout these, and other parts of the learned judge's argument, a certain degree of bias arising from the unhappy dissensions which, about that period, broke out into a civil war between Great Britain and her colonies; in the progress of which, it is believed, this noble person distinguished himself as an active partizan, and a powerful advocate for the unconditional supremacy of the mother-country. I might otherwise be chargeable with great arrogance in presuming to differ from such weight of authority; but, surely, it will be permitted me to examine the doctrine maintained on this occasion, by the test of those cases, which the noble judge himself adduced in its support. In such an examination, plain argument and common sense may supply the subtleties of legal refinement, and the want of professional learning.

The cases chiefly relied on by the learned judge, were those of Ireland, Wales, Berwick and New York; in all which places it was asserted, that the king, after their conquest, had, of his own autho-

rity, exercised the powers of legislature, by introducing an alteration of their former laws, and establishing a new system of government over the inhabitants. "No man (observed his lordship, in the case of Ireland) ever said, that the change in the laws of that country was made by the parliament of England: no man ever said the crown could not do it."

With the utmost deference, however, to the sentiments of this great and enlightened lawyer, I presume to think, that the question was not simply, whether the crown alone, or the parliament of England had the right of exercising the authority contended for?—I will even admit that the interposition of parliament was unnecessary: Still, however, the main question remains to be answered, which is, *To what extent may the royal prerogative in such cases be exerted?* Did the noble judge mean to assert, that conquest destroys *all* the rights of the conquered, and that the king, in changing their laws and form of government, has a right to prescribe to them, *not merely the English constitution*;—but any other system he thinks best? If such was the opinion, it may be affirmed, that the cases which his lordship adduced in support of his argument warrant no such conclusion.

The first case was that of Ireland. "The fact, says the noble lord, comes out clearly to be, that Ireland received the laws of England by the char-

ters and commands of Henry II. king John, and Henry III."

Of Wales, the noble lord observes, "that the statute of Wales (12 Edward I.) is certainly no more than *regulations*, made *by the king in his council*, for the government of Wales, and that the king governed it *as a conquest*;" but let us hear, on this subject, the learned judge Blackstone. This territory, observes Blackstone, being then entirely re-annexed (by a kind of feudal resumption) to the dominion of the crown of England, or, as the statute of Rutland expresses it *terra, Walliae cum incolis suis, prius regi jure feodali subjecta*, (of which homage was the sign), *jam in proprietatis dominium totaliter et cum integritate conversa est, et coronae regni Angliae tanquam pars corporis ejusdem annexa et unita*. But the finishing stroke to their independency, was given by the statute 27 Henry VIII. c. 26, which at the same time gave the utmost advancement to their civil prosperity, by admitting them to *a thorough communication of laws with the subjects of England*. Thus were this brave people gradually conquered into the enjoyment of true liberty; being insensibly put *upon the same footing, and made fellow citizens with their conquerors*."

Another case was that of Berwick, which, observed the noble lord, "after the conquest of it, was governed by charters from the crown, without the interposition of Parliament, till the reign of

James I." The noble judge would have stated this case more fairly, had he said, that Edward I. *at the request of the inhabitants*, confirmed to them the enjoyment of their ancient laws; but, that "its constitution was put *on an English footing* by a charter of king James." These are the very words of Blackstone.

The case next quoted by the learned judge was that of New York, which was conquered from the Dutch in 1664, and like Wales, remained in possession of most of its former inhabitants. "King Charles II. (observes the noble judge) changed the form of their constitution and political government; by granting it to the duke of *York*, to hold of his crown under all the regulations contained in the *letters patent*."—So far is true; but what followed? This duke of York (afterwards James II.) was a man, whose principles of government were in the highest degree repugnant and inimical to those of the English constitution. Accordingly, he attempted at first, to introduce into the newly acquired country, a system little consonant to British freedom; but he was disappointed and defeated. He was compelled, much against his inclination, to allow the people to choose deputies to represent them in the legislature; and these deputies actually voted, "that all the ordinances which had been made by the governor and council before the people were admitted to a share in the legislature, were invalid, *because they were passed in a manner repugnant to the constitution of England*."

From this recital, it is I think evident, that the noble and learned judge mistook the *gist* of the question: or rather confounded together two things which are totally distinct and repugnant in their nature; for he appears to have considered the prerogative in the king, *of extending to his newly acquired subjects the benefits of the English constitution*, as equivalent to the right of ruling them by whatever constitution or system of government he pleases; or, *by none at all*.

It would seem then, that if the cases which have been adduced prove any thing, they prove that the crown neither has prescribed, nor could prescribe, any form of government incompatible with the principles of the British constitution, to any colony or territory whatever, whether acquired by conquest or settlement;—and good authorities are not wanting in support of this doctrine. “The king of Great Britain (says an excellent writer\*) although at the head of a free state, may, in his own right hold other states, under a form of government *that is not free*; as he does, for instance, the states of the electorate of Hanover. He may too, even as king of Great Britain, by virtue of his prerogative, and as generalissimo of the empire, hold a conquered state (for the time being) under a form of government that is not free; that is, under military law: but in the instant that such conquered state is, by treaty of peace, or otherwise, ceded

\* Mr. Estwick.

to the crown of Great Britain, in that instant it imbibes the spirit of the constitution, it is naturalized; it is assimilated to the government, it is governable and to be governed by, and under all those powers with which the governing power of king, lords, and commons, is invested by the constitution; but it is not governable, neither is to be governed, by any powers, which the governing power of king, lords, and commons, does not possess from the constitution: as for example, it cannot be governed on the principles of slavery; because, the governing power of king, lords, and commons, is appointed by the constitution to govern on the principles of liberty." Surely, it is a proposition absurd and monstrous on the very face of it, to say, that a limited monarch, in a free state, may govern any part of the dominions of such a state in an arbitrary and tyrannical manner. A body of subjects so governed, would, if sufficiently numerous, be fit instruments to enslave the rest!

The intelligent reader will admit the vast importance of this question, both to the present age and to posterity; and perceive, how greatly the dearest interests of men, who, in the contingencies of war shall hereafter fall under the British dominion, may possibly be concerned in its discussion. To such readers no apology will be necessary, for the detail which I have thought it my duty to give on a subject of such constitutional magnitude.—I now return to transactions with the colony.



It has been stated that the first assembly met in 1765. At that time, none of the French Roman catholic inhabitants claimed a right, or even expressed a desire, of becoming members, either of the council or assembly: but in 1768, the governor received instructions from the crown, to admit two of them into the council, and to declare others to be eligible into the assembly, on taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The governor was directed also to include the names of certain persons of this description, in the commission of the peace.

These instructions, and the measures which were taken in consequence thereof, gave rise to violent commotions and party divisions in the colony, which, being imbibed by religious controversy, continue to divide the inhabitants to the present hour. It were highly unbecoming in me (a stranger to the island) to flatter the passions of one party or the other; and I should readily consign all the circumstances to oblivion, but that it is my duty as an historian, to state, without prejudice, such particulars as may, in their consequences, affect the general welfare of the colony, that the errors of one age may serve as a lesson to the next.

The opposition that was given by the British inhabitants to the appointment of any of the Roman catholic capitulants to seats in the legislature, arose, I believe, originally, from an idea that the royal in-

structions, in this case, were in direct violation of the test act of Charles II. which requires, "that all persons enjoying any place of trust or profit shall, in addition to the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, subscribe a declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's supper." By the king's instructions, above cited, his Roman catholic subjects of Grenada were declared eligible without subscribing to this declaration.

Liberal and enlightened minds at this day are not easily reconciled to the doctrine, that an adherence to mere speculative opinions in matters of faith, ought to drive any loyal subject from the service of his country, or deprive a man (otherwise entitled) of the enjoyment of those honours and distinctions, the distribution of which, the wisdom of the laws has assigned to the sovereign. Much less will it be thought, that such a man is unworthy of that confidence which his neighbours and fellow citizens, who are best acquainted with his principles and virtues, and are themselves of a different persuasion, shall think fit to repose in him. At the same time, it must be acknowledged, that the recent and then depending claim in the crown, to lay taxes on Grenada by its own authority, gave the inhabitants just cause of apprehension, that the royal instructions in the present case were founded, in like manner, on a pretension to legislative authority; subversive of their own colonial assembly.

On the other hand, it was alleged, that the test act was never meant to extend to the British plantations; that it was confined, both in its letter and spirit, to the kingdom of England and the town of Berwick; and though it were true, that it is the practice of the courts of Grenada to adopt both the common and statute law of England, it was contended, nevertheless, that the adoption could extend only to such of the English statutes as were applicable to the peculiar situation of the colony. It was urged, that the act in question originated in an age of religious frenzy and fanatic violence. The authority of history was adduced to prove, that it was particularly promoted by a worthless individual, from animosity to the Duke of York, who was obliged, in consequence of it, to resign the great office of lord high admiral. A law thus founded and supported, instead of being considered as suited to the circumstances of a new and infant colony, ought, it was said, to be expunged from the English statute book.

What influence these, or other considerations, had on the British ministry, I presume not to say. It is certain that the king refused to revoke his instructions; in consequence whereof, the most zealous of the protestant members of the assembly declining to attend, it was seldom that a house could be formed. Public affairs soon fell into the utmost confusion, and in this state of faction and perplexity, the island continued, until its re-capture by the French in 1779.

On this occasion, charges were brought against the French inhabitants which I will not repeat, because I have no other evidence to support them than the mutual reproaches, and reciprocal accusations of the parties. The complaints indeed which were loudly made on the part of the French, of an usurpation of their dearest rights by the prevailing faction, seemed to imply, that they relied rather on justification than denial.

The French ministry however required no other encouragement for attacking this island, than the defenceless state in which all the British settlements in the West Indies were at that juncture notoriously left. The hopeless and destructive war in North America had drawn to its vortex all the powers, resources, and exertions of Great Britain. Already had Dominica and St. Vincent become a sacrifice to that unfortunate contest; when it fell to the lot of Grenada to experience her share of the general misfortune.

On the 2d of July 1779, a French armament, consisting of a fleet of 25 ships of the line, 10 frigates, and 5000 troops, under the command of the Count D'Estaing, appeared off the harbour and town of St. George; the whole force of the island was composed of 90 men of the 48th regiment, 300 militia of the island, and 150 seamen from the merchant ships; and its fortifications consisted chiefly of an intrenchment, which had been hastily

thrown up round the summit of the Hospital-hill. This intrenchment the count D'Estaing invested the next day, at the head of 3000 of his best forces, which he led up in three columns, and after a hard conflict and the loss of 300 men, carried the lines. Never did so small a body of men make a nobler defence against such inequality of numbers. The governor (lord Macartney) and the remains of his little garrison, immediately retired into the old fort, at the mouth of the harbour; which however was wholly untenable, being commanded by the Hospital-hill battery, the guns of which having been most unfortunately left unspiked, were now turned against them. At day-break, the French opened a battery of two twenty-four pounders against the walls of the old fort. In this situation, the governor and inhabitants had no resource but in the hopes of obtaining favourable terms of capitulation; and herein they were disappointed. Their proposals were scornfully rejected, and such hard and extraordinary terms offered and insisted on by count D'Estaing, as left them no alternative but the sacrifice of their honour, or an unconditional surrender. They embraced the latter; and it must be acknowledged, that the protection which was afforded to the helpless inhabitants of the town, and their property, not only while the treaty was depending, but also after the surrender of the island at discretion, reflected the highest lustre on the discipline as well as humanity of the conquerors. Protection and safe-guards were granted on every application, and

thus a town was saved from plunder, which by the strict rules of war might have been given up to an exasperated soldiery.

It is to be lamented that the subsequent conduct of the French government of Grenada, towards its new subjects, was not quite so generous. By an ordinance of the Count de Durat, the new governor, they were enjoined, under the penalty of military execution and confiscation of property, due from the payment, directly or indirectly, of all debts due by them to British subjects, residing in any part of the British dominions; and by another ordinance, the prohibition was extended to such debts owing to the subjects of the United Provinces of Holland, as were guaranteed by any of the subjects of Great Britain. The Count D'Estaing had inserted clauses to the same effect, in the form of capitulation, which he had tendered to the garrison, and it was those prohibitions that induced the British inhabitants with an honest indignation, to risk the consequence of an unconditional surrender, rather than submit to them. With the virtue and integrity that it is to be hoped will for ever distinguish the British character, they considered no sacrifice so great as the violation of that confidence, which had been reposed in them by their friends and creditors in Europe. But the ordinances went still further. By the regulations which they contained, it was enacted, that all the estates belonging to English absentees, should be put into the hands of certain persons to be nominated by the governor, called

*conservators*; and the produce be paid into the public treasury. Thus was plunder sanctioned by authority; and the absent proprietors were not the only victims. The shameful facility with which every French claimant was put into possession of estates to which the slightest pretension was set up, gave the resident planters reason to apprehend, that the only indulgence they were to expect, was that which Poliphemus promised Ulysses, *of being devoured the last*.

Most of these injurious proceedings, and various acts of personal oppression, inflicted on the conquered inhabitants of Grenada, were, by them, imputed to the too great influence with the governor of their late fellow subjects and neighbours, the French planters; and it is much easier to account for, than to justify their conduct. Let it be remembered, however, to the honour of the French nation, that these nefarious proceedings were no sooner made known to the court of France, than they were disapproved and reprobated. The appointment of conservators was abolished, and restoration ordered to be made of the estates of absent proprietors. Redress was likewise very generally given by appeals in the last resort, to such of the resident planters as had been illegally deprived of their possessions. But it was not long before the island itself reverted to the British dominion.

Grenada and the Grenadines were restored to Great Britain, with all the other captured islands

in the West Indies, (Tobago excepted), by the general pacification which took place in January 1783; a pacification upon which, whatever may be its general merits, it is impossible but that the English sugar planters (except perhaps those of the ceded island) must reflect with grateful satisfaction. It might indeed have been wished, by those who have at heart the present repose and future prosperity of mankind, that some salutary regulations had been framed, at the same time, for preventing the revival of those unhappy national animosities among the white inhabitants of Grenada, of which, I have so largely spoken, and which I am sorry to be informed, were renewed on the restoration of the island, with additional force and aggravated violence. It is not my intention however to enter into any further detail on the subject. As a friend to the interests of humanity, independent of religious opinions, and locality of birth, I shall rejoice, if means can be found to restore to this little community that peace, confidence and unanimity, without which its inhabitants must be a ruined people, and a prey to the first invader.

Having thus, as I conceive, sufficiently treated of the historical and political concerns of this valuable colony, I shall conclude with a short display of its present state (1791), in respect of soil, population, productions, and exports; premising, that many of those little islands which are called the Grenadines, no longer appertain to the government of Grenada. By an arrangement of the British administration,



which has taken effect since the peace, a line of division passes in an east and west direction, between Carriacou and Union island. The former of these, and some smaller islands south of it, are all that are now comprized in the Grenada government; Union island, with all the little islands adjoining, to the north, being annexed to the government of St. Vincent.

Grenada is computed to be about twenty-four miles in length and twelve miles in its greatest breadth, and contains about 80,000 acres of land; of which, although no less than 72,141 acres paid taxes in 1776, and may therefore be supposed fit for cultivation, yet the quantity actually cultivated has never exceeded 50,000 acres. The face of the country is mountainous, but not inaccessible in any part, and it abounds with springs and rivulets. To the north and the east, the soil is a brick mould; the same or nearly the same, as that of which mention has been made in the history of Jamaica. On the west side, it is a rich black mould on a substratum of yellow clay. To the south, the land in general is poor, and of a reddish hue, and the same extends over a considerable part of the interior country. On the whole, however, Grenada appears to be fertile in a high degree, and by the variety, as well as excellence, of its returns, seems adapted to every tropical production. The exports of the year 1776, from Grenada and its dependencies, were 14,012,157 lbs. of muscovado, and 9,273,607 lbs. of clayed sugar; 818,700 gallons of

rum; 1,827,166 lbs. of coffee; 457,719 lbs. of cacao; 91,943 lbs. of cotton; 27,638 lbs. of indigo, and some smaller articles; the whole of which, on a moderate computation, could not be worth less at the ports of shipping, than £.600,000 sterling, excluding freight, duties, insurance and other charges. It deserves to be remembered too, that the sugar was the produce of 106 plantations only, and that they were worked by 18,293 negroes, which was therefore rather more than one hogshead of muscovado sugar, of 16 cwt. from the labour of each negro, old and young, employed in the cultivation of that commodity; a prodigious return, equalled, I believe, by no other British island in the West Indies, St. Christopher's excepted.—The exports of 1787 will be given hereafter: they will be found, except in one or two articles, to fall greatly short of those of 1776; a circumstance for which I know not wholly how to account.\*

This island is divided into six parishes, St. George, St. David, St. Andrew, St. Patrick, St. Mark, and St. John; and its chief dependency

\* This circumstance is the more surprising as the sugar plantations in Grenada, for some years previous to the hurricane in 1780, suffered greatly by the ravages of the *sugar*, or *carnivorous ant*. Of this wonderful insect a curious account was transmitted to the Royal Society of London, an abridgment of which the reader will find in an Appendix to this chapter. I conceive however (notwithstanding what is asserted to the contrary in that account) that this species of ant, is common to all the islands in the West Indies, and has been known in them in a greater or less degree, from the earliest times. It is the

*Cariacou*, forms a seventh parish. It is only since the restoration of Grenada to Great Britain by the peace of 1783, that an island law has been obtained for the establishment of a protestant clergy. This act passed in 1784, and provides stipends of £.330 currency, and £.60 for house-rent per annum, for five clergymen, *viz.* one for the town and parish of St. George, three for the other five out-parishes of Grenada, and one for Cariacou. Besides these stipends, there are valuable glebe lands, which had been appropriated to the support of the Roman catholic clergy, whilst that was the established religion of Grenada. These lands, according to an opinion of the attorney and solicitor-general of England (to whom a question on this point was referred by the crown) became vested in his majesty as public lands, on the restoration of the island to the British government, and I believe have since been applied by the colonial legislature, with the consent of the crown, to the further support of the protestant church, with some allowance thereout (to what amount I am not informed) for the benefit of the tolerated Romish clergy of the remaining French inhabitants.

*formica omnivora* of Linnæus, and is well described by Sloane as the *formica fusca minima, antennis, longissimis.* (vide note in page 141 of first volume). Its trivial name in Jamaica, is the *Raffles* ant, from one *Thomas Raffles*, who is charged with having imported them from the Havanna about the year 1762. They do no injury to the sugar canes in Jamaica; probably, because their numbers are few. From what causes they increased so prodigiously in Grenada, no satisfactory account has I believe been given.

The capital of Grenada, by an ordinance of governor Melville, soon after the cession of the country to Great Britain by the Peace of Paris, is called St. George. By this ordinance English names were given to the several towns and parishes, and their French names forbidden to be thereafter used in any public acts. The French name of the capital was Fort Royal. It is situated in a spacious bay, on the west or lee-side of the island, not far from the south end, and possesses one of the safest and most commodious harbours for shipping in the English West Indies, which has been lately fortified at a very great expense.\*

The other towns in Grenada, are, properly speaking, inconsiderable villages or hamlets, which are generally situated at the bays or shipping places in the several out-parishes. The parish town of Cariacou is called Hillsborough.

Grenada has two ports of entry, with separate establishments, and distinct revenue officers, inde-

\* The town of Saint George is built chiefly of brick, and makes a handsome appearance. It is divided by a ridge, which running into the sea, forms on one side the carenage, on the other the bay: thus there is the *Bay-town*, which boasts a handsome square and market-place, and the *Carenage-town*, wherein the principal merchants reside, the ships lying land-locked, and in deep water close to the wharfs. On the ridge between the two towns stands the church, and on the promontory above it is a large old fort, which was probably constructed by the first French inhabitants. It is built of stone, and is large enough to accommodate an entire regiment.

pendent of each other, viz. one at St. George, the capital, and one at Grenville-bay, a town and harbour on the east or windward side of the island. The former, by the 27 Geo. III. c. 27, is made a free port.

Whether it be owing to the events of war, to domestic dissensions, or to calamities inflicted by the hand of Divine Providence, I know not, but it appears, that the white population of Grenada and the Grenadines has decreased considerably since these islands first came into possession of the English. The number of white inhabitants in the year 1771, was known to be somewhat more than sixteen hundred; in 1777 they had decreased to thirteen hundred; and at this time, they are supposed not to exceed one thousand two hundred, of which about two thirds are men able to bear arms, and incorporated into five regiments of militia, including a company of free blacks or mulattoes, attached to each. There are likewise about 500 regular troops from Great Britain which are supported on the British establishment.\*

The negro slaves have also decreased. By the last returns preceding the capture of the island in

\* Besides the regular troops which are sent from Great Britain for the protection of Grenada, there are in its garrison three companies of king's negroes, which came from America, where they served in three capacities, as pioneers, artificers, and light dragoons. In Grenada they form a company of each, and are commanded by a lieutenant of the regulars, having captain's rank.

1779, they were stated at 35,000, of which 5,000 were in Carriacou, and the smaller islands. In 1785 they amounted to no more than 23,926 in the whole. The decrease was owing, partly, to the want of any regular supply during the French government, and partly, to the numbers carried from the island by the French inhabitants, both before and after the peace. It is also to be observed, that of the African cargoes sold at Grenada, some part (perhaps a fourth or fifth) are exported to the neighbouring French and Spanish colonies.

The free people of colour amounted in 1787, to 1,115. To prevent the too great increase of this mixed race, every manumission is, by an act of this island, charged with a fine of one hundred pounds currency, payable into the public treasury. But this law has neither operated as a productive fund, nor as a prohibition; for it is usually evaded by executing and recording acts of manumission in some other island or government where there is no such law. The evidence of all coloured people of free condition, is received in the courts of this island, on their producing sufficient proof of their freedom; and such free people are tried on criminal charges in the same manner as the whites. They are also allowed to possess and enjoy lands and tenements to any amount, provided they are native-born subjects or capitulants, and not aliens.

The governor, by virtue of his office, is chancellor, ordinary and vice-admiral, and presides sole-

ly in the courts of chancery and ordinary, as in Jamaica. His salary is £.3,200 currency per annum\*, which is raised by a poll-tax on all slaves; and it is the practice in Grenada to pass a salary bill on the arrival of every new governor, to continue during his government. In all cases of absence beyond twelve months, the salary ceases and determines.

The council of Grenada consists of twelve members, and the assembly of twenty-six. The powers, privileges and functions of both these branches of the legislature, are the same, and exercised precisely in the same manner as those of the council and assembly in Jamaica. A freehold or life estate, of fifty acres, is a qualification for a representative for a parish, and a freehold, or life estate, in fifty pounds house-rent in St. George, qualifies a representative for the town. An estate of ten acres in free, or for life, or a rent of ten pounds, in any of the out-towns, gives a vote for the representatives of each parish respectively; and a rent of twenty pounds per annum, issuing out of any freehold or life estate in the town of St. George, gives a vote for a representative for the town.

The law courts in Grenada, besides those of chancery and ordinary, are, first, the court of grand sessions of the peace, held twice a year, viz. in

\* The currency of Grenada, or rate of exchange, is commonly 65 per centum worse than sterling.

March and September. In this court, the first person named in the commission of the peace presides, who is usually the president or senior in council.

2dly, The court of common pleas. The court consists of one chief and four assistant justices, whose commissions are during pleasure. The chief justice is usually appointed in England, a professional man, and receives a salary of £.600 per annum. The four assistant justices are usually appointed by the governor from among the gentlemen of the island; and act without salary.

3dly, The court of exchequer. The barons in this court are commissioned in like manner as in the court of common pleas. But this court is lately grown into disuse.

4thly, The court of admiralty, for trial of all prize causes of capture from enemies in war, and of revenue seizures in peace or war. There is one judge of admiralty and one surrogate.

Lastly, The governor and council compose a court of error, as in Jamaica, for trying all appeals of error from the court of common pleas.

Although there is no law of Grenada declaring an adoption of the laws of England, yet it has been always the practice of the courts, to consider both the common and statute law of England to extend to



Grenada in all applicable cases, not otherwise provided for by particular laws of the island. So in like manner, the practice of the courts in Westminster-hall, and authentic reports of adjudged cases there, are resorted to, when precedents and authorities are wanting in the island. In the case of its *slave laws*, it may be said with truth and justice, that the assembly of this island have shewn a liberality of sentiment which reflects the highest honour on their characters, both as legislators and christians.

I have now furnished the reader with all the information I have collected concerning the past history, and present state, of the island of Grenada,\* and if it shall be thought deficient, or uninteresting, the fault is not in the want of materials, but in the workman. Something however remains to be observed concerning such of the Grenadines as are dependant on the Grenada government, the chief of which are Carriacou and Isle Ronde. The former contains 6,913 acres of land, and in general it is fertile and well cultivated; producing in seasonable years a million of pounds of cotton for exportation, besides corn, yams, potatoes, and plantains sufficient for the maintenance of its negroes. The cultivation of sugar has been found less successful in this island than cotton, though it still continues to be made on two plantations.

\* This was written in 1791: since that time Grenada has sustained a melancholy reverse of fortune, some particulars of which will be related in a subsequent volume.

Isle Ronde contains about 500 acres of excellent land, which are wholly applied to pasturage, and the cultivation of cotton. It is situated about midway between Cariacou and the north end of Grenada, about four leagues from each.

I shall close my account of this colony, as of Barbadoes, with an authentic return by the Inspector general of Great Britain, of the exports from Grenada and its dependencies, for the year 1787; containing also an estimate of the actual value of the several articles at the British market:

*An Account of the Number of Vessels, their Tonnage and Men, (including their repeated Voyages), that cleared Outwards from the Island of Grenada, &c. to all Parts of the World, between the 5th of January 1787 and the 5th of January 1788; with the Species, Quantities, and Value of their Cargoes, according to the actual Prices in London. By the Inspector-General of Great Britain.*

| Whither Bound.      | SHIPPING. |        | SUGAR. |               | RUM.   |         | ME-<br>LASSES |              | COFFEE. |      | CACAO. |      | COTTON. |           | Value of Mis-<br>cellaneous<br>Articles, as<br>Hides, Dying<br>Woods, &c. |          | TOTAL VALUE<br>according to the<br>current Prices<br>in London. |   |         |    |   |
|---------------------|-----------|--------|--------|---------------|--------|---------|---------------|--------------|---------|------|--------|------|---------|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|---|---------|----|---|
|                     | No.       | Tons.  | Men    | Cwt. qrs. lb. | Galls. | Galls.  | Cwt. qr. lb.  | Cwt. qr. lb. | lbs.    | lbs. | lbs.   | lbs. | lbs.    | lbs.      | lbs.                                                                      | £. s. d. | £. s. d.                                                        |   |         |    |   |
| TO<br>Great Britain | 65        | 13,276 | 969    | 172,880       | 0      | 9102590 |               | 8,550        | 2       | 4    | 2,645  | 1    | 2       | 2,030,177 | 1560                                                                      | 64,439   | 0                                                               | 3 | 555,222 | 11 | 6 |
| Ireland             | 7         | 771    | 59     | 1,248         | 0      | 86100   |               | 44           |         |      | 19     | 2    | 16      | 322,509   | 1250                                                                      | 24       | 10                                                              | 0 | 13,580  | 4  | 5 |
| American States     | 47        | 6,373  | 410    | 290           | 0      | 272080  |               | 218          |         |      | 36     | 0    | 0       |           |                                                                           | 27       | 4                                                               | 0 | 24,597  | 4  | 0 |
| Br. Am. Colonies    | 30        | 2,610  | 194    | 1,130         | 0      | 209620  | 4300          |              |         |      | 16     | 0    | 0       |           |                                                                           | 15       | 6                                                               | 0 | 21,469  | 9  | 4 |
| Foreign W. Indies   | 39        | 2,734  | 192    |               |        |         |               |              |         |      |        |      |         |           |                                                                           | 39       | 0                                                               | 0 | 39      | 0  | 0 |
| Total               | 188       | 25,764 | 1824   | 175,548       | 0      | 9670390 | 4300          | 8,812        | 2       | 4    | 2,716  | 3    | 18      | 2,062,427 | 2810                                                                      | 64,545   | 0                                                               | 3 | 614,908 | 9  | 3 |

## POSTSCRIPT

## TO THE HISTORY OF GRENADA.

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*The first edition of this work having fallen into the hands of a gentleman of distinguished abilities and learning, (one of his majesty's serjeants at law), he was pleased, at the author's request, to communicate his thoughts in writing on the doctrine maintained by lord Mansfield, concerning the legal authority of the crown over conquered countries, as stated in page 54 of this volume, which I have great pleasure in presenting to the reader in the precise words in which they were given:*

**T**HE ground upon which the court rested their judgment in the case of Grenada, was clearly sufficient to warrant that judgment, even admitting the doctrine laid down by lord Mansfield on the other point to be well founded; but nothing can be more unfounded than that doctrine:—every proposition upon which it is made to rest is a fallacy. I deny that the king (at least since the constitution has had its present form) can “*arbitrarily* grant or refuse a capitulation.” The power of granting or refusing a capitulation, in the case of a siege or invasion, is certainly vest-

ed in him ; but it is vested in him like every other power with which he is intrusted by the British constitution, to be exercised according to the usage which has prevailed in like cases. If that power should be abused, his officers and ministers must answer to the public for their misconduct.

For the same reason I deny, that “ the king can put the inhabitants of a conquered country to the sword, or otherwise exterminate them,” unless such severity be fully justified by the laws of war, as they are understood amongst civilized nations.

But, supposing that a case should happen wherein such severity would be justifiable, I deny that, upon the extermination of the enemy, the lands would belong to the king himself: I say they would belong to the state; and that they would be subject, not merely to the king, but to the sovereign power which governs the British dominions. If the king receives the inhabitants under his protection, and grants them their property, I deny that he has power to fix such terms and conditions as he thinks proper; for he cannot reserve to himself in his individual capacity, legislative power over them: that would be to exclude the authority of the British legislature from the government of a country subdued by British forces, and would be an attempt to erect *imperium in imperio*. One consequence of this would be, that such conquered territory might descend to an heir of the king not qualified, according to the act of settlement, to succeed to the crown of Great Britain. The king might give it to a younger son, or bestow it on a stranger. A thousand other absurd consequences might be pointed out, as resulting from such incongruity.

I admit that the king (subject to the responsibility of his ministers) may yield up a conquest, or retain it, as he sees best: but I deny, for the reasons above hinted at, that he

can impose what terms he pleases, or that he can arbitrarily change the law or political form of its government. I think he may agree, upon the capitulation, that the conquered people shall continue to enjoy their ancient religion and laws, and even this must be *sub modo*; but I deny that he could, by his own authority, grant these things after the capitulation; for that would amount to an exercise of independent sovereignty. The fallacy of lord Mansfield's argument, proceeds from an endeavour to confound the king's civil and military characters, and to perpetuate in the chief executive magistrate, the vast powers with which it is necessary to invest the generalissimo of the armies, during the continuance of military operations. The moment these operations cease, he resumes his civil character, and in that character no man will venture to assert that, as king of Great Britain, he has the prerogative of being a despot in any part of his dominions.

With respect to the cases of Ireland, Wales, and Berwick, even taking them precisely as lord Mansfield puts them, I think they do not weigh a feather in the argument. Those cases happened long before the English constitution had reduced itself to its present form, consequently, before the rights of the people were ascertained and defined as they exist at present. If a few instances of the exercise of arbitrary power by the ancient kings of England, are to be received as decisive cases, to shew what are the powers of the crown at this day, I think it would be no very difficult task to find authorities, even as low down as the reigns of the Plantagenets and Stuarts, to prove, that the British government ought to be a pure despotism!

## APPENDIX TO CHAP. II, OF BOOK III.

## CONTAINING

*Observations on the Sugar Ants in the Island of Grenada; extracted from a letter of John Castles, Esq. to General Melville: read before the Royal Society in May 1790.*

THE sugar ants, so called from their ruinous effects on sugar cane, are supposed to have first made their appearance in Grenada about the year 1770, on a sugar plantation at Petit Havre; a bay five or six miles from the town of St. George, the capital, conveniently situated for smuggling from Martinico: it was therefore concluded, they were brought from thence in some vessel employed in that trade, which is very probable, as colonies of them in like manner were afterwards propagated in different parts of the island by droghers, or vessels employed in carrying stores, &c. from one part of the island to another.

From thence they continued to extend themselves on all sides for several years destroying in succession every sugar plantation between St. George's and St. John's, a space of about twelve miles. At the same time, colonies of them began to be observed in different parts of the island, particularly at Duquesne on the north, and Calavini on the south side of it.

All attempts of the planters to put a stop to the ravages of these insects having been found ineffectual, it well became the legislature, to offer great public rewards to any person who should discover a practicable method of destroying them, so as to permit the cultivation of the sugar cane as formerly. Accordingly, an act of assembly was passed, by which such discoverer was entitled to twenty thousand pounds, to be paid from the public treasury of the island.

Many were the candidates on this occasion, but very far were any of them from having any just claim; nevertheless, considerable sums of money were granted, in consideration of trouble and expenses in making experiments, &c.

In Grenada there had always been several species of ants, differing in size, colour, &c. which however were perfectly innocent with respect to the sugar cane. The ants in question, on the contrary, were not only highly injurious to it, but to several sorts of trees, such as the lime, lemon, orange, &c.

These ants are of the middle size, of a slender make, of a dark red colour, and remarkable for the quickness of their motions; but their greatest peculiarities are, their taste when applied to the tongue, the immensity of their number, and their choice of places for their nests.

All the other species of ants in Grenada have a bitter musky taste. These, on the contrary, are acid in the highest degree, and when a number of them were rubbed together between the palms of the hands, they emitted a strong vitriolic sulphureous smell; so much so, that when this experiment was made, a gentleman conceived that it might be owing to this quality that these insects were so unfriendly to vegetation. This criterion to distinguish them was infallible, and known to every one.



Their numbers were incredible. I have seen the roads coloured by them for miles together; and so crowded were they in many places, that the print of the horses feet would appear for a moment or two, until filled up by the surrounding multitude. This is no exaggeration. All the other species of ants, although numerous; were circumscribed and confined to a small spot, in proportion to the space occupied by the cane ants, as a mole hill to a mountain.

The common black ants of that country had their nests about the foundation of houses or old walls; others in hollow trees; and a large species in the pastures, descending by a small aperture under ground. The sugar ants, I believe, universally constructed their nests among the roots of particular plants and trees, such as the sugar-cane, lime, lemon, and orange trees, &c.

The destruction of these ants was attempted chiefly two ways; by poison and the application of fire.

For the first purpose, arsenic and corrosive sublimate mixed with animal substances, such as salt fish, herrings, crabs, and other shell fish, &c. were used, which was greedily devoured by them. Myriads of them were thus destroyed; and the more so, as it was observed by a magnifying glass, and indeed (though not so distinctly) by the naked eye, that corrosive sublimate had the effect of rendering them so outrageous that they destroyed each other; and that effect was produced even by coming into contact with it. But it is clear, and it was found, that these poisons could not be laid in sufficient quantities over so large a tract of land as to give the hundred thousandth part of them a taste.

The use of fire afforded a greater probability of success; for (from whatever cause) it was observed, that if wood, burnt to the state of charcoal, without flame, and immediately taken from the fire, was laid in their way, they crowded to it in such amazing numbers as soon to extinguish it, although with the destruction of thousands of them in effecting it. This part of their history appears scarcely credible; but, on making the experiment myself, I found it literally true. I laid fire, as above described, where there appeared but very few ants, and in the course of a few minutes thousands were seen crowding to it and upon it, till it was perfectly covered by their dead bodies. Holes were therefore dug at proper distances in a cane piece, and fire made in each hole. Prodigious quantities perished in this way: for those fires, when extinguished, appeared in the shape of mole hills, from the numbers of their dead bodies heaped on them. Nevertheless the ants soon appeared again, as numerous as ever. This may be accounted for, not only from their amazing fecundity, but that probably, none of the breeding ants or young brood suffered from the experiment.

For the same reason, the momentary general application of fire by burning the cane trash (or straw of the cane) as it lay on the ground, proved as little effectual; for although, perhaps, multitudes of ants might have been destroyed, yet in general they would escape by retiring to their nests under cover, out of its reach, and the breeding ants, with their young progeny, must have remained unhurt.

This calamity, which resisted so long the efforts of the planters, was at length removed by another; which, however ruinous to the other islands in the West Indies, and in other respects, was to Grenada proved a very great blessing; namely, the hurricane in 1780; without which it is probable, the cultivation of the sugar-cane in the most valu-

able parts of that island must have in a great measure been thrown aside, at least for some years. How this hurricane produced this effect, has been considered rather as a matter of wonder and surprize than attempted to be explained. By attending to the following observations, the difficulty, I believe, will be removed.

These ants make their nests, or cells for the reception of their eggs, only under or among the roots of such trees or plants, as are not only capable of protecting them from heavy rains, but are at the same time so firm in the ground, as to afford a secure basis to support them against any injury occasioned by the agitation of the usual winds. This double qualification the sugar cane possesses in a very great degree; for a stool of canes (which is the assemblage of its numerous roots where the stems begin to shoot out) is almost impenetrable to rain, and is also from the amazing numbers and extension of the roots, firmly fixed to the ground. Thus, when every other part of the field is drenched with rain, the ground under those stools will be found quite dry, as I, and every other planter must have, observed, when digging out the stools in a cane piece, to prepare for replanting. And when canes are lodged or laid down by the usual winds, or fall down by their own luxuriance, the stools, commonly, remain in the ground; hence, in ordinary weather, the nests of these ants are in a state of perfect security.

The lime, lemon, orange, and some other trees, afford these insects the same advantages, from the great number and quality of their roots, which are firmly fixed to the earth, and are very large; besides which, their tops are so very thick and umbrageous, as to prevent even a very heavy rain from reaching the ground underneath.

On the contrary, these ants' nests are never found at the roots of trees or plants incapable of affording the above

protection ; such for instance as the coffee tree : it is indeed sufficiently firm in the ground, but it has only one large tap root, which goes straight downwards ; and its lateral roots are so small as to afford no shelter against rain. So again, the roots of the cotton shrub run too near the surface of the earth to prevent the access of rain, and are neither sufficiently permanent, nor firm enough to resist the agitation by the usual winds. The same observation will be found true with respect to cacao, plantains, maize, tobacco, indigo, and many other species of trees and plants.

Trees or plants of the first description always suffer more or less in lands infested with these ants ; whereas those of the latter never do. Hence we may fairly conclude, that the mischief done by these insects is occasioned only by their lodging and making their nests about the roots of particular trees or plants. Thus the roots of the sugar-canes are somehow or other so much injured by them, as to be incapable of performing their office of supplying due nourishment to the plants, which, therefore become sickly and stunted, and consequently do not afford juices fit for making sugar in either tolerable quantity or quality.

That these ants do not feed on any part of the canes or trees affected seems very clear, for no loss of substance in either the one or the other has ever been observed ; nor have they ever been seen carrying off vegetable substances of any sort.

On the contrary, there is the greatest presumption that these ants are carnivorous, and feed entirely on animal substances ; for if a dead insect, or animal food of any sort, was laid in their way, it was immediately carried off. It was found almost impossible to preserve cold victuals from them. The largest carcasses, as soon as they began to be-

come putrid, so as that they could separate the parts, soon disappeared. Negroes with sores had difficulty to keep the ants from the edges of them. They destroyed all other vermin, rats in particular, of which they cleared every plantation they came upon, which they probably effected by attacking their young. It was found that poultry or other small stock, could be raised only with the greatest difficulty, and the eyes, nose, and other emunctories of the bodies of dying or dead animals were instantly covered with these ants.

From what has been said it appears, that a dry situation, so as to exclude the ordinary rains from their nests or cells, appropriated for the reception of their eggs or young brood, is absolutely necessary; but that these situations, however well calculated for the usual weather, could not afford this protection from rain during the hurricane, may be easily conceived.

When, by the violence of the tempest heavy pieces of artillery were removed from their places, and houses and sugar works levelled with the ground, there can be no doubt that trees, and every thing growing above ground, must have greatly suffered. This was the case. Great numbers of trees and plants (which commonly resist the ordinary winds) were torn out by the roots. The canes were universally either lodged, or twisted about as if by a whirlwind, or torn out of the ground altogether. In the latter case, the breeding ants, with their progeny, must have been exposed to inevitable destruction from the deluge of rain which fell at the same time. The number of canes, however, thus torn out of the ground, could not have been adequate to the sudden diminution of the sugar ants; but it is easy to conceive, that the roots of canes, which remained on the ground, and the earth about them, were so agitated and shaken, and at the same time the ants' nests were so bro-

ken open or injured by the violence of the wind, as to admit the torrents of rain accompanying it. I apprehend therefore, that the principal destruction of these ants must have been thus effected.

It must not however be denied, that though nature, for a time, may permit a particular species of animal to become so disproportionably numerous as to endanger some other parts of her works, she herself will, in due time, put a check upon the too great increase; and that is often done by an increase of some other animal inimical to the former destroyers. In the present case, however, nothing of that sort appeared; therefore, when a plain natural cause, obvious to our senses, occurred, by which we can account for the amazing and sudden decrease of those ruinous insects, it is unnecessary to recur to other possible causes too minute for our investigation.

All I have said on this subject would certainly be of little or no consequence, did it not lead to the true method of cultivating the sugar-cane on lands infested with those destructive insects; in which point of view, however, it becomes important.

If then the above doctrine be just, it follows, that the whole of our attention must be turned to the destruction of the nests of these ants, and consequently the breeding ants with their eggs or young brood.

In order to effect this, all trees and fences, under the roots of which these ants commonly take their residence, should first be grubbed out; particularly lime or lemon fences, which are very common in Grenada, and which generally suffered from the ants before the canes appeared in the least injured; after which the canes should be stumped out with care, and the stools burnt as soon as possible, together with

the field trash, (or the dried leaves and tops of the canes), in order to prevent the ants from making their escape to new quarters. The best way of doing this, I apprehend, will be to gather the field trash together in considerable heaps, and to throw the stools as soon as dug out of the ground into them, and immediately apply fire. By this means multitudes must be destroyed; for the field trash, when dry, burns with great rapidity. The land should then be ploughed, or hoe-ploughed, twice (but at least once) in the wettest season of the year, in order to admit the rains, before it is hoed for planting the cane; by these means these insects, I apprehend, will be so much reduced in number, as at least to secure a good plant cane.

But it is the custom in most of the West India islands to permit the canes to ratoon; that is, after the canes have once been cut down for the purpose of making sugar, they are suffered to grow up again without replanting; and this generally for three or four years, but sometimes for ten, fifteen, or twenty. In this mode of culture the stools become larger every year, so as to grow out of the ground to a considerable height, and by that means afford more and more shelter to the ants' nests; therefore for two or three successive crops the canes should be replanted yearly, so as not only to afford as little cover as possible for the ants' nests, but continually to disturb such ants as may have escaped, in the business of propagating their species.

That considerable expense and labour will attend putting this method into execution there is no doubt. An expensive cure, however, is better than none; but from the general principles of agriculture, I am of opinion, that the planter will be amply repaid for his trouble by the goodness of his crops, in consequence of the superior tilth the land will receive in the proposed method.

## CHAPTER III.

*ST. VINCENT AND ITS DEPENDENCIES,*

AND

*DOMINICA.*

**T**HE civil history of these islands may be comprised in a narrow compass; for the sovereignty of them having been long an object of dispute between the crowns of Great Britain and France, the rightful possessors, the Charaibes, derived that security from the reciprocal envy and avarice of the contending parties, which they might have expected in vain from their justice and humanity. As both St. Vincent and Dominica were included, with many other islands, in the earl of Carlisle's patent, it is not wonderful that attempts were made, at different times, to bring them under the English dominion. These attempts the French constantly opposed, with design, it was urged, secretly, and surreptitiously to occupy the islands themselves; and their conduct towards the Charaibes on other occasions seems to justify the suggestion.



But, whatever might have been their motives, they exerted themselves with such effect, that the English were compelled to relinquish all hopes of obtaining these islands by force;—for by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle (1748), St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Lucia, and Tobago, were declared neutral, and the ancient proprietors (such as remained of them) were at length left in unmolested possession.

The disputes and hostilities which these attempts of the English on the one hand, and resistance of the French on the other, gave rise to in this part of the world, are no longer interesting, and therefore need not be brought again to remembrance: The depravity and injustice of mankind are at all times subjects of displeasing speculation. But the subsequent conduct of both nations, respecting the islands which they had declared neutral, is too remarkable to be overlooked, even if historical precision did not, as in the present case it does, require me to relate the circumstances attending it.

The treaty of neutrality was no sooner concluded, than both English and French appeared dissatisfied with the ~~arrangement~~ which they had made. The latter seem not to have considered until it was too late, that by restricting the English from the occupancy of those countries, on the ground of right in a third party, they precluded themselves at the same time. The English, on the other hand, discovered that, by acceding to the compromise, they had given up St. Lucia, an island

worth all the rest, and to which it must be owned we had some colourable pretensions, founded on a treaty entered into with the Charaibean inhabitants in 1664, six hundred of whom attended an armament that was sent thither by lord Willoughby, and actually put the English publicly and formally into possession.

Both nations being thus alike dissatisfied with an arrangement which left nothing to either, it may be supposed, that on the conclusion of the war which broke out a few years afterwards, a very different stipulation took place. The French no longer pleaded scruples on behalf of the Charaibes, but very cordially concurred with the English in dividing the spoil. By the 9th article of the peace of Paris, signed the 10th of February 1763, the three islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago, were assigned to Great Britain; and St. Lucia to France, in full and perpetual sovereignty; the Charaibes not being once mentioned in the whole transaction, as if no such people existed.

They were in truth reduced to a miserable remnant.—Of the ancient, or, as they were called by the English, *Red Charaibes*, not more than a hundred families survived in 1763, and of all their ancient and extensive possessions, these poor people retained only a mountainous district in the island of St. Vincent. Of this island and its dependencies I shall now treat, reserving Dominica for a separate section.

## SECTION I.

*ST. VINCENT.*

“THE Spaniards (says Doctor Campbell) bestowed the name of St. Vincent upon this island, because they discovered it upon the 22d of January, which in their calendar is St. Vincent's day, but it does not appear that they were ever, properly speaking, in possession of it; the Indians being very numerous here, on account of its being the rendezvous of their expeditions to the continent.” Unfortunately, however, neither their numbers, nor the natural strength of the country, exempted them from hostility. What avarice had in vain attempted, accident accomplished, by procuring an establishment among them for a race of people, whom, though at first beheld by the native Charaibes with contempt or pity, they have since found formidable rivals and merciless conquerors. These people have been long distinguished, however improperly, by the name of *Black Charaibes*.

Of the origin of these intruders, and their ancient connection with the native Charaibes, the best account that I have been able to find is in a small treatise of the author above quoted (Doctor Camp-

bell) intitled "Candid and impartial Considerations on the Nature of the Sugar-trade," which being equally authentic and curious, I shall present to my readers entire; and with the less scruple, because it consists chiefly of an official paper which cannot be abridged without injury.

"In 1672, king Charles thought fit to divide these governments, and by a new commission appointed lord Willoughby governor of Barbadoes, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica; Sir William Stapleton being appointed governor of the other Leeward Isles, and this separation has subsisted ever since, the same islands being constantly inserted in every new governor's patent. On the demise of lord Willoughby, Sir Jonathan Atkins was appointed governor of Barbadoes, and the rest of these islands, and so continued till 1680, when he was succeeded by Sir Richard Dutton, who being sent for to England in 1685, appointed colonel Edwin Stede lieutenant governor, who vigorously asserted our rights by appointing deputy governors for the other islands; and particularly sent captain Temple hither to prevent the French from wooding and watering without our permission, to which they had been encouraged by the inattention of the former governors; persisting steadily in this conduct, till it was signified to him, as we have had occasion to remark before, that the king had signed an act of neutrality, and that commissioners were appointed by the two courts, to settle all differences relative to these islands.

“Some years after, a ship from Guinea, with a large cargo of slaves, was either wrecked or run on shore upon the island of St. Vincent, into the woods and mountains of which great numbers of the negroes escaped.\* Here, whether willingly or unwillingly is a little uncertain, the Indians suffered them to remain, and partly by the accession of runaway slaves from Barbadoes, partly by the children they had by the Indian women, they became very numerous; so that about the beginning of the current century they constrained the Indians to retire into the north-west part of the island. These people as may be reasonably supposed, were much dissatisfied with this treatment; and complained of it occasionally both to the English and to the French, that came to wood and water amongst them. The latter at length suffered themselves to be prevailed upon to attack these invaders, in the cause of their old allies; and from a persuasion that they should find more difficulty in dealing with these negroes, in case they were suffered to strengthen themselves, than with the Indians.

\* I am informed by Sir William Young, who is perfectly well acquainted with these people, that they were originally a race of *Mocoos*, a tribe or nation from the Bight of Benin. They were wrecked on the coast of Bequin, a small island about two leagues from St. Vincent, in the year 1675, and were afterwards joined by great numbers of fugitive negroes from the other islands. The Red Charaibes first kept them in slavery; but finding their numbers increase, came to a resolution to put to death all their male children; upon which the blacks rose on their masters, who by degrees have almost all perished in the contest.

After much deliberation, in the year 1719, they came with a considerable force from Martinico, and landing without much opposition, began to burn the negro huts and destroy their plantations, supposing that the Indians would have attacked them in the mountains, which if they had done, the blacks had probably been extirpated, or forced to submit and become slaves. But either from fear or policy, the Indians did nothing, and the negroes sallying in the night, and retreating in the day to places inaccessible to the whites, destroyed so many of the French, (amongst whom was Mr. Paulian, major of Martinique, who commanded them), that they were forced to retire. When by this experiment they were convinced that force would not do, they had recourse to fair means, and by dint of persuasions and presents, patched up a peace with the negroes as well as the Indians, from which they received great advantage.

“ Things were in this situation when captain Uring came with a considerable armament to take possession of St. Lucia and this island, in virtue of a grant from our late sovereign king, George I. to the late duke of Montague. When the French had dislodged this gentleman, by a superior force from St. Lucia, he sent captain Braithwaite to try what could be done at St. Vincent, in which he was not at all more successful, as will best appear from that gentleman’s report to Mr. Uring, which, as it contains several curious circumstances relative to the country, and to the two independent nations

who then inhabited it, belongs properly to this subject, and cannot but prove entertaining to the reader. The paper is without date, but it appears from Mr. Uring's memoirs, that this transaction happened in the spring of the year 1723."

#### "THE REPORT.

" In pursuance of a resolution in council, and  
" your order for so doing, the day you sailed with  
" his grace's colony for Antego, I sailed with the  
" Griffin sloop, in company with his majesty's ship  
" the Winchelsea, to St. Vincent. We made the  
" island that night, and next morning run along  
" shore, and saw several Indian huts, but as yet no  
" Indians came off to us, nor could we get ashore  
" to them, by reason there was no ground to an-  
" chor in. Towards the evening, two Indians  
" came on board, and told us, we might anchor in  
" a bay to the leeward, and when we were at an-  
" chor they would bring their general on board.  
" Here we came to an anchor in deep water, and  
" very dangerous for the sloop. One, whom they  
" call general, came on board, with several others,  
" to the number of twenty-two. I entertained  
" them very handsomely, and made the chief some  
" trifling presents, but found he was a person of  
" no consequence, and that they called him *chief*  
" to get some present from me. Here two of  
" the Indians were so drunk they would not go  
" ashore, but staid on board some days, and were

“ well entertained. After this, little winds and  
“ great currents drove us off for several days; but  
“ at last we came to an anchor in a spacious bay,  
“ to leeward of all the island, the draught of which  
“ I ordered to be taken by our surveyor, for your  
“ better understanding the place, being the only  
“ one where a settlement could be made. The  
“ ship and sloop were scarce come to anchor, be-  
“ fore the strand of the shore was covered with In-  
“ dians, and among them we could discover a  
“ white, who proved to be a Frenchman. I took  
“ captain Watson in the boat with me, with a  
“ Frenchman, and immediately went ashore. As  
“ soon as I came amongst them, I asked them  
“ why they appeared all armed? For every man  
“ had cutlasses, some had musquets, pistols, bows  
“ and arrows, &c. They with very little ceremo-  
“ ny inclosed me, and carried me up the coun-  
“ try about a mile, over a little rivulet, where I  
“ was told I was to see their general. I found him  
“ sitting amidst a guard of about a hundred Indians,  
“ those nearest his person had musquets, the rest  
“ bows and arrows, and great silence. He order-  
“ ed me a seat, and a Frenchman stood at his right  
“ hand, for an interpreter: he demanded of me,  
“ what brought me into his country, and of what  
“ nation? I told him English, and I was put in to  
“ wood and water, as not caring to say any thing  
“ else before the Frenchman; but told him if he  
“ would be pleased to come on board our ships, I  
“ would leave Englishmen in hostage for him and  
“ those he should be pleased to bring with him;



“ but I could not prevail with him either to come  
“ on board, or suffer me to have wood and water.  
“ He said he was informed we were come to  
“ force a settlement, and we had no other way to  
“ remove that jealousy but to get under sail. As  
“ soon as I found what influence the Frenchman’s  
“ company had upon them, I took my leave, after  
“ making such replies as I thought proper, and re-  
“ turned to my boat under a guard. When I came  
“ to the shore I found the guard there were in-  
“ creased by a number of negroes, all armed with  
“ fuzees. I got in my boat, without any injury, and  
“ went on board to captain Orme, and told him  
“ my ill success.

“ Immediately after, I sent on shore the ship’s  
“ boat with a mate, with rum, beef and bread,  
“ &c. with some cutlasses, and ordered a French-  
“ man who went with the mate, to desire the guard  
“ to conduct them to their general, and to tell him,  
“ that though he denied me the common good of  
“ water and a little useless wood, nevertheless, I  
“ had sent him such refreshments as our ships af-  
“ forded. Our people found the Frenchman gone,  
“ and that then the Indian general seemed pleased  
“ and received what was sent him, and in return  
“ sent me bows and arrows.”

“ Our people had not been long returned before  
“ their general sent a canoe, with two chief Indi-  
“ ans, who spoke very good French, to thank me  
“ for my presents, and to ask pardon for his refu-

“ sing me wood and water, and assured me I might  
“ have what I pleased; and they had orders to tell  
“ me if I pleased to go ashore again, they were to  
“ remain hostages for my civil treatment. I sent  
“ them on board the man of war, and with captain  
“ Watson went on shore. I was well received  
“ and conducted as before. But now I found the  
“ brother of the chief of the negroes was arrived,  
“ with five hundred negroes, most armed with  
“ fuzees. They told my interpreter they were as-  
“ sured we were come to force a settlement, or  
“ else they would not have denied me what they  
“ never before denied any English, viz. wood and  
“ water: But if I pleased, I might take in what I  
“ wanted under a guard. Finding them in so good  
“ a humour, I once more introduced the desire I  
“ had to entertain them on board our ships, and  
“ with some difficulty prevailed with them, by  
“ leaving captain Watson on shore under their  
“ guard as a hostage. I carried them on board the  
“ king’s ship, where they were well entertained by  
“ captain Orme, who gave the Indian general a  
“ fine fuzee of his own, and to the chief of the  
“ negroes something that pleased him. Captain  
“ Orme assured him of the friendship of the king  
“ of England, &c. The negroe chief spoke ex-  
“ cellent French, and gave answers with the French  
“ compliments. Afterwards I carried them on  
“ board the Duke’s sloop, and after opening their  
“ hearts with wine, for they scorned to drink rum,  
“ I thought it a good time to tell them my commis-  
“ sion, and what brought me on their coast. They

“ told me it was well I had not mentioned it ashore,  
“ for their power could not have protected me;  
“ that it was impossible; the Dutch had before at-  
“ tempted it, but were glad to retire. They like-  
“ wise told me, two French sloops had the day be-  
“ fore we came, been amongst them, gave them  
“ arms and ammunition, and assured them of the  
“ whole force of Martinico for their protection  
“ against us. They told them also, that they had  
“ drove us from St. Lucia, and that now we were  
“ come to endeavour to force a settlement there;  
“ and notwithstanding all our specious pretences,  
“ when we had power, we should enslave them;  
“ but declared they would trust no Europeans; that  
“ they owned themselves under the protection of  
“ the French, but would as soon oppose their set-  
“ tling amongst them, or any act of force from them,  
“ as us, as they had lately given an example, by  
“ killing several; and they further told me, it was  
“ by very large presents the French ever got in their  
“ favour again; but they resolved never to put it  
“ in the power of any European to hurt them.  
“ They advised me to think what they said was an  
“ act of friendship. This being all I could get  
“ from them, I dismissed them with such presents  
“ as his Grace ordered for that service, with a dis-  
“ charge of cannon, and received in return as re-  
“ gular vollies of small shot as I ever heard. In  
“ the night the Winchelsea drove from her anchors,  
“ which as soon as I perceived, and had received  
“ captain Watson from the shore, I got under sail,  
“ and stood to the man of war.”

