

Catherine Tuthill.

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THE

HISTORY,

CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

BRITISH COLONIES IN THE WEST INDIES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY BRYAN EDWARDS, ESQ.

OF THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA.

VOL. II.

1975

DUBLIN:

LUKE WHITE.

M.DCC.XCIII.

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CHAP. 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.—Effect 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.

THE preſent ſtate of the population in the Britiſh Weſt Indies appears, on a ſummary of the ſeveral accounts given in a former part of this work, to be as follows, viz. CHAP. I.

BOOK IV.

	Whites.		Blacks.
Jamaica - -	30,000	—	250,009
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
Montſerat - -	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 10,000; 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 of 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

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 *.

It may reasonably be supposed that most of the natives of Europe who emigrate to the West Indies, remove thither in the hopes 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

* 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 Monf. Neckar; but I have reason to think that the Negro Slaves are nearly doubled in the French Islands since this account was taken.

	Whites.	Free Blacks, &c.	Slaves.
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 -	1,358 —	— —	10,539
	63,682 —	13,429 —	437,736

vagabonds

BOOK IV. 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 by the hand of violence and oppreſſion in their native country. I extend this deſcription to perſons of oppoſite political ſentiments and connections, to loyaliſts as well as republicans: for it is to be 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 no inconſiderable 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 dominions 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 favor that ripen

* Among theſe was Thomas Scott (ſon of the perſon of that name who ſat as one of the judges on the trial of Charles I.) from whoſe daughter was deſcended the late Alderman Beckford of Fonthill, and by the mother's ſide the preſent Earl of Effingham.

and

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 genius, who has either learnt 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 more important in its consequences, can scarcely fall to the lot of man.

CHAP. I.

I have, in a former place, assigned the causes to which it is partly ascribable that emigrants from various parts of the mother country, successively constitute

BOOK IV. 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 buccaniers, 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 human 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

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 dependance and respect. Other causes contribute to the same end. "Where slavery" (says a great writer) "is esta-"blished 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 freedom, as in countries "where it is a common blessing, 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 li-"beral. Thus the people of the Southern Colo-"nies (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 commonwealths; such were "our Gothic ancestors; such in our days are the "Poles; and such will be all masters of slaves, "who are not slaves themselves *."

CHAP. I.

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

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

British

BOOK IV. British Sugar 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 unfortunate passion, ruinous as it frequently proves to individuals, this advantage however results to the community at large; that the lower orders of

* 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 fixteen 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 handed*: 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 sopha 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 buccaniers.

men,

men, from their frequent attendance on the courts of law, 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. CHAP. I.

But, it is to the Creoles or Natives, that we muſt look for the original or peculiar caſt of character impreſſed by the climate, if indeed the influence of climate be ſuch as many writers imagine. For my own part, 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 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

BOOK IV.

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 undoubtedly acquired 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 juventi)* 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.

CHAP. I.

In one of the principal features of beauty, however, few ladies furpaſs the Creoles; for they have, in general, the fineſt eyes 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 *.

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 Creole ladies are noted for very fine teeth, which they preſerve and keep beautifully white by a conſtant uſe of the juice of a withe called the Chewſtick; a ſpecies of *rhus*. It is cut into ſmall pieces, and uſed as a tooth-brush. The juice is a ſtrong bitter, and a powerful detergent.

the

BOOK IV. 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, induces 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 dependents, 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 moroſe towards the Slaves than the Creoles or Native " Weſt Indians."

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

How

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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 will 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 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 inde-

* Moſely on the Climate of the Weſt Indies.

pendent

BOOK IV. pendent 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*, *Quadroons*, 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 Anthonio De Ulloa, in his description of the inhabitants of Carthagena:

* 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.

"Among

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"Among the tribes which are derived from an intermixture of the Whites with the Negroes, the first are the *Mulattos*; next to these are the *Terceron*s, 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 *Quarterons*, 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 Negroe 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 actually are, they are highly offended. Before they attain the class of the *Quinterons*, there are several intervening circumstances which throw them back; for between the Mulatto and the Negro, there is an intermediate race, which they call *Sambos*, 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 altras retrogrades;* 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 Negroe, de Mulatto, de Terceron, &c."

In Jamaica, and I believe in the rest of our Sugar Islands, the descendants of Negroes by White

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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, Quadrons, or Mulattoes, are deemed by law Mulattoes.

Anciently there was a diſtinction in Jamaica between ſuch of thoſe 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.

In all other reſpects, the legal capacities which they poſſeſſed, were very imperfectly defined: The Mulattoes were allowed no other privilege than the freed 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,

First, By the laws of Jamaica, 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 (I believe in all the British colonies) 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 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

BOOK IV. 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

* 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

CHAP. I.

I am happy however that I can 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.

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 most generally brought against the free people of Colour, is the incontinency

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 Quadrons 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.

of

BOOK IV. 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

comparison of the whole, are guilty of that infa- CHAP. I.
mous 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 therefore 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 enquiries, who are conscious of no vices which their Christian instructors have not taught them; and whose 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

BOOK IV. ple 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 Anthonio De Ulloa) to support me in this representation. Speaking 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

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 peaceful 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 *, CHAP. I.

* 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 demands of the colony: this should be done "at the expence of their fathers, and a sufficient sum might "be deposited in the hands of the churchwardens, soon after "their birth, to answer the purpose; the intendant keeping "the churchwardens to their duty. By these means the "number of free citizens would insensibly increase in the co-"lonies, and add to their security and strength. A new "rank of citizens, placed beeween the Black and White "races would be established. They would naturally attach "themselves to the White race as the more honourable re-"lation, and so become a barrier against the designs of the "Black, &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.

Hitherto

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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 enquiries. 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.

THE

CHAP. I.

THE

SABLE VENUS;

AN ODE.

(Written in Jamaica in 1765.)

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

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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 meeting 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 sceptre sways; thy pow'r we find
By both the tropics felt;
The blazing sun that gilds the zone,
Waits but the triumphs of thy throne,
Quite round the burning belt.

When

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 ev'ry 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

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

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 every 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.

* A river ſo called in Jamaica.

Bleſt

CHAP. I.

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 ev'ry part they came:
Each mountain, valley, plain, and grove
Haſte eagerly to ſhow 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 not ſay 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

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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 PHIBBA 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.

CHAP. 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 Caſas 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 Right 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.

CHAP. II.

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 which no good mind can reflect upon but with ſentiments of diſguſt, commiſeration, and ſorrow!

BOOK IV.

I am not unapprized of the danger I incur at this juncture * in treating 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 of 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. Much 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 abused: some of these gentlemen, unacquainted with local circumstances, and misled by the popular outcry, have humanely given orders to emancipate all their slaves, at whatever expence; but are 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 society hold a plantation in Barbadoes under a devise of Co-

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

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lonel 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. CHAP. II.

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 dangerous to virtue, is their general conduct towards their slaves such only as necessarily results from their situation? If to this enquiry, 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 chap-

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ter. 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 Bojadar*, 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, some time 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 Guiney.

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

the governor of that island, forbad the further importation of them; alledging that they taught the Indians all manner of wickedness, and rendered them less tractable than formerly*. So dreadfully rapid, however, was the decrease of the last-mentioned unfortunate people, as to induce the court of Spain, 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 Guiney. 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.

CHAP. II.

The concurrence of the Emperor to this measure was obtained at the solicitation of Bartholemew 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 the warmth of his zeal to save the Americans from the yoke, pronounced it to

* Herrara, Decad. 1. lib. 5. c. 12.
† Herrara, Dec. 2. lib. 2. c. 20.
‡ Robertson, Hist. Amer.

be

BOOK IV. be lawful and expedient to impose one, *still heavier*, upon the Africans." It 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 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,

* Pet. Martyr. Decad.

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. CHAP. II.

Of the English, the first who is known to have been concerned in this commerce, was the celebrated John Hawkins, who was afterwards knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and 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 Hispaniola, and that store of Negroes might easily be had on the Coast of Guiney, 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 Bromfield, and others; all "which persons liked so well of his intention, "that they became liberal contributors and adventurers in the action; for which purpose "there were three good ships immediately provided, the Salmon of 120 tunnes, 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 Leone, 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

BOOK IV. 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 Guiney.

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 Con- "goes, who inhabit this side the Cape de Buena "Esperance.

" Eſperance. Theſe Leophares have wars againſt CHAP.
" the Jaloffs, which are borderers by them.— II.
" Theſe men alſo are more civil than any other,
" becauſe of their daily traffick with the French-
" men, and are of a nature very gentle and lov-
" ing. 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 pre-
" tence; wherefore they did avoyde the ſnares
" that we lay'd 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 carry off and ſeize 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 ſtayed certain dayes, " going every day on ſhore to take the inha-" bitants with burning and ſpoiling their towns. " Theſe inhabitants (who were called *Samboes*)

" hold

BOOK IV. "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 Portu-"gals 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 civilise 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 Guiney, was to seize by stratagem or force, and carry away, the unsuspecting Natives, in 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,

years, to any more piratical expeditions of the English to the Coast of Africa. CHAP. II.

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 Guiney: 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 Guiney, between Cape Blanco and the Cape of Good Hope, together with the isles adjacent, for 31 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 expence, 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

* 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.

BOOK IV. York. This company undertook to supply our West Indian 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 Guiney Coast, except St. George D'Elmina and Acheen; all of which however were 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 its 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 sundry 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

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. CHAP. II.

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 Negroe-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 legally made ſo, under certain conditions; for by ſtatutes 9th 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

BOOK IV. to the 10 per cent. on exportation, there was to be paid a further ſum of 10 *per cent. ad valorem*, on all goods and merchandize, redwood excepted, which was to pay only 5 *per cent.* 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, 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 negociations 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,

Spain, the grant was doubled. In each of the two succeeding years £.10,000 was again voted; —but nothing was granted for 1747. CHAP. II.

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 entitled, "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 Guiney extant; and an abridgement 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° N. latitude, to a Portuguese settlement called *Loango St. Paul's*, in the kingdom of Angola, lat. 9° S. comprehending a line of coast of upwards of 1,300 English leagues, and consisting of various countries, inhabited by a great

* 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 Salee 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.

number

BOOK IV. 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 into the Western ocean in nearly 16 degrees, and the river Gambia in 13° ½ N. 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 independant 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 probably an aristocratical, form of government. Of the inland country we know but little more than that it consists of three extensive kingdoms, called Affiantee (or Shantee) Akim, and the Aquambou; each of which supplies the maritime states with great numbers of slaves, which

which they ſell to the Europeans. 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. CHAP. II.

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.

BOOK IV.

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

nual 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. CHAP. II.

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.

	Ships.		Negroes.
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
Total -	192	—	47,146

Of the above 192 ships	Negroes.
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 £.866,394 11 3

1773 -	151 -	ditto -	688,110	10 11
1774 -	167 -	ditto -	846,525	12 5
1775 -	152 -	ditto -	786,168	2 8
1776 -	101 -	ditto -	470,779	1 1
1777 -	58 -	ditto -	239,218	3 —
1778 -	41 -	ditto -	154,086	1 10
1779 -	28 -	ditto -	159,217	19 7

This

BOOK IV. This defalcation was unqueſtionbly 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.

Year.	N° of Ships.	Tons.	Negroes imported.	Negroes exported.	Negroes retained.
1783	38	5,455	16,208	809	15,399
1184	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.

	N°. of Slaves exported.
By the Britiſh	38,000
French	20,000
Dutch	4,000
Danes	2,000
Portugueſe	10,000
Total	74,000

	N° of Slaves.
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. Appolonia	1,000

Gold

	N° of Slaves.
Gold Coaſt - - -	10,000
Quitta and Popo - - -	1,000
Whydah - - - -	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	1 3,500
Majumba, Ambris, and Miſſoula -	1,000
Loango St. Paul's, and Benguela -	7,000
Total -	74,200

CHAP. II.

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.

CHAP.

CHAP. 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.—Canibals.—Natives of Kongo and Angola.—Survey of the character and diſpoſitions of Negroes in a ſtate of ſlavery.

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MOST, 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

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 practiſe 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 chants, in an audible and ſhrill tone, a ſentence that I conceive to be part of the Alcoran, *La illa, ill lilla!* *, which he ſays they ſing aloud at the firſt appearance of the new moon. He relates, moreover, that in his own country Friday was conſtantly made a day of ſtrict faſting. It was almoſt a ſin, he obſerves, on that day, *to ſwallow his ſpittle*,—ſuch is his expreſſion.

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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

* There is no God, but God.

the

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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 Phulies) 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.

The

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 enterprizes 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

BOOK IV. Koromantyn Negro of the name of Tacky, who had been a chief in Guiney; 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. On those plantations were upwards of 100 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. 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 the overseer's house about four in the morning, in which eight or ten White people were in bed, every one of whom they butchered 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.

canes. In one morning they murdered between thirty and forty Whites, 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 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 burned, and the other two to be hung up alive in irons, and left to periſh in that dreadful ſituation. The wretch that was burned 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

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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 ninth 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 enquired of many*. In a country

* 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

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

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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 Guiney? She replied, that Jamaica was the better country, '*for that people were not killed there as in Guiney, at the funeral of their masters.*' She informed me also, in answer to some other enquiries, 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 Asiantee, the king or chieftain of which country was named Poco. Cudjoe's elder brother having been caught in adultery with the wife of a man named Quashee, was adjudged to pay a fine to 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

BOOK IV. 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 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 conſcioufneſs 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 Koromantyn 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 im-

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 100 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.

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ported 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. CHAP. III.

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

BOOK IV. broken down by the yoke of flavery! Whatever may be alledged 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 Koramantyn 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 praiſes 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 a 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

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 a horrid 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

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ſtitutional 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

CHAP. III.

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 the 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

BOOK IV. 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

* I have been aſſured by an intelligent perſon who had viſited many parts of Africa, that the Eboes frequently offer up

They univerſally practiſe circumciſion, "which with ſome other of their ſuperſtitions (ſays Purchas) may ſeem Mahometan, but are more likely to be ancient Ethnic rites; for many countries of Africa admit circumciſion, and yet know not, or acknowledge not, Mahometiſm; but are either Chriſtians, as the Cophti, Abiſſinians, or Gentiles. They (the people of Benin) cut or raſe 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 and 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

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 £.175) 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.

are

BOOK IV. 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 ſlavery; 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 pronenеſs 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

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

BOOK IV.

the old Negroes as are competent to give them inſtruction; 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 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 to whom he belongs; for, loſing his playful propenſities, he ſeems to feel the inferiority of his condition, 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

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 entrusts 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 the 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

BOOK IV. 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 controul 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

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 *.

CHAP. III.

Among other propenſities and qualities of the Negroes muſt not be omitted their loquacioufneſs. They are as fond of exhibiting ſet ſpeeches, as orators by profeſſion; but it requires a conſider-

* 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.

able

BOOK IV.

able 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 fact admits it) on the number of children they have preſented to *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 ſtrong 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 your Maſter call you? *Sleep*, replied the poor fellow, looking up, and returning compoſedly to his

his ſlumbers, *Sleep hab no Maſſa.* (Sleep has no Maſter.) CHAP. III.

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

BOOK IV.

tional 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 expence 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 *Pyrrhic* 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 relatives 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,

* Perhaps it was some such imagination that gave rise to the following little poem, now published for the first time—the production

Negroes, in general, are so far from courting death, that, among such of them as have resided any length of time in the West Indies, suicide is

CHAP. III.

diction of early youth; but surely if the fond idea of returning to their native country could afford the poor Negroes comfort and consolation in death, it were to be wished that it really prevailed among them.

ODE ON SEEING A NEGRO-FUNERAL.

Mahali dies! O'er yonder plain
His bier is borne: The sable train
By youthful virgins 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.

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!

BOOK IV. 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*, 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

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.

the

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. CHAP. III.

"The term *Obeah*, *Obiah*, or *Obiā* (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 enquire of the de-"mon *Ob*, which is translated in our Bible Char-"mer, or Wizard, Divinator, 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

* Mythology, vol. i. p. 48, 475, and 478.

BOOK IV. 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 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 impoſtors 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

very 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 the *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 sen-

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sation

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ſation 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, enquires 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, parrot's "beaks, dog's teeth, alligator's teeth, broken "bottles, grave-dirt, rum, and egg-ſhells."

* Paſſed 1760.

"With

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"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. *Pere Labat*, in his Hiſtory of Martinico, has mentioned ſome which are very remarkable *.

"It may ſeem extraordinary, that a practice alledged 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. Suſpicions therefore have been frequent, but detections rare: theſe murderers have *ſometimes* been brought 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, eggſhells, &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

* Tome ii. p. 59. 447. 499. 506.

inſurrection

BOOK IV. 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 Negroe, 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 professors 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

" 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 depopulation 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 particulary among the Negroes of the *Papa* 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

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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 bound 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 eggſhells 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

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 malady spread no further 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." CHAP. III.

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 Negroe 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 order 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

BOOK IV. 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."

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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.

IT hath been observed in the preceding 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 opportu- CHAP. IV.

* 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.

nity,

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nity, 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 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 brought 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 that there are many procured by wars or intestine broils. The truth is, the bulk of the people

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."

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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

BOOK IV. sequence 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.

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 enquiries of an indifferent nature, such answers as carry with them conviction of their truth. It is seldom, for instance, that any Guiney Negro will acknowledge that he was in a state of slavery in his native country. Observing the respect and preheminence 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 enquired 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

the ſame ſubject, after an interval of ſeveral months. If the ſame account preciſely was given 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 ſuch occaſions, the young and the

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* Perhaps the reader will not be diſpleaſed 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 marched 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 or captain under the king, and a great warrior, and had taken many people, whom he ſold as ſlaves.

BOOK IV. 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

Quaco and *Quamina* (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 *Banafou*, 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 Guiney without having been guilty of any crime: their master, they said, owed money, and sold them to pay his debts.

Abba, a Gold Coast girl, aged about fifteen, was a slave to a man named Quamina Yati. Her master sold her and two others to the same captain, for a quantity of linen and other goods.

Yamoufa, a *Chamba* youth, about fixteen, 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 *Aſſiantee*—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 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

cannot surely be a queſtion, amongſt a humane and enlightened people, concerning the unlawfulneſs 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 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 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 a ſtrong inducement to deſtroy them. CHAP. IV.

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

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.

BOOK IV. 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 enquired 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 civiliſed men. In Africa, it is apprehended the ſlave merchants

* See his evidence in the Report of the Committee of Privy Council, 1789.

poſſeſs

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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 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 encreaſe their trade in proportion to the encreaſed 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

* 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.

only

BOOK IV. 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.

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 *.

The

* 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

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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 conſign thither annually, certain ſpecific quantities of ſugar and rum. The effect therefore of a direct and un-

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 accuſed 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.

qualified

BOOK IV. qualified 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 harrassed 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 Essequebo and Demerary: 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 without 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

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! CHAP. IV.

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 example 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 enquiry 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.

The next object to which it was proposed to direct our enquiries, is the mode of conveying slaves from Africa to the West Indies, and their mortality in the voyage; constituting the second ground on which most of the petitioners to parliament for an abolition of the trade, have rested their

BOOK IV. 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 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 such 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

* Report of the Committee of Council, 1789.

sale,

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 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. CHAP. IV.

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 an 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;

BOOK IV. board; but Sir George Young, a captain in the king's service, 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 ancle 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 windfalls 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, which, according to the country from whence 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, than which 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

* The bulk of the cargo is generally young people from ſixteen years of age to thirty.—The loweſt ſize four feet.

corn,

corn, &c. and at other times of provisions brought from Europe, as dried beans and peafe, wheat, fhelled barley, and bifcuit, all which are boiled foft in fteam, and mixed up with a fauce made of meat, or fifh, or palm-oil; a conftant and defirable article in their cookery. At each meal they are allowed as much as they can eat, and have likewife a fufficiency of freth water; unlefs when, from an uncommon long voyage, the preservation of the fhip compels the captain to put them to a fhort allowance. Drams alfo are given them when the weather is cold or wet; and pipes and tobacco whenever they defire them. In the intervals between their meals they are encouraged to divert themfelves with mufic and dancing; for which purpofe fuch rude and uncouth inftruments as are ufed in Africa, are collected before their departure; and they are alfo permitted to amufe themfelves with games of chance, for which they are likewife furnifhed with implements of African invention. In ficknefs, the invalids are immediately removed to the captain's cabin, or to an hofpital built near the forecaftle; and treated with all the care, both in regard to medicine and food, that circumftances will admit; and when, fortunately for the Negroes, the fhip touches at any place in her voyage, as frequently happens, every refreftment that the country affords, as cocoanuts, oranges, limes, and other fruits, with vegetables of all forts, are diftributed among them; and refreftments of the fame kind are freely allowed them at the place of their deftination, between the days of arrival and fale.

From this account, which is confirmed by the teftimony of a great number of refpectable men, many of whom were wholly difintereffted in the queftion, and could therefore have no motive to violate

BOOK IV. 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 were 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 4½ 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 enquired 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 inforced under the authority

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 of room, is added the neceſſary proviſion of a regularly qualified ſurgeon; to whom, as well as to the ſhipmaſter, 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 £.50 to the ſurgeon, if the loſs on the voyage amounts to no more than two in the hundred, and half 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,

* 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.

in

BOOK IV. 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 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 Guiney ships open their sales. This mortality, which

which was formerly eſtimated at 4 ½ 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 69, or not quite ½ 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 inconteſtible 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. CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Weſt India planters, as they are intirely 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 intereſt 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 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 neceſ-

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sity, 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.

CHAP.

CHAP. 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, clothing, 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.

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THE arrival of a Guiney 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 enquiry, 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 the island, by enacting that the sales shall be conducted on shore, and that care shall be taken not to separate different

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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 enquire 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 been mentioned of a scramble on ship-board) 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 it not, 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

* Since this was written, the author of this work had the honour of proposing to the assembly of Jamaica an act which was unanimously adopted, and is now an existing law, by which the Guiney factors are compelled, under the solemnity of an oath, to do their utmost to enforce the regulation alluded to.

skin,

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 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 eager- CHAP. V.

* 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 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 disinterested people, "who, out of curiosity, attend 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!"

ness

BOOK IV. ness 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 *.

The buyer having completed his assortment, and cloathed his newly-acquired subjects with a coarse German linen, called Oznaburghs, 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

* 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 importation, about twenty shillings more.

† 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.

Africans

Africans among the old Negroes, as penſioners (with ſome little aſſiſtance occaſionally given) on their little *peculium*, 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 forbad 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 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

BOOK IV. in their families, their houſes and proviſion-grounds; and prove in all reſpects as valuable as the native or creole negroes *.

What has hitherto been obſerved concerning the diſpoſal of Africans newly imported, is, I believe, applicable to Weſt Indian 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 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

* 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 £.5.

† 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

cond gang is compoſed of 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 conſiſt 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 the habits of idleneſs.

The firſt gang is ſummoned to the labours of the field either by a bell or the blowing of the conch-ſhell, juſt before ſun-riſe. They bring with them, beſides their hoes and 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

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 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 riſque of loſing them by death or deſertion (their maintenance, &c. being included in the contingent expences of the eſtate) for both which I allow fifteen per cent. This leaves about £.25 ſterling clear, or nearly a fourth part of the actual value of each ſlave.

in

BOOK IV. in the mean time by a certain number of women, whose sole employment it is to act as cooks for the rest. This meal commonly consists of boiled yams, eddoes, ocra, calalue 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 great exertion, until he is revivified 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 perhaps 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,

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 holidays 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. CHAP. V.

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 the 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.

BOOK IV.

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 holidays, 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 expence 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 plaintain-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 *.

The

* In Jamaica the Negroes are allowed one day in a fortnight, except in time of crop, besides Sundays and holidays, for

CHAP. V.

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 word, were an insult

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.

to

BOOK IV. 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 wattles 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 roſt. 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,

* A ſpecies of gourd.

and

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 expence, 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. CHAP. V.

Of clothing, the allowance of the maſter is not always ſo liberal as might be wiſhed, but much more ſo of late years than formerly *. Few of the Negroes, however, on Sundays and holidays, 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 allow-

* 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.

ance,

BOOK IV. ance, they are permitted to extend their practice in the neighbourhood *.

For

* The usual recompence 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 500 Negroes contributes about £.150 sterling per annum; and the surgeon, if he chuses, is entitled 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 500 Negroes under their care; several (with their assistants) have upwards of 5,000.

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

CHAP. V.

For the better accommodation of invalids and women in child-birth, every plantation is provided 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 portion of their earlier policy. This "branch has of late been taken up, and expreſs "directions have been given to enſure to the Ne"groes, the enjoyment of many advantages tend"ing to alleviate their condition. In three "iſlands, particularly (Jamaica, Grenada, and "Dominica) the wiſh to ſoften the rigours of "their ſituation has manifeſted itſelf more decid-

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.

BOOK IV. "edly. Measures have been devised by the legisla-
"tures of those islands for placing them in a state
"of society, where they will be entitled to a pro-
"tection 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 the 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 happened 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

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 *.

CHAP. V.

The

* 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 Fell was indicted for assaulting a Negro man slave, the property of Richard Welsh, Esquire, 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 £.100, on each indictment, and to be imprisoned 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, 1788. 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 publicly flogged at the Beef market."

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

BOOK IV.

The great, and I fear incurable, defect in the ſyſtem of ſlavery, is the circumſtance already mentioned, 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 clothing, and maintenance, and to enquire 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

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, publicly 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.

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*, expreſsly for the purpoſe of making full enquiry into the barbarities exerciſed on ſlaves, and bringing the authors to puniſhment at the public expence. With this view, it is enacted, that in caſe *any* information is made before a juſtice of the peace, of the mutilation and confinement of a ſlave, the juſtice is impowered 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, as it is not required that the information ſhould be on oath, 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 encreaſe 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

BOOK IV. 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 abhorrence 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 requires 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 encrease 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

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 encreaſed 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,

BOOK IV. tion, 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 encrease in numbers, must be placed in favourable circumstances; and, unless reason and sentiment in some degree cooperate 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, apprized 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

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 them other country) may be led to make a general ſtruggle for freedom, through deſolation and blood. 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 encreaſe; until, by milder 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

CHAP. V.

founded

BOOK IV. 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 cases effected 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 slaves, 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

formed 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 civilisation 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,

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* The objection to this scheme is, that it will deprive the planters yearly of twenty-six days labour of the whole body of

BOOK IV. 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 manners, their numbers may be kept up by natural encrease. 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 mo-

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.

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tives 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 severity 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 conti-

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* The act alluded to, is the 5th 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 by *myself* of the grievance, its origin and the remedy, are silent on the subject. They are men of the world, and with all their philanthropy, probably consider no rights so sacred as those of creditors.

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nue 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 land, and sold with it. The good effect of a similar regulation in the system of ancient villenage 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.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

APPEN-

APPENDIX TO BOOK IV.

NUMBER I.

APPEN-DIX.

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. The Slave Act of 1788 is already before the public, and its provisions have been spoken of with much approbation, in the very accurate and comprehensive survey of the slave laws of the several islands, which the Lords of the Committee of Council have annexed to their Report on the Slave Trade, as drawn up by Mr. Reeves, Law Clerk to the Committee. It is presumed the present 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, conveniences, and comforts of life as can be done consistently with their own preservation.*

☞ The chief alterations between this law and that of 1788 (which is now repealed) are printed in *Italic*.

JAMAICA,

BOOK IV. JAMAICA, ſſ.

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.

Preamble. 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 the ſaid

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.

Laws and clauſes of laws to be repealed.

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

Proprietors, &c. to allot land for every ſlave, and to allow him to cultivate it.

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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.

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.

Slaves otherwise provided for.

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

Owners obliged to provide for disabled slaves.

* In the former act an acre of provisions was allotted to every *four* negroes, exclusive as above, but it was found an exorbitant and unnecessary allowance, and the alteration was made as it now stands expressly that the law might be enforced.

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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 work-houſe, there to be clothed and fed, but not worked, at the expence 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 work-houſe 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

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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 church-wardens 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 clothing, 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 ac-

VII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every master, owner, proprietor,

prietor, 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 cloathing actually ſerved to each ſlave on ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, for the approbation of the juſtices and veſtry 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.*

Account of proviſion-ground.

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

Premium to ſlaves for informing on runaways, &c.

BOOK IV. 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 church-wardens 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 expence 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.

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

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 empowered, 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 empowered 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 workhouse where such offence shall be committed, and such slave or slaves shall be there safely kept, and carefully attended, at the expence 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 enquiry, upon view, into the commitment of the

Mutilated slaves, in certain cases, declared free.

Justices to enquire into such mutilations, and

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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 expence 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 cost 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 workhouse 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.

prosecute the offenders.

Owners sued for costs.

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

such juſtice, *who, on view of the fact, is hereby authorized to ſend ſuch ſlave or ſlaves to the workhouſe for protection, and who is there to be kept, but not to be worked, until enquiry 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 chattels; 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

BOOK IV. 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 workhouses 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 workhouse, or keeper of such gaol, shall be present; and that no such owner, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, 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 hooks 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*

* In the former act £.5.

whatsoever,

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.

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 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, clothing, medical care, and attendance, in the workhouſes or other convenient places of the ſaid ſeveral towns and pariſhes of this

Juſtices and veſtry to ſupport diſabled negroes.

BOOK IV.

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 workhouſes 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.

How ſuch ſlaves are diſpoſed of.

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

Owners muſt not allow their ſlaves to travel without tickets,

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 *.

under penalty.

Penalty on neglect of duty.

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 holidays that were allowed at the uſual ſeaſons of Chriſtmas, Eaſter, and Whitſuntide: Provided, That, at every ſuch reſpective ſeaſon, no two holidays ſhall be allowed to follow or ſuc-

Slaves allowed holidays.

* In the former Act it was alſo provided that the ſlave himſelf, going without a ticket, ſhould be puniſhed, which is now omitted.

ceed

BOOK IV.

ceed 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 holidays to any ſlave belonging to any ſuch plantation or ſettlement, other than is 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 holidays 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

cept 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;

BOOK IV.

tioned; any law, cuſtom, or uſage, to the contrary notwithſtanding.

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.

Overſeers, &c. who ſuffer ſuch aſſemblies, to be impriſoned.

Proviſo.

notwithstanding: Provided, that such amuse- APPEN-
ments are put an end to by twelve of the clock at DIX.
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.

BOOK IV.

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 entrusted 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 at 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.

XXX. And

APPENDIX.

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 absent 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.

Proviso.

BOOK IV.

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 gaol, 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 gaol 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,

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. APPENDIX.

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. Time of tickets limited.

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. Account of births and deaths must be given in.

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. Overseer to pay if his neglect.

XXXV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the doctor or surgeon of Surgeons to give in an account

BOOK IV.

of slaves dying.

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 encrease 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 encrease, and a receipt of the overseer for the sum so paid.

Encouragement for encrease of slaves.

Further encouragement for encrease of slaves.

XXXVI. *And, in order that further encouragement may be given to the encrease 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*

* In the former act, *twenty shillings*.

from

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 encreaſe of the number of ſlaves as aforeſaid: Provided neverthelefs, 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 Indians, 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.

XXXVIII. And

BOOK IV.

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,

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 gaol 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 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 Saint Jago de la Vega, the Royal Gazette of Kingston, and the Cornwall Chronicle, the heighth, 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 expence of such advertisement, they, the said workhouse-keepers or gaol-keepers,

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 24 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.

APPENDIX.

detain them until paid their fees.

attest the charges for mile-money, &c.

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

allow them provisions,

BOOK IV.

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.

and not 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 ſettlement, belonging to, or in the poſſeſſion of, any ſuch gaol-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

ing 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. APPEN. DIX.

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.

XLVI. And

BOOK IV.

Slaves punishable if found in possession of large quantities of fresh meat.

XLVI. And whereas great numbers of horned cattle, 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 magistrate 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.

XLVII. And

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 stealing horned cattle how punished.

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 Slaves guilty of crimes how tried.

on

BOOK IV. 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 impanelled 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

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 enquiring 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-mentioned 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

* In the former act *for life*.

quarter-

BOOK IV. 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 made 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

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.

LII. 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 wilfully, 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

BOOK IV.

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

LV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all trials of any slave or slaves

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 attornies, or other representative or representatives; any law, custom or usage to the contrary notwithstanding. Notice of trial to be given.

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 enquire 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. Slaves executed, or transported, to be valued.

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 churchwardens 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. Such valuation to be paid by receiver-general.

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 Slaves returning from transportation

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the direction of this act, shall wilfully return from transportation, such negro or other slave shall, upon conviction, suffer death without benefit of clergy.

Suffer death.

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 and 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 expences 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 expences, 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 expences, 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.

LX. And

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. Provost-marshal to deliver runaways to workhouse-keeper.

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. Runaways to be committed to workhouse.

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, Horses, &c. belonging to slaves, to be taken up and sold.

BOOK IV. 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 every 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 juſtices 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

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,

BOOK IV. 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 any wiſe 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.

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

ther 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.

Slaves attempting to depart this island, how punishable.

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 for assisting 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,

Penalty on whites for aiding slaves to

BOOK IV. 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 towards 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.

go off the iſland.

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 holidays.

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 holidays, 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 holidays herein before-mentioned to be allowed to ſlaves, without leave of his

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. APPENDIX.

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. Slaves not to be mutilated.

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. Punishment on such as escape from the workhouse.

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 Penalty for suffering slaves to escape.

BOOK IV. 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 mesne or judicial process whatsoever,

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.

NUMBER

NUMBER II.

AN ACCOUNT of the NUMBER of SHIPS, with their TONNAGE, which cleared from *Great Britain* to *Africa*, in each Year, from 1700, together with the TOTAL EXPORTS to *Africa* in each Year, during the same Period; distinguishing the VALUE of the *British*, *India*, and *Foreign Goods*; to which are added, the QUANTITY and VALUE of each ARTICLE, from the Year 1782.

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Manufacture.			India Goods.			Foreign Merchandize.			Total.		
			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1701	104	—	83,280	14	6	—			50,673	7	5	133,954	1	11
1702	72	—	54,733	11	5	—			41,318	14	4	96,052	5	9
1703	56	—	64,155	19	5	—			40,023	14	2	104,179	13	7
1704	50	—	47,646	14	3	—			39,019	3	7	86,665	17	10
1705	45	—	31,883	7	2	—			33,221	8	11	65,104	16	1
1706	42	—	37,003	16	—	—			19,682	11	4	56,616	7	4
1707	31	—	58,531	8	6	—			33,596	7	10	92,127	16	4
1708	—	—	40,507	18	7	—			15,485	18	—	55,993	16	7
1709	38	4,430	33,539	9	1	—			25,864	3	4	59,403	12	5
1710	—	—	45,595	19	7	—			23,391	9	10	68,987	9	5
1711	—	—	37,518	7	11	—			26,758	7	3	64,276	15	2
1712	—	—	24,791	6	6	—			12,716	11	8	37,507	18	2
1713	—	—	87,934	8	3	—			23,871	—	1	111,805	8	4
1714	—	—	34,848	15	2	—			28,568	12	—	63,417	7	2
1715	24	2,866	24,549	1	1	—			27,363	5	1	51,912	6	2

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Manufacture.			India Goods.			Foreign Merchandize.			Total.		
			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.

1715	24	2,866	24,549	1	1	—		20,390	12	—	63,417	7	2
								27,363	5	1	51,912	6	2

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Manufacture.			India Goods.			Foreign Merchandize.			Total.		
			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1716	32	3,532	54,337	—	10	—			43,548	11	8	97,885	12	6
1717	43	4,845	59,186	4	—	—			53,263	8	2	112,449	12	2
1718	60	6,958	46,231	5	9	—			47,028	10	9	93,313	16	6
1719	39	3,900	29,382	9	2	—			37,059	5	9	66,441	14	11
1720	65	5,764	60,928	5	7	—			69,422	9	4	130,350	14	11
1721	54	5,140	48,908	3	1	—			77,148	—	4	126,056	3	5
1722	59	6,135	70,217	7	3	—			116,338	17	2	186,556	4	5
1723	55	4,200	62,242	16	—	—			76,264	17	3	138,507	13	3
1724	74	7,450	95,266	—	11	—			121,102	1	8	216,368	2	7
1725	—	—	121,273	3	10	—			162,751	12	—	284,024	15	10
1726	—	—	65,180	—	6	—			153,524	11	9	218,704	12	3
1727	—	—	64,225	18	3	—			74,381	16	3	138,607	14	6
1728	—	—	75,400	13	1	—			112,003	2	6	187,403	15	7
1729	—	—	96,895	4	11	—			156,484	17	6	253,380	2	5
1730	111	10,416	109,688	7	4	—			151,001	15	3	260,690	2	7
1731	—	—	101,076	3	2	—			105,027	1	2	206,103	4	4
1732	—	—	87,746	2	4	—			116,254	—	1	204,000	2	5
1733	—	—	50,005	17	4	—			78,781	17	5	128,787	14	9
1734	—	—	52,144	7	11	—			76,539	17	4	128,684	5	3
1735	—	—	30,721	—	1	—			99,698	4	9	130,419	4	10
1736	—	—	87,619	14	3	—			105,534	5	7	193,153	19	10
1737	109	10,560	107,872	4	3	—			126,227	19	4	234,100	3	7
1738	—	—	120,884	5	9	—			156,363	19	5	277,248	5	2
1739	—	—	87,630	6	8	—			132,243	8	4	219,873	15	—

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Manufacture. £. s. d.	India Goods. £. s. d.	Foreign Merchandize. £. s. d.	Total. £. s. d.
1740	—	—	40,563 19 2	—	69,979 15 10	110,543 15 —
1741	—	—	65,708 6 10	—	66,983 2 1	132,691 8 11
1742	—	—	52,608 3 2	—	77,776 19 1	130,385 2 3
1743	—	—	98,497 6 9	—	120,551 — 4	219,048 7 1
1744	53	4,326	37,303 18 1	—	57,789 5 —	95,093 3 1
1745	—	—	26,665 4 9	—	44,734 6 3	71,399 11 —
1746	—	—	50,289 7 3	—	67,185 — 5	117,474 7 8
1747	—	—	78,846 17 9	—	107,553 4 —	186,400 1 9
1748	—	—	107,136 13 4	—	126,534 10 3	233,671 3 7
1749	—	—	109,819 12 8	—	88,619 11 8	198,439 4 4
1750	—	—	77,561 13 6	—	83,230 — 6	160,791 14 —
1751	94	9,843	100,378 17 7	—	114,261 6 6	214,640 4 1
1752	106	11,327	147,012 10 2	—	89,054 3 2	236,026 13 4
1753	126	12,053	207,324 17 10	—	68,035 11 —	275,360 8 10
1754	124	10,352	154,922 5 11	—	82,135 7 7	235,057 13 6
1755	86	7,617	111,688 10 4	—	61,981 9 8	173,670 — —
1756	100	8,932	127,672 10 9	—	60,910 8 9	188,582 19 6
1757	74	7,856	111,725 19 4	—	42,772 3 4	154,498 2 8
1758	103	12,217	114,193 11 11	—	53,706 4 7	167,899 16 6
1759	120	13,212	127,315 3 —	—	101,145 7 —	228,460 10 —
1760	138	15,647	243,542 18 9	—	102,005 1 4	345,548 — 1
1761	138	15,689	246,720 1 5	—	78,587 — 6	325,307 1 11
1762	123	14,469	209,677 9 4	—	63,450 9 3	273,127 18 7
1763	163	18,939	346,242 8 3	—	117,576 1 1	463,818 9 4
1764	163	17,802	324,820 18 3	—	140,057 15 11	464,878 14 2
1765	163	18,754	333,647 9 6	—	135,387 4 10	469,034 14 4

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Manufacture. £. s. d.	India Goods. £. s. d.	Foreign Merchandize. £. s. d.	Total. £. s. d.
1766	163	18,754	333,647 9 6	—	135,387 4 10	469,034 14 4
1767	163	18,754	333,647 9 6	—	135,387 4 10	469,034 14 4
1768	163	18,754	333,647 9 6	—	135,387 4 10	469,034 14 4
1769	163	18,754	333,647 9 6	—	135,387 4 10	469,034 14 4
1770	163	18,754	333,647 9 6	—	135,387 4 10	469,034 14 4
1771	163	18,754	333,647 9 6	—	135,387 4 10	469,034 14 4
1772	163	18,754	333,647 9 6	—	135,387 4 10	469,034 14 4
1773	163	18,754	333,647 9 6	—	135,387 4 10	469,034 14 4
1774	163	18,754	333,647 9 6	—	135,387 4 10	469,034 14 4
1775	163	18,754	333,647 9 6	—	135,387 4 10	469,034 14 4

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Manufacture. £.	s.	d.	India Goods. £.	s.	d.	Foreign Merchandize. £.	s.	d.	Total. £.	s.	d.
1765	163	18,754	333,647	9	6	—			135,387	4	10	469,034	14	4
1766	134	15,665	364,180	6	9	—			132,609	5	3	496,789	12	—
1767	158	16,799	398,066	3	1	—			159,996	2	7	558,062	5	8
1768	134	13,471	416,297	9	11	—			196,094	19	9	612,392	9	8
1769	146	14,743	387,177	15	2	—			218,002	10	9	605,180	5	11
1770	156	16,211	347,252	14	8	—			223,750	12	1	571,003	6	9
1771	192	20,296	449,487	8	—	168,340	11	9	94,710	7	7	712,538	7	4
1772	175	19,021	564,013	14	—	187,727	15	10	114,653	1	5	866,394	11	3
1773	151	15,696	419,926	9	8	140,403	8	1	127,780	13	2	688,110	10	11
1774	167	17,218	528,333	5	—	183,095	17	8	135,096	9	9	846,525	12	5
1775	152	16,787	474,053	19	3	188,731	3	7	123,382	19	10	786,168	2	8
1776	101	12,083	300,623	16	4	96,329	13	1	73,825	11	8	470,779	1	1
1777	58	7,196	139,975	19	—	56,647	14	3	42,594	9	9	239,218	3	—
1778	41	5,316	95,690	19	8	34,154	8	8	24,240	13	6	154,086	1	10
1779	28	3,475	99,183	13	11	46,012	12	3	14,021	13	5	159,217	19	7
1780	53	7,355	121,288	1	5	56,627	17	—	17,991	15	7	195,907	14	—
1781	77	9,730	208,055	16	9	73,591	9	8	31,175	1	5	312,822	7	10
1782	69	9,311	253,250	11	8	71,254	18	—	27,229	8	9	351,734	18	5
1783	130	20,077	573,245	15	2	153,619	—	3	60,698	12	7	787,563	8	—
1784	99	14,383	360,012	12	5	122,624	7	2	41,348	16	7	523,985	16	2
1785	116	16,064	412,656	15	—	116,433	7	6	58,106	7	8	587,196	10	2
1786	146	21,483	583,052	12	7	176,076	8	5	129,609	1	10	888,738	2	10
1787	137	22,263	401,593	15	8	186,258	16	9	80,403	1	11	668,255	14	4

END OF THE APPENDIX TO BOOK IV.

THE

HISTORY,

CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

British Colonies in the West Indies.

BOOK V.

AGRICULTURE.

CHAP. I.

Sugar Cane.—Known to the ancients.—Conjectures concerning its introduction into Europe.—Conveyed from Sicily to the Azores, &c. in the 15th century, and from thence to the West Indies. Evidence to prove that Columbus himself carried it from the Canary Islands to Hispaniola.—Summary of P. Labat's reasoning to demonstrate that it was found growing spontaneously in the West Indies.—Both accounts reconciled.—Botanical name and description.—Soils best adapted for its cultivation, and their varieties, described.—Use and advantage of the plough.—Usual method of holing and planting.—Season proper for planting.—Blast.—Manures.—Improvements suggested.

In treating of the agriculture of the West Indian Islands, the first object that naturally excites attention is the cane which produces their great staple

BOOK V. ſtaple commodity, ſugar;—a plant which, from its commercial importance and general utility, we may venture to pronounce one of the moſt valuable in the creation. The ancient name of the cane was *Saccharum*. This word was corrupted, in monkiſh Latin, into *Zucharum*, and afterwards into *Zucra*. By the Spaniards it was converted into *Açucar*, from whence *Sugar*. The plant is a native of the eaſt, and was probably cultivated in India and Arabia time immemorial. Lucan, enumerating the eaſtern auxiliaries of Pompey, deſcribes a people who uſed the cane-juice as a common drink,

Quique bibunt tenerâ dulces ab arundine ſucos.

At what time the Indians diſcovered the art of granulating the juice by evaporation, does not appear; but ſugar probably found its way into Europe by the Red Sea, at a very early period. Laſitau conjectures, however, that the plant itſelf was unknown in Chriſtendom, until the time of the Croiſades. Its cultivation, and the method of expreſſing and purifying the juice, as practiſed by the inhabitants of Acra and Tripoli, are deſcribed by *Albertus Aquenſis*, a monkiſh writer, who obſerves that the Chriſtian ſoldiers in the Holy Land frequently derived refreſhment and ſupport, in a ſcarcity of proviſions, by ſucking the canes. It flouriſhed alſo in the Morea, and in the Iſlands of Rhodes and Malta, and from thence was tranſported into Sicily; but the time is not preciſely aſcertained: Laſitau recites a donation of William, the ſecond king of Sicily, to the monaſtery of St. Bennet, of a mill for grinding ſugar-canes, with all its rights, members and appurtenances. This happened in 1166.

From

CHAP. I.

From Sicily, the Spaniards are said to have conveyed the cane to the Azores, Madeira, the Canary and Cape-de-verd Islands, soon after they were discovered in the 15th century; and from some one of those islands it has been supposed to have found its way, at an early period, to Brasil and the West Indies; "producing a commerce (says Lafitau) which has proved more valuable than the mines of Peru."

Such is the commonly-received opinion respecting the history of this valuable production. Herrara positively asserts, that the sugar-cane was transplanted into Hispaniola from the Canary Islands, in the year 1506, by a Spaniard of the name of Aguilon *; but in this instance the respectable historian, however correct in general, is clearly mistaken; it appearing by the testimony of Peter Martyr, in the third Book of his first Decad, written during Columbus's second expedition, which began in 1493, and ended in 1495, that the sugar-cane was, at that period, sufficiently known in Hispaniola.

The fact seems to have been, that Columbus himself carried it thither among other articles and productions which he conveyed from Old Spain and the Canary Islands, in his second voyage. Martyr's account is as follows:—"Ad foetus pro-
"creandos, equas, oves, juvencas, et plura alia
"cum sui generis masculis: legumina, triticum,
"hordeum, et reliqua ijs similia, non solùm
"alimenti, verum etiam seminandi gratiâ, præ-
"fectus apparat: vites et aliarum nostratium
"arborum plantaria, quibus terra illa caret ad
"eam important: nullas enim apud eas insulas
"notas arbores invenêre præter pinus palmasque

* Vol. i. p. 320.

"et

BOOK V. "et eas altissimas, ac miræ duritiei et proceritatis "ac rectitudinis, propter soli ubertatem; atque "etiam ignotos fructus alias plures procreantes. "Terram aiunt esse terrarum omnium quas am- "biunt sidera, uberrimam." Although in this passage the sugar-cane is not expressly enumerated, it is evident that it was not considered by Columbus as a native of the country; for he could not possibly have been unacquainted with this production, which grew in great perfection in Valencia, and other parts of Spain; yet he found, it seems, on his arrival, no trees or plants in the newly-discovered country, of which he had any previous knowledge, excepting only the pine and the palm. That the cane was then there, appears from a subsequent passage; in which, speaking of such vegetable productions as the Spaniards had sown or planted in an inclosed garden immediately after their arrival, Martyr has these words, which, combined with the former, are, as I conceive, decisive of the question: —"Melones cucurbitas, cucumeres et alia id genus, in diem sextum et trigesimum carpserunt. Sed nusquam se meliores unquam comedisse aiebant. Hæc hortensia, toto anno habent recentia. *Cannarum radices ex quarum succo saccarum extorquetur, sed non coagulatur succus, cubitales cannas intra quindecimum etiam diem emiserunt.*"

On the other hand, there are authors of great learning and industry who maintain that the sugar-cane is a native both of the islands and the continent of America, within the tropics. They assert, that it was found growing spontaneously in many parts of the new hemisphere, when first explored by the Spanish invaders. P. Labat, who appears to have considered the question with a laborious attention, is decidedly of this opinion *,

* Tom. III. c. xv. p. 10.

and

and he quotes, in support of it, among other authorities, that of Thomas Gage, an Englishman, who went to New Spain in 1625, and of whom I have had occasion to speak in a former part of this work. Gage's voyage is now before me, and it is certain that he enumerates sugar-canes among the fruits and provisions supplied the crew of his ship by the Charaibes of Guadaloupe. "Now," observes Labat, "it is a fact, that the Spaniards had never cultivated an inch of ground in the smaller Antilles. Their ships commonly touched at those islands indeed, for wood and water, and they left swine in the view of supplying with fresh provisions such of their countrymen as might call there in future; but it were absurd in the highest degree to suppose, that they would plant sugar-canes, and put hogs a-shore at the same time to destroy them.

"Neither had the Spaniards any motive for bestowing this plant on islands which they considered as of no kind of importance, except for the purpose that has been mentioned; and to suppose that the Charaibes might have cultivated, after their departure, a production of which they knew nothing, betrays a total ignorance of the Indian disposition and character.

"But," continues Labat, "we have surer testimony, and such as proves, beyond all contradiction, that the sugar-cane is the natural production of America. For, besides the evidence of Francis Ximenes, who, in a Treatise on American plants, printed at Mexico, asserts, that the sugar-cane grows without cultivation, and to an extraordinary size, on the banks of the river Plate *, we are assured by Jean de Lery, a pro-

* Piso observes, "In provincia Rio de la Plata, Cannas Sacchari sponte enasci, adolescereque in arbori proceritatem, atque chrystalla saccharea æstu solis exsudare, constat."

testant

BOOK V. teſtant miniſter, who was chaplain, in 1556, to the Dutch garriſon in the fort of Coligny, on the river Janeiro, that he himſelf found ſugar-canes in great abundance in many places on the banks of that river, and in ſituations never viſited by the Portugueſe. Father Hennepen, and other voyagers, bear teſtimony in like manner to the growth of the cane near the mouth of the Miſſiſippi; and Jean de Laet to its ſpontaneous production in the Iſland of St. Vincent. It is not for the plant itſelf, therefore, but for the ſecret of making ſugar from it, that the Weſt Indies are indebted to the Spaniards and Portugueſe; and theſe to the nations of the eaſt."

Such is the reaſoning of Labat, which the learned Lafitau has pronounced incontrovertible; and it is greatly ſtrengthened by recent diſcoveries; the ſugar-cane having been found in many of the iſlands of the Pacific Ocean, by our late illuſtrious navigator Captain Cook.

In theſe accounts, however, there is no contradiction. The ſugar-cane might have grown ſpontaneouſly in many parts of the New World; and Columbus, unapprized of the circumſtance, might likewiſe have carried ſome of the plants to Hiſpaniola, and ſuch, I believe, was the fact. But be this as it may, the induſtry with which the Spaniſh ſettlers applied themſelves to its cultivation, affords a wonderful contraſt to the manners of the preſent inhabitants; it appearing by the teſtimony of Oviedo, that no leſs than thirty *ingenios*, or ſugar mills, were eſtabliſhed on that iſland ſo early as 1535.

The botanical name of the ſugar-cane is *Arundo Saccharifera*. It is a jointed reed terminating in leaves or blades, whoſe edges are finely and ſharply ſerrated. The body of the cane is ſtrong but

but brittle, and when ripe of a fine ſtraw colour, inclinable to yellow; and it contains a ſoft pithy ſubſtance, which affords a copious ſupply of juice of a ſweetneſs the leaſt cloying and moſt agreeable in nature. The intermediate diſtance between each joint of the cane varies according to the nature of the ſoil;—in general it is from one to three inches in length, and from half an inch to an inch in diameter. The length of the whole cane depends likewiſe upon circumſtances. In ſtrong lands, and lands richly manured, I have ſeen ſome that meaſured twelve feet from the ſtole to the upper joint. The general height however (the flag part excluded) is from three feet and a half to ſeven feet, and in very rich lands the ſtole or root has been known to put forth upwards of one hundred ſuckers or ſhoots *. CHAP. I.

It may be ſuppoſed that a plant, thus rank and ſucculent, requires a ſtrong and deep ſoil to bring it to perfection, and, as far as my own obſervation has extended, I am of opinion that no land can be too rich for that purpoſe.—When bad ſugar is made from fat and fertile ſoils, properly ſituated, I am inclined to impute the blame, rather to miſmanagement in the manufacturer than to the land. The very beſt ſoil however that I have ſeen or heard of, for the production of ſugar of the fineſt quality, and in the largeſt proportion, is the aſhy loam of St. Chriſtopher's,

* The tops of canes ſometimes ſhoot up in *arrows*, decorated at the top with a pannicle, the glumes of which contain a whitiſh duſt, or rather ſeed; yet theſe being ſowed never vegetate, as I have heard, in the Weſt Indian iſlands; a circumſtance which perhaps may be adduced as a proof that the cane is not the ſpontaneous production of this part of the world. In Abyſſinia and other parts of the Eaſt it is eaſily raiſed from the ſeed. *Vid. Bruce's Travels.*

of

BOOK V. of which an account has been given in the history of that island. Next to that, is the soil which in Jamaica is called *brick-mold*; not as resembling a brick in colour, but as containing such a due mixture of clay and sand, as is supposed to render it well adapted for the use of the kiln.—It is a deep, warm and mellow, hazel earth, easily worked; and though its surface soon grows dry after rain, the under stratum retains a considerable degree of moisture in the driest weather;—with this advantage too, that even in the wettest season, it seldom requires trenching. Plant-canes in this soil (which are those of the first growth) have been known in very fine seasons to yield two tons and a half of sugar per acre*. After this, may be reckoned the black mold, of several varieties. The best is the deep black earth of Barbadoes, Antigua, and some other of the Windward Islands; but there is a species of this mold in Jamaica that is but little, if any thing, inferior to it, which abounds with limestone and flint, on a substratum of soapy marle. Black mold on clay is more common, but as the mold is generally shallow, and the clay stiff and retentive of water, this last sort of land requires great labour, both in ploughing and trenching, to render it profitable. Properly pulverised and manured, it becomes very productive; and may be said to be inexhaustible. It were endless to attempt a minute description of all the other soils which are

* This species of soil abounds very generally in the French part of Hispaniola—which gives that noble island so great a superiority over most of our own sugar colonies. In Jamaica, it is confined to a few parishes only, and in those parishes to particular spots. In some places this sort of land is rather gravelly, but this circumstance, if the seasons are favourable, is of no great disadvantage.

found

found in these islands. There is however a peculiar sort of land on the north side of Jamaica, chiefly in the parish of Trelawney, that cannot be passed over unnoticed, not only on account of its scarcity, but its value; few soils producing finer sugars, or such (I have been told by sugar refiners) *as answer so well in the pan*—an expression, signifying, as I understand it, a greater return of refined sugar than common. The land alluded to is generally of a red colour; the shades of which however vary considerably, from a deep chocolate to a rich scarlet; in some places it approaches to a bright yellow, but it is every where remarkable, when first turned up, for a glossy or shining surface, and if wetted, stains the fingers like paint. I have selected specimens which are hardly distinguishable, by the eye or the touch, from the substance called gamboge. Earths of various shades of red and yellow, are found indeed in many other parts of the West Indies, but in none of them are observed the same glossy appearance and cohesion as in the soil in question, which appears to me to consist of a native earth or pure loam with a mixture of clay and sand. It is easily worked, and at the same time so tenacious, that a pond dug in this soil in a proper situation, with no other bottom than its own natural texture, holds water like the stiffest clay. It is remarkable however that the same degree of ploughing or pulverization which is absolutely necessary to render stiff and clayey lands productive, is here not only unnecessary but hurtful;—for though the soil is deep, it is at the same time far from being heavy; and it is naturally dry. As therefore too much exposure to the scorching influence of a tropical sun, destroys its fertility, the system of husbandry on sugar plantations, in which this

CHAP. I.

BOOK V. this ſoil abounds, is to depend chiefly on what are called *ratoon* canes. Ratoons are the ſprouts or ſuckers that ſpring from the roots, or ſtoles of the canes that have been previouſly cut for ſugar, and are commonly ripe in twelve months.—Canes of the firſt growth, as hath been obſerved, are called plant-canes. They are the immediate produce of the original plants or gems placed in the ground, and require from fifteen to ſeventeen months to bring them to maturity. The firſt yearly returns from their roots are called *firſt ratoons*; the ſecond year's growth, *ſecond ratoons*; and ſo on, according to their age. In moſt parts of the Weſt Indies it is uſual to hole and plant a certain proportion of the cane land (commonly one-third) in annual ſucceſſion. This, in the common mode of holing the ground by the hoe, is frequently attended with great and exceſſive labour to the negroes, which is ſaved altogether by the ſyſtem we are treating of. By the latter method, the planter, inſtead of ſtocking up his ratoons, and holing and planting the land anew, ſuffers the ſtoles to continue in the ground, and contents himſelf, as his cane-fields become thin and impoveriſhed, by ſupplying the vacant ſpaces with freſh plants. By theſe means, and the aid of manure, the produce of ſugar *per* acre, if not apparently equal to that from the beſt plant-canes in other ſoils, gives perhaps in the long-run full as great returns to the owner; conſidering the relative proportion of the labour and expence attending the different ſyſtems.—The common yielding of this land, on an average, is ſeven hogſheads of ſixteen cwt. to ten acres, which are cut annually.

In the cultivation of other lands in Jamaica eſpecially) the plough has been introduced of late years,

years, and in some few cases to great advantage; but it is not every soil or situation that will admit the use of the plough; some lands being much too stoney, and others too steep; and I am sorry I have occasion to remark, that a practice commonly prevails in Jamaica, on properties where this auxiliary is used, which would exhaust the finest lands in the world. It is that of ploughing, then cross ploughing, round-ridging, and harrowing the same lands from year to year, or at least every other year, without affording manure: accordingly it is found that this method is utterly destructive of the ratoon or second growth, and altogether ruinous. It is indeed astonishing that any planter of common reading or observation, should be passive under so pernicious a system.—Some gentlemen however of late manage better: their practice is to break up stiff and clayey land, by one or two ploughings, early in the spring, and give it a summer's fallow. In the autumn following, being then mellow and more easily worked, it is holed and planted by manual labour, after the old method, which shall be presently described. But in truth, the only advantageous system of ploughing in the West Indies, is to confine it to the simple operation of *holing*, which may certainly be performed with much greater facility and dispatch by the plough, than by the hoe; and the relief which, in the case of stiff and dry soils, is thus given to the negroes, exceeds all estimation, in the mind of a humane and provident owner. On this subject I speak from practical knowledge. At a plantation of my own, the greatest part of the land which is annually planted, is neatly and sufficiently laid into cane-holes, by the labour of one able man, three boys and eight oxen, with the common single-

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single-wheeled plough. The plough-share indeed is somewhat wider than usual, but this is the only difference, and the method of ploughing is the simplest possible.—By returning the plough back along the furrow, the turf is alternately thrown to the right and to the left, forming a trench seven inches deep, about two feet and a half wide at the top, and one foot wide at the bottom.—A space of eighteen or twenty inches is left between each trench, on which the mold being thrown by the share, the banks are properly formed, and the holing is compleat. Thus the land is not exhausted by being too much exposed to the sun; and in this manner a field of twenty acres is holed with one plough, and with great ease, in thirteen days. The plants are afterwards placed in the trench as in the common method, which remains to be described.

The usual mode of holing by manual labour is as follows:—The quantity of land intended to be planted, being cleared of weeds and other incumbrances, is first divided into several plats of certain dimensions, commonly from fifteen to twenty acres each; the spaces between each plat or division, are left wide enough for roads, for the conveniency of carting, and are called *intervals*. Each plat is then sub-divided, by means of a line and wooden pegs, into small squares of about three feet and a half. Sometimes indeed the squares are a foot larger; but this circumstance makes but little difference. The negroes are then placed in a row in the first line, one to a square, and directed to dig out with their hoes the several squares, commonly to the depth of five or six inches. The mold which is dug up being formed into a bank at the lower side, the excavation or cane-hole seldom exceeds fifteen inches in width

width at the bottom, and two feet and a half at the top. The negroes then fall back to the next line, and proceed as before. Thus the several squares between each line are formed into a trench of much the same dimensions with that which is made by the plough. An able negro will dig from sixty to eighty of these holes for his day's work of ten hours; but if the land has been previously ploughed and lain fallow, the same negro will dig nearly double the number in the same time *.

The cane-holes or trench being now compleated, whether by the plough or by the hoe, and the cuttings selected for planting, which are commonly the tops of the canes that have been ground for sugar (each cutting containing five or six gems) two of them are sufficient for a cane-hole of the dimensions described †. These, being placed lon-

* As the negroes work at this business very unequally, according to their different degrees of bodily strength, it is sometimes the practice to put two negroes to a single square; but if the land has not had the previous assistance of the plough, it commonly requires the labour of 50 able negroes for 12 days to hole 20 acres. In Jamaica, some gentlemen, to ease their own slaves, have this laborious part of the planting business performed by job work. The usual price for holing and planting is £6. currency per acre (equal to £.4. 7s. sterling). The cost of falling and clearing heavy wood land is commonly as much more.

† It is a maxim with some people to plant *thin* on poor lands, and *thick* in rich; but it is a maxim founded in error. They suppose that the richer the soil is, the greater number of plants it will maintain; which is true enough; but they forget that the plant itself will, in such soils, put forth shoots in abundance; and most of which, *if the lands are not over-planted*, will come to perfection; whereas from thick planting in rich mould the shoots choke and destroy each other. On the other hand, in soils where the canes will not stock, (viz. put out fresh shoots) the overseer must supply the greater number of plants in the first instance, or the produce will be little or nothing.

gitudinally

BOOK V.

gitudinally in the bottom of the hole, are covered with mold about two inches deep; the reſt of the bank being intended for future uſe. In twelve or fourteen days the young ſprouts begin to appear, and, as ſoon as they riſe a few inches above the ground, they are, or ought to be, carefully cleared of weeds, and furniſhed with an addition of mold from the banks. This is uſually performed by the hand. At the end of four or five months, the banks are wholly levelled, and the ſpaces between the rows carefully hoe-ploughed. Frequent cleanings, while the canes are young, are indeed ſo eſſentially neceſſary, that no other merit in an overſeer can compenſate for the want of attention in this particular.—A careful manager will remove at the ſame time, all the lateral ſhoots or ſuckers that ſpring up after the canes begin to joint, as they ſeldom come to maturity, and draw nouriſhment from the original plants.

The propereſt ſeaſon, generally ſpeaking, for planting, is unqueſtionably in the interval between Auguſt and the beginning of November. By having the advantage of the autumnal ſeaſons, the young canes become ſufficiently luxuriant to ſhade the ground before the dry weather ſets in. Thus the roots are kept cool and the earth moiſt. By this means too, they are ripe for the mill in the beginning of the ſecond year, ſo as to enable the overſeer or manager to finiſh his crop (except as to the few canes which are reſerved to furniſh cuttings or tops for planting) by the latter end of May. Canes planted in and after November loſe the advantage of the autumnal rains, and it often happens that dry weather, in the beginning of the enſuing year, retards their vegetation, until the vernal ſeaſons, or May rains, ſet in; when they ſprout both at the roots and the joints; ſo that by

by the time they are cut, the field is loaded with unripe suckers, instead of sugar-canes. A January plant, however, commonly turns out well; but canes planted very late in the spring, though they have the benefit of the May rains, seldom answer expectation; for they generally come in unseasonably, and throw the ensuing crops out of regular rotation. They are therefore frequently cut before they are ripe; or, if the autumnal seasons set in early, are cut in wet weather, which has probably occasioned them to spring afresh; in either case the effect is the same: The juice is unconcocted, and all the sap being in motion, the root is deprived of its natural nourishment, to the great injury of the ratoon. The chief objection to a fall plant is this: that the canes become rank and top-heavy, at a period when violent rains and high winds are expected, and are therefore frequently lodged before they are fit to cut. The observation, when applied to canes planted in rich and new lands, is just; and on this account, some gentlemen have introduced the following system: They plant in August and September, clean the young sprouts, and give them mold occasionally, until the beginning of January, when they cut the young plants close to the ground with knives, and level the bank; spreading the remainder of the mold over the roots; which soon afterwards send out a number of vigorous and luxuriant shoots all of an equal growth. It is alledged that by this means the cane is not too rank in the stormy months, and nevertheless comes to perfection in good time the succeeding spring. I cannot say that I have had, of my own experience, a fair trial of this method; but I have been assured by very intelligent overseers, that

CHAP. I.

BOOK V. they never knew canes yield so well, as by this practice.

On the whole, it is a striking and just remark of Colonel Martin, that there is not a greater error in the system of planting, than to make sugar, or to plant canes in improper seasons of the year; for by mismanagements of this kind every succeeding crop is put out of regular order. A plantation, he observes, ought to be considered as a well-constructed machine, compounded of various wheels turning different ways, yet all contributing to the great end proposed; but if any one part runs too fast, or too slow, in proportion to the rest, the main purpose is defeated. It is in vain, continues he, to plead in excuse the want of hands or cattle; because these wants must either be supplied, or the planter must contract his views, and proportion them to his abilities; for the attempt to do more than can be attained, will lead into perpetual disorder, and conclude in poverty.

Unfortunately, however, neither prudence in the management, nor favourable soils, nor seasonable weather, will at all times, exempt the planter from misfortunes. The sugar-cane is subject to a disease which no foresight can obviate, and for which human wisdom has hitherto, I fear, attempted in vain to find a remedy.—This calamity is called the *blast*; it is the *aphis* of Linnæus, and is distinguished into two kinds, the black and the yellow; of which the latter is the most destructive. It consists of myriads of little insects, invisible to the naked eye, whose proper food is the juice of the cane; in search of which they wound the tender blades, and consequently destroy the vessels. Hence the circulation being impeded, the growth of the plant is check-

ed,

ed, until it withers or dies in proportion to the degree of the ravage *.

Over what appears to be thus irremediable, it is idle to lament; and I mention the circumſtance chiefly to have an opportunity of repeating what I have heard frequently affirmed, that the *blaſt* never attacks thoſe plantations, where colonies have been introduced of that wonderful little animal the carnivorous ant †. It is certain that theſe minute and buſy creatures ſoon clear a ſugar plantation of rats (in ſome places a moſt deſtructive peſt) and that inſects and animalcula of all kinds, ſeem to conſtitute their natural food. The fact therefore may be true; but having had no opportunity to verify it by ocular demonſtration, I conſign it over to future enquiry. If the information be juſt, the diſcovery is of importance.

* In ſome of the Windward Iſlands, the cane, in very dry weather, is liable to be deſtroyed alſo by a ſpecies of grub called the *borer*. This calamity is fortunately unknown, at leaſt to any extent, in Jamaica; and never having ſeen it, I can give no certain deſcription of it. I conceive the inſect to be the *eruca minima e rubro fuſca* of Sloane.

† It is the *Formica omnivora* of Linnæus, and is called in Jamaica the *Raffles'* ant, having been introduced there, as is commonly believed, by one Thomas Raffles, from the Havanna, about the year 1762.—But I conceive it was known in the iſland from the earlieſt times, and that it is preciſely deſcribed by Sloane, as the *Formica fuſca minima, antennis longiſſimis*. It is probably the ſame which, in the introduction to his firſt volume, he relates that the ancient Spaniſh inhabitants ſo much complained of. He ſays, that the Spaniards deſerted the part of the country where they had firſt ſettled, *merely on account of theſe troubleſome inmates*; declaring, *that they frequently eat out the eyes of their young children as they lay in their cradles*. If the reader has faith enough to credit this circumſtance, he may believe ſome marvellous ſtories of the ſame kind, which are now-a-days related of the ſame inſects by many venerable old gentlewomen in Jamaica.

BOOK V.

Hitherto, I have ſaid nothing of a very important branch in the ſyſtem of ſugar-planting, I mean the method of manuring the lands. The neceſſity of giving even the beſt ſoil occaſional aſſiſtance is univerſally admitted, and the uſual way of doing it in the Weſt Indies is now to be deſcribed.

The manure generally uſed is a compoſt formed,

1ſt. Of the vegetable aſhes, drawn from the fires of the boiling and ſtill houſes.

2dly. Feculencies diſcharged from the ſtill-houſe, mixed up with rubbiſh of buildings, white-lime, &c.

3dly. Refuſe, or field-traſh, (i. e.) the decayed leaves and ſtems of the canes; ſo called in contradiſtinction to cane-traſh, reſerved for fuel, and hereafter to be deſcribed.

4thly. Dung, obtained from the horſe and mule ſtables, and from moveable pens, or ſmall incloſures made by poſts and rails, occaſionally ſhifted upon the lands intended to be planted, and into which the cattle are turned at night.

5thly. Good mold, collected from *gullies*, and other waſte places, and thrown into the cattle-*pens*.

The firſt, (i. e.) *aſhes*, is commonly ſuppoſed to be a manure of itſelf, well adapted for cold and ſtiff clays; and in ſome parts of Jamaica, it is the practice, in the fall of the year, to carry it out unmixed, in cart loads, to the land where it is intended to be uſed. It is left there (or in ſome ſpot adjoining) in large heaps, until the land is hoſed; after which a baſket full, containing commonly from fifteen to twenty pounds, is thrown into each cane-hole, and mixed with the mold at the time the plants are put into the ground.

ground. It may be doubted, however, whether ashes, applied in this manner, are of much advantage. I have been told, that if the land is opened five years afterwards, they will be found undissolved *. At other times, wain loads of the compost or dunghill before-mentioned, are carried out, and used in nearly the same manner as the ashes. CHAP. I.

But the chief dependance of the Jamaica planter in manuring his lands, is on the moveable pens, or occasional inclosures before described; not so much for the quantity of dung collected by means of those inclosures, as for the advantage of the urine from the cattle (the best of all manures), and the labour which is saved by this system. I believe, indeed, there are a great many overseers who give their land no aid of any kind, other than that of shifting the cattle from one pen to another, on the intended spot for planting, during three or four months before it is ploughed or holed.

What has hitherto been said, however, relates solely to the method of preparing lands for plant-canes. Those who trust chiefly to *ratoons*, find it as necessary to give their cane-fields attention and assistance, from the time the canes are cut, as it was before they were planted. It is the advice of Colonel Martin, so soon as the canes are carried to the mill, to cut off, by a sharp hoe, all the heads of the cane-stools, *three inches below the surface of the soil*, and then fill up the hole with fine mold; by which means, he thinks that all the sprouts rising from below, will derive more nutriment, and grow more equally and vigorously than otherwise. I know not that this advice is adopted in any of the sugar islands. It is the

* On wet lands, not easily trenched, ashes may be useful in absorbing superfluous moisture, and may therefore sometimes prove a good top dressing.

practice,

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practice, however, in many parts of Jamaica, to ſpread baſkets full of dung round the ſtools, ſo ſoon after the canes have been cut as circumſtances will admit, and the ground has been refreſhed by rains. In dry and ſcorching weather it would be labour loſt. The young ſprouts are, at the ſame time, cleared of weeds; and the dung which is ſpread round them, being covered with cane-traſh that its virtues may not be exhaled by the ſun, is found at the end of three or four months, to be ſoaked into and incorporated with the mold. At this period the ratoons are again well cleaned, and the ſpaces between the ranks effectually hoe-ploughed; after which very little care is thought requiſite until the canes are fit for cutting; the ancient practice of *traſhing* ratoons (i. e.) ſtripping them of their outward leaves, being of late very generally and juſtly exploded *.

Such is the general ſyſtem of preparing and manuring the lands in Jamaica. I have been told, that more attention is paid to this branch of huſbandry, in ſome of the iſlands to Windward; but I ſuſpect that there is, in all of them, very great room for improvement, by means of judicious tillage, and artificial aſſiſtance. Why, for inſtance, are not the manures of lime and ſea-ſand, which abound in theſe iſlands, and have been found ſo exceedingly beneficial in Great

* It ſhould have been obſerved, that it is ſometimes the cuſtom, after a field of canes has been cut, to ſet fire to the traſh. This is called *burning off*, and there are managers and overſeers who conſider it as one of the beſt methods of meliorating the land. I confeſs that I am of a different opinion. Perhaps, indeed, in moiſt, ſtiff, and clayey lands, *it may do no harm*; and this negative praiſe is the only merit I can allow it. From the uſual and prevalent nature of the ſoil beſt adapted for ſugar, I am perſuaded that, nine times in ten, it is a miſchievous practice.

Britain,

Britain, brought into use? Limestone alone, even without burning, (the expence of which might perhaps be an objection) has been found to answer in cold, heavy, and moist lands; no other trouble being requisite than merely to spread it over the ground, and break it into small pieces by sledge-hammers. Of this, the quantities are inexhaustible. Marle is another manure of vast and general utility in Great Britain. It enriches the poorest land, opens the stiffest, and sweetens and corrects the most rank. Lands have been raised by the use of this manure, from two shillings per acre to a guinea, annual rent. Now there is no country under the sun, wherein a soft unctuous marle more abounds than in Jamaica. To the question, *why no trial has yet been made of it?* no better answer, I believe, can be given, than that the planters in general have no leisure for experiments, and that it is difficult to make agents and servants (who have every thing to risk, and nothing to gain) walk out of the sure and beaten track of daily practice. Every man's experience confirms this observation. CHAP. I.

But it is not my province to propose systems, but to record facts;—to describe things *as they are*, rather than as I conceive *they ought to be;* and it is now time to conduct the reader from the field, into the boiling-house, and convert the farmer into the manufacturer.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Crop-time the ſeaſon of health and feſtivity.—Mills for grinding the canes.—Of the cane-juice, and its component parts.—Proceſs for obtaining raw or muſcovado ſugar.—Melaſſes, and its diſpoſal.—Proceſs of making clayed ſugar.—Of rum.—Still-houſes and ſtills.—Ciſterns and their ingredients.—Windward Iſland proceſs.—Jamaica method of double diſtillation.—Due quantity of rum from a given quantity of ſweets, aſcertained and ſtated.

BOOK V.

THE time of crop in the ſugar iſlands, is the ſeaſon of gladneſs and feſtivity to man and beaſt. So palatable, ſalutary, and nouriſhing is the juice of the cane, that every individual of the animal creation, drinking freely of it, derives health and vigour from its uſe. The meagre and ſickly among the negroes, exhibit a ſurprizing alteration in a few weeks after the mill is ſet in action. The labouring horſes, oxen, and mules, though almoſt conſtantly at work during this ſeaſon, yet being indulged with plenty of the green tops of this noble plant, and ſome of the ſcummings from the boiling-houſe, improve more than at any other period of the year. Even the pigs and poultry fatten on the refuſe. In ſhort, on a well-regulated plantation, under a humane and benevolent director, there is ſuch an appearance during crop-time of plenty and buſy cheerfulneſs, as to ſoften, in a great meaſure, the hardſhip of ſlavery, and induce a ſpectator to hope, when the miſeries

miseries of life are represented as insupportable, that they are sometimes exaggerated through the medium of fancy *.

The great obstacle at this season to the progress of such of the planters as are not happily furnished with the means of grinding their canes by water, is the frequent failure or insufficiency of their mills; for though a sugar-mill, whether worked by water, wind, or cattle, is a very simple contrivance, great force is nevertheless requisite to make it overcome the resistance which it necessarily meets with. It consists principally of three upright iron-plated rollers, or cylinders, from thirty to forty inches in length, and from twenty to twenty-five inches in diameter; and the middle one, to which the moving power is applied, turns the other two by means of cogs. Between these rollers, the canes (being previously cut short, and tied into bundles) are twice compressed; for having passed through the first and second rollers, they are turned round the middle one by a circular piece of frame-work, or screen, called in Jamaica the *Dumb-returner*, and forced back through the second and third; an operation

* "He" (says honest old Slare the physician) "that undertakes to argue against *sweets* in general, takes upon him a very difficult task, for nature seems to have recommended this taste to all sorts of creatures; the birds of the air, the beasts of the field, many reptiles and flies seem to be pleased and delighted with the specific relish of all sweets, and to distaste its contrary. Now the sugar-cane, or sugar, I hold for the top and highest standard of vegetable sweets." Sugar is obtainable in some degree from most vegetables, and Dr. Cullen is of opinion, that sugar is *directly* nutritious. There is also good reason to suppose, that the general use of sugar in Europe has had the effect of extinguishing the scurvy, and many other diseases formerly epidemical.

which

BOOK V. which squeezes them completely dry, and sometimes even reduces them to powder. The cane-juice is received in a leaden bed, and thence conveyed into a vessel called the Receiver. The refuse, or macerated rind of the cane, (which is called *cane-trash*, in contradistinction to field-trash described in the preceding chapter) serves for fuel to boil the liquor *.

The

* In Barbadoes, and some other of the islands where the sea-breeze is unobstructed by high mountains, wind-mills work to admiration; but in Jamaica, unless on high situations near the coast, they seldom answer the expence of their erection; and the planter who is not happily situated near a copious stream of water, must trust principally to the drudgery of horses, oxen, or mules, in what is usually called a cattle-mill; which, generally speaking, is such a heavy and laborious piece of machinery, that the heart sickens at beholding it work. Various have been the contrivances to obviate its defects. Friction-wheels have been applied in some cases, and the side-rollers have been enlarged in others; but I fear that no certain dependance can be placed on any of these supposed improvements. If, indeed, a judgment may be formed from a few solitary instances, no improvement in the plan or design is necessary; for it sometimes happens that cattle-mills constructed on the old simple system of three rollers of equal dimensions, perform with as much ease and facility as can be reasonably expected. I have seen a machine of this kind, which was worked with eight mules, deliver from three hundred to three hundred and fifty gallons of liquor in an hour, from very indifferent canes, and sometimes much more; and this too, without any great fatigue to the mules. Surely it deserves enquiry why, as such facility is *sometimes* experienced, it is not experienced *always*? I mean, supposing the strength of the mules and the resistance to be equal. The fact, however, is, that other mills, on the same apparent construction, urged by the same force, and operating on the same degree of resistance, shall not give, from canes equally juicy, one half the same return in the same time. The fault, therefore, seems to me to rest more with the mill-wright than with the machine; and I am always inclined, in such cases, to suspect, either that the work is not true, that the mill is improperly braced,

The juice from the mill ordinarily contains eight parts of pure water, one part of sugar, and one part made up of gross oil, and mucilaginous gum with a portion of essential oil. The proportions are taken at a medium; for some juice has been so rich as to make a hogshead of sugar from thirteen hundred gallons, and some so watery as to require more than double that quantity. By a hogshead I mean sixteen hundred weight. The richer the juice is, the more free it is found from redundant oil and gum; so that an exact analysis of any one quantity of juice would convey very little knowledge of the contents of any other quantity *.

The above component parts are natural to, and are found in, all cane-juice; besides which, the following matters are usually contained in it.—Some of the bands or green tops, which serve to tie the canes in bundles, are frequently ground in, and yield a raw acid juice exceedingly disposed to ferment and render the whole liquor sour. Some pieces of the trash or ligneous part of the cane; some dirt; and lastly, a substance of some importance, which, as it has no name, I will call *the crust*. The crust is a thin black coat of matter that surrounds the cane between the joints, beginning at each joint and gradually growing thinner the farther from the joint upwards, till the upper part between the joints appears entirely free from it, and resumes its bright yellow colour. It is frequently thick enough to be scaled off by the point of a pen-knife. It is a fine black pow-

braced, or that there is some other defect which may and ought to be remedied, without the vast expence to which the disappointed planter, on these occasions, is commonly driven in the erection of new machinery.

* A pound of sugar from a gallon of raw liquor, is reckoned in Jamaica very good yielding. Sugar, chemically analysed, yields phlegm, acid, oil, and spongy glossy charcoal.

der,

BOOK V. der, that mixes with the clammy exudations perspired from the cane, and is moſt probably produced by *animalcula*. As the fairneſs of the ſugar is one of the marks of its goodneſs, a ſmall quantity of ſuch a ſubſtance muſt conſiderably prejudice the commodity.

The proceſs for obtaining the ſugar is thus conducted. The juice or liquor runs from the receiver to the boiling-houſe, along a wooden gutter lined with lead. In the boiling-houſe it is received (according to the modern improved ſyſtem which almoſt univerſally prevails in Jamaica) into one of the copper pans or cauldrons called clarifiers. Of theſe there are commonly three; and their dimenſions are generally determined by the power of ſupplying them with liquor. There are water-mills that will grind with great eaſe canes ſufficient for thirty hogſheads of ſugar in a week. On plantations thus happily provided, the means of quick boiling are indiſpenſibly requiſite, or the cane-liquor will unavoidably become tainted before it can be expoſed to the fire. The pureſt cane-juice will not remain twenty minutes in the receiver without fermenting *. Clarifiers, therefore, are ſometimes ſeen of one thouſand gallons each. But as powers of the extent deſcribed are uncommon, I ſhall rather confine myſelf to ſuch properties as fall within the reach of daily obſervation; to plantations, for inſtance, that make on a medium during crop-time, from fifteen to twenty hogſheads of ſugar a week. On ſuch eſtates, three clarifiers of three or four hundred

* As cane-juice is ſo very liable to fermentation, it is neceſſary alſo that the canes ſhould be ground as ſoon as poſſible after they are cut, and great care taken to keep and throw aſide thoſe which are tainted, which may afterwards be ground for the ſtill-houſe.

gallons

gallons each, are sufficient. With pans of this size, the liquor, when clarified, may be drawn off *at once*, and there is leisure to cleanse the vessels every time they are used. Each clarifier is provided either with a syphon, or a cock for drawing off the liquor. It has a flat bottom, and is hung to a separate fire, each chimney having an iron slider, which being shut, the fire goes out for want of air. These circumstances are indispensible, and the advantages of them will presently be shewn *. CHAP. II.

The stream then from the receiver having filled the clarifier with fresh liquor, and the fire being lighted, the *temper*, which is commonly Bristol white-lime in powder, is stirred into it. One great intention of this is to neutralize the superabundant acid, and which to get properly rid of, is the great difficulty in sugar-making. This is generally effected by the *Alkali* or lime; part of which, at the same time, becomes the basis of the sugar. The quantity necessary for this purpose, must of course vary with the quality both of the lime and of the cane-liquor.—Some planters allow a pint of Bristol lime to every hundred gallons of liquor; but this proportion I believe is generally found too large.—

* The clarifiers are commonly placed in the middle or at one end of the boiling-house. If at one end, the boiler called the *teache* is placed at the other, and several boilers (generally three) are ranged between them. The teache is ordinarily from 70 to 100 gallons, and the boilers between the clarifiers and teache diminish in size from the first to the last.—Where the clarifiers are in the middle, there is usually a set of three boilers of each side, which constitute in effect a double boiling-house. On very large estates this arrangement is found useful and necessary. The objection to so great a number is the expence of fuel, to obviate which in some degree, the three boilers on each side of the clarifiers are commonly hung to one fire.

The

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The lime is perceptible in the sugar both to the smell and taste, and precipitates in the copper pans a black insoluble calx, which scorches the bottom of the vessels, and is not detached without difficulty. I conceive therefore that little more than half the quantity mentioned above, is a better medium proportion, and, in order that less of it may be precipitated to the bottom, an inconveniency attending the use of dry lime, Mr. Bousie's method of dissolving it in boiling water, previous to mixing it with the cane juice, appears to me to be highly judicious *.

As the fire encreases in force, and the liquor grows hot, a scum is thrown up, which is formed of the mucilage or gummy matter of the cane,

* This gentleman (Mr. Bousie) to whom the assembly of Jamaica gave £. 1000 for his improvements in the art of sugar-boiling, in a paper distributed by him among the members, recommends the use of a vegetable *alkali*, or ashes of wood calcinated, such as pimento-tree, dumb-cane, fern-tree, cashew or logwood, as affording a better temper than quick-lime; but he was afterwards sensible that sugar formed on the basis of fixed alkaline salts never stands the sea, unless some earth is joined with the salts. Such earth as approaches nearest to that which is the basis of allum, would perhaps be most proper. As sugar on a vegetable alkaline basis, is generally as much superior in colour, as that on lime is in grain; how far a judicious mixture of vegetable alkaline salts and lime, might prove a better temper than either lime or alkaline salts alone, is an enquiry that ought to be pursued. If there were no redundant acid in cane-liquor, lime and any other *alkali* would be hurtful, as may be shewn by adding a few grains of lime or *alkali* to a clear solution of refined sugar: a precipitation will ensue. In some parts of Jamaica, where the cane-liquor was exceedingly rich, Mr. Bousie made very good sugar without a particle of temper. I have said, that too much temper is perceptible in the sugar, both to the smell and taste: it might be added, *and also to the sight*. It tinges the liquor first yellow, and if in excess turns it to a dark red. Too much temper likewise prevents the melasses from separating from the sugar when it is potted or put into the hogshead.

with

CHAP. II.

with some of the oil, and such impurities as the mucilage is capable of entangling. The heat is now suffered gradually to encrease, until it rises to within a few degrees of the heat of boiling water. The liquor must by no means be suffered to boil: it is known to be sufficiently heated when the scum begins to rise into blisters, which break into white froth, and appear in general in about forty minutes. The damper is then applied, and the fire extinguished; after which, the liquor is suffered to remain a full hour, if circumstances will admit, undisturbed; during this interval great part of the feculencies and impurities will attract each other, and rise in the scum. The liquor is now carefully drawn off, either by a syphon, which draws up a pure defecated stream through the scum, or by means of a cock at the bottom. In either case the scum sinks down unbroken as the liquor flows, its tenacity preventing any admixture. The liquor is received into a gutter or channel, which conveys it to the evaporating boiler, commonly called the *grand copper*, and, if originally produced from good and untainted canes, will now appear almost, if not perfectly, transparent *.

The advantage of clarifying the liquor in this manner, instead of forcing an immediate ebullition, as practised formerly, is visible to the most inattentive observer. The labour which it saves in scumming, is wonderful. Neither can scumming properly cleanse the subject; for when the liquor boils violently, the whole body of it circulates

* The merit of introducing into Jamaica the clarifiers at present in use, with syphons and dampers, was claimed by Mr. Samuel Sainthill, and an exclusive patent, to secure his claim, was granted to him in 1778 by an act of the assembly.

BOOK V. culates with such rapidity as to carry down again the very impurities that had come up to the surface, and with a less violent heat would have staid there.

In the grand or evaporating copper, which should be large enough to receive the net contents of one of the clarifiers, the liquor is suffered to boil; and as the scum rises, it is continually taken off by large scummers, until the liquor grows finer and somewhat thicker. This labour is continued until, from the scumming and evaporation, the subject is sufficiently reduced in quantity to be contained in the next or second copper, into which it is then laded. The liquor is now nearly of the colour of Madeira wine. In the second copper the boiling and scumming are continued; and if the subject is not so clean as is expected, lime-water is thrown into it. This addition is intended not merely to give more temper, but also to dilute the liquor, which sometimes thickens too fast to permit the feculencies to run together and rise in the scum. Liquor is said to have a good appearance in the second copper, when the froth in boiling arises in large bubbles, and is but little discoloured. When, from such scumming and evaporation, the liquor is again sufficiently reduced to be contained in the third copper, it is laded into it, and so on to the last copper, which is called the *teache*. This arrangement supposes four boilers or coppers, exclusive of the three clarifiers.

In the teache the subject is still further evaporated, till it is judged sufficiently boiled to be removed from the fire. This operation is usually called *striking*; i. e. lading the liquor, now exceedingly thick, into the cooler.

The

The cooler, of which there are commonly ſix, is a ſhallow wooden veſſel, about eleven inches deep, ſeven feet in length, and from five to ſix feet wide. A cooler of this ſize holds a hogſhead of ſugar. Here the ſugar grains; i. e. as it cools, it runs into a coarſe irregular maſs of imperfect ſemiformed cryſtals, ſeparating itſelf from the melaſſes. From the cooler it is carried to the curing-houſe, where the melaſſes drains from it *.

But, before we follow it into the curing-houſe, it may be proper to notice the rule for judging when the ſubject is ſufficiently evaporated for *ſtriking*, or become fit for being laded from the teache to the cooler. Many of the negro boilers gueſs ſolely by the eye (which by long habit they do with great accuracy), judging by the appearance of the grain on the back of the ladle; but the practice moſt in uſe is to judge by what is called *the touch*; i. e. taking up with the thumb a ſmall portion of the hot liquor from the ladle; and, as the heat diminiſhes, drawing with the forefinger the liquid into a thread. This thread will ſuddenly break, and ſhrink from the thumb to the ſuſpended finger, in different lengths, according as the liquor is more or leſs boiled. The proper boiling height for ſtrong muſcovado ſugar, is generally determined by a thread of a quarter of an inch long. It is evident that certainty in this experiment can be attained only by

* It may be proper in this place to obſerve, that, in order to obtain a large-grained ſugar, it muſt be ſuffered to cool *ſlowly and gradually*. If the coolers are too ſhallow, the grain is injured in a ſurpriſing manner. Any perſon may be convinced of this, by pouring ſome of the hot ſyrup, when fit for ſtriking, into a pewter plate. He will immediately find it will have a very ſmall grain.

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long habit, and that no verbal precepts will furnish any degree of skill in a matter depending wholly on constant practice *.

I now return to the curing-house, which is a large airy building, provided with a capacious melasses cistern, the sides of which are sloped and lined with terras, or boards. Over this cistern there is a frame of massy joist-work without boarding. On the joists of this frame, empty hogsheads, without headings, are ranged. In

* It is probable that from this practice of trying by the touch (*tactio*) the vessel called the teache derives its name. A method more certain and scientific was recommended some years ago to the public, by my learned friend John Proculus Baker, Esquire, Barrister at Law, in the Island of Jamaica, in a Treatise published by him, in 1775, intituled, *An Essay on the Art of making Muscovado Sugar*. It is as follows:—"Provide a small thin pane of clear crown glass, set in a frame, which I would call a *tryer*; on this drop two or three drops of the subject, one on the other, and carry your tryer out of the boiling-house into the air. Observe your subject, and more particularly whether it grains freely, and whether a small edge of melasses separates at the bottom. I am well satisfied that a little experience will enable you to judge what appearance the whole skip will put on, *when cold*, by this specimen, which is also *cold*. This method is used by chemists, to try evaporated solutions of all other salts; and may seem, therefore, somewhat strange it has not been long adopted in the boiling-house."—I cannot mention Mr. Baker's Treatise, without observing, that I am considerably indebted to it in the course of this chapter, having adopted (with some small variation, founded on late improvements) his account of the process of boiling sugar. But the inhabitants of the sugar islands are under still greater obligations to Mr. Baker:—for it appears to me, that the present improved system of clarifying the cane-liquor, by means of vessels hung to separate fires, and provided with dampers to prevent ebullition, was first suggested to Mr. Sainthill (who three years afterwards claimed the merit of the invention) by the treatise in question; a performance that, for useful knowledge, lucid order, and elegance, both in arrangement and composition, would have done honour to the first writer of the age.

the

the bottoms of these hogsheads eight or ten holes are bored, through each of which the stalk of a plantain leaf is thrust, six or eight inches below the joists, and is long enough to stand upright above the top of the hogshead. Into these hogsheads the mass from the cooler is put, which is called *potting*; and the melasses drains through the spungy stalk and drops into the cistern, from whence it is occasionally taken for distillation. The sugar in about three weeks grows tolerably dry and fair. It is then said to be cured, and the process is finished *. CHAP. II.

Sugar, thus obtained, is called *muscovado*, and is the raw material from whence the British sugar-bakers chiefly make their loaf, or refined lump. There is another sort, which was formerly much approved in Great Britain for domestic purposes, and was generally known by the name of Lisbon sugar. It is fair, but of soft texture, and in the West Indies is called *clayed* sugar; the process is conducted as follows:—

A quantity of sugar from the cooler is put into conical pots or pans, called by the French *formes*, with the points downwards, having a hole about half an inch in diameter at the bottom, for the melasses to drain through, but which at first is closed with a plug. When the sugar in these pots is cool, and become a fixed body, which is discoverable by the middle of the top falling in (generally about twelve hours from the first potting of the hot sugar) the plug is taken out, and the pot placed over a large jar, intended to receive the syrup or melasses that drains from it. In this state it is left as long as the me-

* The curing-house should be close and warm—as warmth contributes to free the sugar from the melasses.

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laſſes continues to drop, which it will do from twelve to twenty-four hours, when a ſtratum of clay is ſpread on the ſugar, and moiſtened with water, which oozing imperceptibly through the pores of the clay, unites intimately with, and dilutes the melaſſes, conſequently more of it comes away than from ſugar cured in the hogſhead, and the ſugar, of courſe, becomes ſo much the whiter and purer. The proceſs, according to Sloane, was firſt diſcovered in Braſil, by accident; "a "hen," ſays he, "having her feet dirty, going "over a pot of ſugar, it was found under her "tread to be whiter than elſewhere." The reaſon aſſigned why this proceſs is not univerſally adopted in the Britiſh ſugar iſlands, is this, that the water which dilutes and carries away the melaſſes, diſſolves and carries with it ſo much of the ſugar, that the difference in quality does not pay for the difference in quantity. The French planters probably think otherwiſe, upwards of four hundred of the plantations of St. Domingo having the neceſſary apparatus for claying, and actually carrying on the ſyſtem.

OF RUM.

Having now furniſhed the reader with the beſt account I am able to give of the art of making ſugar from the cane-juice, I ſhall proceed to a ſubſequent proceſs, to which this invaluable plant hath given birth; I mean that of extracting from it, by fermentation and diſtillation, one of the pureſt, moſt fragrant, and ſalutary ſpirits in the world; a proceſs of far greater curioſity than the former, and of almoſt equal importance in point of value, conſidering that the ſpirit procured

cured by its means, is obtained from the very dregs and feculencies of the plant. CHAP. II.

The ſtill-houſes on the ſugar-plantations in the Britiſh Weſt Indies, vary greatly in point of ſize and expence, according to the fancy of the proprietor, or the magnitude of the property. In general, however, they are built in a ſubſtantial manner of ſtone, and are commonly equal in extent to both the boiling and curing-houſes together. Large ſtills, by which I mean ſuch as contain from one to three thouſand gallons of liquor, have this advantage over ſmall ones; that they are purchaſed at firſt at a leſs proportionate expence. A ſtill of two thouſand gallons, with freight and charges, will coſt but little more than one of one thouſand five hundred gallons, and is beſides worked with but little more fuel. But as it is not every proprietor that has the means of employing ſtills of that magnitude, I ſhall conſider ſuch as are fitting for a plantation making, *communibus annis*, two hundred hogſheads of ſugar of ſixteen hundred weight, and proceed to deſcribe, according to the beſt of my obſervation and experience, the mode of conducting ſuch an apparatus on ſuch a property, in making rum to the greateſt advantage.