Such is the history of a very weak and fruitless attempt which was made under the authority of the British government, to obtain possession of this island in the year 1723: an interval of forty years succeeds, in which I find no occurrence in its history that deserves recital. The country continued to be a theatre of savage hostilities between the negroes and the Charaibes, in which it is believed that the former were generally victorious; it is certain that they proved so in the end, their numbers, in 1763, being computed at two thousand; whereas, of the red or native Charaibes, there were not left (as hath already been observed) more than one hundred families, and most of these, if I am rightly informed, are by this time exterminated. It is however worthy of remark, that the African intruders have adopted most of the Charaibean manners and customs; among the rest, the practice of flattening the foreheads of their infants, as described in the first part of this work, and, perhaps, it was chiefly from this circumstance that they acquired the appellation of the black Charaibes.

The first measure of the English government in respect to this island, after the peace of Paris, was to dispose of the lands—I dare not say to the best advantage; for no less than 24,000 acres, being more than one-fourth part of the whole country, were gratuitously assigned over to two individuals.\*

\* Mr. Swinburne had twenty thousand acres, and general Monckton four thousand; but from the disputes which afterwards arose with the Charaibes, I believe they did not derive all the benefit from those grants which they expected.

The remainder was ordered to be sold for the benefit of the public, and 20,538 acres were accordingly disposed of by auction, for the sum of £.162,854 11s. 7d. sterling.\* As nearly one half the country was judged unfit for any profitable cultivation, these grants and sales comprehended all the lands, of any kind of value, from one end of the island to the other. The commissioners indeed were directed not to survey or dispose of any of the lands inhabited or claimed by the Charaibes, until they should receive further instructions from the crown; but as it was impossible to ascertain how far the claims of these people extended, the survey alone was postponed, and the sales were suffered to proceed, to the amount that I have mentioned; no doubt being entertained by the several purchasers, that the British government would ratify the acts of its commissioners, and put

\* The Lords of the Treasury fixed a minimum, below which no land could be sold, which was £.5 sterling per acre for every acre of cleared land, and twenty shillings for every acre in wood; and the principal conditions of sale were these, "that every purchaser should pay down twenty per cent. of the whole purchase money, together with six-pence sterling per acre, for the expense of surveying the land, and that the remainder of the purchase money should be secured by bonds; to be paid by equal instalments in the space of five years next after the date of the grant. That each purchaser should keep on the lands so by him purchased, one white man or two white women, for every hundred acres of land, as it became cleared, for the purpose of cultivating the same; or in default thereof, or non-payment of the remainder of the purchase money, the lands were to be forfeited to the crown." Some of the lands sold extravagantly high, as far as fifty pounds sterling per acre.

them into possession of the lands which they had bought, without any regard to the claims of the Charaibes, which in truth the purchasers seem to have considered as of no consequence or validity.

Of the measures which the British ministers afterwards adopted with regard to these people, I have spoken in the former editions of this work harshly and incorrectly; and I feel no disgrace in retracting involuntary error. The representation which I gave, had, however, the good effect, of calling forth an historical account of those measures, from my most respectable friend Sir William Young, Bart. founded on official papers and original documents in his possession, and drawn up with all that candour and perspicuity which were to have been expected from its author's distinguished character and talents.

As the subject is no longer interesting to the public, I need only observe, that if the claim of the British crown to the sovereignty of this country was originally just and valid, then I do readily acknowledge, that the measures pursued by the British administration to enforce that claim, were as lenient and considerate as the case could possibly allow; and I was misinformed when I gave a different representation. Nevertheless, I will not sacrifice, even on the shrine of friendship, the dignity of historical narration, by asserting that my friend has entirely convinced me, that the pretensions of Great Britain were originally founded on

any other plea than that of political expediency. I am here speaking of the British claim, *as against the actual possessors of the country, the black Charaibes*. This claim, no cession or abandonment on the part of France could have strengthened; inasmuch, as Great Britain herself constantly disputed the pretensions of that crown to the neutral islands; St. Vincent's among the rest. The Charaibes themselves, as the report above quoted demonstrates, and as my friend admits, uniformly and absolutely denied any right in any of the sovereigns of Europe to their allegiance. They averred that they knew no king, and would acknowledge none. They said "they had originally been landed on the island by shipwreck, and held it not only by right of conquest over the aborigines, but also by actual possession for near a century." Such was their title to St. Vincent's, and it would have been difficult, I think, for any nation in Europe to produce a better.

Happily, by the temperate councils and the humane interposition of the civil commissioners employed by government to dispose of the lands, the contest with these people (not however until hostilities had been commenced and many lives sacrificed) was at length finally compromised and adjusted, to the satisfaction, as it was then hoped, of the contending parties. A treaty of peace and friendship was concluded with them on the 27th February 1773; the articles of which I have subjoined in an appendix to this chapter.

By this treaty the situation of the Charaibes, in respect to the crown of Great Britain, was defined and clearly expressed; and I admit, that their future conduct was to be tried by the terms of it.

On the ~~19th~~ of June 1779, St. Vincent's shared the common fate of most of the British West Indian possessions, in that unfortunate war with America, which swallowed up all the resources of the nation, being captured by a small body of troops from Martinico, consisting of only four hundred and fifty men, commanded by a lieutenant in the French navy. The black Charaibes however, notwithstanding the treaty of 1773, immediately joined the enemy, and there is no doubt, that the terror which seized the British inhabitants, from an apprehension that those people would proceed to the most bloody enormities, contributed to the very easy victory which was obtained by the invaders; for the island surrendered without a struggle. The terms of capitulation were favourable, and the island was restored to the dominion of Great Britain by the general pacification of 1783. It contained at that time sixty one sugar estates, five hundred acres in coffee, two hundred acres in cacao, four hundred in cotton, fifty in indigo, and five hundred in tobacco, besides lands appropriated to the raising provisions, such as plantains, yams, maize, &c. All the rest of the country, excepting the few spots that had been cleared from time to time by the Charaibes, retained its native woods, and most of it, I believe, continues in the same state to the present hour.



It is remarkable that no stipulation was made by the French government on this occasion, on behalf of their allies the Charaibes, whom they had seduced from their allegiance; and it therefore reflects great honour, both on the British government and the resident planters, that no advantage was taken of their misconduct. The Charaibes, even those who had been the most active in the war, were permitted to return peaceably to their possessions and occupations. They were treated as an ignorant and deluded people; as objects of compassion, not of vengeance; and it was prudently and generously agreed, as by common consent, to bury all past offences and causes of complaint in oblivion.

St. Vincent's contains about 84,000 acres, which are every where well watered, but the country is very generally mountainous and rugged; the intermediate vallies, however, are fertile in a high degree, the soil consisting chiefly of a fine mould, composed of sand and clay, well adapted for sugar. The extent of country at present possessed by British subjects is 23,605 acres, and about as much more is supposed to be held by the Charaibes. All the remainder is thought to be incapable of cultivation or improvement.

The island, or rather the British territory within it, is divided into five parishes, of which only one was provided with a church, and that was blown down in the hurricane of 1780; whether it is rebuilt I am not informed. There is one town, call-

ed Kingston, the capital of the island, and the seat of its government, and three villages that bear the name of towns, but they are inconsiderable hamlets, consisting each of a few houses only.

But the public establishment that reflects the greatest honour on St. Vincent's is its celebrated botanic garden, under the provident and well directed care of Mr. Anderson. It consists of thirty acres, of which no less than sixteen are in high cultivation, abounding not only with almost every species of the vegetable world, which the hand of nature has bestowed on these islands for use and beauty, for food and luxury, but also with many valuable exotics from the East Indies, and South America.—If it be surpassed in this latter respect, by the magnificent garden of Mr. East,\* it claims at least the honour of seniority, and does infinite credit both to its original founders and present directors.

In the frame of its government and the administration of executive justice, St. Vincent's seems to differ in no respect from Grenada.—The council consist of twelve members, the assembly of seventeen. The Governor's salary (exclusive of fees of office) is two thousand pounds sterling, of which one thousand three hundred pounds is a charge upon the fund arising from the duty of four and an half per centum. The remainder is by grant of the assembly.

\* In Jamaica. See p. 218.

The military force consists at present of a regiment of infantry, and a company of artillery, sent from England; and a black corps raised in the country—but provided for with the former on the British establishment, and receiving no additional pay from the island. The militia consists of two regiments of foot, serving without pay of any kind.

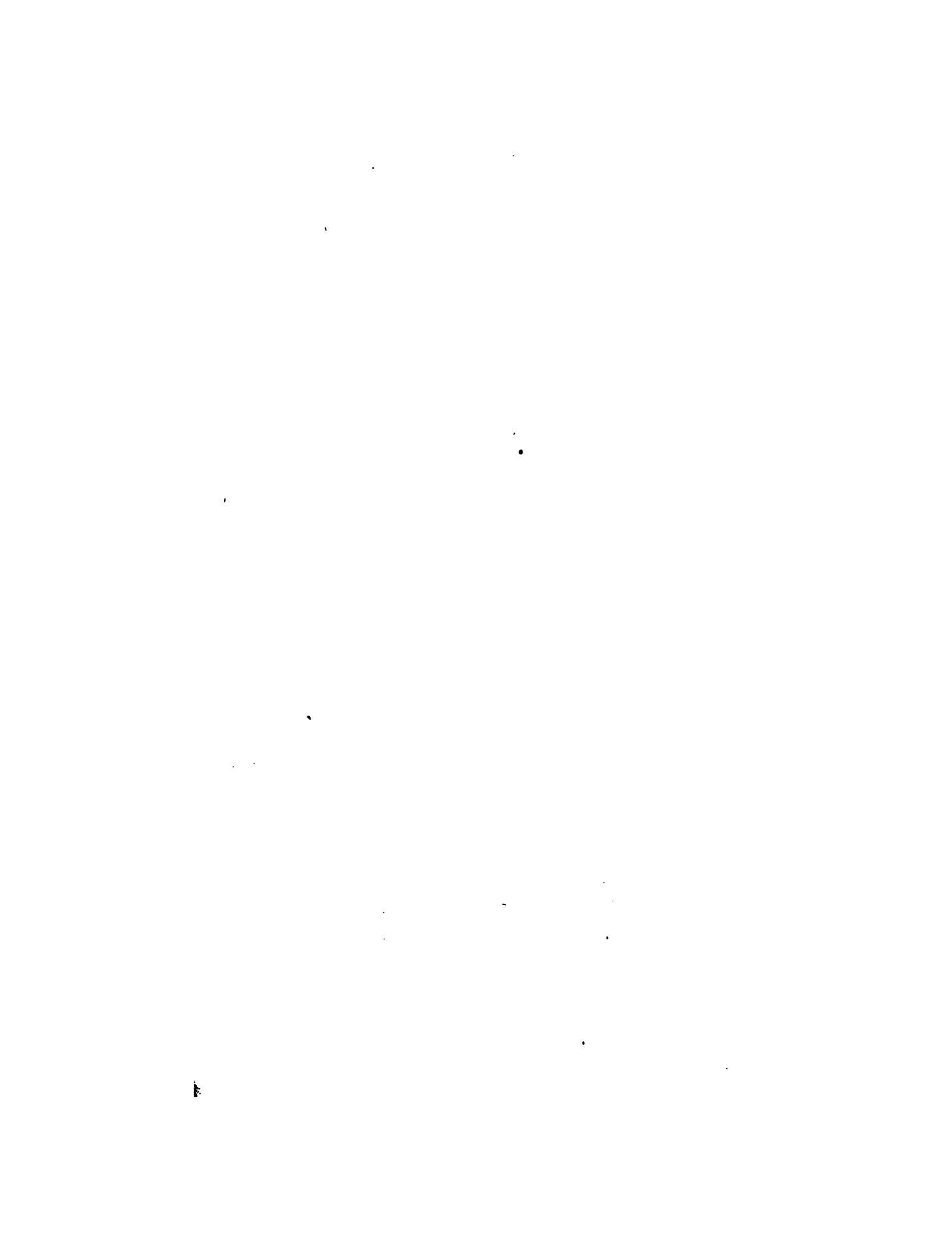
The number of inhabitants appears, by the last returns to government, to be one thousand four hundred and fifty whites, and eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty-three negroes.

Of the labour of these people I have no other means of shewing the returns, than from the Inspector General's account of the exports of this island for 1787, a table of which, as in the case of the other islands, is subjoined. In this table however, I conceive is comprehended the produce of the several islands dependant on the St. Vincent's government, viz. Bequia, containing 3,700 acres. This little island is valuable from the commodiousness of its fine harbour, called Admiralty bay; Union, containing 2,150 acres; Canouane, containing 1,777 acres; and Mustique, containing about 1,203 acres;\* the negroes employed in the cultivation of these islands (in number about 1,400) being, I believe, included in the 11,853 before mention'd.

\* There are likewise the little islots of Petit Martinique, Petit St. Vincent, Maillereau, and Ballçseau, each of which produces a little cotton.

An Account of the Number of Vessels, their Tonnage and Men, (including their repeated Voyages), that cleared Outwards from the Island of St. Vincent, &c. to all Parts of the World, between the 5th of January 1787 and the 5th of January 1788; with the Species, Quantities, and Value of their Cargoes, according to the actual Prices in London. By the Inspector-General of Great Britain.

| Whither Bound.      | SHIPPING. |        |     | CUT SUGAR.<br>Cwt. qrs. lb. | RUM.<br>Galls. | MR-<br>LASSES<br>Galls. | COFFEE.<br>Cwt. qr. lb. | COTTON.<br>lbs. | CACAO.<br>Cwt. qr. lb. | Value of Miscellaneous<br>Articles, as<br>Hides, Dying<br>Woods, &c. | TOTAL VALUE<br>according to the<br>current Prices<br>in London. |
|---------------------|-----------|--------|-----|-----------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
|                     | No.       | Tons.  | Men |                             |                |                         |                         |                 |                        |                                                                      |                                                                 |
| TO<br>Great Britain | 30        | 6,086  | 463 | 64,449 1 27                 | 15,766         | 9,656                   | 632 1 5                 | 760,380         | 99 2 24                | £. s. d.<br>2,570 7 6                                                | £. s. d.<br>175,571 9 6                                         |
| American States     | 21        | 2,587  | 174 | 579 0 0                     | 51,300         |                         | 2 0 0                   | 1,500           | 43 2 0                 | 16 0 0                                                               | 9,019 1 8                                                       |
| Foreign W. Indies   | 71        | 3,963  | 332 |                             | 21,200         |                         |                         |                 |                        | 5 3 6                                                                | 1,860 3 6                                                       |
| Total               | 122       | 12,636 | 969 | 65,028 1 27                 | 88,266         | 9,656                   | 634 1 5                 | 761,880         | 143 0 24               | 2,591 11 0                                                           | 186,450 14 8                                                    |



## SECTION II.

*DOMINICA.*

THE island of Dominica, was so named by Christopher Columbus, from the circumstance of its being discovered by him on a Sunday.\* My account of it will be very brief, for its civil history, like that of St. Vincent, is a mere blank previous to the year 1759, when by conquest it fell under the dominion of Great Britain, and was afterwards confirmed to the British crown, by the treaty of peace concluded at Paris in February 1763.

Notwithstanding that Dominica had until that time been considered as a neutral island, many of the subjects of France had established coffee plantations, and other settlements, in various parts of the country; and it reflects honour on the British administration, that these people were secured in their possessions, on condition of taking the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic majesty, and paying a small quit-rent.† The rest of the cultivable lands

\* November 3d, 1493. It was the first land which he discovered in his second voyage, after having been twenty days at sea from the Canaries.

† The crown granted them leases, some for fourteen, and others for forty years, renewable at the expiration thereof, with conditions in

were ordered to be sold on the same conditions as those of St. Vincent, by commissioners nominated for that purpose, and no less than 94,346 acres (comprehending one half of the island) were accordingly disposed of by auction, in allotments from fifty to one hundred acres, yielding the sum of £.312,092. 11s. 1d. sterling money.\*

It does not however appear, that the purchases thus made by British subjects have answered the expectation of the buyers; for the French inhabitants of Dominica are still more numerous than the English, and possess the most valuable coffee plantations in the island, the produce of which has hitherto been found its most important staple. They differ but little in manners, customs, and religion, from the inhabitants of the other French islands in the West Indies, and their priests have been hitherto appointed by superiors in Martinico; to the government of which island, and to the laws

very lease, "that the possessor, his heirs or assigns, should pay to his majesty, his heirs or successors, the sum of two shillings, sterling, per ann. for every acre of land of which the lease should consist." And further, "that they should not sell or dispose of their lands, without the consent or approbation of the governor, or commander in chief of that island, for the time being." This indulgence, however, did not extend to more than three hundred acres of land occupied by each French subject.

\* No person was allowed to purchase, either in his own name, or in the name of others, in trust for him, more than three hundred acres, if in Dominica, or five hundred acres if in St. Vincent.

of their own nation, they consider themselves to be amenable.

I am sorry historical justice obliges me to observe, that the liberal conduct of the British government towards these people, after they became adopted subjects, did not meet with that grateful return from them, which, for the general interests of mankind, ought to be religiously manifested on such occasions.

At the commencement of the hopeless and destructive war between Great Britain and her colonies in North America, the island of Dominica was in a flourishing situation. The port of Roseau having been declared a free port by act of parliament, was resorted to by trading vessels from most parts of the foreign West Indies, as well as from America. The French and Spaniards purchased great numbers of negroes there for the supply of their settlements, together with vast quantities of the merchandize and manufactures of Great Britain; payment for all which was made chiefly in bullion, indigo, and cotton, and completed in mules and cattle; articles of prime necessity to the planter.\*

\* Roseau is still a free-port, but the restrictions and regulations of the late act are so rigid, that foreigners are discouraged from resorting to it, and, since some late seizures, consider the law as a snare to invite them to ruin.



Thus the island, though in itself certainly not so fertile as some others of less extent in its neighbourhood, was becoming very rapidly a colony of considerable importance; but, unfortunately, it wanted that protection which alone could give its possessions stability and value.

To those who recollect the frantic rage with which all the faculties and means of Great Britain were directed towards, and applied in, the subjugation of America, the utter disregard which was manifested by the then administration towards the security of this, and the other British islands in the West Indies, may not, perhaps, be matter of surprise; but it will hereafter be scarcely believed, that the whole regular force allotted, during the height of the war, for the protection of Dominica, consisted of no more than six officers and ninety four privates! This shameful neglect was the more remarkable, as this island, from its local situation, between Martinico and Guadaloupe, is the best calculated of all the possessions of Great Britain in that part of the world, for securing to her the dominion of the Charaibbean sea. A few ships of war stationed at prince Rupert's bay would effectually stop all intercourse of the French settlements with each other, as every vessel is liable to capture by ships cruizing off that bay, and to windward of the island. This indeed was discovered when it was too late.

It is probable that this, and the other circumstances which I have recounted, namely, the growing prosperity of the colony, and the criminal inattention of the British Ministry towards its security, had already attracted the vigilant rapaciousness of the French government; but it is asserted, that many of the inhabitants within the colony, who had formerly been subjects of France, scrupled not, on the first intimation that hostilities had been commenced in Europe, in the year 1778, to invite an attack from Martinico. Proof of this may not, perhaps, easily be produced, but it is certain, that their subsequent conduct gave too much cause for such a suspicion.

On Monday the 7th of September, in that year, a French armament, consisting of a forty gun ship, three frigates, and about thirty sail of armed sloops and schooners, having on board two thousand regular troops, and a lawless banditti of volunteers, about half that number, appeared off the island, under the command of the Marquis de Bouille, governor of Martinico, and general of the French windward West Indian islands. Part of the troops having soon afterwards landed without opposition, the enemy proceeded to the attack of Fort Cashacrou, the chief defence of the island, and in which a detachment of the regulars was stationed. This fort was built on a rock, about three hundred feet in perpendicular height, surrounded on three sides by the sea, and was considered so very defensible, that it was supposed a few hundred men,

well provided, would maintain it against as many thousands. Great therefore was the astonishment of the English in the town of Roseau, in perceiving, by the French colours flying on it, that this fort had surrendered without resistance; but strange as it may seem, the case appeared afterwards to have been, that some of the French inhabitants had insinuated themselves into the fort a few nights before, and having intoxicated with liquor the few soldiers that were there on duty, had contrived to spike up the cannon!

Having thus made themselves masters of Fort Cashacrou, the enemy landed their whole force about noon, and began their march for the town, which was defended by fort Melville, and three other batteries; but unfortunately, these batteries were ill provided, and worse manned. The whole number of the militia did not exceed one hundred and twenty; for but few of the French inhabitants thought proper to assemble; and of those that made their appearance, many withdrew themselves again, and were no more seen until the island had surrendered.

The small force however that was collected, behaved with that spirit and gallantry, which give room to lament they were not better supported. Three times was the enemy driven out of fort Loubiere, of which they had possessed themselves in their march; and twice were the colours which they had hoisted thereon shot away. Their com-

missary-general, and forty of their soldiers, were killed, and Bouille himself had a very narrow escape; his sword being shot away from his side.\*

But gallantry was unavailing against such superiority of numbers; for about two thousand of the French having gained possession of the heights above Roseau, this last circumstance determined the fate of the island. The bravery of the inhabitants, however, obtained for them, from their liberal and noble-minded conqueror, very honourable terms of capitulation. Besides being permitted to march out with all military honours, they were allowed to retain their arms, their civil government, and the free exercise of their religion, laws, customs, and ordinances; to preserve the administration of justice in the same persons in whom it was then vested, and to enjoy their possessions, of what nature soever, unmolested; a privilege which was expressly extended to absent as well as resident proprietors.

De Bouille having thus completed his conquest, departed for Martinico; leaving the Marquis Duchilleau, (a man of a far different character) commander in chief of Dominica; whose conduct, during four years that he continued in the island, is said to have been so wantonly oppressive and tyrannical,

\* General Bouille himself afterwards affected to say, that he lost no men in the attack of Fort Loubiere, except the commissary general. The fact however, was as above stated.

that we are left to wonder at the patient long-suffering and forbearance of the people under his government, in submitting to it for half the time.

His first measure was to disarm the English inhabitants, in direct violation of the capitulation, and he entered into a treaty with the runaway negroes for their assistance, if wanted. He issued an order, forbidding the English to assemble together more than two in a place, and he commanded the centinels to disperse them if they were found together in greater numbers. He ordered, that no lights should be seen in their houses after nine o'clock at night, and that no English person should presume to walk the streets after that hour, without a candle and lanthorn. Mr. Robert How, an English merchant, and owner of a ship then in the bay, attempting to go on board his own vessel after that hour, was shot dead in the attempt; and the centinel who killed him was raised to a higher station in his regiment, for having thus (as the governor expressed it) *done his duty*.

So very apprehensive was this governor that the English inhabitants were forming designs to retake the island, that every letter of theirs was opened for his inspection before it was delivered. And deeming this measure insufficient to furnish him with the knowledge of their private transactions, he adopted the practice of going himself in disguise, or employing others who better knew the English language, in order to listen at their doors and win-

dows in the night-time to the conversation which passed in domestic intercourse.

He repeatedly threatened to set fire to the town of Roseau, in case the island should be attacked; and, though this was never attempted by the English forces, yet that town was set fire to (as it was believed) by the French soldiers, and there was every reason to suppose that the governor was privy to it. This supposition was strongly corroborated by his behaviour on the night of that melancholy scene, at which he himself was present the best part of the time, and it is very confidently asserted, would not allow his soldiers to assist in extinguishing the flames, save only, in houses that belonged to the French inhabitants.

This fire happened the evening of Easter Sunday, 1781, by which upwards of five hundred houses were consumed in a few hours; and a vast quantity of rich merchandize and effects destroyed, to the value of two hundred thousand pounds sterling.

While the wretched inhabitants were thus groaning under domestic despotism, they had no resources from without. Their trade was entirely cut off, insomuch, that during five years and three months, the time that the island of Dominica was in possession of the French, it was not resorted to by any vessels from Old France, nor was any of its produce exported to that kingdom; but part of

it was sent in neutral bottoms to the Dutch island of St. Eustatius, before its capture by Admiral Rodney, and from thence it was exported to England, under the most extravagant expenses and loss to the proprietors.

Other parts of their produce were sent in Dutch vessels, which were engaged for the purpose in England, to Rotterdam ; and after the breaking out of the war with the Dutch, the produce of Dominica was sent under imperial colours to Ostend, where the sugar sold from six to eight pounds sterling the hogshead.

These accumulated distresses ended in the absolute ruin of many of the planters, and no less than thirty sugar plantations were in consequence thereof, thrown up and abandoned by the proprietors. At length, however, the day of deliverance arrived ; for, in the month of January 1783, Dominica was restored to the government of England. The joy which on this event, animated the bosom, and enlightened the countenance of every man, whom painful experience, under an arbitrary government, had taught to set a right value on the British constitution, may be conceived, but cannot be described. The inhabitants were now restored to the full enjoyment of their former privileges, under a civil establishment, similar to those of the other British colonies in the West Indies, which being hereafter to be described at length, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon in this place, except to ob-

serve, that the legislative authority of this island is vested in the commander in chief, a council of twelve gentlemen, and an assembly of nineteen members.\* The few observations therefore which follow, concerning its present state and productions, will conclude my account.

Dominica contains 186,436 acres of land; and is divided into ten parishes. The town of Roseau is at present the capital of the island, and is situated in the parish of St. George, being about seven leagues from Prince Rupert's bay. It is on a point of land on the S.W. side of the island which forms two bays, viz. Woodbridge's bay to the north, and Charlotteville bay to the southward.

Roseau is about half a mile in length, from Charlotteville to Roseau river, and mostly two furlongs in breadth, but less in some parts, being of a very irregular figure. It contains not more than five hundred houses, exclusive of the cottages occupied by negroes. Before its capture by the French, it contained upwards of one thousand.

This island is twenty-nine miles in length, and may be reckoned sixteen miles in breadth. It contains many high and rugged mountains, interspersed with fine vallies, and in general they appear to

\* The governor's salary, exclusive of his fees of office, is £.1,300 sterling, payable out of the four and a half per cent. duties; whether he has any addition from the colonial assembly I am not informed.



be fertile. Several of the mountains contain unextinguished volcanoes, which frequently discharge vast quantities of burning sulphur. From these mountains also issue springs of hot water, some of which are supposed to possess great virtue in the case of tropical disorders. In some places the water is said to be hot enough to coagulate an egg.\*

Dominica is well watered, there being upwards of thirty fine rivers in the island, besides a great number of rivulets. The soil, in most of the interior country, is a light, brown coloured mould, and appears to have been washed from the mountains. Towards the sea-coast and in many of the vallies, it is a deep, black, and rich native earth, and seems well adapted to the cultivation of all the articles of West Indian produce. The understratum is in some parts a yellow or brick clay, in others a stiff terrace, but the land is in most places very stony.

I am afraid, however, that the quantity of fertile soil bears but a very small proportion to the whole; there not being more than fifty sugar plantations at present in cultivation, and it is computed,

\* In the woods of Dominica are innumerable swarms of bees, which lodge in the trees, and produce great quantities of wax and honey, both of which are equal in goodness to any in Europe. It is precisely the same species of bee as in Europe, and must have been transported thither: the native bee of the West Indies being a smaller species, unprovided with stings, and very different in its manners from the European.

that on an average one year with another, those fifty plantations do not produce annually more than three thousand hogsheads of sugar. This is certainly a very small quantity of that article for such an extensive island, or even for the number of sugar plantations at present under cultivation, allowing only one hundred acres of canes to each.

Coffee seems to answer better than sugar, there being somewhat more than two hundred coffee plantations in Dominica, which in favourable years have produced three millions of pounds weight.

A small part of the lands are also applied to the cultivation of cacao, indigo, and ginger; but I believe that most of these articles, as well as of the cotton, which are comprehended in the exports, have hitherto been obtained from the dominions of foreign states in South America, and imported into this island under the free-port law.

The number of white inhabitants, of all descriptions and ages, appears, by the last returns to government, in 1788, to be 1,236; of free negroes, &c. 445; and of slaves 14,967. There are also, from twenty to thirty families of the ancient natives, or Charaibes, properly so called. They are a very quiet inoffensive people, speak a language of their own, and a little French, but none of them understand English.\*

\* A late writer gives the following account of these people; "They are of a clear copper colour, have long, sleek black hair: their per-

Such is the information which I have collected concerning the civil history and present state of Dominica, for great part of which I am indebted to a late publication by Mr. Atwood.\* Nothing now remains but to set forth the particulars and value of its productions, which I shall adopt, as in other cases, from the return of the inspector-general for the year 1787.

sons are short, stout, and well made, but they disfigure their faces by flattening their foreheads in infancy. They live chiefly by fishing in the rivers and the sea, or by fowling in the woods, in both which pursuits they use their bows and arrows with wonderful dexterity. It is said they will kill the smallest bird with an arrow at a great distance, or transfix a fish at a considerable depth in the sea. They display also very great ingenuity in making curious wrought panniers, or baskets of silk grass, or the leaves and bark of trees."

\* See the History of the Island of Dominica, by Mr. Thomas Atwood, 1791. Treating of the natural productions of this island, Mr. Atwood gives the following account of an insect, which he calls *the vegetable fly*. "It is of the appearance and size of a small cockchafer, and buries itself in the ground, where it dies; and from its body springs up a small plant, which resembles a young coffee tree, only that its leaves are smaller. The plant is often overlooked, from the supposition people have of its being no other than a coffee plant; but on examining it properly, the difference is easily distinguished; the head, body, and feet of the insect appearing at the foot, as perfect as when alive." This account is extraordinary, but not more surprising than the Rev. Nicholas Collins's description, in the American Philosophical Transactions, (Introduction to vol. iii. p. 23), of a certain *zoophyton* in the Ohio country, which, (he declares), is alternately vegetable and animal; for having crawled about the woods in its animal state until it grows weary of that mode of existence, it fixes itself in the ground, and *becomes a stately plant, with a stem issuing from its mouth*." I give these accounts as I find them, without vouching for the veracity of either.

*An Account of the Number of Vessels, their Tonnage and Men, (including their repeated Voyages), that cleared Outwards from the Island of Dominica, to all Parts of the World, between the 5th of January 1787 and the 5th of January 1788; with the Species, Quantities, and Value of their Cargoes, according to the actual Prices in London.*

| Whither Bound.  | SHIPPING. |        |       | SUGAR.      | RUM.   | ME-<br>LASSES | CACAO.     | COFFEE.    | INDI-<br>GO. | COT-<br>TON. | GIN-<br>GER. | Value of Mis-<br>cellaneous<br>Articles, as<br>Hides, Dying<br>Woods, &c. | TOTAL VALUE    |              |
|-----------------|-----------|--------|-------|-------------|--------|---------------|------------|------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|--------------|
|                 | No.       | Tons.  | Men   |             |        |               |            |            |              |              |              |                                                                           | Cwt. qrs. lb.  | Galls.       |
| Great Britain   | 56        | 8,682  | 966   | 58,665 1 21 | 1,492  | 9,423         | 1,126 2 26 | 17,387 3 6 | 11,250       | 961          | 066          | 161                                                                       | £. 11,635 11 3 | 271,472 14 0 |
| Ireland         | 9         | 1,046  | 85    | 11,163 0 0  | 3,600  |               | 8 0 4      |            |              |              |              |                                                                           | 20 0 0         | 19,900 11 6  |
| American States | 16        | 2,003  | 147   | 1,066 0 0   | 31,600 |               | 45 0 0     | 543 0 0    |              |              |              |                                                                           | 194 0 0        | 7,164 5 0    |
| Br. Am. Colon.  | 14        | 1,096  | 96    | 408 0 0     | 25,400 | 7,380         | 15 0 0     | 219 0 0    |              |              |              |                                                                           | 21 13 6        | 4,295 3 6    |
| For. W. Indies  | 67        | 5,299  | 520   |             | 1,300  |               |            |            |              |              |              |                                                                           | 41 6 0         | 155 1 0      |
| Total           | 162       | 18,126 | 1,814 | 71,302 1 21 | 63,392 | 16,803        | 1,194 3 28 | 18,149 3 6 | 11,250       | 970          | 816          | 161                                                                       | £. 11,912 10 9 | 302,987 15 0 |



## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III.

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*A Treaty of Peace and Friendship, concluded the 17th of February 1773, between his Excellency General Dalrymple, on the part of his Britannic Majesty, and by the Chiefs of Grand Sable, Masiraca, Rabacca, Mucaricau Byera, Coubamaron Jambon, Colourie, Camacarabou Ourawarou, and Point Espagniol, for themselves, and the rest of the Charaibes of St. Vincent; that is to say :*

- “ 1. **A**LL hostile proceedings are to cease, and a firm  
“ and lasting peace and friendship to succeed.
- “ 2. The Charaibes shall acknowledge his majesty to be  
“ the rightful sovereign of the island and domain of St.  
“ Vincent’s; take an oath of fidelity to him as their king;  
“ promise absolute submission to his will, and lay down  
“ their arms.
- “ 3. They shall submit themselves to the laws and obe-  
“ dience of his Majesty’s government, and the governor  
“ shall have power to enact further regulations for the  
“ public advantage as shall be convenient. (This article  
“ only respects their transactions with his majesty’s sub-

“ jects, not being Indians ; their intercourse and customs  
“ with each other, in the quarters allotted them, not being  
“ affected by it). And all new regulations are to receive his  
“ majesty’s Governor’s approbation before carried into ex-  
“ ecution.

“ 4. A portion of lands, hereafter mentioned, shall be  
“ allotted for the residence of the Charaibes ; viz. from the  
“ river Byera to point Espagniol on the one side, and from  
“ the river Analibou to point Espagniol on the other side,  
“ according to lines to be drawn by his Majesty’s surveyors,  
“ from the sources of the rivers to the tops of the moun-  
“ tains ; the rest of the lands formerly inhabited by Cha-  
“ raibes, for the future to belong entirely to his majesty.

“ 5. Those lands shall not be alienated, either by sale,  
“ lease, or otherwise, but to persons properly authorized  
“ by his majesty to receive them.

“ 6. Roads, ports, batteries, and communications, shall  
“ be made, as his majesty pleases.

“ 7. No undue intercourse with the French islands shall  
“ be allowed.

“ 8. Run-away slaves in the possession of the Charaibes  
“ are to be delivered up, and endeavours used to discover  
“ and apprehend the others ; and an engagement shall be  
“ entered into, not to encourage, receive, or harbour any  
“ slave whatever : the forfeiture of lands shall be the pe-  
“ nalty for harbouring slaves ; and carrying them off the  
“ island shall be considered as a capital crime.

“ 9. Persons guilty of capital crimes against the English  
“ are to be delivered up.

“ 10. In time of danger, the Charaibes shall be aiding  
“ and assisting to his Majesty’s subjects against their ene-  
“ mies.

“ 11. The three chains to remain to his Majesty.

“ 12. All conspiracies and plots against his Majesty, or  
“ his government, are to be made known to his governor,  
“ or other civil magistrates.

“ 13. Leave (if required) is given to the Charaibes to de-  
“ part this island, with their families and properties, and  
“ assistance in their transportation.

“ 14. Free access to the quarters allowed to the Cha-  
“ raibes is to be given to persons, properly empowered, to  
“ go in pursuit of run-away slaves, and safe conduct af-  
“ forded them.

“ 15. Deserters from his majesty’s service (if any), and  
“ run-away slaves from the French, shall be delivered up,  
“ in order that they may be returned to their masters.

“ 16. The chiefs of the different quarters are to render an  
“ account of the names and number of the inhabitants of  
“ their respective districts.

“ 17. The chiefs, and other Charaibes, inhabitants, are to  
“ attend the governor, whenever required, for his majes-  
“ ty’s service,

“ 18. All possible facility, consistent with the laws of  
“ Great Britain, is to be afforded to the Charaibes in the  
“ sale of their produce, and in their trade to the different  
“ British islands,



“ 19. Entire liberty of fishing, as well on the coast of  
“ St. Vincent’s, as at the neighbouring keys, is to be allow-  
“ ed them.

“ 20. In all cases, when the Charaibes conceive them-  
“ selves injured by his majesty’s other subjects, or other per-  
“ sons, and are desirous of having reference to the laws, or  
“ to the civil magistrates, an agent, being one of his majes-  
“ ty’s natural born subjects, may be employed by them-  
“ selves, or if more agreeable at his majesty’s cost.

“ 21. No strangers, or white persons, are to be allowed  
“ to settle among the Charaibes without permission first  
“ obtained in writing from the governor.

“ 22. These articles subscribed to and observed, the  
“ Charaibes are to be pardoned, secured, and fixed in their  
“ property accordingly to his majesty’s directions given,  
“ and all past offences forgot.

“ 23. After the signing of this treaty, should any of the  
“ Charaibes refuse to observe the condition of it, they are  
“ to be considered and treated as enemies by both parties,  
“ and the most effectual means used to reduce them.

“ 24. The Charaibes shall take the following oath; viz.

“ We, A. B. do swear in the name of the immortal God,  
“ and Christ Jesus, that we will bear true allegiance  
“ to his Majesty George the Third, of Great Britain,  
“ France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith,  
“ &c. and that we will pay due obedience to the  
“ laws of Great Britain, and the island of St. Vincent;  
“ and will well and truly observe every article of the  
“ treaty concluded between his said Majesty and the

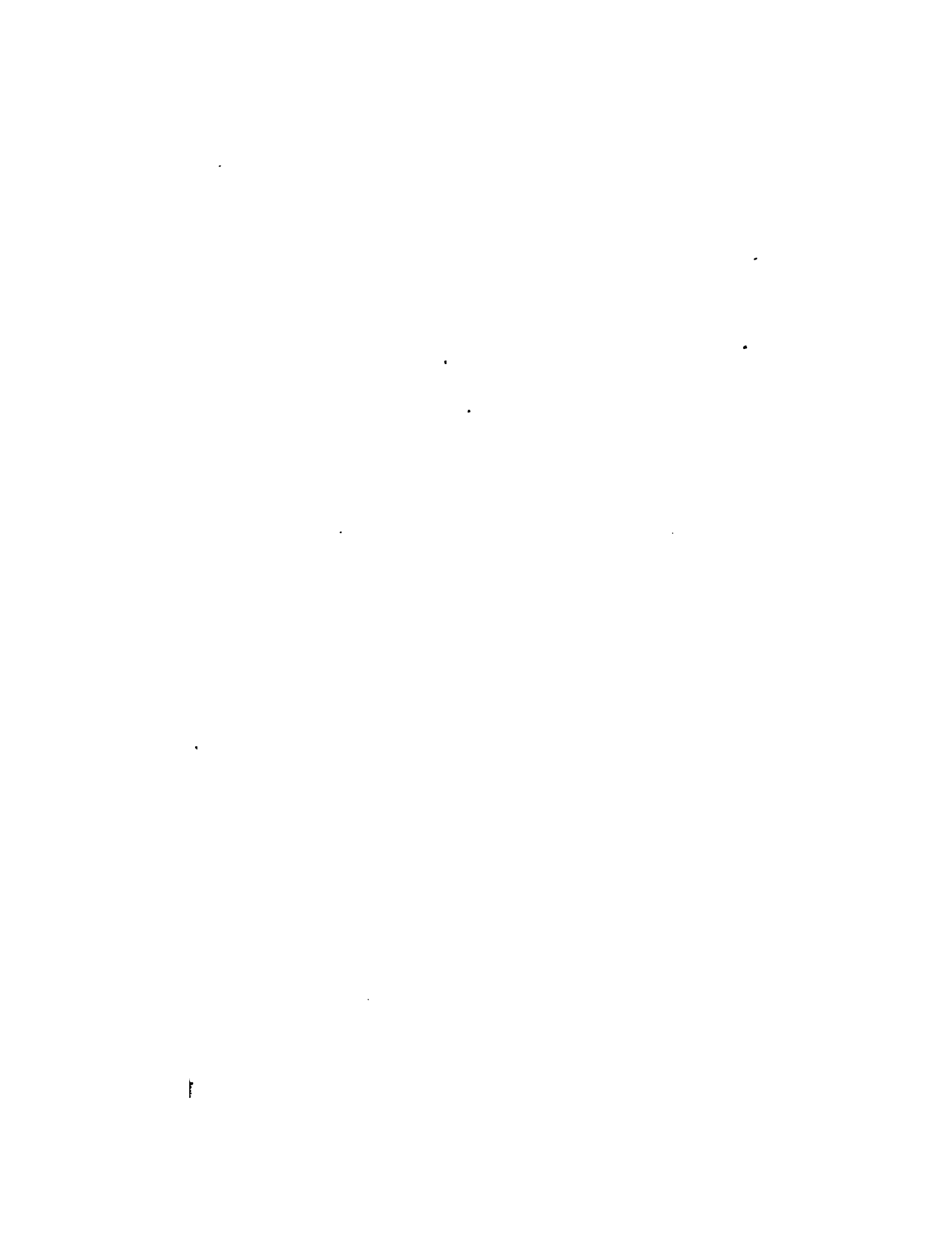
“ Charaibes; and we do acknowledge that his said  
 “ Majesty is rightful Lord and Sovereign of all the  
 “ island of St. Vincent, and that the lands held by us  
 “ the Charaibes, are granted though his Majesty’s  
 “ clemency.

“ On the part of his majesty,

“ W. Dalrymple.

“ On the part of the Charaibes,

|                    |                       |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| “ Jean Baptiste,   | “ Simon,              |
| “ Dufont Begot,    | “ Lalime, senior.     |
| “ Boyordell,       | “ Baüamont,           |
| “ Dirang,          | “ Justin Baüamont,    |
| “ Chatoyér,        | “ Matthieu,           |
| “ Doucre Baramont, | “ Jean Louis Pacquin, |
| “ Lalime, junior,  | “ Gadel Goibau,       |
| “ Broca,           | “ John Baptiste,      |
| “ Saioe,           | “ Lonen,              |
| “ François Laron,  | “ Boyüdon,            |
| “ Saint Laron,     | “ Du Vallet,          |
| “ Anisette,        | “ Boucharie,          |
| “ Clement,         | “ Deruba Babilliard,  |
| “ Bigott,          | “ Canaia.”            |



## CHAPTER IV.

*Leeward Charaibbean Island Government, comprehending St. Christopher's, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, and the Virgin Islands.—Civil History and Geographical Description of each.—Table of Exports from each island for 1787; and an account of the money arising from the duty of four and a half per cent.—Observations concerning their decline; and a short account of the islands of Bermudas and the Bahamas.*

**T**HE British Leeward Islands, since the year 1672, have constituted one distinct government; the governor being stiled *Captain General of the leeward Charaibbean islands*. He visits each occasionally, but his chief seat of residence is Antigua; the government of each in the absence of the governor-general, being usually administered by a lieutenant-governor, whose authority is limited to that particular island, and where no lieutenant-governor is appointed, the president of the council takes the command. I shall treat of them separately, and afterwards combine, in a concise summa-

ry, those circumstances which are common to them all.

Their civil history will be short; for in this part of my subject I have but little to add to the recital of Oldmixon, and other writers who have preceded me; and where novelty is wanting, brevity is indispensably requisite.

## SECTION I.

*ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.*

THE island of St. Christopher was called by its ancient possessors, the Charaibes *Liamuiga*, or the Fertile island. It was discovered in November 1493, by Columbus ~~himself, who was so~~ pleased with its appearance, that he honoured it with his own Christian name. But it was neither planted nor possessed by the Spaniards. It was, however, (notwithstanding that the general opinion ascribes the honour of seniority to Barbadoes), the eldest of all the British territories in the West Indies, and in truth, the common mother both of the English and French settlements in the Charaibbean islands. The fact, as related by an historian,\* to whose industry and knowledge I have been so largely indebted in my account of St. Vincent, was this, "In the number of those gentlemen who accompanied captain Roger North, in a voyage to Surinam, was Mr. Thomas Warner, who making an acquaintance there with captain Thomas Painton, a very experienced seaman, the latter suggested, how much easier it would be to fix, and preserve in good order, a

\* Dr. John Campbell.

colony in one of the small islands, despised and deserted by the Spaniards, than on that vast country, the continent, where, for want of sufficient authority, all things were fallen into confusion; and he particularly pointed out for that purpose the island of St. Christopher. This gentleman dying, Mr. Warner returned to England in 1620, resolved to put his friend's project in execution. He accordingly associated himself with fourteen other persons, and with them took his passage on board a ship bound to Virginia. From thence he and his companions sailed for St. Christopher's, where they arrived in January 1623, and by the month of September following, had raised a good crop of tobacco, which they proposed to make their staple commodity." It has been shewn in a former chapter, that the first actual establishment in Barbadoes, took place the latter end of 1624.

By the generality of historians, who have treated of the affairs of the West Indies, it is asserted, that a party of the French, under the command of a person of the name of D'Esnambuc, took possession of one part of this island, on the same day that Mr. Warner landed on the other; but the truth is, that the first landing of Warner and his associates happened two years before the arrival of D'Esnambuc; who, it is admitted by Du Tertre, did not leave France until 1625. Unfortunately, the English settlers, in the latter end of 1623, had their plantations demolished by a dreadful hurricane, which put a sudden stop to their progress. In

consequence of this calamity, Mr. Warner returned to England to implore succour; and it was on that occasion, that he sought and obtained the powerful patronage and support of James Hay, earl of Carlisle. This nobleman caused a ship to be fitted out, laden with all kinds of necessaries. It was called the Hopewell, and arrived at St. Christophér's on the 18th of May 1624; and thus he certainly preserved a settlement, which had otherwise died in its infancy. Warner himself did not return to St. Christopher's until the year following. He was then accompanied by a large body of recruits, and D'Esnambuc arrived about the same time; perhaps the same day. This latter was the captain of a French privateer; and, having in an engagement with a Spanish galleon of superior strength, been very roughly handled, he was obliged, after losing several of his men, to seek refuge in these islands. He brought with him to St. Christopher's about thirty hardy veterans, and they were cordially received by the English, who appear at this time to have been under some apprehensions of the Charaibes. Hitherto Warner's first colony had lived on friendly terms with these poor savages, by whom they were liberally supplied with provisions; but having seized on their lands, the consciousness of deserving retaliation made the planters apprehensive of an attack, when probably none was intended. Du Tertre relates, that the French and English receiving information of a projected revolt, concurred in a scheme for seizing the conspirators beforehand. Accordingly they fell on the Charaibes



by night, and, having murdered in cold blood from one hundred to one hundred and twenty of the stoutest, drove all the rest from the island, except such of the women as were young and handsome, of whom, says the reverend historian, they made concubines and slaves. Such is the account of a contemporary author, Pere Du Tertre, who relates these transactions with perfect composure, as founded on common usage, and not unwarrantable in their nature. He adds, that such of the Charaibes as escaped the massacre, having given the alarm to their countrymen in the neighbouring islands, a large body of them returned soon afterwards, breathing revenge; and now the conflict became serious. The Europeans, however, more from the superiority of their weapons, than of their valour, became conquerors in the end; but their triumph was dearly purchased; one hundred of their number having been left dead on the field of battle.

After this exploit, which Du Tertre calls a glorious victory, the Charaibes appear to have quitted, altogether, this and some of the small islands in the neighbourhood, and to have retired southwards. The two leaders, Warner and D'Esnambuc, about the same time, found it necessary to return to Europe, for the purpose of soliciting succour from their respective nations; and bringing with them the name of conquerors, they severally met with all possible encouragement. Warner was knighted by his sovereign, and through the interest of his

noble patron sent back as governor in 1626, with four hundred new recruits, amply supplied with necessaries of all kinds; while D'Esnambuc, under the patronage of Richlieu, (the minister of France), projected the establishment of an exclusive company for trading to this and some of the other islands. That minister concurred with D'Esnambuc in opinion, that such an institution was best adapted to the purposes of commerce and colonization;—an erroneous conclusion, which D'Esnambuc himself had soon abundant occasion to lament; for the French in general either misunderstood or disapproved the project. Subscriptions came in reluctantly, and the ships which the new company fitted out on this occasion, were so wretchedly supplied with provisions and necessaries, that of five hundred and thirty-two recruits, who sailed from France with D'Esnambuc, in February 1627, the greater part perished miserably at sea for want of food.

The English received the survivors with compassion and kindness; and for preventing contests in future about their respective limits, the commanders of each nation agreed to divide the whole island pretty equally between their followers. A treaty of partition for this purpose was reduced to writing, and signed, with many formalities, on the third of May 1627: it comprehended also a league defensive and offensive; but this alliance proved of little avail against the Spanish invasion in 1629, the circumstances whereof I have elsewhere

related.\* Yet surely, unjustifiable as that attack may be deemed, if the conduct of the new settlers towards the Charaibes was such as Du Tertre relates, we have but little cause to lament over the miseries which befel them. The mind exults in the chastisement of cruelty, even when the instruments of vengeance are as criminal as the objects of punishment.

It may now be thought, that those of the two nations who survived so destructive a storm, had learnt moderation and forbearance in the school of adversity; and indeed, for some years they appear to have lived on terms of good neighbourhood with each other; but at length national rivalry, and hereditary animosity were allowed their full influence, insomuch that, for half a century afterwards, this little island exhibited a disgusting scene of internal contention, violence, and bloodshed. It is impossible at this time to pronounce with certainty, whether the French or the English were the first aggressors. It is probable that each nation would lay the blame on the other. We are told that in the first Dutch war, in the reign of Charles II. the French king declaring for the United States, his subjects in St. Christopher's, disdaining an inglorious neutrality, attacked the English planters, and drove them out of their possessions; which were afterwards, by the treaty of Breda, restored to them. In 1689, in consequence of the revolution which had taken

\* Book ii. chap. ii.

place in England the preceding year, the French planters in this island, declaring themselves in the interests of the abdicated monarch, attacked, and expelled their English neighbours a second time, laying waste their plantations, and committing such outrages as are unjustifiable among civilized nations, even in a time of open and avowed hostility. Their conduct on this occasion was deemed so cruel and treacherous, that it was assigned by king William and queen Mary among the causes which induced them to declare war against the French nation. Even fortune herself, inclining at length to the side of justice, from henceforward deserted them; for, after they had continued about eight months sole masters of the island, the English under the command of General Codrington, returning in great force, not only compelled the French inhabitants to surrender, but actually transported eighteen hundred of them to Martinico and Hispaniola. It is true that reparation was stipulated to be made them by the treaty of Ryswick in 1767; but war again breaking out between the two nations in 1702, the French planters derived but little advantage from that clause in their favour. They had however, in 1705, the gloomy satisfaction to behold many of the English possessions again laid waste by a French armament, which committed such ravages, that the British parliament found it necessary to distribute the sum of £.103,000 among the sufferers, to enable them to re-settle their plantations. Happily, this was the last exertion of national enmity and civil discord within this little community; for, at

the peace of Utrecht, the island was ceded wholly to the English, and the French possessions publicly sold for the benefit of the English government. In 1733, £.80,000 of the money was appropriated as a marriage portion with the princess Anne, who was betrothed to the prince of Orange. Some few of the French planters, indeed, who consented to take the oaths, were naturalized and permitted to retain their estates.

Such were the origin and progress of the British establishment in the island of St. Christopher. The circumstances which attended the French invasion in the beginning of 1782, when a garrison of less than one thousand effective men (including the militia) was attacked by eight thousand of the best disciplined troops of France, supported by a fleet of thirty-two ships of war; the consequent surrender of the island, after a most vigorous and noble defence; and its restoration to Great Britain by the general peace of 1783, being within every person's recollection, need not be related at large in this work. I shall therefore conclude with the following particulars, which I presume are somewhat less familiar to the general reader, and their accuracy may be depended on.

St. Christopher lies in 17 degrees 15 minutes north latitude, and 63 degrees 17 minutes west longitude; it is about fourteen leagues in circuit, and contains 43,726 acres of land, of which about 17,000 acres are appropriated to the growth of su-

gar, and 4,000 to pasturage. As sugar is the only commodity of any account that is raised, except provisions and a little cotton, it is probable, that nearly one half the whole island is unfit for cultivation. The interior part of the country consists, indeed, of many rugged precipices, and barren mountains. Of these, the loftiest is Mount Misery, (evidently a decayed volcano), which rises 3,711 feet in perpendicular height from the sea.\* Nature, however, has made abundant amends for the sterility of the mountains by the fertility she has bestowed upon the plains. No part of the West Indies that I have seen, possesses even the same species of soil that is found in St Christopher's. It is in general a dark grey loam, so light and porous, as to be penetrable by the slightest application of the hoe; and I conceive it to be the production of subterraneous fires, the black ferruginous pumice of naturalists, finely incorporated with a pure loam, or virgin mould. The under stratum is gravel, from eight to twelve inches deep. Clay is nowhere found, except at a considerable height in the mountains.

By what process of nature the soil which I have mentioned becomes more especially suited to the

\* There is an immense crater on the top of this mountain, the bottom of which is nearly level, and supposed to contain 50 acres, of which seven are covered with water; the rest are clothed with high grass and trees, among which the mountain cabbage is very conspicuous. From the crannies or fissures of this crater still flow streams of hot water, which are strongly impregnated with sulphur, alum, and vitriolic acid.

production of sugar than any other in the West Indies, it is neither within my province nor ability to explain. The circumstance, however, is unquestionable. Canes, planted in particular spots, have been known to yield 8,000 lbs. of Muscovado sugar from a single acre. One gentleman, in a favourable season, made 6,400 lbs. or four hogsheads of sixteen cwt. each per acre, on an average return of his whole crop. It is not however pretended, that the greatest part, or even a very large proportion of the cane land, throughout the island, is equally productive. The general average produce for a series of years is 16,000 hogsheads of sixteen cwt. which, as one half only of the whole cane land, or 8,500 acres, is annually cut, (the remainder being in young canes), gives nearly two hogsheads of sixteen cwt. per acre for the whole of the land in ripe canes; but even this is a prodigious return, not equalled, I imagine, by any other sugar country in any part of the globe. In Jamaica, though some of the choicest lands may yield, in favourable years, two hogsheads of sixteen cwt. per acre; the cane land which is cut annually, taken altogether, does not yield above a fourth part as much.

I am informed, however, that the planters of St. Christopher's are at a great expense for manure; that they never cut *ratoon* canes;\* and although there is no want in the country of springs and rivu-

\* *Ratoon* canes are shoots from old roots, as will be fully explained hereafter.

lets for the support of the inhabitants, their plantations suffer much in dry weather, as the substratum does not long retain moisture.\*

This island is divided into nine parishes, and contains four towns and hamlets, viz. Basseterre (the present capital, as it was formerly that of the French, containing about 800 houses), Sandy Point, Old Road, and Deep Bay. Of these, the two first are ports of entry, established by law. The fortifications consist of Charles Fort and Brimstone Hill, both near Sandy Point; three batteries at Basseterre, one at Fig-tree Bay, another at Palmeto Point, and some smaller ones of no great importance.

The proportion which St. Christopher's contributes, with the other islands, towards an honourable provision for the governor general, is £.1,000 currency per annum; which is settled on him by the assembly immediately on his arrival. He has besides some perquisites; and in time of war they are considerable.

Each island within this government has a separate council, and each of them an assembly, or house of representatives. In St. Christopher's, the council should consist of ten members, but it is

\* The woods on the mountainous part of this island harbour abundance of a small species of monkey, troops of which frequently come down to devour the canes, and do inconceivable mischief.



seldom that more than seven are present. The house of assembly is composed of twenty-four representatives, of whom fifteen make a quorum. The requisite qualification is a freehold of forty acres of land, or a house worth forty pounds a year. Of the electors, the qualification is a freehold of ten pounds per annum.

The governor of this, and the other islands in the same government, is chancellor by his office, and in St. Christopher's sits alone. Attempts have been made to join some of the council with him, as in Barbadoes; but hitherto without success, the inhabitants choosing rather to submit to the expense and delay of following the chancellor to Antigua, than suffer the inconveniency of having on the chancery bench judges, some of whom it is probable, from their situation and connexions, may be interested in the event of every suit that may come before them.

In this island, as in Jamaica, the jurisdiction of both the King's Bench and Common Pleas, centers in one superior court, wherein justice is administered by a chief justice and four puisne judges. The chief is appointed by the crown, the others by the governor in the king's name, and they all hold their commissions during pleasure. The office of chief judge is worth about £.600 per annum. The emoluments of the assistant judges are trifling.

The present number of white inhabitants is computed at 4,000, and taxes are levied on 26,000 negroes; and there are about three hundred blacks and mulattoes of free condition.

As in the other British islands in the neighbourhood, all the white men from the age of sixteen to sixty are obliged to enlist in the militia, and in this island they serve without pay. They form two regiments of foot, although the whole number of effective men in each regiment seldom exceeds three hundred; but there is likewise a company of free blacks, and this, before the late war, constituted the whole of the military force within the island; the British government refusing to send them troops of any kind.

Of the wisdom of such conduct in Great Britain, the reader will be able properly to judge, when he is told, that the natural strength of this island, from the conformation and inequalities of its surface, is such, that a garrison of two thousand effective troops, properly supplied with ammunition and provisions, would in all human probability have rendered it impregnable to the formidable invasion of 1782.

With St. Christopher's surrendered also the island of Nevis; from which it is divided only by a small channel, and of which I shall now give some account.



## SECTION II.

*NEVIS.*

THIS beautiful little spot is nothing more than a single mountain, rising like a cone in an easy ascent from the sea; the circumference of its base not exceeding eight English leagues. It is generally believed that Columbus bestowed on it the appellation of *Nieves*, or *The Snows*, from its resemblance to a mountain of the same name in Spain, the top of which is covered with snow; but it is not an improbable conjecture, that in those days, a white smoke was seen to issue from the summit, which at a distance had a snow-like appearance, and that it rather derived its name from thence. That the island was produced by some volcanic explosion, there can be no doubt, for there is a hollow, or crater, near the summit, still visible, which contains a hot spring, strongly impregnated with sulphur; and sulphur is frequently found in substance in the neighbouring gullies and cavities of the earth.

The country is well watered, and the land in general fertile, a small proportion towards the summit of the island excepted, which answers however for the growth of ground provisions, such as

yams and other esculent vegetables. The soil is stony; the best is a loose black mould, on a clay. In some places, the upper stratum is a stiff clay, which requires labour, but properly divided and pulverised, repays the labour bestowed upon it. The general produce of sugar (its only staple production) is one hogshead of sixteen cwt. per acre from all the canes that are annually cut, which being about 4,000 acres, the return of the whole is an equal number of hogsheads, and this was the average fixed on by the French government in 1782, as a rule for regulating the taxes. As at St. Christopher's the planters seldom cut ratoon canes.

This island, small as it is, is divided into five parishes. It contains a town called Charles Town, the seat of government and a port of entry, and there are two other shipping places, called Indian Castle, and New Castle. The principal fortification is at Charles Town, and is called Charles Fort. The commandant is appointed by the crown, but receives a salary from the island.

The government, in the absence of the governor-general, is administered by the president of the council. This board is composed of the president, and six other members. The house of assembly consists of fifteen representatives; three for each parish.

The administration of common law is under the guidance of a chief justice, and two assistant judges, and there is an office for the registry of deeds.

The present number of white inhabitants is stated to me not to exceed six hundred, while the negroes amount to about ten thousand; a disproportion which necessarily converts all such white men as are not exempted by age or decrepitude, into a well regulated militia, among which there is a troop consisting of fifty horse, well mounted and accoutred. English forces, on the British establishment, they have none.

The English first established themselves in this island in the year 1628, under the protection and encouragement of Sir Thomas Warner. Among the different classes of men, who sought to improve their fortunes in St. Christopher's by the patronage of that enterprising leader, it can hardly be presumed, that every individual experienced the full gratification of his hopes and expectations. In all societies, there are many who will consider themselves unjustly overlooked and forgotten. Of the companions of Warner's earliest voyages, it is probable that some would set too high a value on their services, and of those who ventured afterwards, many would complain, on their arrival, that the best lands were pre-occupied. To soften and temper such discordancy and disquiet, by giving full employment to the turbulent and seditious, seems to have been one of the most important objects of Warner's policy. Motives of this nature induced him, without doubt, to plant a colony in Nevis at so early a period; and the wisdom and propriety of his first regulations gave strength and stability to the settlement.

What Warner began wisely, was happily completed by his immediate successor Mr. Lake, under whose administration Nevis rose to opulence and importance "He was a wise man," says Du Tertre, "and feared the Lord." Making this island the place of his residence, it flourished beyond example. It is said that about the year 1640, it possessed four thousand whites: so powerfully are mankind invited by the advantages of a mild and equitable system of government! Will the reader pardon me, if I observe at the same time, that few situations in life could have afforded greater felicity than that of such a governor. Living amidst the beauties of an eternal spring, beneath a sky serene and unclouded, and in a spot inexpressively beautiful, (for it is enlivened by a variety of the most enchanting prospects in the world, in the numerous islands which surround it), but above all, happy in the reflection that he conciliated the differences, administered to the necessities, and augmented the comforts of thousands of his fellow-creatures, all of whom looked up to him as their common father and protector. If there be pure joy on earth, it must have existed in the bosom of such a man; while he beheld the tribute of love, gratitude, and approbation towards him in every countenance, and whose heart at the same time told him that he deserved it.

I am sorry that I must present the reader with a very different picture, in the account that I am now to give of Antigua.

## SECTION III.

*ANTIGUA.*

ANTIGUA is situated about twenty leagues to the eastward of St. Christopher's, and was discovered at the same time ~~with that island~~ by Columbus himself, who ~~named it from a church in Seville~~ *Santa Maria de la Antigua*. We are informed by Ferdinand Columbus, that the Indian name was *Jamaica*. It is a singular circumstance, that this word, which in the language of the larger islands signified a country *abounding in springs*, should, in the dialect of the Charaibes, have been applied to an island that has not a single spring or rivulet of fresh water in it.

This inconvenience, without doubt, as it rendered the country uninhabitable to the Charaibes, deterred for some time the European adventurers in the neighbouring islands from attempting a permanent establishment in Antigua; but nature presents few obstacles which the avarice or industry of civilized man will not endeavour to surmount. The lands were found to be fertile, and it was discovered that cisterns might be contrived to hold rain-water.\*

\* The water thus preserved is wonderfully light, pure, and wholesome.



So early as ~~1632~~, a few English families took up lands there, and began the cultivation of tobacco. Among these was a son of Sir Thomas Warner, whose descendants still possess very considerable property in the island, one of them (Ashton Warner, Esq.) having been, in 1787, president of the council, and commander in chief in the absence of the governor.

But the settlement was nearly strangled in its infancy. In 1666, a ~~French~~ armament from Martinico, co-operating with a body of Charaibes, invaded the island and ravaged the country with fire and sword. All the negroes that could be found were taken away, and the inhabitants, after beholding their houses and estates in flames, were plundered even to the clothes on their backs, and the shoes on their feet, without regard to sex or age.

Its recovery from this calamity was owing chiefly to the enterprising spirit and extensive views of colonel Codrington, of Barbadoes. This gentleman removing to Antigua about the year 1674, applied his knowledge in sugar planting with such good effect and success, that others, animated by his example, and assisted by his advice and encouragement, adventured in the same line of cultivation. Mr. Codrington was some years afterwards nominated captain-general and commander in chief of all the Leeward Charaibbean islands, and, deriving from this appointment the power of giving greater energy to his benevolent purposes, had soon the

happiness of beholding the good effects of his humanity and wisdom, in the flourishing condition of the several islands under his government.

The prosperity of Antigua was manifested in its extensive population; for when, in the year 1690, general Codrington commanded on the expedition against the French inhabitants of St. Christopher's, as hath been related in the history of that island, Antigua furnished towards it no less than eight hundred effective men: a quota which gives room to estimate the whole number of its white inhabitants at that time, at upwards of five thousand.

Mr. Codrington dying in 1698, was succeeded in his government by his son Christopher; a gentleman eminently distinguished for his attainments in polite literature; and who, treading in the same paths as his illustrious father, gave the people under his government the promise of a long continuance of felicity.\* His administration, however, terminated at the end of six years; for in 1704 he was superseded (I know not on what account) by Sir William Mathews; who dying soon after his arrival, the queen was pleased to appoint to the government of this, and the neighbouring islands, Daniel Park,

\* He was the author, if I mistake not, of a copy of verses prefixed to Garth's Dispensary, and in which is this beautiful triplet:

I read thee over with a lover's eye :  
Thou hast no faults, or I no faults can spy :  
Thou art all beauty;—or all blindness I.

Esq. a man, whose tragical end having excited the attention of Europe, and furnished a lesson for history to perpetuate, I shall be excused for entering somewhat at large into his conduct and fortune.

Mr. Park was a native of Virginia, and was distinguished for his successes at a very early time of life. Having married a lady of fortune in America, his first exploit was to rob his wife of her money, and then desert her. With this money he came to England, and obtained a return to parliament; but gross bribery being proved against him, he was expelled the house. His next adventure was to debauch the wife of a friend, for which being prosecuted, he quitted England, and made a campaign with the army in Flanders, where he had the fortune to attract the notice, and acquire the patronage, of the duke of Marlborough.—In 1704, he attended the duke as one of his aides-de-camp, and as such, on the event of the battle of Hochstet, having been sent by his grace to England, with intelligence of that important victory, he was rewarded by the Queen with a purse of a thousand guineas, and her picture richly set with diamonds. The year following, the government of the Leeward Islands becoming vacant, Mr. Park, through the interest of his noble patron, was appointed to succeed Sir William Mathews therein, and he arrived at Antigua in July 1706.

As he was a native of America, and his interest with the British administration was believed to

be considerable, the inhabitants of the Leeward Islands, who were probably unacquainted with his private character, received him with singular respect, and the assembly of Antigua, even contrary to a royal instruction, added a thousand pounds to his yearly income, in order, as it was expressed in the vote, to relieve him from the expense of a house-rent; a provision which, I believe, has been continued ever since to his successors in the government.

The return which Mr. Park thought proper to make for this mark of their kindness, was an avowed and unrestrained violation of all decency and principle. He feared neither God nor man; and it was soon observed of him, as it had formerly been of another detestable tyrant, *that he spared no man in his anger, nor woman in his lust*. One of his first enormities was to debauch the wife of a Mr. Chester, who was factor to the royal African company, and the most considerable merchant in the island. Apprehending that the injured husband might meditate revenge, the worthy governor endeavoured to be beforehand with him, by adding the crime of murder to that of adultery, for Chester having about this time had the misfortune to kill a person by accident, his excellency, who had raised a common soldier to the office of provost-marshal, brought him to a trial for his life; directing his instrument the provost-marshal, to impanel a jury of certain persons, from whom he doubted not to obtain Chester's conviction; and the execution of this

innocent and injured man would undoubtedly have followed, if the evidence in his favour had not proved too powerful to be overborne ; so that the jury were compelled to pronounce his acquittal.

Another of his exploits, was an attempt to rob the Codrington family of the island of Barbuda, (of which they had held peaceable possession for thirty years), by calling on them to prove their title before himself and his council ; a measure which gave every proprietor reason to apprehend, that he had no security for his possessions but the governor's forbearance.

He declared, that he would suffer no provost-marshal to act, who should not at all times summon such juries as he should direct. He changed the mode of electing members to serve in the assembly, in order to exclude persons he did not like ; and not being able by this measure to procure an assembly to his wish, he refused to call them together even when the French threatened an invasion.

He entered the house of Mr. Chester, the person before mentioned, with an armed force, and seized several gentlemen (some of them the principal men of the island) who were there met for the purpose of good fellowship, on suspicion that they were concerting measures against himself ; most of whom he sent by his own authority to the common jail, and kept them there without bail or trial.

By these, and a thousand other odious and intemperate proceedings, the whole country became a party against him, and despatched an agent to England, to lay their grievances before the crown, adopting, in the first instance, all moderate and legal means to procure his removal; but from the delays incident to the business, the people lost all temper, and began to consider forbearance as no longer a virtue. More than one attempt was made on the governor's life, in the last of which he was grievously, but not mortally, wounded. Unhappily, the furious and exasperated state of men's minds admitted of no compromise, and the rash impetuous governor was not of a disposition to soften, or conciliate, if occasion had offered.

At length, however, instructions came from the crown, directing Mr. Park to resign his command to the lieutenant-governor, and return to England by the first convenient opportunity; at the same time commissioners were appointed to take examinations on the spot, concerning the complaints which had been urged against his conduct. It would have been happy if the inhabitants of Antigua had borne their success with moderation; but the triumphant joy which they manifested, on receipt of the Queen's orders, provoked the governor into desperation. He declared, that he would continue in the government in spite of the inhabitants, and being informed, that a ship was about to sail for Europe, in which he might conveniently have embarked, he refused to leave the country. In the

mean-while, to convince the people that his firmness was unabated, and that he still considered himself in the rightful exercise of his authority, he issued a proclamation to dissolve the assembly.

Matters were now coming fast to an issue. The assembly continued sitting notwithstanding the governor's proclamation, and resolved, that having been recalled by his sovereign, his continuance in the government was usurpation and tyranny, and that it was their duty to take charge of the safety and peace of the island. On hearing of this vote, the governor secretly ordered a party of soldiers to surround them; but the assembly having obtained information of his intentions, immediately separated to provide for their personal safety. The ensuing night and the whole of the following day, were employed in summoning the inhabitants from all parts of the island, to hasten to the capital, properly armed, to protect their representatives. It was given out, however, that the governor's life was not aimed at; all that was intended was to secure his person, and send him from the island.

On Thursday the 7th of December 1710, early in the morning, about five hundred men appeared in arms, in the town of Saint John's, where colonel Park had been making provision for resistance in case of an attack. He had converted the government house into a garrison, and stationed in it all the regular troops that were in the island. On the approach of the inhabitants, however, his courage

deserted him. The sight of an injured people coming forward as one man, with deliberate valour to execute on his person that punishment which he must have been conscious his enormities well merited, over-whelmed him with confusion and terror. Although he must have been apprized, that his adversaries had proceeded too far to retreat, he now, for the first time, when it was too late, had recourse to concession. He despatched the provost-marshal with a message, signifying his readiness to meet the assembly at Parham, and to consent to whatever laws they should think proper to pass for the good of the country. He offered at the same time to dismiss his soldiers, provided, six of the principal inhabitants would remain with him as hostages for the safety of his person. The speaker of the assembly, and one of the members of the council, unwilling to carry matters to the last extremity, seemed inclined to a compromise, and proposed themselves as two of the hostages required by the governor; but the general body of the people, apprehensive that further delay might be fatal to their cause, called aloud for immediate vengeance; and instantly marched forward in two divisions. One of these, led by Mr. Piggot, a member of the assembly, taking possession of an eminence that commanded the government house, attacked it with great fury. The fire was briskly returned for a considerable time, but at length the assailants broke into the house. The governor met them with firmness, and shot Piggot dead with his own hand, but received in the same moment, a



wound which laid him prostrate. His attendants, seeing him fall, threw down their arms, and the enraged populace, seizing the person of the wretched governor, who was still alive, tore him into a thousand pieces, and scattered his reeking limbs in the street. Besides the governor, an ensign and thirteen private soldiers who fought in his cause, were killed outright, and a lieutenant and twenty-four privates wounded. Of the people, thirty-two were killed and wounded, besides Mr. Piggot. The governor's death instantly put an end to this bloody conflict.

Thus perished, in a general insurrection of an insulted and indignant community, a brutal and licentious despot, than whom no state criminal was ever more deservedly punished. He was a monster in wickedness, and being placed by his situation beyond the reach of ordinary restraint, it was as lawful to cut him off by every means possible, as it would have been to shoot a wild beast that had broke its limits, and was gorging itself with human blood. "The people of England," says an eminent writer,\* "heard with astonishment of Park's untimely fate; but the public were divided in their sentiments; some looking upon his death as an act of rebellion against the crown, and others considering it as a sacrifice to liberty. The flagrancy of the perpetration, and compassion for the man, at last got the better." In the latter assertion however, the writer is clearly mistaken; for the English

\* Universal History, vol. xli.

government, after full investigation, was so thoroughly satisfied of Mr. Park's misconduct, as to issue, much to its honour, a general pardon of all persons concerned in his death, and two of the principal actors therein were even promoted, some time afterwards, to seats in the council.

From this period I close my account of the civil concerns of Antigua, finding no occurrence in its subsequent history of sufficient importance to detain the reader; what remains therefore is chiefly topographical, and I hope will be found correct.

Antigua is upwards of fifty miles in circumference, and contains 59,838 acres of land, of which about 34,000 are appropriated to the growth of sugar, and pasturage annexed: its other principal staples are cotton wool and tobacco; to what extent of cultivation I am not informed; and they raise in favourable years great quantities of provisions.

This island contains two different kinds of soil; the one a black mould on a substratum of clay, which is naturally rich, and when not checked by excessive droughts, to which Antigua is particularly subject, very productive. The other is a stiff clay on a substratum of marl. It is much less fertile than the former, and abounds with an inirradiable kind of grass, in such a manner, that many estates consisting of that kind of soil, which were once very profitable, are now so impoverished and

overgrown with this sort of grass, as either to be converted into pasture land, or to become entirely abandoned. Exclusive of such deserted land, and a small part of the country that is altogether unimprovable, every part of the island may be said to be under cultivation.

From the circumstances that have been related, it is difficult to furnish an average return of the crops, which vary to so great a degree, that the quantity of sugar exported from this island in some years, is five times greater than in others; thus in 1779 were shipped 3,382 hogsheads, and 579 tierces; in 1782 the crop was 15,102 hogsheads, and 1,603 tierces; and in the years 1770, 1773, and 1778, there were no crops of any kind; all the canes being destroyed by a long continuance of dry weather, and the whole body of the negroes must have perished for want of food, if American vessels with corn and flour had been at that time, as they now are, denied admittance.\*

It seems to me on the whole, that the island has progressively decreased both in produce and white population. The last accurate returns to government were in 1774. In that year, the white inhabitants of all ages and sexes were 2,590, and the enslaved negroes 37,808, and I believe, that 17,000

\* In the year 1789 there was no fall of rain for seven months, whereby there was not only no crop of sugar, but 5,000 head of horned cattle perished for want of water.

hogsheads of sugar of sixteen cwt. are reckoned a good saving crop. This, as one half the canes only are cut annually, is about a hogshead of sugar per acre for each acre that is cut. The produce of 1787 will be given hereafter; and I believe it was a year more favourable to Antigua, in proportion to its extent, than to any other of the British islands in the West Indies.

Antigua is divided into six parishes and eleven districts, and contains six towns and villages. St. John's\* (the capital), Parham, Falmouth, Willoughby Bay, Old Road, and James Fort: of which the two first are legal ports of entry.—No island, in this part of the West Indies, can boast of so many excellent harbours. Of these, the principal are English harbour and Saint John's, both well fortified; and at the former the British government has established a royal navy yard and arsenal, and conveniencies for careening ships of war.

The military establishment generally consists of two regiments of infantry, and two of foot militia. There are likewise a squadron of dragoons, and a battalion of artillery, both raised in the island, and the regulars receive additional pay, as in Jamaica.

\* The town of Saint John was nearly destroyed by fire on the 17th of August 1769; upwards of 260 houses being consumed; besides wharfs, cranes, &c. &c.

It hath been already observed, that the governor or captain general of the leeward Charaibbean islands, although directed by his instructions to visit occasionally each island within his government, is generally stationary at Antigua; he is chancellor of each island by his office, but commonly holds the court in Antigua, and in hearing and determining causes from the other islands, presides alone. In causes arising in Antigua, he is assisted by his council, after the practice of Barbadoes; and, by an act of the assembly of this island, confirmed by the crown, the president and a certain number of the council may determine chancery causes during the absence of the governor general. The other courts of this island are a court of King's Bench, a court of Common Pleas, and a court of Exchequer.

The legislature of Antigua is composed of the commander in chief, a council of twelve members, and an assembly of twenty-five; and it is very much to its honour, that it presented the first example to the sister islands of a melioration of the criminal law respecting negro slaves, by giving the accused party the benefit of a trial by jury: and allowing in the case of capital convictions four days between the time of sentence and execution. And it is still more to the honour of Antigua, that its inhabitants have encouraged in a particular manner, the laudable endeavours of certain pious men, who have undertaken, from the purest and best motives, to enlighten the minds of the negroes, and lead

them into the knowledge of religious truth. In the report of the lords of the committee of council on the slave trade, is an account of the labours of the society known by the name of the *Unitas Fratrum* (commonly called *Moravians*) in this truly glorious pursuit; from which it appears, that their conduct in this business displays such sound judgment, breathes such a spirit of genuine christianity, and has been attended with such eminent success, as to entitle its brethren and missionaries to the most favourable reception, from every man whom the accidents of fortune have invested with power over the poor Africans; and who believes (as I hope every planter believes) that they are his fellow creatures, and of equal importance with himself in the eyes of an all-seeing and impartial Governor of the Universe. With an abridgment of that account, I shall close the subject of my present discussion.

“ The church of the United Brethren have, ever since the year 1732, been active in preaching the gospel to different heathen nations in many parts of the world, but not with equal success in all places. The method here described, and made use of by the missionaries of the said church, in leading the negro slaves in the West Indies to the knowledge and practice of christianity, is followed, in all points that are not local, in all the missions of the brethren.

After many years unsuccessful labour, experience has taught them, that the plain testimony

concerning the death and passion of Jesus Christ the Son of God, together with its cause and happy consequences, delivered by a missionary touched with an experimental sense of it, is the surest way of enlightening the benighted minds of the negroes, in order to lead them afterwards step by step into all truth: they therefore make it a rule, never to enter into an extensive discussion of the doctrines of God's being an infinite spirit, of the Holy Trinity, &c. nor to seek to open their understandings in those points, until they believe in Jesus, and that the word of the Cross has proved itself the power of God unto salvation, by the true conversion of their hearts. Both in the beginning and progress of their instructions, the missionaries endeavour to deliver themselves as plainly and intelligibly to the faculties of their hearers as possible; and the Lord has given his blessing even to the most unlearned that went forth in reliance upon him, to learn the difficult languages of the negroes, so as to attain to great fluency in them: one great difficulty arises, indeed, from the new ideas and words necessary to express the divine truths to be introduced into them; but even this has been surmounted through God's grace.

As it is required of all believers, that they prove their faith by their works; the brethren teach, that no habit of sin, in any land or place, nor any prevailing custom whatever, can be admitted as a plea for a behaviour not conformable to the moral law of

God, given unto all mankind. Upon the fulfilment of this the missionaries insist every where. Every thing that is accounted decent and virtuous among christians, is inculcated into the minds of the people. Drunkenness, adultery, whoredom, sorcery, theft, anger, and revenge, and all other works of the flesh, as enumerated by our Lord and his Apostles as proceeding from the heart, being plain proofs that man is either unconverted, or again fallen into heathenism and idolatry, it follows of course, that any one guilty of these things is put away from the congregation, and not re-admitted before a true and sincere repentance is apparent, and the offence done away; but it is not sufficient that the believers abstain from open scandal, their private behaviour in their families, and in every occurrence of life, must evidence a thorough change of heart and principles: indeed, the believing negroes in Antigua, and in other places where the brethren have missions, are so much under the influence of their masters, and of a variety of circumstances that attend their being slaves, that it may perhaps seem more difficult to effect a change of customs and practices, and to enforce a steady Christian conduct in all cases amongst them, than amongst free heathens; and yet it must be owned, to the praise of God, that this is visible at present in many thousand converted negroes.

The missionaries, however, have frequent occasion to see with sorrow, how deeply rooted the



habit of sin, and the tendency, to excuse it, is in the minds of the negroes ; who when unconverted, are particularly given to an unbounded gratification of every sensual lust ; but on this very account it becomes the more needful to watch, and not to suffer the least deviation from the right path, to remain unnoticed in the believers. It has been before observed, that baptism is administered to none, but to such in whom a thorough conversion of heart is already perceivable. As soon as they are considered as candidates for baptism, they are subject to the discipline of the church, by which, if they offend, and private admonition and reproof have not the desired effect, they are excluded from the fellowship of the rest, though they may attend public service, and every means is still faithfully applied to bring them back. Thus a communicant, in case of an offence given, is not admitted to the Lord's supper. This discipline has, by God's blessing, had so good an effect, that many a believing negro would rather suffer the severest bodily punishment, than incur it. If they confess their sins, and heartily repent, they are willingly, and, according to the nature of the offence, either privately, or in the presence of a part, or the whole of the congregation, re-admitted to the fellowship of the church. The believing negroes are not suffered to attend any where, where the unconverted meet for the sake of feasting, dancing, gaming, &c. and the usual plea of *not entering into the sinful part of these diversions*, is never admitted, inasmuch, as the least step towards

vice and immorality, generally plunges them by degrees into gross sins. The hankering after the vain traditions of their forefathers, is considered as a falling off from that love to the Lord Jesus and his doctrines, which once prompted them to forsake all ungodliness, and devote themselves unto God; and if they persist in evil ways, the faithfulness due to the rest of the flock on the part of the missionaries, demands their separation, lest they seduce others.

The polygamy of the negroes has caused no small embarrassment to the missionaries. The following is a short account of the brethren's manner of treating them in this particular: When a negro man or woman applies as above described, to be baptized or received into the congregation, strict inquiry is made concerning every circumstance attending his or her situation and connections in life. If it is found that a man has more than one wife, the question arises, how the brethren have to advise him in this particular: St. Paul says, "if any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away," 1 Cor. vii. 12: But again he says, "a bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife," 2 Tim. iii. 2. We read of no further precept in the holy scriptures concerning this subject; the brethren therefore were of opinion, that the missionaries should keep strictly to the following resolutions:

1. That they could not compel a man, who had, before his conversion, taken more than one wife, to put away one or more of them, without her or their consent.
2. But yet, that they could not appoint such a man to be a helper or servant in the church; and,
3. That a man who believeth in Christ, if he marry, should take only one wife in marriage, and that he is bound to keep himself only to that woman, till death parts them.

The instances that a man has three wives are few; all mistresses must of course be put away without exception; besides this, the missionaries lose no opportunity of inculcating into the minds of the married people, how to walk in this state conformable to the rules laid down in holy writ, and every deviation from them is severely censured. If any baptized man leaves his wife, and takes another, and takes one or more wives besides the first, or in case he has had two, and one dies and he should marry another, he is excluded the fellowship of the church. Neither can the brethren admit of the heathenish customs in courting a wife, but they expect, that in case a believer wish to marry, he do all things in a decent and christian manner: it is of course expected, that all baptized parents educate their children in the fear of the Lord, shewing them a good example. If by a sale of negroes by

auktion, or in any other way, wives are torn from their husbands, or husbands from their wives, and carried off to distant islands, though the brethren do not advise, yet they cannot hinder a regular marriage with another person, especially, if a family of young children, or other circumstances, seem to render an helpmate necessary; and, as is mostly the case, no hopes remain of the former ever returning. A certificate of baptism is given to every baptized negro, that must thus leave the congregation; and there have been instances, that by their godly walk and conversation in distant parts, they have caused others to hearken to their word, and believe.

Though all the above injunctions are of such a nature, that they not only war against their heathenish propensities, but even against what some might call excusable indulgencies; yet it is a fact, that at this present time, some thousand negroes in Antigua, and other islands, submit to them with willingness.

The number of converted negro slaves under the care of the brethren, at the end of the year 1787, was,—

|                                                 |                      |        |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------|--------|
| In Antigua, exactly                             | - - - -              | 5,465  |
| In St. Kitt's, a new mission                    | -                    | 80     |
| In Barbadoes and Jamaica, about                 |                      | 100    |
| In St. Thomas, St. Croix, and<br>St. Jan, about | - - - }<br>- - - }   | 10,000 |
| In Surinam, about                               | - - - -              | 400    |
| Still living in the West Indies and<br>Surinam  | - - - - }<br>- - - } | 16,045 |

as nearly as can be ascertained from the latest accounts."

## SECTION IV.

*MONTSERRAT.*

OF this little island, neither the extent nor the importance demands a very copious discussion. It was discovered at the same time with ~~St. Christopher's~~, and derived its name from a supposed resemblance which Columbus perceived in the face of the country to a mountain of the same name near Barcelona.

The name was all that was bestowed upon it by the Spaniards. Like Nevis, it was first planted by a small colony from St. Christopher's, detached in 1632, from the adventurers under Warner. Their separation appears indeed, to have been partly occasioned by local attachments and religious dissensions; which rendered their situation in St. Christopher's uneasy, being chiefly natives of Ireland, of the Romish persuasion. The same causes, however, operated to the augmentation of their numbers; for so many persons of the same country and

religion adventured thither soon after the first settlement, as to create a white population which it has ever since possessed; if it be true, as asserted by Oldmixon, that at the end of sixteen years, there were in the island upwards of one thousand white families, constituting a militia of three hundred and sixty effective men.

The civil history of this little island contains nothing very remarkable. It was invaded by a French force in 1712, and suffered so much from the depredations of that armament, that an article was inserted in the treaty of Utrecht for appointing commissioners to inquire into the damages; which, however, were not made good to the sufferers. It was again invaded, and with most of the other islands captured by the French, in the late war, and restored with the rest.

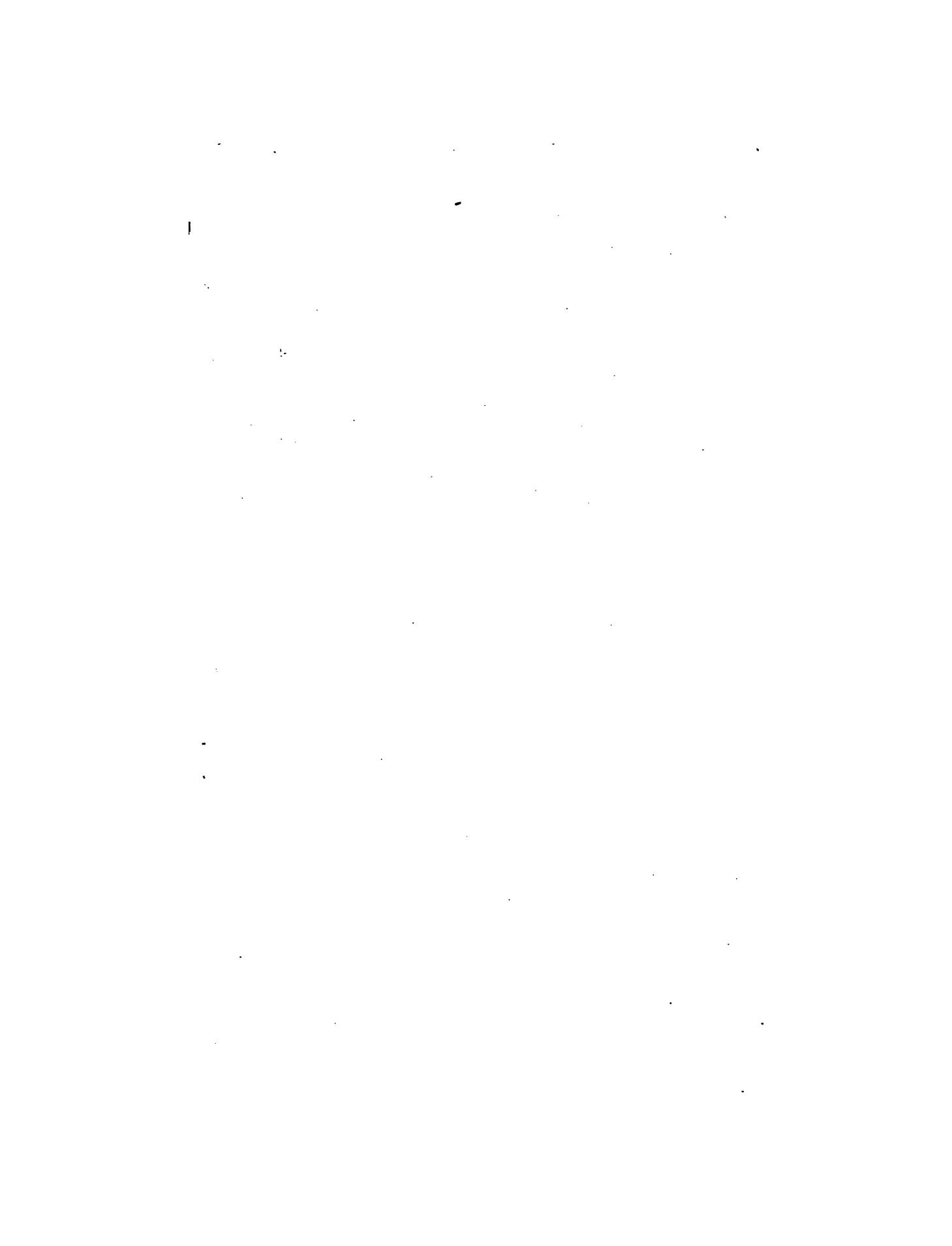
Nothing therefore remains, but to furnish the reader with an account of its present state in respect of cultivation, productions, and exports.

Montserrat is about three leagues in length; and as many in breadth, and is supposed to contain about thirty thousand acres of land, of which almost two-thirds are very mountainous, or very barren. The land in cultivation is appropriated nearly as follows. In sugar, six thousand acres: In cotton, provisions, and pasturage, two thousand each. None other of the tropical staples are raised. Its average crop from 1784 to 1788, were 2,737 hogsheads of sugar

of sixteen hundred weight, 1,107 puncheons of rum, and 275 bales of cotton. The exports of 1787, and their value at the London market, will be seen in a table annexed to this chapter. They are produced by the labour of one thousand three hundred whites, and about ten thousand negroes.

The government is administered in this, as in the other islands, by a legislature of its own, under the captain general. The council consists of six members, and the assembly of eight, two from each of the four districts into which it is divided; and the proportion which Montserrat contributes to the salary of the captain general is £.400 per annum.





## SECTION V.

*VIRGIN ISLANDS.*

OF the Virgin Islands I have so few particulars to communicate, that I fear the reader will accuse me of inattention or idleness in my researches. I have, however, solicited information of those who I thought were most likely to afford it; but if my inquiries were not slighted, my expectations were not gratified. Even in a late historical account by Mr. Suckling, the chief justice of these islands, I find but little of which I can avail myself. It furnishes no particulars concerning their extent, their cultivation, or their commerce. It is silent as to the number of their present English inhabitants. The author is even misinformed as to the origin of their present name; for he supposes that it was bestowed upon them in 1580, by Sir Francis Drake, in honour of queen Elizabeth; but the fact is, that these islands were named *Las Virgines* by Columbus himself, who discovered them in 1493, and gave them this appellation, in allusion to the well-known legend in the Romish ritual of the 11,000 virgins.

The Spaniards of those days, however, thought them unworthy of further notice. A century after-

wards (1596) they were visited by the earl of Cumberland, in his way to the attack of Porto Rico; and the historian of that voyage, whose narrative is preserved in Hakluyt's collection, calls them "a knot of little islands, wholly uninhabited, sandy, barren, and craggy." The whole group may comprehend about forty islands, islots, and keys, and they are divided at present between the English, the Spaniards, and Danes. The English hold Tortola, and Virgin Gorda,\* Josvan Dykes, Guana Isle, Beef and Thatch islands, Anegada, Nichar, Prickly Pear, Camana's, Ginger, Cooper's, Salt island, Peter's island, and several others of little value. The Danes possess Santa Cruz,† St. Thomas, with about twelve smaller islands dependant thereon, and St. John, which last is of importance as having the best harbour of any island to the leeward of Antigua, and the Spaniards claim Crab island, the Green or Serpent island, the Tropic Keys, and Great and Little Passage.

The first possessors of such of these islands as now belong to the British government were a party of Dutch buccaniers, who fixed themselves at Tortola about the year 1648, and built a fort there

\* This last is likewise called Penniston, and corruptly Spanish Town. It has two very good harbours.

† St. Croix, or Santa Cruz, belonged originally to the French, and was sold by them to the Danes, in 1733, for the sum of £.75,000. Its inhabitants are chiefly English, and the lands being exceedingly fertile, the produce of this little island (most of which I believe is smuggled into Great Britain as the produce of Tortola) is very considerable, particularly sugar.

for their protection. In 1666, they were driven out by a stronger party of the same adventurers, who, calling themselves English, pretended to take possession for the crown of England, and the English monarch, if he did not commission the enterprize, made no scruple to claim the benefit of it; for Tortola and its dependencies were soon afterwards annexed to the Leeward Island government, in a commission granted by king Charles II. to Sir William Stapleton, and I believe that the English title has remained unimpeached from that time to this.

The Dutch had made but little progress in cultivating the country when they were expelled from Tortola; and the chief merit of its subsequent improvements was reserved for some English settlers from the little island of Anguilla, who, about a century past, embarked with their families and settled in the Virgin islands. Their wants were few, and their government simple and unexpensive. The deputy governor, with a council nominated from among themselves, exercised both the legislative and judicial authority, determining, in a summary manner, without a jury, all questions between subject and subject; and as to taxes there seem to have been none laid: when money was absolutely necessary for public use, it was raised, I believe by voluntary contribution.

Under such a system, it was impossible that the colony could attain to much importance. It want-

ed the advantage of English capitals; but credit is sparingly given where payment cannot be easily enforced. The inhabitants therefore, whose numbers in 1756 amounted to 1,263 whites, and 6,121 blacks, reasonably hoped to be put on the same footing with the sister islands, by the establishment of a perfect civil government, and constitutional courts of justice among them; but in this expectation they were not gratified until the year 1773. In that year they presented an humble petition to the captain-general of the Leeward Island government, requesting his excellency to unite with them in an application to his majesty, for permission to elect an assembly of representatives out of the freeholders and planters, in order that such assembly, with the governor and council, might frame proper laws for their peace, welfare, and good government; *pledging themselves, in that case, to grant to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, an impost of four and an half per centum, in specie, upon all goods and commodities the growth of these islands, similar to that which was paid in the other Leeward islands.*

Their application (thus sweetened) proved successful. It was signified to them, that his majesty fully considering the persons, circumstances, and condition of his said Virgin islands, and the necessity there was, from the then state of their culture and inhabitancy, that some adequate and perfect form of civil government should be established therein; “and finally trusting that his faithful subjects in his said Virgin islands, who should com-

“ pose the new assembly, would, as the first act of  
“ legislation, cheerfully make good the engage-  
“ ment of granting to his majesty, his heirs and  
“ successors, the impost of four and a half per  
“ centum on all the produce of the Virgin islands,  
“ to be raised and paid in the same manner as the  
“ four and a half per centum is made payable in  
“ the other *Leeward Islands*,” did cause his royal  
pleasure to be signified to the governor in chief,  
that he should issue writs in his majesty’s name,  
for convening an assembly or house of representa-  
tives, who, together with a council, to be com-  
posed of twelve persons, to be appointed by the  
governor for that purpose, might frame and pass  
such laws as should be necessary for the welfare  
and good government of the said islands.

Accordingly, on the 30th of November 1773,  
the governor in chief of the Leeward Islands, in  
obedience to his majesty’s orders, issued a procla-  
mation for convening an assembly or house of re-  
presentatives of the Virgin Islands, who met on  
the 1st of February following, and very honourably  
complied with their engagement to the crown; the  
very first act passed by them being the grant before  
mentioned of four and a half per centum, on the  
produce of the colony for ever. They afterwards  
passed a grant of £.400 currency per annum, as  
their proportion towards the salary of the governor  
general.

Such was the price at which the Virgin islands  
purchased the establishment of a constitutional le-

gislature. If it be difficult to reconcile this precedent with the doctrines which have been maintained in the case of Grenada, it may perhaps be said, (as I believe the fact was), that the inhabitants of these islands were unapprised of the rights which they inherited as British subjects, when they voluntarily proposed to subject themselves and their posterity to the tax in question for permission to enjoy them; and their posterity may perhaps dispute the authority which their forefathers exercised on this occasion.

The chief, and almost the only staple productions of these islands are sugar and cotton. Of the quantity of land appropriated to the cultivation of either, I have no account, nor can I venture even to guess, at the quantity of unimproved land which may yet be brought into cultivation: Tortola itself is not more than fifteen miles long, and six miles broad; the exports of 1787 will presently be given, and I have only to add, that they were raised by the labour of about one thousand two hundred whites, and nine thousand blacks.

Having so far treated of the several islands which constitute what is called the Leeward Island Government, as they stand distinct from each other, I close my account, as in former cases, with an authentic Table of their returns for 1787; after which, I shall, as proposed, offer a few observations on circumstances which are common to them all,

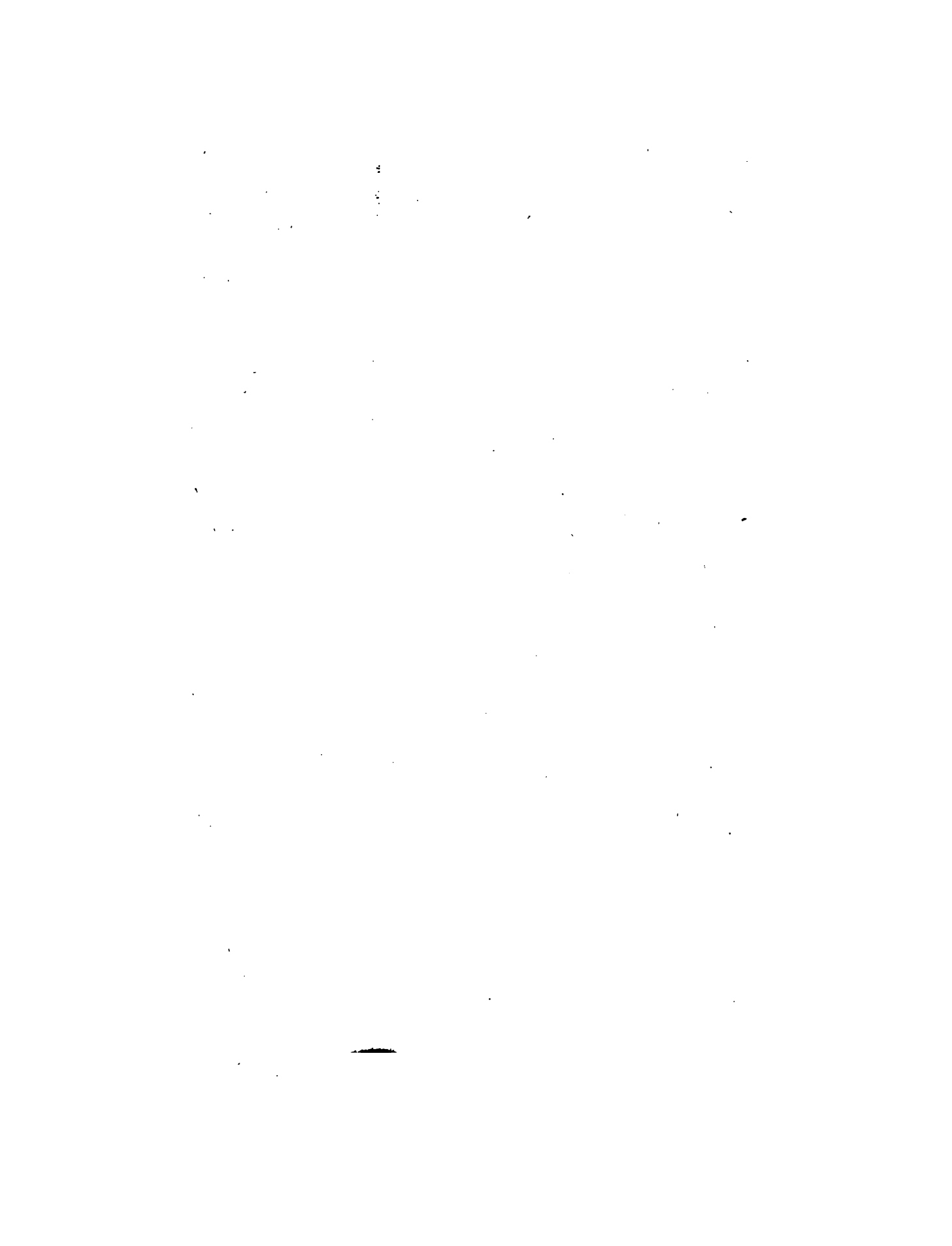
*An Account of the Goods from the Islands of St. Christopher's, Montserrat, 5th January 1787 and the 5th January 1788; together of.*

| WHITHER BOUND.                  | Dying Woods, in Value. |    |    | Miscellaneous Articles, in Value. |    |    | TOTAL.    |    |    |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|----|----|-----------------------------------|----|----|-----------|----|----|
|                                 | £.                     | s. | d. | £.                                | s. | d. | £.        | s. | d. |
| To Great Britain                | 5,824                  | 1  | 6  | 33,195                            | 16 | 10 | 480,178   | 15 | 5  |
| Ireland                         |                        |    |    | 20                                | 11 | 0  | 6,035     | 6  | 0  |
| American States                 |                        |    |    | 186                               | 10 | 0  | 15,512    | 15 | 0  |
| Br. Am. Colonies                |                        |    |    | 19                                | 0  | 0  | 6,788     | 10 | 0  |
| Fo. West Indies                 | 165                    | 0  | 0  | 15                                | 1  | 6  | 1,498     | 14 | 0  |
| Total from St. Christopher's    | 5,989                  | 1  | 6  | 33,456                            | 19 | 4  | 510,014   | 0  | 5  |
|                                 |                        |    |    |                                   |    |    |           |    |    |
| To Great Britain                | 1,742                  | 6  | 6  | 46,466                            | 18 | 3  | 484,483   | 19 | 6  |
| Ireland                         | 2,400                  | 0  | 0  | 43                                | 0  | 0  | 50,768    | 16 | 8  |
| American States                 |                        |    |    | 407                               | 5  | 0  | 44,679    | 19 | 2  |
| Br. Am. Colonies                |                        |    |    | 14                                | 7  | 0  | 11,031    | 15 | 4  |
| Fo. West Indies                 |                        |    |    | 1,075                             | 0  | 0  | 1,632     | 5  | 0  |
| Total from Antigua              | 4,142                  | 6  | 6  | 48,006                            | 10 | 3  | 592,596   | 15 | 8  |
|                                 |                        |    |    |                                   |    |    |           |    |    |
| VIS.                            |                        |    |    |                                   |    |    |           |    |    |
| To Great Britain                | 352                    | 7  | 6  | 1,162                             | 3  | 2  | 185,709   | 10 | 11 |
| American States                 |                        |    |    | 70                                | 10 | 0  | 13,981    | 12 | 6  |
| Br. Am. Colonies                |                        |    |    | 41                                | 6  | 3  | 2,053     | 14 | 3  |
| Fo. West Indies                 |                        |    |    | 89                                | 4  | 0  | 12,396    | 19 | 0  |
| Africa                          |                        |    |    |                                   |    |    |           |    |    |
| Total from Montserrat and Nevis | 352                    | 7  | 6  | 1,363                             | 3  | 5  | 214,141   | 16 | 8  |
|                                 |                        |    |    |                                   |    |    |           |    |    |
| To Great Britain                | 6,561                  | 2  | 6  | 2,313                             | 18 | 5  | 164,128   | 17 | 6  |
| American States                 |                        |    |    | 6                                 | 4  | 0  | 1,499     | 9  | 0  |
| Br. Am. Colonies                |                        |    |    | 10                                | 5  | 0  | 1,230     | 15 | 0  |
| Fo. West Indies                 | 90                     | 0  | 0  | 10                                | 11 | 0  | 100       | 11 | 0  |
| Total from the Virgin Islands.  | 6,651                  | 2  | 6  | 2,340                             | 18 | 5  | 166,959   | 12 | 6  |
| GRAND TOTAL.                    | 17,134                 | 18 | 0  | 85,147                            | 11 | 5  | 1,483,712 | 5  | 3  |

To face Pa

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IN surveying these islands collectively, the circumstance that first presents itself to notice is the burthen of the four and a half per centum on their exported produce, to which they are all subject equally with Barbadoes, and which, though granted by their own assemblies, was in most other cases, as well as the Virgin Islands, the price of a constitutional legislature, and a communication of the common privileges of British subjects.

It would without doubt be satisfactory to the reader to be furnished with an account of the produce of this duty, and the particulars of its disposal; but no such information, to my knowledge, has of late years been given to the public. The last return that I am possessed of, is dated so long ago as the year 1735. From thence it appears, that the whole money collected on this account, both in Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, in twenty-one years, (from Christmas 1713 to Christmas 1734) amounted to £.326,529 2s. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. sterling, of which it is shameful to relate, that no more than £.140,032. 13s. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. was paid into the British exchequer; upwards of £.80,000 having been retained in the islands for the charges of collecting,

and £.105,000 more, expended in Great Britain in the payment of freight, duties, commissions, fees of office, and other claims and deductions.\*

From the net money paid into the exchequer, the governor general of these islands receives a salary of £.1,200 sterling, exclusive of the several sums granted him by the colonial assemblies,† and I believe that salaries are allowed from the same fund to the lieutenant-general, and the several lieutenant governors. I have been informed too, that the governors of the Bahama and Bermudas islands are likewise paid out of this duty. The balance which remains, after these and some other deductions are made, is wholly at the king's disposal.

But it is impossible not to observe, that almost all the islands within this government, as well as Barbadoes, have been, for many years past, progressively on the decline; and it is therefore probable that the present net produce of this duty is not more than sufficient to defray the several incumbrances with which it is loaded. The negroes indeed have been kept up, and even augmented,

\* Some years after this, a new mode of collecting the duties was, I believe, adopted, which rendered the tax more productive to government.

† These grants are as follow: Antigua and St. Christopher's £.1,000 currency each. Nevis £.400. Montserrat £.400. Virgin Islands £.400. The usual rate of exchange is 165 per centum. These sums therefore, added to £.1,200 sterling, paid out of the exchequer, make his whole salary £.3,000 sterling per annum.

by purchase, because, as the lands have become impoverished, they have required a greater expense of labour to make them any way productive; but as the returns have not increased in the same degree, nothing could have saved the planters from ruin, but the advanced price of sugar in the markets of Europe.

It appears from authentic accounts laid before parliament, that the import of sugar into Great Britain from all the British West Indies, (Jamaica excepted), has decreased in the course of twenty years, from 3,762,804 cwt. to 2,563,228 cwt.\* The difference in value, at a medium price, cannot be less than £.400,000 sterling, and it will be found to have fallen chiefly on those islands which are subject to the duty in question; to the effects of which, therefore, the deficiency must be chiefly attributed: for being laid, not on the land, but on the produce of the land, it operates as a tax on industry, and a penalty which falls heaviest on the man who contributes most to augment the wealth, commerce, navigation, and revenues of the mother-country. It is considered by the planters as equal to ten per cent. on the net produce of their estates for ever. Under such a burthen, which while it oppresses the colonies, yields a profit of no great consideration to the crown, they have been unable to stand a competition with the British

\* Being the average of two periods, the first from 1772 to 1775, the second from 1788 to 1792.

planters in the other islands, and have been depressed still more by the rapid growth and extensive opulence of the French colonies in their neighbourhood. Thus a check has been given to the spirit of improvement, and much of that land, which though somewhat impoverished by long cultivation, would still, with the aid of manure, contribute greatly to the general returns, is abandoned, because the produce of the poorest soil is taxed as high as that of the most fertile.

To the loss arising from a decrease of produce, accompanied with an increase of contingent expenses, must be added the ruinous effects of capture in the late American war. The damages sustained in St. Christopher's alone, by *De Grasse's* invasion in 1782, from the destruction of negroes and cattle, and the burning of the canes, were estimated at £.160,000 sterling, which sum was made up to the sufferers by a poll-tax on the slaves, of no less than forty shillings. The annual taxes for defraying the current charges of their internal governments, in all the islands, are also exceedingly burthensome; besides parish taxes for the repair of the roads, the maintenance of the clergy, and the relief of the poor.

But under all these and the other discouragements which are felt by the proprietors, the wealth which still flows from these little dependencies into the mother-country, must fill every reflecting mind with surprise and admiration. An extent of

cultivated territory, not equal to one-tenth part of the county of Essex, adding yearly one million and a half to the national income, is a circumstance, that demonstrates beyond all abstract reasoning, the vast importance to Great Britain, of having sugar islands of her own. At the same time, it is both amusing and instructive to consider, how little the present returns from these islands, are answerable to the hopes and expectations of their first European possessors; or rather it affords an animated illustration of the wisdom of Providence, which frequently renders the follies and weaknesses of man productive of good. The first English adventurers were influenced wholly by the hopes of opening a golden fountain, similar to that which was flowing from Peru and Mexico, into Spain. The nation was told of countries where the mountains were composed of diamonds, and the cities built wholly of ingots of gold. Such were the dreams of Cabot, Frobisher, and Gilbert, and it is a lamentable display of the power of avarice\* on the human mind, to behold the sagacious and learned Raleigh bewildered in the same folly! Experience has at length corrected this frenzy, and Europe is now wise enough to acknowledge, that gold and silver have only an artificial and relative value; that industry alone is real wealth, and that agriculture and commerce are the great sources of national prosperity.

The produce of these islands however, though of such value to the mother-country, is raised at an

expense to the cultivator, which perhaps is not equalled in any other pursuit, in any country of the globe. It is an expense too, that is permanent and certain; while the returns are more variable and fluctuating than any other: owing to calamities, to which these countries are exposed, both from the hands of God and man; and it is mournful to add, that the selfish or mistaken policy of man is sometimes more destructive than even the anger of Omnipotence!

At the time that I write this (1791), the humanity of the British nation is tremblingly alive to the real or fictitious distresses of the African labourers in these and the other islands of the West Indies: and the holders and employers of those people, seem to be marked out to the public indignation for proscription and ruin. So strong and universal a sympathy allows no room for the sober exercise of reason, or it would be remembered, that the condition of that unfortunate race, must depend greatly on the condition and circumstances of their owners. Oppression towards the principal, will be felt with double force by his dependants, and the blow that wounds the master, will exterminate the slave.

The propriety of these remarks will be seen in subsequent parts of my work, when I come, in course, to treat of the slave trade and slavery; and to consider the commercial system of Great Britain towards her West Indian dependencies, of which I have now completed the catalogue. Here then I

Since been laid before the House of Commons.

An Account of the Years 1794, 1795, 1796, and the Leeward Islands, in America, for the Years 1794, 1795, 1796, to which it is liable, the Net Proceeds thereof, with the Customs.

| Years. | Gross Receipts by the Receiver General, from Proconsignations. |       | Total of Charges. |        | Net Proceeds. |       | Payments by Receiver General into the Exchequer. |       |
|--------|----------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-------------------|--------|---------------|-------|--------------------------------------------------|-------|
|        | £.                                                             | £.    | £.                | s. d.  | £.            | s. d. | £.                                               | s. d. |
| 1794   | 70,230                                                         | 380   | 36,579            | 9 9    | 41,130        | 12 2½ | 43,881                                           | 15 4½ |
| 1795   | 62,800                                                         | 380   | 31,942            | 17 10½ | 37,779        | 4 5½  | 34,176                                           | 3 10½ |
| 1796   | 57,665                                                         | 380   | 27,536            | 19 8½  | 45,035        | 14 8½ | 39,032                                           | 8 1½  |
| Total  | 190,695                                                        | 1,140 | 96,059            | 7 4½   | 123,945       | 11 4  | 117,090                                          | 7 4½  |

Notes.—The amount remitted due on former Years, or from Bills remitted the Case in the Year 1796.

Receiver General.

Comptroller, pro Comptroller General.

Inspector and Examr. of Plantn. Collrs. Accts.

Acting Husband of the Duty of 4½ per Cent.