For a plantation of that deſcription, I conceive that two copper ſtills, the one of one thouſand two hundred, and the other of ſix hundred gallons, wine meaſure, with proportionate pewter worms, are ſufficient. The ſize of the tank (or tubs) for containing the cold water in which the worms are immerſed, muſt depend on circumſtances: if the advantage can be obtained of a running ſtream, the water may be kept abundantly cool in a veſſel barely large enough to contain the

BOOK V. the worm. If the plantation has no other dependence than that of pond-water, a ſtone tank is infinitely ſuperior to a tub, as being longer in heating, and if it can be made to contain from twenty to thirty thouſand gallons, the worms of both the ſtills may be placed in the ſame body of water, and kept cool enough for condenſing the ſpirit, by occaſional ſupplies of freſh water.

For working theſe ſtills and worms, it is neceſſary to provide, firſt, a dunder-ciſtern, of at leaſt three thouſand gallons; ſecondly, a ciſtern for the ſcummings; laſtly, twelve fermenting vats or ciſterns, each of them of the contents of the largeſt ſtill, viz. one thouſand two hundred gallons. In Jamaica, ciſterns are made of plank, fixed in clay; and are univerſally preferred to vats, or moveable veſſels, for the purpoſe of fermenting. They are not ſo eaſily affected by the changes of the weather, nor ſo liable to leak as vats, and they laſt much longer. But in the Britiſh diſtilleries, fermenting-ciſterns are, I believe, unknown. To compleat the apparatus, it is neceſſary to add two or more copper pumps for conveying the liquor from the ciſterns, and pumping up the dunder, and alſo butts or other veſſels for ſecuring the ſpirit when obtained; and it is uſual to build a rum-ſtore adjoining the ſtill-houſe.

The ingredients or materials that ſet the various apparatus I have deſcribed into action, conſiſt of,

1ſt. Melaſſes, or treacle drained from the ſugar, as already deſcribed.

2dly. Scummings of the hot cane-juice, from the boiling-houſe, or ſometimes raw-cane liquor, from canes expreſſed for the purpoſe.

3dly.

3dly. Lees, or, as it is called in Jamaica, *dunder* *.

4thly. Water.

The uſe of dunder in the making of rum, anſwers the purpoſe of yeaſt in the fermentation of flour. It is the lees or feculencies of former diſtillations; and ſome few planters preſerve it for uſe, from one crop to another; but this is a bad practice. Some fermented liquor therefore, compoſed of ſweets and water alone, ought to be diſtilled in the firſt inſtance, that freſh dunder may be obtained. It is a diſſolvent menſtruum, and certainly occaſions the ſweets with which it is combined, whether melaſſes or ſcummings, to yield a far greater proportion of ſpirit than can be obtained without its aſſiſtance. The water which is added, acts in ſome degree in the ſame manner by dilution.

In the Windward Iſlands the proceſs, according to Colonel Martin, is conducted as follows:

Scummings, one-third.
Lees, or dunder, one-third.
Water, one-third.

When theſe ingredients are well mixed in the fermenting ciſterns, and are pretty cool, the fermentation will riſe in twenty-four hours, to a proper height for admitting the firſt charge of melaſſes, of which ſix gallons † for every hundred gallons of the fermenting liquor, is the general proportion to be given at twice, *viz.* 3 per cent. at the firſt charge, and the other 3 per cent. a day or two afterwards, when the liquor is in a

* From *redundar*, Spaniſh—the ſame as *redundare* in Latin.

† This quantity of melaſſes, added to a third of ſcummings, gives 11½ per cent. of ſweets, ſix gallons of ſcummings being reckoned equal to one gallon of melaſſes.

high

BOOK V. high ſtate of fermentation; the heat of which, however, ſhould not in general be ſuffered to exceed from ninety to ninety-four degrees on Fahrenheit's thermometer †.

When the fermentation falls by eaſy degrees from the fifth to the ſeventh or eighth day §, ſo as then to grow fine, and throw up ſlowly a few clear beads or air globules, it is ripe for diſtillation; and the liquor or waſh being conveyed into the largeſt ſtill, which muſt not be filled higher than within eight or ten inches of the brim, leſt the head ſhould fly, a ſteady and regular fire muſt be kept up until it boils, after which a little fuel will ſerve. In about two hours the vapour or ſpirit being condenſed by the ambient fluid, will force its way through the worm in the ſhape of a ſtream, as clear and tranſparent as cryſtal; and it is ſuffered to run until it is no longer inflammable.

The ſpirit which is thus obtained goes by the appellation of *low-wines*. To make it rum of the Jamaica proof, it undergoes a ſecond diſtillation, of which I ſhall preſently ſpeak; but previouſly thereto, I ſhall point out ſome little variation between the practice of the Jamaica diſtillers and thoſe of the Windward Iſlands, obſervable in the firſt proceſs. This conſiſts chiefly in a more copious uſe of dunder ‖. The following being a very

† The infuſion of hot water will raiſe, and of cold water abate the fermentation.

§ When the liquor is firſt ſet at the beginning of the crop (the houſe being cold, and the ciſterns not ſaturated) it will not be fit for diſtillation under ten or twelve days.

‖ As the uſe of dunder is to diſſolve the tenacity of the ſaccharine matter, it ſhould be proportioned not only to the *quantity*, but alſo to the *nature* of the ſweets. Thus, when the ſweets in the fermenting ciſtern conſiſt of melaſſes alone,

a[illegible]

very general, and, I believe, an improved method, in Jamaica, of compounding the several ingredients, *viz.*, CHAP. II.

Dunder

as generally happens after the buſineſs of ſugar-boiling is finiſhed, when no ſcummings are to be had, a greater proportion of dunder is neceſſary; becauſe melaſſes is a body of greater tenacity than cane-liquor, and is rendered ſo viſcous and indurated by the action of the fire, as to be unfit for fermentation without the moſt powerful ſaline and acid ſtimulators. For the ſame reaſon, at the beginning of the crop, when no melaſſes is to be had, and the ſweets conſiſt of cane-juice or ſcummings alone, very little dunder is neceſſary. In ſuch caſe I ſhould not recommend above 20 per cent. at the utmoſt. Dunder, in a large quantity, certainly injures the *flavour*, although it may encreaſe the *quantity* of the ſpirit. We are informed by Dr. Shaw, that the diſtillers in England add many things to the fermenting liquor, or waſh, in order to augment the vinoſity of the ſpirit, or give it a particular flavour. He obſerves, that a little tartar, nitre, or common ſalt, is ſometimes thrown in at the beginning of the operation, or in their ſtead a little of the vegetable or finer mineral acid. Theſe are thought to be of great uſe in the fermenting of ſolutions of treacle, honey, and the like ſweet and rich vegetable juices, which contain a ſmall proportion of acid. It would ſeem, by a note in Dr. Grainger's Poem called the *Sugar Cane*, that a ſimilar practice prevails among the diſtillers in St. Chriſtopher's; for the author relates, that an addition of ſea-water to the fermenting liquor (in what proportion he does not ſay) is a real and great improvement. Shaw recommends the juice of Seville oranges, lemons, and tamarinds, or other very acid fruits, and, above all other things, an aqueous ſolution of tartar; but I conceive that dunder alone anſwers every purpoſe. He likewiſe recommends to the diſtiller to introduce into the fermenting ciſtern a few gallons of the rectified ſpirit, which he ſays will come back, with a large addition to the quantity of ſpirit that would otherwiſe have ariſen from the diſtillation.—As I have tried none of theſe experiments, I can ſay nothing in their favour of my own knowledge; but I believe that a ſmall quantity of vegetable aſhes, thrown into the rum-ſtill, will be found ſerviceable. The alkaline ſalts are ſuppoſed to attenuate the ſpirit and keep back the groſs and fetid oil, which

the

BOOK V.

Under one half, or		50 gallons	
Sweets 12 per cent.	Melaſſes	6 gallons	42 gallons
	Scummings	36 gallons (equal to 6 gallons more of melaſſes)	
Water		8 gallons	
		100 gallons.	

Of this mixture (or *waſh*, as it is ſometimes called) one thouſand two hundred gallons ought to produce three hundred gallons of low-wines; and the ſtill may be twice charged and drawn off in one day. The method of adding all the melaſſes at once, which is done ſoon after the fermentation commences, renders the proceſs ſafe and expeditious; whereas by charging the melaſſes at different times, the fermentation is checked, and the proceſs delayed.

Let us now compleat the proceſs according to the Jamaica method. The low-wines obtained as above, are drawn off into a butt or veſſel, and, as opportunity ſerves, are conveyed into the ſecond ſtill of ſix hundred gallons, to undergo a further diſtillation. The ſtream begins to run in about one hour and a half, and will give, in the courſe of the day, two hundred and twenty

the diſtillers call the *faints*; but if uſed in too great a quantity, they may keep back alſo a proportion of the fine eſſential oil, on which the flavour of the rum wholly depends. Perhaps the moſt important object of attention, in the making rum of a good flavour, is *cleanlineſs*; for all adventitious or foreign ſubſtances deſtroy or change the peculiar flavour of the ſpirit. In truth, it ſhould be a conſtant rule with the manager or diſtiller to ſee that the ciſterns are ſcalded, and even cleanſed with ſtrong lime-water, each time they are uſed; not merely on account of the rum, but alſo becauſe it has frequently happened that the vapour of a foul ciſtern has inſtantly killed the firſt perſon that has entered it without due precaution.

gallons,

gallons, or two puncheons, of oil-proof rum, i. e. of ſpirit in which olive oil will ſink; and thus the manufacture, if it may be ſo called, is complete. There will remain in the ſtill a conſiderable quantity of weaker ſpirit, commonly about ſeventy gallons, which is returned to the low-wine butt. Thus two hundred and twenty gallons of proof rum are, in fact, made from five hundred and thirty gallons of low-wines; or about one hundred and thirteen of rum from one thouſand two hundred of waſh. CHAP. II.

By means of the apparatus and proceſs which I have thus deſcribed, the Jamaica diſtiller may fill weekly, working only by day-light (a neceſſary precaution in this employment) and at a ſmall expence of labour and fuel, twelve puncheons of rum, containing each one hundred and ten gallons of the Jamaica ſtandard. The proportion of the whole rum to the crop of ſugar, is commonly eſtimated in Jamaica as three to four. Thus a plantation of the above deſcription is ſuppoſed to ſupply annually one hundred and fifty puncheons of rum, of one hundred and ten gallons each; or eighty-two gallons of Jamaica proof to each hogſhead of ſugar;—and this return, I do believe, is ſometimes fairly made from canes planted in rich and moiſt lands; but on a general eſtimate, I think it too great an allowance, and that two hundred gallons of rum to three hogſheads of ſugar, which is in the proportion of about two-thirds rum to the crop of ſugar, is nearer the truth *,

The

* This will be better underſtood by attending to the following particulars:—The general ſupply of ſcummings to the ſtill-houſe is ſeven gallons out of every 100 gallons of cane-liquor. Suppoſing, therefore, that 2,000 gallons of cane-

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The reader will please to recollect, that in this, and the preceding chapter, the observations which I have made, both concerning the cultivation of the sugar-cane in the field, and the subsequent processes of the boiling-house and distillery, have been drawn chiefly from the practice of Jamaica. Some selection was necessary, and I could refer to no mode of conducting a sugar plantation, with such propriety as to that with which I am myself practically acquainted.—My next enquiries will relate to the particulars of the first cost of this species of property, to the cur-

cane-juice is required for each hogshead of sugar of 16 cwt. the scummings, on a plantation making 200 hogsheads per annum, will be 28,000 gallons,

equal to — —		4,666 gallons of melasses,
Add the melasses from the curing-house, which, if the sugar is of a good quality, will seldom exceed sixty gallons per hogshead -	12,000	
Total of sweets -		16,666 gallons.

This, distilled at and after the rate of 12 per cent. sweets in the fermenting cistern, will give 34,720 gallons of low-wines, which ought to produce 14,412 gallons of good proof rum, or 131 puncheons of 110 gallons each. When a greater proportion than this is made, one or other of these circumstances must exist, either the sugar discharges an unusual quantity of melasses, or the boiling-house is defrauded of the cane-liquor by improper scumming. This latter circumstance frequently happens.

It should also be observed, that it is the practice of late with many planters, to raise the proof of rum; thus gaining in strength of spirit, what is lost in quantity: and there are managers who make it a rule to return the scummings to the clarifiers, instead of sending them to the still-house. This last-mentioned practice reduces the crop of rum more than one-third; but is supposed to yield in sugar more than is lost in rum; and if the price of sugar is very high, and that of rum very low, it may be prudent to adopt this method.

rent

rent expences attending it, and to the returns which may be reasonably expected from a capital thus employed; and here again my estimates will refer chiefly to Jamaica. That there is a considerable variation in some of the Windward Islands, I have no doubt. In St. Christopher's, for instance, some of the lands are certainly more valuable than the very best in Jamaica; but, on the other hand, Jamaica is exempted from the duty of $4\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* and has other advantages, which probably make the scale even.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Capital neceſſary in the ſettlement or purchaſe of a ſugar plantation of a given extent.—The lands, buildings, and ſtock ſeparately conſidered.—Particulars and coſt.—Groſs returns from the property.—Annual diſburſements.—Net profits.—Various contingent charges not taken into the account.—Differences, not commonly attended to, in the mode of eſtimating the profits of an Engliſh eſtate, and one in the Weſt Indies.—Inſurance of Weſt India eſtates in time of war, and other occaſional deductions.—The queſtion, why the cultivation of the Sugar Iſlands has encreaſed, under ſo many diſcouragements, conſidered and diſcuſſed.

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A SUGAR plantation conſiſts of three great parts; the Lands, the Buildings and the Stock: but before I proceed to diſcriminate their relative proportions and value, it may be proper to obſerve, that the buſineſs of ſugar planting is a ſort of adventure in which the man that engages, muſt engage deeply.—There is no medium, and very ſeldom the poſſibility of retreat. A Britiſh country gentleman, who is content to jog on without riſque on the moderate profits of his own moderate farm, will ſtartle to hear that it requires a capital of no leſs than thirty thouſand pounds ſterling to embark in this employment with a fair proſpect of advantage. To elucidate this

this position, it must be understood that the annual contingencies of a small or moderate plantation, are very nearly equal to those of an estate of three times the magnitude. A property, for instance, producing annually one hundred hogsheads of sugar of sixteen cwt. has occasion for similar white servants, and for buildings and utensils of nearly the same extent and number as a plantation yielding from two to three hundred such hogsheads, with rum in proportion. In speaking of capital, I mean either money, or a solid well-established credit; for there is this essential difference attending loans obtained on landed estates in Great Britain, and those which are advanced on the credit of West Indian plantations, that an English mortgage is a marketable security, which a West Indian mortgage is not. In England, if a mortgagee calls for his money, other persons are ready to advance it: now this seldom happens in regard to property in the West Indies. The credit obtained by the sugar planter is commonly given by men in trade, on the prospect of speedy returns and considerable advantage; but as men in trade seldom find it convenient to place their money out of their reach for any length of time, the credit which they give is oftentimes suddenly withdrawn, and the ill-fated planter compelled, on this account, to sell his property at much less than half its first cost. The credit therefore of which I speak, considered as a capital, must not only be extensive, but permanent. CHAP. III.

Having premised thus much, the application of which will hereafter be seen, I shall employ my present enquiries in ascertaining the fair and well-established prices at which a sugar estate may at this time be purchased or created, and the profits

BOOK V. profits which may honeſtly and reaſonably be expected from a given capital ſo employed; founding my eſtimate on a plantation producing, one year with another, two hundred hogſheads of ſugar of ſixteen cwt. and one hundred and thirty puncheons of rum of one hundred and ten gallons each: an eſtate of leſs magnitude, I conceive, for the reaſons before given, to be comparatively a loſing concern. Afterwards I ſhall endeavour to account for the eagerneſs which has been ſhewn by many perſons to adventure in this line of cultivation.—I begin then with the

LANDS.

On a ſurvey of the general run of the ſugar eſtates in Jamaica, it is found that the land in canes commonly conſtitutes one-third of the plantation; another third is appropriated to paſturage and the cultivation of proviſions, ſuch as plantains (a hearty and wholeſome food) cocoes, or eddoes, yams, potatoes, caſſada, corn, and other vegetable eſculents peculiar to the country and climate; and which, with ſalted fiſh, ſupplied the negroes weekly, and ſmall ſtock, as pigs and poultry, of their own raiſing, make their chief ſupport, and in general it is ample. The remaining third is reſerved in native woods, for the purpoſe of furniſhing timbers for repairing the various buildings, and ſupplying fire-wood for the boiling and diſtilling houſes, in addition to the cane traſh, and for burning lime and bricks.—As therefore a plantation yielding, *on an average*, two hundred hogſheads of ſugar annually, requires, as I conceive, not leſs than three hundred acres to be planted in canes, the whole

whole extent of such a property must be reckoned at nine hundred acres. I am persuaded that the sugar plantations in Jamaica making those returns, commonly exceed, rather than fall short of, this estimate; not, as hath been ignorantly asserted, from a fond and avaricious propensity in the proprietors to engross more land than is necessary; but because, from the nature of the soil, and rugged surface of the country, the lands vary greatly in quality, and it is seldom that even three hundred acres of soil in contiguity, fit for the production of sugar, can be procured. A purchaser therefore must take the bad with the good. Nevertheless, as it is my intention to give as precise an idea as I can of the profits to be made in the sugar-planting business, *under the most favourable circumstances*, I will allow nothing for a dead capital vested in unproductive woodland, but fix on six hundred acres, as sufficient for all the purposes that have been mentioned; appropriating one half of the whole, instead of one third, to the culture of the cane. CHAP. III.

The price of woodland in Jamaica depends chiefly on its situation. In seasonable parts of the country, and in the vicinity of the sea, I conceive it would be difficult to purchase a quantity of a sugar land sufficient for a good estate, unless at a very high price. On the north side, in a fertile and seasonable parish, I have lately known a tract of eight hundred acres, with a fine river running through it, sell for ten pounds currency per acre, but it was at the distance of ten miles from the sea; and the purchaser had a new and difficult road to make for three miles of the way. Such another territory, without the inconveniencies to which this was subject, would, as lands sell in Jamaica, be well worth, and easily obtain,

BOOK V. fourteen pounds currency, or ten pounds ſterling per acre. Six hundred acres at this price is £.8,400 currency. The coſt of clearing one half, and planting it in canes, including four clearings, would be £.12 currency per acre, or £.3,600. Clearing and planting 100 acres in proviſions, would be £.7 an acre, or £.700; the ſame for clearing and planting 100 acres in Guiney graſs. Incloſing and fencing the whole would coſt, on a moderate eſtimate, £.700 more.—Total £.14,100 currency, being equal to £.10,071 ſterling.

BUILDINGS.

The buildings which will be found neceſſary, on a plantation of the magnitude deſcribed, are

	Jamaica Currency.
1ſt. A water-mill, (if water can be obtained) the coſt of which, conſidering that a great extent of ſtone guttering is commonly requiſite, may be ſtated, on a very low eſtimate, at £.1,000 ſterling. In caſe no water-mill can be erected, I do not conceive that a ſingle mill, whether worked by cattle, mules, or wind, is ſufficient to take off the crop in due time, a moſt important object, on which the future ſucceſs of the plantation depends. I allow therefore for a wind-mill and one cattle-mill, or for two cattle-mills without a wind-mill, a ſum equal to the coſt of a water-mill, or	1,400
2d. A boiling-houſe, 45 by 22 feet, to contain 3 copper clarifiers, of 350 gallons each, and 4 other pans or boilers, including the coſt of the ſame, and other utenſils — —	1,000

Jamaica Currency. CHAP. III.

3d. A curing-house, adjoining to the boiling-house, calculated to hold one half the crop, with strong joists of solid timbers instead of a floor, having a terrassed or boarded platform underneath, leading to a melasses cistern, lined with terras, sufficient to contain 6000 gallons — — — 800

4th. A distilling-house, 70 feet by 30; the distillery part to contain 2 stills of 1200 and 600 gallons, with worms proportionate: also a stone tank or cistern, to hold 30,000 gallons of water; the fermenting part to contain two, or more, vats, or cisterns, for the dunder and skimmings: also 12 cisterns of solid plank fixed in the earth, of 1200 gallons each, with copper pumps, and other necessary apparatus: together also with a rum store under the same roof 1,600

5th. A dwelling-house for the overseer 600

6th. Two trash-houses, each 120 feet by 30; the foundation stone, the sides open, the roof supported by stone pillars, and covered by shingles, £.300 each — — — 600

7th. A hospital for the sick negroes, containing also a room for lying-in women, a room for confining disorderly negroes, a shop for the doctor, and one or more store rooms for securing the plantation utensils and provisions — — 300

8th. A mule stable, for 60 mules, with a corn-loft above — — — 150

9th. Shops for the different tradesmen, viz. carpenters, coopers, wheelwright and smith — — 150

BOOK V.

	Jamaica Currency.
10th. Sheds for the waggons, wains, carts, &c. — — —	50
Add extra expences, such as the cost of the wains, utensils for the smith's shop, household furniture, &c. &c. — —	350
The total is £.5,000 sterling, being equal to — Currency	7,000

STOCK.

The stock on a plantation of the magnitude described, cannot prudently consist of less than two hundred and fifty negroes, eighty steers, and sixty mules. It is not sufficient to object that two hundred hogsheads of sugar have been produced by the labour of a less number of negroes than is here allowed. I am treating of an estate which produces that quantity *on a medium*; consequently, as, from droughts and unfavourable seasons, the crops will sometimes fall short of, at other times they must greatly exceed the number prescribed; and under these circumstances, I do not believe a plantation will easily be named that possesses *(or employs, in job work and otherwise)* a less number of negroes annually. If such an estate there is, I hesitate not to pronounce that it is in improvident hands; for what management can be worse than that which, by over-working the negroes, sacrifices the capital for the sake of a temporary augmented income? —The cost of the stock, therefore, may be stated as follows:

250 Ne-

	Jamaica Currency.
250 Negroes, at £.70 each, —	17,500
80 Steers, at £.15 — —	1,200
60 Mules, at £.28 —	1,680
Total in currency (equal to £.14,557 sterling) — —	£.20,380

Let us now bring the whole into one point of view.

	Jamaica Currency.
LANDS, — —	14,100
BUILDINGS, — —	7,000
STOCK, — —	20,380
Total in currency, —	41,480

Which is only £.520 short of £.42,000 Jamaica currency, or £.30,000 sterling, the sum first mentioned; and I am further of opinion, that if the owner of such a property were to sell it by appraisement, the valuation would amount to nearly the sum expended. It would be more advisable undoubtedly, to purchase a plantation ready settled, rather than attempt to create a new one from uncleared lands; inasmuch as the labour and risque of the undertaking would be thereby avoided;—but, however this may be, it must be considered as a fixed and well-established fact, that a sugar plantation of the extent and returns which have been supposed, whether acquired by purchase, or by the risque and labour of clearing the lands, will unavoidably cost (the necessary buildings and stock included) £.30,000 sterling,

BOOK V.

sterling, before any adequate interest can be received from the capital.

The produce of such a plantation has been stated at 200 hogsheads of sugar, of 16 cwt. and 130 puncheons of rum, of 110 gallons, *communibus annis*; the value of which, according to the average prices at the London market for ten years previous to 1791, may be reckoned as follows:

	Sterling.
200 Hogsheads of sugar, at £.15 sterling per hogshead — —	3,000
130 Puncheons of rum, at £.10 sterling per puncheon — —	1,300
	£.4,300

But the reader is not to imagine that all this, or even the sugar alone, is so much clear profit. The annual disbursements are first to be deducted, and very heavy they are; nor is any opinion more erroneous than that which supposes they are provided for by the rum. If such indeed were the fact, the capital would yield precisely an annual interest of ten *per cent.*: but a reference to the several items, which I have particularized in a note †, will demonstrate the fallacy of

† Annual Supplies from Great Britain and Ireland.

1st. Negro Clothing; viz.

1,500 Yards of Oznaburgh cloth, or German linen.
650 Yards of blue bays, or penniſtones, for a warm frock for each negro.
350 Yards of ſtriped linſeys for the women.
250 Yards of coarſe check for ſhirts for the boilers, tradeſmen, domeſtics, and children.

3 Dozen

of this too common mode of calculation. They amount, at a very moderate eſtimate, (including CHAP. III.

5 Dozen of coarſe blankets for lying-in women, and ſick negroes.
18 Dozen of coarſe hats.

2d. Tools,

For the carpenters and coopers, to the amount of £.25 ſterling, including 2 or 3 dozen of falling axes.

3d. Miscellaneous Articles.

160,000 Nails of different ſizes.
2,500 Puncheon rivets.
6 Cattle chains.
6 Dozen of hoes.
6 Dozen of bills.
20 Dozen of ſmall claſp knives for the negroes.
4 Dozen of ox bows.
50 Bundles of iron hoops.
2 Sets of puncheon truſs hoops.
2 Sets of hogſhead ditto.
80 Gallons of train oil for lamps.
2 Barrels of tar.
2 Boxes of ſhort tobacco pipes for the negroes.
180 Bundles of wood hoops.
2 Sheets of lead.
6 Large copper ladles } for the boilers.
6 Ditto ſkimmers }
8 Dozen of ſmall iron pots for the negroes.
2 Puncheons of Briſtol lime for temper.
4 Grindſtones.

Provisions, &c. chiefly from Ireland.

80 Barrels of herrings, or ſalted cod equal thereto,
6 Barrels of ſalted beef.
2 Barrels of ſalted pork.
4 Firkins of ſalted butter.
2 Boxes of ſoap.
2 Boxes of candles.
2 Hogſheads of ſalt.
6 Barrels of flour.
6 Kegs of peaſe.
3 Jugs of groats.

freight,

BOOK V. freight, charges and merchants commiſſions, and adding a proportional part of the coſt of many expenſive articles, ſuch as coppers, ſtills, waintyre, grating-bars, &c. which would perhaps be wanted once in five years) to the ſum of £.850 ſterling. To this ſum are to be added the following very heavy

CHARGES *within the Iſland*; viz.

	Currency.
Overſeer's or manager's ſalary —	200
Diſtiller's ditto — —	70
Two other white ſervants, £.60 each	120
A white carpenter's wages — —	100
Maintenance of five white ſervants, excluſive of their allowance of ſalted proviſions, £.40 each —	200
Medical care of the negroes, (at 6*s.* *per annum* for each negro) and *extra* caſes, which are paid for ſeparately — — —	100
Millwright's, copperſmith's, plumber's, and ſmith's bills, annually	250
Colonial taxes, public and parochial	200
Annual ſupply of mules and ſteers	300
Wharfage and ſtorage of goods landed and ſhipped — —	100
American ſtaves and heading, for hogſheads and puncheons, —	150
A variety of ſmall occaſional ſupplies of different kinds, ſuppoſed —	50
Equal to £.1,300 ſterling; being in currency — —	£. 1,840

The

CHAP. III.

The total amount, therefore, of the annual contingent charges of all kinds, is £.2,150 ſterling, which is preciſely one half the groſs returns; leaving the other moiety, or £.2,150 ſterling, and no more, clear profit to the planter, being ſeven *per cent.* on his capital, and £.50 over, without charging, however, a ſhilling for making good the decreaſe of the negroes, or for the wear and tear of the buildings, or making any allowance for dead capital, and ſuppoſing too, that the proprietor reſides on the ſpot; for if he is abſent, he is ſubject, in Jamaica, to an annual tax of ſix pounds *per cent.* on the groſs value of his ſugar and rum, for legal commiſſions to his agent.—With theſe, and other drawbacks (to ſay nothing of the devaſtations which are ſometimes occaſioned by fires and hurricanes, deſtroying in a few hours the labour of years) it is not wonderful that the profits ſhould frequently dwindle to nothing; or rather, that a ſugar eſtate, with all its boaſted advantages, ſhould ſometimes prove a millſtone about the neck of its unfortunate proprietor, which is dragging him to deſtruction *!

Admitting even that his prudence, or good fortune, may be ſuch as to exempt him from moſt of the loſſes and calamities that have been enumerated, it muſt nevertheleſs be remembered, that

* In Jamaica, the uſual mode of calculating, in a general way, the average profits of a ſugar eſtate, is to allow £.10 ſterling per annum for every negro, young and old, employed in this line of cultivation; according to which, Mr. Beckford's income, ariſing from 2,533 negroes, ought to be £.25,330 ſterling. I doubt, however, as he does not reſide in the iſland, if he has received, on an average of ten years together, any thing near that ſum; but even this is but 6½ per cent. on his capital, which is £.380,000; negroes being one-third of the property, and are uſually valued at £.50 ſterling round.

the

BOOK V. the sugar planter is at once both landlord and tenant on his property. In contrasting the profits of a West Indian plantation with those of a landed estate in Great Britain, this circumstance is commonly overlooked; yet nothing is more certain than that an English proprietor, in stating the income which he receives from his capital, includes not in his estimate the profits made by his tenants. These constitute a distinct object, and are usually reckoned equal to the clear annual rent which is paid to the proprietor. Thus a farm in England, producing an income of $3\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* to the owner, is in fact proportionably equal to a sugar plantation yielding double the profit to the planter; and possesses besides, all that stability, certainty, and security, the want of which is the great drawback on the latter. An English gentleman, when either extreme of dry or wet weather injures the crop on his lands, has no other concern in the calamity than such as the mere feelings of humanity may dictate, and it is but justice to him to say, that, so long as the stock of his tenant is found a sufficient security for his rent, he commonly displays the most perfect philosophy and composure under the poor tenant's misfortunes. Nor is he under the disagreeable necessity in time of war, of paying large premiums for insuring his estate from capture by a foreign enemy.—This is another tax, which the unfortunate West Indian, resident in Great Britain, must add to his expences; or submit to the disagreeable alternative of passing many an uneasy day and sleepless night, in dreadful anxiety for the fate of his possessions, and the future subsistence of his family;—harrassed, perhaps, at the same time, by creditors whose importunity increases as their security becomes endangered.

To

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To this account of the taxes, contingencies, and impositions laid on the sugar planter, must likewise be added *some part, at least*, of the high duties on his produce, which swell the revenues of Great Britain. The general opinion, I well know, considers it as a certain and established fact, that *all* these duties fall ultimately on the consumer. I shall hereafter point out, and I trust with such precision and certainty as will admit of no dispute, in what cases they fall on the consumer, and in what cases on the planter. No question has, I think, been more strangely misunderstood than this, and yet none, in my opinion, is susceptive of clearer illustration; but as the consideration of this matter belongs more properly to the commercial system established between Great Britain and her sugar colonies, it is unnecessary at this time to enter on the investigation; my present intention being only to apprize the reader, that the duties payable in the mother country, on the produce of the West Indies, are not wholly to be overlooked, in a fair estimate of the expences to which the planter is liable.

But there is a question, naturally arising from the premises, to which it is proper that I should, in this place, give an answer; and it is this: Seeing that a capital is wanted which few men can command, and considering withal, that the returns are in general but small, and at best uncertain, how has it happened that the sugar islands have been so rapidly settled, and many a great estate purchased in the mother country, from the profits that have accrued from their cultivation? It were to be wished that those who make such enquiries would enquire, on the other hand, how many unhappy persons have been totally and irretrievably ruined, by adventuring in the cultivation

BOOK V. tion of these islands, without possessing any adequate means to support them in such great undertakings? On the failure of some of these unfortunate men, vast estates have indeed been raised by persons who have had money at command: men there are who, reflecting on the advantages to be derived from this circumstance, behold a sugar planter struggling in distress, with the same emotions as are felt by the Cornish peasants in contemplating a shipwreck on the coast, and hasten with equal rapaciousness to participate in the spoil. Like them too, they sometimes hold out false lights to lead the unwary adventurer to destruction; more especially if he has any thing considerable of his own to set out with. Money is advanced, and encouragement given, to a certain point; but a skilful practitioner well knows where to stop: he is aware what very large sums must be expended in the purchase of the freehold, and in the first operations of clearing and planting the lands, and erecting the buildings, before any return can be made. One-third of the money thus expended, he has perhaps furnished; but the time soon arrives when a further advance is requisite to give life and activity to the system, by the addition of the negroes and the stock. Now then is the moment for oppression, aided by the letter of the law, and the process of office, to reap a golden harvest. If the property answers expectation, and the lands promise great returns, the sagacious creditor, instead of giving further aid, or leaving his too confident debtor to make the best of his way by his own exertions, pleads a sudden and unexpected emergency; and insists on immediate re-payment of the sum already lent. The law, on this occasion, is far from being chargeable with delay; and avarice is inexorable.

A sale

A sale is hurried on, and no bidders appear but the creditor himself. Ready money is required in payment, and every one sees that a further sum will be wanting to make the estate productive. Few therefore have the means, who have even the wish, efficaciously to assist the devoted victim.—Thus, the creditor gets the estate at his own price, commonly for his first advance, while the miserable debtor has reason to thank his stars if, consoling himself with only the loss of his own original capital, and his labour for a series of years, he escapes a prison for life. CHAP. III.

That this is no creation of the fancy, nor even an exaggerated picture, the records of the courts of law, in all or most of our islands (Jamaica especially) and the recollection of every inhabitant, furnish incontestable proof. At the same time it cannot justly be denied that there are creditors, especially among the British merchants, of a very different character from those that have been described, who, having advanced their money to resident planters, not in the view of deriving undue advantages from their labours and necessities, but solely on the fair and honourable ground of reciprocal benefit, have been compelled, much against their inclination, to become planters themselves; being obliged to receive unprofitable West Indian estates in payment, or lose their money altogether. I have known plantations transferred in this manner, which are a burthen instead of a benefit to the holder; and are kept up solely in the hope that favourable crops, and an advance in the prices of West Indian produce, may, some time or other, invite purchasers.—Thus oppression in one class of creditors, and gross injustice towards another, contribute equally to keep up cultivation in a country, where, if the risques

BOOK V. riſques and loſſes are great, the gains are ſometimes commenſurate; for ſugar eſtates there are, undoubtedly, from which, inſtead of the returns that I have eſtimated as the average intereſt on the capital, nearly double that profit has been obtained. It is indeed true, that ſuch inſtances are extremely rare; but perhaps to that very circumſtance, which to a philoſopher, ſpeculating in his cloſet, would ſeem ſufficient to deter a wiſe man from adventuring in this line of cultivation, it is chiefly owing that ſo much money has been expended in it: I mean the fluctuating nature of its returns. The quality of ſugar varies occaſionally to ſo great a degree as to create a difference in its marketable value of upwards of ten ſhillings ſterling in the hundred weight, the whole of which is clear profit, the duties and charges being preciſely the ſame on Muſcovado ſugar, of whatever quality. Thus fine ſugar has been known to yield a clear profit to the planter of no leſs than £.1,500 ſterling on 200 hogſheads of the uſual magnitude, beyond what the ſame number, where the commodity is inferior in quality, would have obtained at the ſame market. To aver that this difference is imputable wholly to ſoil and ſeaſons in the Weſt Indies, or to the ſtate of the Britiſh market, is to contradict common obſervation and experience. Much, undoubtedly, depends on ſkill in the manufacture; and, the proceſs being apparently ſimple, the beholder (from a propenſity natural to the buſy and inquiſitive part of mankind) feels an almoſt irreſiſtible propenſity to engage in it. In this, therefore, as in all other enterpriſes, whoſe ſucceſs depends in any degree on human ſagacity and prudence, though perhaps not more than one man in fifty comes away fortunate, every ſanguine adventurer takes for granted that he ſhall

shall be that *one*. Thus his system of life becomes a course of experiments, and, if ruin should be the consequence of his rashness, he imputes his misfortunes to any cause, rather than to his own want of capacity or foresight. CHAP. III.

That the reasons thus given, are the only ones that can be adduced in answer to the question that has been stated, I presume not to affirm. Other causes, of more powerful efficacy, may perhaps be assigned by men of wider views and better information. The facts however which I have detailed, are too striking and notorious to be controverted or concealed.

Having now, I believe, sufficiently treated of the growth, cultivation, and manufacture of sugar, &c. and pointed out with a minuteness (tedious perhaps but) suited, as I conceive, to the importance of the subject, the first cost, and current contingencies attending the establishment and profitable maintenance of a sugar plantation, together with the risque and gains eventually arising from this species of property, I shall proceed, in the following chapter, to furnish my readers with such information as I have been able to collect concerning the minor staples, especially those important ones of cotton, indigo, coffee, cacao, pimento, and ginger, which, with sugar and rum, principally constitute the bulky freight that gives employment to an extent of shipping, nearly equal to the whole commercial tonnage of Great Britain at the beginning of the present century*.

* The following table of the prices of Muscovado sugar in the London market, at different periods, may be gratifying to curiosity, and of use in illustrating some of the preceding observations.

Years.	Lowest Price. Shillings.		Highest. Shillings sterling.
1760	from 32	to	47
1761	— 32	—	50

1762

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Years.	Lowest Price. Shillings.		Highest. Shillings sterling.
1762	from 28	to	49
1763	— 25	—	37
1764	— 27	—	40
1765	— 32	—	44
1766	— 29	—	42
1767	— 33	—	42
1768	— 32	—	41
1769	— 33	—	42
1770	— 31	—	42
1771	— 32	—	44
1772	— 29	—	43
1773	— 28	—	45
1774	— 27	—	44
1775	— 25	—	39
1776	— 29	—	47
1777	— 39	—	65
1778	— 45	—	68
1779	— 50	—	59
1780	— 45	—	59
1781	— 56	—	73
1782	— 40	—	73
1783	— 28	—	45
1784	— 26	—	46
1785	— 35	—	45
1786	— 40	—	56
1787	— 41	—	52

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CHAP. IV.

Of the minor Staple Commodities; viz. COTTON; *its growth and various ſpecies.—Mode of cultivation and riſques attending it.—Import of this article into Great Britain, and profits accruing from the manufactures produced by it.*——INDIGO; *its cultivation and manufacture.—Opulence of the firſt Indigo planters in Jamaica, and reflections concerning the decline of this branch of cultivation in that iſland.*——COFFEE, *whether that of the Weſt Indies equal to the* Mocha?—*Situation and ſoil.—Exorbitant duty to which it was ſubject in Great Britain.—Approved method of cultivating the plant and curing the berry.—Eſtimate of the annual expences and returns of a Coffee plantation.*——CACAO, GINGER, ARNOTTO, ALOES *and* PIMENTO; *brief account of each.*

COTTON.

THAT beautiful vegetable wool, or ſubſtance called cotton, is the ſpontaneous production of three parts of the earth. It is found growing naturally in all the tropical regions of Aſia, Africa, and America; and may juſtly be comprehended among the moſt valuable gifts of a bountiful Creator, ſuperintending and providing for the neceſſities of man. BOOK V.

The cotton-wool which is manufactured into cloth (for there is a ſpecies in the Weſt Indies, called ſilk or wild cotton, unfit for the loom) conſiſts of two diſtinct kinds, known to the

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planters by the names of GREEN-SEED COTTON, and SHRUB COTTON; and these again have subordinate marks of difference, with which the cultivator ought to be well acquainted if he means to apply his labours to the greatest advantage.

Green-seed cotton is of two species; of one of which the wool is so firmly attached to the seed, that no method has hitherto been found of separating them, except by the hand; an operation so tedious and troublesome, that the value of the commodity is not equal to the pains that are requisite in preparing it for market. This sort therefore is at present cultivated principally for supplying wick for the lamps that are used in sugar-boiling and for domestic purposes; but the staple being exceedingly good, and its colour perfectly white, it would doubtless be a valuable acquisition to the muslin manufactory, could means be found of detaching it easily from the seed.

The other sort has larger seeds, of a duller green than the former, and the wool is not of equal fineness; though much finer than the cotton-wool in general cultivation; and it is easily separated from the seed by the common method, hereafter to be described. I have been told that this species of the green-seed cotton is not sufficiently known to the planters in general, (being usually confounded with the former) or that probably it would be in high estimation.

Both the species above-mentioned, though they produce pods at an early stage, when they are mere shrubs, will, if suffered to spread, grow into trees of considerable magnitude, and yield annual crops, according to the season, without any kind of cultivation. The blossoms put forth in

in succession from October to January, and the pods begin to open fit for gathering from February to June. I come now to the CHAP. IV.

Shrub Cotton, properly so called. The shrub itself very nearly resembles an European Corinth bush, and may be subdivided into several varieties, all of which however very nearly resemble each other *. These varieties (such of them at least as have come to my knowledge) are

1st, The *Common Jamaica;* the seeds of which are oblong, perfectly smooth, and have no beard at the smaller end. The staple is coarse, but strong. Its greatest defect is that the seeds are so brittle that it is scarce possible to render it perfectly clean; on which account it is the lowest-priced cotton at the British market. Such however is the obstinacy of habit, that few of the British cotton planters give themselves the trouble to select, or seem indeed to wish for a better sort.

2d, *Brown Bearded.*—This is generally cultivated with the species last mentioned, but the staple is somewhat finer, and the pods, though fewer in number, produce a greater quantity of wool. The shrub gives likewise a better ratoon. It is therefore the interest of the cotton planter to

* The flowers are composed of five large yellow leaves, each stained at the bottom with a purple spot. They are beautiful, but devoid of fragrance. The pistil is strong and large, surrounded at and near the top with a yellow farinaceous dust, which, when ripe, falls into the matrix of the pistil. This is likewise surrounded, when the petals of the flowers drop, with a capsular pod, supported by three triangular green leaves deeply jagged at their ends. The inclosed pod opens, when ripe, into three or four partitions, discovering the cotton in as many white locks as there are partitions in the pod. In these locks are interspersed the seeds, which are commonly small and black.

BOOK V. cultivate it separately. The only disadvantage attending it is, that it is not so easily detached from the seed as the other, and therefore a negro will clear a few pounds less in his day's work.

3d, *Nankeen*.—This differs but little in the seeds or otherwise from the species last mentioned, except in the colour of the wool, which is that of the cloth called Nankeen. It is not so much in demand as the white.

4th, *French* or *Small-seed*, with a whitish beard. This is the cotton in general cultivation in Hispaniola. Its staple is finer, and its produce equal to either of the three species last mentioned, as the shrub is supposed to bear a greater number of pods than the Jamaica, or the Brown Bearded, but is less hardy than either.

5th, *Kidney Cotton*, so called from the seeds being conglomerated or adhering firmly to each other in the pod. In all the other sorts they are separated. It is likewise called *Chain* Cotton, and, I believe, is the true Cotton of Brasil.—The staple is good, the pod large, and the produce considerable. A single negro may clear with ease sixty-five pounds in a day, besides which, it leaves the seeds behind unbroken, and comes perfectly clean from the rollers. It is therefore improvident, in the highest degree, to mix this species with any other.

On the whole, the most profitable sorts for general cultivation seem to be, the second of the Green-seed, the French or Small-seed, and the Brasilian. The mode of culture is the same with all the different species, and there is this advantage attending them all, that they will flourish in the driest and most rocky soils, *provided such lands have not been exhausted by former cultivation*. Dryness, both in respect of the soil and atmosphere,

atmoſphere, is indeed eſſentially neceſſary in all its ſtages; for if the land is moiſt, the plant expends itſelf in branches and leaves, and if the rains are heavy, either when the plant is in bloſſom or when the pods are beginning to unfold, the crop is loſt. Perhaps however theſe obſervations apply more immediately to the French cotton than to any other.

The plant is raiſed from the ſeed, the land requiring no other preparation than to be cleared of its native incumbrances; and the ſeaſon for putting the ſeed into the ground is from May to September, both months inclusive. This is uſually done in ranks or rows, leaving a ſpace between each, of ſix or eight feet, the holes in each row being commonly four feet apart.—It is the practice to put eight or ten of the ſeeds into each hole, becauſe ſome of them are commonly devoured by a grub or worm, and others rot in the ground. The young ſprouts make their appearance in about a fortnight, but they are of ſlow growth for the firſt ſix weeks, at which period it is neceſſary to clean the ground and draw out the ſupernumerary plants, leaving two or three only of the ſtrongeſt in each hole. One plant alone would be ſufficient to leave, if there was any certainty of its coming to maturity; but many of the tender ſprouts are devoured by the grub. At the age of three or four months, the plants are cleaned a ſecond time; and both the ſtem and branches pruned, or, as it is called, *topp'd;* an inch (or more if the plants are luxuriant) being broke off from the end of each ſhoot; which is done in order to make the ſtems throw out a greater number of lateral branches. This operation, if the growth be over luxuriant, is ſometimes performed a ſecond, and even a third time.

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At the end of five months, the plant begins to bloſſom and put forth its beautiful yellow flowers, and in two months more, the pod is formed. From the ſeventh to the tenth month the pods ripen in ſucceſſion; when they burſt open in three partitions, diſplaying their white and gloſſy down to the ſight. The wool is now gathered, the ſeeds being enveloped in it; from which it is afterwards extricated by a machine reſembling a turner's lathe. It is called a *gin*, and is compoſed of two ſmall rollers placed cloſe and parallel to each other in a frame, and turned in oppoſite directions by different wheels, which are moved by the foot *. The cotton being put by the hand to theſe rollers as they move round, readily paſſes between them, leaving the ſeeds, which are too large for the interſpace, behind. The wool is afterwards hand picked, that it may be properly cleared of decayed leaves, broken ſeeds, and wool which has been ſtained and damaged in the pod †. It is then packed into bags of about two hundred pounds weight, and ſent to market.

The fineſt-grained and moſt perfectly cleaned cotton, which is brought to the Engliſh market, is, I believe, that of the Dutch plantations of Berbice, Demarara and Surinam, and of the iſland of Cayenne; but before the year 1780 England had no fine manufactories. In the latter end of that year, however, cotton wool

* It is a very ſlight and ſimple inſtrument, and coſts only from two to three guineas.

† The cotton manufactory of England, ſince the year 1780, hath made a rapid improvement, owing to the large ſpinning machines which are worked by water. Theſe require the cleaneſt cotton, as the ſmalleſt particle of a broken ſeed breaks the thread in this mode of ſpinning.

of all kinds found a ready ſale at the following prices: CHAP. IV.

	s.	d.	
Berbice	2	1	per lb.
Demerara	1	11	to 2s. 1d.
Surinam	2	—	
Cayenne	2	—	
St. Domingo	1	10	
Tobago	1	9	
Jamaica	1	7	

Since that time the prices have indeed varied, but the relative value has continued nearly the ſame; that is, the difference of price between the cotton of Berbice and that of Jamaica has been from 25 to 30 per cent. in favour of the former; a circumſtance which alone ſhould convince the moſt bigotted planter of the Britiſh Weſt Indies that, if he wiſhes to turn his labours to account, the choice of a better ſpecies of cotton, at leaſt of a ſort more eaſily cleaned than that in general cultivation, is indiſpenſably requiſite.

I ſhall now bring into one point of view the ſeveral particulars attending the firſt coſt and ſettlement of a plantation in this ſort of huſbandry, and the returns which may reaſonably be expected from a ſmall capital thus employed. I fix on a ſmall capital; becauſe I conceive that a cotton plantation may be eſtabliſhed on a more moderate fund than any other; and it is for the intereſt of the community that men of ſmall fortunes ſhould be inſtructed how to employ their time and labours to the beſt advantage; ſince it is to ſuch men chiefly that the Weſt Indies are to look for ſafety in the hour of danger.