Custom House, Comptroller of Do.  
17th March,

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*An Account of the several Charges upon the Fund arising by the Duties of Four Pounds and One Half Pound per Centum, during the Years 1794, 1795, and 1796, paid at the Exchequer.*

| SALARIES AND PENSIONS<br>paid at the Exchequer. | 1794. |       | 1795. |       | 1796. |       |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|                                                 | £.    | s. d. | £.    | s. d. | £.    | s. d. |
| Governors of Barbadoes                          | 2,000 | 0 0   | 2,000 | 0 0   | 2,000 | 0 0   |
| Bahama Islands                                  | 700   | 0 0   | 700   | 0 0   | 700   | 0 0   |
| Bermuda                                         | 750   | 0 0   | 750   | 0 0   | 750   | 0 0   |
| Leeward Islands                                 | 1,200 | 0 0   | 1,200 | 0 0   | 1,300 | 0 0   |
| Tobago                                          | 1,300 | 0 0   | 1,300 | 0 0   | 1,500 | 0 0   |
| Grenada                                         | 1,364 | 0 0   | 1,364 | 0 0   | 1,364 | 0 0   |
| Dominica                                        | 1,300 | 0 0   | 1,300 | 0 0   | 1,300 | 0 0   |
| St. Vincent's                                   | 1,300 | 0 0   | 1,300 | 0 0   | 1,300 | 0 0   |
| Lieutenant Governors of Leeward Islands         | 300   | 0 0   | 300   | 0 0   | 300   | 0 0   |
| Tortola                                         | 200   | 0 0   | 200   | 0 0   | 200   | 0 0   |
| Antigua                                         | 200   | 0 0   | 200   | 0 0   | 200   | 0 0   |
| Nevis                                           | 300   | 0 0   | 300   | 0 0   | 300   | 0 0   |
| Montserrat                                      | 200   | 0 0   | 200   | 0 0   | 200   | 0 0   |
| St. Kitts                                       | 200   | 0 0   | 200   | 0 0   | 200   | 0 0   |
| Grenada                                         | 600   | 0 0   | 600   | 0 0   | 600   | 0 0   |
| Dominica                                        | 400   | 0 0   | 400   | 0 0   | 400   | 0 0   |
| Agents of Grenada                               | 200   | 0 0   | 200   | 0 0   | 200   | 0 0   |
| Turks Island                                    | 100   | 0 0   | 100   | 0 0   | 100   | 0 0   |
| Auditor General of Plantations                  | 250   | 0 0   | 250   | 0 0   | 250   | 0 0   |

*Memorandum.*—On the 24th Day of February 1796, the Sum of £.40,000 was directed to be issued out of the 4½ per Cent. towards defraying the Charges and Expenses of His Majesty's Civil Government.

GEORGE ROSE.

Treasury Chambers, Whitehall, 27th April, 1798.

might close the third book of my history; but it has probably occurred to the reader, that I have omitted the two governments of *Bahama* and *Bermudas*;\* to which indeed it was my intention, when I began my work, to appropriate a distinct chapter. An examination of my materials has induced me to alter my purpose; finding myself possessed of scarce any memorials concerning the civil history of those islands, that are not given in the numerous geographical treatises with which the shelves of the booksellers are loaded. Of the *present* state of the Bahama islands, I need not be ashamed to acknowledge my ignorance, inasmuch as even the lords of the committee of council for the affairs of trade and plantations, were unable to obtain satisfactory information concerning it. To their lordships inquiries, in 1786, as to the extent of territory in those islands,—the quantity of land in cultivation,—the number of white inhabitants,—productions, and exports, &c. the only answer that could be obtained from the Governor was this, *that it was at that time impossible to ascertain any of those particulars*. It appears, however, from the testimony of other persons, that these islands in general are rocky and barren; that the only article cultivated for exportation is cotton, of which the medium export is fifteen hundred bags of two cwt. that the inhabitants (who in 1773 consisted of

\* I have also passed over unnoticed the small islands of Anguilla and Barbuda, as being of too little importance to merit particular description. The former belongs to the Leeward Island government; the latter is the private property of the Codrington family.

two thousand and fifty-two whites, and two thousand two hundred and forty-one blacks) have been of late years considerably augmented by emigrants from North America; but of their present numbers no precise account is given.\*

Concerning Bermudas, governor Brown is more explicit. From his answers to their lordships' queries, it appears, that they contain from twelve to thirteen thousand acres of very poor land, of which nine parts in ten are either uncultivated, or reserved in woods for the supplying of timber for building small ships, sloops, and shallops for sale; this being in truth the principal occupation and employment of the inhabitants; and the vessels which they furnish, being built of cedar, are light, buoyant, and unexpensive.

Of the land in cultivation, no part was appropriated to any other purpose than that of raising Indian corn, and esculent roots and vegetables, (of which a considerable supply is sent to the West Indian islands), until the year 1785, when the growth of cotton was attempted, but with no

\* The Bahama islands, comprehending those which, either from their smallness, the barrenness of the soil, or the want of water, are uninhabited, are some hundreds in number. They are situated between the 22d and 23d degrees of north latitude. The principal of them are Providence, (twenty-seven miles long and eleven broad), Bahama, Abaco, Harbour Island, Eluthera, Exuma, St. Salvadore, Long Island, Andros, Bimini, &c. The seat of government is at the town of Nassau in Providence. Vid. vol. i. p. 5.

great success, there not being at present more than two hundred acres applied in this line of culture.

The number of white people of all ages in Bermudas is five thousand four hundred and sixty-two; of blacks four thousand nine hundred and nineteen.\*

Thus it appears, that the lands become less fertile as we recede from the tropicks, and were there not, as there certainly is, an unaccountable propensity in the greater part of mankind, to under-rate what they have in actual possession, it would require but

\* It were an act of great injustice to the inhabitants of Bermudas, to omit the very honourable testimony which governor Brown has transmitted to government, concerning the treatment of their negro slaves. "Nothing (he observes) can better shew the state of slavery in Bermudas than the behaviour of the blacks in the late war. There were at one time between fifteen and twenty privateers fitted out from hence, which were partly manned by negro slaves, who behaved both as sailors and marines irreproachably; and whenever they were captured, always returned, if it was in their power. There were several instances wherein they had been condemned with the vessel and sold, and afterwards found means to escape, and through many difficulties and hardships returned to their master's service. In the ship *Regulator*, a privateer, there were seventy slaves. She was taken and carried into Boston. Sixty of them returned in a flag of truce directly to Bermudas. Nine others returned by the way of New-York. One only was missing, who died in the cruize, or in captivity."

Report of the Privy Council on the  
Slave Trade, Part III.

little effort to convince the public, of the vast importance of our West Indian dependencies; of which the progressive growth has now been traced from the first settlement. What remains is to convey that conviction to the English reader. This then, after taking a cursory survey, for the gratification of curiosity, of the present inhabitants and the system of agriculture, I shall endeavour to accomplish.

THE HISTORY,  
CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,  
OF THE  
BRITISH COLONIES  
IN THE  
WEST INDIES.

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BOOK IV.  
PRESENT INHABITANTS.

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CHAPTER I.

*Summary account of the Inhabitants of the several Islands.—Classes.—Emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland.—Predominant character of the European residents.—Creoles or Natives.—Effects of climate.—Character of the Creole Women and Children.—Of the people of Colour, and their different tribes or casts.—Limitations and restrictions on the Mulattoes and native Blacks of free condition.—Their character at length, concluding with an Ode to the Sable Venus.*

**T**HE present state (1791) of the population in the British West Indies appears, on a summary of the several accounts given in former parts of this work, to be as follows, viz.

|                       | <i>Whites.</i> | <i>Blacks.</i> |
|-----------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Jamaica - - - -       | 30,000         | 250,000        |
| Barbadoes - - -       | 16,167         | 62,115         |
| Grenada - - - -       | 1,000          | 23,926         |
| St. Vincent - - -     | 1,450          | 11,853         |
| Dominica - - - -      | 1,236          | 14,967         |
| Antigua - - - -       | 2,590          | 37,808         |
| Montserrat - - -      | 1,300          | 10,000         |
| Nevis - - - -         | 1,000          | 8,420          |
| St. Christopher's - - | 1,900          | 20,435         |
| Virgin Isles - - -    | 1,200          | 9,000          |
| Bahamas - - - -       | 2,000          | 2,241          |
| Bermudas - - - -      | 5,462          | 4,919          |
| Total                 | 65,305         | 455,684        |

There is likewise, in each of the islands, a considerable number of persons of mixed blood, and native blacks, of free condition. In Jamaica they are reckoned, as we have shewn, at ten thousand; and I have reason to believe they do not fall short of the same number in all the other islands collectively taken. The whole inhabitants therefore may properly be divided into four great classes.

- 1, European Whites.
- 2, Creole or Native Whites.
- 3, Creoles of mixed blood, and free Native Blacks.
- 4, Negroes in a state of slavery.

I shall treat of each class separately; premising, however, that there are persons not comprehended

in either class; such as emigrants from North America, and a considerable body of Jews. In Jamaica, the latter enjoy almost every privilege possessed by the Christian whites, excepting only the right of voting at elections; of being returned to serve in the assembly, and holding any office of magistracy; but they have the liberty of purchasing and holding lands, as freely as any other people; and they are likewise allowed the public exercise of their religion; for which purpose they have erected two or more synagogues; and I have not heard that Jamaica has had any reason to repent of her liberality towards them. As, however, they differ but little in manners and customs from the rest of their nation which are dispersed in all the countries of Europe, I shall pass them by without further detail. The other white inhabitants, not comprehended in this enumeration, are too few to merit particular notice.\*

\* The following account of the white inhabitants, free negroes, and slaves, in the French West Indies, may serve to gratify curiosity. It is taken from the authority of Mons. Neckar; but I have reason to think that the negro slaves are nearly doubled in the French islands since this account was taken.

|                                                     | <i>Whites.</i> | <i>Free Blacks, &amp;c.</i> | <i>Slaves.</i> |
|-----------------------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|----------------|
| St. Domingo, in 1779                                | 32,650         | 7,055                       | 249,098        |
| Martinico, in 1776                                  | 11,619         | 2,892                       | 71,268         |
| Guadaloupe, in 1779                                 | 13,261         | 1,382                       | 85,327         |
| St. Lucia, in 1776                                  | 2,397          | 1,050                       | 10,752         |
| Tobago, supposed to be nearly the same as St. Lucia | 2,397          | 1,050                       | 10,752         |
| Cayenne, in 1780                                    | 1358           |                             | 10,539         |
|                                                     | <hr/> 63,682   | <hr/> 13,429                | <hr/> 437,736  |



It may reasonably be supposed that most of the natives of Europe who emigrate to the West Indies, remove thither with the hope of receiving greater encouragement to their abilities and industry than has offered at home. Yet let it not be imagined that the major, or even any considerable part of them, are desperate and needy adventurers, who seek refuge from a prison, or expatriate themselves in the fond idea of living luxuriously without labour. These islands give but little countenance to idleness, nor offer any asylum to vagabonds and fugitives. Many of the British colonies were originally composed of men who sought, in the wildernesses of the New World, the peaceable enjoyment of those natural, or supposed rights, of which they were deprived in their native country. I extend this description to persons of opposite political sentiments and connections, to loyalists as well as to republicans: for it is hoped, that some of each party were men whose principles were honest, though their conduct might have been wrong. The advocates of loyalty sought refuge chiefly in Barbadoes, and many of the adherents of Cromwell, after the restoration of Charles II. found protection in Jamaica. At present, among the numbers whom accident or choice conducts to the British West Indies, the juniors in the learned professions of law, physic, and divinity, constitute a considerable body. These men ought to be, and, generally speaking, really are, persons of education and morals. Few places afford greater encouragement to the first and second of these employments;

and, as ability is fostered and called forth by exercise, no part of the British dominion has, in my opinion, produced abler men in either (in proportion to their number) than these islands. Local prejudice, and bigotry towards great names, may perhaps incline some persons to dispute this assertion; but prejudice and bigotry apart, it will be found, I believe, that nature has distributed the gifts of genius more equally and generally than is commonly imagined: it is cultivation and favour that ripen and bring them to perfection. The British navy and army likewise contribute considerably to the augmentation of the white inhabitants. Individuals in both these professions, either from the inducement of agreeable connections, which it would be strange if many of them did not form in a long residence in these countries, or captivated by the new prospects which open to their contemplation, very frequently quit the business of arms, and the dangers of a tempestuous element, and become peaceful citizens and industrious planters. Next to these may be reckoned the mercantile part of the inhabitants, such as factors, store-keepers, book-keepers, and clerks; who are followed by tradesmen and artificers of various kinds, such as millwrights, carpenters, masons, coppersmiths, and others; most of whom, either through accident or necessity, after some years residence, become adventurers in the soil. Then come the husbandmen, or cultivators of the land, professedly such; who are commonly distinguished by the appellation of managers, overseers, and plantation book-keepers;

and they constitute a numerous body of people composed of men of all countries and characters; for, unfortunately, every enterprising adventurer, who has either learned no particular trade, or has been brought up to one which is useless in these regions, fancies himself capable of speedily acquiring all the various knowledge of the sugar planter, and the right management and government of his fellow-creatures, the negroes; though in truth a more weighty charge in itself, and one more important in its consequences, can scarcely fall to the lot of man.

I have, I think, in a former place, assigned the causes to which it is partly ascribable, that emigrants from various parts of the mother country, successively constitute the bulk of the sugar colonists; of whom it is certain, that the major part retain, in a considerable degree, the manners and habits of life in which they were educated. Yet, there are authors, who affect to describe the inhabitants of all the West Indies as a herd of criminals and convicts; and cite the stale crimes and violences of lawless men, a century ago, when these islands were the rendezvous of pirates and bucaniers, as a just representation of the reigning colonial habits, manners, and dispositions!

Calumnies so gross defeat themselves by their absurdity;—but although it is in the highest degree ridiculous to imagine, that a voyage across the Atlantic creates any sudden or radical change in the hu-

man mind, yet, notwithstanding what has been just observed concerning local manners and habits in the different classes of European settlers, it cannot be denied, that there prevails besides, something of a marked and predominant character common to all the white residents.

Of this character it appears to me, that the leading feature is an independent spirit, and a display of conscious equality, throughout all ranks and conditions. The poorest white person seems to consider himself nearly on a level with the richest, and, emboldened by this idea, approaches his employer with extended hand, and a freedom, which, in the countries of Europe, is seldom displayed by men in the lower orders of life towards their superiors. It is not difficult to trace the origin of this principle. It arises, without doubt, from the pre-eminence and distinction which are necessarily attached even to the complexion of a white man, in a country where the complexion, generally speaking, distinguishes freedom from slavery. Of the two great classes of people in most of these colonies, the blacks outnumber the whites in the proportion of seven to one. As a sense of common safety therefore unites the latter in closer ties than are necessary among men who are differently situated, so the same circumstance necessarily gives birth among them to reciprocal dependence and respect. Other causes contribute to the same end. "Where slavery" (says a great judge of human nature) "is established in any part of the

“ world, those who are free, are by far the most  
“ proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom  
“ is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of  
“ rank and privilege. Not seeing there that, free-  
“ dom, as in countries where it is a common bless-  
“ ing, may be united with much abject toil, with  
“ great misery, with all the exterior of servitude,  
“ liberty looks among them like something that is  
“ more noble and liberal. Thus, the people of the  
“ southern colonies of America, are much more  
“ strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn  
“ spirit, attached to liberty, than those to the  
“ northward. Such were all the ancient common-  
“ wealths; such were our Gothic ancestors; such  
“ in our days are the Poles; and such will be all  
“ masters of slaves, who are not slaves them-  
“ selves.”\*

Possibly too, the climate itself, by increasing sensibility, contributes to create an impatience of subordination. But whatever may be the cause of this consciousness of self importance in the West Indian character, the consequences resulting from it are, on the whole, beneficial. If it sometimes produces an ostentatious pride, and a ridiculous affectation of splendour, it more frequently awakens the laudable propensities of our nature—frankness, sociability, benevolence, and generosity. In no part of the globe is the virtue of hospitality more generally prevalent, than in the British Sugar-

\* Burke's Speech in Parliament, 22 March, 1775.

Islands. The gates of the planter are always open to the reception of his guests. To be a stranger is of itself a sufficient introduction. This species of hospitality is indeed carried so far, that, as Mr. Long has remarked, there is not one tolerable inn throughout all the West Indies.\*

To the same cause may perhaps be ascribed, on the other hand, that eagerness for litigation and juridical controversy, which so remarkably predominates in most of these islands. From this unfortu-

\* There are some peculiarities in the habits of life of the white inhabitants which cannot fail to catch the eye of an European newly arrived; one of which is the contrast between the general plenty and magnificence of their tables (at least in Jamaica) and the meanness of their houses and apartments; it being no uncommon thing to find, at the country habitations of the planters, a splendid sideboard loaded with plate and the choicest wines, a table covered with the finest damask, and a dinner of perhaps sixteen or twenty covers; and all this in a hovel not superior to an English barn. A stranger cannot fail, also, to observe a strange incongruity and inconsistency between the great number of negro domestics, and their appearance and apparel. The butler (and he but seldom) is the only attendant that is allowed the luxury of shoes and stockings. All the others, and there is commonly one to each guest, wait at table in *bare-footed majesty*; some of them perhaps half naked. Another peculiarity in the manners of the English in the West Indies (in Jamaica especially) is the number of nautical expressions in their conversation. Thus they say, *hand such a thing*, instead of bring or give it. A plantation well stocked with negroes, is said to be *well banded*: an office or employment is called *a birth*; the kitchen is denominated the *cook-room*; a warehouse is called a *store*, or *store-room*; a sofa is called a *cot*; a waistcoat is termed a *jacket*; and in speaking of the East and West, they say to *windward* and *leeward*. This language has probably prevailed since the days of the bucaniers.

nate passion, ruinous as it frequently proves to individuals, this advantage, however, results to the community at large; that the lower orders of men, from their frequent attendance at the courts of law as jurymen, acquire a degree of knowledge, and a clearness and precision of reasoning, which are not generally to be found in men of the same rank in England. Thus the petty juries in the West Indies are commonly far more intelligent and respectable than those in Great Britain. Every candid person, who has attended the courts of criminal jurisdiction in both countries, must confirm this observation.

But it is to the Creoles or natives, that we must look for the original and peculiar cast of character impressed by the climate, if indeed the influence of climate be such as many writers imagine. For myself, I am of opinion, that the climate of the West Indies displays itself more strongly on the persons of the natives, than on their manners, or on the faculties of their minds. They are obviously a taller race, on the whole, than the Europeans; but I think in general not proportionably robust. I have known several who were full six feet four inches in height; but they wanted bulk, to meet our ideas of masculine beauty. All of them, however, are distinguished for the freedom and suppleness of their joints; which enable them to move with great ease and agility, as well as gracefulness in dancing. From the same cause they excel in penmanship, and the use of the small sword. It has been truly

observed, that the effect of climate is likewise obvious in the structure of the eye, the socket being considerably deeper than among the natives of Europe. By this conformation, they are guarded from those ill effects which an almost continual strong glare of sun-shine might otherwise produce; and it is a curious circumstance, that their skin feels considerably colder than that of a European; a proof, I think, that nature has contrived some peculiar means of protecting them from the heat, which she has denied to the nations of temperate regions, as unnecessary. Accordingly, though their mode of living differs in no respect from that of the European residents, they are rarely obnoxious to those inflammatory disorders which frequently prove fatal to the latter.

The ladies of these islands have indeed greater cause to boast of this fortunate exemption, than the men; a pre-eminence acquired undoubtedly by the calm and even tenour of their lives, and by an habitual temperance and self-denial. Except the exercise of dancing, in which they delight and excel, they have no amusement or avocation to impel them to much exertion of either body or mind. Those midnight assemblies and gambling conventions, wherein health, fortune, and beauty, are so frequently sacrificed in the cities of Europe, are here happily unknown. In their diet, the creole women are, I think, abstemious even to a fault. Simple water, or lemonade, is the strongest beverage in which they indulge; and a vegetable mess



at noon, seasoned with Cayenne pepper, constitutes their principal repast. The effect of this mode of life, in a hot and oppressive atmosphere, is a lax fibre, and a complexion in which the lily predominates rather than the rose. To a stranger newly arrived, the ladies appear as just risen from the bed of sickness. Their voice is soft and spiritless, and every step betrays languor and lassitude. With the finest persons, they certainly want that glow of health in the countenance, that delicious crimson (*lumen purpureum juventæ*) which, in colder countries, enlivens the coarsest set of features, and renders a beautiful one irresistible.

Youth's orient bloom, the blush of chaste desire,  
 The sprightly converse, and the smile divine,  
 (Love's gentler train), to milder climes retire,  
 And full in Albion's matchless daughters shine.

In *one* of the principal features of beauty, however, few ladies surpass the creoles; for they have, in general, the finest eyes of any women in the world; large, languishing, and expressive; sometimes beaming with animation, and sometimes melting with tenderness; a sure index to that native goodness of heart and gentleness of disposition for which they are eminently and deservedly applauded, and to which combined with their system of life and manners (sequestered, domestic, and unobtrusive), it is doubtless owing, that no women on earth make better wives, or better mothers.\*

\* The creole ladies are noted for very fine teeth, which they preserve and keep beautifully white by a constant use of the juice of a

Perhaps the circumstance most distinguishable in the character of the natives to which the climate seems to contribute is the early display of the mental powers in young children; whose quick perception, and rapid advances in knowledge, exceed those of European infants of the same age, in a degree that is perfectly unaccountable and astonishing. This circumstance is, indeed, too striking to have escaped the notice of any one writer who has visited the tropical parts of America; and the fact being too well established to be denied, the philosophers of Europe have consoled themselves with an idea that, as the genius of the young West Indians attains sooner to maturity, it declines more rapidly than that of Europeans. Nature is supposed to act in this case in a manner analogous to her operations in the vegetable kingdom, where the trees that come soonest to perfection, are at the same time less firm and durable than those which require more time for the completion of their growth. It is indeed certain, that the subsequent acquirements of the mind in the Natives, do not always keep pace with its early progress; but the chief cause (as Ulloa hath observed) of the short duration of such promising beginnings, seems to be the want of proper objects for exercising the faculties. The propensity also, which the climate undoubtedly encourages, to early and habitual licentiousness, in-

withe called the Chew-stick; a species of *rhamnus*. It is cut into small pieces, and used as a tooth brush. The juice is a strong bitter, and a powerful detergent.

duces a turn of mind and disposition unfriendly to mental improvement. Among such of the natives as have happily escaped the contagion and enervating effects of youthful excesses, men are found of capacities as strong and permanent, as among any people whatever.

As I cannot therefore admit, that the Creoles in general possess less capacity and stability of mind than the natives of Europe, much less can I allow, that they fall short of them in those qualities of the heart which render man a blessing to all around him. Generosity to each other, and a high degree of compassion and kindness towards their inferiors and dependants, distinguish the Creoles in a very honourable manner.\* If they are proud, their pride is allied to no meanness. Instructed from their infancy to entertain a very high opinion of their own consequence, they are cautious of doing any act which may lessen the consciousness of their proper dignity. From the same cause they scorn every species of concealment. They have a frankness of disposition beyond any people on earth. Their confidence is unlimited and entire. Superior to falsehood themselves, they suspect it not in others.

\* "Adventurers from Europe are universally more cruel and more rose towards the slaves than the creoles or native West Indians."

Ramsay, *Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of the Slaves, &c.*

How far this nobleness of disposition may be ascribed to the influence of a genial climate, and how far to education and example, I presume not to discriminate. The effects of heat on the body are sufficiently visible; but perhaps philosophers have relied too much on a supposed sympathy between the body and mind. "The natives of hot climates" (says one writer) "are slothful and timid;" but timidity is by no means the necessary consequence of indolence. The mind may require great force to rouse it to due exertion; but, being properly urged may display qualities very opposite to those of a timid disposition. At least, timidity constitutes no part of the character of the natives of the British West Indies. Indolence I admit is too predominant among them; but that they are deficient in personal courage, no man, who has the smallest acquaintance with them, will allow for a moment. Even the indolence of which they are accused, is rather an aversion to serious thought and deep reflection, than a slothfulness and sluggishness of nature. Both sexes, when the springs of the mind are once set in motion, are remarkable for a warm imagination and a high flow of spirits. There seems indeed universally to reign among them a promptitude for pleasure. This effect has been ascribed, and perhaps justly, to the levity of the atmosphere.\* To the same cause is commonly imputed the propensity observable in most of the

\* Mosely on the Climate of the West Indies.

West Indians to indulge extravagant ideas of their riches ; to view their circumstances through a magnifying medium, and to feast their fancies on what another year will effect. This anticipation of imaginary wealth is so prevalent as to become justly ridiculous ; yet I am inclined to think it is a propensity that exists independent of the climate and atmosphere, and that it arises principally from the peculiar situation of the West Indian planters as land-holders. Not having, like the proprietors of landed estates in Great Britain, frequent opportunities of letting their plantations to substantial tenants, they are, for the most part, compelled to become practical farmers on their own lands, of which the returns are, in the highest degree, fluctuating and uncertain. Under these circumstances, a West Indian property is a species of lottery. As such, it gives birth to a spirit of adventure and enterprise, and awakens extravagant hopes and expectations;—too frequently terminating in perplexity and disappointment.

Such are the few observations which I have noted concerning the character, disposition, and manners of the White inhabitants of these islands. I proceed now to persons of mixed blood (usually termed *people of colour*), and native blacks of free condition. Of the former, all the different classes, or varieties, are not easily discriminated. In the British West Indies they are commonly known by the names of *Samboes*, *Mulattoes*, *Qua-*

*droons*, and *Mestizos*;\* but the Spaniards, from whom these appellations are borrowed, have many other and much nicer distinctions, of which the following account is given by Don Antonio de Ulloa, in his description of the inhabitants of Carthagea:

“ Among the tribes which are derived from an intermixture of the whites with the negroes, the first are the *mulattoes*; next to these are the *tercerones*, produced from a white and a mulatto, with some approximation to the former, but not so near as to obliterate their origin. After these, follow the *quarterones*, proceeding from a white and a terceron. The last are the *quinterons*, who owe their origin to a white and quarteron. This is the last gradation, there being no visible difference between them and the whites, either in colour or features; nay they are often fairer than the Spaniards. The children of a white and quinteron consider themselves as free from all taint of the negro race. Every person is so jealous of the order of their tribe or cast, that if, through inadvertence you call them by a degree lower than what they actual-

\* A *Sambo* is the offspring of a black woman by a mulatto man, or *vice versa*.

*Mulatto* — of a black woman by a white man.

*Quadroon* — of a mulatto woman by a white man.

*Mestize* or *mustee* — of a quadroon woman by a white man.

The offspring of a *Mestize* by a white man are white by law. A *mestize* therefore in our islands is, I suppose, the *quinteron* of the Spaniards.

ly are, they are highly, offended. Before they attain the class of the *quinterones*, there are several intervening circumstances which throw them back; for between the mulatto and the negro, there is an intermediate race which they call *samboes*, owing their origin to a mixture between one of these with an Indian, or among themselves. Betwixt the *tercerones* and mulattoes, the *quarterones* and the *tercerones*, &c. are those called *tente en el ayre, suspended in the air*; because they neither advance nor recede. Children whose parents are a quarteron or quinteron, and a mulatto or terceron, are *salto atras retrogrados*; because, instead of advancing towards being whites, they have gone backwards towards the negro race. The children between a negro and a quinteron, are called *sambos de negro, de mulatto, de terceron, &c.*"

In Jamaica, and I believe in the rest of our Sugar Islands, the descendants of negroes by white people, entitled by birth to all the rights and liberties of white subjects in the full extent are such as are above three steps removed in lineal digression from the negro venter. All below this, whether called in common parlance mestizes, quadroons, or mulattoes, are deemed by law mulattoes.

Anciently there was a distinction in Jamaica between such of these people as were born of freed mothers (the maxim of the civil law *partus sequitur ventrem*, prevailing in all our colonies) and such as

had been immediately released from slavery by deed or will of their owners. While the former were allowed a trial by jury in criminal cases, the latter were tried in the same way as the common slaves, by two justices and three freeholders. Neither were the latter admitted as evidences against free-born persons, until the year 1748, when an act was passed in their favour, putting both classes on the same footing.

At the same time, the legal capacities which they possessed, were very imperfectly defined: The mulattoes were allowed no other privilege than the free negroes, concerning whom, (few of them being baptized, or supposed to be sensible of the nature of an oath), the courts of law interpreted the act of manumission by the owner, as nothing more than an abandonment, or release of his own proper authority over the person of the slave, which did not, and could not, convey to the object of his bounty, the civil and political rights of a natural-born subject; and the same principle was applied to the issue of freed mothers, until after the third generation from the negro ancestor.

The principal incapacities to which these people are now subject, as distinct from the whites, are these.—

First; In most of the British islands, their evidence is not received in criminal cases against a white person, nor even against a person of colour,



in whose favour a particular act has been passed by the legislature. In this respect they seem to be placed on a worse footing than the enslaved negroes, who have masters that are interested in their protection, and who, if their slaves are maltreated, have a right to recover damages, by an action on the case.\*

Secondly; They are denied the privilege of being eligible to serve in parochial vestries and general assemblies; or of acting in any office of public trust, even so low as that of a constable; neither are they permitted to hold commissions even in the black and mulatto companies of militia. They are precluded also from voting at elections of members to serve in the assembly. It may be urged, however, that the laws of England require baptism, and a certain degree of property, in similar cases.

Thirdly; By an act of the assembly of Jamaica, passed in the year 1762, it is enacted, that a testamentary devise from a white person to a negro or mulatto, not born in wedlock, of real or personal estate, exceeding in value £.2,000 currency, shall be void, and the property descend to the heir at law.

As some counterbalance however to these restrictions, the assembly, on proper application, is

\* In Jamaica this grievance has been partly redressed since the publication of the former editions.

readily enough inclined to pass private acts, granting the privileges of white people, with some limitations, to such persons of colour as have been regularly baptized, and properly educated. On the same ground, private bills are sometimes passed, to authorize gentlemen of fortune, under particular circumstances, to devise their estates to their reputed mulatto children, notwithstanding the act of 1762.

But there is this mischief arising from the system of rigour ostensibly maintained by the laws against this unfortunate race of people; that it tends to degrade them in their own eyes, and in the eyes of the community to which they belong. This is carried so far, as to make them at once wretched to themselves, and useless to the public. It very frequently happens that the lowest white person, considering himself as greatly superior to the richest and best-educated free man of colour, will disdain to associate with a person of the latter description, treating him as the Egyptians treated the Israelites, with whom they held it *an abomination to eat bread*. To this evil, arising from public opinion, no partial interposition of the legislature in favour of individuals, affords an effectual remedy; and the consequence is, that instead of a benefit, these unhappy people are a burthen and a reproach to society. They have no motives of sufficient efficacy, either, to engage them in the service of their country, or in profitable labour for their own advantage. Their progress in civility

and knowledge is animated by no encouragement ; their attachment is received without approbation ; and their diligence exerted without reward.\*

I am happy, however, to assert with truth, that their fidelity and loyalty have hitherto remained unimpeached and unsuspected. To the negroes they are objects of envy and hatred ; for the same or a greater degree of superiority which the whites assume over *them*, the free mulattoes lay claim to over the blacks. These, again, abhor the idea of being slaves to the descendants of slaves. Thus circumstanced, the general character of the mulattoes is strongly marked by the peculiarity of their situation ; and I cannot but think that they are, on the whole, objects of favour and compassion.

\* It would surely be a wise and humane law that should grant to every free negro and mulatto, the right of being a competent witness in all criminal cases, and more especially in those of personal injury to himself.—Perhaps, indeed, it might be proper to require of such persons the proof of baptism, and the ability to read and write ; and I think that some useful regulations might be made to apportion greater privileges to the coloured people according to their approximation to the whites ; a system which would not serve to confound, but to keep up and render useful those distinctions which local causes have created, and which it is not in the power of man to abolish. To the quadroons and mestizes, for instance, (who possess the necessary qualification in real property), I would grant the right of voting for representatives in the assembly. Such a privilege would give them an interest in the community, and attach them powerfully to its government. In favour of such persons also, the act of 1762 might be modified. Whether it would be wise to repeal it altogether, is a deep and difficult question. Men who are unacquainted with local manners and customs, are not competent to pronounce an opinion in this case.

In their deportment towards the white people they are humble, submissive, and unassuming. Their spirits seem to sink under the consciousness of their condition. They are accused, however, of proving bad masters when invested with power; and their conduct towards their slaves is said to be, in a high degree, harsh and imperious. I suspect there is some truth in this representation; for it is the general characteristic of human nature, that men whose authority is most liable to be disputed, are the most jealous of any infringement of it, and the most vigilant in its support.

The accusation generally brought against the free people of colour, is the incontinency of their women; of whom, such as are young and have tolerable persons, are universally maintained by white men of all ranks and conditions, as kept mistresses. The fact is too notorious to be concealed or controverted; and I trust, I have too great an esteem for my fair readers, and too high a respect for myself, to stand forth the advocate of licentiousness and debauchery. Undoubtedly, the conduct of many of the whites in this respect, is a violation of all decency and decorum; and an insult and injury to society. Let it not offend any modest ear, however, if I add my opinion, that the unhappy females here spoken of, are much less deserving reproach and reprehension than their keepers. I say this, from considering their education and condition in life; for such are the unfortunate circumstances of their birth, that not one in fifty of them is taught

to write or read. Profitable instruction therefore, from those who are capable of giving it, is withheld from them; and unhappily, the young men of their own complexion, are in too low a state of degradation, to think of matrimony. On the other hand, no white man of decent appearance, unless urged by the temptation of a considerable fortune, will condescend to give his hand in marriage to a mulatto! The very idea is shocking. Thus excluded as they are from all hope of ever arriving to the honour and happiness of wedlock, insensible of its beauty and sanctity; ignorant of all christian and moral obligations; threatened by poverty, urged by their passions, and encouraged by example, upon what principle can we expect these ill-fated women to act otherwise than they do?

Neither should it be forgotten, at the same time, that very few of these poor females, in comparison of the whole, are guilty of that infamous species of profligacy and prostitution, which flourishes, without principle or shame, and in the broad eye of day, throughout all the cities of Europe. In their dress and carriage they are modest, and in conversation reserved; and they frequently manifest a fidelity and attachment towards their keepers, which, if it be not virtue, is something very like it. The terms and manner of their compliance too are commonly as decent, though perhaps not as solemn, as those of marriage; and the agreement they consider equally innocent; giving themselves up to the

husband (for so he is called) with faith plighted, with sentiment, and with affection.

That this system ought to be utterly abolished I most readily admit. Justice towards the many beautiful and virtuous young ladies resident in these islands, cries aloud for a thorough reformation of manners: But by whom is such a reform to be begun and accomplished? It can hardly be expected, I think, from the objects of our present inquiries, who are conscious of no vices which their christian instructors have not taught them; and whose good qualities (few and limited as they are) flow chiefly from their own native original character and disposition.

Of those qualities, the most striking is tenderness of heart; a softness or sympathy of mind towards affliction and distress, which I conceive is seldom displayed in either extreme of prosperity or wretchedness. Those who have never experienced any of the vicissitudes and calamities of life, turn averse from the contemplation of them; and those again who are wretched themselves, have no leisure to attend to the sufferings of others: but the benevolence of the poor people of whom I treat, is not merely solitary and contemplative; it is an active principle, in which they may be said particularly to excel; and I have the authority of a great writer before quoted (Don Antonio De Ulloa) to support me in this representation. Speak-

ing of their kindness to many poor Europeans, who in the hopes of mending their fortunes repair to the Spanish West Indies, where they are utterly unknown he has the following account of such of them as are called at Carthagena *Pulizones*; being, he says, men without employment, stock, or recommendation. "Many of these, (he observes), after traversing the streets until they have nothing left to procure them lodging or food, are reduced to have recourse to the last extremity, the Franciscan hospital; where they receive, in a quantity barely sufficient to preserve life, a kind of pap made of cassada, of which the natives themselves will not eat. This is their food; their lodging is the porticoes of the squares and churches, until their good fortune throws them in the way of some trader going up the country, who wants a servant. The city merchants, standing in no need of them, discountenance these adventurers. Affected by the difference of the climate, aggravated by bad food, dejected and tortured by the entire disappointment of their romantic hopes, they fall sick; without any other succour to apply to, than Divine Providence. Now it is that the charity of the people of colour becomes conspicuous. The negro and mulatto free women, moved at the deplorable condition of these poor wretches, carry them to their houses, and nurse them with the greatest care and affection. If any one die, they bury him by the alms they procure, and even cause masses to be said for his soul."

I believe that no man, who is acquainted with the general conduct and disposition of the same class of people in our own islands, will doubt that they would act as benevolently and humanely, under similar circumstances, as those of Carthagena. Their tenderness, as nurses, towards the sick; their disinterested gratitude and attachment where favours are shewn them; and their peaceable deportment under a rigorous system of laws, and the influence of manners still more oppressive, afford great room to lament, that a more enlightened and liberal policy is not adopted towards them. The enfranchisement of such as are enslaved, christian instruction to the whole, and encouragement to their industry, would, in time, make them a useful and valuable class of citizens; induce them to intermarry with each other, and render their present relaxed and vicious system of life, as odious in appearance as it is baneful to society.\*

\* The Rev. Mr. Ramsay has enlarged on the same idea concerning these unfortunate people. "Children of mulatto women, he observes (meaning, I presume, their children by white men) should be declared free from their birth. Intendants should be appointed to see them placed out in time to such trade or business as may best agree with their inclination and the demands of the colony: this should be done at the expense of their fathers, and a sufficient sum might be deposited in the hands of the church-wardens, soon after their birth, to answer the purpose; the intendant keeping the church-wardens to their duty. By these means the number of free citizens would insensibly increase in the colonies, and add to their security and strength. A new rank of citizens, placed between the black and white races, would be established. They would naturally attach themselves to the white race as the most honourable



Hitherto I have confined myself to those people who, having some portion of christian blood in their veins, pride themselves on that circumstance, and to the conscious value of which, it is probable, that some part of what is commendable in their conduct is owing. The free blacks, not having the same advantage, have not the same emulation to excel. In truth, they differ but little from their brethren in bonds, whose manners, genius, and character, will be the subject of my next inquiries. I shall therefore conclude the present chapter by presenting to my readers, a performance of a deceased friend, in which the character of the sable and saffron beauties of the West Indies, and the folly of their paramours, are pourtrayed with the delicacy and dexterity of wit, and the fancy and elegance of genuine poetry.

“ relation, and so become a barrier against the designs of the blacks, “ &c.” All this, however, is easily proposed in theory, but I am afraid, more difficult to adopt in practice than Mr. Ramsay was aware of.

*THE SABLE VENUS;*

## AN ODE.

*(Written in Jamaica.)*

Alba ligustra cadunt vaccinia nigra leguntur. VIRG.

I LONG had my gay lyre forsook,  
But strung it t'other day, and took  
T'wards HELICON my way;  
The muses all, th' assembly grac'd,  
The president himself was plac'd,  
By chance 'twas concert-day.

ERATO smil'd to see me come;  
Ask'd why I staid so much at home;  
I own'd my conduct wrong;—  
But now, the sable queen of love,  
Resolv'd my gratitude to prove,  
Had sent me for a song.

The ladies look'd extremely shy,  
APOLLO's smile was arch and sly,  
    But not one word they said:  
I gaz'd,—sure, silence is consent,—  
I made my bow, away I went;  
    Was not my duty paid?

Come to my bosom, genial fire,  
Soft sounds, and lively thoughts inspire;  
    Unusual is my theme;  
Not such dissolving OVID sung,  
Nor melting SAPPHO's glowing tongue,—  
    More dainty mine I deem.

Sweet is the beam of morning bright,  
Yet sweet the sober shade of night;  
    On rich ANGOLA's shores,  
While beauty clad in sable dye,  
Enchanting fires the wond'ring eye,  
    Farewell ye PAPHIAN bow'rs,

O sable queen! thy mild domain  
I seek, and court thy gentle reign,  
    So soothing, soft, and sweet;  
Where melting love, sincere delight,  
Fond pleasure, ready joys invite,  
    And unbought raptures meet.

The prating FRANK, the SPANIARD proud,  
The double SCOT, HIBERNIAN loud,  
And sullen ENGLISH OWN  
The pleasing softness of thy sway,  
And here, transferr'd allegiance pay,  
For gracious is thy throne.

From East to West, o'er either Ind'  
Thy scepter sways; thy power we find  
By both the Tropicks felt;  
The blazing Sun that gilds the Zone,  
Waits but the triumph of thy throne,  
Quite round the burning Belt.

When thou this large domain to view,  
JAMAICA's isle, thy conquest new,  
First left thy native shore,  
Bright was the morn, and soft the breeze,  
With wanton joy the curling seas  
The beauteous burthen bore.

Of iv'ry was the car, inlaid  
With every shell of lively shade;  
The throne was burnish'd gold:  
The footstool, gay with coral, beam'd,  
The wheels with brightest amber gleam'd,  
And glist'ring round they roll'd.

The peacock and the ostrich spread  
Their beauteous plumes, a trembling shade,  
From noon-day's sultry flame :  
Sent by their sire the careful East  
The wanton breezes fann'd her breast,  
And flutter'd round the dame.

The winged fish, in purple trace,  
The chariot drew ; with easy grace  
Their azure rein she guides :  
And now they fly, and now they swim ;  
Now o'er the wave they lightly skim,  
Or dart beneath the tides.

Each bird that haunts the rock and bay,  
Each scaly native of the sea,  
Came crowding o'er the main ;  
The dolphin shews his thousand dyes,  
The grampus his enormous size,  
And gambol in her train.

Her skin excell'd the raven plume,  
Her breath the fragrant orange bloom,  
Her eye the tropick beam :  
Soft was her lip as silken down,  
And mild her look as ev'ning sun  
That gilds the COBBRE\* stream.

\* A river so called in Jamaica.

The loveliest limbs her form compose,  
Such as her sister VENUS chose  
    In FLORENCE, where she's seen;  
Both just alike, except the white,  
No difference, no—none at night,  
    The beauteous dames between.

With native ease serene she sat,  
In elegance of charms compleat,  
    And ev'ry heart she won:  
False dress deformity may shade,  
True beauty courts no foreign aid:  
    Can tapers light the sun?—

The Pow'r that rules old ocean wide,  
'Twas he, they say, had calm'd the tide,  
    Beheld the chariot roll:  
Assum'd the figure of a tar,  
The captain of a man of war,  
    And told her all his soul.

She smil'd with kind consenting eyes;—  
Beauty was ever valour's prize;  
    He rais'd a murky cloud:  
The tritons sound, the sirens sing,  
The dolphins dance, the billows ring,  
    And joy fills all the crowd.

Blest offspring of the warm embrace!  
Fond ruler of the crisped race!  
    Tho' strong thy bow dear boy,  
Thy mingled shafts of black and white,  
Are wing'd with feathers of delight,  
    Their points are tipt with joy.

But when her step had touch'd the strand,  
Wild rapture seiz'd the ravish'd land,  
    From every part they came:  
Each mountain, valley, plain and grove  
Haste eagerly to shew their love;  
    Right welcome was the dame.

PORT-ROYAL shouts were heard aloud,  
Gay ST. IAGO sent a crowd,  
    Grave KINGSTON not a few:  
No rabble rout,—I heard it said,  
Some great ones join'd the cavalcade—  
    The muse will say not who.

Gay Goddess of the sable smile!  
Propitious still, this grateful isle  
    With thy protection bless!  
Here fix secure thy constant throne;  
Where all adoring thee, do ONE,  
    ONE Deity confess.

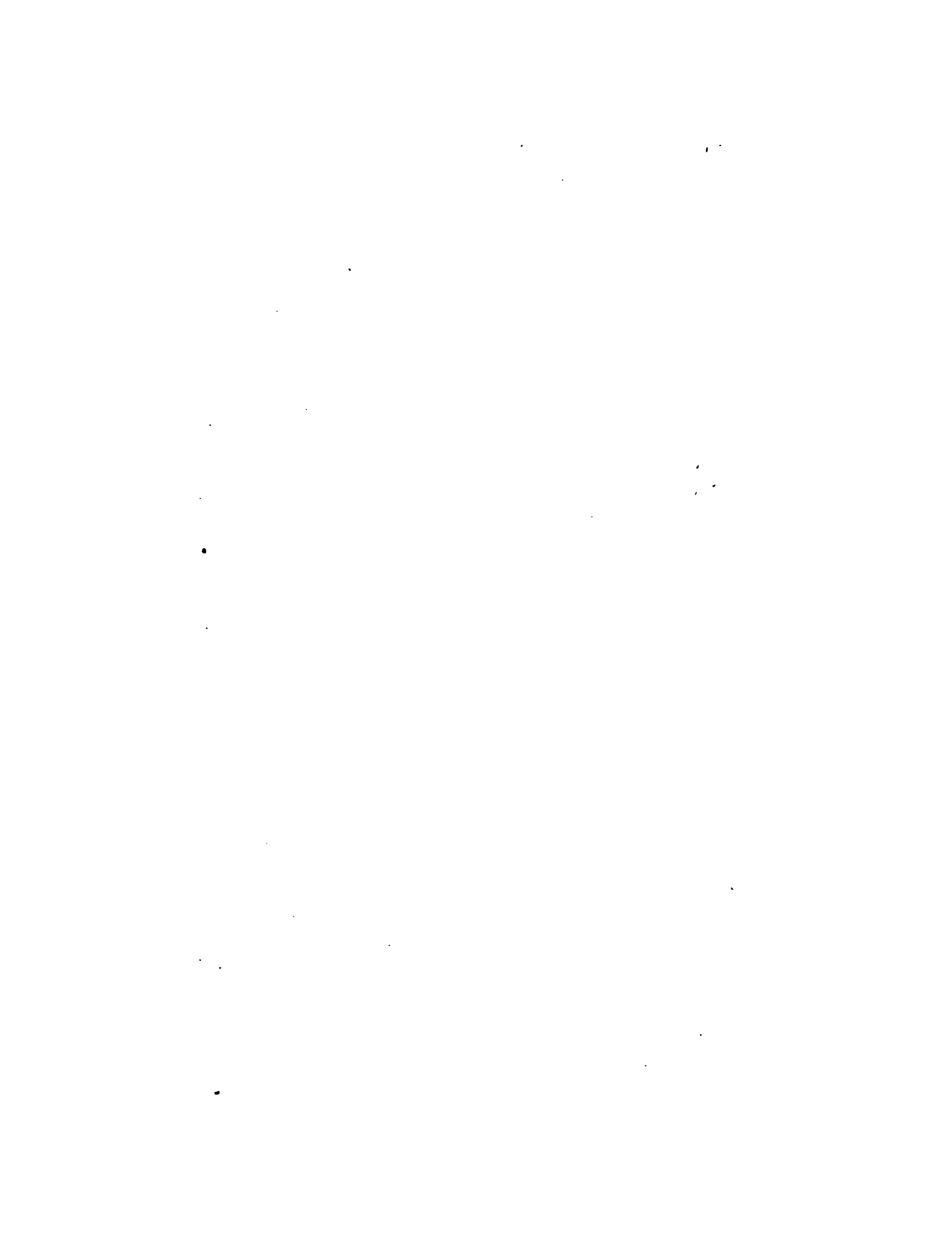
For me, if I no longer own  
Allegiance to the CYPRIAN throne,  
I play no fickle part ;  
It were ingratitude to slight  
Superior kindness; I delight  
To feel a grateful heart.

Then, playful Goddess! cease to change,  
Nor in new beauties vainly range;  
Tho' whatsoe'er thy view,  
Try ev'ry form thou canst put on,  
I'll follow thee thro' ev'ry one ;  
So staunch am I, so true.

Do thou in gentle PHIBIA smile,  
In artful BENNEBA beguile,  
In wanton MIMBA pout;  
In sprightly CUBA's eyes look gay,  
Or grave in sober QUASHEBA,  
I still shall find thee out.

Thus have I sung; perhaps too gay  
Such subject for such time of day,  
And fitter far for youth:  
Should then the song too wanton seem,  
You know who chose th' unlucky theme,  
Dear BRYAN tell the truth.





## CHAPTER II.

*Of negroes in a state of slavery.—Preliminary observations.—Origin of the slave trade.—Portuguese settlements on the African coast.—Negroes introduced into Hispaniola in 1502, and the slave trade revived at the instance of Barth. de las Cassas, in 1517.—Hawkins's voyages to the coast, in 1562 and 1563.—African Company established by James I.—Second charter in 1631 by Charles I.—Third charter in 1662.—Fourth charter in 1672.—Effect of the Petition and Declaration of Rights in 1688.—Acts of the 9th and 10th of William and Mary, c. 26.—New regulations in 1750.—Description of the African coast.—Forts and factories.—Exports from Great Britain.—Number of negroes transported annually to the British colonies.—State of the trade from 1771 to 1787.—Number of negroes at this time exported annually by the different nations of Europe.*

THE progress of my work has now brought me to the contemplation of human nature in its most debased and abject state;—to the sad prospect of 450,000 reasonable beings (in the English islands only) in a state of barbarity and slavery; of

whom—I will not say the major part, but—great numbers assuredly, have been torn from their native country and dearest connections, by means on which no good mind can reflect but with sentiments of disgust, commiseration, and sorrow!

I am not unapprized of the danger I incur at this juncture,\* in treating on the subject of African slavery, and the slave trade. By endeavouring to remove those wild and ill founded notions which have been long encouraged by misinformed writers in Great Britain, to the prejudice of the inhabitants of the British Sugar Islands, I am conscious, that I shall be exposed to all that “bitterness and wrath, and anger and clamour, and evil-speaking and malice,” with which it has long been popular to load the unfortunate slave-holder: yet nothing is more certain than that the slave trade may be very wicked, and the planters in general very innocent. By far the greatest part of the present inhabitants of the British West Indies came into possession of their plantations by inheritance or accident. Many persons there are, in Great Britain itself, who, amidst the continual fluctuation of human affairs, and the changes incident to property, find themselves possessed of estates in the West Indies which they have never seen, and invested with powers over their fellow creatures there, which, however extensively odious, they have never abu-

\* Alluding to the petitions depending in parliament (1791) for an abolition of the Slave trade.

sed; some of these gentlemen, unacquainted with local circumstances, and misled by the popular outcry, humanely gave orders to emancipate all their slaves, at whatever expense; but are since convinced, that their benevolent purposes cannot be carried into effect, consistently, even with the happiness of the negroes themselves.—The Reverend Society established in Great Britain for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, are themselves under this very predicament. That venerable body hold a plantation in Barbadoes under a devise of colonel Codrington; and they have found themselves, not only under the disagreeable necessity of supporting the system of slavery which was bequeathed to them with the land, but are induced also, from the purest and best motives, to purchase occasionally a certain number of negroes, in order to divide the work, and keep up the stock. They well know that moderate labour, unaccompanied with that wretched anxiety to which the poor of England are subject in making provision for the day that is passing over them, is a state of comparative felicity: and they know also, that men in savage life have no incentive to emulation: persuasion is lost on such men, and compulsion to a certain degree, is humanity and charity.

The question then, and the only question wherein the character of the planters is concerned, is this:—Making due allowance for human frailty under the influence of a degree of power ever danger-

ous to virtue, is their general conduct towards their slaves such only as necessarily results from their situation? If to this inquiry, an affirmative be returned, surely, Christian charity, though it may lament and condemn the first establishment of a system of slavery among them, and the means by which it is still kept up and supported, will not hastily arraign those who neither introduced, nor, as I shall hereafter shew, have been wanting in their best endeavours to correct and remedy many of the evils of it.

Having premised thus much, I shall now proceed to lay before my readers some account of the origin and present state of the slave trade, between the nations of Africa and such of the states of Europe as are concerned in it: this will constitute what remains of the present chapter. In the next I shall offer some thoughts on the negro character and disposition: after which I shall treat; first, of the means by which slaves are procured in Africa; secondly, of the mode of conveying them to the West Indies; and thirdly, of their general treatment and situation when sold to the planters there: an arrangement which will afford opportunities of illustrating the foregoing observations, by enabling me to intersperse such reflections as occur to my mind, on the several petitions now depending in parliament for a total abolition of the slave trade, all, or the greatest part of which, are grounded on abuses charged to exist under those several heads,

In the year 1442, while the Portuguese, under the encouragement of their celebrated prince Henry, were exploring the coast of Africa, Anthony Gonsalez, who two years before had seized some Moors near *Cape Bojador*, was, by that prince, ordered to carry his prisoners back to Africa: he landed them at *Rio del-Oro*, and received from the Moors in exchange, ten blacks, and a quantity of gold dust, with which he returned to Lisbon.

The success of Gonsalez, not only awakened the admiration, but stimulated the avarice of his countrymen; who, in the course of a few succeeding years, fitted out no less than thirty-seven ships in pursuit of the same gainful traffic. In 1481 the Portuguese built a fort on the Gold coast; another, sometime afterwards, on the island of Arguin; and a third at Loango Saint Paul's, on the coast of Angola; and the king of Portugal took the title of lord of Guinea.

So early as the year 1502, the Spaniards began to employ a few negroes in the mines of Hispaniola; but, in the year following, Ovando, the governor of that island, forbade the further importation of them; alleging, that they taught the Indians all manner of wickedness, and rendered them less tractable than formerly.\* So dreadfully rapid, however, was the decrease of these last-mentioned unfortunate people, as to induce the court of Spain,

\* Herrera, decad. 1. lib. 5. c. 12.

a few years afterwards, to revoke the orders issued by Ovando, and to authorize, by royal authority, the introduction of African slaves from the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Guinea. In the year 1517, the Emperor Charles V. granted a patent to certain persons for the exclusive supply of 4,000 negroes annually, to the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico.\* This patent having been assigned to some Genoese merchants, the supply of negroes to the Spanish American plantations became from that time an established and regular branch of commerce.

The concurrence of the Emperor in this measure was obtained at the solicitation of Bartholomew de las Casas, bishop of Chiapa, the celebrated protector and advocate of the Indians; and the conduct of this great prelate, on that occasion, has been the subject of much censure and animadversion. He is charged with the iniquitous absurdity of reducing one race of men to slavery while he was concerting the means of restoring freedom to another. "While he contended," says a late writer,† "for the liberty of the people born in one quarter of the globe, he laboured to enslave the inhabitants of another region; and in warmth of his zeal to save the Americans from the yoke, pronounced it to be lawful and expedient to impose one, *still heavier*, upon the Africans." It

\* Herrera, decad. 2. lib. 2. c. 20.

† Robertson, Hist. Amer.

would be difficult, perhaps, to say what yoke could well be heavier than the rigorous one imposed by the Spaniards on the wretched Indians; under which, as the same Historian elsewhere relates, the natives of Hispaniola "were reduced, in the short space of fifteen years, from at least a million to sixty thousand." But the conduct of Las Casas is not fully and fairly stated in the foregoing representation; for it supposes, that each class of people (the negroes and Indians) was found in a similar condition and situation of life, whereas it is notorious, that many of the negroes imported from Africa, are born of enslaved parents, are bred up as slaves themselves, and as such have been habituated to labour from their infancy. On this account we are told, that one able negro was capable of performing the work of four Indians. On the other hand, the condition of these last-mentioned people was widely removed from a state of slavery. "The inhabitants of these islands," says a cotemporary writer, "have been so used to the enjoyment of liberty, in a life of plenty and pastime, that the yoke of servitude is insupportable to them; and assuredly, if they would but embrace our holy religion, they would be the happiest of human beings in the enjoyment of their ancient freedom."\* Las Casas therefore contended reasonably enough, that men inured to servitude and drudgery, who could experience no alteration of circumstances from a change of masters, and who felt not

\* Pet. Martyr. decad.



the sentiments which freedom alone can inspire, were not so great objects of commiseration, as those who, having always enjoyed the sweets of unbounded liberty, were suddenly deprived of it, and urged to tasks of labour which their strength was unable to perform. Las Casas could neither prevent, nor foresee, the abuses and evils that have arisen from the system of traffic recommended by him, and is not therefore justly chargeable with the rashness, absurdity, and iniquity, which have since been imputed to his conduct.

Of the English, the first who is known to have been concerned in this commerce, was the celebrated John Hawkins, who afterwards received from queen Elizabeth the honour of knighthood, and was made treasurer of the navy. His adventures are recorded by Hakluyt, a cotemporary historian. Having made several voyages to the Canary islands, and there received information (says Hakluyt) "that  
" negroes were very good merchandise in Hispani-  
" ola, and that store of negroes might easily be had  
" on the coast of Guinea, he resolved to make  
" trial thereof, and communicated that device,  
" with his worshipful friends of London, Sir Lionel  
" Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge, Master Gunson (his  
" father-in-law), Sir William Winter, Master Brom-  
" field, and others; all which persons liked so well  
" of his intention, that they became liberal contri-  
" butors and adventurers in the action; for which  
" purpose there were three good ships immediately  
" provided, the Salomon of 120 tunne, wherein

“ Master Hawkins himself went as general; the  
“ Swallow, of 100 tunnes, and the Jonas, a bark  
“ of 40 tunnes; in which small fleete, Master  
“ Hawkins took with him 100 men.”