It is preſumed that land proper for the growth of cotton, ſituated near the ſea, may be purchaſed, in many parts of the Weſt Indies (Jamaica eſpecially)

BOOK V. cially) at £. 5 Jamaica currency per acre; and, as it is prudent in moſt caſes to change the ſoil after the third crop, by replanting freſh land *, I will allot fifty acres for the firſt purchaſe, in order that the planter may have room for that purpoſe. Suppoſing therefore that one-half only is planted in cotton at the ſame time, the capital will be inveſted as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
Coſt of fifty acres of land, at £. 5 currency per acre -	250	—	—
Expence of cleaning, fencing and planting 25 acres, at £. 7 per acre - - -	175	—	—
Purchaſe of twelve negroes, at £. 70 each - - -	840	—	—
	1,265	—	—
One year's intereſt, at 6 per cent.	75	18	—
One year's maintenance, clothing, and medical care of the negroes - - -	120	—	—
Total expenditure in Jamaica currency (equal to £. 1,040 ſterling) - - -	1,460	18	—

* If the land is extraordinary good, four and even five annual crops are ſometimes gathered from the ſame original plants; after which, inſtead of replanting, it is not uncommon to cut the cotton buſhes down, to within three or four inches of the ground, and mould the ſtems in the May rains, and treat them afterwards in the ſame manner as plants. Some labour is undoubtedly ſaved by this practice, but, in nine caſes out of ten, it will be found more profitable to reſort to freſh land, every third or fourth year. I conſider, at the ſame time, land to be freſh enough which has lain fallow, or been uſed in a different line of culture for three or four years together, the great intention of changing the land being to get rid of that peculiar ſort of grub or worm which preys on the cotton-plants.

The

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The returns are now to be considered:—In Jamaica it is commonly reckoned that one acre of cotton will yield annually 150 pounds weight, and in some years nearly twice as much; but I am afraid that, on an average of any considerable number of successive crops, even the former is too great an allowance. By accounts which I have procured from the Bahama islands, it appears, that in 1785, 1786, and 1787 (all which years were considered as favourable), the produce of the cotton-lands, on an average, did not exceed one hundred and twelve pounds per acre; viz.

In 1785 - 2,476		2,480	
1786 - 3,050	acres produced	3,000	Cwt. of Cotton.
1787 - 4,500		4,380	

The price in the Bahamas and Jamaica was the same, viz. 1*l.* 3*d.* sterling *per* pound.—Allowing therefore the average produce *per* acre to be one hundred weight, the returns are these; viz.

	Sterling.
25 cwt. at 1*l.* 3*d.* sterling per pound	£. 175
Deduct incidental expences, as materials for bagging, colonial taxes, &c. * - - -	25
Remains in sterling money -	150

Which gives an interest of upwards of fourteen per cent. on the capital; arising too from the lowest-priced cotton. If the same calculation be applied to cotton-wool, of two shillings *per* pound

* The maintenance, &c. of the negroes, after the first year, is not charged, because it is conceived, that the land in cotton not being sufficient to find them in full employment, they may raise corn and other articles on the remaining twenty-five acres, more than sufficient to pay for their clothing and support. It is usual even to raise corn, potatoes, &c. between the ranks of the cotton bushes.

value

BOOK V. value (the preſent price of the cotton-wool of St. Domingo) the profit on the capital is twenty-four per cent.

From this diſplay, the rapid progreſs which the Dutch and French planters have made in the culture of this commodity, cannot be thought extraordinary; but there remain ſome circumſtances, of a leſs favourable nature, to be taken into the account. Of all the productions to which labour is applied, the cotton-plant is perhaps the moſt precarious. In its firſt ſtage, it is attacked by the grub; it is devoured by caterpillars in the ſecond; it is ſometimes withered by the blaſt; and rains frequently deſtroy it both in the bloſſom and the pod. The Bahama iſlands afforded a melancholy inſtance of the uncertainty of this production in 1788; no leſs than 280 tons, on a moderate eſtimate, having been devoured by the worm, between September and March, in that year. After this, the reader will hardly ſuſpect me of having rated the average produce of this plant, for a ſeries of years, too low.

With every diſadvantage, however, the demand for cotton-wool, for the Britiſh manufactories, encreaſes with ſuch rapidity, that it cannot be doubted the cultivation of it, with the cautions recommended, will be found highly profitable; the Britiſh dominions not ſupplying, at preſent, more than one-ſixth part of the home demand. If, after a careful ſelection and trials of the different ſpecies of ſeeds already in our poſſeſſion, the cotton-wool of the Britiſh Weſt Indies ſhall ſtill be found inferior to that of the Dutch, no difficulty can occur in obtaining from them a better ſort. It is evident, that the French cotton loſes its ſuperiority in our iſlands, by being ſown promiſcuouſly with an inferior ſpecies.

I ſhall

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I shall conclude my account of cotton, with presenting to my readers the following tables, drawn from authentic sources; which cannot fail to furnish abundant encouragement for speculation and adventure.

An Account of Foreign Cotton-wool imported into the British West Indies, in British Ships.

Years.			lbs.
1784	—	—	1,135,750
1785	—	—	1,398,500
1786	—	—	1,346,386
1787	—	—	1,158,000

An Account of Foreign Cotton-wool imported into the British West Indies, under the Freeport Act.

Years.			lbs.
1784	—	—	2,169,000
1785	—	—	1,573,280
1786	—	—	1,962,500
1787	—	—	1,943,000

An Account of Cotton-wool, British and Foreign, imported from the British West Indies into Great Britain.

Years.			lbs.
1784	—	—	6,893,959
1785	—	—	8,204,611
1786	—	—	7,830,734
1787	—	—	9,396,921

An

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An Account of Cotton-wool imported into Great Britain, from all Parts.

Years.		lbs.		Supposed Value in Manufactures.
1784	—	11,280,238	—	£.3,950,000 sterling.
1785	—	17,992,888	—	6,000,000
1786	—	19,151,867	—	6,500,000
1787	—	22,600,000	—	7,500,000

Machinery eſtabliſhed in Great Britain (1787) *for the Cotton Manufactory.*

143 Water-mills, which coſt -	£.715,000
20,500 Hand-mills, or jennies, for ſpinning the ſhute, for the twiſted yarn ſpun by the water-mills (including buildings and auxiliary machinery) — —	285,000
Total —	£.1,000,000

The water-mills work 286,000 ſpindles, and the jennies 1,665,100—Total of ſpindles 1,951,100. —And it has been aſſerted, that a pound of raw cotton-wool from Demarara, has been ſpun into 356 hanks, each hank being 840 yards; ſo that the thread would have extended 169 miles.

On the whole it is computed that no leſs than ſix hundred thouſand people in Great Britain find full employment in the cotton manufactory. In point of importance, therefore, even the produce and manufacture of the great ſtaple commodity of this kingdom, *wool*, does not exceed it in a two-fold proportion. According to the information of a very able and diligent inquirer, there are from ten to twelve millions of ſheep in England. The value of their wool may, one year with another, amount to three millions; the expence of manufacturing

facturing this is probably nine millions, and the total value twelve millions. In reference to the number of persons who are maintained by this manufacture, there are probably about a million. CHAP. IV.

INDIGO.

The plant which yields the valuable commodity called Indigo (probably so named from India, where it was first known to be cultivated) grows spontaneously in all the West Indies. In the British Sugar Islands, they reckon three distinct species: the Wild, Guatimala, and French. The first is said to be the hardiest, and the dye extracted from it is supposed to be of the best quality, both in colour and closeness of grain; but one of the other two species is commonly preferred by the planter, as yielding a greater return; and of those, the French surpasses the Guatimala in quantity; but yields to it in fineness of grain and beauty of colour.

That the richest soil produces the most luxuriant plant, and that good seasons accelerate its growth, cannot, I think, be doubted; but, observing its long tap-root, and spontaneous growth, in almost every dry and barren savannah, I am convinced it will thrive on soils that are fit for nothing else. The longest dry weather will not totally kill it; though much water will have that effect, if suffered to remain long on the plant:

The cultivation and manufacture are conducted in the following manner:

The land being properly cleared of weeds, &c. is hoed into small trenches of two or three inches in depth, and twelve or fourteen inches asunder; in the bottom of which, the seeds are strewed by

the

BOOK V.

the hand, and covered lightly with mold; but as the plants ſhoot, the field muſt be frequently weeded and kept conſtantly clean, until they riſe and ſpread ſufficiently to cover the ground. A buſhel of ſeeds is ſufficient for four or five acres of land.

In the Weſt Indies, the beſt ſeaſon for planting is ſuppoſed to be the month of March, but the plant will flouriſh at any other period; and, if ſown in new land, will come to full bloſſom (and it is then in perfection) in about three calendar months. In the ſouthern provinces of America, the ſeaſon for planting depends greatly on the nature of the ſpring, which varies much in thoſe countries. If the plants appear above ground by the firſt day of March, they will be fit for cutting about the twentieth of Auguſt; and are ſometimes equal to the beſt in the Weſt Indies.

There is this difference, however, between the two countries; that in the Weſt Indies, in ſeaſonable ſituations, they have ſometimes four cuttings in the year from the ſame roots, whereas in North America they have never more than two, and not often more than one. The plant is a child of the ſun, and can be cultivated, I doubt, with great advantage, no where but within the tropics.

But that ſun which thus improves and invigorates the plant, propagates at the ſame time an inſect deſtructive to it. This is a ſpecies of grub or worm, which becomes a fly, and preys on the leaves, and never fails, in the Weſt Indies, to diſappoint the planter's expectations the ſecond year upon the ſame land: the only remedy is to change the ſoil every year. The want of due attention to this important circumſtance, has probably been one of the cauſes that ſo many perſons have failed of late years in their attempts to revive the culture of this valuable commodity.

If

If this deſtructive peſt be happily prevented, or greatly mitigated, the produce *per* acre of the firſt cutting, will be about eighty pounds weight of what the French call *pigeon's-neck*; or about ſixty pounds of a quality equal to the Guatimala. The produce in North America is ſometimes nearly as much; but when Farenheit's thermometer falls to 60°, the returns there are very uncertain, both in quality and quantity; a greater heat being abſolutely neceſſary both for vegetation and maceration. The yielding for the ſubſequent cuttings ſomewhat diminiſhes; but in Jamaica and St. Domingo, if the land is new, about 300 lbs. per acre of the ſecond quality, may be expected annually from all the cuttings together, and four negroes are ſufficient to carry on the cultivation of five acres, beſides doing other occaſional work, ſufficient to reimburſe the expences of their maintenance and clothing.

The proceſs for obtaining the dye is generally conducted in two ciſterns, which are placed like two ſteps, the one aſcending to the other. The higheſt (which is alſo the longeſt) is called the *ſteeper*; and its dimenſions are about ſixteen feet ſquare, and two feet and a half in depth. There is an aperture near the bottom for diſcharging the fluid into the ſecond, which is called the *battery*, and is commonly about twelve feet ſquare, and four and a half in depth. Ciſterns of theſe dimenſions, are proper for about ſeven acres of the plant: but if ſtone work cannot eaſily be erected for want of materials, vats of ſtrong timber, well ſecured from leakage, will anſwer as well.

The plants are cut with reap-hooks or ſickles, a few inches above the root, and placed by *ſtrata* in the ſteeper, until it is about three parts full.—

They

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They are then ſtrongly preſſed down by boards or planks, which are wedged or loaded, to prevent the plants from buoying up; and as much water is admitted as the weed will imbibe, until it is covered four or five inches deep, and in this ſtate it is left to ferment, until the pulp is extracted: but the utmoſt attention and nice management are now required; for, if the fluid is drawn off too ſoon, much of the pulp is left behind; and if the fermentation is too long continued, the tender tops of the weeds occaſion putrefaction, by which all the dye is deſtroyed.

To obtain a certain knowledge therefore of the proper degree of fermentation, has hitherto been the grand *deſideratum* of the cultivator. Repeated experiments for this purpoſe, were made ſome years ago in the iſland of Hiſpaniola, under the ſanction and encouragement of the Chamber of Agriculture, and inſtructions (which were ſaid to be practiſed with great ſucceſs by Meſſrs. Dangdale and Mongon, indigo planters in that iſland) were publiſhed by authority, to this effect:

"After the indigo has been ſteeped in the ciſtern eight or nine hours, draw off a little of the water, and with a pen dipped into it, make a few ſtrokes upon white paper. The firſt will probably be high coloured, in which caſe the indigo is not ſufficiently fermented; this operation is to be repeated every quarter of an hour, until it loſes its colour; when it is arrived at the true point of fermentation."

It is aſtoniſhing that an experiment ſo ſimple in itſelf, if it anſwers, ſhould have been for ſo many years unknown to the indigo planters in general; and I confeſs, that, although I have had no opportunity of giving it a trial, I am myſelf ſomewhat doubtful of its efficacy. The following method,

thod, which I give on the authority of Mr. Ledi- CHAP. IV.
ard, is, I conceive, attended with much greater certainty:

"Let a small hole be made in the steeper, six or eight inches from the bottom, exclusive of the opening or aperture for drawing off the impregnated water; let this hole likewise be stopped with a plug, yet not so firmly but that a small stream may be permitted to ooze through it. After the plants have been steeped some hours, the fluid oozing out will appear beautifully green, and at the lower edge of the cistern, from whence it drops into the battery, it will turn of a copperish colour. This copperish hue, as the fermentation continues, will gradually ascend upwards to the plug, and when that circumstance is perceived, it is proper to stop the fermentation.

"During the progress of this part of the business, particular attention should be paid to the smell of the liquor which weeps from the aperture; for should it discover any sourness, it will be necessary to let the fermented liquor run immediately into the battery, and lime water of sufficient strength must be added to it, till it has lost its sourness. As it is running off, it will appear green, mixed with a bright yellow or straw-colour, but in the battery it will be of a most beautiful green."

The tincture being thus discharged into the battery, it is there churned or agitated, until the dye begins to granulate, or float in little flakes in the water. This was formerly done in Jamaica with manual labour, by means of paddles, and, in the French islands, by buckets or cylinders fixed to long poles;—but far more convenient machines are now constructed, in which the levers are worked by a cog-wheel, and kept in motion by a horse or a mule. When the fluid has, by

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such means, been well churned for the space of fifteen or twenty minutes, and, being tried in a cup or plate, appears curdled or coagulated, a strong impregnation of lime-water is gradually added, not only to promote a separation, but likewise to fix the colour and preserve it from putrefaction. "But the planters (as Brown observes) "must carefully distinguish the different stages of this part of the operation also, and attentively examine the appearance and colour as the work advances, for the grain passes gradually from a greenish to a fine purple, which is the proper colour when the liquor is sufficiently worked; too small a degree of agitation leaving the Indigo green and coarse; while too vigorous an action brings it to be almost black."

The liquor being properly and sufficiently worked, and the pulp granulated, it is left undisturbed until the flakes or *floculæ* settle at the bottom, when the incumbent water is drawn off, and the Indigo distributed into small linen bags to drain, after which it is carefully put into little square boxes or moulds, and suffered to dry gradually in the shade; and this finishes the manufacture.

To what has been said above of the nature of the plant, suiting itself to every soil, and producing four cuttings in the year, if we add the cheapness of the buildings, apparatus and labour, and the great value of the commodity, there will seem but little cause for wonder at the splendid accounts which are transmitted down to us concerning the great opulence of the first Indigo planters. Allowing the produce of an acre to be 300 lbs. and the price no more than 4*s.* sterling *per* pound, the gross profits of twenty acres will be £. 1,200, produced by the labour of only sixteen negroes, and on a capital in land and buildings, scarce deserving consideration.

Such

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Such, without doubt, will be the reader's firſt reflections. Unhappily, however, the golden hopes which ſpeculations like theſe have raiſed in the minds of thouſands, have vaniſhed on actual experiment, like the viſions of the morning. I think I have myſelf, in the courſe of twenty years reſidence in the Weſt Indies, known at leaſt twenty perſons commence Indigo planters, not one of whom has left a trace by which I can now point out where his plantation was ſituated, except perhaps the remains of a ruined ciſtern covered by weeds, and defiled by reptiles. Many of them too were men of knowledge, foreſight and property. That they failed is certain, but of the cauſes of their failure, I confeſs I can give no ſatisfactory account. I was told that diſappointment trod cloſe at their heels at every ſtep. At one time the fermentation was too long continued; at another, the liquor was drawn off too ſoon. Now again, the pulp was not duly granulated, and now it was worked too much. To theſe inconveniencies, for which practice would doubtleſs have found a remedy, were added others of a much greater magnitude. The mortality of the negroes from the vapour of the fermented liquor, (an alarming circumſtance, that, as I am informed both by the French and Engliſh planters, conſtantly attends the proceſs) the failure of the ſeaſons and the ravages of the worm;—theſe, or ſome of theſe evils, drove them at length to other purſuits, where induſtry might find a ſurer recompence.

Their hiſtory, however, furniſhes a new illuſtration to a very trite but important remark, that a manufacture, once deſtroyed, ſcarce ever takes root again in the ſame country. Of the cauſes from which the general culture and manufacture of Indigo, was relinquiſhed in Jamaica, enough has

BOOK V. has been said by other writers: yet the same arguments which induced the British Government to burthen this commodity with duties under which it sunk, are still urged in the case of other colonial products, and will continue to be urged, till the same fate attends many of them as attended Indigo. Of the monstrous folly and impolicy of loading with high duties an article so essentially necessary to the British woollen manufactory, (putting colonial considerations out of the question) the Mother Country is, I believe, at length sufficiently convinced, the quantity of Indigo annually imported into Great Britain, from all parts of the world, being, I believe, one million and half of pounds, of which five parts in seven are purchased with ready money of strangers and rivals!

COFFEE.

So many treatises have been written on the history of coffee; its introduction into the West Indies has been so fully traced by some writers, and its properties so ably investigated by others, (above all, by my learned friend Dr. Benjamin Moseley) as hardly to leave me the possibility of offering any thing new on those subjects. The few observations therefore which I shall present to my readers concerning this berry, will relate principally to its culture; and these being chiefly founded on actual experience, may perhaps afford some useful information.

The admirers of coffee have long lamented the inferiority of the West Indian to that of Mocha. That many of the complaints with which the public are amused on this subject, arise wholly from affectation,

affectation, I have not a doubt. At the same time, it must be admitted that the charge is not wholly without foundation, inasmuch as the West Indian coffee is frequently drank within twelve months after it has been gathered from the tree; and that the flavour improves by age, there is not a coffee planter in the West Indies so bigotted to his own possessions, as wholly to deny. CHAP. IV.

But the notion that the coffee itself is naturally inferior to that of the East, as being the production of a coarser and less valuable species of the tree, needs no other refutation than the circumstance related by the celebrated gardener, Mr. Miller, "that from plants brought from the West Indies, and raised in English hot-houses, coffee berries have been produced which, at a proper age, were found to surpass the very best Mocha that could be procured in Great Britain." It is evident therefore that the whole difference depends on the soil and climate, mode of curing, and age.

It appears, on the authority of Le Roque, and other writers, that the Arabian coffee is produced in a very dry climate; and flourishes most on a sandy soil, or on mountainous slopes, which give an easy conveyance to the rains. The propriety of choosing similar situations in the West Indies (if a small berry, best suited for the English market, is expected) is justified by the experience of every coffee planter.

A rich deep soil, frequently meliorated by showers, will produce a luxuriant tree, and a great crop; but the beans, which are large, and of a dingy green, prove, for many years, rank and vapid. It is singular, however, that the North Americans prefer this sort to any other, and, as they have hitherto been the best customers at the West Indian markets, the planters naturally enough have applied

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plied their labours to that cultivation which turned to the beſt account.

Happily for the coffee planters of the Britiſh Weſt Indies, the Engliſh market, by a prudent conceſſion of Government in 1783, was rendered more open to them. Before that period, the duties and exciſe on the importation and conſumption of Britiſh plantation coffee in Great Britain were no leſs than 480 *per cent.* on its then marketable value. Under ſuch exactions, its cultivation in our ſugar iſlands muſt (but for the American market) have ſhared the ſame fate as that of Indigo. The great and important reduction of one ſhilling a pound from the exciſe duties, created an immediate and wonderful change; and while it promoted the intereſt of the planter, it even augmented the revenue of the ſtate; more than double the quantity of coffee having been brought to entry in 1784 than was entered in the year preceding; increaſing the ſum total of the duties from £. 2,869 10*s.* 10½*d.* to £. 7,200 15*s.* 9*d.*; an important proof, among others, how frequently heavy taxation defeats its own purpoſe!

As the Britiſh demand has thus increaſed, ſo, on the other hand, the American has declined, having, as I conceive, been transferred in a great meaſure to the foreign iſlands. It is now therefore become the intereſt of the planter to change his ſyſtem, by ſuiting the nature of his commodity to the taſte of his new cuſtomers.

This, it is true, is not within the power of every man, whoſe plantation is already ſettled, to accompliſh; but aſſuredly it is a very important object to ſuch perſons as may have it in contemplation to adventure in this line of cultivation (in a country, where every ſpecies of ſoil, and choice of ſituation, may be found) to know be-

forehand

forehand how to employ their money and labour to the greateſt advantage. CHAP. IV.

Coffee indeed will thrive in every ſoil in the Weſt Indies; a cold ſtiff clay, and a ſhallow mould on a hot marle, excepted. In both which, the leaves turn yellow, and the trees periſh, or produce nothing; but the beſt and higheſt-flavoured fruit is unqueſtionably the growth of either a warm gravelly mould, a ſandy loam, or the dry red hills which are found in almoſt every iſland of the Weſt Indies, Jamaica eſpecially. Frequent ſhowers of rain, however, are friendly to its growth, but if water remains long about the roots, the tree will decay and periſh.

If the land be freſh and naturally good, coffee plants may be ſet out at all ſeaſons of the year, even in dry weather, and they will thrive in any ſituation, provided it be ſcreened from the north winds, which often deſtroy the bloſſom; and ſometimes in the after part of the year, when thoſe winds prevail moſt, entirely ſtrip the tree of both fruit and leaves; blaſting in a moment all the hopes of the planter.

The uſual mode of planting is, to line out the land into ſquares of eight feet; in other words, to ſow the ſeeds, or ſet out the young plants, eight feet diſtant from each other on all ſides, which gives ſix hundred and eighty trees to each acre; and, where young plants are eaſily procured, they are preferred to berries. The plants which are intended to be ſet out are generally ſelected of about two feet in height. They are cut off ten inches above the ſurface of the ground, and care is taken to dig them up with the roots as entire as poſſible. The holes in which they are ſet, are made large enough to hold the lower part of the ſtem and all the roots; and the upper fibres are buried about two inches under the ſurface.

But,

BOOK V. But, although eight feet be the usual distance of setting out the plants in all soils, it is frequently found, in rich lands, that the trees, as they grow to maturity, become, from their luxuriance, so closely intermingled together, as to impede the free passage of the air: In such cases it is thought adviseable to cut down every second row, within ten or twelve inches of the ground, and by well moulding the stumps, they will furnish a successfion of healthy young trees, while the rows which are left will bear much better for the room which is given them. Old plantations (or *walks*, as they are called) cut down in this manner, not dug up and replanted, will give a tolerable crop the second year; and the operation may be frequently repeated.

In the cultivation of a young walk, the general and most approved system is to keep the trees perfectly clear of suckers, and to rear one stem only, from one root. If therefore a healthy shoot springs near the ground, all the original plant is cut off close above it, by which means, when the plant is moulded, the root becomes well covered. At the height of five or six feet, which the plants generally attain the third year, the trees are topped. At this height, a single stem gives from thirty-six to forty-two bearing branches, and the pruning required annually, is to leave nothing but those branches.

From what has been said concerning the effect of a difference of seasons, it must be difficult to fix on the average produce of a coffee plantation by the acre. In rich and spungy soils a single tree has been known to yield from six to eight pounds of coffee: I mean when pulped and dried. In a different situation, a pound and a quarter from each tree, on an average, is great yielding; but the coffee is infinitely better in point of flavour,

flavour. The following is, I believe, on a me- CHAP.
dium, as accurate a calculation as the ſubject will IV.
admit. Coffee trees raiſed from old roots, in lands neither very poor nor very rich, bear the ſecond year from the new growth 300 pounds weight per acre, 500 pounds the third year, and from 6 to 700 pounds the fourth. If the trees are raiſed from young plants, no produce is to be expected until the third year from the planting; when they will yield very little; the fourth year, about 700 pounds. The average annual produce per acre after that period, if the walk is properly attended to, may be reckoned at 750 pounds; and one negro is well able to take proper care of an acre and a half.

We are now come to the moſt important buſineſs of the coffee planter, *i. e.* the gathering in his crop, and the mode of curing it for market. The practice in Arabia, according to Le Roque, is as follows:—"When the planters perceive that the fruit is come to maturity, they ſpread cloths under the trees; which they ſhake from time to time, and the ripe fruit drops off. The berries thus collected are afterwards ſpread upon mats and expoſed to the ſun with the pulp on the berries, until they are perfectly dry, which requires a conſiderable time; after which, the beans are extricated from its outward incumbrance by the preſſure of a large and heavy ſtone roller, when they are again dried in the ſun; for the planters conſider, that, unleſs coffee be thoroughly dry, there is danger of its heating. It is then winnowed with a large fan, and packed for ſale."

It cannot be denied that this ſimple method muſt be infinitely ſuperior to any other for preſerving the genuine flavour of the berry; but it may well be doubted whether the additional price which the planter might obtain at the

Britiſh

BOOK V. British market for coffee thus gathered and prepared, would be adequate to the value of the time and labour which so tedious a method would necessarily require. The usual practice in the British West Indies is as follows:—

As soon as the berries acquire the colour of a black red on the trees, they are supposed to be sufficiently ripe for picking. The negroes employed in this business are provided each with a canvas bag, with a hoop in the mouth to keep it open. It is hung about the neck of the picker, who empties it occasionally into a basket, and if he be industrious, he may pick three bushels in the day. But it is not very provident to urge him on too fast, as probably a great deal of unripe fruit will in that case be mixed with the ripe. The usual practice is to pick the trees at three different stages of ripeness. One hundred bushels in the pulp, fresh from the tree, will give about one thousand pounds weight of merchantable coffee.

There are two methods in use of curing or drying the bean: The one is, to spread the fresh coffee in the sun, in layers about five inches deep, on a sloping terras, or platform of boards; with the pulp on the berry, which in a few days ferments and discharges itself in a strong acidulous moisture, and in this state the coffee is left, until it is perfectly dry, which, if the weather is favourable, it will be in about three weeks. The husks are afterwards separated from the seeds by a grinding mill hereafter to be described, or frequently by pounding them with pestles in troughs or large wooden mortars. Coffee thus cured, weighs four per cent. heavier than if cured without the pulp.

The other mode is to pulp it immediately as it comes from the tree. This is done by means of a pulping mill, consisting of a horizontal fluted roller, about eighteen inches long, and eight inches

inches in diameter. This roller is turned by a crank or handle, and acts againſt a moveable breaſt-board, which being fitted cloſe to the grooves of the roller, prevents the berries from paſſing whole. The mill is fed by a ſloping trough, and the aperture of the trough, from which the berries drop into the mill, is regulated by a vertical ſliding board. By this ſimple machine a negro will pulp a buſhel in a minute. The pulp, and the bean (in its parchment ſkin) fall promiſcuouſly together. The whole is then waſhed in wire ſieves, to ſeparate the pulp from the ſeeds, and theſe are immediately ſpread open to the ſun to dry.

There prevails great difference of opinion among the coffee planters on the ſubject of theſe two different methods of curing raw coffee. The latter is perhaps the moſt profitable, as being more expeditious; but I have no doubt that the former would give the beſt flavoured coffee, provided the fermentation, which always takes place when the raw fruit is placed in heaps on the platform, could be prevented, which might eaſily be done at the expence of a little more room. The blue dingy green, which to the American is the teſt of good coffee, is conſidered by the London dealer as a proof that it has not been ſufficiently cured. From both methods, however, the coffee may prove very good with the powerful aſſiſtance of its great improver, age.

Hitherto, I have deſcribed the pulping mill only. There yet remains the operation of grinding off the parchment ſkin, or membrane which immediately invelops the bean, and is left after the pulp is removed. It is done by a machine which will alſo ſeparate, at the ſame time, the dried pulp (if the former mode of curing has been adopted)

BOOK V. adopted) much more expeditiously than the peſtle and mortar.

The grinding mill conſiſts of a perpendicular axis, ſurrounded at ſome diſtance by a circular trough, into which the coffee is thrown, and about a foot above the level of the ſurface of the trough, there are commonly four horizontal arms or ſweeps, tenanted into the axis, and ſtretching ſome feet beyond the trough, and on them are four rollers, fitted to run in the trough on the arms being turned round with the axis, which is done by mules yoked to the extremity. The rollers, which are generally of conſiderable weight, moving round in the trough, bruiſe the ſkins of the coffee, ſo as to render them ſeparable by the fan, though there is always a proportion left untouched. When it appears ſufficiently bruiſed, it is taken out of the trough and put to the fan, which clears the coffee from the chaff, and the ſeeds remaining unground are ſeparated by ſieves, and returned to the mill; which will clear 1,500 pounds of coffee in a day.

There is ſtill another mode of curing coffee, both with and without the pulp, and that is by means of ſtoves. But it is practiſed by very few planters; it requiring an expenſive apparatus in the firſt place, and in the ſecond, it is ſaid that the ſmoke of the fire gives a diſagreeable ſmell and taſte to the berry. I know not if this aſſertion be true: it is certain, however, that nothing imbibes the ſmell or taſte of any thing near it, ſooner than coffee.

For the ſame reaſon it is a matter of great conſequence that proper care ſhould be taken, in ſhipping it for Europe, that it be not put into parts of the ſhip where it may receive the effluvia of

of other freight. "Coffee berries (fays Dr. Moſeley) are remarkably diſpoſed to imbibe exhalations from other bodies, and thereby acquire an adventitious and diſagreeable flavour. Rum, placed near to coffee, will in a ſhort time ſo impregnate the berries, as to injure the taſte in a high degree, and it is related by Mr. Miller, that a few bags of pepper on board a ſhip from India, ſome years ſince, ſpoiled a whole cargo of coffee." CHAP. IV.

The few preceding obſervations are all that occur to me concerning the mode of cultivating, and preparing for market, this far-famed berry. I ſhall conclude the ſubject by offering a ſhort eſtimate of the expences and returns attending its culture, which I conceive tends more to the encouragement of induſtry, and of courſe to the increaſe of white population in the Weſt Indian iſlands, than that of any other of their ſtaple commodities; its produce being more equal and certain, than that of any plant in cultivation, and its average profits more conſiderable in proportion to the capital employed.

It will be urged, perhaps, that if ſuch were the fact, its culture would have been more general in the Britiſh Weſt Indies. This objection has been anticipated and anſwered by what has been related of the heavy exciſe duties on this commodity in Great Britain previous to 1783. To ſay (as is commonly ſaid in the caſe of all duties on goods imported) that they fall on the conſumer, and not on the planter, proves nothing; for if the price, in conſequence of the duties, becomes ſo high as that the conſumer ceaſes to purchaſe, the effect is equally ruinous to the cultivator, as if they fell immediately on himſelf. Nothing more clearly demonſtrates that the cultivation

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tivation of this article was greatly affected by the British duties, than the comparative quantities imported into France and England; the whole annual import into Great Britain, on an average of five years, (1783 to 1787) not exceeding five millions six hundred thousand pounds weight; whereas the island of Hispaniola alone has produced an annual supply of seventy million of pounds and upwards.

It is likewise apparent, that since the reduction of the duties in 1783, the cultivation of coffee in the British West Indies, in Jamaica especially, has made a more rapid progress than in thirty years preceding. Yet (as Dr. Moseley has observed) even the present duty of six-pence *per* pound is too high to admit the general use of this fragrant beverage among all classes of people. What then must be thought of the former exaction of three times that duty, which continued for fifty-one years? So little has the science of colonial commerce been understood or adverted to!

Estimate of the Expence and Return of a Coffee Plantation in the Mountains of Jamaica, fourteen miles from the sea, calculated in the currency of that island, being forty per cent. worse than sterling; viz.

	£.	s.	d.
First cost of 300 acres of mountain land, of which one-half is reserved for provisions and pasturage, at £.3 per acre	900	—	—
Ditto, of 100 negroes, at £.70 per head — —	7,000	—	—
Ditto, of 20 mules, at £.28	560	—	—

Buildings

	£. s. d.
Buildings and utenſils, mills and negro tools — —	2,000 — —
Expence of maintaining the negroes the firſt year, before proviſions can be raiſed (excluſive of other annual expences charged below) £.5 each — —	500 — —
	10,960 — —
Compound intereſt for three years, before any return can be expected, at 6 per cent.	2,093 — —
	£.13,053 — —

ANNUAL EXPENCES, *viz.*

White overſeer and maintenance —	200
One other white ſervant	70
Medical attendance on the negroes —	25
Negro-ſupplies, *viz.* cloathing, &c. ſalted fiſh, and other proviſions, excluſive of the produce of their own grounds —	200
Colonial taxes —	100
	595
Total for three years, before any return can be expected —	1785

Compound

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		£. s. d.
Compound intereſt, as it ariſes in the ſeveral years —	221	
		2,006 — —
Total expence —		£.15,059 — —

Returns the fourth year, at £.4 per cwt. being the average price of Coffee for five years previous to 1792; viz.

		£. s. d.
From 150 acres of young coffee may be expected the fourth year 45,000 lbs. —		1,800 — —
Deduct annual charges for the fourth year —	595	
Sacks and faddles —	40	
		635 — —
Clear profit —		£1,165 — —

(being equal to £.7. 14s. per cent on the capital.)

Returns the fifth and ſubſequent years; viz.

		£. s. d.
150 acres, yielding 750 lbs. per acre, 112,500 lbs. at £.4 —		4,500 — —
Deduct annual charges, as before — —	595	
Sacks and faddles —	80	
Repairs of mills, &c. —	100	
		775 — —
Clear profit (being equal to 24¾ per cent. on the capital)		£.3,725 — —

HAVING

CHAP. IV.

HAVING thus copiously treated of the cultivation of those products which chiefly give value and importance to the British colonies in the West Indies, and contribute in a very eminent degree, to the wealth, commerce and navigation of the parent state, it is the less necessary for me to dwell at great length on minor staples; yet these cannot be wholly overlooked in a comprehensive survey of the tropical kingdom; neither indeed are they to be considered as unimportant, except by comparison with those rich and profitable commodities of which so much has been said in this and the preceding chapters. The remaining classes, of which I shall briefly treat, are *cacao*, *ginger*, *arnotto*, *aloes*, and *piemento*. As my observations will be few, they will be chiefly practical and commercial; a systematical description of each being to be found in Sloane, Brown, Hughes, and other writers.

CACAO.

THE cacao or chocolate nut, a production equally delicate, wholesome and nutritive, is a native of South America, and is said to have been originally conveyed to Hispaniola from some of the provinces of New Spain; where, besides affording to the natives an article of nourishment, it served the purpose of money; and was used by them as a medium in barter; one hundred and fifty of the nuts being considered of much the same value as a *ryal* by the Spaniards. From this circumstance, it seems probable that if

BOOK V. the ancient inhabitants of South America were emigrants from Europe or Asia, they must have detached themselves at an early period, before metals were converted into coins, or from some society which had made but moderate advances in civilization.

Among the Spaniards, with whom the cacao still forms a considerable article of commerce, its cultivation is conducted in the following manner. Having chosen a spot of level land (a deep black mould is preferred) sheltered round with a thick wood, so as to be well screened from the wind, especially the north, and caused it to be cleared from all manner of stumps and weeds, the planter digs a number of holes at eighteen or twenty feet distance, each hole being about a foot in length and width, and six or eight inches deep. In the mean time, having selected the largest and fairest pods of the cacao when full ripe, he takes out the grains and puts them into a vessel of water. Such of them as swim are rejected; the others, being washed clean from the pulp and skinned, are suffered to remain in the water till they begin to sprout, at which time they are fit for planting. The owner then takes the banana, or some other large leaves, and places one leaf within the circumference of each hole, so as to line it round; leaving however the sides of the leaf some inches above the ground; after which he rubs in the mould, very lightly, 'till the hole is filled. He then selects three nuts for each hole, and plants them triangularly, by making a small opening for each with his finger, about two inches deep, into which he puts the nuts, with that end downwards from which the sprout issues, and having lightly covered them with mould, he folds over the leaf, and places a small

stone

ſtone on the top to prevent its opening. In this manner he plants his whole walk, or orchard. At the end of eight or ten days, the plants will generally be found to riſe above the earth. The leaves are then opened, that their growth may not be impeded; but, in order to ſhelter them from the ſun, other leaves or branches are placed round the hole; for which purpoſe thoſe of the palm kind are generally choſen (for having a ſtrong ſtem, they are eaſily fixed in the earth) and they are changed as often as they decay, for the ſpace of five or ſix months. It is alſo thought adviſable to plant ſome other tree (the erythrina or bean tree is generally choſen for this purpoſe) to the ſouth-weſt of the cacao plant, which may grow up with it, and ſerve it for ſhelter;—for it muſt always be remembered, that young cacao trees will flouriſh only in the ſhade. CHAP. IV.

If all the three nuts planted in each hole ſpring up, it is thought neceſſary, when the plants are eighteen or twenty inches high, to cut one of them down. The other two, if they ſpread different ways, are ſometimes ſuffered to remain; but it ſeldom happens that all the nuts, or even more than one of them, will take root, which is the reaſon of planting three in a hole.

The fifth year the tree begins to bear, and the eighth attains its full perfection. It then produces in general two crops of fruit in the year, yielding at each, from ten to twenty pounds weight, according to the ſoil and ſeaſons; and it will ſometimes continue bearing for twenty years; but the ſame delicacy of ſtamina which marks its infancy, is viſible in all the ſtages of its growth. It is obnoxious to blights, and ſhrinks from the firſt appearance of drought.

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It has happened that the greateſt part of a whole plantation of cacao trees have periſhed in a ſingle night, without any viſible cauſe. Circumſtances of this nature, in early times, gave riſe to many ſuperſtitious notions concerning this tree, and, among others, the appearance of a comet was always conſidered as fatal to the cacao plantations.

In ſpite however of the influence of comets, and notwithſtanding the care and precaution that are requiſite in the firſt eſtabliſhment of a cacao plantation, it is certain that the cultivation of this plant was both extenſive and ſucceſsful in the Britiſh ſugar iſlands, for many years after they had become ſubject to the Britiſh government. Blome, who publiſhed a ſhort account of Jamaica in 1672, ſpeaks of cacao as being at that time one of the chief articles of export: "there are, ſays he, in this iſland, at this time, about ſixty cacao walks (plantations) and many more now planting." At preſent I believe there is not a ſingle cacao plantation from one end of Jamaica to the other. A few ſcattered trees, here and there, are all that remain of thoſe flouriſhing and beautiful groves which were once the pride and boaſt of the country. They have withered, with the indigo manufacture, under the heavy hand of miniſterial exaction. The exciſe on cacao, when made into cakes, roſe to no leſs than twelve pounds twelve ſhillings *per cwt.* excluſive of eleven ſhillings and eleven pence halfpenny, paid at the cuſtom-houſe; amounting together to upwards of four hundred and eighty *per cent.* on its marketable value!

It is to be hoped that the error of impoſing ſuch heavy impoſitions on our own colonial growths, is at length become ſufficiently manifeſt.

After

CHAP. IV.

After all, there is reaſon to apprehend that our ſugar iſlands can never again enter into competition with the Spaniſh Americans in the cultivation of the article of which I treat. At preſent the only cacao plantations of any account, in our colonies, are in Grenada and Dominica; and the quantity annually exported from both thoſe iſlands cannot, I believe, be eſtimated, on an average, at more than four thouſand bags of one hundred weight each, which may be worth, at the London market, between ten and eleven thouſand pounds ſterling *.

* The cacao tree, both in ſize and ſhape, ſomewhat reſembles a young *blackheart cherry*. The flower is of a ſaffron colour, extremely beautiful, and the pods, which in a green ſtate are much like a cucumber, proceed immediately from all parts of the body and larger branches. As they ripen, they change their colour, and turn to a fine bluiſh red, almoſt purple, with pink-coloured veins. This is the common ſort; but there is a larger ſpecies, which produces pods of a delicate yellow or lemon colour. Each pod may contain from twenty to thirty nuts or kernels, not unlike almonds, which are again incloſed in a white pulpy ſubſtance, ſoft and ſweet, and immediately enveloped in a parchment ſhell. Theſe nuts, being firſt ſimply dried in the ſun, are packed for market, and require very little preparation, after removing the ſhell, to be made into good chocolate. The cakes which are generally uſed under this name in England, appear to me to be compoſed of not more than one half genuine cacao; the remainder I take to be *flour*, and *Caſtile ſoap*. Conſidered medicinally, chocolate is ſaid to be too heavy for weak and relaxed ſtomachs; but in the Weſt Indies, experience abundantly demonſtrates that it is in the higheſt degree balſamic and reſtorative.—Colonel Montague James of Jamaica, who was the firſt white perſon born after the conqueſt of the iſland by the Engliſh, lived to the great age of one hundred and ten, and for the laſt thirty years of his life uſed ſcarce any other food than chocolate.

GINGER.

GINGER.

BOOK V.

This grateful aromatic root had a very early introduction into Hiſpaniola, and I ſhould not have ſuppoſed it an exotic, but that Acoſta relates it was conveyed from the Eaſt Indies to New Spain by a perſon named Franciſco de Mendoza.

If ſuch was the fact, the Spaniſh Americans muſt have entertianed very high expectations of profit from its culture, and carried it to a great extent in a very ſhort ſpace of time; it appearing from the ſame author, that no leſs than 22,053 cwt. were exported by them to Old Spain in the year 1547.

Ginger is diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts, the black and the white; but the difference ariſes wholly from the mode of curing; the former being rendered fit for preſervation by means of boiling water, the latter by inſolation; and, as it is found neceſſary to ſelect the faireſt and ſoundeſt roots for expoſure to the ſun, white ginger is commonly one-third dearer than black in the market.

In the cultivation of this root no greater ſkill or care is required than in the propagation of potatoes in Great Britain, and it is planted much in the ſame manner; but is fit for digging only once a year, unleſs for the purpoſe of preſerving it in ſyrup. In that caſe it muſt be taken up at the end of three or four months, while its fibres are tender, and full of ſap. Ginger thus prepared makes an admirable ſweetmeat; but it is too well known to require deſcription.

It ſeems to me that this commodity is growing greatly out of uſe in Europe, and its cultivation in the Weſt Indies decreaſes in conſequence. The average quantity exported annually from the Britiſh iſlands may be ſtated at ten thouſand bags of one cwt. of which 6000 are the produce

duce of Barbadoes, and the remainder (except a very small part from Dominica) is raised in Jamaica. Its medium price, at the London market, is forty shillings the hundred weight *. CHAP. IV.

ARNATTO.

This production is indigenous, and was called by one class of Indians roucou, and by another achiotte. Of its present name I know not the derivation. Its botanical name is bixa. It is a shrub which rises to the height of seven or eight feet, and produces oblong hairy pods, somewhat resembling those of a chesnut. Within these are thirty or forty irregularly figured seeds, which are enveloped in a pulp of a bright red colour, and unpleasant smell, in appearance like the sort of paint called red lead when mixed up with oil; and as paint it was used by Indians, in the same manner as woad by the ancient Britons.

Of the cultivation of this plant I know nothing, because most of the arnatto, shipped at present from our own islands, is, I believe, gathered from trees growing spontaneously. The method of extracting the pulp, and preparing it for market, is simply by boiling the seeds in clear water, till they are perfectly extricated; after which the seeds are taken out, and the water left undisturbed for the pulp to subside. It is then drawn off, and the sediment distributed into shallow vessels, and dried gradually in the shade.

* Jamaica alone, in 1738, exported 20,933 bags, of one cwt. each, and 8864 *lbs.* in casks.—An acre of fresh land, with favourable seasons, will yield about 140 *lbs.* annually.

Arnatto

BOOK V.

Arnatto thus prepared is mixed up by the Spaniſh Americans with their chocolate; to which it gives (in their opinion) an elegant tincture, and great medicinal virtue. They ſuppoſe that it ſtrengthens the ſtomach, ſtops fluxes, and abates febrile ſymptoms; but its principal conſumption, I believe, is among painters and dyers. I am informed that it is ſometimes uſed by the Dutch farmers, to give a richneſs of colour to their butter, and very ſmall quantities of it are ſaid to be applied in the ſame manner in Engliſh dairies.—On the whole, however, it is an object of no great commercial importance, and the demand for it is not ſufficient to encourage much attention to its cultivation.

ALOES.

The moſt valuable ſpecies of aloes is that of the iſland of Socotora in the Eaſt Indies, the introduction of which in our Weſt Indian colonies, has hitherto been unaccountably neglected. The ſpecies called the hepatic, is the only ſort known to our planters, and even of this, the cultivation in the Britiſh dominions is, I believe, at preſent, wholly confined to the iſland of Barbadoes, where it is ſaid to have been originally introduced from Bermudas. It is propagated by ſuckers, and will thrive in ſoils the moſt dry and barren. The mode of extracting and preparing the juice is as follows:

The plant is pulled up by the roots, and carefully cleanſed from the earth, or other impurities. It is then ſliced, and cut in pieces, into ſmall hand-baſkets or nets. Theſe nets or baſkets are put into large iron boilers or cauldrons with water, and

and boiled for ten minutes, when they are taken out, and fresh parcels supplied, till the liquor is strong and black. CHAP. IV.

At this period the liquor is thrown through a strainer into a deep vat, narrow at bottom, where it is left to cool, and to depofit its feculent parts. Next day the clear liquor is drawn off by a cock, and again committed to the large iron veſſel. At firſt it is boiled briſkly, but towards the end the evaporation is ſlow, and requires conſtant ſtirring to prevent burning. When it becomes of the conſiſtence of honey, it is poured into gourds, or calabaſhes, for ſale, and hardens by age.

PIEMENTO, OR ALLSPICE.

I CLOSE my catalogue with one of the moſt elegant productions in nature; a production which rivals the moſt valuable ſpices of the Eaſt, combining the flavour and properties of many of thoſe ſpices; and forming (as its popular name denotes) an admirable ſubſtitute, and ſucceedaneum for them all.

The piemento trees grow ſpontaneouſly, and in great abundance, in many parts of Jamaica, but more particularly on hilly ſituations near the ſea, on the northern ſide of that iſland; where they form the moſt delicious groves that can poſſibly be imagined; filling the air with fragrance, and giving reality, though in a very diſtant part of the globe, to our great poet's deſcription of thoſe balmy gales which convey to the delighted voyager

"Sabean odours from the ſpicy ſhore
Of Araby the bleſt.
Cheer'd with the grateful ſmell, old ocean ſmiles."

This

BOOK V.