Hawkins sailed from England for Sierra Leona, in the month of October 1562, and in a short time after his arrival on the coast, got into his possession, partly (says Hakluyt) by the sword, and partly by other means, to the number of 300 negroes, besides other merchandise, with which he proceeded directly for Hispaniola, and touching at different ports in that island, disposed of the whole of his cargo in exchange for hides, ginger, sugar, and some pearls; and arrived in England in September 1563, after a very prosperous voyage, which brought great profit to the adventurers.

The success which had attended this first expedition, appears to have attracted the notice, and excited the avarice of the British government; for we find Hawkins, in the year following, appointed to the command of one of the queen's ships, the *Jesus* of 700 tons, and with the *Solomon*, the *Tiger*, a bark of 50 tons, and the *Swallow*, a bark of 30 tons, sent a second time on the same trading expedition; but with what part of the profits for his own share, is not mentioned. He sailed from Plymouth, the 18th of October 1564, and the same day joined at sea the *Minion*, another of the queen's ships, commanded by captain David Carlet,

and which with two others, the John Baptist and the Merlin, were likewise bound for Guinea.

The history of this voyage is related at large in Hakluyt's collection, by a person who embarked with Hawkins; from whose account it appears, that the fleet was dispersed by a violent gale of wind, in the Bay of Biscay; that the Merlin caught fire and blew up; that the John Baptist put back, but that all the other vessels arrived at length at Cape Verde, on the coast of Africa. "The people of Cape Verde," says the writer, "are called *Leophares*, and are counted the goodliest men of all others saving the Congoes, who inhabit this side the Cape de Buena Esperance. These Leophares have wars against the Jallofs, which are borderers by them. These men are also more civil than any other, because of their daily trafficke with the Frenchmen, and are of a nature very gentle and loving. Here we stayed but one night, and part of the day, for the 7th of December we came away; in that intending to have taken negroes there perforce; the Minion's men gave them to understand of our coming, and our pretence; wherefore they did avoyde the snares we had laid for them."

It seems probable from this account, that the captain of the Minion having an independent command, was jealous of Hawkins's authority, or, it is rather to be hoped, was shocked at the excesses to which his avarice urged him, in laying snares to

seize and carry off the unoffending natives. After this, the *Minion* no longer acted in concert, nor sailed in company with *Hawkins* and his squadron.

On the 8th of December, *Hawkins* anchored at a small island called *Alcatrasa*. At this place, we are informed, that the *Jesus* and *Solomon* riding at anchor, the two barks with their boats went to an island belonging to a people called the *Sapies*, to see if they could take any of the inhabitants. The English landed, to the number of eighty, with arms and ammunition; but the natives flying into the woods, they returned without success. A short time afterwards, we find this righteous commander at one of the islands which are called *Sambula*. "In this island (says the writer) we staid certain  
" dayes, going every day on shore to take the in-  
" habitants with burning and spoiling their towns.  
" These inhabitants (who were called *Samboes*)  
" hold divers of the *Sapies*, taken in war, as their  
" slaves, whom they kept to till the ground, of  
" whom we took many in that place, but of the  
" *Samboes* none at all; for they fled into the  
" maine." The writer then proceeds to give an account of the manners and customs of these people; and relates, among other particulars, that slavery is the established punishment for theft. "If  
" a man (says he) steals but a Portugal cloth from  
" another, he is sold to the Portugals for a slave."  
He relates further, that the *Samboes*, in a time of scarcity, devoured their captives, for want of better food.

The rest of Hawkins's adventures are nothing to my present purpose. What has been quoted, is sufficient to demonstrate, that a regular traffic had been established so early as the year 1564, both by the Portuguese and the French, with some nations of Africa, for the purchase of slaves; that this intercourse was founded on mutual contract, and tended to civilize the natives on the coast; some nations of whom were possessed of slaves, which they kept for the purposes of agriculture; and occasionally killed for food; a horrid practice, that, I believe, no longer exists in this part of Africa. In regard to Hawkins himself, he was, I admit, a murderer and a robber. His avowed purpose in sailing to Guinea, was to seize by stratagem, or force, and carry away the unsuspecting natives, in the view of selling them as slaves to the people of Hispaniola. In this pursuit, his object was present profit, and his employment and pastime devastation and murder. He made a third voyage to Africa in 1568, for the same purpose, with a squadron of six ships, which the reader will not be sorry to find terminated most miserably; and put a stop, for some years, to any more piratical expeditions of the English to the coast of Africa.

The first notice which I find in history of an actual attempt by the British nation to establish a regular trade on the African coast, is in the year 1618, when king James I. granted an exclusive charter to Sir Robert Rich, and some other merchants of London, for raising a joint stock for a

trade to Guinea: ships were accordingly fitted out; but the profits not being found to answer expectation, the proprietors soon afterwards withdrew their contributions; and the charter was suffered to expire.\*

In 1631, king Charles I. erected, by charter, a second company for a trade to Africa; granting to Sir Richard Young, Sir Kenelm Digby, and sundry merchants, to enjoy the sole trade to the coast of Guinea, between Cape Blanco and the Cape of Good Hope, together with the isles adjacent, for thirty one years to come. As the English had by this time began the settlement of plantations in the West Indies, negroes were in such demand, as to induce the new company, at a great expense, to erect forts and warehouses on the coast, for the protection of their commerce; but so many private adventurers and interlopers of all nations, broke in upon them, as in effect to force the trade open, and so it continued until after the restoration of Charles II.

In the year 1662, a third exclusive African company was incorporated, consisting of many persons of high rank and distinction; at the head of whom was the king's brother, the duke of York. This company undertook to supply our West Indian

\* Queen Elizabeth is said to have granted a patent in the 30th year of her reign, for carrying on an exclusive trade from the river Senegal to a hundred leagues beyond Sierra Leone; but I do not find that any voyage was ever made in consequence of it.

plantations with 3000 negroes annually; but in 1664, the king intending to make war on the Dutch, secretly sent Sir Robert Holmes to the coast, with orders to seize the Dutch forts near Cape Verde; in which service Holmes succeeded, and built at the same time a new fort at the mouth of the river Gambia, called James Fort, which we still hold. Thence sailing southward, he mastered all the Dutch factories on the Guinea coast, except St. George D'Elmina and Acheen; all of which were however retaken in 1665, by De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral; together with the fort of Koromantyn, belonging to the English company, which (if I mistake not) the Dutch hold at this day, by the name of Fort Amsterdam.

In 1672, (the third company having in this year surrendered their charter to the crown), the fourth and last exclusive company was established. It was dignified by the title of the Royal African Company, and had, among the subscribers, the king, the duke of York, and many other persons of high rank and quality; and the whole capital of £.111,000 was raised in nine months. Out of this subscription, the late company was allowed £.34,000 for their three forts of Cape Coast Castle, Sierra Leone, and James Fort. The new company soon improved their trade, and increased the number of their forts; and, as all former companies were obliged to send to Holland to make up an assortment for the cargoes of their ships, they now introduced into England the making of sun-

dry kinds of woollen goods, and other manufactures not before known; and they imported from the coast great quantities of gold, out of which, in 1673, 50,000 guineas (so named from the country) were coined. They also imported redwood for dyers, ivory, wax, and some other valuable commodities, and they exported to the value of £70,000 annually in English goods.

But the revolution in 1688 changed the scene; for by the 1st of William and Mary, as the *Petition and Declaration of Right* is commonly called, the African and all other exclusive companies not authorised by parliament, were abolished: the African trade, therefore, became in fact, free and open; although the company still persisted in seizing the ships of separate traders; a measure which occasioned much clamour, and no small obstruction to the negro trade. The disputes which this conduct gave rise to, are, however, too uninteresting at present to be brought again to remembrance.

In 1689 was established the first *Assiento* company for supplying the Spanish West Indies with negroes from Jamaica; and in 1698 the trade to Africa, which, by the *Petition of Right*, was virtually laid open, was expressly made so, under certain conditions; for by statutes 9 and 10th of Will. and Mary, c. 26. it was enacted—

“ That for the preservation of the trade, and for the advantage of England and its colonies, it should



be lawful for any of the subjects of his majesty's realm of England, as well as for the company, to trade from England and the plantations in America to Africa, between cape Mount and the cape of Good Hope; upon paying for the aforesaid uses a duty of 10 per cent. ad valorem, for the goods exported from England or the plantations, to be paid to the collector at the time of entry outwards, for the use of the company.

The same liberty was given to trade between cape Blanco and cape Mount; but, in addition to the ten per centum on exportation, there was to be paid a further sum of ten per centum ad valorem, on all goods and merchandize, redwood excepted, which was to pay only five per centum at the place of exportation, imported into England, or the plantations, from the coast between cape Blanco and cape Mount. The duties so paid were to be applied to the maintenance of the forts and castles, and the providing ammunition, and soldiers. The company were yearly to render an account of the receipt of these duties and their application, to the cursitor baron of exchequer.

Persons paying these duties were to have the same protection and defence for their persons, ships, and goods, from the forts and castles, and the same freedom and security for their negotiations and trade, as the company. They might settle factories within their limits, and were to be free from all molestations from the company.

No duty imposed by this act was to extend to negroes exported, or to gold and silver, nor was the act to be so construed as to hinder any one from trading to that part of Africa commonly called South Barbary, extending southerly as far as cape Blanco."

Against the regulations of this law, which was to continue in force for 13 years, both the company and many of the private traders remonstrated without effect; and the company's affairs, in the course of a few years, declined to so great a degree, that they were unable either to support their factories with new investments, or to pay the debts which they had already incurred. Parliament, at length, was induced to give them some assistance; and in 1739 voted £. 10,000 for that purpose, and the like sum annually until the year 1744, when, by reason of the war with France and Spain, the grant was doubled. In each of the two succeeding years £. 10,000 was again voted;—but nothing was granted for 1747.

In the year 1750, the African trade, after having passed, as we have seen, through different constitutions and conditions, assumed a new appearance; for in that year the law took place under which it still exists, and is at present regulated. It is intitled, "An act for extending and improving the trade to Africa;" the terms and conditions whereof I need not set forth, as the act itself is so easily referred to. Of the several countries, however

with which the trade is at present carried on, and the state of it for some years past, some particulars may be necessary. My account will be brief; there being many descriptions of Guinea extant; and an abridgment and summary of the best histories (collated and arranged with great judgment and accuracy) are given to the public in Astley's collection of voyages; wherein the reader will find much curious and useful information.\*

That part then of the African coast on the Atlantic ocean, with which the people of Europe have an intercourse, extends from cape Blanco, in 21 degrees north latitude, to a Portuguese settlement called *Loango St. Paul's*, in the kingdom of Angola, latitude 9 degrees south, comprehending a line of coast of upwards of 1,300 English leagues, and consisting of various countries, inhabited by a great number of savage nations, differing widely from each other, in government, language, manners, and superstitions.

The first of these countries, in which the British have an establishment, is the province of Senegambia; including the river Senegal, which opens

\* In the year 1763, Senegal and its dependencies were vested in the African company; but in 1765 the same became vested in the crown, and the trade was laid open. Thus the whole African trade is free to all his majesty's subjects; but that part of it which is carried on between port Sallee and cape Rouge is under the direction of government. From cape Rouge to the cape of Good Hope, the English forts are under the direction of a committee of the company.

into the Western ocean in nearly 16 degrees, and the river Gambia in 13 and a half-degrees north latitude. Both these rivers are navigable many hundred miles up the country. The negroes obtained from this part of Africa are known to the West Indian planters by the general name of *Mandingoes*.

From cape Roxo (or Rouge) to cape Appollonia, the European settlements, except a small English factory in the river Sierra Leone, are chiefly those of the Portuguese.—The negroes obtained through their means as well as from the English factory are likewise called Mandingoes—I believe improperly; as many different languages are spoken on the coast between Senegal and Appollonia. This part of Africa is commonly called the Windward coast.

The Gold coast extends from cape Appollonia to the river Volta, comprehending a line of 100 leagues. The maritime country is divided into a number of petty states or principalities, seemingly independent of, and often at war with, each other; the chief of which are Axim, Ante, Adom, Jabi, Commani, Fetu, Sabou, Fantyn (a rich and powerful people), Acron, and Agonna; some of which are said to maintain a republican, or more properly an aristocratical, form of government. Of the inland country we know but little more than that it consists of three extensive kingdoms, called Asiantee (or Shantee), Akim, and Aquambou; each of which supplies the maritime states with great numbers of slaves, which they sell to the Europe-

ans. In the British West Indies, most of the negroes purchased on the Gold coast, are known by the general appellation of *Koromantees*, from Koromantyn, one of the earliest of our factories on this part of the African coast, as hath been already observed, but which is now become an insignificant village, or factory, in possession of the Dutch. It is situated in the kingdom of Fantyn, two miles from the fort of Anamaboe.—I believe that the same, or different dialects of the same language, is spoken throughout all the Gold coast countries.

From the river Volta to the river Lagos, extends the Whidah country, (at present a province to the king of Dahomey, a great inland kingdom), by some geographers considered as part of the Gold coast; by others denominated *The Slave Coast proper*. It begins with the small and barren state of Koto or Lampi, next to which is the kingdom of Adra, comprehending the subordinate maritime principalities of Great and Little Popo, or Papaw; from whence the Whidah negroes are called generally, by the British traders, *Papaws*. The Whidah language, except as to the inhabitants of Koto is peculiar and appropriate. The people of Koto speak a dialect of the Gold coast, and there is a tribe of Whidah negroes called *nagoes*, who have a dialect which, though understood by the Papaws, differs from the Whidah language in many particulars.

West of the river Lagos begins the great kingdom of Benin, the coast of which forms a gulph

or bight, ending at cape Lopez, wherein are situated the trading places (being so many villages on the banks of several rivers) of Benin, Bonny, Old and New Callabar, Cameron, and Gaboon.

The slaves purchased on this part of the coast, have the general denomination of *Eboes*; probably from Arebo, the name of a village, formerly a considerable town, on the river Benin. Some of them (a tribe, I believe, from the interior country) are likewise called *Mocoës*. In language they differ both from the Gold Coast negroes and those of Whidah, and in some respects from each other; for from Whidah to Angola, the dialects vary at almost every trading river.

From Cape Lopez to the river Congo, distant 140 leagues, I believe the trade is chiefly engrossed by the Dutch and the French. To the southward of this river, very little trade is carried on by any Europeans except the Portuguese, who, as hath been observed, have a large city at Loango St. Paul's, on the coast of Angola, strongly fortified; from which place they have penetrated quite through the country to their settlements at, and south of Mozambique, upon the eastern coast of Africa, where they have caravans constantly going and returning, and by that means carry on an extensive and advantageous inland commerce.

The whole number of forts and factories established on the coast by the different powers of Eu-

rope is, I believe, forty; of which fourteen belong to the English, three to the French, fifteen to the Dutch, four to the Portuguese, and four to the Danes.

The commodities exported by the British traders to Africa, consist chiefly of woollens, linens, Manchester goods, Birmingham and Sheffield goods; East Indian silks and mixed goods; English printed calicoes and cottons; ready made cloths, musquets, bayonets, cutlasses, gunpowder, shot, wrought and unwrought brass and copper, lead, pewter, wrought and unwrought iron, hats, worsted caps, earthen ware, British spirits, rum and brandy, tea, sugar, coffee and provisions of every kind.—The annual value, of late years, is estimated on an average at about £.800,000 sterling.

In some parts of the coast there is a duty paid on each ship, to the king or chief man of the country; which is called his customs. In other parts this is not exacted; but it is only in such places as have but little trade. When permission is obtained to trade, the slaves are sometimes brought by the black merchants on board the ships, and there sold; and sometimes they are purchased on shore at the merchants houses, and brought off to the ships by the captains; after which the black traders come on board to receive payment. In these particulars, circumstances and situations very often change the mode; just as an opposition among a number of purchasers makes it more or less neces-

sary. Many of the factories on the coast are private property; of course they procure slaves for the ships in their own concern. Sometimes they barter slaves with strangers, in order to enlarge their own assortment of goods, or to procure some particular commodities of which they are in want. Among the forts, the officers that belong to them carry on trade more or less with the shipping as their circumstances will admit, and according as they are more or less independent; but the black traders are supposed to sell their slaves about forty shillings each cheaper than the factories.

In those parts of the coast to which shipping resort all the year, the intercourse between the black traders within land, (for an extent as yet unexplored by any white person), and those on the coast, is constant and regular; but we have no sufficiently precise and particular account of the manner in which this constant supply of slaves for sale is kept up and supported. I shall hereafter give the best information I have been able to collect on this head. I regret, that I have not sufficient materials to enable me to furnish an accurate statement of the number of Africans that have been transported to the British colonies since their first settlement. However, that curiosity may not be wholly disappointed, I have collected such materials as I think will enable the reader to form some judgment in this respect, which probably will not be very wide of the truth.



In the various publications with which the press abounded during the time that the disputes between the African company and the private traders were an object of national concern, it is asserted by one party, and not denied by the other, that about 140,000 negroes had been exported by the company, and 160,000 more by private adventurers, between the years 1680 and 1700: Total 300,000. From 1700 to December 1786, the number imported into Jamaica was 610,000. I say this on sufficient evidence, having in my possession lists of all the entries. Of the number imported during the same interval into the southern provinces of North America, as well as the Windward Islands, I cannot speak with precision; but I am of opinion, that the Jamaica import may fairly be reckoned one third of the whole. On these grounds, the total import into all the British colonies of America and the West Indies, from 1680 to 1786, may be put at 2,130,000, being, on an average of the whole, 20,095 annually. This I admit is much less than is commonly supposed: Anderson roundly fixes the annual import at 100,000; but vague and general assertions prove nothing. The re-export may be stated at about one-fifth part of the import.

It appears to me, that the British slave trade had attained to its highest pitch of prosperity a short time before the commencement of the late American war. The following has been given to the public as an accurate account of the ships which

sailed from England for the coast in 1771, and of the number of slaves for the purchase and transportation of which they were sufficiently provided, and I believe its authenticity cannot be doubted; viz.

|                       | <i>Ships.</i> | <i>Negroes.</i> |
|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| To Senegambia - - - - | 40            | for 3,310       |
| Windward Coast - - -  | 56            | 11,960          |
| Gold Coast - - - -    | 29            | 7,525           |
| Bight of Benin - - -  | 63            | 23,301          |
| Angola - - - - -      | 4             | 1,050           |
|                       | <hr/>         | <hr/>           |
| Total                 | 192           | 47,146          |
|                       | <hr/>         | <hr/>           |

| Of the above 192 ships |                             | <i>Negroes.</i> |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| 107                    | sailed from Liverpool for - | 29,250          |
| 58                     | from London, for - -        | 8,136           |
| 23                     | from Bristol, for - -       | 8,810           |
| 4                      | from Lancaster, for - -     | 950             |

In the year 1772 sailed from Great Britain, for the African coast,—

| 175 vessels, having goods on board valued at |     |       | <i>£.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|----------------------------------------------|-----|-------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|                                              |     |       | 866,394   | 11        | 3         |
| 1773                                         | 151 | ditto | 688,110   | 10        | 11        |
| 1774                                         | 167 | ditto | 346,525   | 12        | 5         |
| 1775                                         | 152 | ditto | 786,168   | 2         | 8         |
| 1776                                         | 101 | ditto | 470,779   | 1         | 1         |
| 1777                                         | 58  | ditto | 239,218   | 3         | 0         |
| 1778                                         | 41  | ditto | 154,086   | 1         | 10        |
| 1779                                         | 28  | ditto | 159,217   | 19        | 7         |

This defalcation was unquestionably owing to the late war, on the termination of which the trade immediately began to revive, as appears by the following account of the negroes imported into, and exported from the British West Indian islands, from 1783 to 1787 (both years inclusive); viz.

| <i>Year.</i> | <i>Number of Ships.</i> | <i>Tons.</i> | <i>Negroes imported.</i> | <i>Negroes exported.</i> | <i>Negroes retained.</i> |
|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1783         | 33                      | 5,455        | 16,208                   | 809                      | 15,399                   |
| 1784         | 93                      | 13,301       | 28,550                   | 5,263                    | 23,287                   |
| 1785         | 73                      | 10,730       | 21,598                   | 5,018                    | 16,580                   |
| 1786         | 67                      | 8,070        | 19,160                   | 4,317                    | 14,843                   |
| 1787         | 85                      | 12,183       | 21,023                   | 5,366                    | 15,657                   |

Of the whole number now annually exported from Africa by the subjects of Great Britain, France, Holland, Denmark, and Portugal, and the particular countries whence supplied, the following account was transmitted by the merchants of Liverpool to the lords of the privy council, and it is undoubtedly as authentic and particular a return as can possibly be obtained: viz.

|                          | <i>Number of Slaves exported.</i> |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| By the British - - - - - | 38,000                            |
| French - - - - -         | 20,000                            |
| Dutch - - - - -          | 4,000                             |
| Danes - - - - -          | 2,000                             |
| Portuguese - - - - -     | 10,000                            |
|                          | <hr/>                             |
| Total                    | 74,000                            |

|                                       | <i>Number of Slaves.</i> |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Of which Gambia furnishes about - - - | 700                      |
| Isles Delos, and the adjacent rivers  | 1,500                    |
| From Sierra Leone to Cape Mount       | 2,000                    |
| Cape Mount to C. Palmas               | 3,000                    |
| Cape Palmas to C. Appollonia          | 1,000                    |
| Gold Coast - - - - -                  | 10,000                   |
| Quitto and Popo - - - - -             | 1,000                    |
| Whidah - - - - -                      | 4,500                    |
| Porto Novo, Eppee, and Bidagry        | 3,500                    |
| Lagos and Benin - - - - -             | 3,500                    |
| Bonny and New Calabar - - -           | 14,500                   |
| Old Calabar and Cameroons - - -       | 7,000                    |
| Gabon and Cape Lopez - - -            | 500                      |
| Loango, Melimba, and Cape Renda       | 13,500                   |
| Majumba, Ambris, and Missoula         | 1,000                    |
| Loango St. Paul's, and Benguela       | 7,000                    |
|                                       | <hr/>                    |
| Total                                 | 74,200                   |

Of the miserable people thus condemned to perpetual exile and servitude, though born in various and widely separated countries, it is not easy to discriminate the peculiar manners and native propensities. The similar and uniform system of life to which they are all reduced; the few opportunities and the little encouragement that are given them for mental improvement, are circumstances that necessarily induce a predominant and prevailing cast of character and disposition. "The day," says Homer, "which makes man a slave, takes away half his worth," and, in fact, he loses every impulse to action, except that of fear. Nevertheless, there are among several of the African nations some

striking and predominant features, which cannot easily be overlooked by a person residing in any one of the sugar plantations. These peculiarities I shall endeavour to describe with candour and impartiality; after which, I shall attempt a delineation of their general character, as it is displayed under all the various modifications and circumstances of original habits, and present situation and condition.

## CHAPTER III.

*Mandingoes, or natives of the Windward coast.—Mahometans.—Their wars, manners, and persons.—Koromantyn negroes, or natives of the Gold coast.—Their ferociousness of disposition displayed by an account of the negro rebellion in Jamaica in 1760.—Their national manners, wars, and superstitions.—Natives of Whidah or Fida.—Their good qualities.—Nagoes.—Negroes from Benin,—persons and tempers.—Cannibals.—Natives of Kongo and Angola.—Survey of the character and dispositions of negroes in a state of slavery.*

**M**OST, if not all the nations that inhabit that part of Africa which lies to the northward and eastward of Sierra Leone, are Mahometans; and following the means of conversion prescribed by their prophet, are, as we are told, perpetually at war with such of the surrounding nations as refuse to adopt their religious tenets. The prisoners taken in these religious wars furnish, I doubt not, great part of the slaves which are exported from the factories on the Windward coast; and it is probable,

that death would be the fate of most of the captives, if purchasers were not to be met with.

But the Mandingoes have frequent wars with each other, as well as with such nations as they consider enemies of their faith; and I am afraid, that some of these wars arise from motives even less justifiable than religious zeal. An old and faithful Mandingo servant, who stands at my elbow while I write this, relates, that being sent by his father to visit a distant relation in a country wherein the Portuguese had a settlement, a fray happened in the village in which he resided: that many people were killed, and others taken prisoners, and he himself was seized and carried off in the skirmish; not, as he conceives, by a foreign enemy, but by some of the natives of the place; and being sent down a river in a canoe, was sold to the captain of the ship that brought him to Jamaica. Of his national customs and manners he remembers but little, being at the time of his captivity, but a youth. He relates, that the natives practice circumcision, and that he himself has undergone that operation; and he has not forgot the morning and evening prayer which his father taught him; in proof of this assertion, he chaunts, in an audible and shrill tone, a sentence that I conceive to be part of the Alcoran, *La illa, ill illa!*\* which he says they sing aloud at the first appearance of the new moon. He relates, moreover, that in his own country Friday was con-

\* There is no God, but God.

stantly made a day of strict fasting. It was almost a sin, he observes, on that day, *to swallow his spittle*;—such is his expression.

Besides this man, I had once another Mandingo servant, who could write, with great beauty and exactness, the Arabic alphabet, and some passages from the Alcoran. Whether his learning extended any further, I had no opportunity of being informed, as he died soon after he came into my possession.

The advantage possessed by a few of these people, of being able to read and write, is a circumstance on which the Mandingo negroes in the West Indies pride themselves greatly among the rest of the slaves; over whom they consider that they possess a marked superiority; and in truth, they display such gentleness of disposition and demeanour, as would seem the result of early education and discipline, were it not that, generally speaking, they are more prone to theft than any of the African tribes. It has been supposed that this propensity, among other vices, is natural to a state of slavery, which degrades and corrupts the human mind in a deplorable manner; but why the Mandingoes should have become more vicious in this respect, than the rest of the natives of Africa in the same condition of life, is a question I cannot answer.



In their complexions and persons, the Mandingoes are easily to be distinguished from such of the Africans as are born nearer to the equator; but they consist nevertheless of very distinct tribes, some of which are remarkably tall and black, and there is one tribe among them (called also the Foolah) that seems to me to constitute the link between the Moors and negroes properly so called. They are of a less glossy black than the Gold coast negroes; and their hair, though bushy and crisped, is not woolly, but soft and silky to the touch. Neither have the Mandingoes, in common, the thick lips and flat noses of the more southern natives; and they are in a great degree, exempt from that strong and fetid odour, which exhales from the skin of most of the latter; but in general they are not well adapted for hard labour.\*

After all, they differ less in their persons, than in the qualities of the mind, from the natives of the Gold coast; who may be said to constitute the genuine and original unmixed negro, both in person and character.

\* There is a remarkable anomaly of nature sometimes seen in the children born of negro women by black men. Their features are those of the negro, but their complexions are white: not the white of the European, but a cadaverous paleness without any mixture of red, and their hair is of the same colour, though crisped and woolly. I have inspected several of these poor creatures, and always found them weak sighted, and, in general, defective in understanding. These are the people called by the Spaniards *Albinos*: but, that a nation of them exists in any part of the world, as asserted by Voltaire, I do not believe.

The circumstances which distinguish the Koromantyn, or Gold coast negroes, from all others, are firmness both of body and mind; a ferociousness of disposition; but withal, activity; courage, and a stubbornness, or what an ancient Roman would have deemed an elevation of soul, which prompts them to enterprises of difficulty and danger; and enables them to meet death, in its most horrible shape, with fortitude or indifference. They sometimes take to labour with great promptitude and alacrity, and have constitutions well adapted for it; for many of them have undoubtedly been slaves in Africa:— I have interrogated great numbers on this subject, and although some of them asserted they were born free, who, as it was afterwards proved by the testimony of their own relations, were actually sold as slaves by their masters, others frankly confessed to me, that they had no claim to freedom in their own country, and were sold, either to pay the debts, or to expiate the crimes, of their owners. On the other hand, the Gold coast being inhabited by various different tribes which are engaged in perpetual warfare and hostility with each other, there cannot be a doubt, that many of the captives taken in battle, and sold in the European settlements, were of free condition in their native country, and perhaps the owners of slaves themselves. It is not wonderful that such men should endeavour, even by means the most desperate, to regain the freedom of which they have been deprived; nor do I conceive, that any further circumstances are necessary to prompt them to action, than that of being sold

into captivity in a distant country. I mean only to state facts as I find them: Such I well know was the origin of the negro rebellion which happened in Jamaica in 1760. It arose at the instigation of a Koromantyn negro of the name of Tacky, who had been a chief in Guinea; and it broke out on the frontier plantation in St. Mary's parish, belonging to the late Ballard Beckford, and the adjoining estate of Trinity, the property of my deceased relation and benefactor Zachary Bayly, to whose wisdom, activity and courage on this occasion, it was owing, that the revolt was not as general and destructive as that which now rages in St. Domingo (1791). On those plantations were upwards of one hundred Gold coast negroes newly imported, and I do not believe, that an individual amongst them had received the least shadow of ill treatment from the time of their arrival there. Concerning those on the Trinity estate, I can pronounce of my own knowledge, that they were under the government of an overseer of singular tenderness and humanity. His name was Abraham Fletcher; and let it be remembered, in justice even to the rebels, and as a lesson to other overseers, that his life was spared from respect to his virtues. The insurgents had heard of his character from the other negroes, and suffered him to pass through them unmolested—this fact appeared in evidence.\*

\* Mr. Bayly had himself left the Trinity estate the preceding evening, after having personally inspected into the situation of his newly purchased Africans, and delivered them with his own hands their

Having collected themselves into a body about one o'clock in the morning, they proceeded to the fort at Port Maria; killed the centinel, and provided themselves with as great a quantity of arms and ammunition as they could conveniently dispose of. Being by this time joined by a number of their countrymen from the neighbouring plantations, they marched up the high road that led to the interior parts of the country, carrying death and desolation as they went. At Ballard's valley they surrounded

cloathing *and knives*, little apprehending the bloody business in which these knives were soon afterwards employed. He slept at Ballard's valley, a plantation of Mr. Cruikshank, a few miles distant; and was awoke by his servant at day-break, with the information that his Trinity negroes had revolted. The intelligence was brought by some of his own people, who had fled in search of their master, and reported that the insurgents were close at their heels. No time therefore being to be lost, Mr. Bayly recommended to Mr. Cruikshank, and some other gentlemen who were with him, to proceed forthwith, with such arms as they could collect, to an estate in the neighbourhood, which having a defensible house, was fixed on as a proper place of rendezvous; promising to join them in a few hours. He then mounted his horse, and proceeded himself in search of the rebels, conceiving (as he knew they had no reason to complain of ill treatment) that his presence and persuasions would reduce them to obedience. As he descended the hill on which Mr. Cruikshank's house was situated, he heard the *Koromantyn yell of war*, and saw the whole body of rebel negroes in full march for the habitation of the overseer; a smaller house situated within half a mile of the other. He approached them notwithstanding, and waving his hat, endeavoured to obtain a hearing, but was answered by a discharge of musquetry, by which his servant's horse was shot under him, and both himself and the servant very narrowly escaped with life. The Savages then proceeded to the massacre of the white people in the overseer's house; and Mr. Bayly

the overseer's house about four in the morning, in which finding all the white servants in bed, they butchered every one of them in the most savage manner, and literally drank their blood mixed with rum. At Esher, and other estates, they exhibited the same tragedy; and then set fire to the buildings and canes. In one morning they murdered between thirty and forty whites and mulattoes, not sparing even infants at the breast, before their progress was stopped. Tacky, the chief, was killed in the woods by one of the parties that went in

rode round to all the different plantations in the neighbourhood, giving them notice of their danger, and sending all the whites to the place of rendezvous. By this measure he had collected before noon about 130 whites and trusty blacks, tolerably armed; whom he then led in pursuit of the rebels. They were found at Haywood-hall, roasting an ox by the flames of the buildings, which they had set on fire. The whites attacked them with great fury, killed eight or nine on the spot, took several of them prisoners, and drove the rest into the woods, where they acted afterwards wholly on the defensive, and were soon exterminated. Thus a timely check was given to a conspiracy, which was found to have been general among the *Koromantyn* negroes throughout the island, and the country was probably saved from utter destruction by the prudence and promptitude of an individual.—I have related these circumstances concerning my deceased relation's conduct on this occasion for two reasons; first, because it presents an example to be imitated in similar emergencies; and secondly, because I have thus an opportunity given me of paying a just tribute to the memory of one, whom I loved and honoured when living, and lamented when dead, with more than filial affection and piety; for he possessed the clearest head, the most enlarged and comprehensive mind, the sweetest temper, and the kindest and most benevolent disposition, of any man that it has been my fortune to meet with, in my diversified journey through life!—See volume i. page 260.

pursuit of them ; but some others of the ringleaders being taken, and a general inclination to revolt appearing among all the Koromantyn negroes in the island, it was thought necessary to make a few terrible examples of some of the most guilty. Of three who were clearly proved to have been concerned in the murders committed at Ballard's valley, one was condemned to be burnt, and the other two to be hung up alive in irons, and left to perish in that dreadful situation. The wretch that was burnt was made to sit on the ground, and his body being chained to an iron stake, the fire was applied to his feet. He uttered not a groan, and saw his legs reduced to ashes with the utmost firmness and composure ; after which, one of his arms by some means getting loose, he snatched a brand from the fire that was consuming him, and flung it in the face of the executioner. The two that were hung up alive were indulged at their own request, with a hearty meal immediately before they were suspended on the gibbet, which was erected in the parade of the town of Kingston. From that time, until they expired, they never uttered the least complaint, except only of cold in the night, but diverted themselves all day long in discourse with their countrymen, who were permitted, very improperly, to surround the gibbet. On the seventh day a notion prevailed among the spectators, that one of them wished to communicate an important secret to his master, my near relation ; who being in St. Mary's parish, the commanding officer sent for me. I endeavoured by

means of an interpreter, to let him know that I was present; but I could not understand what he said in return. I remember, that both he and his fellow sufferer laughed immoderately at something that occurred,—I know not what. The next morning one of them silently expired, as did the other on the morning of the 9th day.

The courage, or unconcern, which the people of this country manifest at the approach of death, arises doubtless, in a great measure, from their national manners, wars, and superstitions, which are all in the highest degree, savage and sanguinary. A power over the lives of his slaves is possessed, and exercised too, on very frivolous occasions, without compunction or scruple, by every master of slaves on the Gold coast. Fathers have the like power over their children. In their wars they are bloody and cruel beyond any nation that ever existed; for all such of their captives as they reserve not for slaves, they murder with circumstances of outrageous barbarity; cutting them across the face, and tearing away the under jaw, which they preserve as a trophy, leaving the miserable victims to perish in that condition. I have collected this account from themselves. They tell me, likewise, that whenever a considerable man expires, several of his wives, and a great number of his slaves, are sacrificed at his funeral. This is done say they, that he may be properly attended in the next world. This circumstance has been confirmed to me by

every Gold coast negro that I have interrogated on the subject, and I have inquired of many.\* In a country where executions are so frequent, and human blood is spilt with so little remorse, death must necessarily have lost many of its terrors; and the natives in general, conscious they have no security even for the day that is passing over them, seem prepared for, and resigned to, the fate that probably awaits them. This contempt of death, or

\* The following particulars I collected from some of my own Koromantyn Negroes, whose veracity I had no reason to doubt:—*Clara*, a most faithful well disposed woman, who was brought from the Gold coast to Jamaica the latter end of 1784, relates, “that she was born in a village near Anamaboo; that her father and mother, and their children, (nine in number), were slaves to a great man named *Anamoa*, on whose death she herself, and two of her brothers, (who likewise belong to me), with several others of his slaves, were sold to pay his debts. *That twenty others were killed at his funeral.* I asked her which country she liked best, Jamaica or Guinea? She replied, that Jamaica was the better country, ‘for that people were not killed there, as in Guinea, at the funeral of their masters.’ She informed me also, in answer to some other inquiries, of a remarkable fact, (i. e.), that the natives of the Gold coast give their children the *yaws* (a frightful disorder) by *inoculation*; and she described the manner of performing the operation to be making an incision in the thigh, and putting in some of the infectious matter. I asked her what benefit they expected from this practice? She answered, that by this means their infants had the disorder slightly, and recovered speedily, whereas by catching it at a later time of life, the disease, she said, ‘got into the bone;’ that was her expression.

Cudjoe, aged (as I suppose) about fifty, relates, that he was born in the kingdom of Assiantee, the king or chieftain of which country was named Poo. Cudjoe’s elder brother having been caught in adultery with the wife of a man named Quashee, was adjudged to pay a fine to



indifference about life, they bring with them to the West Indies; but if fortunately they fall into good hands at first, and become well settled, they acquire by degrees other sentiments and notions. Nature resumes her lawful influence over them. With the consciousness of security, the love of existence also, amidst all the evils that attend it in a state of slavery, gains admission into their bosoms. They feel it, and, such is the force of habitual barbarity, seem ashamed of their own weakness. A gentleman of Jamaica visiting a valuable Koroman-

the man he had injured; which not being able to do, he delivered over him (Cudjoe) who was at that time, by his own account, a boy about sixteen, as a compensation; and Quashee immediately carried him off, and soon afterwards sold him to a black slave merchant, who having purchased many others, carried them all to the sea coast, (they were two months on their journey), and sold them to a Captain Reeder, who brought them to Jamaica. I asked him, what right his brother had to sell him? '*Because,*' said he '*my father was dead;* and by his account fathers have an unquestionable right to sell their children, and probably, on the demise of the father, the same power is assumed by the eldest son over the younger branches. He relates further, that the king has the power of life and death, and that executions are very frequent. That when the king or any considerable man dies, a great number of his slaves are sacrificed at his tomb. He pretends not to ascertain any particular number, but remembers perfectly well the death of the old king whom Poco succeeded, and is positively certain, that upwards of one hundred people were slaughtered on that occasion. To convince me that he understood what he said when he mentioned that number, he counted the fingers of both his hands ten times. He saith further, that wars are very frequent; that all able men are compelled to bear arms; and that when they take prisoners, the old and infirm are killed, and the young and able preserved to be sold for slaves.

tyn negro that was sick, and perceiving that he was thoughtful and dejected, endeavoured, by soothing and encouraging language, to raise his drooping spirits. *Massa*, said the negro, (in a tone of self-reproach and conscious degeneracy), *since me come to white man's country me lub (love) life too much!*

Even the children brought from the Gold coast manifest an evident superiority, both in hardiness of frame, and vigour of mind, over all the young people of the same age that are imported from other parts of Africa. The like firmness and intrepidity which are distinguishable in adults of this nation, are visible in their boys at an age which might be thought too tender to receive any lasting impression, either from precept or example.—I have been myself an eye-witness to the truth of this remark in the circumstance I am about to relate. A gentleman of my acquaintance, who had purchased at the same time ten Koromantyn boys, and the like number of Eboes, (the eldest of the whole apparently not more than thirteen years of age), caused them all to be collected and brought before him in my presence, to be marked on the breast. This operation is performed by heating a small silver brand composed of one or two letters, in the flame of spirits of wine, and applying it to the skin, which is previously anointed with sweet oil. The application is instantaneous, and the pain momentary. Nevertheless, it may be easily supposed, that the apparatus must have a frightful appearance

to a child. Accordingly, when the first boy, who happened to be one of the Eboes, and the stoutest of the whole, was led forward to receive the mark, he screamed dreadfully, while his companions of the same nation manifested strong emotions of sympathetic terror. The gentleman stopt his hand; but the Koromantyn boys, laughing aloud, and, immediately coming forward of their own accord, offered their bosoms undauntedly to the brand, and receiving its impression without flinching in the least, snapt their fingers in exultation over the poor Eboes.

One cannot surely but lament, that a people thus naturally emulous and intrepid, should be sunk into so deplorable a state of barbarity and superstition; and that their spirits should ever be broken down by the yoke of slavery! Whatever may be alleged concerning their ferociousness and implacability in their present notions of right and wrong, I am persuaded that they possess qualities, which are capable of, and well deserve cultivation and improvement.—But it is time to conclude my observations on this nation, which I shall do, with some account of their religion; for which my readers are indebted to the researches of an ingenious gentleman of Jamaica, who is well acquainted with their language and manners. Its authenticity has been frequently confirmed to me, on my own inquiries among the Koromantyn negroes themselves.

They believe that *Accompong*, the God of the Heavens, is the creator of all things; a deity of infinite goodness; to whom however they never offer sacrifices, thinking it sufficient to adore him with praise and thanksgiving.

*Assarci* is the God of the Earth; to him they offer the first fruits of the ground, and pour out libations of the liquors they drink to his honour.

*Ipboa* is the God of the Sea; if the arrival of ships which trade upon their coast is delayed, they sacrifice an hog to deprecate the wrath of *Ipboa*.

*Obboney* is a malicious deity, who pervades heaven, earth, and sea; he is the author of all evil, and when his displeasure is signified by the infliction of pestilential disorders, or otherwise, nothing will divert his anger but human sacrifices; which are selected from captives taken in war, or if there be none present, then from their slaves.

Besides the above deities, every family has a peculiar tutelar saint, who is supposed to have been originally a human being like one of themselves, and the first founder of their family; upon the anniversary of whose burial, the whole number of his descendants assemble round his grave, and the oldest man, after offering up praises to *Accompong*, *Assarci*, *Ipboa*, and their tutelar deity, sacrifices a cock or goat, by cutting its throat, and shedding the blood upon the grave. Every head

of an household of the family, next sacrifices a cock, or other animal, in like manner, and as soon as all those who are able to bring sacrifices have made their oblations, the animals which have been killed, are dressed, and a great festival follows.

Among their other superstitions also, must not be omitted their mode of administering an oath of secrecy or purgation.—Human blood, and earth taken from the grave of some near relation, are mixed with water, and given to the party to be sworn, who is compelled to drink the mixture, with an imprecation, that it may cause the belly to burst, and the bones to rot, if the truth be not spoken. This test is frequently administered to their wives, on the suspicion of infidelity, and the resemblance which it bears to the trial of jealousy by the *bitter water* described in the book of Numbers (chap. v.) is a curious and striking circumstance.

I now proceed to the people of Whidah, or Fida. The negroes of this country are called generally in the West Indies *Papaws*, and are unquestionably the most docile and best-disposed slaves that are imported from any part of Africa. Without the fierce and savage manners of the Koromantyn negroes, they are also happily exempt from the timid and desponding temper of the Eboes, who will presently be mentioned. The cheerful acquiescence with which these people apply to the labours of the field, and their constitutional aptitude for such

employment arise, without doubt, from the great attention paid to agriculture in their native country. Bosman speaks with rapture of the improved state of the soil, the number of villages, and the industry, riches, and obliging manners of the natives. He observes, however, that they are much greater thieves than those of the Gold coast, and very unlike them in another respect, namely, in the dread of pain, and the apprehension of death. "They are," says he, "so very apprehensive of death, that they are unwilling to hear it mentioned, for fear *that* alone should hasten their end; and no man dares to speak of death in the presence of the king, or any great man, under the penalty of suffering it himself, as a punishment for his presumption." He relates further, that they are addicted to gaming beyond any people of Africa. All these propensities, if I am rightly informed, are observable in the character of the Papaws, in a state of slavery in the West Indies. That punishment which excites the Koromantyn to rebel, and drives the Ebo negro to suicide, is received by the Papaws as the chastisement of legal authority, to which it is their duty to submit patiently. The case seems to be, that the generality of these people are in a state of absolute slavery in Africa, and, having been habituated to a life of labour, they submit to a change of situation with little reluctance.

Many of the Whidah negroes are found to be circumcised. Whether it be a religious ceremony

common to all the tribes that go under the appellation of Papaws, I know not. It is practised universally by the *Nagoes*; a people that speak the Whidah language; but I have met with negroes from this part of the coast that disavow the practice.

We are now come to the Bight of Benin, comprehending an extent of coast of near 300 English leagues, of which the interior countries are unknown, even by name, to the people of Europe. All the negroes imported from these vast and unexplored regions, except a tribe which are distinguished by the name of *Mocoes*, are called in the West Indies *Eboes*; and in general they appear to be the lowest and most wretched of all the nations of Africa. In complexion they are much yellower than the Gold coast and Whidah negroes; but it is a sickly hue, and their eyes appear as if suffused with bile, even when they are in perfect health. I cannot help observing too, that the conformation of the face, in a great majority of them, very much resembles that of a baboon. I believe indeed there is, in most of the nations of Africa, a greater elongation of the lower jaw, than among the people of Europe; but this distinction I think is more visible among the *Eboes*, than in any other Africans. I mean not however to draw any conclusion of natural inferiority in these people to the rest of the human race, from a circumstance which perhaps is purely accidental, and no more to be considered as a proof of degradation, than the red hair

and high cheek bones of the natives of the north of Europe.

The great objection to the Eboes as slaves, is their constitutional timidity, and despondency of mind; which are so great as to occasion them very frequently to seek, in a voluntary death, a refuge from their own melancholy reflections. They require, therefore, the gentlest and mildest treatment to reconcile them to their situation; but if their confidence be once obtained, they manifest as great fidelity, affection, and gratitude, as can reasonably be expected from men in a state of slavery. The females of this nation are better labourers than the men, probably from having been more hardly treated in Africa.

The depression of spirits which these people seem to be under, on their first arrival in the West Indies, gives them an air of softness and submission, which forms a striking contrast to the frank and fearless temper of the Koromantyn negroes. Nevertheless, the Eboes are in fact more truly savage than any nation of the Gold coast, inasmuch, as many tribes among them, especially the Moco tribe, have been, without doubt, accustomed to the shocking practice of feeding on human flesh. This circumstance I have had attested beyond the possibility of dispute, by an intelligent trust-worthy domestic of the Ebo nation, who acknowledged to me, though with evident shame and reluctance, (having lived many years among the whites), that



he had himself, in his youth, frequently regaled on this horrid banquet: and his account received a shocking confirmation from a circumstance which occurred in the year 1770 in Antigua, where two negroes of the same country were tried for killing and devouring one of their fellow-slaves in that island. They were purchased, a short time before, by a gentleman of the name of Christian, out of a ship from Old Calabar, and I am told were convicted on the clearest evidence.

Of the religious opinions and modes of worship of the Eboes, we know but little; except that, like the inhabitants of Whidah, they pay adoration to certain reptiles, of which the guana (a species of lizard) is in the highest estimation.\* They universally practice circumcision, “ which with some

\* I have been assured by an intelligent person who had visited many parts of Africa, that the Eboes frequently offer up human sacrifices in their worship of this animal. Perhaps the certainty of this may be questioned; but the following anecdote is undoubtedly true. In the year 1787, two of the seamen of a Liverpool ship trading at Bonny, being ashore watering, had the misfortune to kill a guana, as they were rolling a cask to the beach. An outcry was immediately raised among the natives, and the boat's crew were surrounded and seized, and all trade interdicted, until public justice should be satisfied and appeased. The offenders, being carried before the king, or chief man of the place, were adjudged to die. However, the severity of justice being softened by a bribe from the captain, the sentence was at length changed to the following, that they should pay a fine of 700 bars (about £.75) and remain in the country as slaves to the king, until the money should be raised. The captain not being willing to advance so large a sum for the redemption of these poor wretches, sailed without them, and what became of them afterwards, I have not heard.

other of their superstitions (says Purchas) may seem Mahometan, but are more likely to be ancient Ethnic rights; for many countries of Africa admit circumcision, and yet know not, or acknowledge not, Mahometanism; but are either christians, as the Cophti, Abyssinians, or Gentiles. They (the people of Benin) cut or raise the skin with three lines drawn to the navel, esteeming it necessary to salvation.

Next in order to the Whidah negroes, are those from Congo and Angola; whom I consider to have been originally the same people. I can say but little of them that is appropriate and particular; except that they are in general a slender sightly race, of a deep and glossy black, (a tribe of the Congoes excepted, who very nearly resemble the Eboes), and I believe of a disposition naturally mild and docile. They appear to me to be fitter for domestic service than for field labour. They are said however to become expert mechanics; and what is much to their honour, they are supposed to be more strictly honest than many other of the African tribes.

Having thus recited such observations as have occurred to me on contemplating the various African nations in the West Indies separately and distinct from each other, I shall now attempt an estimate of their general character and dispositions, influenced, as undoubtedly they are, in a great degree, by their situation and condition in a state of slave-

ry; circumstances that soon efface the native original impression which distinguishes one nation from another in negroes newly imported, and create a similitude of manners, and a uniformity of character throughout the whole body.

Thus, notwithstanding what has been related of the firmness and courage of the natives of the Gold coast, it is certain, that the negroes in general in our islands (such of them at least as have been any length of time in a state of servitude) are of a distrustful and cowardly disposition. So degrading is the nature of slavery, that fortitude of mind is lost as free agency is restrained. To the same cause, probably, must be imputed their propensity to conceal, or violate the truth; which is so general, that I think the vice of falsehood is one of the most prominent features in their character. If a negro is asked even an indifferent question by his master, he seldom gives an immediate reply; but, affecting not to understand what is said, compels a repetition of the question, that he may have time to consider, not what is the true answer, but what is the most politic one for him to give. The proneness observable in many of them to the vice of theft, has already been noticed; and I am afraid that evil communication makes it almost general.

It is no easy matter, I confess, to discriminate those circumstances which are the result of proximate causes, from those which are the effects of national customs and early habits in savage life; but

I am afraid, that cowardice and dissimulation have been the properties of slavery in all ages, and will continue to be so, to the end of the world. It is a situation that necessarily suppresses many of the best affections of the human heart.—If it calls forth any latent virtues, they are those of sympathy and compassion towards persons in the same condition of life; and accordingly we find that the negroes in general are strongly attached to their countrymen, but above all, to such of their companions as came in the same ship with them from Africa. This is a striking circumstance: the term *shipmate* is understood among them as signifying a relationship of the most endearing nature; perhaps, as recalling the time when the sufferers were cut off together from their common country and kindred, and awakening reciprocal sympathy, from the remembrance of mutual affliction.

But their benevolence, with a very few exceptions, extends no further. The softer virtues are seldom found in the bosom of the enslaved African. Give him sufficient authority, and he becomes the most remorseless of tyrants. Of all the degrees of wretchedness endured by the sons of men, the greatest, assuredly, is the misery which is felt by those who are unhappily doomed to be the slaves of slaves; a most unnatural relation, which sometimes takes place in the sugar plantations; as for instance, when it is found necessary to instruct young negroes in certain trades or handicraft employments. In those cases it is usual to place them in a sort of apprenticeship to such of the old negroes as are

competent to give them instructions ; but the harshness with which these people enforce their authority, is extreme ; and it serves, in some degree, to lessen the indignation which a good mind necessarily feels at the abuses of power by the whites, to observe, that the negroes themselves, when invested with command, give full play to their revengeful passions ; and exercise all the wantonness of cruelty without restraint or remorse.

The same observation may be made concerning their conduct towards the inferior animal creation. Their treatment of cattle under their direction is brutal beyond belief. Even the useful and social qualities of the dog secure to him no kind usage from an African master. Although there is scarce a negro that is not attended by one, they seem to maintain these poor animals solely for the purpose of having an object whereon to exercise their caprice and cruelty. And, by the way, it is a singular circumstance, and not the less true for being somewhat ludicrous, that the animal itself, when the property of a negro, betrays at first sight that such is his condition ; for losing his playful propensities, he seems to feel the inferiority of his station, and actually crouches before such of his own species as are used to better company. With the manners, he acquires also the cowardly, thievish, and sullen disposition of his African tyrant.

• But, notwithstanding what has been related of the selfish and unrelenting temper of the enslaved

Africans, they are said to be highly susceptible of the passion of love. It has even been supposed that they are more subject to, and sensible of its impression, than the natives of colder climates. "The negro (says Dr. Robertson) glows with all the warmth of desire natural to his climate." "The tender passion (says another writer) is the most ardent one in the breast of the enslaved African.—It is the only source of his joys, and his only solace in affliction." Monsieur de Chanvalon (the historian of Martinico) expatiates on the same idea with great eloquence.—"Love, says he, the child of nature, to whom she intrusts her own preservation; whose progress no difficulties can retard, and who triumphs even in chains; that principle of life, as necessary to the harmony of the universe, as the air which we breathe, inspires and invigorates all the thoughts and purposes of the negro, and lightens the yoke of his slavery. No perils can abate, nor impending punishments restrain, the ardour of his passion.—He leaves his master's habitation, and traversing the wilderness by night, disregarding its noxious inhabitants, seeks a refuge from his sorrows, in the bosom of his faithful and affectionate mistress."

All this however is the language of poetry and the visions of romance. The poor negro has no leisure in a state of slavery to indulge a passion, which, however descended, is nourished by idleness. If by love, is meant that tender attachment to one individual object, which, in civilized life, is

desire heightened by sentiment, and refined by delicacy, I doubt if it ever found a place in an African bosom.—The negroes in the West Indies, both men and women, would consider it as the greatest exertion of tyranny, and the most cruel of all hardships, to be compelled to confine themselves to a single connection with the other sex; and I am persuaded, that any attempt to restrain their present licentious and dissolute manners, by introducing the marriage ceremony among them, as is strenuously recommended by many persons in Great Britain, would be utterly impracticable to any good purpose. Perhaps it may be thought that the negroes are not altogether reduced to so deplorable a state of slavery, as is commonly represented, when it is known, that they boldly claim and exercise a right of disposing of themselves in this respect, according to their own will and pleasure, without any control from their masters.

That passion, therefore, to which (dignified by the name of love) is ascribed the power of softening all the miseries of slavery, is mere animal desire, implanted by the great author of all things for the preservation of the species. This the negroes, without doubt, possess in common with the rest of the animal creation, and they indulge it as inclination prompts, in an almost promiscuous intercourse with the other sex; or at least in temporary connections, which they form without ceremony, and dissolve without reluctance. When age indeed begins to mitigate the ardour, and lessen

the fickleness of youth, many of them form attachments, which, strengthened by habit, and endeared by the consciousness of mutual imbecility, produce a union for life. It is not uncommon to behold a venerable couple of this stamp, who, tottering under the load of years, contribute to each other's comfort with a cheerful assiduity which is at once amiable and affecting.

The situation of the aged among the negroes is indeed commonly such as to make them some amends for the hardships and sufferings of their youth. The labour required of the men is seldom any thing more than to guard the provision grounds; and the women are chiefly employed in attending the children, in nursing the sick, or in other easy avocations; but their happiness chiefly arises from the high veneration in which old age is held by the negroes in general, and this I consider as one of the few pleasing traits in their character. In addressing such of their fellow-servants as are any ways advanced in years, they prefix to their names the appellation of parent, as *Ta Quaco*, and *Ma Quasheba*; *Ta* and *Ma*, signifying father and mother, by which designation they mean to convey not only the idea of filial reverence, but also that of esteem and fondness. Neither is the regard thus displayed towards the aged, confined to outward ceremonies and terms of respect alone. It is founded on an active principle of native benevolence, furnishing one of the few exceptions to their general unrelenting and selfish character. The whole body of



negroes on a plantation must be reduced to a deplorable state of wretchedness, if, at any time, they suffer their aged companions to want the common necessaries of life, or even many of its comforts, as far as they can procure them. They seem to me to be actuated on these occasions by a kind of involuntary impulse, operating as a primitive law of nature, which scorns to wait the cold dictates of reason: among them, it is the exercise of a common duty, which courts no observation, and looks for no applause.\*

Among other propensities and qualities of the negroes must not be omitted their loquaciousness. They are as fond of exhibiting set speeches, as orators by profession; but it requires a considerable share of patience to hear them throughout; for they commonly make a long preface before they come to the point: beginning with a tedious enumeration of their past services and hardships. They dwell with peculiar energy (if the facts admits it) on the number of children they have presented to

\* The greatest affront (says Mr. Long) that can be offered to a negro, is to curse his father and mother, or any of his progenitors. It may not be improper in this place to add, that many of the negroes attain to great longevity.—In February 1792, a black woman of the name of Flora Gale, died at the very extraordinary age of 120, at Savanna-la-Mar in Jamaica. She remembered perfectly well the great earthquake in 1692, which proved so fatal to Port Royal. She left a numerous progeny of children, grand and great-grand children, and it is remarkable, that she always refused to be baptized, assigning for reason her desire to have a grand negro dance at her funeral, according to the custom of Africa: a ceremony never allowed in Jamaica at the burial of such as have been christened.

*massa* (*master*), after which they recapitulate some of the instances of particular kindness shewn them by their owner or employer, adducing these also as proofs of their own merit; it being evident they think, that no such kindness can be gratuitous. This is their usual exordium, as well when they bring complaints against others, as when they are called upon to defend themselves; and it is in vain to interrupt either plaintiff or defendant. Yet I have sometimes heard them convey much stronger meaning in a narrow compass: I have been surprised by such figurative expressions, and (notwithstanding their ignorance of abstract terms) such pointed sentences, as would have reflected no disgrace on poets and philosophers. One instance recurs to my memory, of so significant a turn of expression in a common labouring negro, who could have had no opportunity of improvement from the conversation of white people, as is alone, I think, sufficient to demonstrate that negroes have minds very capable of observation. It was a servant who had brought me a letter, and, while I was preparing an answer, had, through weariness and fatigue, fallen asleep on the floor: as soon as the papers were ready, I directed him to be awakened; but this was no easy matter. When the negro who attempted to awake him, exclaimed in the usual jargon, *you no hear massa call you?* that is, don't you hear master call you? *Sleep*, replied the poor fellow, looking up, and returning composedly to his slumbers, *sleep hab no massa.* (Sleep has no master.)

Of those imitative arts in which perfection can be attained only in an improved state of society, it is natural to suppose that the negroes have but little knowledge. An opinion prevails in Europe, that they possess organs peculiarly adapted to the science of music; but this I believe is an ill-founded idea. In vocal harmony they display neither variety nor compass. Nature seems in this respect to have dealt more penuriously by them than towards the rest of the human race. As practical musicians, some of them, by great labour and careful instruction, become sufficiently expert to bear an under part in a public concert; but I do not recollect ever to have seen or heard of a negro who could truly be called a fine performer on any capital instrument. In general, they prefer a loud and long continued noise to the finest harmony, and frequently consume the whole night in *beating on a board with a stick*. This is in fact one of their chief musical instruments; besides which, they have the *Banja* or *Merriwang*, the *Dundo*, and the *Goombay*; all of African origin. The first is an imperfect kind of violincello; except that it is played on by the finger like the guitar; producing a dismal monotony of four notes. The *Dundo* is precisely a tabor; and the *Goombay* is a rustic drum; being formed of the trunk of a hollow tree, one end of which is covered with a sheep's skin. From such instruments nothing like a regular tune can be expected, nor is it attempted.

Their songs are commonly *impromptu*, and there are among them individuals who resemble the *improvisatore*, or extempore bards, of Italy; but I cannot say much for their poetry. Their tunes in general are characteristic of their national manners; those of the Eboes being soft and languishing; of the Koromantyns heroic and martial. At the same time, there is observable, in most of them, a predominant melancholy, which, to a man of feeling, is sometimes very affecting.

At their merry meetings, and midnight festivals, they are not without ballads of another kind, adapted to such occasions; and here they give full scope to a talent for ridicule and derision, which is exercised not only against each other, but also, not unfrequently, at the expense of their owner or employer; but most part of their songs at these places are fraught with obscene ribaldry, and accompanied with dances in the highest degree licentious and wanton.

At other times, more especially at the burial of such among them as were respected in life, or venerable through age, they exhibit a sort of *Pyrrhick* or warlike dance, in which their bodies are strongly agitated by running, leaping, and jumping, with many violent and frantic gestures and contortions. Their funeral songs too are all of the heroic or martial cast; affording some colour to the prevalent notion, that the negroes consider death not only as a welcome and happy release from the

calamities of their condition, but also as a passport to the place of their nativity; a deliverance which, while it frees them from bondage, restores them to the society of their dearest, long-lost, and lamented natives in Africa. But I am afraid that this, like other European notions concerning the negroes, is the dream of poetry; the sympathetic effusion of a fanciful or too credulous an imagination.\* The negroes, in general, are so far from courting death, that, among such of them as have resided any length of

\* Perhaps it was some such imagination that gave rise to the following little poem, the production of early youth, and now published for the first time.

ODE ON SEEING A NEGRO FUNERAL.

MAHALI dies! O'er yonder plain  
His bier is borne: The sable train  
By youthful virgin's led:  
Daughters of injur'd Afric, say,  
Why raise ye thus th' heroic lay,  
Why triumph o'er, the dead?

No tear bedews their fixed eye:  
'Tis now the hero lives they cry;—  
Releas'd from slav'ry's chain:  
Beyond the billowy surge he flies,  
And joyful views his native skies,  
And long lost bowers again.

On Koromantyn's palmy soil  
Heroic deeds and martial toil,  
Shall fill each glorious day;  
Love, fond and faithful, crown thy nights,  
And bliss unbought, unmix'd delights,  
Past cruel wrongs repay.

time in the West Indies, suicide is much less frequent than among the free-born, happy, and civilized inhabitants of Great Britain. With them, equally with the whites, nature shrinks back at approaching dissolution; and when, at any time, sudden or untimely death overtakes any of their companions, instead of rejoicing at such an event, they never fail to impute it to the malicious contrivances and diabolical arts of some practitioners in *Obeah*,

Nor lordly pride's stern avarice there,  
 Alone shall nature's bounties share;  
 To all her children free.—  
 For thee, the dulcet Reed shall spring,  
 His balmy bowl the Coco bring,  
 Th' Anana bloom for thee.

The thunder, hark! 'Tis Afric's God,  
 He wakes, he lifts th' avenging rod,  
 And speeds th' impatient hours:  
 From Niger's golden stream he calls;  
 Fair Freedom comes,—oppression falls;  
 And vengeance yet is ours!

Now, Christian, now, in wild dismay,  
 Of Afric's proud revenge the prey,  
 Go roam th' affrighted wood;—  
 Transform'd to tigers, fierce and fell,  
 Thy race shall prowl with savage yell,  
 And glut their rage for blood!

But soft,—beneath yon tam'rind shade,  
 Now let the hero's limbs be laid;  
 Sweet slumbers bless the brave:  
 There shall the breezes shed perfume,  
 Nor livid lightnings blast the bloom  
 That decks Mahali's grave.

a term of African origin, signifying sorcery or witchcraft, the prevalence of which, among many of their countrymen, all the negroes most firmly and implicitly believe. We may conclude, therefore, that their funeral songs and ceremonies are commonly nothing more than the dissonance of savage barbarity and riot; as remote from the fond superstition to which they are ascribed, as from the sober dictates of a rational sorrow.

Having mentioned the practice of *Obeah*, the influence of which has so powerful an effect on the negroes as to bias, in a considerable degree, their general conduct, dispositions, and manners, I shall conclude the present chapter, by presenting to my readers the following very curious account of this extraordinary superstition, and its effects: it was transmitted by the agent of Jamaica to the lords of the committee of privy council, and by them subjoined to their report on the slave trade; and, if I mistake not, the public are chiefly indebted for it to the diligent researches, and accurate pen, of Mr. Long.

“ The term *Obeah*, *Obiah*, or *Obia*, (for it is variously written), we conceive to be the adjective, and *Obe* or *Obi* the noun substantive; and that by the words *Obia*-men or women, are meant those who practise *Obi*. The origin of the term we should consider as of no importance in our answer to the questions proposed, if, in search of it, we were not led to disquisitions that are highly

gratifying to curiosity. From the learned Mr. Bryant's\* commentary upon the word *Oph*, we obtain a very probable etymology of the term—"A serpent in the Egyptian language was called *Ob* or *Aub*."—"Obion is still the Egyptian name for a serpent."—"Moses, in the name of God, forbids the Israelites ever to inquire of the demon *Ob*, which is translated in our Bible, Charmer, or Wizard, Devinator, aut Sorcilegus."—"The woman at Endor is called *Oub* or *Ob*, translated Pythonissa; and *Oubaios* (he cites from *Horus Apollo*) was the name of the Basilisk or Royal Serpent, emblem of the sun, and an ancient oracular Deity of Africa." This derivation, which applies to one particular sect, the remnant probably of a very celebrated religious order in remote ages, is now become in Jamaica the general term to denote those Africans who in that island practise witchcraft or sorcery, comprehending also the class of what are called Myal-men, or those who, by means of a narcotic potion, made with the juice of an herb (said to be the branched *Calalue* or species of *Solanum*) which occasions a trance or profound sleep of a certain duration, endeavour to convince the deluded spectators of their power to re-animate dead bodies.

"As far as we are able to decide from our own experience and information when we lived in the island, and from the current testimony of all the

\* Mythology, vol. i. p. 48, 475, and 478.



negroes we have ever conversed with on the subject, the professors of *Obi* are, and always were, natives of Africa, and none other; and they have brought the science with them from thence to Jamaica, where it is so universally practised, that we believe there are few of the large estates possessing native Africans, which have not one or more of them. The oldest and most crafty are those who usually attract the greatest devotion and confidence; those whose hoary heads, and a somewhat peculiarly harsh and forbidding in their aspect, together with some skill in plants of the medicinal and poisonous species, have qualified them for successful imposition upon the weak and credulous. The negroes in general, whether Africans or Creoles, revere, consult, and fear them; to these oracles they resort, and with the most implicit faith, upon all occasions, whether for the cure of disorders, the obtaining revenge for injuries or insults, the conciliating of favour, the discovery and punishment of the thief or the adulterer, and the prediction of future events. The trade which these imposters carry on is extremely lucrative; they manufacture and sell their *Obies* adapted to different cases, and at different prices. A veil of mystery is studiously thrown over their incantations, to which the midnight hours are allotted, and every precaution is taken to conceal them from the knowledge and discovery of the white people. The deluded negroes, who thoroughly believe in their supernatural power, become the willing accomplices in this concealment, and the stoutest among them tremble at the

very sight of the ragged bundle, the bottle, or the egg-shells, which are stuck in the thatch, or hung over the door of a hut, or upon the branch of a plantain tree, to deter marauders. In cases of poison, the natural effects of it are by the ignorant negroes, ascribed entirely to the potent workings of *Obi*. The wiser negroes hesitate to reveal their suspicions, through a dread of incurring the terrible vengeance which is fulminated by the *Obeah-men* against any who should betray them: it is very difficult, therefore, for the white proprietor, to distinguish the *Obeah professor* from any other negro upon his plantation; and so infatuated are the blacks in general, that but few instances occur of their having assumed courage enough to impeach these miscreants. With minds so firmly prepossessed, they no sooner find *Obi set for them* near the door of their house, or in the path which leads to it, than they give themselves up for lost. When a negro is robbed of a fowl or a hog, he applies directly to the *Obeah* man or woman; it is then made known among his fellow blacks, that *Obi is set* for the thief; and as soon as the latter hears the dreadful news, his terrified imagination begins to work, no resource is left but in the superior skill of some more eminent *Obeah-man* of the neighbourhood, who may counteract the magical operations of the other; but if no one can be found of higher rank and ability, or if, after gaining such an ally, he should still fancy himself affected, he presently falls into a decline, under the incessant horror of impending calamities. The slightest painful sensa-

tion in the head, the bowels, or any other part, any casual loss or hurt, confirms his apprehensions, and he believes himself the devoted victim of an invisible and irresistible agency. Sleep, appetite, and cheerfulness forsake him, his strength decays, his disturbed imagination is haunted without respite, his features wear the settled gloom of despondency: dirt, or any other unwholesome substance, become his only food, he contracts a morbid habit of body, and gradually sinks into the grave. A negro, who is taken ill, inquires of the *Obeah-man* the cause of his sickness, whether it will prove mortal or not, and within what time he shall die or recover? The oracle generally ascribes the distemper to the malice of some particular person by name, and advises to set *Obi* for that person; but if no hopes are given of recovery, immediate despair takes place, which no medicine can remove, and death is the certain consequence. Those anomalous symptoms, which originate from causes deeply rooted in the mind, such as the terrors of *Obi*, or from poisons, whose operation is slow and intricate, will baffle the skill of the ablest physician.

“ Considering the multitude of occasions which may provoke the negroes to exercise the powers of *Obi* against each other, and the astonishing influence of this superstition upon their minds, we cannot but attribute a very considerable portion of the annual mortality among the negroes of Jamaica to this fascinating mischief.

“The *Obi* is usually composed of a farrago of materials, most of which are enumerated in the Jamaica law,\* viz. blood, feathers, parrots beaks, dogs teeth, alligators teeth, broken bottles, grave dirt, rum, and egg-shells.”

With a view to illustrate the description we have given of this practice, and its common effects, we have subjoined a few examples out of the very great number which have occurred in Jamaica; not that they are peculiar to that island only, for we believe similar examples may be found in other West India colonies. *Perc Labat*, in his history of Martinico, has mentioned some which are very remarkable.†

“It may seem extraordinary, that a practice alleged to be so frequent in Jamaica should not have received an earlier check from the legislature. The truth is, that the skill of some negroes, in the art of poisoning, has been noticed ever since the colonists became much acquainted with them. Sloane and Barham, who practised physic in Jamaica in the last century, have mentioned particular instances of it. The secret and insidious manner in which this crime is generally perpetrated, makes the legal proof of it extremely difficult. Suspitions therefore have been frequent, but detections rare: these murderers have *sometimes* been brought

\* Passed 1760.

† Tome ii. p. 59. 447. 499. 506.

to justice, but it is reasonable to believe that a far greater number have escaped with impunity. In regard to the other and more common tricks of *Obi*, such as hanging up feathers, bottles, egg-shells, &c. &c. in order to intimidate negroes of a thievish disposition from plundering huts, hog-styes, or provision grounds, these were laughed at by the white inhabitants as harmless stratagems, contrived by the more sagacious, for deterring the more simple and superstitious blacks, and serving for much the same purpose, as the scare-crows which are in general used among our English farmers and gardeners. But in the year 1760, when a very formidable insurrection of the Koromantyn or Gold coast negroes broke out in the parish of St. Mary, and spread through almost every other district of the island, an old Koromantyn negro, the chief instigator and oracle of the insurgents in that parish, who had administered the fetish or solemn oath to the conspirators, and furnished them with a magical preparation which was to render them invulnerable, was fortunately apprehended, convicted, and hung up with all his feathers and trumperies about him; and his execution struck the insurgents with a general panic, from which they never afterwards recovered. The examinations which were taken at that period, first opened the eyes of the public to the very dangerous tendency of the *Obeah* practices, and gave birth to the law which was then enacted for their suppression and punishment. But, neither the terror of this law, the strict investigation which has ever since been made after the pro-

fessors of *Obi*, nor the many examples of those who from time to time have been hanged or transported, have hitherto produced the desired effect. We conclude, therefore, that either this sect, like others in the world, has flourished under persecution; or, that fresh supplies are annually introduced from the African seminaries.



*The following is the paper referred to in the preceding account.*

#### OBEAH PRACTICE.

WE have the following narratives from a planter in Jamaica, a gentleman of the strictest veracity who is now in London, and ready to attest the truth of them.

“ Upon returning to Jamaica in the year 1775, he found that a great many of his negroes had died during his absence; and that of such as remained alive, at least one-half were debilitated, bloated, and in a very deplorable condition. The mortality continued after his arrival, and two or three were frequently buried in one day; others were taken ill, and began to decline under the same symptoms. Every means were tried by medicines, and the most careful nursing, to preserve the lives of the feeblest; but in spite of all his endeavours, this de-

population went on for above a twelvemonth longer, with more or less intermission, and without his being able to ascertain the real cause, though the *Obeah practice* was strongly suspected, as well by himself, as by the doctor, and other white persons upon the plantation, as it was known to have been very common in that part of the island, and particularly among the negroes of the *Papaw* or *Popo* country. Still he was unable to verify his suspicions, because the patients constantly denied their having any thing to do with persons of that order, or any knowledge of them. At length a negress, who had been ill for some time, came one day, and informed him, that feeling it was impossible for her to live much longer, she thought herself bound in duty, before she died, to impart a very great secret, and acquaint him with the true cause of her disorder, in hopes that the disclosure might prove the means of stopping that mischief, which had already swept away such a number of her fellow-slaves. She proceeded to say, that her step-mother (a woman of the *Popo* country, above eighty years old, but still hale and active) had put *Obi upon her*, as she had also done upon those who had lately died; and that the old woman had practised *Obi* for as many years past as she could remember.

“ The other negroes of the plantation no sooner heard of this impeachment, than they ran in a body to their master, and confirmed the truth of it, adding, that she had carried on this business ever

since her arrival from Africa, and was the terror of the whole neighbourhood.—Upon this he repaired directly, with six white servants, to the old woman's house, and forcing open the door, observed the whole inside of the roof (which was of thatch), and every crevice of the walls, stuck with the implements of her trade, consisting of rags, feathers, bones of cats, and a thousand other articles. Examining further, a large earthen pot or jar, close covered, was found concealed under her bed.—It contained a prodigious quantity of round balls of earth or clay of various dimensions, large and small, whitened on the outside, and variously compounded, some with hair and rags, or feathers of all sorts, and strongly bounded with twine; others blended with the upper section of the skulls of cats, or stuck round with cats teeth and claws, or with human or dogs teeth, and some glass beads of different colours; there were also, a great many egg-shells filled with a viscous or gummy substance, the qualities of which he neglected to examine, and many little bags stuffed with a variety of articles, the particulars of which cannot at this distance of time be recollected. The house was instantly pulled down, and with the whole of its contents committed to the flames, amidst the general acclamations of all his other negroes. In regard to the old woman, he declined bringing her to trial under the law of the island, which would have punished her with death; but, from a principle of humanity, delivered her into the hands of a party of Spaniards, who, (as she was thought not incapable of doing



some trifling kind of work), were very glad to accept and carry her with them to Cuba. From the moment of her departure, his negroes seemed all to be animated with new spirits, and the maldy spread no farther among them. The total of his losses in the course of about fifteen years preceding the discovery, and imputable solely to the *Obeah practice*, he estimates at least at one hundred negroes."

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### OBEAH TRIALS.

" Having received some further information upon this subject from another Jamaica gentleman, who sat upon *two* trials, we beg leave to deliver the same in his own words, as a supplement to what we have already had the honour of submitting.

" In the year 1760, the influence of the professors of the *Obeah art* was such, as to induce a great many of the negro slaves in Jamaica to engage in the rebellion which happened in that year, and which gave rise to the law which was then made against the practice of *Obi*.

" Assurance was given to these deluded people, that they were to become invulnerable; and in or-

der to render them so, the *Obeah-men* furnished them with a powder, with which they were to rub themselves.

“ In the first engagement with the rebels, nine of them were killed, and many prisoners taken; amongst the latter was one very intelligent fellow, who offered to disclose many important matters, on condition that his life should be spared; which was promised. He then related the active part which the negroes, known among them by the name of *Obeah-men*, had taken in propagating the insurrection; one of whom was thereupon apprehended, tried, (for rebellious conspiracy), convicted, and sentenced to death.

*N. B.* This was the Koromantyn *Obeah-man* alluded to in our first paper.

“ At the place of execution, he bid defiance to the executioner, telling him, that it was not in the power of the white people to kill him.” And the negroes (spectators) were greatly perplexed when they saw him expire. Upon other *Obeah-men*, who were apprehended at that time, various experiments were made with electrical machines and magic lanterns, but with very little effect, except on one, who, after receiving some very severe shocks, acknowledged that his master's *Obi* exceeded his own.

“ The gentleman from whom we have this account, remembers having sat *twice* on trials of

*Obeah-men*, who were both convicted of selling their *Obeah preparations*, which had occasioned the death of the parties to whom they had been administered; notwithstanding which, the lenity of their judges prevailed so far, that they were only punished with transportation. To prove the fact, two witnesses were deemed necessary, with corroborating circumstances."

## CHAPTER IV.

*Means of obtaining slaves in Africa.—Observations thereon.—Objections to a direct and immediate abolition of the trade by the British nation only.—The probable consequences of such a measure, both in Africa and the West Indies, considered.—Disproportions of sexes in the number of slaves annually exported from Africa.—Causes thereof.—Mode of transporting negroes to the West Indies, and regulations recently established by act of parliament.—Effect of those regulations.*

**I**T hath been observed in a former chapter, that no certain and precise account is easily to be obtained, of the means by which the market for slaves is annually kept up and supported in Africa. The several instances that are given of slavery arising from captivity in war, delinquency and debt, seem inadequate to so regular and abundant a supply. It is difficult to imagine, that casual contributions of this kind can possibly furnish an annual export of

74,000.\* Having an opportunity, a few years ago, of consulting a very intelligent person on this point, who had visited many parts of the coast, and appeared to be a man of veracity and candour, I received from him, in writing, an answer which I shall present to my readers *verbatim*; and subjoin such further information as I have been able to collect. The answer which I received, was given in the words following:—"In all parts of the coast, and I apprehend it to be the same inland, the body of the people are in a state of absolute and unlimited slavery; their children are born to no other inheritance, and are liable to be sold by their owners as they think proper. Most parts of the coast differ in their governments; some are absolute monarchies, while others draw near to an aristocracy. In both, the authority of the chief or chiefs is unlimited, extending to life, and it is exercised as often as criminal cases require, unless death is commuted into slavery; in which case the offender is sold, and if the shipping will not buy the criminal, he is immediately put to death. Fathers of

\* Besides which, great numbers are supplied from the nations bordering on the rivers of Senegal and Gambia, for the emperor of Morocco and the states of Barbary. Caravans also travel from thence across the continent to Upper Egypt with considerable supplies of negroes, some of which are sent afterwards to Constantinople. A very curious and interesting account of this traffic is given in the report of the lords of the privy council. Great numbers of slaves are likewise sent from Mozambique, and the ports on the eastern coast, to Persia, Goa, and other parts of the East Indies. Hence it has been calculated that Africa is drained annually of not less than 150,000 of its natives.

free condition have power to sell their children, but this power is but very seldom enforced. I never knew an instance of it but once, and then the father was so execrated by his neighbours, for the act of selling a son and daughter, that he shortly afterwards fell into a state of despondency and died. The family was of some distinction, and the son and daughter were bought by a friendly captain, who I know afterwards gave freedom to one of them, and I believe he gave it to both. I never knew another instance of this kind, nor do I believe there is one slave in a thousand procured in this way. Neither do I imagine there are many procured by wars or intestine broils. The truth is, the bulk of the people are born slaves to great men, reared as such, held as property, and as property sold. There are, indeed, many circumstances by which a free man may become a slave: such as being in debt, and not able to pay; and in some of such cases, if the debt be large, not only the debtor, but his family likewise, become the slaves of his creditors, and may be sold. Adultery is commonly punished in the same manner; both the offending parties being sold, and the purchase money paid to the injured husband. *Obi*, or pretended witchcraft (in which all the negroes firmly believe, and it is generally accompanied with the crime of poisoning) is another, and a very common offence, for which slavery is adjudged the lawful punishment; and it extends to all the family of the offender. There are various other crimes which subject the offender and his children to be sold; and it is more than probable, that if there were no

buyers, the poor wretches would be murdered without mercy."

Such is the account which I received, and it is confirmed by several of the witnesses that were examined by the committee of the privy council, and by others that appeared before the house of commons; but it is contradicted in some material circumstances by other gentlemen, whose examinations were taken at the same time, and to whose authority much respect is due. Mr. Penny asserts, that although three fourths of the inhabitants of the windward coast are slaves to the other fourth, yet, that these local and domestic slaves are never sold, unless for crimes. He is of opinion, that in no country, either in the maritime districts or in the interior parts of Africa, are slaves bred for sale, but that most of those which are disposed of to the Europeans, are sold in consequence of delinquency, or captivity in war. The same, or nearly the same, account is given of the Fantyn nation by Mr. Norris; who observes, that "a considerable portion of the community are persons born slaves, but that these have peculiar privileges, and enjoy many advantages, which the slaves of the neighbouring countries do not, and cannot be sold at the caprice of their masters." His opinion is, that the number of slaves furnished in the Fantyn country (about 2000 annually) is made up by delinquency and debt.\*

\* Several other witnesses speak of the privileges which attach to domestic slaves in Africa, but it is observable that many of these ad-

Under such contradictory information, it occurred to me, during my residence in Jamaica, to examine many of the negroes themselves. I mean negroes newly arrived from Africa; for from those who have resided any length of time in the West Indies, it is difficult to obtain, even to inquiries of an indifferent nature, such answers as carry with them conviction of their truth. It is seldom, for instance, that any Guinea negro will acknowledge that he was in a state of slavery in his native country. Observing the respect and pre-eminence allowed to wealth and consequence among the whites, and the privileges which attach to freedom in the West Indies among those of his own colour, who are born or rendered free, he is tempted, whether justly or not, to assert his claim to some degree of consideration from his past, if not from his present condition; and it is a natural and excusable propensity. Conceiving therefore that the truth might be best obtained from negroes recently imported, I inquired of many young people, from different parts of Africa, concerning the circumstances of their captivity and sale, and, having reduced their information to writing, I interrogated many of them again on the same subject, after an interval of several months. If the same account was given

mit, and not one I believe denies, that the African master has the power of putting such slaves to death, with impunity, whenever he thinks proper; and it will presently be shewn from the testimony of some of the negroes themselves, that it is a mistake to suppose the master cannot sell them at pleasure.



precisely by the same people a second time, I commonly considered it as grounded in truth. On other occasions I have examined brothers and sisters apart. If their information agreed in minute particulars, I could have no reason to suspect them of falsehood. Of five and twenty young persons of both sexes whom I thus interrogated, fifteen frankly declared that they were born to slavery, and were either sold to pay the debts, or bartered away to supply the wants of their owners. Five were secretly kidnapped in the interior country, and sold to black merchants, who conveyed them from an immense distance to the sea coast, and sold them to the ship masters that brought them to Jamaica. The other five appeared to have fallen victims in some of those petty wars, which it is probable, rapacity and revenge reciprocally instigate throughout the whole continent of Africa.\* On

\* Perhaps the reader will not be displeas'd to be presented with a few of these examinations, as they were taken down at the time, and without any view to publication.

*Adam*, (a Congo), a boy as I guess about fourteen, his country name *Sarri*, came from a vast distance inland, was waylaid and stole, in the path about three miles from his own village, by one of his countrymen. It was early in the morning, and the man hid him all day in the woods, and march'd him in the night. He was conducted in this manner for a month, and then sold to another black man for a gun, some powder and shot, and a quantity of salt. He was sold a second time for a keg of brandy. His last mentioned purchaser bought several other boys in the same manner, and when he had collected twenty, sent them down to the sea coast, where they were sold to a captain of a ship. He relates further, that his father, *Scindia Quante*, was a chief

such occasions, the young and the able are carried into captivity by the victors, and the aged and infirm commonly murdered on the spot. By these means, and the commutation of death into slavery for crimes real and pretended, are the nations of Europe supplied; and it cannot surely be a question, amongst a humane and enlightened people, concerning the injustice of a traffic thus supported. To attempt its defence in all cases, were to offer an insult to the common sense of mankind, and an outrage on the best feelings of our nature. Yet a

or captain under the king, and a great warrior, and had taken many people, whom he sold as slaves.

*Qyaw* and *Qyamina* (brothers) from the Gold coast, one of them, as I guess, about twenty years old, the other eighteen, were born slaves to a man named *Banasou*, who had a great many other slaves, and sold these two to the captain that brought them to Jamaica. On being asked for what cause their master sold them, they supposed the question implied a charge against them of misconduct, and one of them replied with great quickness, that they were not the only slaves that were sold in Guinea without having been guilty of any crime: their master, they said, owed money, and sold them to pay his debts.

*Afba*, a Gold coast girl, aged about fifteen, was a slave to a man named *Qyamina Yati*. Her master sold her and two others to the same captain, for a quantity of linen and other goods.

*Yumousa*, a *Chamba* youth, about sixteen, was a slave to a person named *Soubadou*; who sold him, together with a cow, for a gun, a quantity of other goods, and some brandy.

*Oliver*, from *Assiante*—his country name *Sang*—a young man, as I guess, about twenty-two or twenty-three years of age. His father was a free man, a carpenter—lived in a village far from the sea. The

good mind may honestly derive some degree of consolation, in considering that all such of the wretched victims as were slaves in Africa, are, by being sold to the whites, removed to a situation infinitely more desirable, even in its worst state, than that of the best and most favoured slaves in their native country. It is, on all hands, admitted that the condition of those poor people, under their own governments, is the most deplorable that we can conceive a human creature to be subject to. They have no security for property, nor protection for their persons; they exist at the will and caprice of

village was attacked by a party of Fantees, who came in the night, and set fire to the houses, and killed most of the inhabitants with guns and cutlasses—particularly the old. The young people they took prisoners, and afterwards sold him and two others, for a piece of gold called *sica*, to a black merchant who carried them to the Fantee country.—He was afterwards sold or transferred over to six different black purchasers; the last of whom carried him down to the sea coast, and sold him on board a ship.—Was much frightened at the sight of white men, and thought he was to be eaten.

*Esther* relates that she was born in the Ebo country, about one day's journey from the sea coast, where her grandmother lived, to whom she was sent on a visit by her father. While there, the village was attacked by a body of negroes (she knows not of what country, nor on what account) on whose approach she and all the women were sent into the woods, where a party of the enemy found them, and carried away all such as were able to travel. The old, and those who were averse to remove, were put to death; her grandmother among the rest. The third day she was sold to the white people. She has many marks about the chest, which she appeals to as a proof of free birth, and asserts that her father had a plantation of corn, yams, and tobacco, and possessed many slaves.

a master, who is not amenable to any law for his ill treatment of them, and who may slaughter them at his pleasure, He has in truth but very little interest in their preservation, having no means of employing them in profitable labour, and when provisions are scarce, he has even strong inducement to destroy them.

The chief objection to the slave trade arises from the great encouragement which, I fear, it unavoidably holds forth to acts of violence, oppression and fraud, among the natives towards each other. Without doubt, this is the strong part of the petitioners case; and I admit it to be so, with that frankness which I trust no honest West Indian will condemn. At the same time it deserves very serious consideration, whether a direct and immediate discontinuance of the trade by the British nation only (the other nations of Europe continuing to purchase as usual) would afford a remedy to those miseries, the existence of which every enlightened mind cannot but admit, and every good mind must deplore; or rather, whether a partial and sudden abolition (so inveterate is the evil) would not aggravate them in a high degree.

In considering this question, we must have in view not only the circumstances attending the slave trade on the coast, but also the situation of the enslaved negroes already in the Sugar colonies. On the first head it is to be inquired, whether, supposing Great Britain should abandon her share in

this commerce, a less number of slaves would in consequence thereof be brought down for sale in Africa? Admiral Edwards, who served on the station, and was on shore seven months at a time, is decidedly of opinion that, so long as other nations continue to purchase, the number would not be diminished in the least;\* and a little reflection may perhaps convince us, that his opinion is founded in reason, and the nature of the case. Among the commercial nations of Europe, it is true, that in most cases of purchase and barter, the demand and the supply grow up together and continue to regulate and support each other: but these are the arrangements of well-informed and civilized men. In Africa, it is apprehended, the slave merchants possess no ideas of this kind, neither does the nature of their traffic allow of such regulations. When two African states are at war with each other, the aim of each undoubtedly is to destroy as many enemies, or seize on as great a number of captives as possible. Of these last unfortunate victims, all such as are able to travel, are commonly sent down to the coast for sale, the rest are massacred on the spot, and the same fate attends those unhappy wretches who, being sent down, are found unsaleable. The prices indeed on the coast have been known to vary as the market is more or less plentifully supplied; but so long as ships from Europe create a market, whether the prices be

\* See his evidence in the report of the Committee of Privy Council, 1789.

high or low, it can hardly be doubted, that wars will be as frequent as ever, and that the same acts of oppression, violence and fraud, which are said to be committed by princes on their subjects, and by individuals on each other, for the purpose of procuring slaves for sale, will exist as usual, without regulation or restraint.

Behold then an excess of 38,000 of these miserable people (the present annual export in British shipping) thrown upon the market, and it is surely more than probable that, one or the other of these consequences will follow; either the French, the Dutch and the other maritime nations of Europe, by seizing on what we surrender, will increase their trade in proportion to the increased supply,\* or, having the choice and refusal of 38,000 more than they have at present, will become more difficult to please; confining their purchases to such only as are called *prime* slaves. Thus the old, and the very young, the sickly and the feeble, will be scornfully rejected; and perhaps *twenty* poor wretches be considered as unsaleable then, and sacrificed accordingly, to *one* that is so considered and sacrificed now.

\* Admiral Edwards being asked, Whether, if Great Britain were to relinquish the trade in slaves, the number sold to Europeans would, in his opinion, be much diminished? replied, Most certainly it would not be diminished. The French and Dutch would immediately get possession of this trade.

That this latter supposition is not a mere speculative contingency, is abundantly proved by many respectable witnesses, whose examinations were taken by the committee of the privy council:—Being asked concerning the disposal of such slaves as are rejected by the European traders, either because their cargoes are already assorted, or because the miserable victims are considered as too old or too feeble for labour, it was given in evidence, as a fact too notorious to be controverted, that they are very frequently, if not generally, put to death. The slave merchant, not having the means of maintaining his captives for any length of time, makes no scruple to avow, that it is his intention to destroy them provided they are not sold by a certain day; and the *work of death*, on such occasions, is sometimes performed in sight of our shipping. Shocking as this account may seem, it is verified by undisputed testimony; and to suppose that a discontinuance of the trade by one nation only, will put an end to this enormity, is to suppose that the African slaveholder will become more merciful, as his slaves are rendered of less value; a conclusion which I am afraid experience will not warrant.\*

\* Mr. Newton (an evidence in support of the application to parliament for an abolition of the trade) admits, that some of the slaves that have been rejected by the Europeans, have been knocked on the head with the paddles of the boat that brought them, and thrown overboard. On the Gold coast, Mr. Miles supposed they are mostly reserved for the purpose of being sacrificed at the burial of great men. One instance of this came within his own knowledge.—Mr. Weuves knew an instance of a woman being destroyed who was ac-

The effect which a partial abolition would probably have in our Sugar islands is now to be considered; and here it must in the first place, be observed, that it seems not to be known, or is not adverted to in England, that the sugar estates are not only very much understocked in general, but that there is scarce one of them, for reasons that will presently be seen, that possesses a sufficient number of negro women, in proportion to the men. Of course there being fewer pairs, there are fewer children born. Thus situated, there must necessarily happen a decrease on the whole number of the slaves, even under the mildest treatment, and enjoying the greatest plenty of wholesome provisions.—Secondly, it must be remembered, that most of the sugar estates, having been settled on credit, are burthened with heavy incumbrances to persons in Great Britain. Many planters are under covenants to

cused of witchcraft, and could not be sold. In order to save her life, he offered to give an anker of brandy for her; but her head was cut off before his messenger arrived. Other instances, similar to this, are related by Mr. Mathews and Mr. Gandy. Sir George Young saved the life of a beautiful boy, about five years old, at Sierra Leone. The child being too young to be an object of trade, would have been thrown into the river by the person that had him to sell, but Sir George, to save his life, offered a quarter cask of Madeira wine for him, which was accepted—he brought him to England, and made a present of him to the marquis of Lansdown.—Admiral Edwards, Mr. Penny, Mr. Dalzel, Mr. Anderson, and others, concur in the same account of the disposal of such as are rejected by the Europeans.

Report of the Lords of the Committee of  
Council, 1789, part 1st.



consign thither annually, certain specific quantities of sugar and rum. The effect therefore of a direct and unqualified abolition would be this, that while the few persons who have money at command, would be waiting, and perhaps contriving, opportunities to stock their plantations with the slaves of their distressed and harassed neighbours, the great majority of planters would find themselves in a most cruel and uncomfortable situation; their estates already weak-handed, deprived of the possibility of selling their lands, and no means in their power of augmenting their stock of labourers by purchase; their creditors, at the same time, clamorous and importunate for produce, which can only be obtained by great exertions of labour: in such circumstances what are they to do? I cannot better illustrate this part of my subject, than by the case of the Dutch planters of Essequibo and Demarara: by an impolitic interdiction of foreign slave ships into those provinces, they have, for some time past, felt all the effects of a virtual abolition; and here follows the account which they give of their situation, transcribed from a late memorial to the States General: It is impossible (say the petitioners) to inform your high mightinesses of the real annual diminution of our slaves, but it is generally calculated at five in the hundred, or a twentieth part. This is little felt the first year: nineteen remaining negroes hardly perceive that they do the work which the preceding year employed twenty. But the second year the same work falls to the share of eighteen, and, if another year passes with-

out an augmentation by purchase, seventeen must do the work first allotted to twenty. This must give rise to discontent, desertion, and revolt; or, if the negroes put up patiently with this surcharge of labour, illness and an earlier death must be the consequence. Or lastly, if the planters seek to avoid all these inconveniencies, they must gradually contract the limits of their plantations, and of course diminish their produce."—Thus immediate interest in all cases, and urgent distress in many, are opposed to the principles of justice and the dictates of humanity?\*

What I have thus deliberately written, is not, if I know my own heart, the language of selfishness or party. I confess that, reflecting on the means by which slaves are very frequently obtained in Africa, and the destruction that formerly attended the mode of transporting them to the West Indies, I was at one time of opinion, it became this great and renowned nation, instead of regulating her conduct by that of other states, to set a laudable exam-

\* The present annual decrease of the negroes in the British West Indies is estimated at two and a half per centum on the whole number; but if the same quantity of labour which they now perform, shall continue to be exacted from them as their numbers diminish, it cannot be doubted, that the loss will be greater every year, and augment with accelerated rapidity. The sugar estates will, undoubtedly, suffer most, and it is no difficult matter to calculate in what time they will be entirely dismantled. In Jamaica the number employed in that line of culture in 1789 was 128,728, all of whom, without fresh supplies from Africa, would probably be extinct in less than thirty years.

ple to *them*, by an immediate and unqualified suppression of this reprobated commerce; and I should still maintain and avow the same sentiments, were I not, on fuller inquiry and better information, led to suspect, *that the means proposed are not adequate to the end*. I fear, that a direct and sudden abolition by one nation alone, will *not* serve the purposes of humanity in Africa; and I am fully convinced, that such a measure will tend to aggravate, in a very high degree, the miseries of a great majority of the negroes already in the West Indies, whose decreasing population is at present unavoidable; and who, therefore, unless recruited by supplies from Africa, must find their labours augment, as their numbers diminish.

A question too arises in this place, the discussion of which might, probably, render all further debate on the subject of abolition superfluous. It extends to nothing less than the *practicability* of the measure. Whether it be possible for any nation in Europe, singly considered, to prevent its subjects from procuring slaves in Africa, so long as Africa shall continue to sell, is a point on which I have many doubts; but *none* concerning the possibility of conveying the slaves so purchased into every island of the West Indies, in spite of the maritime force of all Europe. No man who is acquainted with the extent of uninhabited coast in the larger of those islands;—the facility of landing in every part of them:—the prevailing winds, and the numerous creeks and harbours in all the neighbouring domi-

nions of foreign powers, (so conveniently situated for contraband traffic), can hesitate a moment to pronounce, that an attempt to prevent the introduction of slaves into our West Indian colonies, would be like that of chaining the winds, or giving laws to the ocean.\*

The next object to which it was proposed to direct our inquiries, is the mode of conveying slaves from Africa to the West Indies, and their mortality on the voyage; constituting the second ground on which most of the petitioners to parliament for an abolition of the trade, have rested their application. But before I proceed to consider this part of my subject, it may not be improper to offer a few observations concerning the great disproportion of sexes in the purchases that are made on the coast; it being a well known fact, that of the vast numbers of slaves annually exported from Africa, about one third only are females. This circumstance has

\* It was said (with what truth I know not) that besides confiscation of ship and cargo, it was meant to consider the clandestine importation of slaves into our colonies as a felonious act, and to punish it capitally. The Spaniards treat many species of smuggling in this manner, and in no part of the world is the contraband traffic so prevalent as in the Spanish dominions. It is a curious question, in what manner a cargo of slaves, seized as contraband, would be disposed of! To declare a set of poor helpless savages *free*, and turn them loose in a strange country, without food or cloathing, would hardly be thought of, and to send them back to Africa, besides the expense and length of the voyage, would be to consign them over to certain destruction. This difficulty seems to have been altogether overlooked during the discussion of the slave business in parliament.

been tortured into a charge of criminal neglect and improvident avarice against the planters of the West Indies, who are supposed from thence, to have no wish of making their slaves even as happy as their situation will admit, or of keeping up their numbers by natural increase. How far these charges are founded, let the following testimony of a very competent witness determine:—"The disproportion in the number of male and female slaves exported from Africa (says Mr. Barnes\*) appears to me to be imputable to the three following causes: First, to the practice of polygamy which prevails throughout Africa. Secondly, to some of the very causes of slavery itself: Men are more apt to commit civil offences than women, and in all cases, where males and females are involved in the same calamity, the first cause still has its operation: the young females are kept for wives, and the males are sold for slaves. Thirdly, to the circumstance, that females become unfit for the slave market at a much earlier period than the males. A woman, through child-bearing, may appear a very exceptionable slave at twenty-two, or twenty-three years of age, whereas, a healthy well-made man, will not be objected to at four or five and thirty; consequently, if an equal number of males and females of like ages were offered for sale, a much greater proportion of the females would be rejected on that account only. With regard to the question, Whether the European traders prefer purchasing males rather

\* Report of the committee of council 1789.

than females? I have to observe; that though it is impossible to conduct the business, either of a house or of a plantation, without a number of females, yet, as the nature of the slave service in the West Indies (being chiefly field labour) requires for the immediate interest of the planter, a greater number of males, the European trader would of course wish to purchase his assortment according to the proportion wanted; but the fact is, *he has not an option in the case*, for the reasons already mentioned; so that in most parts of Africa it is with great difficulty he can get as many saleable females as will form any tolerable assortment." The application of these remarks will hereafter be seen.—I now return to the manner of transporting the slaves thus purchased, from Africa to the West Indies.

It is difficult, I think, to assign any probable reason or motive, why the treatment of these poor people at sea should be otherwise than as humane and indulgent as the safety of the crew will admit. Many shocking instances were however adduced, in the evidence delivered to the committee of privy council, of most outrageous and wanton barbarity and cruelty exercised towards them in different ships; but as the witnesses that were brought forward to establish those charges were not the most respectable in point of character, and in some cases were proved to have suits at law with the captains against whom they gave evidence, I shall collect my account from less disputable authority.

It is admitted on all hands, that the men slaves are secured in irons when they first come on board; but Sir George Young, a captain in the royal navy, who appears to be well acquainted with the trade in all its branches, is of opinion, that this is not practised more than necessity requires. The mode is, by fastening every two men together, the right ankle of one being locked, by means of a small iron fetter, to the left of the other; and if marks of a turbulent disposition appear, an additional fetter is put on their wrists. On the passage, when danger is no longer apprehended, these irons are commonly taken off; and women and young people are exempt from them from the beginning.\* They are lodged between decks, on clean boards, the men and women being separated from each other by bulk heads; and fresh air is admitted by means of windsails or ventilators. Covering of any kind, as well from the warmth of the climate as from the constant practice of going naked, would be insupportable to them. Every morning, if the weather permits, they are brought upon deck, and allowed to continue there until the evening. Their apartments, in the mean time, are washed, scraped, fumigated, and sprinkled with vinegar. The first attention paid to them in the morning, is to supply them with water to wash their hands and faces, after which they are provided with their morning meal: this, according to the country from whence

\* The bulk of the cargo is generally young people from sixteen years of age to thirty.—The lower size four feet.

they come, consists either of Indian corn, or of rice or yams. Before noon they are constantly and regularly made to bathe in salt water, and nothing can be more agreeable and refreshing. Their dinner is varied, consisting sometimes of food to which they have been accustomed in Africa, as yams and Indian corn, &c. And at other times of provisions brought from Europe, as dried beans and pease, wheat, shelled barley, and biscuit; all these are boiled soft in steam, and mixed up with a sauce made of meat, with fish, or palm oil; this last is a constant and desirable article in their cookery. At each meal they are allowed as much as they can eat, and have likewise a sufficiency of fresh water; unless when, from an uncommon long voyage, the preservation of the ship compels the captain to put them to a short allowance. Drams also are given them when the weather is cold or wet; and pipes and tobacco whenever they desire them. In the intervals between their meals, they are encouraged to divert themselves with music and dancing; for which purpose such rude and uncouth instruments as are used in Africa, are collected before their departure; and they are also permitted to amuse themselves with games of chance, for which they are likewise furnished with implements of African invention. In sickness, the invalids are immediately removed to the captain's cabin, or to an hospital built near the fore-castle; and treated with all the care, both in regard to medicine and food, that circumstances will admit; and when, fortunately for the negroes, the ship touches at any place in her



voyage, as frequently happens, every refreshment that the country affords, as cocoa-nuts, oranges, limes, and other fruits, with vegetables of all sorts, are distributed among them; and refreshments of the same kind are freely allowed them at the place of their destination, between the days of arrival and sale.

From this account, which is confirmed by the testimony of a great number of respectable men, many of whom were wholly disinterested in the question, and could therefore have no motive to violate or suppress the truth, it may be supposed, that every scheme which can easily be devised to preserve the negroes in health, cleanliness, and cheerfulness, is adopted in the voyage. So dreadful, notwithstanding, has been the mortality in several ships, wherein these precautions were used, as to evince, beyond all contradiction, that there was something in those instances intrinsically wrong; and it cannot be doubted, that the mischief has been ascribed to its proper cause, namely, the criminal rapaciousness of many of the ship masters in purchasing more negroes than their accommodations are calculated to convey. It appeared in evidence before the house of commons, that a ship of 240 tons would frequently be crowded with no less than 520 slaves; which was not allowing ten inches of room to each individual. The consequence of this inexcusable avarice was oftentimes a loss of fifteen per cent. in the voyage, and four and a half per cent. more in the harbours of the West Indies,

previous to the sale, from diseases contracted at sea;—a destruction of the human species on which it is impossible to reflect without indignation and horror!

To the several arguments, however, which have been raised on the ground of these abuses, in support of the scheme of abolition, a very short answer may be given:—Admit all the miseries and destructive wretchedness which have been placed to this account to have existed in full force, and it will still remain to be inquired, whether measures of less powerful operation than a total suppression of the trade, will not obviate in future the evils complained of; because, if regulations alone are sufficient for that purpose, abolition cannot be necessary. Regulations have accordingly been framed and enforced under the authority of the British parliament, of which the certain effect ought surely to be known, before the evils they are meant to redress are pronounced irremediable. By an act of the 28th year of his present majesty (since renewed and amended) the slave ships are restricted to the conveyance of five slaves to every three tons; and even this proportion is allowed only as far as 201 tons. For every additional ton they are limited to one additional slave.\* To these important precautions for securing to the negroes a sufficiency

\* It is also provided, that vessels not exceeding 201 tons shall not carry of *male* slaves (exceeding four feet four inches in height) more than one for each ton, and vessels of larger size more than three such *males* for every five tons. This regulation seems intended as an encouragement to the export of a greater proportion of females.

of room, is added the necessary provision of a regularly qualified surgeon; to whom, as well as to the ship master, very liberal encouragement is given, to induce both of them to exert every provident endeavour in preserving their unfortunate captives in health and spirits: the sum of one hundred pounds being allowed to the master, and fifty pounds to the surgeon, if the loss on the voyage amounts to no more than two in the hundred, and half of those sums if the loss shall not exceed three in the hundred.

Of the full effect which this system of restriction and encouragement hath hitherto produced in all the British colonies, I am not informed; but judging by returns which I have obtained from one of the principal marts in the West Indies, it would seem to have been found, in a very eminent degree, advantageous and salutary. At the port of Montego-Bay, in Jamaica, the negroes imported between the 18th day of November 1789 and the 15th of July 1791, were 9,993, in 38 ships; the mortality at sea, exclusive of the loss of 54 negroes in a mutiny on the coast, was 746, which is somewhat under seven per cent. on the whole number of slaves. This, though much less, I believe, than the average loss which commonly happened before the regulating law took place, is, I admit, sufficiently great; and, had it prevailed in any degree *equally* on the several ships concerned, might, perhaps, have been considered as a fair estimate of the general mortality consequent on the

trade, notwithstanding the precautions and provisions of the regulating act. But on examining the list, I find that eight of the 38 ships, were entitled to, and actually received, the full premium; two others received the half premium; and one other (a schooner that sailed from Jamaica to the coast before the act took place) returned without the loss of a single negro. Of the 746 deaths, no less than 328 occurred in four ships only, all of which, with five other vessels, comprehending the whole number of ships in which three-fifths of the mortality occurred, came from the same part of the coast, the Bight of Benin; a circumstance that gives room to conclude, (as undoubtedly was the fact), that the negroes from that part of the country brought disease and contagion with them from the land; an epidemic fever and flux generally prevailing on the low marshy shores of the Bonny rivers, during the autumnal months, which sometimes proves even more destructive on shore than at sea.

Perhaps the truest criterion by which to estimate the beneficial effect of the regulating law, is the comparatively trifling loss that now occurs in the harbours of the West Indies before the Guinea ships open their sales. This mortality, which was formerly estimated at four and a half per cent. and was manifestly the consequence of sickness or improper treatment in the voyage, is now happily mitigated in so great a degree, that out of the whole number of 9,993 slaves imported into Montego-bay as before stated, the loss between the days of arrival

and sale, was no more than sixty-nine, or not quite three-fourths per cent. Enough therefore hath been effected to demonstrate, that it is by no means impossible, nor indeed a very difficult matter, to render the conveyance of negroes from Africa to the West Indies, as little prejudicial to their healths, as the transportation of any other body of people across the ocean in any part of the world. Few voyages were more destructive to the seamen than that of lord Anson, and none less so than those of captain Cook; an incontestable proof that the mortality, which has commonly occurred at sea, has at all times arisen from ill-constructed ships, and neglect, or improper management on board.\*

Concerning the West India planters, as they are entirely innocent and ignorant of the manner in which the slave trade is conducted, (having no other concern therein than becoming purchasers of what British acts of parliament have made objects of sale), so it is equally consonant to their interests and their wishes, that effectual means should be pursued for preserving the health of the negroes, by securing to them proper and reasonable accommodation on the passage. The assembly of Jamaica, instead of remonstrating against that augmentation in the price

\* Perhaps no plan is so likely to save the lives and preserve the healths of the negroes at sea, as that of limiting the slave-ships to two hundred tons burthen, and allowing them to receive on board only two, or two and a half to a ton. Small vessels are soon loaded; and from a multitude of examples that I have seen, it appears to me that the greatest mortality happens in the larger ships.

of slaves, which they must have foreseen that the act of the British parliament would necessarily create, with the liberality of dignified minds applauded the principle of the measure, declaring it to be founded in necessity, justice, and humanity, and expressed their opinion, that the wisdom and authority of parliament might be beneficially exerted in further regulations of the African commerce, particularly in preventing the detention of ships on the coast; in prohibiting the purchase of slaves who should appear to have been kidnapped; in compelling the slave-ships to transport an equal number of both sexes, and to provide ventilators, and a sufficient quantity of provisions, especially water: such a recommendation it might be supposed would engage immediate attention, not only as coming from men who are certainly the best judges of its propriety and necessity, but also, because the means of enforcing most of the regulations which they recommend are practicable and apparent.

Having thus, I presume, sufficiently treated of the means by which slaves are procured for sale in Africa, and the regulations that have been established by the British parliament for their better conveyance to the Sugar islands, I shall proceed, in the next chapter, to a detail of their general treatment and situation there, immediately on and after their arrival, and distribution among the planters.



## CHAPTER V.

*Arrival and sale in the West Indies.—Negroes newly purchased, how disposed of and employed.—Detail of the management of negroes on a sugar plantation.—Mode of maintaining them.—Houses, cloathing, and medical care.—Abuses.—Late regulations for their protection and security.—Causes of their annual decrease.—Polygamy, &c.—Slavery in its mildest form unfriendly to population.—General observations.—Proposals for the further meliorating the condition of the slaves, with which the subject concludes.*

THE arrival of a Guinea ship in the West Indies is announced by public advertisement, specifying the number of negroes imported, the country from whence, and day of sale. It was the practice until of late, to open the sale on ship-board, the males being arranged in one part of the ship, and the females in another: but, as visitors of all descriptions were admitted without hesitation or inquiry, it frequently happened, when slave-ships were scarce, that such crowds of people went on board, and began so disgraceful a scramble, as



to terrify the poor ignorant Africans with the notion that they were seized on by a herd of cannibals, and speedily to be devoured. The wisdom of the legislature of Jamaica has corrected this enormity in that island, by enacting that the sales shall be conducted on shore, and that care shall be taken not to separate different branches of the same family. I am afraid it hath been found difficult, in all cases, to enforce this latter regulation; but it is usual with most planters, I believe, to inquire of the negroes themselves, by means of an interpreter, whether they have relations on board, and to purchase families together; or by exchanging with other buyers, to prevent if possible, that cruel separation between parents and children, and brothers and sisters, which must sometimes I doubt, unavoidably take place. I never knew an instance where such purchase or accommodation was knowingly declined or refused.\*

Although there is something extremely shocking to a humane and cultivated mind, in the idea of beholding a numerous body of our unfortunate fellow-creatures, in captivity and exile, exposed naked to public view, and sold like a herd of cattle, yet I could never perceive, (except in the cases that have

\* Soon after this was written, the author of this work had the honour of proposing to the assembly of Jamaica, of which he was a member, an act which was unanimously adopted, and is now an existing law, by which the Guinea factors are compelled, under the solemnity of an oath, to do their utmost to enforce the regulation alluded to.

been mentioned of a scramble on shipboard), that the negroes themselves were oppressed with many of those painful sensations which a person unaccustomed to the scene would naturally attribute to such apparent wretchedness. The circumstance of being exposed naked, is perhaps of little account to those who were never sensible of the necessity or propriety of being clothed. The climate requires not the aid of dress, nor are the negroes, though naked, destitute of decorations, on which, at their first arrival, they seem to set a much higher estimation than on raiment; most of the nations of Africa having their skin, particularly on the forehead, the breast, and round the waist, punctured or impressed with figures and representations of different kinds, (squares, circles, triangles, and crescents), similar to the practice which prevails in *Otaheite*, and the other islands of the South Sea, called *tatowing*, as described in the voyages of captain Cook. Like those islanders too, some of the newly imported negroes display these marks with a mixture of ostentation and pleasure, either considering them as highly ornamental, or appealing to them as testimonies of distinction in Africa; where, in some cases, they are said to indicate free birth and honourable parentage.\* The negroes are apprised

\* Some of the negroes of the Gold coast, or the adjacent countries (the *Chamba* negroes for instance) appear to me to use the same, or nearly the same marks as the savages of New Zealand, viz. deep incisions on each cheek drawn circularly from the ear to the mouth. (*Vide Hawkesworth's Voyages*, vol. iii. c. 9.). It is ridiculous enough, that some of the writers against the slave-trade should ascribe these marks

also, before their arrival, that they are to be employed in tillage; and, knowing that they were bought with money, expect to be sold in the same manner. They display therefore, on being brought to market, very few signs of lamentation for their past or of apprehension for their future condition; but, wearied out with confinement at sea, commonly express great eagerness to be sold; presenting themselves, when the buyers are few, with cheerfulness and alacrity for selection, and appearing mortified and disappointed when refused. If it happens, as it frequently does, when the purchasers have leisure and opportunity to inspect them individually, that some bodily defect or blemish is discovered in any of them, the majority seem highly diverted at the circumstance; manifesting, by loud and repeated bursts of laughter, that reflection constitutes no very predominant part of their character.\*

of superstition or false taste to the cruelty of the planters, and gravely assert, that they are the scars of horrible gashes inflicted by the bloody hand of tyranny in the wantonness of punishment. The reverend Mr. Clarkson catches very eagerly at this idea, and asserts with great solemnity, that "it is a matter of constant lamentation with interested people, who out of curiosity attended the negro markets in Jamaica, that they are not able to turn their eyes on any group of negroes without beholding these inhuman marks of passion, despotism, and caprice!"

\* The prices of new negroes in the West Indies, at this time (1791) are nearly as follows:—An able man in his prime £.50 sterling; an able woman, £.49 sterling; a youth approaching to manhood, £.47 sterling; a young girl, £.46 sterling; boys and girls from £.40 to £.45 sterling, exclusive of the colonial tax or duty on importations about twenty shillings more.