This tree is purely a child of nature, and seems to mock all the labours of man, in his endeavours to extend or improve its growth: not one attempt in fifty to propagate the young plants, or to raise them from the seeds, in parts of the country where it is not found growing spontaneously, having succeeded. The usual method of forming a new piemento plantation, (in Jamaica it is called *a walk*) is nothing more than to appropriate a piece of wood land, in the neighbourhood of a plantation already existing, or in a country where the scattered trees are found in a native state, the woods of which being fallen, the trees are suffered to remain on the ground till they become rotten and perish. In the course of twelve months after the first season, abundance of young piemento plants will be found growing vigorously in all parts of the land, being, without doubt, produced from ripe berries scattered there by the birds, while the fallen trees, &c. afford them both shelter and shade. At the end of two years, it will be proper to give the land a thorough cleansing, leaving such only of the piemento trees as have a good appearance, which will then soon form such groves as those I have described, and, except perhaps for the first four or five years, require very little attention afterwards.

I do not believe there is, in all the vegetable creation, a tree of greater beauty than a young piemento. The trunk, which is of a grey colour, smooth and shining, and altogether free of bark, rises to the height of fifteen or twenty feet. It then branches out on all sides, richly cloathed with leaves of a deep green, somewhat like those of the bay tree, and these, in the months of July and August, are beautifully contrasted and relieved by an exuberance of white flowers. It is remarkable

remarkable that the leaves are equally fragrant with the fruit, and I am told yield in distillation a delicate odoriferous oil, which is very commonly used, in the medicinal dispensaries of Europe, for oil of cloves. CHAP. IV.

Soon after the trees are in blossom, the berries become fit for gathering; the fruit not being suffered to ripen on the tree, as the pulp in that state, being moist and glutinous, is difficult to cure, and when dry becomes black and tasteless. It is impossible however to prevent some of the ripe berries from mixing with the rest; but if the proportion of them be great, the price of the commodity is considerably injured.

It is gathered by the hand;—one labourer on the tree, employed in gathering the small branches, will give employment to three below (who are generally women and children) in picking the berries; and an industrious picker will fill a bag of 70 *lbs.* in the day. It is then spread on a terrace, and exposed to the sun for about seven days, in the course of which it loses its green colour, and becomes of a reddish brown, and when perfectly dry it is fit for market.

The returns from a piemento walk in a favourable season are prodigious. A single tree has been known to yield 150 *lbs.* of the raw fruit, or one *cwt.* of the dried spice; there being commonly a loss in weight of one-third in curing; but this, like many other of the minor productions, is exceedingly uncertain, and perhaps a very plenteous crop occurs but once in five years. The price in the British market, as may be supposed, fluctuates accordingly, but I believe its average, for some years past, may be put at ten-pence the pound, including the duty, which is three-pence.

This,

BOOK V.

This, though certainly a much greater price than the commodity bore in former years, gives however ſo little profit to the owner, compared with that of ſome other productions, that the growth of piemento decreaſes every year; many beautiful walks being daily cut down, and the land appropriated to the cultivation of ſugar. Its annual export from Jamaica (the only one of our colonies which produces piemento) is about ſix thouſand bags of one hundred and twelve pounds each.

I HAVE now finiſhed all that I propoſed to offer on Weſt Indian productions and agriculture. The ſubject is naturally dry and forbidding, and having wearied myſelf, I have no doubt that I have exhauſted the patience of others. Let it not be forgotten however that I have had to conduct my readers through a path—not ſtrewed with roſes, but—perplexed with briars, and hitherto almoſt untrodden. In ſuch a purſuit, I may perhaps be content to give up all pretenſions to the happy talent of blending pleaſure with inſtruction, ſatisfied with the homely praiſe of being uſeful to the moſt uſeful part of the community.

END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

THE

THE

HISTORY,

CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

British Colonies in the West Indies.

BOOK VI.

GOVERNMENT AND COMMERCE.

CHAP. I.

Colonial Eſtabliſhments.—Of the Captain General or Chief Governor; his Powers and Privileges.—Some Reflections on the uſual Choice of Perſons for this high Office.—Lieutenant General, Lieutenant Governor, and Preſident.—Of the Council, their Office and Functions.—Origin of their Claim to a Share in the Legiſlature.—Its Neceſſity, Propriety, and Legality conſidered.—Some Corrections in the Conſtitution of this Body propoſed.

THE Britiſh eſtabliſhments in the Weſt Indies are commonly termed *king's* governments, in contradiſtinction to the *proprietary* and *charter* governments which were known in North America; and, from what has been ſtated in ſome of the preceding chapters, the reader muſt have obſerved, CHAP. I.

BOOK VI. ed, how very nearly internal constitutions conform to that of the mother country. Their different orders of judicature are exactly like those of England, and their legislatures, in general, respectively consist of three distinct branches; *i. e.* a governor, representing the crown, a council or upper house, and a body of delegates representing the people at large. The two first are necessarily imperfect, because they are not independent; but the members of the last are more fairly and equally chosen by their constituents, than those of the British House of Commons by the people of Great Britain. Of the powers and privileges claimed and exercised by these several branches respectively, in their own little system, and whence derived, I shall now briefly treat. And, first, of the

GOVERNOR.

EVERY chief governor in the British West Indies is appointed by letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain. He receives through courtesy the title of Excellency, and is vested with the following powers:

First, as captain general and commander in chief, he has the actual command of all the land forces within his government (except only when a general officer is employed on the staff) and he commissions all officers of the militia. He appoints the judges of all the different courts of common law, and even these gentlemen, in all the islands I believe (Jamaica excepted *) hold their

* By an act passed in Jamaica in 1781, entitled, "An act to make the places of the judges, &c. more permanent and respectable," it is declared that no judge shall be removed but by

their seats during the governor's good pleasure. He nominates and supercedes at will, the custodes, justices of the peace, and other subordinate civil officers; and although in respect to some of the above appointments and dismissions, he is directed to ask the advice of his council, this direction is of little avail, inasmuch as the members of this body are themselves liable to be suspended by the governor, on the most frivolous pretences, or even without any cause assigned; a circumstance, by the way, which not unfrequently happens; and having thus reduced the board under a number limited by his instructions, he can fill up the vacancies *instanter*, with such persons as will be *properly obedient*. He has authority, with the advice of his council, to summon general assemblies; he appoints the place of their meeting, and when met, he possesses a negative voice in the legislature, for without his consent, no bill passes into a law; and he may, from time to time, as he alone shall judge needful, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve all such general assemblies. He has the disposal of all such civil employments as the crown does not dispose of; and with respect to such offices as are usually filled up by the British government, if vacancies happen, the governor appoints *pro tempore*, and the persons so appointed are entitled to all the emoluments, until they are superceded at home, and until the persons nominated to supercede them, arrive in the colo-

CHAP. I.

by the king's pleasure, signified under his majesty's sign manual. It is provided however that the governor, with the consent of five of his council, may *suspend*, until the king's pleasure be known, accounting to his majesty for, and delivering to the party suspended a copy of his reasons in writing for such suspension. This proviso seems to me to render this act in a great measure nugatory.

ny.

BOOK VI. ny. The governor claims the privilege alſo, in extraordinary caſes, and has been known frequently to exerciſe it, of ſuſpending ſuch civil officers even as act immediately under the king's authority, or by commiſſion from the boards of treaſury and admiralty, in high and lucrative employments, as the attorney and advocate general, the collectors of the cuſtoms, &c. and of nominating other perſons to act in their room, until the king's pleaſure ſhall be known therein. To all which is added authority, when he ſhall judge any offender in criminal matters a fit object of mercy, to extend the king's gracious pardon towards him, except only in caſes of murder and high treaſon; and even in theſe caſes, the governor is permitted to reprieve until the ſignification of the royal pleaſure.

Secondly, the governor has the cuſtody of the great ſeal, and, in moſt of the colonies, preſides ſolely in the High Court of Chancery. Indeed, in ſome of the Windward Iſlands, as we have ſeen, the council ſit as judges in the court of Chancery with the governor: Proceſs however is iſſued by the governor alone, and teſted in his name; and in general the governor exerciſes within his juriſdiction, the ſame extenſive powers as are poſſeſſed by the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain.

Thirdly, the governor is Ordinary, and collates to all vacant church benefices. He hath alſo the power of granting probate of wills, and adminiſtration of the effects of perſons dying inteſtate. He grants licences for marriages, and licences for ſchools, &c. and is ſole judge in all matters relating to the conſiſtorial or eccleſiaſtical law.

Fourthly, the governor preſides in the court of error, of which he and the council are judges, to hear and determine all appeals, in the nature of

of writs of error, from the ſuperior courts of common law. CHAP. VI.

Fifthly, the governor is alſo vice-admiral within the extent of his government. As ſuch, he is entitled to the rights of *jetſam*, *flotſam*, &c. and in time of war, he iſſues his warrant to the judge of the court of vice admiralty, to grant commiſſions to privateers *.

Laſtly, a colony governor, beſides various emoluments ariſing from fees, fines, forfeitures, and eſcheats, has an honourable annual proviſion ſettled upon him, by act of aſſembly, for the whole term of his adminiſtration in the colony. For, in order that he may not be tempted to proſtitute the dignity of his ſtation by improper condeſcenſions to leading men in the aſſembly, he is reſtrained by his inſtructions from accepting any ſalary, unleſs the ſame be ſettled upon him by law, within the ſpace of one year after his entrance into the government, and expreſsly made irrevocable during the whole term of his reſidence in the adminiſtration. And this, in my opinion, is a wiſe, and moſt neceſſary reſtriction.

Armed with ſuch various authorities, and poſſeſſing ſuch tranſcendant preheminence and privileges as I have deſcribed, it is not to be expected,

* It may not be improper to obſerve in this place, that the court of vice admiralty in the Colonies, by the iv of Geo. III. chap. 15, is inveſted with a concurrent juriſdiction with the courts of record, in caſes of forfeitures and penalties incurred by the breach of any act of parliament relating to the trade and revenues of the Britiſh colonies in America; and in proſecutions in this court, all queſtions, as well of fact as of law, are decided by the judge alone, without the intervention of a jury. The judge is nominated by the crown. The coloniſts complain with great reaſon of this law, as a direct violation and infringement of their beſt and deareſt conſtitutional rights.

BOOK VI. from the common fallibility of human nature, that every colony governor (placed at so great a distance from the mother country) should, on every occasion, *bear his faculties meekly*. Great caution is therefore undoubtedly necessary, on the part of a British minister, in the choice of persons for a trust of so great weight and dignity; the powers with which our plantation governors are invested being more extensive than those which the laws of England allow to the sovereign himself. It is however a melancholy truth, that party merit, and connections, are commonly the most forcible recommendations with which a candidate for a distant government can present himself; and that persons equally devoid of character, ability, and fortune, have sometimes been sent to preside in our most important settlements, as if justice and public virtue were best administered and promoted by men most distinguished for ignorance and profligacy, and that they would prove the best protectors of other people's fortunes, who, by vice and profusion, had dissipated their own!

In nominating to an office which is a constituent part of the legislature, which has power to controul the administration of executive justice, and, in most cases, has the sole exercise of the vast and extensive jurisdiction appertaining to a court of equity, it might be supposed that a prudent minister, among other qualifications in the person selected, would consider that some little knowledge of the laws and constitution of England is indispensibly requisite. It is remarkable, however, that the military professions (which certainly are not eminent for such kind of knowledge) are found to supply most of the gentlemen who are elevated to this high station. It were unjust, at the same time, not to allow that some of these have

have acquitted themſelves in the civil department with extraordinary reputation and honor. Both the late Sir William Trelawney and Sir Baſil Keith, who ſucceſſively adminiſtered the government of Jamaica, were educated from early youth in the navy; yet poſſeſſing ſound judgments and upright intentions, their conduct as governors gave abundant ſatisfaction to the people of the colony, without incurring the diſapprobation of the crown; and their names will be remembered there with reverence, ſo long as worthy governors ſhall be numbered among the benefactors of mankind *. But theſe are rare inſtances; and it muſt generally

CHAP. I.

* Soon after the above was written, the inhabitants of Jamaica had the misfortune to loſe, in an untimely grave, their highly valued and moſt lamented governor, Thomas Earl of Effingham, who was appointed captain general of that iſland in the beginning of 1790, and died in his government in October 1791. This nobleman was educated in the army; and, with the frankneſs and firmneſs of the ſoldier, poſſeſſed very extraordinary talents for civil employment.—His merit as Chancellor ſurpaſſed all that the warmeſt of his friends had predicted. He diſplayed a calmneſs of temper, and a clearneſs of conception, which the captious and ſubtle perplexities of forenſic argument could not diſturb or elude. His mind was ſtrong, quick, penetrating, ſound, and deciſive; but the prominent feature of his character, which diſplayed itſelf in all caſes and on every occaſion, was a manly and unſhaken intrepidity. He neither courted nor dreaded any man living; proceeding ſtrait forward in the plain path of his duty, without fear, favor, or affection.—At his firſt entrance into the government, his manners were thought ungracious; but his talents and virtues were ſoon happily experienced, and he then became the moſt popular of all governors. The Roman people diſplayed not greater affliction at the death of Germanicus, than was manifeſted by the inhabitants of Jamaica for the loſs of Lord Effingham. The aſſembly voted a magnificent funeral for the remains of his Lordſhip, and another for thoſe of the Counteſs of Effingham, who died a ſhort time before him. They likewiſe ordered a monument to be erected to perpetuate

BOOK VI. generally be admitted, that the appointment to high civil offices of men whose education and past pursuits have not given them opportunities of acquiring much acquaintance with the principles of our limited government, is a very dangerous experiment. Persons of this class, with the purest intentions, are easily misled by selfish and interested men, whom the consciousness of their own deficiencies

the memory of their virtues, and the author of this work had the honor of drawing up the inscription thereon; which is as follows:

To the Memory of
THOMAS, Earl of EFFINGHAM, Baron Howard,
Captain-General and Chief Governor of this Island
in the years 1790 and 1791;
And of KATHERINE his Wife.
The latter, departed this life on the 13th day of
October, 1791,
In a voyage undertaken for the benefit of her health,
in his Majesty's ship Diana:
The former, on the 19th of the following month,
The third week after the melancholy return of the Diana
with the remains of his beloved Consort,
whom he seemed unwilling to survive,
And with whom he was deposited in the same grave.
Thus, united in their lives
by the most tender and exalted ties,—
He—the fond and indulgent Husband,
She—the cheerful and obedient Wife,—
In their deaths they were not divided!

To perpetuate the remembrance
of so illustrious a pattern of conjugal affection:
To manifest the public sense
of the many public and private virtues of their
respected Governor;
And to record, for the benefit of posterity,
The clearness of that sagacity,
The extent of that knowledge,
And the purity and firmness of that integrity,
which rendered his administration

The

ficiencies compels them to conſult.—Even while actuated by honeſt and laudable motives, they may violate irreparably the firſt principles of law and a free conſtitution, by eſtabliſhing fatal precedents which no integrity of intention can ſanctify. Mr. Stokes, the late chief juſtice of Georgia, relates that a governor of a province in North America (at that time a Britiſh colony) ordered the provoſt-marſhal to hang up a convict ſome days before the time appointed by his ſentence, and a rule of court for his execution. "He meant well, ſays Stokes, but, being a military man, conceived that as he had power to reprieve after ſentence, he had power to execute alſo when he pleaſed; and the criminal was actually hanged as the governor ordered, nor could his excellency be perſuaded, that, by this very act, he was himſelf committing felony."

CHAP. I.

An anecdote not leſs curious than the former is related by the ſame author of another military governor, who, it ſeems, took it into his head to ſuſpend a gentleman from his ſeat in the council for no other reaſon than marrying his daughter without his conſent.

It may be ſaid, perhaps, that in theſe caſes the miſchief to the public, excluſive of the precedent, was not very great. I could produce, however, many an inſtance, in the conduct of governors, in which ſomething more would appear, I am afraid, than mere folly, and the ignorant miſap-

The boaſt and ſecurity of a grateful people,
The ASSEMBLY of JAMAICA,
having cauſed the remains of this noble and
lamented pair to be interred with funeral honours
at the public expence, the whole Houſe
attending each proceſſion as Mourners,
As a farther teſtimony of merited eſteem
Inſcribe this Monument.

plication

BOOK VI.

plication of authority. But the task is invidious, and I willingly decline it.

LIEUTENANT GENERAL, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR AND PRESIDENT.

IN a government comprehending several islands, as the Leeward Charaibbean Island government, there is commonly appointed, together with the captain general or chief governor, a lieutenant general, who is next in succession, and who is usually lieutenant governor likewise of one of the islands included within the general government, each of which, in the absence of the captain general from that particular island, has its affairs administered by a lieutenant governor, or the president of the council, most commonly the latter, as it is not often that the lieutenant governor is on the spot; this appointment, in fact, being nothing more than the grant of a pension of 200*l.* a year, which is paid by the crown. In Jamaica it is seldom that a lieutenant governor is appointed during the residence on the island of a captain general, there being no establishment or provision for such an officer holding a dormant commission; who has therefore neither power nor profit. He is not, as lieutenant governor, entitled even to a seat in the council. On the resignation, or absence on leave, of the captain general, a lieutenant governor, if not present, is frequently sent over, who then succeeds to the supreme command, and receives the full emoluments of the government *.

Mr.

* The following instance of ministerial œconomy may amuse, but cannot surprise, my readers in the colonies.—

About

CHAP. I.

Mr. Long is of opinion that a president of the council, taking upon him the government on the demise or absence of a governor or lieutenant governor, cannot legally dissolve the house of assembly, nor issue writs for calling a new one; because he has no express commission from the Sovereign under the great seal

About the year 1767, when the Earl of Shelburne was Secretary of State, an application was made to his lordship by some gentlemen of Jamaica, then residing in England, for a provision for a lieutenant governor, who should reside within the island at the same time with the captain general. The reason assigned was to prevent a devolution of the government to the president of the council. Lord Shelburne had no other objection to the measure than an unwillingness to saddle either the mother country or the colony with additional expence.—But finding, among other emoluments of the captain general, that he derived about 1000*l.* sterling per annum from the command of a fortification at Port-Royal, called Fort Charles, and conceiving the other appointments of the chief governor to be sufficiently liberal, his lordship stipulated with the next governor, Sir William Trelawney, that he should resign Fort Charles to Lieutenant Governor Dalling, on condition of residence. Thus were the wishes of the gentlemen gratified, and a provision made for a lieutenant governor, without expence either to Great Britain or Jamaica; and, considering withal that Sir William Trelawney was the minister's friend, the conduct of Lord Shelburne in the business was highly commendable, and bore the features of honour.—But mark the result. In the administration of Lord George Germain, General Dalling, by the demise of Sir William Trelawney, succeeded to the chief command: and the new minister, considering 1000*l.* per annum no despicable object, instead of continuing Fort Charles as a provision for a lieutenant governor, seized on it for his own use, and soon after assigned its profits over to one of his dependants, who has enjoyed it ever since. Thus the island suffers the same inconveniency it complained of before, with the burthen of providing 1000*l.* a year for a person who neither resides within the island, nor has any other connection with it;—for the fort is generally commanded by his deputy's deputy, to whose very name, it is probable, the principal himself is a stranger.

of

BOOK VI. of Great Britain, giving authority for that purpose.

THE COUNCIL.

THE members of this board are severally appointed by the Royal mandamus, directed to the governor and counterſigned by the ſecretary of ſtate, and the names of the ſeveral members for the time being are inſerted in the governor's inſtructions. In Jamaica their full complement is *twelve:* in ſome of the ſmaller iſlands *ten*, and in caſe of as many vacancies, by death, abſence or ſuſpenſion, as reduce the board under *ſeven*, the governor or commander in chief, is impowered to fill up to that number, but no further. Their privileges, powers, and offices are theſe:

Firſt: They are by courteſy ſeverally addreſſed, in the colonies, *Honourable;* they take precedency next to the commander in chief; and, on the death or abſence of the governor, lieutenant general, and lieutenant governor, the eldeſt member of the council ſucceeds to the government, under the title of *Preſident.*

Secondly: They are a council of ſtate, the governor or commander in chief preſiding in perſon, to whom they ſtand in the ſame relation as the privy council in Great Britain does to the Sovereign. But although every plantation governor is directed by his inſtructions to adviſe with his council on moſt occaſions, I do not know that, in his executive capacity, he is abſolutely bound to abide by their advice. I conceive that he is competent to act, in moſt caſes, not only *without*, but even *againſt*, their concurrence: he may, it is true, by ſo doing, incur the

the king's diſpleaſure; but his proceedings are nevertheleſs efficient and legal within the colony.

Thirdly: They are named, in every commiſſion of the peace, as juſtices throughout the colony to which they belong.

Fourthly: The council, together with the commander in chief, ſit as judges in the court of error or court of appeal in civil cauſes from the courts of record; and in ſome of the iſlands two or more of the members ſit with the governor in the court of chancery, as aſſiſtant commiſſioners of the great ſeal, as I have elſewhere related; appeals from chancery therefore lie not before them, but are, by the king's order, avoked before his majeſty himſelf in council.

Fifthly: The council is a conſtituent part of the legiſlature; their conſent being neceſſary in the enacting of laws. In this capacity of legiſlators, they ſit as the upper houſe, and in moſt of the colonies, diſtinct from the governor; claim privilege of parliament, order the attendance of perſons, and the production of papers and records, and commit for contempts; enter proteſts on their journals after the manner of the houſe of peers, and have their chaplain, clerk, uſher of the black rod, &c. &c.

It has been thought ſtrange that one and the ſame body of men ſhould act in two ſuch different capacities and functions, as a privy council ſworn to ſecrecy and fidelity, and an upper houſe of legiſlature; "the admitting ſuch a diſtinction, ſays a late governor, may be ſuppoſed even to free them from all obligations of the oath they take as counſellors: becauſe their duty to the people, as legiſlators, may ſeem to oblige them very

BOOK VI. very frequently to support opinions repugnant to a governor's schemes †.

But to this it may be answered, that, if the governor's schemes are, in the opinion of the council, repugnant to the true interests of the people, their opposition to such schemes cannot be deemed a violation of their oath of fidelity, nor does it necessarily follow that they thereby divulge what they have sworn to keep secret.

It appears to me, that the people at large residing within the colonies, have much more cause of apprehension than their governors, from the existence and exercise of legislative authority, in so unstable a body as the board in question: For although its individual members ought to be, and I believe indeed commonly are, men of weight and property in their respective countries, yet a territorial qualification is not indispensibly necessary to their appointment, as in the case of members chosen into the assembly. Persons therefore *may be*, and I am afraid in former times *have been*, nominated to the council, who have no natural concern in the welfare of the colony, no community of interests with its inhabitants, and who consider themselves wholly at the governor's disposal, and bound to support all his measures, however incompatible with the general good. Again: From the power which the governors assume of arbitrarily inflicting the rod of suspension, the board has not stability sufficient to insure respect to its resolutions. It has neither strength nor independency. Such of the members therefore as have property in the country, may perhaps sometimes find themselves in a

† This opinion of Governor Lyttelton is quoted more at large in the History of Jamaica, by Mr. Long, vol. I. p. 156.

more

more disagreeable predicament than even those who have none; for they may be compelled to vote as a governor shall dictate, in support, possibly, of measures ruinous to the community in which all their concerns are centered, or be exposed to the affront of public degradation; to the consequent malignant misconstructions of the vulgar; and perhaps to the contempt of their own minds, in having accepted a station which subjects them to censure, for honestly discharging the duties of it. CHAP. I.

I do not indeed know that many great evils have actually been felt by the colonists at large, from the inefficiency and instability of this body. However, as it is the excellency of the British government, not merely to correct existing abuses, but also to obviate and prevent (as far as human foresight will permit) such as may possibly or probably happen; many intelligent persons have been led to controvert the claim of the council altogether to a participation in the legislature. They deny that this claim derives any just support either from analogy to the constitution of the parent state, from the royal delegation, or from any law of sufficient comprehension and efficacy to warrant such a pretension in a body so constituted.

The principal arguments which have been advanced in support of this opinion, are to this effect:

The peers of Great Britain are hereditary members of the legislature, and sit in parliament for the support of their own great interests and inherent dignity, and as an intermediate body between the crown and the people. In civil process their persons are sacred, and in criminal, they are tried by their own order. Neither can their

BOOK VI.

their privileges be taken from them but in extraordinary cases, and then only by the sentence of the whole house, as a court of the highest jurisdiction, or by an act of the whole legislature. The sovereign, it is true, can create as many new peers as he pleases, but having once raised a subject to this high dignity, his privileges thenceforward, as a peer of parliament, are his own; founded, not only on royal concessions, but on the ancient fundamental constitution of the realm. Thus, the house of lords forms a separate branch of the legislature, distinct from, and entirely independent of, the crown on the one hand, and the commons on the other. Now, in all these respects, it is maintained, that a colonial council has no conformity or similitude with, and therefore could not originally have been intended to form a separate estate, and supply in the colonies the place of, the house of peers of Great Britain.

It is contended further, that the power of the crown is not of itself sufficiently extensive to constitute such a legislative branch, or separate estate in the colonies. The king, it is true, has a negative in legislation, but the king has no right to propose a law to, or to alter a law proposed by, the lords or commons. His power is the power of rejecting, and nothing more; which therefore is not so properly a legislative power, as a negative on the legislation of the other branches; a mere defensive privilege to enable him to withstand the encroachments of the legislature, and preserve the government entire. As the king cannot confer on others what he possesses not himself, nothing less than a solemn and precisely declaratory law, proposed by the representatives of the people, and confirmed by the crown, could, it is pretended,

tended, have given the shadow of authority to a colonial or provincial council to form themselves into a distinct legislative estate. It follows, that their claim to legislative powers, thus unsupported, is usurpation and tyranny. CHAP. I.

These arguments, or arguments to the same effect, are urged with great ability in Mr. Long's History of Jamaica. I shall not attempt to controvert them by elaborate discussion, but content myself with briefly stating the origin, *as it is in fact*, (according to my conception) of the pretensions of this branch to a distinct share in colonial legislation. If it be shewn that the exercise of these pretensions may, on several occasions, be absolutely necessary to the welfare and safety of the community; a very few words will suffice on the question of their constitutional legality.

That it was originally intended to establish in any of the colonial governments *three* distinct independent legislative powers acting on the spot, in the view of forming constitutions on the model of England, I do not however believe; because, while the crown retains its necessary and constitutional right of disannulling all acts of the provincial legislatures, and while the privilege of giving a negative is likewise exercised by its governors in the colonies, independent of the council, there are *four* distinct estates instead of *three*. The case was, without doubt, that there being no order of hereditary nobility in the plantations, out of which to constitute a dignified and efficient intermediate body, like the peers of England and Ireland, a legislative authority was at an early period entrusted to the governors and their council, *acting conjointly*, and forming a middle branch between the crown on the one hand, and the

BOOK VI. the representatives of the people on the other. The presence and concurrence of the governor were probably thought adviseable, in the view that the interests of the crown might generally preponderate; while by selecting the members of the council from men of the first consequence in each colony, it was perhaps conceived that a salutary check was contrived against those abuses to which power, in the best hands, is sometimes liable; and on this plan the colonies possessed the semblance, at least, of an English legislative constitution *.

That such was the first intention in the formation of all or most of the king's governments in the plantations (imperfect as the system confessedly is, from the instability of the council) appears from the instance of Barbadoes, where this arrangement still exists; the governor and council, in matters of legislation, constituting, not *two* separate and distinct bodies, independent of each other, but *one* constituent branch only, sitting and deliberating together.—And such too, for some years, was the practice of Jamaica, and, I believe, of all or most of the rest of the royal governments; but as it sometimes became necessary to reject popular bills, the governor, to divert the displeasure of the assembly from himself to the council, declined by degrees attending on such occasions; leaving it to the board to settle matters with the assembly as they could, without his interference. The council concurred, readily enough, in the governor's views, because his absence, re-

* Every governor is expressly instructed to transmit from time to time to his Majesty the names of such of the principal inhabitants as are best qualified to supply vacancies in the council, and it is rarely that any person is appointed who is not previously recommended by the governor.

moving

moving a reſtraint, gave them the ſemblance of a diſtinct independent eſtate; and the crown, perceiving the utility and advantage of the meaſure, confirmed and eſtabliſhed the practice by degrees in moſt of the royal governments throughout the Britiſh plantations. If the people's repreſentatives had conſidered this excluſive interpoſition of the council as an innovation, *then* was their time to have oppoſed it; but it has not appeared to me that the aſſembly of any one colony, at any one period, denied a right in the council to negative bills in the firſt inſtance, without the governor's conſent or participation. Now the right in the council to reject bills altogether in the firſt inſtance, neceſſarily comprehending the privilege of offering amendments to particular clauſes, (money bills are always, and very properly, excepted) the exerciſe of which privilege is, in truth, nothing more than an offer of compromiſe between the council and aſſembly. The former may ſay, "we propoſe ſuch and ſuch amendments; adopt them, or we uſe our power of rejection." And this I take to be the plain origin and actual riſe of the privileges enjoyed, I believe, by the council-board in every Britiſh colony in the Weſt Indies (Barbadoes excepted) of deliberating apart from the governor on all bills ſent up by the aſſembly; of propoſing amendments to ſuch bills, and of rejecting altogether, and without any participation with the governor, ſuch of them as they diſapprove. Further than this, I do not know that the legiſlative authority of the council extends, and I have no heſitation in pronouncing the exerciſe of *ſuch* an authority, when enforced freely and independently, a moſt neceſſary and uſeful expedient, tending to prevent violent and miſchievous diſputes between the delegates of the people, CHAP. I.

BOOK VI. people, and the representatives of the crown. Its origin may have been illegitimate; but its adoption in the colonies for a century at least, and recognition by the crown, have given it such a prescriptive establishment, as I conceive constitutes law *.

After all, the objections which have been made to the present constitution of this body, arising from its want of sufficient stability and independence, are of an important and serious nature.—Men are very unfit for legislators, whose deliberations are liable to be biassed by external and improper influence. If, on some occasions, they are instruments of good, on others they may prove instruments of great evil. Yet I am willing to hope that even this inconvenience might find its remedy, if the colonial assemblies would take the subject into serious and temperate consideration. Were it required by law that no person should be appointed of the council who was not possessed of a landed estate within the colony to some given value, as an indispensible qualification, so that the private interests of the members might be blended with those of every other citizen, and were the terrors of suspension, which, like the sword of Damocles, hangs but by a thread, removed from them, they would become a respectable and most useful body †. At the same time, it

* In truth the colonies gained a very important acquisition by this separation of the governor and council from each other in matters of legislation, for, obtaining by this means the semblance of three distinct estates, it enabled them the more easily to secure the privilege which they claimed, that their laws should be immediately in force as soon as consented to by the governor, without waiting for the royal confirmation.

† There arises, however, some difficulty in considering this point. While the council are liable to be suspended at the will

it will behoove the representatives of the people, in an especial manner, to keep in their own hands, undiminished and unimpaired, as a sacred deposit, the great and exclusive privilege of granting or withholding the supplies. If the council, independent of the governor and the people, shall once possess themselves of the smallest share in this most important of all popular rights, they will become, from that moment, a standing senate, and an insolent aristocracy.

CHAP. I.

will of an arbitrary and capricious governor (and I remember an instance in Jamaica, of seven members being suspended in one day, on a very frivolous pretence) their authority is very lightly regarded, and sometimes they are even treated with contempt and insult. On the other hand, if they were appointed *for life*, they might, in their legislative capacity, become formidable both to the king's representative and the people. They might obstruct the supplies for no better reason than to get a new governor. I am of opinion, therefore, that they should still be amovable, but, in order to give them greater weight than they possess at present, they should be amovable only by the king's express order, in consequence of a joint address from the commander in chief and the house of assembly.—Their present constitution certainly requires some correction and amendment; the more so, as in some of the colonies they have set up pretensions of a very wide and extraordinary nature. They have, at different times, claimed and exercised the power of arbitrarily imprisoning for contempt, and formerly even for fines laid by their own authority. They have claimed a right of originating public bills at their board, and even of amending money bills passed by the assembly. They have also claimed the right of appropriating the public revenue, &c. &c. All these, and other pretensions, are equally inconsistent with their original appointment of a *council of assistants* to the governor, and with the tenure by which they at present exist, and ought to be constantly and firmly resisted by the people's representatives.

CHAP. II*.

Houſes of Aſſembly.—Prerogative denied to be in the Crown of eſtabliſhing in the Colonies Conſtitutions leſs free than that of Great Britain.—Moſt of the Britiſh Weſt Indian Iſlands ſettled by Emigrants from the Mother Country.—Royal Proclamations and Charters, Confirmations only of ancient Rights.—Barbadoes, and ſome other Iſlands, originally made Counties Palatine.—Their local Legiſlatures how conſtituted, and the Extent of their Juriſdiction pointed out.—Their Allegiance to, and Dependance on, the Crown of Great Britain, how ſecured.—Conſtitutional Extent of Parliamentary Authority over them.

BOOK VI.

IN treating of the aſſemblies, or popular branch in the local ſyſtem of colonial adminiſtration, I ſhall firſt attempt to inveſtigate the origin of the claim of the coloniſts to legiſlate for themſelves, by means of thoſe aſſemblies, and to diſplay the principles on which this claim was confirmed by the mother country. Afterwards, I ſhall enquire by what

* In this chapter, the nature and neceſſary uniformity of my work, compel me to tread over a field wherein the footſteps of a great many preceding writers are ſtill viſible. I preſume not therefore to fancy that I can produce many new arguments myſelf, or give additional weight to thoſe which have been advanced by others, on ſubjects ſo well underſtood, and ſo frequently and freely canvaſſed during the late unhappy diſputes with America. My aim will be anſwered, if, inſtead of originality and novelty, I am found to poſſeſs perſpicuity and preciſion. Happily, the great rights of mankind are ſufficiently apparent, without the aid of logical deduction, and abſtracted hypotheſis.

means

means their allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, and profitable ſubordination to the Britiſh parliament, is ſecured and maintained. CHAP. II.

From the arguments that have been urged in the latter part of the preceding chapter, concerning a prerogative in the crown to inveſt the colonial council boards with ſome ſhare of legiſlative authority, I truſt it will not follow that the Engliſh conſtitution has at any time lodged in the king the ſtill greater prerogative of eſtabliſhing in the Britiſh dependencies, ſuch a form and ſyſtem of government as his majeſty ſhall think beſt. It is ſurely one thing to ſay, that the crown may introduce into the plantations ſuch checks and controuls as are congenial to thoſe inſtitutions by which freedom is beſt ſecured in the mother country, and another to aver that the crown may withhold from the colonies the enjoyment of freedom altogether. Nevertheleſs, were the maxim well founded, that the prerogative of the crown in arranging the ſyſtem of colonial eſtabliſhments is unlimited, no concluſion could be drawn from it that would impeach, in the ſmalleſt degree, the claim of the Britiſh coloniſts in America to a Britiſh conſtitution; inaſmuch as the ſovereign, repreſenting the whole nation, repeatedly recognized in the firſt ſettlers and their poſterity, by various ſolemn grants, proclamations, charters, and treaties, the ſame liberties, privileges, and immunities which were poſſeſſed and enjoyed by their fellow ſubjects remaining in Great Britain.

I know not, indeed, that thoſe grants, proclamations, charters, and treaties, were eſſentially neceſſary to freedom; for if, as I preſume I have ſufficiently demonſtrated on a former occaſion *,

* Book III. c. 2.

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even a conquered ſtate, retaining its ancient inhabitants, no ſooner becomes ceded to Great Britain, than it is aſſimilated to its government, and imbibes the ſpirit of its free conſtitution;—if this, as I contend, is the law of England, it requires but little argument to prove that Engliſh ſubjects, whether ſettling in countries which their valour has annexed to the Britiſh dominion, or emigrating for the purpoſe of forming plantations on vacant or derelict lands, are entitled *of right*, ſo long as they preſerve their allegiance, to at leaſt an equal degree of national protection, with adopted aliens and vanquiſhed enemies. Some of our poſſeſſions in America and the Weſt Indies (Jamaica in particular, as we have ſeen) were obtained by the forces of the ſtate; the individuals of which became proprietors of the country which they had conquered. Other countries, as Barbadoes and Antigua, were found vacant and unoccupied, and were made valuable appendages to Great Britain, by the enterprizing ſpirit and at the ſole expence of a few private adventurers. Even where the lands were forcibly taken from the ancient Indian inhabitants, though nothing can ſanctify injuſtice, yet the Engliſh title is unimpeachable by any other European power; and the Engliſh nation has received the benefit of the enterprize. Shall it then (to uſe an excellent and unanſwerable argument of Mr. Long on this ſubject)* ſhall it be affirmed, 'that if Engliſh 'forces conquer, or Engliſh adventurers poſſeſs 'themſelves of diſtant lands, and thereby extend 'the empire, and add to the trade and opulence 'of England; the Engliſhmen ſo poſſeſſing and 'planting ſuch territory, ought, in conſideration

* Hiſt. Jamaica.

'of

CHAP. II.

'of the great services thereby effected to their nation, to be treated worse than aliens, to forfeit all the rights of English subjects, and to be left to the mercy of an absolute and arbitrary form of government?' Nothing surely can equal the absurdity of so savage a doctrine*!

Considering, therefore, the further discussion of this point as superfluous, I come to the conclusion which necessarily results from the premises, and

* "Let us consider (says Mr. Locke) a conqueror in a lawful war, and see what power he gets, and over whom.

"First, he gets no power by his conquest over those that conquered with him. They that fought on his side cannot suffer by the conquest, but must at least be as much freemen as they were before. And most commonly, they serve upon terms, and on condition to share with their leader, and enjoy a part of the spoil, and other advantages that attend the conquering sword: or, at least, have a part of the subdued country bestowed upon them. And the conquering people are not, I hope, to be slaves by conquest, and wear their laurels only to shew they are sacrifices to their leader's triumph. We are told by some, that the English monarchy is founded in the Norman conquest, and that our princes have thereby a title to absolute dominion; which, if it were true (as by history it appears otherwise) and that William had a right to make war on this island, yet his dominion by conquest could reach no farther than to the Saxons and Britons, that were then inhabitants of this country. The Normans that came with him, and helped to conquer, and all descended from them, are freemen, and no subjects by conquest; let that give what dominion it will."

So far Mr. Locke—His friend and correspondent Mr. Mollyneux, of Dublin, in his Treatise of the Case of Ireland's being bound by English Acts of Parliament, repeats the same argument, and illustrates it as follows: "Supposing (he observes) that Hen. II. had a right to invade Ireland, and that he had been opposed therein by the inhabitants, it was only the ancient race of the Irish that could suffer by this subjugation; the English and Britons, that came over and conquered with him, retained all the freedoms and immunities of free-born subjects: they, and their descendants, could not in reason lose these for being successful and victorious; for so, the state of both conquerors and conquered shall be equally slavish."

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BOOK VI.

it appears to me to be clear and uncontrovertible, that the royal proclamations and charters which guaranteed and confirmed to the firſt planters, emigrating to America and the Weſt Indies, all the liberties, franchiſes, and immunities of free denizens remaining within the kingdom, were, and were meant to be, *declaratory only of ancient rights; not creative of new privileges.* They were nothing more than royal recognitions, expreſſive of a reciprocal relation between the ſovereign and his ſubjects, notwithſtanding their removal, conveying the conſent of the king, as head and repreſentative of the Engliſh ſtate, to their emigration; and aſſuring them, expreſsly, or by evident implication, ſo long as they preſerved their allegiance, the full and undiſturbed enjoyment of thoſe inherent rights, which no climate nor compact can take away or diminiſh.

Such, I conceive, was the ground on which the firſt Engliſh coloniſts claimed, amongſt other rights, the great and important one of aſſenting to all laws by which they were to be bound; or, to ſpeak ſomewhat more ſuitably to the actual ſituation of the people of England, of being bound by ſuch laws only, as in their operation, ſhould extend to, *and bind the governors equally with the governed; the framers equally with all the reſt of the kingdom**: and hence, the eſtabliſhment

* By the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, every man ſhould be repreſented; but the deviation from a rule too nice for practice is ſafely borne, becauſe the intereſt of every particular member of parliament ſtands as a pledge, that no individual in the kingdom can be oppreſſed. In other words, the great ſecurity which the people of Great Britain have, that their repreſentatives ſhall not abuſe their truſt, is, *that they cannot impoſe on others what they are not to feel themſelves.* 'If as

ment in all the British provinces of North America, and islands of the West Indies, of assemblies, or houses of representatives, which, being freely chosen by the people, forming a part of, and living among the people, and occasionally to be resolved into the general mass, must necessarily participate, with a tender interest, in every thing that concerns the people. CHAP. II.

Perhaps, instead of confirming to the colonists this liberal system of self-government, it was, or might have been contended on the part of the crown, that the permission of returning representatives to the British parliament, was all that, on their own principles, they could pretend to claim; and the examples of Durham and Chester might have been adduced in support of this argument. Those counties being counties palatine, had complained, that, "for lack of knights and burgesses, they were touched and grieved with acts and statutes made within the court of parliament;" and they pleaded that acts and statutes so made, "were derogatory unto their most ancient jurisdictions, liberties, and privileges." Their plea was allowed, and parliamentary representation granted them. It is observable too, that Barbadoes and the Charaibean Islands, as well as some provinces of North America, were at first created into counties palatine, expressly after the model of Durham. But the king and parliament probably thought, what all who duly consider the subject must *now* think, that a parliamentary union with a kingdom three thousand miles dis-

an act of parliament was made (says Judge Hobart) constituting a man a judge in his own cause, it would be void by the law of nature.' See an excellent speech of George Johnstone, Esquire, in the Parliamentary Debates for 1775, wherein this argument is enforced.

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tant, was impracticable to any good purpose. It is most certain, that the British parliament, from first to last, consented that the king should govern his subjects in America (so far at least as related to their own internal concerns) as he governed his subjects in Ireland, by parliaments of their own. Nor, if the election of representatives is "an original right, vested in, and inseparable from the freehold," as it hath been pronounced by the highest authority*; and if the impracticability of the colonists being adequately represented in the British legislature be admitted, could such a consent be with-held from them on any principle of reason and justice; unless indeed it be reasonable and just to contend, that the colonists, as having, from their remote situation, need of *greater* protection than their fellow-subjects at home, are on that account entitled to *less*.

Provincial parliaments, or colonial assemblies (it matters not by what name they are called) being thus established and recognized, we shall find that in their formation, mode of proceeding, and extent of jurisdiction within their own circle, they have constantly copied, and are required to copy, as nearly as circumstances will admit, the example of the parliament of Great Britain. The freeholders are assembled in each town or parish respectively by the king's writ; their suffrages are taken by an officer of the crown, and the persons elected are afterwards commanded, by royal proclamation, to meet together at a certain time and place in the proclamation named, to frame statutes and ordinances for the public safety. When met, the oaths of allegiance, &c. are administered unto each of them; and a speaker be-

* Lord Chief Justice Holt.

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ing chosen and approved, the session opens by a speech from the king's representative. The assembly then proceed, as a grand provincial inquest, to hear grievances, and to correct such public abuses as are not cognizable before inferior tribunals.—They commit for contempts, and the courts of law have refused, after solemn argument, to discharge persons committed by the speaker's warrant.—They examine and controul the accounts of the public treasurer;—they vote such supplies, lay such taxes, and frame such laws, statutes, and ordinances, as the exigencies of the province or colony require.—Jointly with the governor and council, they exercise the highest acts of legislation; for their penal laws, which the judges are sworn to execute, extend even to life; many persons having suffered death under laws passed in the colonies, even before they had received the royal assent. On the whole, subject to the restriction that their trade laws are not repugnant to those of Great Britain, there are no concerns of a local and provincial nature, to which the authority of the colonial laws does not extend *.

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This

* The following proceedings of the legislature of Jamaica in 1766, while it illustrates this part of my subject, cannot fail to prove highly interesting to every inhabitant of the British colonies.

To his honour Roger Hope Elletson, Esquire, his Majesty's Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief, in and over this his Majesty's island of Jamaica, &c. &c.

The humble Address of the Assembly.

May it please your honour,

'We, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the 'assembly of Jamaica, thoroughly convinced of your honour's 'readiness to hear, and inclination to redress, as much as in 'you lies, every grievance that may affect any of his majesty's 'subjects,

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This restriction was intended probably as an auxiliary to other means for preserving the unity of the empire, and maintaining the superintending and controuling power of the mother country in

' subjects, beg leave to represent to you one which calls aloud ' for immediate relief, it being in itself of the most dangerous ' and alarming nature, and having already given birth to such ' confusions and distractions in this unhappy country, as have ' not at any time before been known in it.

' Our ancestors, Sir, who settled this British colony, were ' Englishmen, and brought with them a right to the laws of ' England as their inheritance, which they did not, nor could ' forfeit by settling here. Ever since civil government was ' first established among us, which was very soon after the re- ' storation of King Charles the Second, we have enjoyed in ' this colony a constitution and form of government as nearly ' resembling that of our mother country as it was perhaps ' possible to make it; our lives, our liberties, and our proper- ' ties, secured to us by the same laws, have ever been deter- ' mined and adjudged by similar jurisdictions, and such monies ' as have been necessary for the support of his majesty's go- ' vernment here, have, as in England, ever been raised upon ' the people with their own consent given by their represent- ' atives in assembly; our courts of justice, where life, liberty, ' and property are adjudged, are governed by the same laws, ' and stand in the same degrees of subordination to one ano- ' ther, as the courts which they respectively stand for, do in ' England; our house of assembly, as representing the whole ' body of our people, does, and ever did, hold the same rank ' in the system of our constitution, as the house of commons ' does in that of our mother country; here, as in England, ' our representatives in assembly are the grand inquest of our ' community; they have the power, and it is their duty to ' enquire into the corruptions of office, the abuses of govern- ' ment, and the ill administration of justice, and for that pur- ' pose it is that this body has here, as in our mother country, ' ever enjoyed a superiority over all the courts of justice, and ' a power of examining their conduct; and all judges, magis- ' trates, and public officers, have ever been amenable to the ' assembly, and their conduct liable to its inspection; and ' here, as in England, we owe it to the wholesome and fre- ' quent exertions of such a power in the representative body of ' the people, that we are at this day a free people; without it

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in matters of trade; but it implies also a reciprocal engagement or obligation on the part of the British parliament, not to interpose its authority in matters to which the colonial assemblies are sufficiently CHAP. II.

'we can have no security or defence against the corruption of 'judges, and the abuses which may happen in every depart-'ment of administration.

'It is against a most flagrant, unprovoked, and unprece-'dented attack and violation which Mr. Lyttelton, our late 'chancellor, made upon this indubitable right of the people, 'that we now resort to your honour for redress.

'In December 1764, Pierce Cooke and Lachlan M'Neil, 'two men who had been committed by the assembly for breach 'of privilege, and were in custody of Edward Bolt, the mes-'senger of the house, by virtue of the speaker's warrant, 'did, in contempt of the power and jurisdiction of the house, 'apply in the first instance to Mr. Lyttelton as chancellor, for 'writs of Habeas Corpus upon the statute of the thirty-first 'of Charles the Second, and upon the return of the said 'writs, he did, in a Court of Chancery which he called for 'that purpose, release the prisoners, and declare as follows: "That it did not appear to him from the words of any act of "parliament, or of any act of the governor, council, and "assembly of this island, or of his majesty's commission or in-"structions to his excellency as governor of this island, or by "any other means whatsoever, that the commitment of the "said Pierce Cooke into the custody of the said Edward Bolt "is legal; and his excellency the chancellor was therefore "pleased to order, adjudge, and decree, and it is hereby order-"ed, adjudged, and decreed, That the said Pierce Cooke be, "by the authority of this court, released and discharged from "the custody of the said Edward Bolt; and did also make "the same declaration and order as to the said Lachlan "M'Neil," which orders and declarations of his, he did 'most irregularly call decrees, and order them to be enrolled 'among the records of the Court of Chancery.