The buyer having completed his assortment, and clothed his newly acquired subjects with a coarse German linen, called Oznaburgs, and provided them also with hats, handkerchiefs, and knives, sends them to the place of their intended residence:\* and now a practice prevails in Jamaica, which I myself, unacquainted as I then was with the actual management in detail of a sugar plantation, and residing in a distant country, used to reprobate and exclaim against; but to which I now submit, from a full conviction, founded on experience, of its usefulness and necessity. The practice is that of distributing the newly imported Africans among the old negroes, as pensioners (with some little assistance occasionally given) on their little *peculiam*, and provision grounds. This I used to consider as an insupportable hardship on the poor people already settled and domesticated, and I positively and expressly forbid a continuance of the custom in plantations over which I had authority.

On my return to the West Indies, I was surprised to find the old established negroes, when young people newly arrived from Africa, were sent among them, request as a particular instance of favour and indulgence to themselves, the revival and

\* It is the custom among some of the planters in Jamaica, to mark the initials of their name on the shoulder or breast of each newly purchased negro, by means of a small silver brand heated in the flame of spirits, as described in a former chapter; but it is growing into disuse, and I believe in the Windward Islands thought altogether unnecessary.

continuance of the ancient system; assuring me they had the means of supporting the strangers without difficulty. Many who thus applied, proposed each of them to adopt one of their young country-folks in the room of children they had lost by death, or had been deprived of in Africa; others, because they wished, like the patriarchs of old, to see their sons take to themselves wives from their own nation and kindred; and all of them, I presume, because, among other considerations, they expected to revive and retrace in the conversation of their new visitors, the remembrance and ideas of past pleasures and scenes of their youth. The strangers too were best pleased with this arrangement, and ever afterwards considered themselves as the adopted children of those by whom they were thus protected, calling them parents, and venerating them as such; and I never knew an instance of the violation of a trust thus solicited and bestowed. In the course of eight or ten months, provided they are mildly used and kept free of disease, new people, under these circumstances, become reconciled to the country; begin to get well established in their families, their houses and provision grounds; and prove in all respects as valuable as the native or creole negroes.\*

\* Generally speaking, a creole negro is considered as worth more than one imported; but in a valuation, by indifferent persons, of two able well disposed negroes, nearly of the same age, the one an African, the other a native, no great difference (if any) would be made. A child just born is valued at five pounds.

What has hitherto been observed concerning the disposal of Africans newly imported, is, I believe, applicable to West India estates of all descriptions; but, as my own personal attention has been chiefly directed to sugar plantations, I would be understood to speak of those more particularly; and I shall now proceed to describe the methodical arrangement and distribution of the labour with which they are conducted, as it is unquestionably more severe and constant than that on any other species of landed property in the West Indies.

The negroes are divided into three sets or classes, usually called *gangs*; the first consisting of the most healthy and robust of the men and women, whose chief business it is, out of crop time, to clear, hole, and plant the ground; and, in crop time, to cut the canes, feed the mills, and attend the manufacture of the sugar. It is computed that, in the whole body of the negroes on a well conditioned plantation, there are commonly found one-third of this description, exclusive of domestics and negro tradesmen, viz. carpenters, coopers and masons, with which each well regulated plantation is provided.\* The second gang is composed of

\* The annual profit arising to the owner, from the labour of each able field negro employed in the cultivation of sugar, may be reckoned at twenty-five pounds sterling money. I reckon thus:—A sugar plantation, well conducted, and in a favourable soil, ought to yield as many hogsheads of sugar, of 16 cwt. annually, as there are negroes belonging to it, the average value of which, for ten years past, may be stated at £.15 sterling the hogshead, but as every plantation

young boys and girls, women far gone with child, and convalescents, who are chiefly employed in weeding the canes, and other light work adapted to their strength and condition; and the third set consists of young children, attended by a careful old woman, who are employed in collecting green meat for the pigs and sheep; or in weeding the garden, or some such gentle exercise, merely to preserve them from habits of idleness.

The first gang is summoned to the labours of the field either by a bell or the blowing of a conch-shell, just before sun-rise. They bring with them, besides their hoes or bills, provisions for breakfast; and are attended by a white person, and a black superintendant called a driver.—The list being called over, and the names of all the absentees noted, they proceed with their work until eight or nine o'clock, when they sit down in the shade to breakfast, which is prepared in the mean time by a certain number of women, whose sole employment

is not thus productive, and the rum, which is generally appropriated to the payment of contingent charges, not being always sufficient for that purpose, I will allow £.10 sterling only, as the clear profit per hogshead of the sugar, which therefore is the average value of the labour of each negro, old and young; and one third only of the negroes being able people, their labour may be put at £.30 a head; out of which however must be deducted, the interest on their first cost, and an allowance for the risk of losing them by death or desertion, (their maintenance, &c. being included in the contingent expenses of the estate), for both of which I allow fifteen per cent. This leaves about £.25 sterling clear, or nearly a fourth part of the actual value of each slave.

it is to act as cooks for the rest. This meal commonly consists of boiled yams, eddoes, okra, calaloe and plantains, or as many of those vegetables as they can procure; seasoned with salt, and Cayenne pepper; and, in truth, it is an exceeding palatable and wholesome mess. By this time most of the absentees make their appearance, and are sometimes punished for their sluggishness by a few stripes of the driver's whip. But I am happy to say, that of late years a very slight excuse is generally admitted. The fact is, that when the mornings are chill and foggy, as frequently happens even under the zone, the sensations of the negro are distressful beyond the imagination of an inhabitant of frozen regions. Instead of deriving firmness and activity from the cold, he becomes inert, sluggish and languid; and neither labour nor punishment will animate him to greater exertion, until he is revived by the genial warmth of the sun. At breakfast they are seldom indulged with more than half or three quarters of an hour; and, having resumed their work, continue in the field until noon, when the bell calls them from labour. They are now allowed two hours of rest and refreshment; one of which is commonly spent in sleep. Their dinner is provided with the addition of salted or pickled fish, of which each negro receives a weekly allowance. Many of them, however, preferring a plentiful supper to a meal at noon, pass the hours of recess, either in sleep, or in collecting food for their pigs and poultry, of which they are permitted to keep as many as they please; or per-



haps a few of the more industrious, will employ an hour in their provision grounds. At two o'clock they are again summoned to the field, where, having been refreshed both by rest and food, they now manifest some signs of vigorous and animated application; although I can with great truth assert, that one English labourer in his own climate would perform at least three times the work of any one negro in the same period. At sun-set, or very soon after, they are released for the night, (the drudgery, so much complained of in some of the islands to windward, of picking grass, being happily unknown in Jamaica), and if the day has been wet, or their labour harder than usual, they are sometimes indulged with an allowance of rum. On the whole, as the length of the days in the latitude of the West Indies differs very little throughout the year, I conceive they are employed daily about ten hours, in the service of their master, Sundays and holydays excepted. In the crop season, however, the system is different; for at that time, such of the negroes as are employed in the mill and boiling houses, often work very late, frequently all night; but they are divided into watches, which relieve each other, according to the practice among seamen; and it is remarkable, that at this season the negroes enjoy higher health and vigour than at any other period of the year; a circumstance undoubtedly owing to the free and unrestrained use which they are allowed to make of the ripe canes, the cane-liquor, and syrup.

The practice which prevails in Jamaica of giving the negroes lands to cultivate, from the produce of which they are expected to maintain themselves, (except in times of scarcity, arising from hurricanes and droughts, when assistance is never denied them), is universally allowed to be judicious and beneficial; producing a happy coalition of interests between the master and the slave. The negro who has acquired by his own labour a property in his master's land, has much to lose, and is therefore less inclined to desert his work. He earns a little money, by which he is enabled to indulge himself in fine clothes on holydays, and gratify his palate with salted meats and other provisions that otherwise he could not obtain; and the proprietor is eased, in a great measure, of the expense of feeding him. In some of the Windward Islands they have not land enough for the purpose; nor in any one of them are the negroes so happily accommodated, in this respect, as in the large island of Jamaica; where they are seldom either stinted in quantity of land, or confined as to situation. In fact, if the owner's territory is sufficiently extensive, the negroes make it a practice to enlarge their own grounds, or exchange them for fresh land every year. By these means, having quicker and better returns, they raise provisions in abundance, not only for their own use, but also a great surplus to sell. The misfortune is, they trust more to plantain groves, corn, and other vegetables, that are liable to be destroyed by storms, than to what are called *ground provisions*; such as yams, eddoes,

potatoes, cassada, and other esculent roots; all which are out of the reach of hurricanes; but prudence is a term that has no place in the negro vocabulary. To obviate the mischiefs which fatal experience has proved to flow from this gross inattention, the *slave act* of Jamaica obliges, under a penalty, every proprietor of lands to keep, properly cultivated in ground provisions, one acre for every ten negroes, exclusive of the negro grounds.\*

\* In Jamaica the negroes are allowed one day in a fortnight, except in time of crop, besides Sundays and holydays, for cultivating their grounds and carrying their provisions to market. Some of them find time on these days, besides raising provisions, to make a few coarse manufactures, such as mats for beds, bark ropes of a strong and durable texture, wicker chairs and baskets, earthen jars, pans, &c. for all which they find a ready sale; but I cannot say much for the skill and elegance of their workmanship. The most industrious of the negroes do not, I believe, employ more than sixteen hours in a month in the cultivation of their own provision gardens (leaving all further care of them to the beneficence of nature) and in favourable seasons this is sufficient. Sunday is their day of market, and it is wonderful what numbers are then seen, hastening from all parts of the country, towards the towns and shipping places, laden with fruits and vegetables, pigs, goats, and poultry, their own property. In Jamaica it is supposed that upwards of 10,000 assemble every Sunday morning in the market of Kingston, where they barter their provisions, &c. for salted beef and pork, or fine linen and ornaments for their wives and children. I do not believe that an instance can be produced of a master's interfering with his negroes in their *peculium* thus acquired. They are permitted also to dispose at their deaths of what little property they possess; and even to bequeath their grounds or gardens to such of their fellow slaves as they think proper. These principles are so well established, that whenever it is found convenient for the owner to exchange the negro-grounds for other lands, the negroes must be satisfied, in money or otherwise, before the exchange takes place. It is universally the practice.

The cottages of the negroes usually compose a small village, the situation of which, for the sake of convenience and water, is commonly near the buildings in which the manufacture of sugar is conducted. They are seldom placed with much regard to order, but, being always intermingled with fruit trees, particularly the banana, the avocado-pear, and the orange, (the negroes' own planting and property), they sometimes exhibit a pleasing and picturesque appearance. To affirm that they are very tolerable habitations, according to the idea which an untravelled Englishman would probably form of the world, were an insult to the reader; but it may honestly be said, that allowing for the difference of climate, they far excel the cabins of the Scotch and Irish peasants as described by Mr. Young and other travellers. They are such, at least, as are commensurate to the desires and necessities of their inhabitants, who build them according to their own fancy both in size and shape, the master allowing the timber, and frequently permitting the estate's carpenters to assist in the building. In general, a cottage for one negro and his wife, is from fifteen to twenty feet in length, and divided into two apartments. It is composed of hard posts driven into the ground, and interlaced with whattles and plaister. The height from the ground to the plate being barely sufficient to admit the owner to walk in upright. The floor is of natural earth, which is commonly dry enough, and the roof thatched with palm thatch, or the leaves of the cocoa-

nut-tree; an admirable covering, forming a lasting and impenetrable shelter both against the sun and the rain. Of furniture they have no great matters to boast, nor considering their habits of life, is much required. The bedstead is a platform of boards, and the bed a mat, covered with a blanket; a small table; two or three low stools; an earthen jar for holding water; a few smaller ones; a pail; an iron pot; *calabashes*\* of different sizes (serving very tolerably for plates, dishes, and bowls) make up the rest. Their cookery is conducted in the open air, and fire-wood being always at hand, they have not only a sufficiency for that purpose, but also for a fire within doors during the night, without which a negro cannot sleep with comfort. It is made in the middle of one of the two rooms, and the smoke makes its way through the door or the thatch. This account of their accommodation, however, is confined to the lowest among the field-negroes: tradesmen and domestics are in general vastly better lodged and provided. Many of these have larger houses, with boarded floors, and are accommodated (at their own expense it is true) with very decent furniture:—a few have even good beds, linen sheets, and musquito nets, and display a shelf or two of plates and dishes of queen's or Staffordshire ware.

Of cloathing, the allowance of the master is not always so liberal as might be wished, but much

\* A species of gourd.

more so of late years than formerly.\* Few of the negroes however, on Sundays and holydays, appear deficient in this point, or shew any want of raiment, not only decent but gaudy.

The circumstances wherein the slaves in the West Indies seem mostly indebted to their owners' liberality, are, I think, those of medical attendance and accommodation when sick. Every plantation, that I am acquainted with, is under the daily or weekly inspection of a practitioner in physic and surgery, who very frequently resides on the spot; and the planters, being in general men of education themselves, are not easily reconciled in so important a matter, with such illiterate pretenders in medicine as are very often found in the country parts of England, to the disgrace of the profession. Young men of skill and science are therefore sought for and encouraged; and as but few single plantations can afford a very liberal allowance, they are permitted to extend their practice in the neighbourhood.†

\* I believe the negroes on every plantation in Jamaica, without exception, receive a yearly allowance of oznaburg-linen, woollen, baize, checks, &c. and but very few planters deny them hats, handkerchiefs, and other little articles, as knives, needles and thread, &c. &c.

† The usual recompense to the surgeon for attendance and medicines, is six shillings a head per annum for all the negroes on the estate, whether sick or well. Amputations, difficult cases in midwifery, inoculation, &c. are paid for exclusively, and on a liberal scale. A property having five hundred negroes contributes about £.150 sterling per annum; and the surgeon if he chooses, is entitled

For the better accommodation of invalids and women in child-birth, every plantation is provided

to board, washing, and lodging; and this is altogether independant of the profits of his practice with the whites. I suppose there are few plantation doctors in Jamaica, that have less than five hundred negroes under their care; several (with their assistants) have upwards of five thousand.

Among the diseases which negroes bring with them from Africa, the most loathsome are the *cacabay* and the *yaws*; and it is difficult to say which is the worst. The former is the leprosy of the Arabians, and the latter (much the most common) is supposed, by some writers, to be the leprosy mentioned in Leviticus, c. xiii. Both are very accurately described by Doctor Hillary, in his Observations on the Diseases of Barbadoes. Young negro children often catch the *yaws*, and get through it without medicine or much inconveniency. At a later period it is seldom or never thoroughly eradicated; and as, like the small-pox, it is never had but once, the Gold coast negroes are said to communicate the infection to their infants by inoculation. I very much doubt if medicine of any kind is of use in this disease.— But the greatest mortality among the negroes in the West Indies arises from two other complaints; the one affecting infants between the fifth and fourteenth days after their birth, and of which it is supposed that one-fourth of all the negro children perish. It is a species of *tetanus*, or locked jaw; but both the cause of it in these poor children, and the remedy, remain yet to be discovered. The other complaint affects adults, or rather negroes who are past their prime. They become dropsical, and complain of a constant uneasiness in the stomach; for which they find a temporary relief in eating some kind of earth. The French planters call this disease *mal d'estomac*, or the stomach evil. I have formerly heard of owners and managers who were so ignorant and savage as to attempt the cure by severe punishment; considering *dirt-eating*, not as a disease, but a crime. I hope the race is extinct. The best and only remedy is kind usage and wholesome animal food; and perhaps a steel drink may be of some service. Of one poor fellow in this complaint, I myself made a perfect cure by persisting some time in this method.

with a sick-house or hospital, divided into different apartments; and over which one or more aged women preside as nurses. The proprietor commonly supplies blankets, flour, rice, sugar, and oatmeal: these things I have seldom known to be denied, and some gentlemen afford, besides fresh beef and mutton, more costly articles; such as spices, sago, and wine:

On the whole, notwithstanding some defects, let allowance be made for the climate and soil; and it may be asserted with truth and modesty, that if the situation of the slaves in the British West Indies were, in all cases, on a level with their circumstances in regard to food, lodging and medical assistance, they might be deemed objects of envy to half the peasantry of Europe:

At the same time let it not be forgotten, that the legislative authority in many of the sugar islands, has been, and still is, most humanely and laudably exerted in exalting the condition of the slave in all respects, and circumscribing the power of the master.—“ Protection of their slaves (says the report  
“ of the privy council) made but a very small por-  
“ tion of their earlier policy. This branch has of  
“ late been taken up, and express directions have  
“ been given to insure to the negroes, the en-  
“ joyment of many advantages tending to allevi-  
“ ate their condition. In three islands particularly,  
“ (Jamaica, Grenada, and Dominica), the wish to  
“ soften the rigours of their situation has manifested



“ itself more decidedly. Measures have been devised by the legislatures of those islands for placing them in a state of society, where they will be entitled to a protection, that in former times, would have been thought incompatible with the dependance and subordination of slavery.”

To this distinguished and honourable testimony it may be added, as a circumstance of still greater importance, that the age itself is hourly improving in humanity: and that this improvement visibly extends beyond the Atlantic. Its influence is felt where the law is a dead letter. This, however, is to be understood with considerable allowance; for it is a melancholy truth, that authority over these poor people must on several occasions, unavoidably devolve into hands that will employ it only in its abuse; and in cases too, in which, if redress be sought, the testimony of the injured party is inadmissible in a court of justice. Under those circumstances, while the law loses its authority, I am afraid, that the sense of decorum, alone, affords but a feeble restraint against the corrupt passions and infirmities of our nature, the hardness of avarice, the pride of power, the sallies of anger, and the thirst of revenge.

That the narratives therefore of excessive whippings, and barbarous mutilations, which have lately awakened the sympathy of the public, are *all* of them “absolutely false,”—though it has been asserted by others, shall not be asserted by me. If they have happened but *seldom*, they have happen-

ed too often. The difference between me, and those who, on this ground, continue to urge the necessity of an immediate and total suppression of the slave-trade, is this; they assert that it is not *unfrequent*, but *common*, the occurrence of every hour, to behold the miserable negroes fall victims to a series of cruelties of which no other age or country affords an example; and they maintain, that the planters *in general* are guilty of these cruelties, without commiseration or remorse. I, on the other hand, aver that, although such enormities have certainly *sometimes* happened, and may happen again, yet that the *general* treatment of the negroes in the British West Indies is mild, temperate, and indulgent; that instances of cruelty are not only rare, but always universally reprobated when discovered; and, when susceptible of legal proof, severely punished.\*

\* As the latter part of this assertion has been very confidently denied by some of the witnesses that have appeared before a committee of the house of commons, I beg leave to trouble the reader with the following cases in point :

“ Spanish town, Jamaica, Feb. 1777. Thomas Bell was indicted for assaulting a negro man slave, the property of Richard Welch, Esq, and found guilty. Sentenced to pay a fine to the king of twenty pounds, and to be imprisoned in the common gaol one week, and until payment of the fine.”

“ Kingston, Jamaica. At the Surry assize, 1786; George Geddes was tried, and found guilty on two indictments, for cruelly beating and maiming two of his own slaves. Sentenced to pay a fine to the king of one hundred pounds on each indictment, and to be impri-

The great, and I fear incurable, defect in the system of slavery, is the circumstance already men-

tioned six months in the jail of Kingston, and until payment of the fine; and afterwards to find security for his good behaviour, &c."

" Surry assize, 1778. John Durant a free man of colour was indicted and found guilty of assaulting a negro man slave, named Sacco, the property of Eliza Wheeler, a free negro woman. Sentenced to be publickly flogged at the beef market."

" Quarter session, Kingston, August, 1791. The *King versus Thompson*, for assaulting and falsely imprisoning a negro boy, the property of Francis Robertson. Found guilty and fined ten pounds.—*King versus Bender*, for wantonly and immoderately punishing a negro man, his own property, named Fortune. Found guilty and fined twenty pounds."

The above are extracts fairly abridged from the records in the proper office in Jamaica. Testimonies of the same kind, more fully stated, from the island of St. Christopher, appear in the report of the committee of Privy Council; to whom evidence was likewise given, that a white man in the island of Grenada, was in the year 1776, convicted of the murder of his own slave, and executed. If many other cases cannot be cited, it may fairly be supposed, from those which have been adduced, that fresh occasion has not often been given. The following shocking instance, however, happened in the island of Jamaica, in the summer of 1791:—William Rattray, a carpenter at the port of Rio Bueno, in a fit of drunkenness, threw an axe at a negro boy, his own slave, which unfortunately killed him on the spot. The coroner's inquest finding it wilful murder, the man was apprehended, and sent to jail in irons. He was not, it is true, publickly tried, and hanged for the crime; for being well assured that such would be his fate, he thought it best to execute justice on himself, and found in suicide an escape from the gallows. This fact, which is within my own knowledge, is certainly no proof that the murderers of their own slaves escape with impunity.

tioned, that the evidence of the slave cannot be admitted against a white person, even in cases of the most atrocious injury. This is an evil to which, on several accounts, I fear no direct and efficacious remedy can be applied. In some of the islands, however, attempts have been made, with an earnestness suited to the importance of the subject, to supply the defect; and expedients have been adopted for that purpose, which in most cases, it may be hoped, will have the good consequence of a solid protection. By the new slave act of Grenada, the justices are required annually to nominate three freeholders to be *guardians of the slaves*; who are to take an oath to see the law duly executed. They are not only to inspect the provision-grounds, the cloathing and maintenance, and to inquire into the general treatment of the slaves, but also, to interrogate on oath the managers and overseers, concerning the due observance of the law; and in case of breaches thereof, to prosecute the offenders. Of this measure, the report of the privy council expresses the highest approbation:—"The obliging managers and overseers (it observes) *to answer upon oath*, gives peculiar efficacy to a regulation intended for the benefit of persons whose testimony, by the law of the country, could not be heard in a prosecution against a white person."

In the same liberal spirit, and co-operating to the same generous end, the legislature of Jamaica have constituted the justices and vestry of each parish in that island, a *council of protection*, express-

ly for the purpose of making full inquiry into the barbarities exercised on slaves, and bringing the authors to punishment at the public expense. With this view, it is enacted, that when any complaint, or *probable intelligence from any slave*, or otherwise, is made before a justice of the peace, of the mutilation and confinement of a slave, the justice is empowered and required to issue his warrant to bring the slave before him for inspection. "By this regulation (say the assembly) it is intended, as far as possible, to take from the owner the power of concealment; for the magistrate is enabled to obtain a view of the fact, on evidence, which, in other cases, is, and ought to be inadmissible." By another clause in the same act, in order more effectually to prevent the destruction of negroes by excessive labour and unreasonable punishments, the surgeon of every plantation is required to produce, and deliver in upon oath, to the justices and vestry, an annual account of the decrease and increase of the slaves of such plantation, assigning also the causes of such decrease, to the best of his judgment and belief. On this head the assembly remark, "how tender and cautious every rational manager must necessarily be in the punishments which he administers, who considers, that he has a resident inspector into his conduct, and that the punishment of death may follow an abuse of his authority."

Such are a few of the many forcible and decisive testimonies, which the resident planters in the West Indies have given to the world, of their just abhor-

rence of all acts of cruelty and oppression towards the poor people, over whom the accident of birth or fortune have invested them with power.—They have demonstrated, that their inclination concurs with their interest, effectually to perform whatever humanity, and the sense of reciprocal obligation, require towards their African labourers; and they have armed the law with additional energy, in the hope of curbing those passions, suppressing those frailties, and preventing those excesses, which the plenitude of power is too apt to encourage. If this effect cannot, in all cases and contingencies, be produced, the failure must be comprized among the many other insurmountable difficulties and irresistible evils of life, for which human wisdom has hitherto in vain sought a remedy.

The grand (and I admit the most plausible) accusation against the general conduct of the planters, arises from the necessity they find themselves under of having an annual recruit of slaves from Africa, to fill up the numbers that perish in the West Indies. So long as it shall appear that the natural increase of the negroes already in the sugar islands, is insufficient for this purpose, it will be contended, that this circumstance, of itself, affords an obvious and undeniable proof, that it is *not* to individuals alone, the blame of improper treatment ought to be attributed. *That* power, it is urged, must in almost all cases be abused, and *that* slavery must be universally excessive, which give occasion to so dreadful a waste of life. The objection has

been anticipated, and in part answered, in the preceding pages, by the proof that has been given of the great disproportion of the sexes in the yearly importations from Africa. It has been shewn from unquestionable authority, that one-third only are females. Thus, notwithstanding every allowance for the creoles or natives, who may reasonably be supposed to have increased according to the general laws of nature, there was in the year 1789, in Jamaica alone, an excess in its negro population of 30,000 males. But this is not the whole extent of the evil. It is a truth well known, that the practice of polygamy, which universally prevails in Africa, is also very generally adopted among the negroes in the West Indies; and he who conceives that a remedy may be found for this, by introducing among them the laws of marriage as established in Europe, is utterly ignorant of their manners, propensities and superstitions. It is reckoned in Jamaica, on a moderate computation, that not less than ten thousand of such as are called head negroes (artificers and others) possess from two to four wives. This partial appropriation of the women creates a still greater proportion of single men, and produces all the mischiefs which are necessarily attached to the system of polygamy. In Africa, the redundancy of males, occasioned by an unequal distribution of the females, is undoubtedly one of the sources which supplies the European trader with slaves; and the consequences attending it among the negroes in the West Indies, are a shocking licentiousness and profligacy of manners

in most of their women; who are exposed to temptations which they cannot resist. They hold chastity in so little estimation, that barrenness, and frequent abortions, the usual effects of a promiscuous intercourse, are very generally prevalent among them. To the same origin may be ascribed that neglect, and want of maternal affection towards the children produced by former connections, observable in many of the black females.

The circumstances thus enumerated, operating with combined energy, are abundantly sufficient to account for the annual diminution in the number of the slaves; and I see no good reason why it should not be frankly admitted, that slavery itself, in its mildest form, is unfriendly to population. The human race, to increase in numbers, must be placed in favourable circumstances; and, unless reason and sentiment in some degree co-operate with corporeal instinct, its offspring is born but to perish. Among men who are deprived of free agency, or by whom it is but imperfectly enjoyed, neither reason nor sentiment can be the ruling principle. It is needless to pursue this argument any farther. Men of reflection, apprised of the fact that such disproportion between the sexes exists among the negroes, will draw the proper conclusions from it, and agree that an abolition of the slave trade will not afford a remedy.

Thus have I delivered, in a detail which the reader will probably find too diffuse and minute,



such observations as have occurred to me on the several matters, of which I proposed to treat. I have declined to enlarge on the various calumnies, and gross misrepresentations, which have been spread and encouraged against the planters, because it is their misfortune that, on this question, many virtuous, humane, and pious men, misled by popular prejudice, openly concur in, and give their sanction to, the malignant efforts, and uncharitable misconstructions of the envious and illiberal. Such proceedings, however, are as impolitic as they are unjust. They are equally injurious to the master and the slave. By exciting among the negroes a spirit of discontent and disobedience, they compel, in many cases, the benevolent man to restrain that hand which otherwise would be stretched out for their relief; and thus, by rendering their masters odious in their eyes, these unfortunate people (apprized at the same time that they are held in a subjection which is reprobated in the mother country) may be led to make a general struggle for freedom, through desolation and bloodshed. Far be it from me, however, to impute motives so atrocious to any of those respectable characters, whose exertions for an abolition of the slave trade are at this time the object of public attention. Most of these gentlemen, without doubt, consider this measure as only the first process in a more extended and liberal plan, which has for its object, by stopping the further influx of negroes into our islands, to compel the planters to cherish and husband their present stock; and sustain it in future by natural increase; until, by mild-

er treatment, and the christian institutes, the manners of the slaves shall become softened, their vices corrected, and their dispositions gradually prepared for a total emancipation from that absolute slavery in which they are now held. Such is the language, and I doubt not, the fond expectation of many wise and excellent persons. They consider that all this will be the necessary effect of the interposition of parliament, in prohibiting the further importation of African slaves into our colonies. I have assigned such reasons as occur to me for believing, that this conclusion is founded in error, and will terminate in disappointment. That I am no friend to slavery, in any shape, or under any modification, I feel a conscious assurance in my own bosom. Yet, that the slavery of some part of the human species, in a very abject degree, has existed in all ages of the world, among the most civilised, as well as the most barbarous nations, no man who has consulted the records of history disputes. Perhaps, like pain, poverty, sickness, and sorrow, and all the various other calamities of our condition, it may have been originally interwoven into the constitution of the world, for purposes inscrutable to man. Of this I am certain, that an immediate emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, would involve both master and slave in one common destruction.—Thus much however is allowed; the miseries we cannot wholly remove, we may in some cases mitigate. We may alleviate, though we cannot cure. I have shewn that this has been attempted, and in many instances effect-

ed too, by the planters themselves. What yet remains to be done, consistently with sound policy, and a just regard even to the safety and happiness of the negroes themselves, is a subject of deep and difficult consideration. Hasty measures, however humane in appearance, and plausible in theory, may produce the most calamitous of all contests, a *bellum servile*; which will probably never end but in the extermination of either the whites or the blacks. Among the great variety of schemes which have been offered for further meliorating the condition of the slave, the most obvious seem to be these: First, to render their labour certain and determinate: in other words, to apportion to each negro, according to his strength, a specific quantity of work to be performed in a given time; allowing to such of them as shall have finished their task within the time limited, the rest of the day to themselves, and pay them wages for extra labour. This is not always practicable, but when it is, I am inclined to think favourably of the scheme, because it seems calculated to awaken a spirit of emulation and industry, which the dread of punishment can never produce. At the same time, it will be necessary to secure to the negroes by law, the little property or *peculium* which their own industry may thus acquire.—A second proposal is to make them arbiters on the conduct of each other, by instituting a sort of juries among them for the trial of petty offences. It is conceived that such a measure will give them right notions of distributive justice, and operate powerfully towards their

civilization and improvement; and I have heard of two instances in Jamaica, in which it has been tried with success; but it is evidently a regulation that must be governed by circumstances, and left principally to the prudence and discretion of the owner: an attempt to establish and enforce it by law, in their present notions of right and wrong, would, I fear, create inextricable confusion. A third measure has been recommended, of less doubtful efficacy. It is, to render the sabbath, what it ought to be, a day of rest and religious improvement; to which end, the markets on Sundays ought to be suppressed. They are a disgrace to a christian country; and if a market is found absolutely necessary to encourage the negroes in labouring for themselves, some other day, once a fortnight, may be appropriated for that purpose.\* In the mean time, instead of abolishing the slave-trade by act of parliament, further encouragement should be given to the importation of a greater proportion of African women, until the sexes are become nearly equal; after which it is probable that, under the present humane and improved system of laws and

\* The objection to this scheme is, that it will deprive the planters yearly of twenty-six days labour of the whole body of their negroes, without producing the effect intended, as the whole of each Sunday will, in such case, be spent in drunkenness and debauchery at home. If this objection be well founded, let the days which are now given to the slaves (exclusive of Sundays) be the days of market, and compel them to work in their own gardens four or five hours every Sunday morning; and attend divine service in the afternoon. Honest labour must surely be more pleasing to the Almighty, as it is certainly more beneficial to man, than profligacy and riot.

manners, their numbers may be kept up by natural increase. If this good consequence shall happily be produced, it cannot be doubted, that the slave-trade will of itself gradually diminish, and perhaps in a few years cease altogether, and expire without a struggle.

But these, and all other regulations which can be devised for the protection and improvement of this unfortunate class of people, will be of little avail, unless, as a preliminary measure, they shall be exempted from the cruel hardship to which they are now frequently liable, of being sold by creditors, and made subject, in a course of administration by executors, to the payment of all debts both of simple contract and specialty. This grievance, so remorseless and tyrannical in its principle, and so dreadful in its effects, though not originally created, is now upheld and confirmed by a British act of parliament; and no less authority is competent to redress it. It was an act procured by, and passed for the benefit of British creditors; and I blush to add, that its motive and origin have sanctified the measure, even in the opinion of men who are among the loudest of the declaimers against slavery and the slave trade.\* Thus the odious se-

\* The act alluded to, is the 5 George II. c. 7. entitled, "An act for the more easy recovery of debts in his majesty's plantations." Of the most violent of the petitioners to parliament, not one has solicited the repeal of this execrable statute. The society in the Old Jewry, though apprized of the grievance, its origin and the remedy, are silent

verity of the Roman law, which declared sentient beings to be *inter res*, is revived and perpetuated in a country that pretends to christianity! In a few years a good negro gets comfortably established, has built himself a house, obtained a wife, and begins to see a young family rising about him. His provision-ground, the creation of his own industry, and the staff of his existence, affords him not only support, but the means also of adding something to the mere necessaries of life. In this situation he is seized on by the sheriff's officer, forcibly separated from his wife and children, dragged to public auction, purchased by a stranger, and perhaps sent to terminate his miserable existence in the mines of Mexico, excluded for ever from the light of heaven; and all this without any crime or demerit on his part, real or pretended. He is punished because his master is unfortunate. I do not believe, that any case of force or fraud in Africa can be productive of greater misery than this! Neither can it be urged, that, like some unauthorized cases of cruelty in the West Indies, it occurs but seldom: unhappily it occurs every day, and under the present system will continue to occur, so long as men shall continue to be unfortunate.

Let this statute then be totally repealed. It is injurious to the national character; it is disgraceful to humanity. Let the negroes be attached to the

on the subject. They are men of the world, and with all their philanthropy, probably consider no rights so sacred as those of creditors.

land, and sold with it. The good effect of a similar regulation in the system of ancient villanage has been pointed out and illustrated by a great many writers; and those persons who now oppose an extension of the same benefit to the negroes in the West Indies, would do well to reflect, that, while they arraign the conduct of the resident planters towards their slaves, they are themselves abettors and supporters of the greatest of all the grievances under which those unfortunate people continue to suffer.\*

\* It is peculiarly gratifying to the Author of this work, that he has the opportunity, in the present edition, to inform his readers, that in June 1797, he had the honour and happiness as a member of the British parliament, to bring into the house of commons, and to succeed in carrying it into a law, a bill to repeal so much of the 5 Geo. II. c. 7. as relates to negroes in his majesty's Plantations.

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✍ A valuable friend, than whom no man is better acquainted with the negro character, and the condition of the enslaved Africans, has favoured me with the following observations, which occurred to him on a perusal of the preceding chapter in the first edition.

“ That the treatment of the negroes in the British West Indies, even before what has been lately done by the colonial assemblies to meliorate their condition, was not systematically bad, is to me convincing from this fact, which all who are acquainted with negroes on plantations must admit: that the Creole race, (with some few eminent exceptions), exceed the African in intellect, strength, and comeliness, in a very remarkable manner. If a better horse is produced from an inferior breed, it is fair to conclude, that the colt has had a better groom, and a better pasture, than the common on which the dam usually fed. The great object to be wished at present, as it appears to me, is, to purify the *moral sense* of negroes. Hitherto, with all their improvements, they have caught from the whites, I am afraid, more of the vices than the virtues of civilization. Correct the idea, which a negro may be said to imbibe with his mother's milk, that whatever he can cheat his owner of, in any direction, is clear gain to himself: Make the interest of the master and the slave go hand in hand. Now I think that small wages, subject to stoppage for delinquen-



cy, would have this effect. Such a system would be laying a foundation on which a large superstructure might be built in the reformation of manners. Even in point of expense, an estate can well afford it; for the aggregate of time wasted in the sick-house, on the mere pretence of illness, is equal to a little fortune to every planter. When I was last in Jamaica, I made the experiment with a body of tradesmen, and punctually paid to each, at the end of the week, (if a week's work was done), TWO BITTS.\* The effect in point of labour was wonderful, and I believe, that the system would in time have taught the negroes also, that honesty was better policy than thieving, &c. and have led, by degrees, to consequences still more important and beneficial both to the master and the slave.

\* About one shilling English.

## APPENDIX TO BOOK IV.



## NUMBER I.

*AS a supplement to such part of the preceding book as relates to the treatment of the negroes in the British West Indies, it is thought necessary to present the reader with the CONSOLIDATED SLAVE ACT OF JAMAICA, passed the 2d of March 1792. It is presumed, that this law will demonstrate to general conviction, that the legislature of Jamaica, availing themselves as well of the reproaches of their enemies, as of the suggestions of their friends, have given all possible encouragement to the raising of negro children in the island, and secured to their labourers as much freedom, and as great a latitude of enjoyment of the necessaries, conveniencies, and comforts of life, as can be done consistently with their own preservation. The humane reader will not complain of the length of this Appendix, if he shall hereafter find, that the other British islands in the West Indies, encouraged by the example before them, shall introduce the benevolent provisions of this act, into their own negro code.*

\* \* \* The chief alterations between this law and that of 1788, (which is now repealed), are printed in *Italic*.

JAMAICA, *f.*

AN ACT to repeal an act, intituled "An act to repeal several acts and clauses of acts respecting slaves, and for the better order and government of slaves, and for other purposes;" and also to repeal the several acts and clauses of acts, which were repealed by the act intituled as aforesaid; and for consolidating, and bringing into one act, the several laws relating to slaves, and for giving them further protection and security; for altering the mode of trial of slaves charged with capital offences; and for other purposes.

*(Laws and clauses of laws to be repealed.)*

WHEREAS it is for the public good, that all the laws respecting the order and government of slaves, should be consolidated, and brought into one law, in order to prevent confusion, and that justice may more effectually be executed respecting slaves; and whereas it is found necessary for the purpose of giving further security to slaves, that the mode of trial of slaves charged with capital offences should be altered; and whereas, in order thereto, it is necessary that all the herein after-mentioned laws, and clauses of laws, should be repealed; viz. &c. &c. &c. We, your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the assembly of this your majesty's island of Jamaica, do most humbly beseech your majesty that it may be enacted, Be it therefore enacted, by the lieutenant governor, council, and assembly of this said island, and it is hereby enacted and ordained by the authority of the same, That from and after the passing of this act, all and every the said herein before-mentioned laws, and clauses of laws, and every part thereof, be, and stand annulled, repealed, and made void, and are hereby annulled, repealed, and made void, to all intents

and purposes whatsoever ; any thing in the said laws, and clauses of laws, or in any other law contained to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.

*(Proprietors, &c. to allot land for every slave, and to allow him to cultivate it.)*

II. And whereas nothing can contribute more to the good order and government of slaves than the humanity of their owners, in providing for and supplying them with good and wholesome provisions, and proper and sufficient clothing, and all such other things as may be proper and necessary for them, during their being in a state of slavery : For which end and purpose, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, every master, owner, or possessor, of any plantation or plantations, pens, or other lands whatsoever, shall allot and appoint a sufficient quantity of land for every slave he shall have in possession upon, or belonging to, such plantation or plantations, pens, or other lands, as and for the proper ground of every such slave, and allow such slave sufficient time to work the same, in order to provide him, her, or themselves, with sufficient provisions for his, her, or their maintenance : and also, all such masters, owners, or possessors of plantations, pens, or other lands, shall plant upon such plantations, pens, or other lands, in ground-provisions, at least one acre of land for every ten negroes that he shall be possessed of on such plantation, pen, or other lands, over and above the negro grounds aforesaid ; which lands shall be kept up in a planter-like condition, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

*(Slaves otherwise provided for.)*

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every such master, owner or possessor, or his or her overseer or chief manager, shall personally inspect into the condition of such negro-grounds once in every month at the least, in order to see that the same are cultivated and kept up in a proper manner, of which oath shall be made, as in this act is hereafter directed. And whereas it may happen, that in many plantations, pens, settlements, and towns, in this island, there may not be lands proper for the purposes aforesaid ; then, and in that case, the masters, owners, or possessors, do, by some other

ways and means, make good and ample provision for all such slaves as they shall be possessed of, equal to the value of two shillings and six pence currency per week for each slave, in order that they may be properly supported and maintained, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

*(Owners obliged to provide for disabled slaves.)*

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no master, owner, or possessor of any slave or slaves, whether in his or her own right, or as attorney, guardian, trustee, executor, or otherwise, shall discard or turn away any such slave or slaves, on account of or by reason of such slave or slaves being rendered incapable of labour or service to such master, owner, or possessor, by means of sickness, age, or infirmity: but every such master, owner, or possessor, as aforesaid, shall be, and he is hereby obliged, to keep all such slave or slaves upon his, her, or their properties, and to find and provide them with wholesome necessaries of life, and not suffer such slave or slaves as aforesaid to be in want thereof, or to wander about, or become burthensome to others for sustenance, under the penalty of ten pounds for every such offence, to be recovered in a summary manner, before any one justice of the peace in this island; who is hereby authorized, empowered, and required, to cause such master, owner, or possessor, his, her, or their attorney or agent, and such other persons as he shall judge necessary, to be summoned before him, to enable him to judge and determine of the propriety of such information, and whether such master, owner, or possessor, ought to incur the said penalty; and in the mean time, and until such trial can be had, the said justice of the peace, on his own view, or upon the information of any white person, upon oath, is hereby empowered and required to take up such wandering, sick, aged, or infirm, slave, or slaves, and to lodge him, her, or them, in the nearest workhouse, there to be clothed and fed, but not worked, at the expense of the master, owner, or possessor, until such trial as aforesaid can be had; and if it shall appear to the said justice, on such trial, that the party or parties so complained of is or are guilty of the said offence, and shall refuse to pay the said ten pounds, and the fees to such workhouse for the maintenance of such slave or slaves, together with the charges of the conviction, the said justice is hereby required and empowered, under the

penalty of twenty pounds, forthwith, by warrant under his hand and seal, directed to the constable, to commit such offender or offenders to the common gaol of the county or parish where the offence shall be committed, there to remain until he or she shall pay the said sum of ten pounds, and charges as aforesaid; one moiety of which said fine shall be paid to the informer, and the other moiety shall be paid into the hands of the churchwardens of such parish, for the poor of said parish; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

*(Slaves to be clothed by their owner once a year.)*

V. And, for the better encouragement of slaves to do their duty to their masters, owners, or possessors, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every master, owner, or possessor of slaves, shall, once in every year, provide and give to each slave they shall be possessed of, proper and sufficient cloathing, to be approved of by the justices and vestry of the parish where such master, owner, or possessor of such slaves resides, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

*(Owners to instruct slaves in the Christian religion.)*

VI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all masters and mistresses, owners, or, in their absence, overseers of slaves, shall, as much as in them lies, endeavour the instruction of their slaves in the principles of the Christian religion, whereby to facilitate their conversion, and shall do their utmost endeavours to fit them for baptism, and as soon as conveniently they can, cause to be baptised all such as they can make sensible of a Deity and the Christian faith.

*(Owners to give in an account of provision-ground.)*

VII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every master, owner, proprietor, or possessor of slaves, his or her overseer or chief manager, at their giving in an account of their slaves and stock to the justices and vestry, on the twenty eighth day of December in every year, shall, under the penalty of fifty pounds for every neglect, also give in on oath, an account of the quantity of land in ground-provisions, over and above the negro-grounds, upon such

plantation, pen, or other settlement, where there are lands proper for the cultivation of such provisions; and, where there are not lands proper for such purposes, then an account, on oath, of the provision made on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, or means adopted for the maintenance of the slaves thereon; and shall also, at the same time, and under the like penalty, give in an account, on oath, of the nature and quantity of the clothing actually served to each slave on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, for the approbation of the justices and vestry as aforesaid; and, shall likewise at the same time declare, on oath, that he hath inspected the negro-grounds (where such grounds are allotted) of such plantation, pen, or settlement, according to the directions of this act.

*(Premium to slaves for informing of runaways, &c.)*

VIII. And in order to encourage slaves for every good and worthy act that they shall do, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every slave or slaves that shall take up any runaway slave, or inform against any person who shall have or conceal any runaway slave or slaves, so that such runaway slave or slaves may be taken and restored to his owner or owners; every such slave or slaves, so informing, shall be entitled to such reward as any justice shall in reason and justice think just and reasonable, and be paid by such person or persons as such justice shall determine ought to pay the same, not exceeding twenty shillings.

*(The killing or apprehending rebellious slaves rewarded.)*

IX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any slave or slaves shall kill or take any slave or slaves in actual rebellion, he or they shall receive from the churchwardens of the respective parishes where such slave or slaves shall have been killed, the sum of three pounds, and the sum of five pounds if taken alive, and a blue cloth coat, with a red cross on the right shoulder, to be paid by the churchwardens of the respective parishes where such slave or slaves shall have been killed or taken; the whole expense whereof shall be reimbursed by the receiver-general for the time being, out of any monies in his hands unappropriated.

*(Persons mutilating slaves fined and imprisoned.)*

*(Mutilated slaves, in certain cases, declared free.)*

*(Justices to inquire into such mutilations and prosecute the offenders.)*

*(Owners sued for costs.)*

X. And, in order to prevent any person from mutilating or dismembering any slave or slaves, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any master, mistress, owner, possessor, or other person whatsoever, shall, at his, her, or their own will and pleasure, or by his, her, or their direction, or with his, her, or their knowledge, sufferance, privity, or consent, mutilate or dismember any slave or slaves, he, she, or they, shall be liable to be indicted for each offence in the supreme court of judicature, or in any of the assize courts of this island; and, upon conviction, shall be punished by fine, not exceeding one hundred pounds, and imprisonment, not exceeding twelve months, for each and every slave so mutilated or dismembered; and such punishment is declared to be without prejudice to any action that could or might be brought at common law, for recovery of damages for or on account of the same: And, in very atrocious cases, where the owner of such slave or slaves shall be convicted of such offence, the court before whom such offender shall have been tried and convicted, are hereby impowered, in case they shall think it necessary, for the future protection of such slave or slaves, to declare him, her, or them free, and discharged from all manner of servitude, to all intents and purposes whatsoever: And, in all such cases, the court are hereby impowered and authorised, if to them it shall appear necessary, to order and direct the said fine of one hundred pounds to be paid to the justices and vestry of the parish to which the said slave or slaves belonged, to the use of the said parish, the said justices and vestry, in consideration thereof, paying to such of the said slave or slaves so made free, the sum of ten pounds per annum, for his, her, or their maintenance and support during life; and in case any slave or slaves shall suffer any before described mutilations, such slave or slaves, on his, her, or their application to any justice of the peace, the said justice of the peace shall be, and is hereby directed, required, and empowered, on view, and certain conviction of the fact, to send such slave or slaves to the nearest work-house where such offence shall be committed, and such slave or slaves shall be there safely kept, and carefully attended, at the expense of such



parish, until such time as there may be a legal meeting of the justices and vestry of such parish; which justices and vestry so met, are hereby created and appointed a council of protection of such slave or slaves: And the said justices and vestry, so met, are hereby directed and empowered to make further and full inquiry, upon view, into the commitment of the mutilation of such slave or slaves; and, if to them it shall appear proper, the said justices and vestry are hereby empowered and required to prosecute to effect such owner or owners; the expense of which prosecution shall be paid by the parish where such offence shall be committed: And in case the owner or owners of such slave or slaves shall appear capable of paying the costs and charges of such before-mentioned prosecution, the said justices and vestry are hereby empowered to commence suit or suits against such owner or owners of such slave or slaves, and recover all costs and charges out of purse, by them laid out and expended in such suit or suits: And the keeper or supervisor of the work-house where such mutilated slave or slaves shall have been first committed, is hereby directed and required, upon due notice of the first meeting of the justices and vestry of the parish where the offence was committed, to produce such mutilated slave or slaves, for the inspection and direction of such justices and vestry, under the penalty of twenty pounds for every neglect, in not producing before such justices and vestry such slave or slaves.

*(Justices to issue their warrants to bring mutilated slaves before them.)*

XI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid. That in case any justice of the peace shall receive any complaint or probable intelligence from any slave or otherwise, that any slave or slaves is or are so mutilated, or is or are confined without sufficient support, it shall and may be lawful for such justice of the peace, and he is hereby empowered and required, forthwith to issue his warrant to any constable, ordering him immediately to proceed to the place where such slave or slaves, so mutilated, are confined, and such slave or slaves to release and bring before such justice, who, on view of the fact, is hereby authorised to send such slave or slaves to the work-house for protection, and who is there to be kept, but not to be worked, until inquiry shall be made into the fact according to law.

*(Persons wilfully killing slaves to suffer death.)*

XII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any person hereafter shall wantonly, willingly, or bloody-mindedly kill, or cause to be killed, any negro, or other slave, such person so offending shall, on conviction, be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy, and shall suffer death accordingly for the said offence: Provided always, that such conviction shall not extend to the corrupting the blood, or the forfeiture of lands or tenements, goods or chattles; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding.

*(Persons cruelly beating slaves, how punishable.)*

XIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, any person or persons that shall wantonly or cruelly whip, *maltreat*, beat, bruise, wound, or shall imprison or keep in confinement, without sufficient support, any slave or slaves, shall be subject to be indicted for the same in the supreme court of judicature, or in either of the courts of assize, or courts of quarter sessions in this island; and, upon being thereof legally convicted, he, she, or they, shall suffer such punishment, by fine or imprisonment, or *both*, as the judges or justices of such courts shall think proper to inflict; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding: And such punishment is hereby declared to be without prejudice to any action at common law that could or might be brought for the recovery of damages for and on account of the same, in case such slave or slaves shall not be the property of the offender.

*(Arbitrary punishment restrained.)*

XIV. And in order to restrain arbitrary punishments, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no slave on any plantation or settlement, or in any of the work-houses or gaols in this island, shall receive more than ten lashes at one time and for one offence, unless the owner, attorney, guardian, executor, or administrator, or overseer, of such plantation or settlement, having such slave in his care, or supervisor of such work-house, or keeper of such gaol, shall be present; and that no such owner, attorney, guardian, executor, ad-

ministrator, or overseer, supervisor, or gaol-keeper shall, on any account, punish a slave with more than thirty-nine lashes at one time, and for one offence, nor inflict, or suffer to be inflicted, such last-mentioned punishment, nor any other number of lashes, in the same day, nor until the delinquent has recovered from the effects of any former punishment, under the penalty of ten pounds for every offence, to be recovered against the person directing or permitting such punishment.

*(Putting iron collars or other chains on slaves, prohibited.)*

XV. And whereas a mischievous practice hath sometimes prevailed of punishing ill-disposed slaves, and such as are apt to abscond from their owners, by fixing or causing to be fixed round the necks of such slaves, an iron collar with projecting bars or books, to prevent the future desertion of such slaves; Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That such practice is hereby declared to be utterly unlawful, and that no person shall, on any pretence whatsoever, under the penalty of fifty pounds, punish any negro or other slave, whether his own property or otherwise, by fixing, or causing to be fixed any iron or other collar round the neck of such slave, or by loading the body or limbs of such slave, for any offence whatsoever, with chains, irons or weights, of any kind, other than such as are absolutely necessary for securing the person of such slave; and all and every the justices of the peace, within this island, are hereby authorised, directed and required, under the penalty of one hundred pounds, on information and view of such offence, to order such collar, chains, irons, or weights, to be immediately taken off from the slave or slaves wearing or bearing the same.

*(Justices and vestry to support disabled negroes.)*

*(How such slaves are disposed of.)*

XVI. And whereas, from the decease and removal of residence of many proprietors of slaves, and other circumstances, and from the manumission of negro, mulatto, and other slaves, without any suitable provision being made for their future maintenance, many unhappy objects, afflicted with contagious distempers, or disabled from labour by sickness, old age, and otherwise, and, having no owners, prove dangerous, or become a burthen and nuisance to the several towns and parishes of this island: For remedy whereof, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the justices and vestrymen

of the several towns and parishes in this island be empowered, and they are hereby empowered, to lay a tax upon the inhabitants of the said said several towns and parishes, in the same manner as the parochial taxes are usually laid, for the purpose of raising such a sum as they shall judge sufficient to provide for the maintenance, cloathing, medical care, and attendance, in the work-houses or other convenient places of the said several towns and parishes of this island, of such negro, mulatto, or other slaves, or other unhappy objects as aforesaid: And the magistrates respectively of such town and parish are hereby empowered and required, upon application being made to them, or either of them, to order all such objects as aforesaid to be removed and conveyed to the respective work-houses of each parish, where (if a slave) the former proprietor or proprietors, owner or owners, of such slave lived or resided; or, if a person of colour made free, where the person or persons who manumised or set free such person of colour resided before his decease, there to be lodged and taken care of as aforesaid: And the magistrates and vestries of the several towns and parishes as aforesaid, are hereby empowered and required to make from time to time, all such humane and salutary regulations, for the purposes aforesaid, as to them shall appear necessary and expedient.

*(Owners must not allow their slaves to travel without tickets, under penalty.)*

*(Penalty on neglect of duty.)*

XVII. And whereas it is absolutely necessary, that the slaves in this island should be kept in due obedience to their owners, and in due subordination to the white people in general, and as much as in the power of the legislature, all means and opportunities of slaves committing rebellious conspiracies, and other crimes, to the ruin and destruction of the white people, and others in this island, prevented, and that proper punishments should be appointed for all crimes to be by them committed, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no slave, *such only excepted as are going with firewood, grass, fruit, provisions, or small stock and other goods which they may lawfully sell, to market, and returning therefrom,* shall hereafter be suffered or permitted to go out of his or her master or owner's plantation or settlement, or to travel from one town or place to another, unless

such slave shall have a ticket from his master, owner, employer, or overseer, expressing particularly the time of such slave's setting out, and where he or she is going, and the time limited for his or her return, under a penalty not exceeding forty shillings for every slave so offending, to be recovered from the master, owner, employer, or overseer, in a summary manner, before any one justice of the peace, by warrant of distress, complaint being made to him upon oath, unless the master, owner, employer, or overseer, of such slave shall prove, upon oath, before any justice of the peace of the parish or precinct where such master, owner, employer, or overseer, may or shall live or happen to be, that he did give the said slave such ticket as aforesaid, or that such slave went away without his consent; and if such justice shall refuse or neglect his duty, either in causing the penalty to be forthwith levied, on complaint being made to him as aforesaid, on the owner, overseer, or any other person, who shall suffer a slave, being under his or their direction, to go without a ticket as aforesaid, every justice so offending shall forfeit the sum of five pounds; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

*(Slaves allowed holydays.)*

XVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That for the future, all slaves in this island shall be allowed the usual number of holydays that were allowed at the usual seasons of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide: Provided, That, at every such respective season, no two holydays shall be allowed to follow or succeed immediately one after the other, except at Christmas, when they shall be allowed Christmas-day, and also the day immediately succeeding: any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding: And if any master, owner, guardian, or attorney, of any plantation or settlement, or the overseer of such plantation or settlement, shall presume, at the seasons aforesaid, to allow any holydays to any slave belonging to any such plantation or settlement, other than as directed by this act to be given, every person so offending, shall forfeit the sum of five pounds.

*(Slaves allowed one day in every fortnight.)*

XIX. And whereas it hath been usual and customary with the planters in this island, to allow their slaves one day in every fortnight

to cultivate their own provision-grounds (exclusive of Sundays), except during the time of crop; but the same not being compulsory, Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the slaves belonging to, or employed on, every plantation or settlement, shall, over and above the holydays herein before-mentioned, be allowed one day in every fortnight, to cultivate their own provision-grounds, exclusive of Sundays, except during the time of crop, under the penalty of fifty pounds, to be recovered against the overseer or other person having the care of such slaves.

*(Time allowed for breakfast, &c.)*

XX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every field-slave on such plantation or settlement shall, on work days, be allowed, according to custom, half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner; and that no slaves shall be compelled to any manner of field-work upon the plantation before the hour of five in the morning, or after the hour of seven at night, except during the time of crop, under the penalty of fifty pounds, to be recovered against the overseer, or other person having the care of such slaves.

*(Penalty for suffering unlawful assemblies of slaves.)*

XXI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any master, owner, guardian, or attorney, of any plantation or settlement, shall hereafter suffer any strange slaves, exceeding twelve in number, to assemble together and beat their military drums, or blow their horns, or shells, upon any plantation, pen, or settlement, or in any yard or place under his, her, or their, care or management, or shall not endeavour to disperse or prevent the same, by immediately giving notice thereof to the next magistrate or commissioned officer that a proper force may be sent to disperse the said slaves; every such master, owner, guardian, or attorney, shall, for every such offence, upon conviction thereof, upon an indictment in the supreme court of judicature or courts of assize, pay a fine of fifty pounds to his majesty, his heirs and successors, for and towards the support of the government of this island, and the contingent charges thereof: Provided nevertheless, That information of such offence shall be made, upon oath, before any of his majesty's justices of the peace, within the space of five days after the commission of such offence.