'It is evident from the opinions of the ablest lawyers in 'England, ever since the passing of that statute, from the opi-'nions and declarations of judges, the uniform determinations 'of all the courts in England, and the constant declarations 'and practice of the house of commons, that the said statute 'was not, nor could be intended to extend to commitments 'by either house of parliament, and that the house of com-

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BOOK VI. sufficiently competent. With powers so extensive and efficient, these assemblies must necessarily be sovereign and supreme within their own jurisdiction; unobstructed by, and independent of all controul

'mons is the only proper judge of its own privileges and commitments; this determination of Mr. Lyttelton's, tends 'therefore manifestly to degrade the representatives of the 'people, in the system of our constitution, from that rank 'and authority which is held by the like body in our mother 'country, and if suffered to remain, would subvert the fundamentals of that system, by giving the Court of Chancery a 'power to controul the proceedings of the assembly, and by 'reducing them to a dangerous and unconstitutional dependence upon governors, would leave the people without that 'protection against arbitrary power, which nothing but a free 'and independent assembly can give them.

'Every court of justice, from the meanest quarter session, 'up to the two houses of parliament, has a power of committing for contempt, and this power requires no act of parliament to confer it, it being incident to the institution of 'every court of justice, and necessary for its existence, for it 'would be impossible to support any authority without it.

'The courts of justice here, standing in the same degrees 'of subordination to one another, as they respectively do in 'England; commitments by the inferior, may be, and frequently are, examined and determined by the superior courts; 'and as commitments by the house of commons cannot be, 'nor ever were, discharged by any of the inferior courts, so 'this extraordinary act of Mr. Lyttelton stands in our country without a precedent, such a thing having never before hit 'time been attempted.

'The power of commitment by the house of commons is 'their's by the common law, as well as their privileges, of 'which they are the only competent judges, for they judge of 'these matters by the law and usage of parliament, which is 'part of the common law.

'As all the inferior courts here enjoy and exercise the same 'powers with those they stand for in England, it is surely reasonable and just that the representatives of the people here, 'called by the same authority, and constituted for the same 'ends, should also enjoy the same powers with those of Great 'Britain.

'We beg leave to represent further to your honour, that by 'the thirty-first clause of an act of the governor, council, and

'assembly

controul from without; for nothing can be more absurd than to suppose, that a people can be subject to two different legislatures, exercising at the same time equal powers, yet not communicating with

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assembly of this island, intituled, "An act for granting a revenue to his majesty, his heirs, and successors, for the support of the government of this island, and for reviving and perpetuating the acts and laws thereof," which has received the royal approbation, it is declared, "That all such laws and statutes of England as have been at any time esteemed, introduced, used, accepted, or received as laws in this island, shall and are hereby declared to be and continue laws of this his majesty's island of Jamaica for ever;" and that the assemblies of Jamaica, as appears by their minutes, considering it their duty to assimilate their proceedings to those of the house of commons, have constantly governed themselves in cases of commitment, and in the exercise of their jurisdiction, by the law and usage of parliament, which being undoubtedly part of the law of England, the use and benefit thereof was confirmed to them by virtue of the above act beyond a possibility of doubt.

'This arbitrary measure of Mr. Lyttelton, so totally unprecedented either in England or here, so repugnant to reason, to justice, and law, and so evidently subversive of our rights, liberties, and properties, will therefore, we doubt not, be considered by your honour as it deserves to be; and as it marks that gentleman's administration with the most odious colours, so, we trust, that the destruction of it will distinguish and adorn your's.

'It is in full confidence of your honour's justice and love of liberty, that we this day, in the name and behalf of ourselves, and of all the good people in this colony, lay before your honour, the ill consequences and injustice of the aforesaid determination, and beseech you, as the only means of quieting the disturbance and apprehensions they have raised in the minds of his majesty's most loyal and faithful subjects, to give orders that the same be vacated, and the enrolment thereof cancelled from the records of the court of Chancery, in such a way, that no traces may remain of so wicked and dangerous a precedent.

'Passed the assembly the second day of July, 1766.'

The preceding application from the house of assembly having been submitted by the lieutenant governor to the council

BOOK VI. with each other, nor, from their situation, capable of being privy to each other's proceedings.

It has, I know, been urged, that the principles I have thus laid down, and the rights which I have

council for their advice, the board addressed him as follows:

The humble Address of the Council.

'May it please your honour,

'We, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the 'council of Jamaica, have, agreeably to your honour's 'message, laying before us the address of the house of assem- 'bly to your honour, taken into our serious consideration the 'subject-matter thereof: we have also examined and consider- 'ed the proceedings now in the office of the register of the 'Court of Chancery, and the determination of his excellency 'the late chancellor, touching the release of Pierce Cooke 'and Lachlan M'Neil, from a commitment of the assembly. 'Although we have the most favourable opinion of the late 'chancellor's intention in that decision, yet finding that no 'chancellor or judge in this island, ever before took upon himself 'to make any determination upon a warrant or commitment of 'either branch of the legislature, it is with concern, we ob- 'serve, that such proceeding of the late chancellor in so new, 'in so delicate a case, by discharging the said Pierce Cooke 'and Lachlan M'Neil from the commitment of the house of 'assembly, was unprecedented and irregular.

'It is also with sorrow of heart we have seen and felt this 'his majesty's colony, ever since that determination, labour- 'ing under a variety of distresses, flowing chiefly from the 'apprehensions of his majesty's subjects, that the establishing 'a precedent of this nature in the Court of Chancery, might 'lay a foundation for chancellors and judges of inferior courts 'to interfere in, and to take upon them to determine on the 'privileges of the legislative bodies of this island.

'Permit us therefore to recommend it to your honour, as 'the only expedient which we conceive will be effectual to 'quiet the minds of the people, to unite the several branches 'of the legislature, and to restore peace and tranquillity to 'this country, that you will be pleased to cause the said deter- 'mination made by the late chancellor, whereby the said 'Pierce Cooke and Lachlan M'Neil were discharged from 'their commitment, and all their proceedings thereon, to be

'brought

have allotted to the inhabitants of the Britiſh colonies, tend immediately to ſovereign and national empire, diſtinct from, and independent of, the government of the parent ſtate. It will be found, however,

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'brought before you, and in the preſence of the council and 'aſſembly, that you will be pleaſed to cauſe the regiſter of the 'ſaid court of Chancery to enter a vacatur on the ſaid deter-'mination, or otherwiſe reverſe it in the moſt effectual manner, 'ſo that the ſame may not be made uſe of as a precedent in 'future.'

On receiving this addreſs, the lieutenant governor came into council, and having commanded the attendance of the houſe in the council chamber, was pleaſed to make the following ſpeech:

'Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen 'of the Aſſembly,

'In conſequence of the addreſſes I have received from each 'of your bodies, I now meet you here, and as the determina-'tion upon record in the office of the regiſter of the Court of 'Chancery, appears to have been irregular and unprecedent-'ed, whereby the minds of the people have been greatly diſ-'quieted, and many diſtreſſes and evils have ariſen to this 'country; and having nothing ſo much at heart, as the ſup-'porting the honour and dignity of the crown, and promoting 'the peace and happineſs of the people, I have, agreeably to 'your requeſts, taken, as chancellor, ſuch order therein, that 'the ſaid proceedings, and the entry upon record thereof, are 'vacated, annulled, and made void, to all intents and purpoſes 'whatſoever; and for your further ſatisfaction herein, I have 'ordered the regiſter to attend forthwith in the council cham-'ber with the ſaid proceeding, and the book of records in 'which the ſame are entered, and that he do, in preſence of 'the three branches of the legiſlature of this iſland, enter a 'vacatur in the margent of the ſaid ſeveral proceedings, and 'the entries of the ſame in the ſaid book of records, and that 'he do in your preſence draw croſs lines over the ſaid pro-'ceedings and the entries thereof, in the uſual form and 'manner.

'This meaſure, adopted upon your united recommenda-'tion, cannot, I am perſuaded, fail of producing every happy 'conſequence, by reſtoring and firmly eſtabliſhing that har-'mony and unanimity ſo earneſtly wiſhed for, and ſo eſſentially

'neceſſary

BOOK VI. however, that the dependency of the colonies on, and their allegiance to, the crown of Great Britain, and also their proper subordination to the British parliament, are secured by sufficient ties, regulations, and restraints; some of which seem at first inconsistent even with the premises I have stated. Thus, as to the supremacy of the crown; among various other prerogatives, the king reserves to himself, not only the nomination of the several governors, the members of the council, and most of the public officers of all descriptions †, but he possesses also at the same time, as we have seen, the right of disallowing and rejecting all laws and statutes of the colonial assemblies, even after they have received the assent and approbation of his own lieutenant in the colony. Hence the affirma-

' necessary to his majesty's service, and the welfare of this ' community.'

The register of the Court of Chancery attending, being called in, and having produced the records, and read the several proceedings in the said address mentioned, he did then, by the command, and in the presence of his honour, and in the presence of the council and assembly, enter a vacatur in the margin of the said several proceedings, and draw cross lines over the said proceedings and the entries thereof, and cancelled the several papers relating thereto.

☞ It was after a long and arduous struggle, that the people of Jamaica obtained this great victory; no less than five different assemblies having been called, and abruptly dissolved, because they refused to raise the supplies, unless satisfaction was given them in this business; at length, on a change of ministers in Great Britain, the Governor (Mr. Lyttelton) was recalled, and the lieutenant governor directed to comply with their wishes, in the manner we have seen.

† This is spoken of those colonies which are called king's governments; for, before the late civil war, the governor, in a proprietary government, was named by the proprietor, subject to the restrictions contained in 7 and 8 W. III. c. 22. §. 6. and in two of the charter provinces of North America, all the officers, except those of the admiralty and customs, were chosen by the people.

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tive voice of the people in their representatives, is opposed by three negatives; the first in the council, the second in the governor, and the third in the crown; which possesses likewise the power of punishing the two former branches by dismission, if they presume to act in contradiction to the royal pleasure. CHAP. II.

Nor is the regal authority less efficient and extensive over the executive power within the colonies, than over the legislative. The governor, as I have shewn, is commonly chancellor by his office; but whether assisted by his council, or presiding solely in this high department, an appeal lies to the king in council, in the nature of a writ of error, from every decree that he makes; and the like liberty of appeal is allowed from the judgment or sentence of the governor in council, sitting as a court of error *. The reason assigned in law authorities for allowing such appeals is this:—That without them, the rules and practice of law in the colonies might by degrees insensibly deviate from those of the mother country, to the diminution of her superiority †.

Again: the king, as supreme head of the empire, has the sole prerogative of making peace

* It is necessary however in either court, first, That in cases of property the matter in dispute should be to the value of £.500 sterling, to be ascertained by affidavit. Secondly, That the appeal be made within fourteen days after judgment in the court of error, and within one month after the determination of the court of chancery, by giving security for the prosecution of it; and it is required by the lords of appeal in England, that the party appealing must proceed within twelve months after the appeal is allowed in the plantations, or the appeal is dismissed of course. A cause cannot be transmitted for difficulty, but must be determined one way or other.

† Vaughan's Reports 402. Show. Parl. C. 33.

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and war, treaties, leagues, and alliances with foreign ſtates; and the coloniſts are as fully bound by, and ſubject to, the conſequences thereof, as the inhabitants within the realm. So far is readily admitted; but another claim of the crown, ſuppoſed to reſult from the prerogative laſt mentioned—I mean, that of regulating all the colonial military eſtabliſhments both by ſea and land, quartering troops in ſuch towns and places in the plantations as the king ſees beſt, augmenting them at pleaſure, and retaining them in the colonies at all times and at all ſeaſons, as well in peace as in war, not only without, but againſt, the conſent of their aſſemblies, muſt be admitted with ſome limitation.

It is indeed aſſerted in all our law books, that the ſole ſupreme command and government of all the forces by ſea and land, and of all forts and places in all parts of the Britiſh dominions, ever was, conſtitutionally and legally, the undoubted and excluſive prerogative of the crown; but, againſt the abuſes which might poſſibly reſult from the exerciſe of a power thus extenſive and dictatorial, the ſubjects reſiding within the realm have this ſecurity, that their repreſentatives may retain in their own hands the means of ſupport of all the Britiſh forces, both maritime and military. Thus, though the king has the prerogative of commanding armies and equipping fleets, yet without the concurrence of parliament he cannot maintain them. He can declare war, but without the aſſiſtance of parliament he cannot carry it on. The royal prerogative in theſe reſpects is aptly compared by De Lolme to a ſhip completely equipped, but which the parliament, by drawing off the water, can at pleaſure leave aground.

It seems therefore naturally and necessarily to follow, that if the inhabitants of the colonies are entitled to the same rights, and have equal securities for those rights, as are enjoyed by their fellow subjects in Great Britain, there must exist some restraint against the exorbitance and abuse of the power contended for in the present case. It is to little purpose to tell the colonists, when groaning under the pressure of military government, that no military force, however legally raised and maintained, can be lawfully employed to violate their rights; as whoever holds the sword will decide upon the question of law †.

To as little purpose may our remaining colonies be told, that the parliament of Great Britain will never suffer a precedent of arbitrary power to be established in any part of the British dominions. They will probably insist, that the British parliament is not competent to judge for *them*—at least in the first instance. They may contend that those who feel, or are in danger of feeling oppression, can best determine when it may be proper to resist its attack, or to guard against its approach.

It cannot however be denied, that if parliament should be apprized that the just authority of the crown over the colonies has degenerated into ty-

† It is observable that this claim in the crown was admitted to be a grievance by the commissioners appointed, in April 1778, for restoring peace in America. In a letter from the Earl of Carlisle, Messieurs Eden and Johnstone, three of the said commissioners, to the president of the congress, dated the 9th of June, 1778, they declare a disposition to concur in such an arrangement as should provide that no military force should be kept up in the different states of North America, without the consent of the general congress or particular assemblies.

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ranny, it is not only their right, but their duty, to interpose, even on their own account; for it has been well and eloquently said, that whenever the liberties of Great Britain shall be devoted, it is probable her dissolution will not begin in the center: she will feel subjection, like the coldness of death, creeping upon her from her extremities.

Having thus pointed out some remarkable instances of colonial subordination to the king, as the sovereign head and supreme executive in the government of Great Britain and its dominions, I shall proceed to another enquiry, of no less importance (and to which indeed some of the last observations naturally lead), and that is, how far the joint authority and collective power of king, lords, and commons constitutionally extend, and, on the principles of a free government, ought to be exercised in supporting the unity of the empire, and preserving that subordination and dependance which the colonists, as fellow subjects with the inhabitants of the kingdom, owe to Great Britain and its government, in return for protection received.

It is a maxim maintained by political writers, that, in all societies, there must exist somewhere an absolute and despotic jurisdiction, unlimited and irrevocable. "This *absolute despotic* power (says Judge Blackstone) is, by the British constitution, *entrusted* to parliament," meaning to king, lords, and commons, in parliament assembled; but I conceive that the learned judge has not expressed himself on this occasion with his usual accuracy; inasmuch as all "*entrusted*" authority is necessarily *accountable*, and therefore not "*absolute* and *despotic*." The truth is, that this despotic and unlimited power is reserved by the people

people in their own hands (not to be reſorted to indeed, but in the laſt extremity) and it never was the intention of any ſociety of free agents, from the creation of the world to this day, to delegate to any man or body of men, an abſolute and deſpotic authority in all caſes over them. Such a delegation indeed, if ever it had been made, would have manifeſted inſanity in the agents, and, on that account alone, muſt have been void from the beginning.

It is univerſally admitted, that the Engliſh government, conſiſting of king, lords, and commons, is a *limited* government. It is therefore a groſs and palpable contradiction and paradox to ſay, that a *limited* government can poſſeſs *unlimited* authority. If it be aſked, by what limits its authority is reſtrained? I anſwer, by thoſe ancient, fundamental, unwritten laws, which in the act of ſettlement, are called THE BIRTHRIGHT OF THE PEOPLE. Theſe are the laws to which we allude, when we ſpeak of the *Engliſh conſtitution*, in contradiſtinction to *Engliſh acts of parliament*. It is a ſyſtem of principles tranſmitted down to us from time immemorial, and eſtabliſhed into common rights at the price of the beſt blood of our anceſtors. Such are the rights of perſonal liberty and private property, the mode of trial by jury, the freedom of worſhipping our Creator in what manner we think beſt, a ſhare in the legiſlature, and various other rights, coeval with the government; which if the legiſlature ſhould wantonly abrogate or ſubvert, they would be guilty of tyrannical and unfounded uſurpation, and the people would be juſtified, by the laws of God and nature, in reſuming into their own hands (in the laſt reſort, I admit) the truſt which has been thus violated and abuſed.

As

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As the legiſlative power of Great Britain therefore is ſupreme only in a relative ſenſe, even within the realm, where the people themſelves participate in its authority, much leſs can it be ſaid to be ſupreme, *in all caſes whatſoever*, over the colonies. It has indeed been ſolemnly declared *by parliament itſelf, that parliament has ſuch a power:* but if parliament had not the power before, certainly their own declaration could not inveſt them with it.

Conſidering the conſtituent branches of the Britiſh legiſlature ſeparately, it will be difficult to point out any juſt authority whatever, exiſting either in the peers or the repreſentatives of the people over the colonies. We have ſeen that the firſt ſettlers in moſt of the Britiſh plantations, were a part of the Engliſh people, in every reſpect equal to them, and poſſeſſed of every right and privilege at the time of their emigration, which the people of England were poſſeſſed of, and irrefragably to that great right of conſenting to all laws by which they were to be governed. The people of England therefore, or their repreſentatives, have no rights, powers, or privileges to beſtow on the emigrants, which the latter were not already poſſeſſed of equally with themſelves, had no claim to their allegiance, or any pretence to exerciſe authority over them.

As to the Engliſh peers, they are poſſeſſed of very eminent privileges; from none of which however can they communicate any advantage to the colonies. They are a court of juſtice in the dernier reſort for all appeals from the people of Great Britain; but they act in no ſuch capacity for the inhabitants of the colonies; the houſe of peers having never heard or determined cauſes in appeal from the plantations, in which it ever was,

was, and is their duty to ſerve the ſubjects within the realm. CHAP. II.

Thus, incapable from their ſituation of being admitted to a participation with the people and peers of Great Britain in the Britiſh legiſlature, the coloniſts have legiſlatures of their own, which are ſubject to the king of Great Britain, as to their own proper head. The perſon, who, by the laws of Great Britain, is king of Great Britain, is *their* king; but they owe no allegiance to the lords and commons; to whom they are not ſubjects, but *fellow* ſubjects with them to the ſame ſovereign.

Juſtly conſidering, nevertheleſs, the protection which they receive in the name of the ſovereign, *as afforded by the ſtate*, and that the colonies are parts of one great empire, of the various branches of which the king in parliament, is arbiter, controuling and regulating all intercourſe with foreign nations, they readily admit that they ſtand towards the Britiſh legiſlature in that degree of ſubordination which implies every authority in the latter, eſſential to the preſervation of the *whole*; and to the maintenance of the relation between a mother country and her colonies. "We are (ſaid the Americans) but parts of a *whole*, and therefore there muſt exiſt a power ſomewhere, to preſide and preſerve the connection in due order. This power is lodged in the Britiſh parliament." In all matters therefore, to which the local juriſdiction of any one particular colony is not competent, the ſuperintending controul of Great Britain is neceſſarily admitted; and they likewiſe admit that each and all the colonies owe contribution for protection ‡.

To

‡ The nature and extent of the ſubordination here contended for, was clearly underſtood, and is well explained, in the

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To aſcertain the various contingencies and circumſtances wherein, on the principles ſtated, the Britiſh legiſlature has, and has not, a right to interpoſe, is perhaps impoſſible; becauſe circumſtances may occur to render its interpoſition neceſſary, which cannot be foreſeen. "But although it may be difficult (ſays Governor Pownall) to draw the line of limitation, yet ſome "ſuch line there certainly muſt be, and I think "thoſe are not to be heard who affirm, that no "line can be drawn between the ſupreme autho-"rity of parliament, and no authority at all."

Nevertheleſs, it were not difficult to point out many caſes, and to imagine others, wherein the authority of parliament has been, and may again be, conſtitutionally exerted, in regard to the co-

the caſe of Ireland, by Davenant, in a treatiſe publiſhed by him ſoon after the revolution.—His words are theſe:

"The inhabitants of Ireland, from ancient conceſſions, have a privilege perhaps above the Roman colonies, namely, to tax themſelves by their own ſuffrages, within their own limits; but this is no more than what is claimed by ſeveral provinces of France, which nevertheleſs account themſelves ſubordinate to the ſovereign power of the whole ſtate.

"There is a part of empire not communicable, and which muſt reſide ſovereignly ſome where; for there would be ſuch a perpetual claſhing of power and juriſdictions, as were inconſiſtent with the very being of communities, unleſs this laſt reſort were ſomewhere lodged. Now this incommunicable power we take to be the ſupreme judgment of what is beſt and moſt expedient for the whole; and in all reaſon of government, this ought to be there truſted and lodged from whence protection is expected.

"That Ireland ſhould judge of what is beſt for itſelf, this is juſt and fair; but in determinations that are to reach the whole, as, namely, what is moſt expedient for England and Ireland both, there, without all doubt, the ſupreme judgment ought to reſt in the king, lords, and commons of England, by whoſe arms and treaſure Ireland ever was, and muſt always be defended."—Vide Davenant's Works, publiſhed by Sir Charles Whitworth, vol. ii. p. 247.

lonies,

lonies, without aboliſhing every reſtriction on the part of *governors*, and extinguiſhing every right on the part of the *governed* §. Previouſly excluding, CHAP. II.

§ Such is the general ſyſtem of the laws for regulating the commerce of the colonies; and I will now add ſome inſtances of parliamentary interference, on other occaſions, which I conceive to be conſiſtent with the principles I have laid down. Thus, when the firſt princes of the Stewart family affected to conſider the plantations as their own demeſnes, with a view of making them a ſource of revenue to themſelves, the commons oppoſed and defeated a claim which, if it had been eſtabliſhed, might have rendered the king independent of the Britiſh parliament. (See the Journals of 1624 and 1625, and Vaughan's Reports, 402.) Nobody doubts the propriety of the commons' interpoſition on this occaſion. Again, we have ſeen in the hiſtory of Barbadoes, a great miniſter (the Earl of Clarendon) impeached by the houſe of commons, among other things, for introducing an arbitrary government into the plantations. It was never alledged, that the houſe in this buſineſs exceeded the limits of its proper and conſtitutional functions. Soon after the revolution, ſome laws were paſſed by one or two of the provincial aſſemblies, which were ſuppoſed to weaken the chain that holds the colonies dependent on the mother country. This gave occaſion to a clauſe in the 7 and 8 of W. III. c. 22. which declares, "that all laws (meaning the laws for regulating trade) which are any ways repugnant to the laws of England, ſhall be deemed null and void." This, though a ſtrong, was certainly a juſtifiable exertion of Engliſh ſupremacy. By the 6th Anne, c. 30. a general poſt office is eſtabliſhed in the colonies. This may be deemed an internal regulation; but as Dr. Franklyn obſerved, it was a regulation which one colony could not make for another; and as the revenue which it raiſed was conſidered in the nature of a *quantum meruit*, a reward for ſervice (a ſervice too, which the coloniſts were not bound to accept, for a man might, if he had thought proper, have ſent his letters as before by a private meſſenger) the act was ſubmitted to. After this, ſome laws were paſſed, which were thought to bear hard upon the rights of the coloniſts. By the 5th Geo. II. c. 7. in conſequence of ſome petitions from different bodies of Engliſh merchants, complaining that the colonial laws afforded but an inadequate remedy

BOOK VI. excluding, however, every idea of its interposition in the concerns of internal legiſlation, and all other matters to which the colonial aſſemblies are ſufficiently competent; for, to the reaſons already ſtated for this abſolute excluſion, may be added, the utter impoſſibility that two different legiſlatures can, at all times, and in the ſame moment, enforce their authority on the ſame object, inaſmuch as they may happen to differ in opinion, and in that dilemma, this conſequence muſt follow; either the Britiſh muſt yield to the provincial, or prevail over it in points, for which, from the practical or conſtitutional unfitneſs of the former, the latter was formed. Such inconſiſt-

remedy for the recovery of debts; it is enacted, "that lands, "houſes, negroes, and other hereditaments, and all real "eſtate whatever, ſhould be liable to, and chargeable with, "all debts, due either to the king, or any of his ſubjects, "and be aſſets for the ſatisfaction thereof." And by the 24th Geo. II. c. 53. "the governors and aſſemblies of the "reſpective provinces are reſtrained from paſſing any act, "order, reſolution, or vote, whereby paper bills, or bills of "credit, ſhall be increaſed or iſſued." As both theſe laws were paſſed in favour of Engliſh merchants, who had advanced money for the uſe of the coloniſts, it was thought diſhonourable to object to the regulations which they eſtabliſhed. The laws were therefore ſubmitted to, but not without murmurs on the part of the provincial legiſlatures, who conſidered them as infringing their liberties. Their ſubmiſſion to them, though on very laudable principles, was afterwards quoted againſt them, and aſſigned as the beſt of all poſſible reaſons for requiring unconditional ſubmiſſion on all other occaſions.

From what has been ſaid above, and what will hereafter be ſtated on the ſubject of the commercial ſyſtem, the reader will be enabled to form ſome idea of the boundary contended for, between a conſtitutional, ſuperintending, controuling power in the Britiſh parliament, and a ſyſtem of perfect unqualified tyranny, *the power of binding the colonies in all caſes whatſoever.*

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ency would render government at once oppreſ- CHAP.
ſive and ridiculous ‖. II.

But, in a government of which freedom is the baſis, and of which it is the boaſt that it promotes, equally and impartially, the happineſs of all its ſubjects, it might be ſuppoſed that no other authority over its dependencies could be neceſſary, than that which effectually provides, that every addition to their wealth and greatneſs ſhould contribute, at the ſame time, to the augmentation of its own riches and power. And ſuch, before the late unfortunate diviſions, was the commercial ſyſtem adopted by Great Britain; and ſubmitted to by her American colonies. To diſcriminate the ſeveral parts, properties, and effects of this great arrangement of reſtriction and monopoly; to ſhew that it ſecured every degree of authority in the parent over the child, which

‖ If Great Britain had no right to interfere with the internal legiſlation of the colonies, ſhe could have had no poſſible right to tax them for the purpoſe of revenue; yet, it does not follow, that ſhe would have had a right to tax them, even if ſhe had poſſeſſed juſt authority to make laws for their internal government. "Taxation (ſaid Lord Chatham) is "no part of the governing or *legiſlative* power. Taxes are a "voluntary gift and grant of the commons *alone*. In legiſ- "lation, the three eſtates of the realm are alike concerned: "but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax, "is only neceſſary to clothe it in the form of a law. The "gift and grant is of the commons alone." It is unneceſſary to ſay more concerning the right of parliamentary taxation of the colonies, becauſe parliament itſelf (when indeed it was too late) has formally relinquiſhed the claim. By the 18th Geo. III. c. 12. the king and parliament of Great Britain declare, that from thenceforth they will not impoſe any duty, tax, &c. payable in any of the king's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America and the Weſt Indies, except for the regulation of commerce: the produce whereof is always to be applied to the uſe of the colony in which it is levied.

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is consistent with the happiness and freedom of mankind, (the ends of all just government); and finally, that it might have answered, in the fullest degree, even the objects of revenue and contribution, if Great Britain had happily confined her pretensions to the limits originally prescribed by herself——for these purposes it would be necessary to enter into a large and comprehensive discussion, to which the design of my work does not extend. How far the British sugar islands constituted a part of, and were comprized in, the general system, I shall endeavour to point out in the subsequent chapters.

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CHAP. III.

Principles on which the Nations of Europe settled Colonies in America.—Commercial regulations of Great Britain.—Remarks on the Acts of Navigation.—Admission of foreign-built Vessels eventually beneficial.—Exports from Great Britain to the Sugar Islands, and their Value.—The same from Ireland.—Wines from Madeira and the Azores.—Other Profits.—Summary of the whole.—Imports from the West Indies to Great Britain and Ireland, and their Value according to the London Prices.—Amount of British Capital vested in the Sugar Islands.—Shipping and Seamen.—General Observations.

CHAP. III.

THE establishment of colonies in America by the nations of Europe (says Montesquieu) was contrived, not in the view of building cities and extending empires; but for the purpose of carrying on trade to greater advantage than could be done with rival states. Commercial monopoly therefore, and with great reason, is the leading principle of colonial intercourse.

This account, with some little qualification, may be admitted; and a very slight enquiry will demonstrate that it applies as pointedly to the English, as to any other nation. The means indeed which Great Britain has adopted for retaining to herself the full benefit of the monopoly, have, in some cases, proved more liberal than those of rival states; but the principle by which the various nations of Europe were influenced, was precisely the same: To secure to themselves respectively, the

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the moſt important of the productions of their colonies, and to retain to themſelves excluſively, the great advantage of ſupplying thoſe colonies with European goods and manufactures, was the chief aim and endeavour of them all.

Whether the ſeveral parts of this ſyſtem, and its conſequent train of duties, reſtrictions, and prohibitions, were originally as wiſe and politic, as they are evidently ſelfiſh, is a queſtion that of late has been much controverted. But this is a diſcuſſion into which it can anſwer no good purpoſe to enter, becauſe the preſent arrangement has been too long, and is now too firmly eſtabliſhed to be abrogated; and thus much at leaſt has been truly ſaid in its favour, that it is calculated to correſpond with the regulations of foreign ſtates; for ſo long as other nations confine the trade of their colonies to themſelves, to affirm that Great Britain derives no advantage from following their example, is to contradict both experience and reaſon.

Of the commercial regulations of this kingdom, the memorable law which was paſſed in the 12th year of King Charles II. chap. 18, commonly called, by way of eminence, THE NAVIGATION ACT, may be conſidered as the foundation. By this law it is, among other proviſions, declared,

Firſt, that no goods or commodities ſhall be imported into, or exported out of, any of his Majeſty's plantations or territories in Aſia, Africa, or America, but in ſhips *belonging* to the ſubjects of England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick, or in ſuch as are of the *built of, and belonging to*, ſuch plantations, and whereof three-fourths of the mariners and the maſter are Engliſh ſubjects, on pain of the forfeiture of ſhip and cargo; and all

all admirals and commanders of king's ships are authorized to make seizure of ships offending herein. CHAP. III.

Secondly, That no person born out of the allegiance of his Majesty, who is not naturalized, or made a free denizen, shall act as a merchant or factor in any of the said places, upon pain of forfeiting all his goods and chattels.

Thirdly, That all governors, before they enter into the exercise of their office, shall take an oath to do their utmost, that the above-mentioned regulations shall be punctually and *bona fide* observed; and a governor neglecting his duty therein, shall be removed from his government.

Fourthly, That no goods or commodities whatever of the growth or manufacture of Africa, Asia, and America, shall be imported into England, Ireland, Wales, Guernsey and Jersey, or Berwick, in any other ships but those *belonging to* the said places, or to the plantations, and navigated in the manner aforesaid, under penalty of forfeiting both ship and cargo.

Fifthly, That no *sugars*, *tobacco*, *cotton*, *indigo*, *ginger*, *fustic*, or other *dying woods*, of the production of any English plantation in Asia, Africa, or America, shall be exported therefrom to any place, except to some other English plantation; or to England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick. The above commodities being named in the act are called generally *enumerated*, in contradistinction to all others of plantation growth; and,

Lastly, Bond security is required from all ships trading to or in the plantations, and lading on board such commodities, for the due observance of this part of the law.

Such, together with the conditions under which foreign-built ships were to enjoy the privilege of English ships, are the chief restrictions and provisions

BOOK VI. visions of this celebrated statute, *so far as they relate to the plantation trade*, and they are extended and strengthened by a law which passed three years afterwards, which the plantation governors are also sworn to enforce; for by the 15th of Cha. 2. c. 7. it is enacted, that no commodity of the growth, production, or manufacture of Europe, shall be imported into the British plantations, *but such as are laden and put on board in England, Wales, or Berwick*; and in *English-built* shipping, (or ships taken as prize, and certified according to a former act) whereof the master and three-fourths of the mariners are English, and carried directly to the said plantations. There is an exception however as to salt for the fisheries of New England and Newfoundland, wines from Madeira and the Azores, and horses and victuals from Ireland and Scotland; and the preamble to the act, after stating that plantations are formed by citizens of the mother country, assigns the motive for this restriction to be, "the maintaining a greater correspondence and kindness between the subjects at home and those in the plantations, *keeping the colonies in a firmer dependance upon the mother country, making them yet more beneficial and advantageous to it in the further employment and encrease of English shipping, vent of English manufactures and commodities*; rendering the navigation to and from them more safe and cheap, and making this kingdom *a staple, not only of the commodities of the plantations, but also of the commodities of other countries and places for the supply of them, it being* (continues the preamble) *the usage of other nations to keep their plantation trade to themselves**."

Ten

*. The design of this act, says Postlethwaite, was to make a double voyage necessary, where the colonies used any commodities

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Ten years after this, another act passed (25 Cha. II. c. 7.) imposing duties on sugar and other commodities* exported from one colony to another, and the following is assigned as the reason: "that the inhabitants of some of the said colonies, not content with being supplied with those commodities for their own use, free from all customs, had, contrary to law, exported considerable quantities to divers parts of Europe, and did likewise vend great quantities to the shipping of other nations, to the great injury of the trade and navigation of the parent state." For the prevention of this inconveniency in future, the duties in question are laid on the export of those commodities from the plantations; unless security be given to transport them directly to England, Berwick, or Wales. The duties were the same, I believe, as were then paid in England on most of those commodities imported for home consumption.

This act was soon found to require explanation and amendment; for the payment of the aforesaid duties having been considered in the colonies

modities of the growth and manufacture of Europe but British: for if they could not be shipped in Great Britain, they must first be brought thither from the places of their growth and manufacture, and Great Britain would consequently have the benefit, not only of that freight, but of as many ships and sailors as must be employed in bringing them from thence. It is remarkable that by this act, Ireland was indirectly deprived of the benefits allowed that kingdom by the act of navigation, for it is required, that none of the enumerated goods shall be carried from the plantations to any country or place whatsoever, until they have been first unladen and put ashore in some port or haven in *England*, *Wales*, or *Berwick*. By a subsequent act this intention was avowed, and Ireland was expressly shut out from a *direct* trade with the plantations.

* White sugar 5s. and Muscovado 1s. 6d. per cwt.; tobacco 1d. cotton-wool ½d. indigo 2d. cacao 1d. per lb.; logwood £.5. ginger 1s. the cwt.; fustic, &c. 6d.

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as an exoneration from giving ſecurity not to go to any foreign market in Europe; it was provided by the 7 and 8 W. III. c. 22, that, notwithſtanding the payment of the duties in queſtion, the ſame ſecurity ſhould be given as was required by former acts; and it was enacted and declared, that no commodities of the growth or manufacture of the plantations, ſhould, on any pretence whatſoever, be landed in Ireland or Scotland, unleſs the ſame were firſt landed in England, and had paid the rates and duties wherewith they were there chargeable by law.

By the ſame act it is declared, that no goods or merchandize whatever ſhall be imported into, or exported out of, any Britiſh colony or plantation, but in ſhips *built* in England, Ireland, or the plantations, wholly owned by Engliſh ſubjects, and navigated as before; and proviſions are eſtabliſhed concerning the regiſtering of ſhips, to prevent the fraud of paſſing foreign-built ſhips as Engliſh; together with various regulations to prevent counterfeit certificates, and frauds in the import and export to and from the colonies; for all which, reference muſt be made to the act at large, which is ſyſtematic and comprehenſive in a high degree.

Theſe acts therefore, and ſome intermediate ones, which it is not neceſſary to particulariſe, may be conſidered as ſupplemental to the navigation act, and they form altogether the foundation of our colonial code; moſt of the ſubſequent acts, now in force, being framed in the ſame ſpirit, and intended to enforce and ſtrengthen the ſyſtem; with ſome few alterations and exceptions only, which however do not extend to any great and ſubſtantial change in the principle or groundwork *.

The

* The following, I believe, are the chief additions, alterations, and exceptions, ſo far as the Britiſh ſugar iſlands are principally

The reader will find that the system embraces two distinct objects; first, the augmentation of our CHAP. III.

principally concerned. If the reader is desirous of the fullest and most correct information on this head, he is referred to the History of the Law of Shipping and Navigation, by John Reeves, Esq; an admirable work, in which the driest subjects are treated with such clearness, precision, and elegance, as to render the book not only instructive, but in a very high degree entertaining and interesting.

By statute 3 and 4 Ann, c. 5. Rice and melasses were put into the enumeration, and by c. 8. Irish linens, laden in Ireland in English-built shipping navigated according to law, were admitted into the plantations.

By 7 Ann, c. 8. Jesuits bark, and all other drugs, are permitted to be imported into Great Britain from the British plantations, on payment of the same duties as if imported *directly* from the place of their growth.

By 13 Geo. I. c. 15. and 7 Geo. II. c. 18. Cochineal and indigo were allowed for a certain time to be imported from any port or place, in British or other ships; which acts were afterwards renewed, and are now in force.

By 3 Geo. II. c. 28. Rice was permitted, under certain conditions, to be carried from South Carolina to any port of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre; a privilege afterwards extended to North Carolina and Georgia.

By 4 Geo. II. c. 15. *Non-enumerated* goods (viz. goods not enumerated in the 12 of Cha. II. c. 18.) are admitted to be imported directly into Ireland from the colonies, notwithstanding the 7 and 8 of W. III. c. 22.—Hops, by a subsequent statute, are excepted out of this indulgence.

By 12 Geo. II. c. 30. Sugars, under certain regulations and restrictions, are permitted to be carried immediately from the British plantations to any port or place southward of Cape Finisterre, and also to any foreign port of Europe in licensed ships, which are to call first at some port in Great Britain.—This was considered as a great indulgence, but the conditions and regulations on which it was granted were so strict and numerous, as to defeat in a great measure the intention of the legislature.

By 4 and 5 Geo. III. sect. 27. British plantation coffee, pimento, and cacao nuts are put into the enumeration; as are likewise whale fins, raw silk, hides and skins, pot and pearl ashes; and by sect. 28. security is required that no iron, nor

BOOK VI. our naval ſtrength, by an entire excluſion of foreign ſhipping from our plantation trade; ſecondly,

any ſort of wood called lumber, the growth, production, or manufacture of any Britiſh colony or plantation, ſhall be landed in any port of Europe except Great Britain; an exception however was afterwards made by 5 Geo. III. c. 45. by which iron might be carried to Ireland, and lumber to Madeira, the Azores, or any part of Europe ſouthward of Cape Finiſterre.

By 5 Geo. III. c. 39. Bond is required to be given in the Britiſh plantations, that no rum or other ſpirits ſhall be landed in the Iſle of Man; and by the 6 Geo. III. c. 52. ſecurity is required for all non-enumerated goods, that the ſame ſhall not be landed at any port of Europe to the northward of Cape Finiſterre, except in Great Britain, and (by a ſubſequent law) Ireland.

By 5 Geo. III. c. 52. Any ſort of cotton wool may be imported in Britiſh built ſhips from any country or place, duty free.

By the 6 Geo. III. c. 49. was eſtabliſhed the meaſure of opening free ports in Jamaica and Dominica. By this act, live cattle, and all manner of goods and commodities whatſoever (except tobacco), the produce of any foreign colony in America, might be imported into Prince Rupert's Bay and Roſſeau in Dominica, and into Kingſton, Savanna-la-Mar, Montego Bay, and Santa Lucea in Jamaica, from any foreign colony or plantation in America, in any foreign ſloop, ſchooner, or other veſſel, not having more than one deck. This act was temporary, but was afterwards continued, until materially altered by the 27 Geo. III. c. 27. wherein, among ſundry other regulations, two more ports are opened in addition to the former, viz. St. George, in the iſland of Grenada, and the port of Naſſau, in the iſland of New Providence, one of the Bahamas, into which cotton wool, indigo, cochineal, drugs of all kinds, cacao, logwood, fuſtic, and other dye woods, hides and tallow, beaver and all ſorts of furs, tortoiſe ſhell, maſt timber, mahogany, &c. horſes, aſſes, mules, and cattle, being the growth or production of any *colony or plantation* in America, belonging to or under the dominion of any foreign *European* ſovereign or ſtate, and all coin and bullion, &c. may be imported in any foreign ſloop, ſchooner, or other veſſel, not having more than one deck, and not exceeding the burden of ſeventy tons, and provided alſo that ſuch veſſel is owned and navigated

condly, the securing to Great Britain all the emoluments arising from her colonies, by a double monopoly over them: *viz.* a monopoly of their whole import, which is to be altogether *from* Great Britain: and a monopoly of all their export, which (as far as it can serve any useful purpose to the Mother Country) is to be no where but *to* Great Britain. On the same idea, it was contrived, that they should send all their products to us *raw*, and in their first state; and that they should take every thing from us in the last stage of manufacture.

Most of our commercial writers, and many of our statesmen have considered the two great leading principles above mentioned to be so closely interwoven together, and dependant on each other, as not to be disjointed without violence to

navigated by the subjects of some foreign European sovereign or state. It is permitted also to the same description of persons and vessels to export from these parts British plantation rum, negroes, and all manner of goods that had been legally imported, except naval stores and iron. The foreign articles thus permitted to be brought into the free ports by this act, may be exported again to Great Britain or Ireland; and by a subsequent law (30 Geo. III. c. 29.) the restriction in regard to the tonnage of foreign vessels is taken off, but these vessels are still limited to one deck.

The next great measure was the opening the plantation trade to the people of Ireland, which was first partially done by the 18 Geo. III. c. 55. and more fully by the 20 Geo. III. c. 10. under which they enjoy the like unlimited intercourse with the colonies, both in respect of import and export, as Great Britain; on condition only that the goods so imported and exported are made liable to equal duties and drawbacks, and subject to the same securities, regulations, and restrictions as in Great Britain; a condition to which the Parliament of Ireland consented, by passing an act imposing duties on the imports, conformably with those of Great Britain.

The regulations with regard to America, since the independence of the United States, will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

both;

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both; whereas in truth, the monopoly of our colonial products, and the advantages arising from the supply of their wants, might not only be supported, even though foreign-built veſſels were incorporated into the great body of our ſhipping, but it may eventually happen, that both our trade and navigation would be greatly improved and extended by ſuch a meaſure.

That the maintenance of our naval ſtrength is one of the moſt important objects to which the Britiſh government can direct its attention, no perſon of common underſtanding will venture to diſpute; and ſo long as Great Britain can herſelf furniſh ſhipping on the cheapeſt terms, ſufficient for all the great branches of her commerce, every poſſible encouragement ought undoubtedly to be given to our own ſhipwrights, and every diſcouragement to the participation of foreigners in the ſhip-building trade: But it is the intereſt of the merchant to get his freight as cheap as poſſible; it is equally ſo of the manufacturer; becauſe every increaſe in the price of ſhipping and freight, operates as a tax upon the commodities ſhipped, and affects the foreign demand in proportion. If therefore, from progreſſive improvements in our agriculture and manufactures, the two great founders and employers of ſhipping, the maritime commerce of all the Britiſh dominions ſhall at any time require a greater number of ſhips than Great Britain and her dependencies can furniſh on any ſaving terms, either recourſe muſt be had to foreign vehicles, or our trade, like the victims of Procruſtes, muſt be lopped and ſhortened to make it ſuit the meaſure of our own *.

Navigation

* "Can it be reconciled to common ſenſe to aſſert, that if the Americans, or any other people, were to offer us 500 ſail of veſſels every year *gratis*, it would be againſt the intereſt of the

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Navigation and naval power are the *children*, not the *parents* of commerce; for if agriculture and manufactures, and mutual wants, did not furniſh the ſubject-matter of intercourſe between diſtant countries, there muſt be an end to navigation. The remark therefore of a very diſtinguiſhed ſenator *, concerning that branch of our commercial ſyſtem of which we are now treating, appears to be undoubtedly true, "that if the navigation act be ſuffered to run the full length of its principle, and is not changed and modified according to the change of times, and fluctuation of circumſtances, it muſt do great miſchief, and frequently even defeat its own purpoſe †.

Having

the nation (as a nation) to accept them, becauſe it might prove detrimental to ſome individuals among us (our ſhipwrights, &c.)? If the argument will not hold good, conſidered in this extended light, it can never, by a parity of reaſon, be admitted in caſes where veſſels can be purchaſed at one-half the price it would coſt to build them."—Vide a Short Addreſs from a Manufacturer, on the Importance of the Trade of Great Britain with the United States of America.—Printed for Stockdale, 1785.

* Mr. Burke.

† An American writer of a periodical work called the *Muſeum*, publiſhed at Philadelphia, in 1791, having been informed, that France had permitted the introduction of American veſſels into her trade, (in which, however, he was miſtaken) expreſſes the following ſentiments; which, to my underſtanding, convey conviction in every word. "If France "(ſaith he) had rejected American veſſels, ſhe would have ſo "far ſacrificed her carrying trade to the manufacture of ſhips. "She wiſely purchaſes, upon the cheapeſt terms, *the cradles* "for her marine nurſery. The firſt and great object of the "maritime powers ought to be, *the increaſe of the number of* "*their ſailors*, which is beſt done by multiplying the chances "of their employment. Among the means of doing this, "one of the moſt obvious and rational is, *the multiplication of* "*veſſels*. The French-built ſhips coſt from fifty-five to ſixty "dollars per ton, when fitted to receive a cargo, excluſive of

"ſea

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Having observed thus much on the leading principles, or general system of our colonial trade, the application whereof will hereafter be seen, I shall now proceed to the more immediate object of our present researches, and endeavour to furnish the reader with some leading *data*, or facts, whereby to appreciate the value and importance of the British sugar islands, and the commerce which they create; by investigating,

1st. The nature and annual amount of the export trade from Great Britain, and her dependencies, for the supply of their wants, and the profits of the British merchants and ship owners thereon.

2dly. The particulars and value of the various rich commodities, the growth of these islands, annually imported into Great Britain, Ireland, &c.

" sea stores, insurance, the charges of lading, outward pilot-
" age, and other expences incidental to the employment,
" and not to the building and outfit of a vessel. The Ame-
" rican live-oak and cedar ships, to which none are superior,
" cost in the same situation, from thirty-three to thirty-five
" dollars, finished very completely. If the French require
" 10,000 tons of new vessels, on any occasion, or in any term of
" time, they may be procured in the United States, on a com-
" putation of the medium price of thirty-four dollars per ton,
" for the sum of 340,000 dollars: but, if bought at fifty-five
" dollars, the lowest price in France, they would cost the
" much greater sum of 550,000 dollars. No argument is
" necessary to shew, that such a nation, *ceteris paribus*, must
" produce seamen more rapidly than those who refuse these
" cheap vessels. It would appear much less unreasonable, that
" the government of the United States should prohibit the
" sale of ships *(the means of obtaining naval strength)* to foreign
" nations, than that any of them should reject the great ad-
" vantage of so cheap and excellent a supply." Such is the reasoning of this author, and it is no proof that his arguments are weak, because the circumstance which gave rise to them did not exist.

3dly.

3dly. The value of the ſugar iſlands conſidered as ſo much Britiſh capital. CHAP. III.

4thly. A ſtate of the ſhipping and ſeamen to which the Britiſh ſugar iſlands afford employment.

A full enumeration of the various articles which furniſh the ſhips bound to the Weſt Indies with an outward freight, would indeed compriſe a conſiderable proportion of almoſt all the productions and manufactures of this kingdom, as well as of many of the commodities imported into Great Britain from the reſt of Europe and the Eaſt Indies. The inhabitants of the ſugar iſlands are wholly dependant on the mother country and Ireland, not only for the comforts and elegancies, but alſo for the common neceſſaries of life. In moſt other ſtates and kingdoms, the firſt object of agriculture is to raiſe food for the ſupport of the inhabitants; but many of the rich productions of the Weſt Indies yield a profit ſo much beyond what can be obtained from grain, that in ſeveral of the ſugar iſlands, it is true œconomy in the planter, rather to buy proviſions from others, than to raiſe them by his own labour. The produce of a ſingle acre of his cane fields, will purchaſe more Indian corn than can be raiſed in five times that extent of land, and pay beſides the freight from other countries. Thus not only their houſehold furniture, their implements of huſbandry, their clothing, but even a great part of their daily ſuſtenance, are regularly ſent to them from America or Europe. On the firſt head therefore, it may generally be obſerved, that the manufacturers of Birmingham and Mancheſter, the clothiers of Yorkſhire, Glouceſterſhire, and Wilts, the potters of Staffordſhire, the proprietors of all the lead, copper, and iron works, together

BOOK VI. together with the farmers, victuallers, and brewers, throughout the kingdom, have a greater vent in the British West Indies, for their respective commodities, than perhaps they themselves conceive to be possible. Who would believe that woollens constitute an article of great consumption in the torrid zone? Such however, is the fact. Of the coarser kinds especially, for the use of the negroes, the export is prodigious. Even sugar itself, the great staple of the West Indies, is frequently returned to them in a refined state; so entirely do these colonies depend on the mother country; centering in her bosom all their wealth, wishes, and affections.

To the laudable researches of the lords of the committee of council on the subject of the slave trade, the public have been lately indebted for such a body of evidence and information respecting the general commerce of the British West Indies, as could not possibly have been collected by any exertions less extensive and efficient than those of government ‡. I have frequently had recourse to their lordships report in former parts of this work, and shall refer to it on this occasion.

From that authority it appears, that the value of the exports from Great Britain to the British West Indies, in the year 1787 (since which time they certainly have not diminished) amounted to £.1,638,703 13*s.* 10*d.* the whole of which (except about £.200,000) consisted of British goods and manufactures. The exports of the same year to Africa, which, with all subsequent profits, must be charged to the same account, amount

‡ Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council on the Slave Trade, 1789.

to

to £.668,255 14s. 4d. § Besides this, the cost is to be stated of manufactures and provisions from Ireland, and of wines from Madeira and the Azores; the same having hitherto been purchased by British capitals, and conveyed to the West Indies in vessels trading circuitously from British ports, and the returns likewise made, for the most part, to Great Britain. For the same reason, the cost and freight of lumber, fish, and other productions of America, both from the American states and the British provinces, transported from thence to the British sugar islands, in British vessels, must likewise be added to the estimate.

Concerning Ireland, I have no account for 1787, but the reader will find, in an Appendix to this volume, official accounts for the years 1790, 1791, and 1792, as well of the exports from that kingdom to the British West Indies, as of the imports received from thence in return; both in a direct trade. Of the former, the average value is £.294,353 Irish, being equal to £.277,218 sterling: the amount of the imports will be given hereafter.

Of wines, from Madeira and the Azores, the yearly consumption in these islands may be estimated, on an average, at £.30,000.

Respecting America, the supplies that were annually furnished by those provinces which now constitute the United States, were valued, at the

§ The goods shipped for the purchase of gum, ivory, and gold, in the trade direct between Africa and Great Britain, constitute some small part of this; but I make no deduction on that account, because the freight of, and merchants commissions on, such part as are applied to the purchase of slaves, and the profits on the sale of those slaves in the West Indies, not being charged in the inspector general's books, I set one against the other.

places

BOOK VI. places of delivery, at no less than £.720,000 sterling; and they consisted of articles so essentially necessary, that the restrictions to which this trade is now subject (how grievously soever they are felt by the planters) have not, I think, diminished the demand, or lessened the import ‖. Official accounts of the present state of this intercourse are no where given to the public: a retrospective survey of its nature and extent, as it subsisted previous to the war, will be given in the subsequent chapter.

There are yet to be reckoned the imports from the remaining British American provinces, including Newfoundland; of which, in like manner, no account, that I have seen, has been published. Supposing they were equal in value to the West Indian commodities shipped thither in return (a conjecture probably not very wide of the truth) the sum to be charged on this account for 1787, is £.100,506 17*s.* 10*d.* *

I shall now bring into one point of view the several great items that have been enumerated; adding to the British and Irish supply 20 *per cent.* for the cost of freight and insurance outwards, the charges of shipping, commissions to the merchant-exporter in some cases, and the profits in others of the merchant-importer in the West

‖ Jamaica, for a while, found some resource within itself for staves and lumber, but the country is, I believe, by this time nearly exhausted of those articles. The profit to Great Britain arising from the freight alone of the whole supply, is stated by the lords of the privy council at £.245,000 *per annum.*

* Much the greater part of this sum is for fish from Newfoundland; the import of that article from thence into the British West Indies, on an average of five years, (1783 to 1787, both inclusive) having been 80,645 quintals, worth at the ports of delivery about 17*s.* 6*d.* the quintal.

Indies;

Indies; all which contribute to swell the debt of the planters to Great Britain, *viz.*

	£.	s.	d.	£.
Exports from Great Britain, direct	1,638,703	13	10	
— from Ireland	277,218	—	—	
	1,915,921	13	10	
Add 20 per cent. for freight, &c. &c.	383,184	6	2	
				2,299,106
Exports to Africa for the purchase of negroes	—	—	—	668,255
— from Madeira and the Azores	—			30,000
— United States of America				720,000
— British America	—			100,506
Total	—			3,817,867

Perhaps it were no excess to state the whole amount at this time at four millions of pounds sterling. Hence then appears the vast dependance of the British West Indian colonies on their parent country, for almost every thing that is useful and ornamental to civilized life; and it was justly observed, by the accurate and intelligent Mr. Glover, that such a market for the vent of our manufactures, furnishes irrefragable proof, that, through whatever channel riches have flowed into those colonies, that influx hath made its passage to the mother country, "not (continued he) like the dash of an oriental torrent, but in salubrious, various, placid, and copious streams; refreshing and augmenting sober industry by additional employment to thousands and ten thousands of families, and lightening the burthen upon rents, by reducing the contributions of parishes to poverty unemployed."

But

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But it is not so much by the exports to, as by the imports from, the Sugar Islands, that we are to judge of their value: every article of their products and returns being in fact as truly British property, as the tin which is found in the mines of Cornwall; and their staples are the more valuable, inasmuch as they differ from the commodities produced at home: for they supply the mother country, not only with what she must otherwise purchase from foreigners for her own use, but with a superfluity besides for foreign consumption. Let us now then, as proposed, enquire into the particulars, and estimate the value of their various productions and commodities with which Great Britain and her dependencies are annually supplied. Here too, I might refer to the year 1787, and avail myself, as I have done in the history of each particular island, of the very exact, comprehensive, and valuable statement of the returns of that year, as prepared by the inspector-general of the exports and imports, with the marketable price of each article, as annexed by the committee of the privy council to their report on the slave trade; but I choose rather to look to the year 1788 chiefly, because the exports of any one year are set properly against the imports of the succeeding one; it being usual, in most articles of British export to the West Indies, to give twelve or sixteen months credit.

The imports into Great Britain from the British sugar islands in 1788, and the value thereof, will appear in the following table. The quantities are taken from the inspector general's return †; but that officer has not, in this case, as

† Report of the Privy Council, part iv.

in the account of the former year, affixed the marketable prices §. Theſe therefore are collected from the opinions of reſpectable brokers, on a low average of the year; the miſcellaneous articles excepted, which ſtand as ſtated by the inſpector-general, with the addition of one-third, being the uſual diſproportion between the actual prices current, and thoſe in the cuſtom-houſe books.

§ The marketable prices, are the current prices after the duties have been cleared; and theſe are paid on importation, except as to the duties and exciſe on rum, which is permitted to be bonded. The latter therefore cannot be ſaid to be paid by the planter in the firſt inſtance, as in the former caſe they certainly are, and nine times out of ten are *not* refunded by the conſumer, as will hereafter be demonſtrated.

IMPORTS

IMPORTS from the Britiſh Weſt Indies into Great Britain, in 1788.

Sugar, Montſerrat, Nevis, and St. Kitt's	—	Cwt. 142,542 at 47s.	£. s. d. 369,973 14 —		
Antigua	Cwt. 181,813				
Grenada	193,783				
		375,596 at 46s.	863,870 16 —		
St. Vincent's, Tortola, and Anguilla	164,976				
Jamaica	1,124,017				
		1,288,993 at 44s.	2,835,784 12 —		
Barbadoes	110,955				
Dominica	47,610				
		158,565 at 45s.	356,771 5 —		
	Cwt.	2,065,696		£	4,626,400 7 1
Rum, Jamaica	Gallons. 2,917,797	at 2s. 2d.	316,094 13 6		
other iſlands	728,645	at 2s.	72,864 10 —		
					388,959 3 6
Coffee	Cwt. 32,283	at 96s.	—		154,958 — 1
Cotton	lbs. 11,618,382	at 14d.	—		677,738 19 1
Ginger, Jamaica	Cwt. 3,892	at 30s.	5,838 — —		
Barbadoes	5,755	at 44s.	12,661 — —		
					18,499 — 1
Miſcellaneous articles valued at the cuſtom-houſe prices	—	—	446,322 15 5		
Add one-third, the uſual difference between the prices in the inſpector-general's books, and the current prices at market	—	—	155,440 18 5		
					621,763 13 10
		Total		£.	6,488,319 11 4

The

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The amount is £. 6,488,319 11s. 4d. and this sum is altogether exclusive of bullion, of which the annual import from these islands into Great Britain is very considerable: it is presumed that, £.320,000 is a moderate average, which being added to the foregoing, gives a total of £.6,808,319 11s. 4d. I will call it six million eight hundred thousand pounds only; and the calculation is confirmed by the testimony of a merchant of the first character and ability; who, in his evidence before a committee of the house of commons, has fixed on this sum as the amount of the imports into Great Britain from the British West Indies for the same year *.

Of the imports into Ireland and America, &c. directly from these islands, in 1788, no account, that I have seen, has been given to the public. I shall therefore adopt, from the authority of the inspector general, those of the year preceding, which stand thus:

To Ireland † —	£.127,585	4	5
American States	196,460	8	—
British American colonies —	100,506	17	10
Foreign West Indies	18,245	12	6
Africa — —	868	15	—
Total	£.443,666	17	9

Add this sum to the British import, and the whole yearly value of the produce of the British West Indies,

* See the evidence of George Hibbert, Esquire, merchant in London, before a select committee of the house of commons, appointed to take examinations on the slave trade, 20th March, 1790.

† In official accounts before referred to of the Irish exports and imports, and subjoined at length in an Appendix to this volume, it appears that the value of the goods imported into

BOOK VI. Indies, exclusive of what is consumed by the inhabitants themselves, is seven million two hundred and forty-three thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds seventeen shillings and nine-pence sterling; all which is produced by the labour of 65,000 whites, and 455,000 blacks, being one hundred and eleven pounds for each white person, and thirteen pounds eighteen shillings and six-pence per head, per annum, for man, woman, and child, black and white, throughout all the British West Indies.

From this immense supply, the revenues of Great Britain and Ireland received, in gross duties, upwards of £.1,800,000 sterling, exclusive of the duty of 4½ per cent. collected in Barbadoes, and some other of the islands, and which being paid in kind, is, I presume, included in the general imports above stated. Of the remainder, we have already seen how large a share was the property of the manufacturer, the merchant, and the navigator. A further sum, not less than £.1,037,000, must be placed to the same account, for freights and insurance homewards, commissions on the sale, and a long train of other charges. The balance, reduced, as it necessarily must be, by such a multiplicity of claims and deductions, to a very small proportion of the gross returns, is paid over to the planters, their agents, mortgagees, or annuitants, most of whom are resident in Great Britain, and by whom it is partly employed in extending cultivation in the West Indies, and partly expended or invested in the mother country; in the one case giving vigour to indus-

Ireland from the British West Indies, has of late years greatly increased. In 1790 they amounted to £. 169,563 8s. 10d.—in 1791 to £. 218,589 1s. 10d.—and in 1792 to £. 225,774 14s. 3d. These sums are the currency of Ireland.

try,

try, in the other upholding the price of Britiſh lands, or the credit of the Britiſh funds. With great truth, therefore, did the merchants and planters declare to the houſe of commons, "that the ſugar colonies, and the commerce thereon dependant, have become the moſt conſiderable ſource of navigation and national wealth out of the limits of the mother country; and that no part of the national property can be more beneficially employed for the public, nor are any intereſts better entitled to the protection of the legiſlature, than theirs *."

CHAP. III.

I ſhall now ſtate the value of this great property, conſidered as Britiſh capital. In the report of the privy council, it is eſtimated at ſeventy millions of pounds ſterling, as follows: viz.

	£.
450,000 negroes at £.50 per head — —	22,500,000
Lands, buildings, utenſils, mules, &c. and crop on the ground, double the value of the negroes	45,000,000
Value of the houſes, &c. in the towns, the trading and coaſting veſſels, and their crews belonging to the iſlands — —	2,500,000
Total	70,000,000

Another

* The following are the particulars of freight and inſurance homewards, commiſſions, &c. as enumerated in the valuable chain of evidence by George Hibbert, Eſquire, before referred to, viz.

	£.
Received by the ſhip owners, for freight homewards, about — — —	560,000
Underwriters, for inſurance	150,000

BOOK VI. Another mode propoſed by their lordſhips of aſcertaining the capital, is to reckon twelve years purchaſe on its annual produce, it being, they obſerve, not unuſual in the Weſt Indies, to ſell eſtates at that price. I think that the ſale of Weſt Indian eſtates at *ten* years purchaſe, is much more common; and reckoning the mercantile value of the capital at ſeven millions *per annum*, the reſult, by this mode of calculation, agrees preciſely with that of the former; a circumſtance which gives room to conclude, that it is nearly as accurate as the ſubject will admit.

There yet remains to be added, a brief ſtate of the ſhipping and ſeamen to which the ſugar colonies directly give employment; and it appears that the number of veſſels which in the year 1787 cleared from the ſeveral Britiſh Weſt Indian iſlands for Great Britain and Ireland (including 14 from Honduras) were 689, containing 148,176 tons, and navigated by 13,936 men, being about nine ſeamen to every 100 tons: an extent of ſhipping nearly equal (as I have elſewhere obſerved) to the whole commercial tonnage of England a century ago. At the ſame time it is not to be overlooked, that the ſeamen ſo employed, being in conſtant ſervice, are always at command; and on this account, they are a more valuable body of men than even the ſeamen employed in the Newfoundland fiſhery; of whom a great proportion remains in the country during the winter, and cannot therefore, on any ſudden emer-

	£.
Received by the Britiſh merchants and brokers, for commiſſions, &c.	232,000
Wharfingers, &c. including primage — —	95,000
	1,037,000

gency,

gency, be added to the naval force of the king- CHAP. III.
dom *.

On a retrospect of the whole, it may be truly affirmed, that the British sugar islands in the West Indies, (different in all respects from colonies in northern latitudes) answer in every point of view, and if I mistake not, to a much greater extent than is commonly imagined, all the purposes and expectations for which colonies have been at any time established. They furnish (as we have seen) a sure and exclusive market for the merchandize and manufactures of the mother country and her dependencies, to the yearly amount of very near four millions of pounds sterling. They produce to an immense value,

* The French writers state the number of ships employed in *their* West Indian trade at 600, and the average of their burthen at 300 tons one with another: their seamen at 15,000. The following account of the average imports from the French sugar islands, and the duties paid thereon, was published in 1785, viz.

AVERAGE IMPORTS.

130,000 casks of sugar valued at	90,000,000	livres.
60 millions of pounds of coffee	45,000,000	
2 millions of pounds of indigo	18,000,000	
1½ million of pounds of cacao	1,000,000	
3 millions of pounds of cotton	6,000,000	
Total	160,000,000	

DUTIES.

Droits de domaine d'occident	5,600,000	livres.
Droits d'octroi a l'Amerique	7,344,000	
Duties on sugar refined in France	4,592,000	
Duties on coffee	750,000	
Duties on indigo	37,500	
Total	18,323,500	

and

BOOK VI.

and in quantities not only sufficient for her own consumption, but also for a great export to foreign markets, many valuable and most necessary commodities, none of which interfere in any respect with her own productions; and most of which, as I shall demonstrate hereafter, she cannot obtain on equal terms elsewhere:—accompanied too with this peculiar benefit, that in the transfer of these articles from one part of her subjects to another part, not one shilling is taken from the general circulating wealth of the kingdom. Lastly, they give such employment to her ships and seamen, as while it supports and increases her navigation in time of peace, tends not in the smallest degree to obstruct, but, on the contrary, contributes very eminently to aid and invigorate, her operations in war. It is evident therefore, that in estimating the value and importance of such a system, no just conclusions can be drawn, but by surveying it *comprehensively*, and *in all its parts*, considering its several branches as connected with, and dependant on each other, and even then, the sum of its advantages will exceed calculation. We are told indeed, among other objections which I shall consider more at large in the concluding chapter of my work, that all the products of the British West Indies may be purchased cheaper in the colonies of foreign nations. If the fact were true, as it certainly is not, it would furnish no argument against the propriety and necessity of settling colonies of our own; because it must be remembered, that foreign nations will allow few or none of our manufactures to be received in their colonies in payment; that their colonists contribute in no degree, by the investment and expenditure of their profits, to augment the national wealth, nor, finally, do they give

give employment exclusively to British shipping. To what extent the naval power of Great Britain is dependant on her colonial commerce, it is difficult to ascertain. If this trade be considered in all its channels, collateral and direct, connected as it is with our fisheries, &c. perhaps it is not too much to affirm, that it maintains a merchant navy on which the maritime strength of the kingdom so greatly depends, that we should cease to be a nation without it *.

* The following is a comparative view of the two greatest branches of the British commerce; the East and West Indian trades.

East Indian Trade.	West Indian Trade.
Capital employed. *Eighteen millions.*	Capital employed. *Seventy millions.*
Value of goods exported annually to India and China, both by the company and their officers. *One million and a half.*	Value of goods exported from Great Britain and her dependencies, including the profit of freight on the several branches of supply, insurance, &c. *Three millions eight hundred thousand pounds.*
Import sales by the company, and sales under licence. *Five millions.*	Imports into Great Britain and Ireland, and shipped to other parts, the profits of which center in Great Britain. *Seven millions two hundred thousand pounds.*
Duties paid to government, customs, &c. *Seven hundred and ninety thousand pounds.*	Duties paid to government. *One million eight hundred thousand pounds.*
Chartered shipping of the company. *Eighty thousand tons.*	Shipping employed direct. *One hundred and fifty thousand tons.*

But the great difference arises from the circumstance that the trade to the West Indies is carried on with our own colonial possessions, which the settlements in the East never were, nor ever can, be considered.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Trade between the Britiſh Weſt Indies and North America previous to the late Civil War.—Official Account of American Supplies, and their Value.—Ships and Seamen.—Returns.—Advantages reſulting from this Trade to Great Britain.—Meaſures adopted by Government on the Re-eſtabliſhment of Peace.—Proclamation of the 2d July, 1783.—Petitions from the Weſt Indies.—Oppoſition of the Settlers in Nova Scotia, &c. and the Ship-builders at Home.—Reference to the Committee of Privy Council.—Evidence taken by the Committee.—Their final Opinion thereon.—Proceedings of Government.—Deſtruction of Negroes in the Weſt Indies in conſequence.—Act of the 28 Geo. III. Ch. 6.—Preſent State and Value of the Trade between the Britiſh Weſt Indies and the remaining Britiſh Provinces in America.—The ſame with the United States of America.—Inference from the Whole.

BOOK VI.

HAVING purpoſely reſerved for ſeparate diſcuſſion, the commercial intercourſe between the Britiſh Weſt Indies and North America, I ſhall now proceed to inveſtigate its nature and extent, as it ſubſiſted previous to the late unfortunate civil war: and offer ſome conſiderations on the policy of Great Britain, in the regulations and reſtrictions (as they affected the ſugar iſlands) which government afterwards thought proper to adopt concerning it, in conſequence of the acknowledgment of American independency: after which,

which, I shall endeavour to furnish an account of the present state of the West Indian trade, both with the United States, and the continental colonies yet remaining to Great Britain. CHAP. IV.

It may, I think, be affirmed, without hazard of contradiction, that if ever there was any one particular branch of commerce in the world, that called less for restraint and limitation than any other, it was the trade which, previous to the year 1774, was carried on between the planters of the West Indies and the inhabitants of North America. It was not a traffic calculated to answer the fantastic calls of vanity, or to administer gratification to luxury or vice; but to procure food for the hungry, and to furnish materials (scarce less important than food) for supplying the planters in two capital objects, their buildings, and packages for their chief staple productions, sugar and rum. Of the necessity they were under on the latter account, an idea may be formed from the statement in the preceding chapter of the importation of those commodities into Great Britain; the cultivation of which must absolutely have stopped without the means of conveying them to market.

For the supply of those essential articles, lumber, fish, flour, and grain, America seems to have been happily fitted, as well from internal circumstances, as her commodious situation; and it is to a neighbourly intercourse with that continent, continued during one hundred and thirty years, that our sugar plantations in a great measure owe their prosperity; insomuch that, according to the opinion of a very competent judge *, if the continent had been wholly in the hands of a foreign power, and the English precluded from all com-

* Mr. Long.

merce

BOOK VI.

merce or intercourse with it, it is a very doubtful point, whether, in such case, we should at this hour have possessed a single acre of land in the West Indies.

The following is an official account of the total import from North America into the British West Indian islands for the years 1771, 1772, and 1773, attested by Mr. Stanley, secretary to the commissioners of customs in London, dated the 15th of March, 1775.

An Account of the total Import from North America into the British West Indian Islands, in the Years 1771, 1772, and 1773.

Species of Goods.		From the United States.	From Canada and Nova Scotia.	From Newfoundland.
Boards and Timber,	Feet	76,767,695	232,040	2,000
Shingles,	No.	59,586,194	185,000	
Staves,	No.	57,998,661	27,350	
Hoops,	No.	4,712,005	16,250	9,000
Corn,	Bushs.	1,204,389	24	
Peafe and Beans,	Do.	64,006	1,017	
Bread and Flour,	Bbls.	396,329	991	
Ditto,	Kegs	13,099		
Rice,	Bbls.	39,912		
Ditto,	Tierces	21,777		
Fish,	Hhds.	51,344	449	2,307
Ditto,	Bbls.	47,686	664	201
Ditto,	Quintals	21,500	1,958	11,764
Ditto,	Kegs	3,304	609	
Beef and Pork,	Bbls.	44,782	170	24
Poultry,	Doz.	2,739	10	
Horfes,	No.	7,130	28	
Oxen,	No.	3,647		
Sheep and Hogs,	No.	13,815		
Oil,	Bbls.	3,189	139	118
Tar, Pitch, and Turpentine,	Do.	17,024		
Masts,	No.	157		
Spars,	No.	3,074	30	

Shook

Species of Goods.		From the United States.	From Canada and Nova Scotia.	From Newfoundland.
Shook Casks - -	No.	53,857	40	141
Soap and Candles,	Boxes	20,475		
Ox Bows and Yokes, - -	No.	1,540		
House Frames, -	No.	620		
Iron, - -	Tons	399¼		

Of this great supply, the value at the ports of delivery, including freight, was £.2,160,000 sterling, or £.720,000 annually; consisting of about 1,200 annual cargoes; but it is proper to observe, that the vessels employed in this trade (which were generally sloops and schooners, single-decked, and without topmasts) commonly made two, and sometimes three voyages in the year; so that the actual number never exceeded in any one year 533, which were navigated by 3,339 seamen, including negroes: of the latter, the number was estimated at about 1,000. Thus, the shortness and cheapness of the navigation in a great degree supported the trade.

The chief articles with which the British West Indian islands supplied America, in return for the produce of that continent, were sugar, rum, melasses, and coffee. Of rum, the quantity annually shipped thither, before the war, on an average of three years, was 2,800,000 gallons; and the quantity of melasses was 250,000 gallons. This last may be considered as so much additional rum, each gallon of melasses producing an equal quantity of spirit of the American proof, which augmented the annual supply of that article to 3,050,000 gallons. The supply of sugar was estimated at 5,000 hogsheads, of 16 cwt.; and of coffee, at about 400,000 lbs. The value of the whole (including some other small articles) was £.420,000 sterling, leaving a balance of £.300,000 in

BOOK VI. in favour of the Americans, which was commonly paid in dollars, or bills of exchange, furniſhing them ſo far with the means of remittance to Great Britain, in reduction of their debts to the Britiſh merchants.

From this account of the exports from the Britiſh Weſt Indies to the continental colonies, it appears that America, beſides affording an inexhauſtible ſource of ſupply, was alſo a ſure market for the diſpoſal of the planters *ſurplus* productions; ſuch, I mean, for which there was no ſufficient vent in Europe, eſpecially rum; the whole importation of that article into Great Britain and Ireland, having been little more than half the quantity conſumed in America. On whatever ſide therefore this trade is conſidered, it will be found that Great Britain ultimately received the chief benefits reſulting from it; for the ſugar planters, by being cheaply and regularly ſupplied with horſes, proviſions, and lumber, were enabled to adopt the ſyſtem of management not only moſt advantageous to themſelves, but alſo to the mother country. Much of that land which otherwiſe muſt have been applied to the cultivation of proviſions, for the maintenance of their negroes and the raiſing of cattle, was appropriated to the cultivation of ſugar. By this means the quantity of ſugar and rum (the moſt profitable of their ſtaples) had increaſed to a ſurpriſing degree, and the Britiſh revenues, navigation, and general commerce, were proportionably augmented, aggrandized, and extended. Having an advantageous market for their rum, the planters were enabled to deal ſo much the more largely with the mother country. On the other hand, the Americans, being annually indebted to Great Britain for manufactures, in a larger ſum than their returns of tobacco,

bacco, indigo, rice, and naval ſtores were ſufficient to diſcharge, made up the deficiency, in a great degree, by means of their circuitous trade in the Weſt Indies, foreign as well as Britiſh; and were thus enabled to extend their dealings with Great Britain. Thus the effect was juſt as advantageous to her, as if the ſugar planter himſelf had been the purchaſer to the ſame amount, inſtead of the American. CHAP. IV.

Such having been the nature, neceſſity, and advantage of this commercial intercourſe, there was certainly every reaſon to expect that, on the termination of hoſtilities, the ſyſtem which had unavoidably been interrupted and deranged during the war, would revive as of courſe, and be re-eſtabliſhed under every poſſible encouragement.

By what means this reaſonable expectation proved ill-founded and abortive, and the fatal conſequences which flowed from the meaſures reſorted to by the Britiſh government, I ſhall now proceed to point out.

The preliminary articles of peace were ſigned at Verſailles, on the 27th of January, 1783; ſoon after which, the Houſe of Commons having paſſed a vote of cenſure on the treaty (with what regard to juſtice or conſiſtency, it is not my buſineſs at preſent to inquire) this event was followed by the reſignation of the miniſtry by whom the treaty was adjuſted. The new adminiſtration, it may be preſumed, had too many objects to attend to, on their firſt elevation to power, to find leiſure for conſidering the buſineſs of a commercial treaty with America. As, however, it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to repeal the prohibitory laws which had exiſted during the war, this was done by an act paſſed for that purpoſe; but as to the reſt,

parliament

BOOK VI. parliament took the ſhorteſt courſe poſſible to ſave themſelves trouble, by veſting in the crown, for a limited time, authority to regulate the commerce with America in ſuch manner as his Majeſty in council ſhould deem expedient *.

New and extraordinary as it certainly was, that ſuch extenſive authority ſhould be delegated by parliament to the executive power, neither this circumſtance, nor the proclamation, or order of council, that iſſued in conſequence of it, on the 2d of July, 1783 (afterwards renewed annually) excited much inquiry. Although by this proclamation, the importation into the Britiſh Weſt Indies of every ſpecies of naval ſtores, ſtaves, and lumber, live-ſtock, flour, and grain of all kinds, the growth of the American ſtates, was confined to Britiſh ſhips legally navigated; and the export to thoſe ſtates of Weſt Indian productions, was made ſubject to the ſame reſtriction; while many neceſſary articles (as ſalted beef and pork, fiſh, and train oil) formerly ſupplied by America, were prohibited altogether, it was conſidered as a meaſure merely temporary and experimental; and until a plan of permanent regulation ſhould be agreed to by both countries, it was thought neither impolitic nor unjuſt, that Great Britain ſhould reſerve in her own hands the power of reſtraining or relaxing her ſyſtem of commercial arrangements, as circumſtances might ariſe to render the exerciſe of ſuch a power prudent and neceſſary.

In theſe reaſons the Weſt Indian merchants, and ſuch of the planters as were reſident in Great Britain, acquieſced; but on the firſt meeting of a new parliament, in May 1784, (another change having taken place in the mean time in the Britiſh adminiſtration) the buſineſs of a commercial in-

* Vide Stat. 23 Geo. III. c. 39.

tercourſe

tercourſe between the Weſt Indies and the States of America, preſſed itſelf on the attention of government with a force which was not to be reſiſted. Petitions, complaints, and remonſtrances, were poured in from almoſt every iſland in the Weſt Indies. Some of the petitioners repreſented that they had not ſix weeks proviſions in ſtore, and all of them anticipated the moſt dreadful conſequences, if the ſyſtem of reſtriction ſhould be much longer perſiſted in; expecting nothing leſs than a general revolt of their ſlaves, in the apprehenſion of periſhing of hunger. CHAP. IV.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of the remaining continental colonies, eſpecially ſuch of the new ſettlers there as were emigrants from the United States, promiſed to themſelves the acquiſition of ſudden and immenſe riches from the vaſt advance of price which it was foreſeen their few exports, when no longer depreſſed by competition, would obtain at thoſe markets. Every exertion, public and private, was therefore made by their friends in Great Britain, to convince adminiſtration, and innumerable pamphlets were circulated to ſatisfy the public, that the Weſt Indies might be very amply ſupplied with every article of North American produce (rice excepted) from Canada, Nova Scotia, and the Iſland of Saint John. Hence they not only ſtrenuouſly recommended a ſteady adherence to the ſyſtem of reſtriction on the part of Great Britain, but openly expreſſed their wiſhes, that the United States might retaliate, by prohibiting, in return, Britiſh ſhips from trading in the ports of America. They declared, that ſuch a determination on the part of the United States, would at once raiſe Canada and Nova Scotia from the ground, and execute that meaſure which wiſe men wiſh for, "as the ſyſtem that Great Britain

"ought

BOOK VI. "ought ſpontaneouſly to adopt *;" meaning, I preſume, to cut off all intercourſe whatever with her late revolted ſubjects. The complaints and remonſtrances of the Weſt Indians, they treated as the turbulence of diſappointed faction. They accuſed them, while "wallowing in wealth," of having abetted the American rebellion †, and their apprehenſions of a ſcarcity of food were ſpurned at and ridiculed, as if hunger was no part of our nature.

It is impoſſible, I think, not to perceive in theſe, and ſimilar arguments, a lurking taint of reſentment and malignity, the relics of former provocation againſt the Americans; and at leaſt as ardent a deſire to wound the new republic, through the ſides of the Weſt Indians, as to benefit Nova Scotia at their expence. Theſe paſſions are among the frailties of our nature, and may be forgiven. But there was another, and a numerous claſs of people, who ſtood forward on this occaſion, in ſupport of the ſyſtem of reſtriction and monopoly, on different ground: theſe were the ſhipbuilders, ſhip owners, and their various dependants in London; who affected to believe, that if American ſhips were ſuffered to take ſugar from our iſlands, they would convey it—not to America, but—to foreign countries, and rob us of the carriage of it; or they might, it was alledged, enter into a competition with Britiſh ſhips for the freight of goods to Great Britain. To this it was anſwered, that a limitation of tonnage to ſhips employed in the American intercourſe, to which the planters would not object, confining it to veſſels having only one deck, and not exceeding ſeventy or eighty tons, muſt ſatisfy the moſt

* See Mr. Chalmers's Tract, entitled, "Opinions on Intereſting Subjects," &c. † Ibid.

ſcrupulous

ſcrupulous on that head; inaſmuch as ſuch veſſels could never be employed in tranſporting ſugar acroſs the Atlantic, nor could they be got inſured if ſuch attempts ſhould be made. But although this anſwer muſt have ſatisfied every well-informed and conſiderate perſon, it was found inſufficient to ſilence the clamour which at that time was induſtriouſly propagated on the ſubject of the carrying trade, as if the future exiſtence of the commercial navigation of Great Britain had been involved in the diſcuſſion.

The conſideration of the whole matter was referred by the miniſter to the lords of the committee of privy council for the affairs of trade, by whom many of the Weſt Indian merchants and planters, reſident in Great Britain, were interrogated on the ſubject; and the writer of this had the honour to be of the number. It was readily admitted by the ſugar planters, that, on every principle of honour, humanity, and juſtice, the unfortunate loyaliſts of Canada and Nova Scotia were entitled to a preference of their cuſtom, provided thoſe provinces poſſeſſed, in any degree, the means of ſupplying their wants; but this, they contended, was the main point in diſpute. They therefore requeſted, that before any permanent regulations ſhould be adopted by government, inquiry might be made, 1ſt. How much of the annual conſumption of American ſtaples, thoſe provinces had ſupplied hitherto? And, 2dly. how far, from their preſent, or probably future, ſituation, they might be ſuppoſed capable of exceeding their former produce and exports?

Such an inquiry was accordingly entered upon, and abundance of evidence collected on the ſubject; when it appeared, from the cuſtom-houſe returns, that of 1208 cargoes of lumber and pro-

BOOK VI. visions imported from North America into the British sugar colonies, in 1772, only seven of those cargoes were from Canada and Nova Scotia; and that of 701 topsail vessels, and 1681 sloops, which had cleared outwards from North America to the British and foreign West Indies, only two of the topsail vessels, and eleven of the sloops, were from those provinces. It stood therefore incontrovertibly proved, that, previous to the war, the supplies which they afforded, did not amount to a proportion of the whole consumption of the sugar islands, in any degree worthy national attention; and, on the second ground of inquiry, it was shewn respecting Canada, not only that the navigation of the river Saint Lawrence was so greatly obstructed by the ice in the winter, and by westerly winds in the summer, as to render more than one voyage in the year impracticable; but that in the province itself, the climate renders the crops of wheat altogether precarious. It was proved, that in the years 1779, 1780, 1781, and 1782, the scarcity in Canada had been such, as to occasion the export of all bread, wheat, and flour, to be prohibited by authority; and it was shewn that, at the very time of the inquiry, a ship in the river Thames was actually loading with flour for Quebec. On the whole, it appeared that, although in favourable seasons (as in 1774) there might sometimes be found an overplus of grain, beyond the consumption of the inhabitants, yet that a regular and sufficient supply could by no means be depended on from that province; that the frequency of disappointment must prove an insurmountable obstruction to new inhabitants settling there with a view to the cultivation of wheat; and, with regard to lumber, the price of labour in Canada was such, as to cut off all hopes of supply

ſupply from thence, even if the navigation had been ſubject to no delay and obſtacle whatever.

Reſpecting Nova Scotia, it was ſhewn that it never had, at any one period, produced grain ſufficient for the ſuſtenance of its inhabitants: it had never exported any lumber worthy the name of merchandize; and ſo far from having any to export, it appeared that a conſiderable importation into the province was at that time taking place, from the oppoſite ſide of the bay of Fundy, to enable the new ſettlers at Port Roſeway to build houſes for their own reſidence.

Laſtly, as to the iſland of Saint John, it was proved that, like Nova Scotia, it had never yet furniſhed food enough to keep its few inhabitants alive, nor exported any one article the produce of the iſland. Its ſituation, within the gulph of Saint Lawrence, ſhut it up from all intercourſe during five months of the year; and its fogs, more prevalent and durable than even thoſe of Nova Scotia, rendered the country too uncomfortable for population, while land remained unoccupied in happier climates.

The advocates for the prohibitory ſyſtem, however, were not eaſily ſilenced. They declared it would be more for the intereſt of Great Britain, that the Weſt Indians ſhould be deprived of American ſupplies altogether, rather than, by receiving them from the United States in American veſſels, contribute to aggrandize the naval power of the new republic. They maintained, that the ſugar iſlands had reſources within themſelves, which, with occaſional aid from Great Britain, might enable them to exiſt very comfortably, even though the accuſtomed intercourſe with all parts of the American continent was entirely cut off. If not, it was triumphantly aſked, in what man-

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ner were they supported during the war, when all regular communication with the United States was suppressed?

In reply to this objection, it was proved that the British sugar islands, during the war, had been very badly supplied, both with lumber and provisions; and at an expence which, if it had continued, would have been equally ruinous with the not being supplied at all. Their chief resource was the American vessels that had been captured in their way to the French islands; a resource which had terminated with the war, and at best proved so uncertain and inadequate, that many of the British islands had been driven by necessity to the worst of all applications (as British colonists) of their labour; the raising provisions, and cutting lumber upon their own estates. Instead of directing their attention to the culture of those valuable and bulky staples which contribute, in so eminent a degree, to form the dignified mass of support which the British navigation derives from her distant colonies, they had been compelled to change their system: They had abandoned the cultivation of sugar, and applied their land and labour to the purposes of raising food. In what degree the British navigation and commerce had suffered by this measure, the custom-house books would demonstrate:—From that authority it would appear, that in 1777, previous to the capture by the French of any of the sugar islands, the import of sugar into England only, had fallen short of the import of 1774 upwards of 45,000 hogsheads, of 16 cwt.; in value nearly one million, creating a loss in freight of £.150,000 on that article alone, and a defalcation in the public revenue of £.300 a day, for every day in the year! Here then, it was said, was a full and satisfactory

factory refutation of the popular clamour on the subject of the carrying trade. Compared with these losses, and their consequences to every part of the empire, so inconsiderable, so truly contemptible was the trifling interference of American shallops, carrying food to invigorate the hungry labourer, and timbers to repair mills and houses, that it seemed not to be an object deserving a moment's solicitude in the breast of a great nation. CHAP. IV.

Such were, in part, the evidence and arguments offered on behalf of the West Indies; and if the question had met with unprejudiced and temperate discussion, I am inclined to think, notwithstanding the jealous and monopolizing spirit of traffic, that regulations widely different from the present system of restriction and exclusion towards America, would have been established; but, unfortunately, the private interests of some, and the prejudices and passions of others, were allowed to mingle in the investigation. I am aware that, in common cases, it ill becomes an undistinguished individual to arraign the wisdom and propriety of the national councils; but although there is a degree of respect due to men in authority, which I would willingly preserve, yet I dare not maintain it either by the violation or the suppression of truth. The consequences which flowed from the proceedings recommended and adopted on this occasion, will presently be seen; and they cannot be remembered with indifference. To suppress facts, therefore, in which the interests of humanity are so deeply concerned, is to sacrifice both the dignity and utility of history; the great end of which is to make the errors and misconduct of one set of men, a lesson and a warning to their successors.

The

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The caſe was, to ſpeak plainly and undiſguiſedly, that the committee of council, to whom the conſideration of this important buſineſs devolved (with the beſt intentions I believe, for it cannot be ſuppoſed that they wiſhed to injure the Weſt Indian colonies) ſuffered themſelves to be guided in their reſearches by men who had reſentments to gratify, and ſecret purpoſes to promote. Some of theſe, were perſons whom America had proſcribed for their loyalty, and unjuſtly deprived of their poſſeſſions. That they had become, on this account, objects of compaſſion, and claimants on the public of Great Britain, I have no wiſh to deny; but, without doubt, they were the laſt men in the world whoſe opinions ſhould have been adopted, concerning the eſtabliſhment of a ſyſtem of reciprocity and conveniency between this country, and that which they had left. To ſuppoſe that ſuch men were capable of giving an impartial and unbiaſſed teſtimony in ſuch a caſe, is to ſuppoſe they had diveſted themſelves of the common feelings of mankind.

The firſt inquiries of the committee of council (thus influenced) were directed to diſprove the aſſertions contained in an addreſs of the aſſembly of Jamaica, concerning the diſtreſs in which that iſland was ſtated to be, at that time, involved, from the want of proviſions and lumber. Although thoſe aſſertions were abundantly confirmed by the declarations and ſubſequent conduct of the governor himſelf, to whom the addreſs was preſented *; their lordſhips reported, that the aſſembly were by no means warranted in the ſtrong terms they had uſed; it appearing, they ſaid, "from private letters laid before them, that the ſcarcity complain-

* Sir Arch. Campbell.

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ed of *did not exist.*" When their lordships were humbly desired to communicate the names of the parties who had written such letters, that some judgment might be formed what degree of credit was due to their testimony, against that of the legislature of the colony, they refused, with tokens of manifest displeasure, to disclose them. CHAP. IV.

Their lordships, in the next place, proceeded to estimate the resources of Canada and Nova Scotia; and, in contradiction to the evidence and conclusions which had been given and adduced by the West Indian merchants and planters, they asserted, in general terms, "that the exportation of grain from Canada would revive and increase, provided the West Indian market was secured to the inhabitants of that province;" and they added, "that several persons of great experience, were of opinion, that an annual export of 300,000 bushels might in a few years be depended on." They admitted that the natural impediments in the navigation of the river Saint Lawrence, might affect the supply of lumber, but denied that this circumstance would injure the trade in flour. They stated "that Nova Scotia would be able in about three years to supply great quantities of lumber, and most of the other articles which the West Indies are in want of from North America, provided grants of land were properly made and secured to the inhabitants; for that (although the sea coast is rocky and barren) the interior parts, and the banks of the rivers, have as fine a soil as any part of the world, *admirably fitted for dairy farms, and the growth of garden vegetables.*"

They averred, "that the climate of Nova Scotia is fine and healthy; that the new settlers were industrious, and that the neutral French who still remain (when no longer in a precarious state with

BOOK VI. respect to the government under which they are to live) would probably follow the example of the new settlers, and learn from them to improve the country; especially if due encouragement should be given to their industry, by securing them proper markets. Their lordships were further assured, from good authority, that upon the like encouragement, the population of Nova Scotia would be increased.

Such a detail of probabilities, provisoes, and possible contingencies, with the mention, among other resources, of *dairy farms and garden vegetables*, seemed, to the disappointed planters, something very like derision and mockery. They complained, that instead of assurances of relief, they were put off with airy conjectures, with frivolous *ifs* and *may be's*; with promises inconsistent with the laws of nature, and with declarations negatived both by experience and reason!

In truth, the argument which appeared to have most weight with their lordships themselves, was that which (tacitly admitting all expectation of supply from Canada and Nova Scotia to be chimerical and delusive) took for granted, that by excluding American ships from the ports of the West Indies, Great Britain would find full employment for as many additional vessels as America formerly employed in that commerce, and reap all the profits which America reaped, of which they calculated the freightage alone, at the annual sum of £.245,000 sterling.

On the whole, the lords of the committee strongly recommended a strict and rigid adherence to the measure of confining the intercourse between our West Indian Islands and America, to British ships only, as a regulation of absolute necessity; considering any deviation from it, as exposing

exposing the commerce and navigation of Great Britain to the rivalry of revolted subjects, now become ill affected aliens. They expressed, indeed, some apprehension, lest the congress of the United States might retaliate, by prohibiting in return British vessels from being the carriers between them and the British West Indies; but seemed to think this circumstance not very probable, inasmuch as the people of the United States would, in that case, they said, suffer much more than any of his Majesty's subjects; a conclusion not very decisive; the experience of all ages abundantly proving, that considerations of interest are frequently overpowered by motives of resentment. CHAP. IV.

These doctrines and opinions of the lords of the committee of council were unfortunately approved and adopted in their fullest extent by the British government; and the only solitary hope which now remained to the inhabitants of the West Indies was, that the apprehension of their lordships, concerning American retaliation, was ill founded; and that the United States, notwithstanding the prohibitory system of Great Britain, would still open their ports to British shipping; and freely indulge them with the liberty of importing the products of the British sugar islands; carrying away American produce in return. The planters could not indeed but foresee a very great expence, delay, and uncertainty, attending such circuitous navigation; but to this they were prepared to submit, as the only alternative of escaping inevitable and impending destruction.

But there was this misfortune attending the sugar planters, that their wants were immediate; and of a complexion affecting not only property, but life. Whatever resources might ultimately be

BOOK VI. be found in the opulence and faculties of the mother country, it was impoſſible, in the nature of things, to expect from ſo diſtant a quarter an adequate ſupply to a vaſt and various demand, coming ſuddenly and unexpectedly. Many of the ſugar iſlands too had ſuffered dreadfully under two tremendous hurricanes, in 1780 and 1781, in conſequence whereof (had it not been for the caſual aſſiſtance obtained from prize veſſels) one-half of their negroes muſt abſolutely have periſhed of hunger. Should ſimilar viſitations occur, the moſt dreadful apprehenſions would be realized; and I am ſorry to add, *that realized they were!*

I have now before me a report of a committee of the aſſembly of Jamaica, on the ſubject of the ſlave trade, wherein the loſs of negroes in that iſland, in conſequence of thoſe awful concuſſions of nature, and the want of ſupplies from America, is incidently ſtated. It is a document of the beſt authority; and the following extract from it, while it abundantly acquits the Weſt Indian merchants and planters from the charge of turbulence and faction, which on this occaſion was illiberally brought againſt them, will, I hope, ſerve as an awful leſſon to future miniſters how they ſuffer the ſelfiſhneſs of party, and the prejudice of perſonal reſentment, to have an influence in the national councils.