*(Civil or military officers to suppress such assemblies.)*

XXII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all officers, civil and military, shall be, and are hereby, empowered and required, to enter into any plantation, settlement, or other place, to disperse all such unlawful assemblies, and to suppress and prevent all unlawful drummings or other noise, as before mentioned; any law, custom or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

*(Overseers, &c. who suffer such assemblies, to be imprisoned.)*

XXIII. And whereas it has been found by experience, that rebellions have been often concerted at negro dances, and nightly meetings of the slaves of different plantations, when such slaves are generally intoxicated; and as it has been found also, that those meetings tend much to injure the healths of negroes; Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any overseer, or in his absence, any book-keeper, or other white person, having the care and management of any plantation or settlement, shall suffer any slaves to assemble together, and beat their military drums, or blow their horns or shells, every such overseer, book-keeper, or other white person so offending, shall for every such offence, upon conviction thereof, upon an indictment in the supreme court of judicature, or before the justices of assize, suffer six months imprisonment, without bail or mainprize: Provided information is made, upon oath as aforesaid, before one of his majesty's justices of the peace, within five days after the commission of such offence: And provided always nevertheless, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent any master, owner, or proprietor, of any plantation or settlement, or the overseer thereof, from granting liberty to the slaves of such plantation or settlement only, for assembling together upon such plantation or settlement, and playing and diverting themselves in any innocent amusements, so as they do not make use of military drums, horns, or shells; but that they shall and may grant such liberty when and as often as they please, any thing in this, or any other act, to the contrary notwithstanding: Provided, that such amusements are put an end to by twelve of the clock at night.

*(Negro burials to be in day time.)*

XXIV. *And in order to prevent riots and nightly meetings among negro and other slaves, to the disturbance of the public peace, and the endangering their healths, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all negro burials shall in future take place in the day time only, so that the same may be ended before sunset; and if any master, owner, or possessor of slaves, his or her overseer, or chief manager, shall knowingly suffer or permit the burial of any slave otherwise than as before directed, he shall forfeit the sum of fifty pounds.*

*(Imprisonment for negroes suffering assemblies at their houses.)*

XXV. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Indian, free negro, or mulatto, shall hereafter suffer any unlawful assembly of slaves at his or her house or settlement, every such Indian, free negro, or mulatto, shall upon due conviction thereof, suffer imprisonment, not exceeding six months; Provided nevertheless, that information thereof shall be given on oath, within five days of such unlawful meeting.*

*(Slaves not to keep fire-arms.)*

XXVI. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all slaves who shall hereafter be found to have in his or their custody, any fire-arms, gun-powder, slugs, or ball, such slave being thereof convicted before two justices, shall suffer such punishment as the said justices shall think proper to inflict, by whipping or hard labour in the workhouse, not exceeding the term of six months.*

*(Punishment on slaves offering violence to whites.)*

XXVII. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any slave shall offer any violence, by striking or otherwise, to any white person, such slave, upon due and proper proof, shall upon conviction, be punished with death, transportation, or confinement to hard labour, not exceeding two years, or otherwise, as the court shall, in their discretion, think proper to inflict; Provided, such striking or conflict be not by command of his or their owners, overseers, or persons intrusted over them, or in the lawful defence of their owners persons or goods.*



*(Punishment on slaves harbouring slaves.)*

XXVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any slave or slaves, who shall knowingly harbour or conceal any runaway slave or slaves, shall be liable to be tried for the same at the slave court hereinafter appointed, and on conviction, suffer such punishment as the justices of the said court shall think proper to inflict, *not extending to life or limb.*

*(Who are deemed runaways.)*

XXIX. And whereas it is very dangerous to the peace and safety of this island, to suffer slaves to continue out as runaways, and it is absolutely necessary to declare and make known to the public what slaves shall be deemed such; Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, any slave or slaves who *shall be absent from his owner or employer, without leave, for the space of ten days, and shall be found at the distance of eight miles from the house, plantation, or other settlement, to which he, she, or they belong, without a ticket or other permit to pass, except as before excepted, in going to and returning from market,* shall be deemed a runaway.

*(Reward for securing runaways.)*

XXX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that any person whatsoever, who shall apprehend such slave or slaves, shall, for every one so apprehended, be entitled to receive from the owner, employer, overseer, or manager of such slave or slaves, the sum of ten shillings, and no more, besides mile-money, at the rate of one shilling per mile for the first five miles, and six-pence per mile afterwards: Provided such slave or slaves had absented him, her, or themselves, ten days, without the privity, knowledge, or consent, of the proprietor, overseer, or other white person, residing on the plantation or settlement to which such slave or slaves shall belong; which time of absence of such slave or slaves shall be declared on the oath of such proprietor, overseer, or other white person, as aforesaid, if the party taking up such slave or slaves shall require it: But it is the true intent and meaning of this act, that every person or persons who shall apprehend any slave or slaves, that usually reside in, or are employed in, any of the towns of this island, and that at the time are actually runaway or ab-

sent from their owner, employer, or manager's service, ten days, shall be entitled to the reward of ten shillings, although the slave or slaves should not be eight miles distant from their employer's habitation: Provided nevertheless, That nothing in this act contained, shall be construed to extend to an allowance of the said sum of ten shillings and mile-money, in addition to the sum allowed to maroon negroes for apprehending runaways: And provided also, That it is not hereby intended to deprive the said maroons of their legal and established reward of forty shillings for each negro.

*(How runaways are to be disposed of.)*

XXXI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the person or persons so apprehending such slave or slaves, shall convey him, her, or them, to their respective owner, employer, or manager, or to the workhouse of such parish, if any workhouse is established there; and in case of there being no workhouse to the next goal, in case the owner, employer, or manager, of such slave or slaves shall refuse to pay the said sum of ten shillings, and mile-money as aforesaid, or take the oath as to the time of absence; in which case, the goal or workhouse-keeper is hereby required and ordered to receive such slave or slaves into his or their custody, and to pay the party delivering such slave or slaves the said sum of ten shillings, and mile-money as aforesaid, and no more, for each slave so delivered, under the penalty of five pounds: Provided nevertheless, That if such slave or slaves is or are brought to any gaol or workhouse by any white person, free negro, free mulatto, or Indian, no gaoler or workhouse-keeper shall pay such sum before such person shall have taken an oath, (which oath such gaoler or workhouse-keeper is hereby required, under the penalty of five pounds, to file in his office and produce, whenever thereunto required by the owner or possessor of such slave or slaves), that the slave or slaves so apprehended was or were at the reputed distance of eight miles from the house, plantation, or settlement, to which such slave or slaves do belong (except as before is excepted), and that such slave or slaves had no ticket or other permit in writing from his master, mistress, overseer, employer, or manager, at the time such slave or slaves was or were apprehended, for him, her, or them, to pass unmolested, and that the said slave or slaves had been carried first to the owner, employer, or manager, of such slave

or slaves (provided such owner, employer, or manager, shall be in the parish in which such slave or slaves shall be apprehended), and that the master, mistress, overseer, or manager, had refused to pay for the apprehending him, her, or them, according to the intent and meaning of this act.

*(Time of tickets limited.)*

XXXII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no ticket shall be granted to any slave or slaves for any time exceeding one calendar month.

*(Account of births and deaths must be given in.)*

XXXIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That on the twenty-eighth day of December in every year (the time of giving in as aforesaid), or within thirty days after, the owner, overseer, or manager of every plantation, pen, or settlement, shall give in on oath, an account of all the births and deaths of the slaves of such plantation, pen, or settlement, for the preceding year, under the penalty of fifty pounds, to be recovered from the owner of such plantation, pen or other settlement.

*(Overseer to pay if his neglect.)*

XXXIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, if the not giving in upon oath such several accounts shall be owing to the neglect of the overseer or manager of such plantation, pen, or other settlement, it shall and may be lawful for the owner, proprietor, or possessor of such plantation, pen, or other settlement, to stop and detain the penalty he or she shall suffer by this law, out of the wages of such overseer or manager.

*(Surgeons to give in an account of slaves dying.)*

*(Encouragement for increase of slaves.)*

XXXV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the doctor or surgeon of every plantation, pen, or other settlement, shall on the twenty-eighth day of December, in every year (the time of giving in as aforesaid) or within thirty days after, give in an account, on oath, of the deaths of such slaves as have died in the preceding year, or during such time as such doctor or surgeon hath had the care of

the slaves on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, with the cause of such deaths to the best of his knowledge, judgment, and belief, under the penalty of one hundred pounds for every neglect: And in case it shall appear to the satisfaction of the justices and vestry, from the return of the owner, overseer, or manager aforesaid, that there has been a natural increase in the number of slaves on any such plantation, pen, or other settlement, the overseer shall be entitled to receive from the owner or proprietor of such plantation, pen, or other settlement, the sum of three pounds for every slave born on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, in the time aforesaid, and which shall be then living *after deducting the decrease*; and the owner or proprietor of such plantation, pen, or other settlement, shall have a deduction from the first of his or her public taxes that shall become due of the sum so paid to the overseer, on producing a certificate of the justices and vestry of such increase, and a receipt of the overseer for the sum so paid.

*(Further encouragement for the increase of slaves.)*

XXXVI. *And, in order that further encouragement may be given to the increase and protection of negro infants, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every female slave who shall have six children living, shall be exempted from hard labour in the field or otherwise, and the owner or possessor of every such female slave shall be exempted from all manner of taxes for such female slave, any thing in the act commonly called the poll-tax law, or any other of the tax laws of this island passed, or annually to be passed, to the contrary notwithstanding; and a deduction shall be made for all such female slaves from the taxes of such owner or possessor, by certificate of the justices and vestry, at the same time, and in manner as directed in the case of an annual increase of the number of slaves as aforesaid; Provided nevertheless, That proof be given, on oath, to the satisfaction of the said justices and vestry, not only that the requisite number of children, together with the mother, are living; but also that the mother is exempted from all manner of field or other hard labour, and is provided with the means of an easy and comfortable maintenance.*

*(Penalty on free negroes, &c. granting tickets to slaves.)*

XXXVII. *And whereas the more effectually to conceal runaway slaves, or prevent their being apprehended, tickets are given by Indi-*

ans, free negroes, or free mulattoes, Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that any Indian, free negro, or mulatto, granting or giving such ticket, with such intent, shall be deemed guilty of forgery, and shall be liable to be tried for the said offence before the supreme court of judicature, or in either of the courts of assize in this island where the offence shall be committed; and, on conviction, shall suffer the loss of freedom, transportation, or such other punishment as the court, in their discretion, shall think proper to inflict.

*(Whites granting such tickets punishable.)*

XXXVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if such ticket shall be granted or given by any white person, with such intent as aforesaid, to any slave or slaves, before or after his or their absenting themselves from their owner, employer, overseer, or manager, such white person shall be deemed guilty of forgery, and shall be liable to be tried for the same before the supreme court of judicature, or either of the assize courts of this island, where the offence shall be committed; and on conviction, shall suffer such punishment as the court, in their discretion shall think proper to inflict.

*(Keepers of gaols, &c. to advertise runaways,—detain them until paid their fees,—attest the charges for mile-money, &c.)*

XXXIX. And to the end that the owners and proprietors of runaway slaves may have a due knowledge where such slaves are confined, after their being apprehended and sent to any workhouse or goal in this island, in order that such owners and proprietors may apply for such slaves; Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, all and every of the keepers of the workhouses, or gaol-keepers, in any of the parishes of this island, shall, and they are hereby obliged, once in every week, to advertise in the Gazette of St. Jago de la Vega, the Royal Gazette of Kingston, and the Cornwall Chronicle, the height, names, marks, and sex, and also the country, where the same can be ascertained, of each and every runaway slave then in their custody, together with the time of their being sent into custody, and the name or names of the owner or owners thereof, if known, and that upon oath, under the penalty of ten pounds for every slave so neglected by him to be advertised; and, for the expense of such advertisement, they the said workhouse-

keepers or gaol-keepers shall and may, and they are hereby authorized to charge the owner or proprietor of such runaway slaves so advertised, at and after the rate of one shilling and three-pence per month for each paper, and no more; and that it shall and may be lawful for the keeper of the workhouse or gaol-keeper, to detain and keep in his or their custody such runaway slave or slaves so brought unto him or them, until the owner or owners thereof, or some person on their behalf, properly authorized, shall pay unto him or them what he or they so paid to the person or persons who apprehended and brought such slave or slaves into custody, with two shillings and six-pence in the pound for laying out his or their money, the cost of advertising, after the rate above mentioned, and six-pence for every twenty-four hours such slave or slaves shall have been in custody, for maintenance, and two pence per day for medical care and extraordinary nourishment where necessary, and also the charges of advertising above directed, and no other fees whatever; and that the gaoler, workhouse-keeper, or supervisor, and no other person, shall attest, upon oath, that the charges in the account for mile-money, and the reward for apprehending such slave, were actually paid to the person who brought such runaway, and that the whole of the charges in the said account are strictly conformable to this law.

*(Keepers of gaols, &c. to allow them provisions.)*

XL. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the keeper of every workhouse or gaol in this island shall, under the penalty of ten pounds for every neglect, provide and give to every slave confined in such workhouse or gaol, a sufficient quantity of good and wholesome provisions daily; that is to say, not less than one quart of unground Guinea or Indian corn, or three pints of the flour or meal of either, or three pints of wheat flour, or eight full-grown plantains, or eight pounds of cocoas or yams, and also one herring or shad, or other salted provisions equal thereto.

*(Keepers of gaols not to hire them out.)*

XLI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no gaol-keeper in this island, or any person acting under him as clerk or deputy, shall on any pretence whatsoever, work or employ any slave or slaves sent to his custody, upon any plantation, pen, or set-

tlement, belonging to or in the possession of any such goal-keeper, nor hire or lend such slave or slaves out to work for any other person or persons, during such time such slave or slaves shall be in his custody, but that all such slaves shall be and remain in the common gaol of the county or parish, in order to be inspected by any person or persons desiring the same; and in case any gaol-keeper shall offend herein, he shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of fifty pounds.

*(Certain runaways, how liable to be punished.)*

XLII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all slaves who shall have been in this island for the space of two years, and shall run away, and continue absent for a term not exceeding six months, shall be liable to be tried by two justices; and, upon conviction thereof, such slave or slaves shall suffer such punishment as the said justices shall think proper to inflict.

*(Runaways absent six months, how punishable.)*

XLIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any slave shall run away from his owner or lawful possessor, and be absent for more than six months, such slave, being duly convicted thereof, shall be sentenced to be confined to hard labour for such time as the court shall determine, or be transported for life, according to the magnitude of the offence.

*(Slaves guilty of Obeah, how punishable.)*

XLIV. And, in order to prevent the many mischiefs that may hereafter arise from the wicked art of negroes going under the appellation of Obeah men and women, pretending to have communication with the devil and other evil spirits, whereby the weak and superstitious are deluded into a belief of their having full power to exempt them, whilst under their protection, from any evils that might otherwise happen; Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, any slave who shall pretend to any supernatural power, in order to promote the purposes of rebellion, shall, upon conviction thereof, suffer death, transportation, or such other punishment as the court shall think proper to direct; any thing in this, or any other act, to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

*(Slaves attempting to poison, to suffer death.)*

XLV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro or other slave shall mix or prepare, with an intent to give, or cause to be given, any poison or poisonous drug, or shall actually give, or cause to be given, any such poison or poisonous drug, in the practice of Obeah or otherwise, although death may not ensue upon the taking thereof, the said slave or slaves, together with their accessaries, as well before as after the fact (being slaves), being duly convicted thereof, shall suffer death, or transportation for life, as the court shall determine; any thing in this, or any other act, to the contrary notwithstanding.

*(Slaves punishable if found in possession of large quantities of fresh meat.)*

XLVI. And whereas great numbers of horned catt'e, sheep, goats, horses, mares, mules, and asses, are frequently stolen and killed by negro and other slaves, in so secret and private a manner that it is with the greatest difficulty they can be found out and discovered, in such manner as to convict them of such offence, although large quantity of beef, mutton, and the flesh of other valuable animals, are found upon him, her, or them; in order, therefore, to prevent such evils in future, and to punish the perpetrators of such acts, agreeably to their crimes, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro or other slave shall fraudulently have in his, her, or their custody or possession, unknown to his or her master, owner, overseer, or other person, who shall have the overlooking or employing of such slave, any fresh beef, veal, mutton, or goat, or the flesh of horse, mare, mule, or ass, in any quantity exceeding five and not exceeding twenty pounds weight, such negro or other slave, upon due conviction thereof before any two magistrates, shall be whipped in such manner as such magistrates shall direct, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes; and if there shall be found in his, her, or their custody or possession, a larger or greater quantity than twenty pounds weight of fresh beef, veal, mutton, or goat, or the flesh of horse, mare, mule, or ass, and such slave shall not give a satisfactory account how he or she became possessed of such meat, that then such negro or other slave, upon conviction thereof, shall suffer such punishment as the



said two justices shall think proper to direct, not extending to life, or imprisonment for life.

*(Slaves stealing horned cattle how punished.)*

XLVII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro or other slave shall, after the passing of this act, steal any such horned cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mare, mule, or ass, or shall kill any such horned cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mare, mule, or ass, with intent to steal the whole carcass of any such horned cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mare, mule, or ass, or any part of the flesh thereof, such negro or other slave shall, on conviction thereof, suffer death, or such other punishment as the court shall think proper to inflict.

*(Slaves guilty of crimes how tried.)*

XLVIII. And whereas it is necessary to declare how, and in what manner, slaves shall be tried for the several crimes which they may hereafter commit, Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, upon complaint made to any justice of the peace of any felony, burglary, robbery, burning of houses, cane-pieces, rebellious conspiracies, compassing or imagining the death of any white person or persons, or any other offence whatsoever committed by any slave or slaves, that shall subject such slave or slaves to suffer death or transportation, such justice shall issue out his warrant for apprehending such offender or offenders, and for all persons to be brought before him, or any other justice of the peace, that can give evidence; and the evidence of slaves against one another, in this and all other cases, shall be received; and if, upon examination, it appears probable, that the slave or slaves apprehended is or are guilty, the justice before whom such examination shall be had and taken, shall commit him, her, or them, to prison, and bind over the witnesses to appear at a certain day, not less than ten days from the day on which the complaint shall be made, and at the place where the quarter sessions are usually held, and, where there are no quarter sessions held, at the place where the parochial business is usually transacted, and shall certify to two other justices of the peace the cause of such commitment, and require them, by virtue of this act, to associate themselves to him, which said justices are hereby severally

required to do, under the penalty of twenty pounds for every neglect or refusal; and the said justices so associated, shall issue out their warrant to summon twelve persons, such as are usually warned and impannelled to serve on juries (the master, owner, or proprietor of the slave or slaves so complained of, or the attorney, guardian, trustee, overseer, or book-keeper of such master, owner, or proprietor, or the person prosecuting, his or her attorney, guardian, trustee, overseer, or book-keeper, always excepted), personally to be and appear before the said justices, at the day and place aforesaid, to be expressed in such warrant, and between the hours of eight and twelve in the forenoon, when and where the said persons so warned are hereby severally required to attend, under the penalty of five pounds; and when and where the said justices shall cause the said slave or slaves so complained of to be brought before them, and thereupon nine of the said persons so summoned as aforesaid, shall compose a jury to try the said slave or slaves, and shall by the said justices (*the charge or accusation being first read*) be sworn to try the matter before them, and to give a true verdict according to evidence; and such charge or accusation shall be deemed valid, if sufficient in substance; and if the said jurors shall, upon hearing the evidence, unanimously find the said slave or slaves guilty of the offence wherewith he, she, or they stand charged, the said justices shall give sentence of death, without benefit of clergy, or transportation, or confinement to hard labour for any limited time not exceeding two years, according to the nature of the offence, and shall cause such sentence to be carried into execution, and at such time and place as they shall think proper, women with child only excepted, whose execution shall be respited until a reasonable time after delivery: Provided always nevertheless, That at every court of quarter sessions held in each and every parish or precinct within this island, the justices there assembled shall and may, after the usual business of the said court shall be done, form themselves into a court, for the purpose of inquiring into, hearing and determining all manner of offences for which any slave or slaves are liable to be punished with death, or transportation, or confinement to hard labour, as aforesaid, and shall open the said court by proclamation, declaring the same to be a slave court for such purpose, and shall thereupon, on the like charge in writing, and in like manner, in all other respects, as the three justices associated and met as herein before-men-

tioned are, by this act, directed to proceed in the trial of slaves for such offences, proceed to try, and deliver the gaol or workhouse within the said parish or precinct, of all and every slave and slaves who shall or may then be in the custody of the marshal or keeper of the workhouse, within each and every parish or precinct as aforesaid, and shall forthwith cause a jury, consisting of nine jurors, to be called and taken from the pannel returned to the said court of quarter sessions, and shall cause them to be severally sworn, as they shall appear, to try all and every such slave and slaves as shall be brought before them, charged with any such offences as aforesaid, and a true verdict give according to evidence, as in other cases.

*(Jurors to serve under penalty.)*

XLIX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all and every the jurors who shall be returned to serve as jurors at the quarter sessions, to be holden as aforesaid, are hereby required, under the penalty of five pounds, to be and appear at the said slave-court, so to be formed and holden as aforesaid, and to serve as jurors thereon as they shall respectively be called: Provided also, that nothing in this act contained shall hinder or prevent the said justices, upon any such trial, where any slave or slaves shall be condemned to die, from respiting the execution of such sentence for any term not exceeding thirty days, or until the pleasure of the commander in chief shall be known, in case proper cause shall appear to them for so doing; and that if the jury upon any such trial shall apply to the said justices to suspend the execution of any sentence until the pleasure of the commander in chief is known, the said justices shall be obliged to suspend the same for thirty days, except in cases of trial of any slave or slaves convicted of actual rebellion; in all which cases the said justices shall, if they think it expedient, order the sentence passed on such slave or slaves to be carried into immediate execution.

*(Three justices to form a court.)*

L. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That not less than three justices shall constitute a court for the trial of any slave or slaves for any crime or offence that shall subject such slave or slaves to suffer death, transportation, or confinement to hard labour as aforesaid; and that, upon all such trials, no peremptory challenges

of any of the said jurors, or any exception to the form of the indictment, shall be allowed.

*(How executions are performed.)*

LI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all cases where the punishment of death is inflicted, the execution shall be performed in a public part of the parish and with due solemnity; and care shall be taken by the gaoler or deputy-marshal, that the criminal is free from intoxication at the time of his trial, and from thence to and at the time of his execution, under the penalty of five pounds; and the mode of such execution shall be hanging by the neck, and no other; and the body shall be afterwards disposed of in such manner as the court shall direct: And provided also, that where several slaves shall be capitally convicted for the same offence, one only shall suffer death, except in cases of murder or rebellion.

*(Slaves giving false evidence how punished.)*

LII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in case any slave or slaves shall willfully, and with evil intent, give false evidence in any trial had under this act, such slave or slaves being thereof convicted, shall suffer the same punishment as the person or persons on whose trial such false evidence was given would, if convicted, have been liable to suffer.

*(How fees of slaves discharged by proclamation are paid.)*

LIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That where any slave or slaves shall be discharged by proclamation, the deputy marshal or workhouse-keeper shall be entitled to receive all such fees as shall be due to him or them for such slave or slaves at the time of such discharge, from the public, upon application and due proof made, in the most solemn manner, to the assembly, or any committee thereof, and that such slave or slaves, during the time they were in the custody of such deputy marshal or workhouse-keeper, was and were found and provided with proper and sufficient provisions equal to what is allowed by this law.

*(Clerk of the peace to record slave trials.)*

LIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That a record shall be entered up of all proceedings on the trials of slaves, for

any crime that shall subject any slave or slaves to suffer death, transportation, or confinement to hard labour for the term of two years, in a book kept for that purpose by the clerk of the peace, or his lawful deputy, of the precinct; who is hereby obliged to attend all such trials, and to record the proceedings within thirty days after such trial, under the penalty of twenty pounds for each neglect; and he shall be entitled to receive from the churchwardens of such parish the sum of two pounds fifteen shillings, and no more, for attending each trial, entering up the record, and any other business incidental thereto: And further, that the deputy marshal for the said parish, or some proper person acting under him, shall also be obliged to attend such trial, under the same penalty of twenty pounds for each neglect; and that he shall be entitled to receive from the churchwardens of such parish forty shillings, for attending at the trial and execution of such offender as shall be condemned to die, and no more.

*(Five days notice of trial to be given.)*

LV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all trials of any slave or slaves under this act, sufficient notice of such trial shall be first given to the owner, proprietor, or possessor of such slave or slaves, his, her, or their lawful attorney or attorneys, or other representative or representatives; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

*(Slaves executed, or transported, to be valued.)*

LVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all cases where any slave or slaves shall be put upon his, her, or their trial, and shall receive sentence of death or transportation, the court, at the time of trying such slave or slaves, shall also inquire what sum or sums of money such owner, proprietor or employer of the said slave or slaves ought to receive for such slave or slaves, and certify the same, so that such sum or sums of money do not exceed the sum of sixty pounds for each slave sentenced as aforesaid.

*(Such valuation to be paid by the Receiver-general.)*

LVII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all cases where any slave or slaves shall be brought to trial, and shall be valued according to the direction of this act, such slave or

slaves shall be paid for by the receiver-general of this island, out of any monies in his hands unappropriated; and the money arising from the actual sale of such slave or slaves as shall be so transported by the deputy marshal shall be accounted for, on oath, to the church-wardens of the parish where the offence shall be tried, to be by them paid over to the receiver-general, for the use of the public.

*(Slaves returning from transportation to suffer death.)*

LVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro or other slave, who shall be transported from this island, under the direction of this act, shall wilfully return from transportation, such negro or other slave shall, upon conviction, suffer death without benefit of clergy.

*(Punishment for inferior crimes.)*

LIX. And whereas there are many inferior crimes and misdemeanours committed by slaves, which ought to be punished in a summary manner, by order of the magistrates; Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from after the passing of this act, it shall and may be lawful for any two justices of the peace to hear and determine, in a summary manner, all such crimes and misdemeanours, giving sufficient notice to the owner or proprietor of such slave or slaves, or his or her attorney or attornies, or the person having the care of such slave or slaves, of the time and place of trial, and to order and direct such punishment to be inflicted on them as such justices, in their judgment, shall think fit, not exceeding fifty lashes or six months confinement to hard labour; the expenses of which trial shall not exceed ten shillings to the constable, and shall be paid by the master, owner or employer of such slave or slaves; and in case such master, owner, or employer of such slave or slaves shall refuse or neglect to pay such expenses, it shall and may be lawful for the said justices, or either of them, to issue his or their warrant, under his or their hand and seal, directed to any constable, for levying the same on the goods and chattels of such master, owner, or employer, and to sell the same at public outcry, for the purpose of paying such expenses, together with the charges attending the granting and executing such warrant and sale of goods and chattels, returning the overplus, if any to the owner thereof.

*(Provost-marshal to deliver runaways to workhouse-keeper.)*

LX. And whereas great advantages have arisen to the community from the establishment of workhouses in the respective parishes in this island, for the reception of runaway and other slaves; And whereas there now are many such slaves in the possession of the provost-marshal, or his lawful deputies, who might be employed in the workhouses in this island to great advantage; Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, it shall and may be lawful for the governors and guardians of the respective workhouses in this island, if to them it shall seem meet, to demand and receive from the provost-marshal, or his lawful deputies, all or any of the runaway negroes or other slaves in his or their possession, or that may hereafter come into his or their custody or possession, upon the said governors and guardians paying unto the provost-marshal, or his lawful deputies, the full amount of the fees and other contingent charges attending the said runaway slaves during the time of their being committed to gaol, agreeably to this or any former act; and the provost-marshal and his lawful deputies shall comply with such requisitions, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

*(Runaways to be committed to workhouse.)*

LXI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no runaway slave shall, on any account, be committed to gaol by any magistrate of a parish where there is any workhouse established, but to such workhouse only.

*(Horses, &c. belonging to slaves to be taken up and sold.)*

LXII. And whereas the permitting and suffering negro and other slaves to keep horses, mares, mules, or geldings, is attended with many and great mischiefs to the island in general; In order, therefore, to remedy the same, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, the master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or other person, in possession of any plantation or pen in this island, having on any such plantation or pen any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, the reputed property of any slave or slaves, knowing the same to be such, shall cause them to be taken up, and shall produce them at the most public place in the parish where taken up, at such time as the justi-

ces and vestry shall, by advertisement in the public newspapers, appoint for that purpose, and that such horses, mares, mules, and geldings, be then and there sold and disposed of at public outcry; and if any master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator or other person as aforesaid, shall neglect or refuse so doing, each and every of them shall, for every neglect or refusal, respectively forfeit the sum of thirty pounds, to be recovered in a summary manner before any two justices of the peace for the parish or precinct where such neglect or refusal shall happen, by the oath of one or more credible witness or witnesses; which penalty shall be to the use of the person informing.

*(Penalty for permitting slaves to keep horses.)*

LXIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, no master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or other person, in possession of any plantation, pen, or settlement, shall knowingly permit or suffer any slave or slaves, to keep on such plantation, pen, or settlement, any horse, mare, mule or gelding; and, in case of so doing, shall for every offence, forfeit the sum of thirty pounds, to be recovered in manner aforesaid.

*(Oath to be made that slaves have no property.)*

LXIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or other person, at the respective times of their giving in an account of their slaves and stock to the justices and vestry, shall also make oath, that none of the said horses, mares, mules, or geldings, so given in, do belong to any negro or other slave; and that such person, so giving in, or his, her, or their, employer or employers, hath not, nor have, in his, her, or their possession, to his, her, or their knowledge or belief, any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, belonging to, or reputed to belong to, any slave or slaves; and in case any person or persons shall neglect or refuse so to do, every person so neglecting or refusing shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of thirty pounds, to be recovered in the same summary manner, and to be disposed of as herein before mentioned.



*(Slaves not to purchase horses, &c.)*

LXV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, no negro or other slave in this island shall purchase or buy any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, under the penalty of forfeiting such horse, mare, mule, or gelding, and to be disposed of as herein before mentioned: And if any person whatsoever shall sell or give any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, to any negro or other slave, or to any person in trust for such negro or other slave, every such person shall, for every such horse, mare, mule, or gelding, so sold or given, forfeit the sum of thirty pounds; and every person who shall purchase, or be concerned in the purchase of, any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, in trust for any negro or other slave, shall forfeit the sum of thirty pounds; which said penalties shall be recovered in the same summary manner, and disposed of as herein before mentioned; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

*(Penalty for concealing slaves against whom warrants are issued.)*

LXVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in future, whenever a warrant shall be granted by one or more of his majesty's justices of the peace against any slave, if the said slave cannot be immediately taken on the said warrant, the owner, possessor, attorney, guardian, or overseer, of such slave, shall be served with a copy of the said warrant; and if he, she, or they, do not carry the said slave before a magistrate, to be dealt with according to law on the said warrant; and if it shall be afterwards proved that the owner, possessor, attorney, guardian, or overseer of such slave, wilfully detained or concealed said slave, he, she, or they, shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds.

*(Slaves attempting to depart this island, how punishable.)*

LXVII. And whereas several slaves have lately found means to desert from their owners, and depart from this island, to the great damage of such owners, in evil example to other slaves, who may thereby be induced to attempt or conspire to do the same; And whereas there is reason to suspect that such slaves have been aided and assisted in such escape and departure by other persons, and there is not any

adequate punishment provided by law for such desertion and departure, or attempting or conspiring to desert and depart this island, or for persons aiding, assisting, or abetting, such deserters: For remedy whereof, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, if any slave shall run away from his, her, or their owner or owners, employer or employers, and go off or conspire or attempt to go off this island, in any ship, boat, canoe, or other vessel or craft whatsoever, or be aiding, abetting, or assisting, to any other slave or slaves in such going off this island, he, she or they, so running and going off, or conspiring or attempting to go off, or so aiding assisting or abetting, in such going off, being thereof convicted, shall suffer death, or such punishment as the said court shall think proper to direct.

*(Penalty for assisting slaves to go off the island.)*

LXVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Indian, free negro, or mulatto, shall, from and after the passing of this act, knowingly be aiding, assisting, or abetting, any slave or slaves in going off this island, and shall be convicted thereof, either in the supreme court or in any of the assize courts of this island, such Indian free negro, or mulatto, shall be forthwith transported off this island by the provost-marshal-general, or his lawful deputy into whose custody such person or persons shall be committed; and if such person or persons so convicted, sentenced, and transported, shall afterwards be found at large in this island, he, she, or they, being so thereof convicted before the supreme court of judicature or courts of assize in this island, shall suffer death without benefit of clergy.

*(Penalty on whites for aiding slaves to go off the island.)*

LXIX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any white person or persons shall knowingly be aiding, assisting, or abetting, any slave or slaves, in going off this island, he, she, or they being convicted thereof, by bill, plaint, or information, in the supreme court of judicature, or courts of assize, shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds for each slave; one moiety whereof shall be to our sovereign lord the king, his heirs and successors, for and to-

wards the support of the government of this island, and the contingent charges thereof, and the other moiety to the party or parties at whose suit or complaint such person was convicted, and shall also suffer imprisonment, at the discretion of the said court, for any space of time not exceeding twelve months, without bail or mainprize.

*(Persons so offending to be proceeded against.)*

LXX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to proceed against the person or persons so aiding assisting or abetting, such slave or slaves in going off this island, whether the principal or principals be convicted or not; any thing in this, or any other act, law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

*(Overseers not to leave estates on holydays.)*

LXXI. And whereas the overseers of estates in this island make a frequent practice of leaving the several estates under their care and management, on the respective seasons allowed for negro holydays, whereby many dangerous meetings and pernicious practices are carried on; In order therefore, to prevent the like for the future, Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any overseer in this island shall absent himself from the estate under his care and management, on any of the particular holydays herein before mentioned to be allowed to slaves, without leave of his employer, every such overseer so offending, shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of five pounds, to be recovered by information, upon oath, before any justice of the peace, in a summary way, in the parish where such offence shall happen; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

*(Slaves not to be mutilated.)*

LXXII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall not be lawful for any justice of the peace, sitting on the trial of any slave or slaves, or otherwise, to sentence or order any slave to be mutilated or maimed for any offence whatsoever.

*(Punishment on such as escape from the workhouse.)*

LXXIII. And be it further enacted, That if any negro or other slave who may be sentenced to be confined in the workhouse for the

term of two years or a less time, shall escape from such confinement before the expiration of his sentence, such negro or other slave, being retaken, shall, on proof of his or her identity, before two justices of the peace, be adjudged by them to be sent back to confinement, and to receive a whipping, not exceeding fifty lashes.

*(Penalty for suffering slaves to escape.)*

LXXIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if the provost-marshal, or any of his lawful deputies, or any lawful constable, or workhouse-keeper, shall willingly or negligently suffer any slave or slaves to escape, who shall be committed to his or their custody for any offence under this act, so that such slave or slaves shall not be retaken within two years, such marshal, constable or workhouse-keeper, who shall suffer such escape, shall forfeit the sum of twenty pounds, without injury to the right of the owner to sue for the value of the same.

*(Slaves not to hunt with lances, &c.)*

LXXV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no negro or other slave shall be allowed to hunt any cattle, horses, mares, mules or asses, in any part of this island, with lances, guns, cutlasses, or other instruments of death, unless in the company of his or their master, overseer or some other white person by him or them deputed, or by permission in writing; and if any negro or other slave shall offend, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, he or they, being thereof convicted before two justices, shall suffer such punishment as they shall think proper to inflict.

*(Justices to do their duty in martial law.)*

LXXVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful for the justices aforesaid, and they are hereby required, to do their several and respective duties under this act when martial law shall happen to be in force, as they might or ought to have done if martial law were not subsisting; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary thereof, notwithstanding.

*(Jurors, &c. protected.)*

LXXVII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all jurors serving at slave courts, and every person and persons

whose presence may be requisite, at the examination of any slave or slaves, or upon the trial of any slave or slaves, and who shall be required to attend by warrant under the hand and seal of any justice of the peace, and all and every slave and slaves who shall be brought as witnesses, shall be protected in their persons from all meane or judicial process whatsoever, in their going to, attending at, and returning from, such examinations or trial, and that such slaves shall not be subject to be levied on.

*(How penalties shall be recovered and disposed of.)*

LXXVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all penalties in this act mentioned, and not already declared how they shall be recovered and applied, shall, if not exceeding twenty pounds, be recovered in a summary manner before any two of his majesty's justices of the peace, by distress and sale of the offender's goods and chattels; and, if exceeding twenty pounds, to be recovered in the supreme court of judicature of this island, or in either of the courts of assize, by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, wherein no essoin, protection, wager of law, or non vult ulterius prosequi, shall be entered; one moiety of which penalties shall be to the parish where the offence is committed, and the other moiety to the informer, or him, her, or them who shall sue for the same.

*An Account of the Number of Ships, with vitain to Africa in each Year from 1700, to each Year, during the same Period; distingul Foreign Goods; to which are added, the n the Year 1782.*

| Year. | Ships. | Tons.  | British Manufacture. |    |    | In |
|-------|--------|--------|----------------------|----|----|----|
|       |        |        | £.                   | s. | d. |    |
| 1701  | 104    |        | 83,280               | 14 | 6  | 11 |
| 1702  | 72     |        | 54,733               | 11 | 5  | 9  |
| 1703  | 56     |        | 64,155               | 19 | 5  | 7  |
| 1704  | 50     |        | 47,646               | 14 | 3  | 10 |
| 1705  | 45     |        | 31,883               | 7  | 2  | 1  |
| 1706  | 42     |        | 37,003               | 16 | 0  | 4  |
| 1707  | 31     |        | 58,531               | 8  | 6  | 4  |
| 1708  |        |        | 40,507               | 18 | 7  | 7  |
| 1709  | 38     | 4,430  | 33,539               | 9  | 1  | 5  |
| 1710  |        |        | 45,595               | 19 | 7  | 5  |
| 1711  |        |        | 37,518               | 7  | 11 | 2  |
| 1712  |        |        | 24,791               | 6  | 6  | 2  |
| 1713  |        |        | 87,934               | 8  | 3  | 4  |
| 1714  |        |        | 34,848               | 15 | 2  | 2  |
| 1715  | 24     | 2,866  | 24,549               | 1  | 1  | 2  |
| 1716  | 32     | 3,532  | 54,337               | 0  | 10 | 6  |
| 1717  | 43     | 4,845  | 59,186               | 4  | 0  | 2  |
| 1718  | 60     | 6,958  | 46,231               | 5  | 9  | 6  |
| 1719  | 39     | 3,900  | 29,382               | 9  | 2  | 11 |
| 1720  | 65     | 5,764  | 60,928               | 5  | 7  | 11 |
| 1721  | 54     | 5,140  | 48,908               | 3  | 1  | 5  |
| 1722  | 59     | 6,135  | 70,217               | 7  | 3  | 5  |
| 1723  | 55     | 4,200  | 62,242               | 16 | 0  | 3  |
| 1724  | 74     | 7,450  | 95,266               | 0  | 11 | 7  |
| 1725  |        |        | 121,273              | 3  | 10 | 10 |
| 1726  |        |        | 65,180               | 0  | 6  | 3  |
| 1727  |        |        | 64,225               | 18 | 3  | 6  |
| 1728  |        |        | 75,400               | 13 | 1  | 7  |
| 1729  |        |        | 96,895               | 4  | 11 | 5  |
| 1730  | 111    | 10,416 | 109,688              | 7  | 4  | 7  |
| 1731  |        |        | 101,076              | 3  | 2  | 4  |
| 1732  |        |        | 87,746               | 2  | 4  | 5  |
| 1733  |        |        | 50,005               | 17 | 4  | 9  |
| 1734  |        |        | 52,144               | 7  | 11 | 3  |
| 1735  |        |        | 30,721               | 0  | 1  | 10 |
| 1736  |        |        | 87,619               | 14 | 3  | 10 |
| 1737  | 109    | 10,560 | 107,872              | 4  | 3  | 7  |
| 1738  |        |        | 120,884              | 5  | 9  | 2  |
| 1739  |        |        | 87,630               | 6  | 8  | 0  |

Account of Ships cleared *continued.*

| Year. | Ships. | Tons.  | British Ma | Total.  |    |    |
|-------|--------|--------|------------|---------|----|----|
|       |        |        |            | £.      | s. | d. |
| 1740  |        |        | 40,563     | 110,543 | 15 | 0  |
| 1741  |        |        | 65,708     | 132,691 | 8  | 11 |
| 1742  |        |        | 52,608     | 130,385 | 2  | 3  |
| 1743  |        |        | 98,497     | 219,048 | 7  | 1  |
| 1744  | 53     | 4,326  | 37,303     | 95,093  | 3  | 1  |
| 1745  |        |        | 26,665     | 71,399  | 11 | 0  |
| 1746  |        |        | 50,289     | 117,474 | 7  | 8  |
| 1747  |        |        | 78,846     | 186,400 | 1  | 9  |
| 1748  |        |        | 107,136    | 233,671 | 3  | 7  |
| 1749  |        |        | 109,819    | 198,439 | 4  | 4  |
| 1750  |        |        | 77,561     | 160,791 | 14 | 0  |
| 1751  | 94     | 9,843  | 100,378    | 214,640 | 4  | 1  |
| 1752  | 106    | 11,327 | 147,012    | 236,026 | 13 | 4  |
| 1753  | 126    | 12,053 | 207,324    | 275,360 | 8  | 10 |
| 1754  | 124    | 10,352 | 152,922    | 235,057 | 13 | 6  |
| 1755  | 86     | 7,617  | 111,688    | 173,670 | 0  | 0  |
| 1756  | 100    | 8,932  | 127,672    | 188,582 | 19 | 6  |
| 1757  | 74     | 7,856  | 111,725    | 154,498 | 2  | 8  |
| 1758  | 103    | 12,217 | 114,193    | 167,899 | 16 | 6  |
| 1759  | 120    | 13,212 | 127,315    | 228,460 | 10 | 0  |
| 1760  | 138    | 15,647 | 243,542    | 345,548 | 0  | 1  |
| 1761  | 138    | 15,689 | 246,720    | 325,307 | 1  | 11 |
| 1762  | 123    | 14,469 | 209,677    | 273,127 | 18 | 7  |
| 1763  | 163    | 18,939 | 346,242    | 463,818 | 9  | 4  |
| 1764  | 163    | 17,802 | 324,820    | 464,878 | 14 | 2  |
| 1765  | 163    | 18,754 | 333,647    | 469,034 | 14 | 4  |
| 1766  | 134    | 15,665 | 364,180    | 496,789 | 12 | 0  |
| 1767  | 158    | 16,799 | 398,066    | 558,062 | 5  | 8  |
| 1768  | 134    | 13,471 | 416,297    | 612,392 | 9  | 8  |
| 1769  | 146    | 14,743 | 387,177    | 605,180 | 5  | 11 |
| 1770  | 156    | 16,211 | 347,252    | 571,003 | 6  | 9  |
| 1771  | 192    | 20,296 | 449,487    | 712,538 | 7  | 4  |
| 1772  | 175    | 19,021 | 564,013    | 866,394 | 11 | 3  |
| 1773  | 151    | 15,696 | 419,926    | 688,110 | 10 | 11 |
| 1774  | 167    | 17,218 | 528,333    | 846,525 | 12 | 5  |
| 1775  | 152    | 16,787 | 474,053    | 786,168 | 2  | 8  |
| 1776  | 101    | 12,083 | 300,623    | 470,779 | 1  | 1  |
| 1777  | 58     | 7,196  | 139,975    | 239,218 | 3  | 0  |
| 1778  | 41     | 5,316  | 95,690     | 154,086 | 1  | 10 |
| 1779  | 28     | 3,475  | 99,187     | 159,217 | 19 | 7  |
| 1780  | 53     | 7,355  | 121,287    | 195,907 | 14 | 0  |
| 1781  | 77     | 9,730  | 208,059    | 312,822 | 7  | 10 |
| 1782  | 69     | 9,311  | 253,257    | 351,734 | 18 | 5  |
| 1783  | 130    | 20,077 | 573,747    | 787,563 | 8  | 0  |
| 1784  | 99     | 14,383 | 360,018    | 523,985 | 16 | 2  |
| 1785  | 116    | 16,064 | 412,650    | 587,196 | 10 | 2  |
| 1786  | 146    | 21,483 | 583,051    | 888,738 | 2  | 10 |
| 1787  | 137    | 22,263 | 401,591    | 668,255 | 14 | 4  |

*An Account of the Total Quantity of Sugar .  
Britain, in the under-mentioned Years ; al  
Raw and Refined Sugars Exported from Gi  
land, and other Parts of the Empire, from*

| YEARS.        | Quantity of British<br>Plantation Sugar<br>Imported. |      |      | Raw Suga<br>ed to Ir<br>ether Pa<br>Empire. |
|---------------|------------------------------------------------------|------|------|---------------------------------------------|
|               | cwt.                                                 | grs. | lbs. |                                             |
| 1787 . . .    | 1,926,121                                            | 0    | 3    | 196,631                                     |
| 1788 . . .    | 2,065,700                                            | 0    | 12   | 138,688                                     |
| 1789 . . .    | 1,935,223                                            | 2    | 21   | 149,335                                     |
| 1790 . . .    | 1,882,005                                            | 0    | 17   | 127,100                                     |
| Total . . .   | 7,809,049                                            | 3    | 25   | 611,777                                     |
| Average . . . | 1,952,262                                            | 1    | 27   | 152,944                                     |

The following shews the annual consumption of Gr:

*Imported*—Raw Sugar on an average as above, - - -  
*Exported*—Raw and Refined, the latter reduced to Raw, . . .

Total of Home Consump

|                               |   |   |   |   |                 |
|-------------------------------|---|---|---|---|-----------------|
| Gross Duties received in 1787 | - | - | - | - | 1,188,02        |
| Deduct Drawbacks              | - | - | - | - | } 216,27        |
| Bounties                      | - | - | - | - |                 |
|                               | - | - | - | - |                 |
| Net Produce                   | - | - | - | - | <u>£.971,80</u> |

Gross Duties received in 1789  
Deduct Drawbacks  
Bounties . . .  
Net Produce . . .



*An Account of the Quantity of Plantation  
and Refined Sugar Exported from Great Britain,  
and the Duties collected on Importation.*

| YEARS. | BRITISH PLANTATION SUGAR Imported. |      |               |                            |
|--------|------------------------------------|------|---------------|----------------------------|
|        | Quantity.                          |      | Gross Bounty. |                            |
|        | cwt.                               | qrs. | lbs.          | £. s. d.                   |
| 1791   | 1,808,950                          | 0    | 7             | 1,350,801 146 3 0          |
| 1792   | 1,981,479                          | 1    | 14            | 1,486,008 808 10 8         |
| 1793   | 2,216,530                          | 2    | 18            | 1,587,446 636 19 7         |
| 1794   | 2,336,416                          | 0    | 13            | 1,752,204 473 5 8          |
| 1795   | 1,875,922                          | 1    | 8             | 1,406,932 172 6 6          |
| 1796   | 1,951,612                          | 0    | 19            | 1,463,756 685 17 6         |
| 1797   | 1,881,497                          | 1    | 17            | 1,641,204 637 7 9          |
| 1798   | 2,361,715                          | 0    | 8             | 2,070,340 1 2 216,659 15 9 |

*An Account of the Quantity of Refined Sugar  
Exported from Great Britain, between the 5th of January 1798  
and the 5th of January 1799, distinguishing the  
Places from whence the same was received, and the  
Drawbacks and Bounties paid.)*

| NAMES OF THE PLACES. | IMPORTED. |      |              |                            |
|----------------------|-----------|------|--------------|----------------------------|
|                      | SUGAR.    |      | FINED SUGAR. |                            |
|                      | Quantity. |      | Duty.        | Bounty.                    |
|                      | cwt.      | qrs. | lbs.         | £. s. d.                   |
| Antigua - -          | 86,822    | 2    | 6            |                            |
| Barbadoes - -        | 159,969   | 1    | 20           |                            |
| Dominica - -         | 49,294    | 3    | 27           |                            |
| Grenada - -          | 107,641   | 3    | 5            |                            |
| Jamaica - -          | 1,187,404 | 0    | 21           |                            |
| Montserrat - -       | 34,674    | 1    | 1            |                            |
| Nevis - -            | 46,379    | 3    | 13           |                            |
| St. Kitts - -        | 100,142   | 0    | 0            |                            |
| St. Vincent - -      | 145,534   | 1    | 23           |                            |
| Tortola - -          | 37,081    | 2    | 11           |                            |
| Martinique - -       | 218,380   | 3    | 22           |                            |
| Demerara - -         | 30,244    | 2    | 11           |                            |
| Trinidad - -         | 29,972    | 0    | 4            |                            |
| St. Domingo - -      | 24,534    | 3    | 1            |                            |
| Tobago - -           | 103,637   | 2    | 11           |                            |
| Total - -            | 2,361,715 | 0    | 8            | 2,070,340 1 2 216,659 15 9 |

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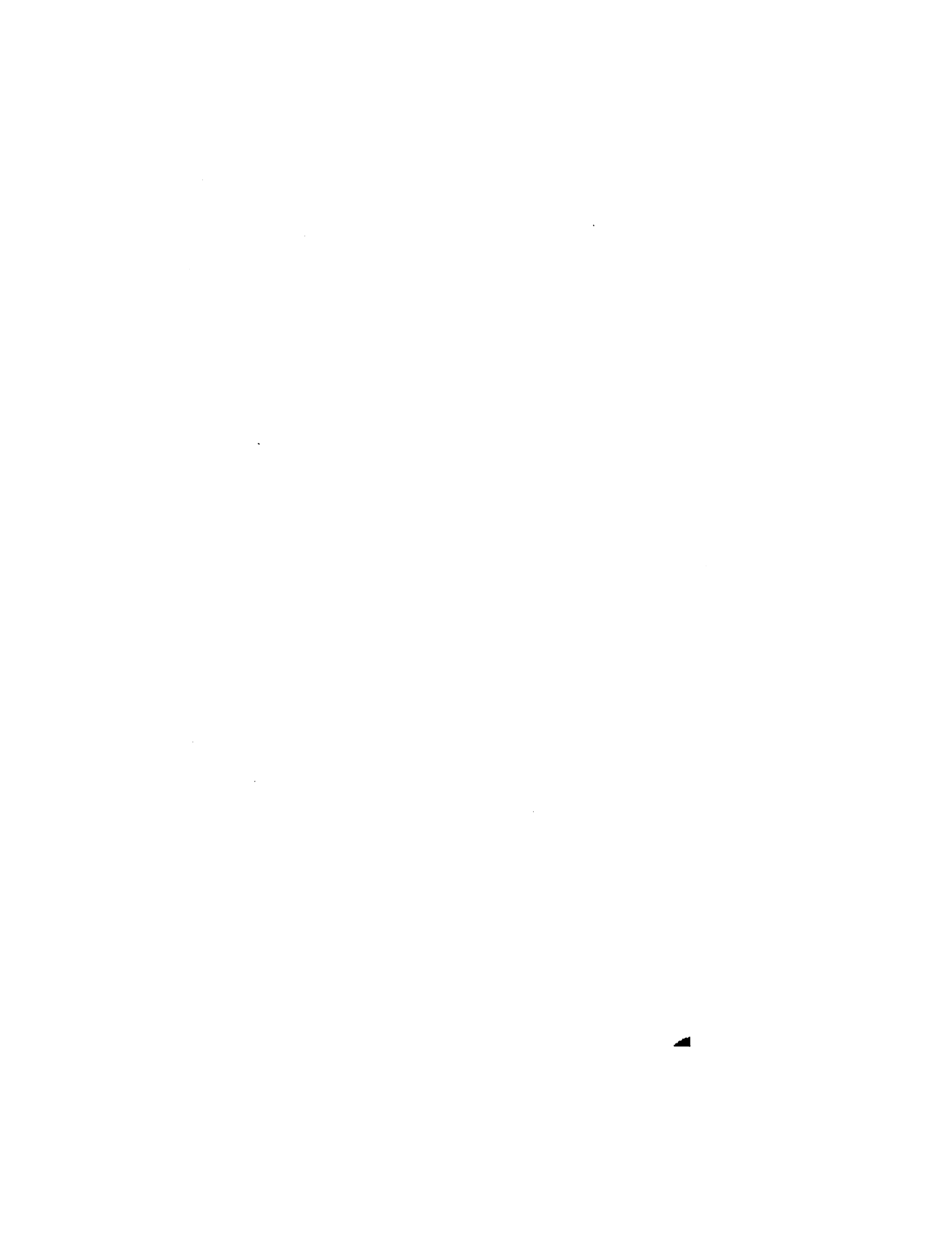
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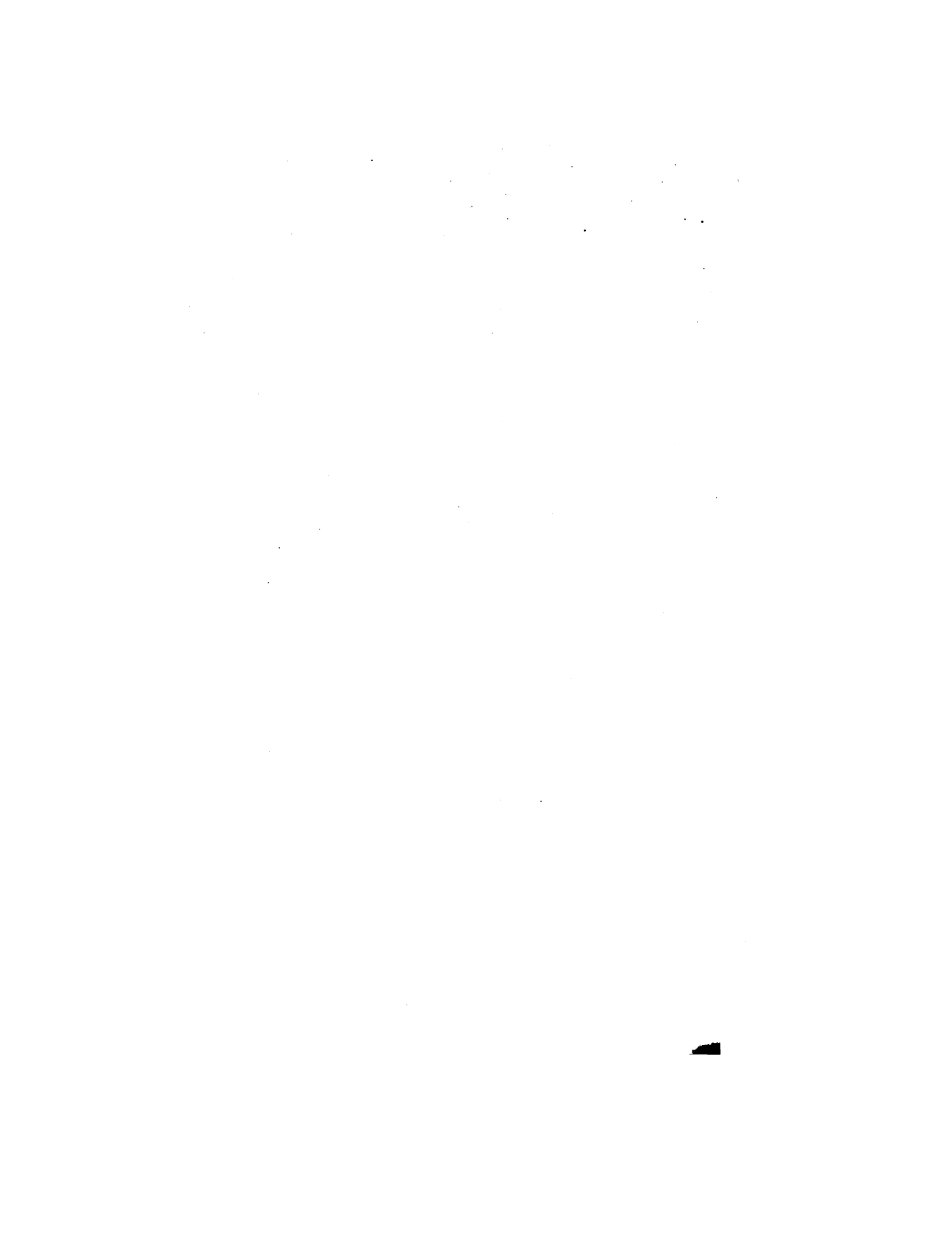
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