"We ſhall now (ſay the committee) point out the principal cauſes to which this mortality of our ſlaves is juſtly chargeable. It is but too well known to the houſe, that in the ſeveral years 1780, 1781, 1784, 1785, and 1786, it pleaſed Divine Providence to viſit this iſland with repeated hurricanes, which ſpread deſolation throughout moſt parts of the iſland; but the pariſhes which

which ſuffered more remarkably than the reſt, were thoſe of Weſtmoreland, Hanover, Saint James, Trelawny, Portland, and Saint Thomas in the Eaſt. By theſe deſtructive viſitations, the plantain walks, which furniſh the chief article of ſupport to the negroes, were generally rooted up, and the intenſe droughts which followed, deſtroyed thoſe different ſpecies of ground proviſions which the hurricanes had not reached. The ſtorms of 1780 and 1781 happening during the time of war, no foreign ſupplies, except a trifling aſſiſtance from prize-veſſels, could be obtained on any terms, and a famine enſued in the leeward parts of the iſland, which deſtroyed many thouſand negroes. After the ſtorm of the 30th of July, 1784, the Lieutenant Governor, by the advice of his council, publiſhed a proclamation, dated the 7th of Auguſt, permitting the free importation of proviſions and lumber in foreign bottoms, for four months from that period. As this was much too ſhort a time to give ſufficient notice, and obtain all the ſupplies that were neceſſary, the ſmall quantities of flour, rice, and other proviſions, which were imported in conſequence of the proclamation, ſoon roſe to ſo exorbitant a price as to induce the aſſembly, on the 9th of November following, to preſent an addreſs to the Lieutenant Governor, requeſting him to prolong the term until the latter end of March 1785; obſerving, that it was impoſſible for the natural productions of the country to come to ſuch maturity as to be wholeſome food, before that time. The term of four months not being expired when this addreſs was preſented, the Lieutenant Governor declined to comply therewith; but on the 1ſt of December following, the houſe repreſented, that a prolongation of the

term

BOOK VI. term was then absolutely necessary: They observe that, persuaded of the reluctance with which his honour would be brought to deviate from regulations which he felt himself bound to observe, it would give them much concern to address him on the same occasion a second time, were they not convinced that it was in a case of such extreme necessity as to justify such a deviation. Accordingly, the Lieutenant Governor, by the advice of his Majesty's council, directed, that the time formerly limited should be extended to the 31st of January then next ensuing (1785): but, at the same time, he informed the house, that he was not at liberty to deviate any longer from the regulations which had been established in Great Britain.

From the 31st of January, 1785, therefore, the ports continued shut, and the sufferings of the poor negroes, in consequence thereof, for some months afterwards, were extreme: Providentially, the seasons became more favourable about May, and considerable quantities of corn and ground provisions were gathered in by the month of August; when the fourth storm happened, and the Lieutenant Governor immediately shut the ports against the exportation of any of our provisions to the French and Spanish islands, which were supposed to have suffered more than ourselves; but not thinking himself at liberty to permit the importation of provisions in American vessels, the productions of the country were soon exhausted, and the usual attendants of scanty and unwholesome diet, dropsies and epidemic dysenteries, were again dreadfully prevalent in the spring and summer of 1786, and proved fatal to great numbers of the negroes in all parts of the country.

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On the 20th of October in that year, happened the fifth dreadful hurricane, which again laid waſte the leeward pariſhes, and completed the tragedy. We decline to enlarge on the conſequences which followed, leſt we may appear to exaggerate; but having endeavoured to compute, with as much accuracy as the ſubject will admit, the number of our ſlaves whoſe deſtruction may be fairly attributed to theſe repeated calamities, and the unfortunate meaſure of interdicting foreign ſupplies, and for this purpoſe compared the imports and returns of negroes for the laſt ſeven years, with thoſe of ſeven years preceding, we heſitate not, after every allowance for adventitious cauſes, to fix the whole loſs at fifteen thouſand: THIS NUMBER WE FIRMLY BELIEVE TO HAVE PERISHED OF FAMINE, OR OF DISEASES CONTRACTED BY SCANTY AND UNWHOLESOME DIET, BETWEEN THE LATTER END OF 1780, AND THE BEGINNING OF 1787." CHAP. IV.

Such (without including the loſs of negroes in the other iſlands, and the conſequent diminution in their cultivation and returns) was the price at which Great Britain thought proper to retain her excluſive right of ſupplying her ſugar iſlands with food and neceſſaries! Common charity muſt compel us to believe (as I verily *do* believe) that this dreadful proſcription of ſo many thouſand innocent people, the poor, unoffending negroes, was neither intended nor foreſeen by thoſe who recommended the meaſures that produced it. Certainly no ſuch proof was wanting to demonſtrate that the reſentments of party too frequently ſuperſede the common feelings of our nature. It is indeed true, that the evil did at length in ſome meaſure furniſh its own remedy: The inhabitants of Jamaica, by appropriating part of their lands and

BOOK VI. and labour to the raiſing of proviſions, and the hewing of ſtaves, found ſome reſource within themſelves; and, happily for the other iſlands, the United States did not, as was apprehended, adopt any ſcheme of retaliation; ſo that Britiſh veſſels ultimately obtained the profits of the carriage (whatever it was) between the Weſt Indies and America; and thus at length the ſyſtem became recognized and confirmed by the legiſlature *.

But,

* By the 28th Geo. III. c. 6. which took effect the 4th of April 1788, it is enacted, "That no goods or commodities whatever ſhall be imported or brought from any of the territories belonging to the United States of America, into any of his Majeſty's Weſt India Iſlands (in which deſcription the Bahama Iſlands, and the Bermuda, or Somers Iſlands, are included) under the penalty of the forfeiture thereof, and alſo of the ſhip or veſſel in which the ſame ſhall be ſo imported or brought, together with all her guns, furniture, ammunition, tackle, and apparel; except tobacco, pitch, tar, turpentine, hemp, flax, maſts, yards, bowſprits, ſtaves, heading, boards, timber, ſhingles, and lumber of any ſort; horſes, neat cattle, ſheep, hogs, poultry, and live ſtock of any ſort; bread, biſcuit, flour, peaſe, beans, potatoes, wheat, rice, oats, barley, and grain of any ſort, ſuch commodities, reſpectively, being the growth or production of any of the territories of the ſaid United States of America: And that none of the goods or commodities herein before excepted, enumerated, and deſcribed, ſhall be imported or brought into any of the ſaid iſlands from the territories of the ſaid United States, under the like penalty of the forfeiture thereof, and alſo of the ſhip or veſſel in which the ſame ſhall be ſo imported or brought, together with all her guns, furniture, ammunition, tackle, and apparel, except by Britiſh ſubjects and in Britiſh-built ſhips, owned by his Majeſty's ſubjects, and navigated according to law. By another clauſe, none of the aforeſaid articles are to be brought from any of the foreign iſlands, under the like penalty, except in times of public emergency and diſtreſs, when the governors of any of our iſlands, with the advice and conſent of the council, may authorize the importation of them by Britiſh ſubjects in Britiſh-built ſhips for a limited time." Such is the law as it now ſtands with regard

But, whatever benefit has accrued to the mother country, from the regulations and arrangements which the Britiſh parliament thus confirmed and perpetuated, it is certain that her remaining colonies in North America, at whoſe inſtance and for whoſe benefit, the ſcheme of excluſion and reſtriction was principally promoted, derived few or none of thoſe advantages from the meaſure, which they had promiſed to themſelves in the outſet. They diſcovered, when it was too late, that the decrees of Providence were irrevocable. The river Saint Lawrence remained, as uſual, locked up ſeven months in the year by an impenetrable barrier of ice; and Nova Scotia ſtill continued devoted to inexorable ſterility; ſo much ſo indeed, that the very men who, in 1784, had confidently repreſented this province as being capable, in the courſe of three years, of ſupplying all the Weſt Indies with lumber and proviſions, found it neceſſary, at the end of thoſe three years, to apply for and obtain the inſertion of a clauſe in the prohibitory act, to authoriſe the admiſſion of both lumber and proviſions into that province from the United States. On this circumſtance it is unneceſſary to anticipate the reflections of the reader!

In conſequence of this permiſſion, there were ſhipped in the year 1790, from the United States to Nova Scotia alone, 540,000 ſtaves and head-

gard to the import of American articles into the Britiſh Weſt Indies: Concerning the export of Britiſh Weſt Indian produce to the United States, it is permitted to export, in ſhips Britiſh-built and owned, any goods or commodities whatſoever, which were not, at the time of paſſing the act, prohibited to be exported to any foreign country in Europe, and alſo ſugar, melaſſes, coffee, cocoa-nuts, ginger, and pimento; bond being given for the due landing of the ſame in the United States.

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ing, 924,980 feet of boards, 285,000 ſhingles, and 16,000 hoops; 40,000 barrels of bread and meal, and 80,000 buſhels of grain; an irrefragable proof that Canada had no ſurplus of either lumber or grain beyond her own conſumption, or undoubtedly the Canadian market would have been reſorted to, in preference to that of the United States. And thus vaniſh all the golden dreams and deluſive promiſes of a ſufficient ſupply from Canada and Nova Scotia to anſwer the wants of the Weſt Indies; and the predictions of the planters and merchants have been verified and confirmed by the experience of years. I regret that I am unable to furniſh the reader with an accurate account of the actual exports from thoſe provinces to the Weſt Indies ſince the war (the report of the committee of council on the ſlave trade, though fraught with information in all other caſes that relate to the commerce of the colonies, being ſilent on this head) or of the fiſh which they ſend annually to the ſugar iſlands.—The quantity of this latter article imported into the Britiſh Weſt Indies from Newfoundland, on an average of four years (1783 to 1786, both incluſive) was 80,645 quintals*.

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* The imports into Jamaica from Canada, St. John's, and Nova Scotia, between the 3d of April, 1783, and the 26th of October, 1784, have been ſtated in a Report of the Aſſembly of that Iſland. The negative catalogue is very copious. No flour,—no ſhip-bread or biſcuit, no Indian corn, or other meal,—no horſes, cattle, ſheep, hogs, or poultry.—The only proviſions were, one hundred and eighty buſhels of potatoes, and 751 hogſheads and about 500 barrels of ſalted fiſh,—rather a ſcanty allowance for the maintenance of 30,000 white people, and 250,000 blacks, for the ſpace of nineteen months!—Of lumber, &c. the quantity was 510,088 feet, 20 bundles of hoops, and 301,324 ſhingles.——Previous to the war, on an average of the five years from 1768 to 1772, the whole imports into

The exports, for the year 1787, from the British sugar islands to all our remaining American possessions, Newfoundland included, consisted of 9,891 cwt. of sugar, 874,580 gallons of rum, 81 cwt. of cacao, 4 cwt. of ginger, 26,380 gallons of melasses, 200 lbs. of piemento, 575 cwt. of coffee, 1,750 lbs. of cotton wool, and some small articles, fruit, &c. of little account; the value of the whole, agreeably to the current prices in London, was £.100,506 17s. 10d. sterling, and the shipping to which it gave employment was nominally 17,873 tons, navigated by 1,397 seamen.—As this however includes repeated voyages, the quantity of tonnage and the number of men must be reduced one half.

To the United States of America the same year the exports in British shipping were these: 19,921 cwt. of sugar, 1,620,205 gallons of rum, 124 ¾ cwt. of cacao, 339 cwt. of ginger, 4,200 gallons of melasses, 6,450 lbs. of piemento, 3,246 lbs. of coffee, 3,000 lbs. of cotton wool, 291 hides, and 737 barrels of fruit.

The value in sterling money, according to the prices current in London, was £.196,460 8s. as hath been stated in the former chapter *. The amount of the freight on these exports, and also on American productions supplied the West Indies, is the monopoly which Great Britain has exacted by her late regulations. It cannot therefore be said, that if she has lost much, she has gained nothing; but estimating her profit at the

into Jamaica from Canada, Nova Scotia, and St. John's, were 33 barrels of flour, 7 hogsheads of fish, 8 barrels of oil, 3 barrels of tar, pitch, and turpentine, 36 thousand of shingles and staves, and 27,235 feet of lumber.

* Number of vessels (including repeated voyages) 386, tonnage 43,380, men 2,854.

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utmoſt, to what does it amount, compared with the coſt of the purchaſe? Admitting it even to ſtand at the ſum fixed by the committee of council *, how ſubordinate is ſuch a conſideration, when placed in competition with the future growth and profitable exiſtence of our ſugar iſlands, the whole of whoſe acquirements center in the boſom of the mother country, enriching her manufactures, encouraging her fiſheries, upholding the credit of her funds, ſupporting the value of her lands, and augmenting, through a thouſand channels, her commerce, navigation, revenues, ſtrength, wealth, and proſperity!

On the whole, it is a conſideration of very ſerious importance, that the benefits of the preſent reſtraining ſyſtem are by no means commenſurate to the riſk which is incurred from it. Jamaica, it is true, in time of ſcarcity, may find ſome reſource within herſelf, and America has not yet adopted, and perhaps may not adopt, meaſures of retaliation; but it muſt always be remembered, that every one of the Weſt Indian iſlands is occaſionally ſubject to hurricanes, and many of them to exceſſive droughts, which, by deſtroying all the products of the earth, leave the wretched negroes no dependance but on imported proviſions ſupplied them by their owners. Antigua has been frequently rendered by this calamity a ſcene of deſolation, as it was particularly in 1770, and twice again in the years 1773 and 1778. Should the ſame irreſiſtible viſitation overtake theſe unfortunate countries hereafter,—as the planters have no veſſels of their own, and thoſe of America are denied admittance into their ports,—how are even the moſt opulent among them to avert

* £.245,000 ſterling.

from

from their unhappy labourers the miseries of famine, which in a like case swept off such numbers in Jamaica? Concerning the permission that is held out to the planters to resort, in time of emergency, to the foreign islands, it is so manifestly nugatory, that I choose not to speak of it in the language which my feelings would dictate *.

Compared with the danger thus impending over the feeble and defenceless Africans, the inconveniency which of late has been felt and com-

* Under the present limited intercourse with America (exclusive of the uncertainty of being supplied at all) the West Indians are subject to three sets of devouring monopolists. 1st. The British ship-owners. 2d. Their agents at the ports in America. 3d. Their agents or factors at the chief ports in the islands, all of whom exact an unnatural profit from the planter; by which means those most essential necessaries, staves and lumber, have risen in price no less than 37 per cent. as the following comparative table will demonstrate:

Prices of staves, lumber, &c. at Kingston, Jamaica, during two periods; the first from 1772 to 1775 (both years inclusive) the second from 1788 to 1791.

		1772.	1773.	1774.	1775.
		£. s.	£. s.	£. s.	£. s.
Red Oak Staves	*per* M.	8 —	8 —	8 10	9 —
White Oak Staves	*per* M.	9 10	9 10	10 —	11 —
Pitch-pine Lumber	*per* M.	8 —	9 —	9 10	10 —
Common Lumber	*per* M.	6 10	7 10	8 10	9 10
22 Inch Shingles	*per* M.	2 —	2 5	2 10	0 10

		1788.	1789.	1790.	1791.
		£. s.	£. s.	£. s.	£. s.
Red Oak Staves	*per* M.	14 10	14 —	10 10	12 —
White Oak Staves	*per* M.	15 —	15 —	11 —	12 —
Pitch-pine Lumber	*per* M.	14 —	12 5	11 10	12 —
Common Lumber	*per* M.	13 —	10 —	9 10	10 —
22 Inch Shingles	*per* M.	3 —	3 —	2 15	2 15

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plained of in Great Britain, from the high price of Weſt Indian commodities, deſerves not the conſideration of a moment. It is the neceſſary and unavoidable conſequence of our own arrangements. Yet, perhaps, it is this circumſtance alone that comes home to our feelings; and to this cauſe, more than to any other, I verily believe, may be attributed the clamour which has been induſtriouſly excited againſt the planters, concerning their ſuppoſed ill uſage of their negroes. Diſcontent at the high price of ſugar, is called ſympathy for the wretched, and the murmurs of avarice become the dictates of humanity. What inconſiſtency can be more groſs and lamentable! We accuſe the planter of cruelty to his ſlaves, and contemplate at the ſame time, with approbation or indifference, our own commercial policy, under which many thouſands of thoſe unhappy people have already periſhed, and to which (I grieve to add) many thouſands more will probably fall a ſacrifice!

☞ THE following Memorial from the Agent of Jamaica, to his Majeſty's Miniſters, preſented during the inveſtigation of the ſubject to which it relates, may ſerve to illuſtrate and explain what is obſcure and deficient in ſome parts of the preceding diſcuſſion. It is ſcarce neceſſary to obſerve, after what has been related, that no anſwer was given.

The Repreſentation of STEPHEN FULLER, Eſquire, Agent for Jamaica, to his Majeſty's Miniſters.

THE agent of Jamaica, by the advice and approbation of the Right Honourable Lord Penryhn, Edward Long, and Bryan Edwards, Eſquires, with whom he is directed, by the council and aſſembly, to conſult, begs leave

leave to submit to the consideration of his Majesty's Ministers, the following observations and propositions, on the subject of such part of the memorial and petition of the council and assembly to his Majesty, of the eleventh of December last, as relates to a limited intercourse between the British West Indies, and the United States of America, in American bottoms. CHAP. IV.

The said agent conceives that it is no longer a question, whether the necessities of the British West Indian islands can be supplied by any other channel than that of the United States; the invincible law of absolute necessity (paramount to all other considerations) having lately induced the lieutenant governor and council of Jamaica to open the ports of that island to all American vessels, of all descriptions, by proclamation. The said memorialists have stated, that this measure was dictated, "solely by "motives of self preservation;" for they solemnly affirm, "that nothing but a reasonable participation in a "trade with the United States, can, on many probable "contingencies in future, prevent them from ruin and "death."

It is presumed to be a fact, equally well established, that the necessities of the said islands cannot be supplied, in any degree adequate to their wants, even from the United States, unless in vessels actually belonging to the said States. The West Indian islands have few or no ships of their own; and were it even true, which the said agent by no means allows, that British vessels from hence might, by circuitous voyages, profitably transport lumber and provisions from the United States to the said islands, and so return to Great Britain with freights of sugar; yet the planters would be wholly unable to pay for lumber and provisions thus obtained; not only from the augmented cost thereof, but also, inasmuch as their rum, their chief resource for the purchase of necessaries, to the amount of upwards of half a million sterling, would still remain a dead weight on their hands: the consumption of rum in this kingdom, in the year 1783, not exceeding 505,150 gallons; although the quantity annually made in the British West Indian islands, for exportation, exceeds 7,700,000 gallons.

The agent, desirous of obviating all material objections, humbly offers to your consideration, the plan of a future

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future intercourſe between the ſaid iſlands and the United States, of ſo ſtrict and limited a nature, as, he preſumes, will not be controverted, even by thoſe who have hitherto appeared moſt zealous for confining the trade of the Weſt India iſlands to Great Britain and Ireland only.

Firſt, The ſaid agent humbly offers to your conſideration, whether the intercourſe requeſted by the Weſt Indian planters, in American veſſels, may not be confined to ſloops and ſchooners only, having but one deck, and not exceeding the burthen of ſixty tons. And, to obviate all ſuſpicions of fraudulent meaſurement, whether the number of mariners in each veſſel may not be limited to three white ſeamen, and as many negroes, or people of colour, ſo as not to exceed ſix in the whole?

Secondly, Whereas, among the commodities formerly allowed to be imported into the Britiſh Weſt Indian iſlands, the following were articles of conſiderable importance, viz. Bar iron—wax and ſpermaceti candles—train oil—hams—tongues—herrings—butter—cheeſe—ſoap—ſtarch—tallow—ſalted beef and pork; of the latter, viz. ſalted beef and pork, the import into all the Britiſh Weſt Indian iſlands, from the ſaid ſtates, in the years 1771, 1772, and 1773, was 44,782 barrels, worth, at the ports of delivery, upwards of £.110,000 ſterling money: it is ſubmitted, that the planters in future, be reſtricted to the ſupplying themſelves with all theſe articles of indiſpenſible neceſſity from Great Britain and Ireland only; truſting nevertheleſs, that in adjuſting the commercial arrangements between Great Britain and Ireland, proviſion will be made, by the parliament of Ireland, for a reciprocal ſecurity to the Weſt Indian planter, againſt the introduction of foreign Weſt Indian produce into that kingdom, and againſt any augmentation of taxes upon the export of ſalt proviſions from thence to the Britiſh Weſt Indies.

Thirdly, As it has been urged, that granting permiſſion to the ſubjects of the United States, to export raw ſugars from the Britiſh Weſt Indian iſlands, may interfere with the commerce of Great Britain and Ireland; whether this permiſſion may not be reſtricted, in future, to clayed and refined ſugars only?

Fourthly, As to hides and ſkins, cotton wool, indigo, logwood, fuſtic, and other dyers woods; whether the export

export thereof, to the United States, from the Britiſh plantations, ſhould not be prohibited altogether?

Fifthly, In order that all reaſonable encouragement may be ſhewn to the Britiſh ſettlers in our remaining provinces of North America; and to demonſtrate, that the ſugar planters are ſincerely diſpoſed to give them the preference of their cuſtom, whenever, by the increaſe of people, or the progreſs of cultivation, they ſhall be actually enabled to ſupply our wants, in part or in total; whether the meaſures now ſubmitted to the conſideration of his Majeſty's Miniſters, if adopted by parliament, may not be in force for a probationary period only, to commence the firſt day of July next?

By means of a ſyſtem of this kind, the imports from the United States, into the Britiſh Weſt Indies, will be confined in future to working cattle, lumber, and proviſions only; and of the latter, to ſuch ſpecies alone, as it is on all hands admitted that Great Britain, Ireland, and our remaining provinces, cannot immediately furniſh, in a quantity by any means adequate to the demand.—The American navigation ſufficient for this purpoſe, muſt, by the excluſion of ſo many articles, neceſſarily be in proportion diminiſhed. It appears by the report of the Right Honourable the Committee of Council, that the number of veſſels, both American and Britiſh, formerly employed in a direct intercourſe between the Weſt Indian iſlands and North America, never exceed 533, and the ſeamen employed therein 3,339; of which 1,000 at leaſt, it is conceived, were negro ſlaves, or people of colour. On the plan now propoſed, it is probable, conſidering the conſequent diminution of the number of veſſels, that the whole number of white ſeamen ſo employed in future, would not exceed twelve hundred. And what policy can be more dreadful, than that, which, in order to diſtreſs ſo inſignificant a handful of people, ſhould put the whole of the ſugar iſlands, containing 500,000 inhabitants, to the riſque of deſtruction?

It is not for the agent to ſuppoſe, that it can ever be deemed expedient, rather to connive at a clandeſtine, than authorize an open intercourſe; but he will be allowed to expreſs his moſt ſerious apprehenſions of the miſchiefs which ſeems to threaten his conſtituents. The French government, as he is informed, having lately

eſtabliſhed

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eſtabliſhed no leſs than ſeven free ports in their iſlands, for the admiſſion, in foreign veſſels, of lumber and live ſtock of every ſpecies, ſalted beef, and fiſh, he fears, that if the Britiſh planters cannot obtain their neceſſaries, in any thing like a ſufficient quantity, by a licenſed mode of intercourſe in Britiſh veſſels, they muſt procure them by illicit means, or diſcontinue the cultivation of their lands. And that, as the vicinity of the French iſlands promiſes to facilitate a clandeſtine introduction of ſupplies, they will probably obtain them from the United States, for the moſt part, through the medium of the French iſlands, and in French bottoms. In this event, the French free ports may become the great emporiums for theſe articles, and gain a profit upon their cuſtomers, in proportion to the magnitude of the riſque, and the demand; French ſeamen may be employed (more formidable of the two than American); the Britiſh planters become dependants on their rivals; the plantations, the commerce, and the marine of France, may derive from this fatal cauſe a rapid improvement and grandeur; whilſt the Britiſh intereſts, in that part of the empire, are ſinking with equal rapidity into annihilation.

STEPHEN FULLER.

March 8, 1785.

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CHAP. V.

Charges brought againſt the Planters introductory of Opinions and Doctrines the Deſign of which is to prove, that the Settlement of the Britiſh Plantations was improvident and unwiſe.—Teſtimony of the Inſpector General on this Subject, and Animadverſions thereon.—Erroneous Idea concerning a diſtinct Intereſt between Great Britain and her Sugar Iſlands.—The National Income and the Profits of Individuals ariſing from thoſe Iſlands conſidered ſeparately.—Opinions of Poſtlethwaite and Child.—Whether the Duties on Weſt Indian Commodities imported fall on the Conſumer, and in what Caſes?—Drawbacks and Bounties: Explanation of theſe Terms, and their Origin and Propriety traced and demonſtrated.—Of the Monopoly-compact; its Nature and Origin.—Reſtrictions on the Coloniſts enumerated; and the Benefits reſulting therefrom to the Mother Country pointed out and illuſtrated.—Advantages which would accrue to the Planter, the Revenue, and the Public, from permitting the Inhabitants of the Weſt Indies to refine their raw Sugar for the Britiſh Conſumption.—Unjuſt Clamours raiſed in Great Britain on any temporary Advance of the Weſt Indian Staples.—Project of eſtabliſhing Sugar Plantations in the Eaſt Indies under the Protection of Government conſidered.—Remonſtrance which might be offered againſt this and other Meaſures.—Concluſion.

AFTER ſo copious a diſplay as hath been given of the prodigiouſly increaſed value of theſe important iſlands, during the ſpace of a century and CHAP. V.

BOOK VI. and a half, which have nearly elapſed ſince their firſt ſettlement, it may be ſuppoſed that the conduct of Great Britain towards them (notwithſtanding the proceedings on which I have preſumed to animadvert in the foregoing chapter) has generally been founded in kindneſs and liberality; and that the murmurs and complaints which have ſometimes proceeded from the planters, when new and heavy duties have been laid on their ſtaples, have been equally ungrateful and unjuſt; the faſtidious peeviſhneſs of opulent folly, and ſurfeited proſperity.

Charges to this effect have indeed been frequently urged againſt the planters of the Weſt Indies, with a ſpirit of bitterneſs and rancour, which inclines one to think, that a ſmall degree of envy (excited, perhaps, by the ſplendid appearance of a few opulent individuals among them reſident in Great Britain) is blended in the accuſation. They would therefore have remained unnoticed by me, were they not, on frequent occaſions, introductory of doctrines and opinions as extraordinary in their nature, as dangerous in their tendency; for, ſupported as they are by perſons of ability and influence, they cannot fail, if adopted by miniſters, and carried from the national councils into meaſures, to widen our recent wounds, and make a general maſſacre of our whole ſyſtem of colonization.

Of theſe doctrines and opinions, ſo far as they concern the Britiſh plantations in the Weſt Indies, the following is a fair abſtract and abridgment:

Firſt, That the ſugar iſlands have been ſettled by Britiſh capitals which might have been employed to greater advantage at home, in carrying on and extending the manufactures, the commerce, and agriculture of Great Britain.

Secondly,

Secondly, That the money expended upon West Indian eſtates, is in general far from yielding a profitable return to the nation, inaſmuch as even a good crop does not leave the owner ſo much as ſix per cent. on his capital, after payment of expences.

Thirdly, That the duties on Weſt Indian commodities fall altogether on the conſumer.

Fourthly, That the ſeveral prohibitory laws which have been made, tending to force the conſumption of Britiſh Weſt Indian produce upon the inhabitants of Great Britain, have veſted in the planters a complete monopoly of the Britiſh market, at the coſt, and to the manifeſt injury, of the Britiſh conſumer, who might otherwiſe purchaſe ſugars, &c. from the foreign iſlands, 20 or 30 per cent. cheaper than in thoſe of Great Britain.

Fifthly, That from this great diſparity of price between Britiſh and foreign ſugars, the former cannot be made an object of export from Great Britain, by any other means than by granting drawbacks and bounties out of the Exchequer; the Britiſh exporter being otherwiſe unable to ſtand the competition of prices in the foreign market:—a policy, which is pronounced to be dangerous and deſtructive.

The inference which is drawn from theſe premiſes is plainly this; that, conſidering the expence of protecting them in war, the ſettlement of ſugar plantations in the Weſt Indies was improvident and unwiſe; and that their further extenſion and improvement would not promote the general intereſts of the Britiſh empire.

It is probable that theſe, and ſimilar notions of the ſame tendency, but of more extenſive application, were originally diſſeminated with no other view,

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view, than, by depreciating the value and importance of all colonial ſettlements, to reconcile the nation to thoſe raſh and inconſiderate proceedings, which terminated in the loſs of America. They have had their day; and, like other ſpeculations and endeavours as vain and ineffectual, might have been conſigned, without injury, to oblivion. It is therefore with a conſiderable degree of ſurpriſe, that in the courſe of a late inveſtigation by a committee of the houſe of commons, I perceive an attempt has been made to revive and eſtabliſh moſt of them, by a perſon, whoſe public ſituation, as inſpector general of the exports and imports of Great Britain, may be ſuppoſed to give great weight to his opinions *. Of the value of this office, as affording an inexhauſtible ſource of important and accurate information in the various branches of the Britiſh commerce, I have ſpoken, I hope, with due reſpect, in former parts of this work; but in mere ſpeculative points, not clearly founded on matters of fact, the opinions of the officer himſelf, whoever he may be, carry no further degree of authority than in proportion to the weight of reaſoning which accompanies them. Of this nature are the ſeveral theorems before ſtated. They are matters of opinion only; in ſome reſpects incapable of proof (as the firſt propoſition for inſtance) and in others, where proof is attempted, they generate concluſions widely different from thoſe which are drawn from the facts adduced in their ſupport. As, however, the manifeſt aim of ſuch doctrines is to

* See the evidence of Thomas Irving, Eſquire, before a ſelect committee of the houſe of commons, appointed to examine witneſſes on the ſlave trade, reported 7th April, 1791, from whence I have extracted moſt of the doctrines animadverted upon in the text, and chiefly in his own words.

induce

induce the legiſlature to adopt meaſures that in their conſequences may check and impede the further progreſs of the coloniſts in a line of cultivation, in which, under the expreſs encouragement of government, they have already embarked their fortunes, and applied their faculties, it becomes neceſſary, in a work of this kind, to conſider them with ſome degree of attention. CHAP. V.

It might indeed be alledged, and with great truth, that nothing can more clearly expoſe the nakedneſs of that doctrine which affects to conſider the ſugar iſlands as unprofitable to the nation, than a plain and ſimple diſplay of the productions which they furniſh, the market which they create for our manufactures, and the ſhipping to which they give employment. And ſuch a diſplay hath already been exhibited in the preceding chapters: but, unfortunately, there prevail many popular prejudices againſt the colonies, which are difficult to remove, becauſe they are founded not in reaſon but ſelfiſhneſs. Opinions thus entrenched, are only to be encountered by recalling to the public attention, ſuch eſtabliſhed principles and facts as, being built on experience, neither ſophiſtry can perplex, nor ſelf-intereſt elude.

In moſt of the late ſpeculative ſyſtems that I have ſeen, which have treated of the Britiſh colonies, there appears this great and fundamental error, that their intereſts in general are conſidered as diſtinct from, and in ſome reſpects oppoſed to, the general intereſts of the empire. We ſpeak of them indeed as *our* colonies, and of their inhabitants as *our* ſubjects; but in our dealings, we are apt to regard them with a ſpirit of rivalry or jealouſy, as an unconnected or hoſtile people, whoſe

BOOK VI. whose prosperity is our detriment, and whose gain is our loss.

Intimations to this effect were, I admit, promulgated by very able writers at an early period, concerning New England, and some other of the colonies in North America; but none of those writers ever considered the plantations in the West Indies in the same point of view. This necessary distinction, between colonies in northern and southern latitudes, seems however to have escaped the recollection of the inspector general; for although he admits that the money which is vested in the sugar islands, is in fact British property, yet he forgets that the profits and returns arising from it, center in Great Britain, and no where else. Generally speaking, the sugar planters are but so many agents or stewards for their creditors and annuitants in the mother country; or if, in some few instances, they are independent proprietors themselves, it is in Great Britain alone that their incomes are expended, and their fortunes ultimately vested. The produce of the sugar islands therefore, ought, in all reason, to be considered as standing precisely on the same footing with the produce of the mother country. The sugar made in them is raised by British subjects, and the sale of it (as far as it can answer any profitable purpose to Great Britain) confined to the British market. In the actual consumption of the commodity within the kingdom, the money which it costs is only transferred from the hand of one inhabitant into that of another: hence, be the price high or low, the nation at large is not one shilling the richer nor the poorer on that account. But, of whatever is consumed at home, the value is saved, and of whatever is exported abroad, and paid

paid for by foreigners, the amount is so much clear gain to the kingdom *.

Neither ought the national profits arising from their cultivation, to be estimated, in any degree, by the profits which are made by the several individual cultivators. The income which the nation derives from her sugar plantations, comprehends the *whole* of their produce. The income of the cultivators consists only of the very small proportion of that produce which is left to them, after paying duties to government, freights and commissions to the British merchants, and the interest of their debts to British creditors. It is indeed very possible that a concern may be lucrative to the public, which is ruinous to the individual. That the nation has been benefited in ten thousand ways from her plantations in the West Indies, no man of common sense or common candour ever denied, until the motives that I have already assigned, gave birth to a contrary pretence; and that many individual proprietors have, at the same time, suffered considerably by adventuring therein, I am afraid it is too notorious to dispute.

But the argument that comes more immediately home to the bulk of the community, is

* It is the practice with some writers, in treating of foreign commerce, to consider every branch of it as unfavourable to the nation, in which the imports are of greater value than the exports; that is, they strike a balance on the Custom-house entries, and consider the excess either way, as the measure of the national advantages, or disadvantages, of such a trade. Perhaps the application of this rule to most branches of foreign commerce (rightly so called) is not improper; and it will extend, I am afraid, in a great degree, to our trade with the East Indies; but from what has been said in the text, the reader will perceive the gross absurdity of bringing our intercourse with the West Indies to the same standard; and that our *import from*, and not *export to* them, is to be considered as the measure of their value.

the

BOOK VI. the very prevalent idea which I have before slightly noticed, that all the products of the British West Indies, and more especially the great article of sugar, are from twenty to thirty *per cent.* dearer than those of the foreign plantations. Against this circumstance (if it were well founded) it might seem sufficient to oppose the national benefit arising generally from the whole system; but the consumer, mindful of himself only, conceives that he ought to have permission to purchase sugar at the cheapest rate, wherever he can procure it. The refiner, whose aim it is to buy cheap and sell dear, claims the same privilege; to which indeed there would be less objection, if he would consent that another part of his fellow subjects, the growers of the commodity, should enjoy the same freedom from commercial restraint which he requires for himself. Unluckily however, the main fact is altogether destitute of foundation. The existence of such disparity of price, independent of accidental and temporary fluctuations, is neither true nor possible, as is demonstrated by the magnitude of the British export, both of raw and refined sugar, for the supply of foreign markets; it requiring no great effort to prove, that foreigners would not resort to our market for the purchase of a commodity, which they might buy cheaper at home *. There was a time

* Respecting the French sugar islands, I can speak of my own knowledge. Most of their largest planters having adopted the practice of *claying*, they pay less attention to the manufacture of good *muscovado* than is given to it in our islands. This latter therefore, being generally of inferior quality, may be sold proportionably cheaper than ours; but whenever it is of equal goodness, the price also is equal, and sometimes higher. Of twelve samples of muscavado sugar produced to me in Saint Domingo, as of the best quality of *sucre brût* made in

time certainly, when England was herſelf compelled to purchaſe of foreign nations, and at their own prices, many articles of prime neceſſity, for a ſupply of which, thoſe very nations now reſort to the Britiſh market. "Before the ſettlement of our colonies (ſays Poſtlethwaite) our manufactures were few, and thoſe but indifferent. In thoſe days, we had not only our naval ſtores, but our ſhips, from our neighbours. Germany furniſhed us with all things made of metal, even to nails. Wine, paper, linens, and a thouſand other things, came from France. Portugal ſupplied us with ſugar. All the products of America were poured into us from Spain; and the Venetians and Genoeſe retailed to us the commodities of the East CHAP. V.

in that iſland, I could not honeſtly pronounce that any one was well manufactured; and I am perſuaded I could have purchaſed better ſugars in Jamaica at a leſs price than was aſked for thoſe. This was in 1791, ſoon after the revolt of the ſlaves, when it might have been ſuppoſed that the diſtreſſes of the French planters would have compelled them to ſell their ſugars more reaſonably than they had done for ſeveral years before. In fact, the only *datum* for aſcertaining the relative value of foreign and Britiſh ſugar, is the price of each *at the colonial market*; inſtead of which, the price always referred to, is the *price in Europe*, after the charges of freight, duty, &c. are added to the original coſt. The not attending to this neceſſary diſtinction, has probably given riſe to the very erroneous idea above noticed, which has occaſioned more ill-will and groundleſs complaint againſt the Britiſh ſugar planter, than any other circumſtance. While I am on this ſubject it may not be improper to take ſome notice of the diſparity between the profits obtained on their ſugar by the Britiſh and French planters in Great Britain and France. In a French publication of character, * the author ſtates the whole year's import into France on an average at

130,000 caſks, valued at 90 million of livres, equal to — — £. 3,937,500 ſterl.

* Reflections d'un Vieillard, &c. 1785.

BOOK VI. East Indies, *at their own price.*" The same account is confirmed by Sir Josiah Child. "Portuguese sugar (says this author) before we had plantations

Against this value he sets the duties and impofts, viz.

	Livres.	£.
Duties of the western domain	5,600,000	£. 245,000
Ditto in the West Indies	7,344,000	321,300
		566,300
Ditto on 50,000 casks consumed or refined in France	4,592,000	200,900
Total of impofts and duties, including the charges of Government, civil and military, in the islands	—	767,200

	£.	s.	d.
According to this statement, these sugars are valued, per cask, at	30	5	9¼
And the duties thereon estimated at —	5	8	0
Leaves, clear of duties,	24	17	9¼ sterling money.

Let us now look to British sugars.

I suppose 14 cwt. a good average weight per cask at sale, and that 2l. 5s. per cwt. was a high medium of price in Great Britain (duty, &c. included) for several years previous to the revolt of the slaves in St. Domingo:

I compute the public charges, civil and military, paid in our Islands by grant of assembly, at not less than 200,000l. *per annum:*

And that this rests as a charge upon their sugars of about two shillings *per cwt.*

The amount of these colonial impofts upon a cask of 14 cwt. will therefore be - -	£. 1	8 0
The British duties which were formerly paid on importation were 12s. 3½d. *per cwt.*	8	12 0
In all, per Cask	£. 10	0 0

Thus,

tations of our own, ſold for ſeven and eight pounds ſterling the quintal or cwt.;" and it is a remarkable and well known circumſtance, after that the cultivation of indigo in Jamaica, was ſuppreſſed by an exorbitant duty of near £. 20 the hundred weight, Great Britain was compelled to pay to her rivals and enemies, £. 200,000 annually for this commodity, ſo eſſential to a great variety of her moſt important manufactures. At length, the duty being repealed, and a bounty, ſometime after, ſubſtituted in its place, the provinces of Georgia and South Carolina entered upon, and ſucceeding in the culture of this valuable plant, ſupplied, at a far cheaper rate than the French and Spaniards (receiving too our manufactures in payment), not only the Britiſh conſumption, but alſo enabled Great Britain to export a ſurplus at an advanced price to foreign markets.

Then, ſuppoſing the groſs value of one caſk of 14 per cwt. at 45s. *per cwt.* to be - - - -	£. 31	10 0
Deduct public impoſts and duties -	10	0 0
Leaves —	£. 21	10 0

N. B. 5l. 8s. (the French duties) is rather leſs than 18 *per cent.* on the value, and 10l. the impoſts and duties paid by the Britiſh planters, is 31½ *per cent.*

From the preceding calculation it appears, that out of 100l. value of the French planter's ſugar, there is left him, after payment of duties to his government abroad and at home, 82l. —But to the Britiſh planter, out of his ſugar, no more than 68l. 5s.—and although the groſs apparent value of the Britiſh planter's hogſhead of ſugar is higher than that of the French planter's by 1l. 4s. 3d. yet he receives, after paying the taxes upon it, leſs than the other by 3l. 7s. 9d.—This ſuperior advantage enables the French planters to pay a higher price for negroes, and to carry on their plantations at a greater expence than the Engliſh—circumſtances which probably make the ſcale between the planters of the two nations nearly even.

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If these writers then were well informed, and the commercial world has thought highly of their industry and knowledge, it would be difficult to prove (though it is easily said) that the settlement of the British sugar plantations was unwise or improvident; nor will it be found very easy to point out any other channel in which the money which has been expended in their improvement, could have been applied to greater national benefit.—Against advantages of such magnitude and permanence as I have shewn to result from those colonies, and the various branches of our commerce dependent thereon, neither the loss to individuals in the plantations, by improvident schemes in the outset, or improper conduct in their subsequent pursuits, nor the temporary inconvenience which is sometimes sustained by the purchasers and consumers at home, from an occasional advance of price in some few of the colonial products, outweighs in the scale of reason a feather!

It is evident therefore, that the inspector general, in the testimony which he gave to the House of Commons, had not investigated the subject with his usual accuracy and discernment. In the first place, he appears not to have sufficiently adverted to the nature of West Indian property as British capital, and the application and disposal of its profits as augmenting the national stock; and in the second, he has evidently regarded as one and the same, two objects, which have seldom any affinity, and are sometimes extremely different in their nature, namely, the national gains arising from the whole system, and the profits of individuals in the narrow walk of colonial agriculture. I shall now proceed to consider those positions and doctrines which have been advanced concerning the duties that are paid, and the drawbacks that are

are granted on the products of the British sugar islands, and shall afterwards treat somewhat largely of the monopoly compact, or the privilege which the planters of those islands possess, of supplying exclusively the British consumption of sugar, and other articles. The subject is naturally dry, and not susceptible of ornament; but its importance will not be disputed, and perhaps there are but few commercial regulations whose principles are less understood than those of the compact last mentioned.

The points to be considered are briefly comprised in the following objections:—It is asserted,

First, That the duties which are levied on the products of the British West Indies imported into Great Britain, though paid in the first instance by the proprietor or importer, ultimately fall on the consumer, and on him alone *.

Secondly,

* The following are correct tables of the duties payable at this time (1792) on the principal articles of West Indian produce, both in Great Britain and the United States of America:

DUTIES *payable upon* IMPORTATION *into* GREAT BRITAIN of the produce of the *British West Indies, agreeable to the Consolidated Act, most of which are drawn back upon Exportation.*

	£.	s.	d.
Refined sugar, cwt. - - -	4	18	8
Muscovado sugar, - - -	0	15	0
Rum, per gallon, customs 5*d.* excise 4*s.* 3*d.* - - - - -	0	4	8
Pimento, per lb. - - - -	0	0	3
Indigo, mahogany, Nicaragua wood, logwood, lignumvitæ, and fustic, *free*			
* Coffee, per cwt. - -	0	3	6

* *If the Coffee is for home consumption, it pays a further duty of £.3. 15s. per cwt. to the customs, and 6½d. per lb. to the excise.—Cocoa also, if for home consumption, pays* 12*s. 6d. per cwt.—excise 6½d. per lb.*

Cocoa,

BOOK VI. Secondly, That the practice of allowing drawbacks on their re-export, is dangerous and destructive.

Thirdly,

	£.	s.	d.
Cocoa, ditto	0	1	3
Ginger, black or white, per cwt.	0	11	0
Cotton, from any place in British bottoms, *free.*			
Gum Guaiacum,	0	0	9
Jalap	0	0	9
Aloes, per cwt.	6	10	8
Sarfaparilla, per lb.	0	0	8
Tamarinds, red, cwt.	1	0	6

Impoſt of the UNITED STATES upon WEST INDIAN PRODUCE.

	Cents
Diſtilled ſpirits if more than ten per cent. below proof, per gallon	20
If more than five, and not more than ten per cent. below	21
If of proof, and not more than five per cent. below	22
If above proof, but not exceeding twenty per cent.	25
If of more than twenty, and not more than forty per cent. above proof	30
If of more than forty per cent. above proof	40
Brown ſugar	1½
Melaſſes	3
Coffee, per pound	4
Cocoa	1
Piemento	4
Indigo	25
Cotton	3
Tonnage on foreign veſſels per ton	50

N. B. *One hundred Cents is equal to a Spaniſh Dollar.*

Not leſs than 50 Gals. to be imported into the United States.

*** An addition of ten *per centum* to be made to the ſeveral rates of duties before ſpecified and impoſed, excepting rum, which ſhall be imported in ſhips or veſſels not of the United States.

Brown

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Thirdly, That the monopoly of supply vested in the planters is partial, oppressive, and unjust.

I shall consider these several positions in the order in which I have placed them. The investigation of them is necessary to the completion of my work, and, with a few general observations, will conclude my labours.

If daily experience did not evince that argument has very little effect on the avarice of government, and the selfish prejudices of individuals, it might be a matter of wonder that the first of these positions (in the full extent to which it is carried) should ever be seriously repeated, after the clear and unanswerable refutation which has been given to it, both in parliament and from the press, a thousand times; and what is more, by sad experience in a thousand instances! So long, however, as it continues to be the language of prejudiced or interested men, it is the duty of the planters to give it attention; and although they may have nothing new to offer on a question which has been so frequently and fully investigated, they have no reason on that account to be silent; inasmuch as the doctrine itself has not, unfortunately, the grace of novelty to recommend it.

The planters then have affirmed, and they repeat, that there is not an axiom in mathematics more incontestible than this maxim in commerce, *that the value of all commodities at market, depends entirely on their plenty or scarcity, in proportion to*

☞ Brown or Muscovado sugar, *not* of the British plantations, is subject, on its importation into Great Britain, to a duty of £.1 7*s.* 2*d.* and white or clayed sugar of foreign growth to £.2 5*s.* 6*d.* the cwt.; East Indian sugar being ranked among the company's imports as manufactured goods, pays £.37 16*s.* 3*d.* per cent. *ad valorem.* It is all white or clayed sugar.

the

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the demand or consumption.—If the quantity at market is not equal to the demand, the seller undoubtedly can, and always does, fix his own price on his goods. On the other hand, when the quantity at market generally exceeds the vent or demand, then it is absolutely out of the seller's power to influence the price, for the plenty will necessarily keep it down in spite of his utmost endeavours to raise it.

The truth therefore undoubtedly is, that in the latter case the original cost of the goods, and all subsequent charges thereon, such as freight, warehouse rent, duties and taxes of all kinds, are objects of no concern to the buyer. The quantity, and the quantity alone, regulates the price at market, and augments or diminishes the profits of the seller. If the demand be great, and the quantity small, the seller has sometimes an opportunity not only of reimbursing himself the original cost, and all subsequent charges and duties, but likewise of making great profit besides. Reverse the circumstances, and he finds himself a considerable loser. All this is the necessary and unavoidable nature of commercial adventure, which is only prosperous as it contrives *to feed the market* properly; or, in other words, to make the supply no more than adequate to the demand: Thus the taxes on leather, soap, candles, malt, beer, and spirits, by inhancing the price to, may be said to fall on, the consumers; for as the manufacturers have it in their power, so they proportion the supply to the demand, and bring to market no more than sufficient to answer the consumption, and if, after all, they cannot obtain a living profit, they cease to deal in those commodities.

It is the same in regard to tea, wines, and other commodities, the growth or manufacture of foreign

reign nations, *over whose exports we have no controul.* The merchant importer governs his imports by the demand which he computes there will be at the British market for the commodity; and ceases to import such goods as he finds will not yield him a profit, after the duty and all other charges are reimbursed. CHAP. V.

But, in the case of articles which the situation or necessities of the owner bring to sale, and for which no other vent can be found, it is impossible that any duties or taxes which the commodity may have paid in its way to market, can have any effect on the price; for the price arises from the demand, and the demand from the buyer's wants, which it would be absurd to say the laying any duty can create, or the not laying it diminish.—Thus, when wheat is scarce, the price rises; and two or three good harvests make it cheap again, without any reference to the land-tax whether it be 3s. or 4s. and without any regard to the farmer's expences. Nor will corn afterwards bear a good price until the stock is lessened by exportation or otherwise, to such a quantity as is barely sufficient for home consumption. Hops, hay, cyder, and a thousand other commodities, are subject to the same rule.

Such too is precisely the situation of the West Indian planters: they are compelled to send their goods to market, or starve; and (with a few unprofitable exceptions) there is no market to which they are permitted to resort but that of Great Britain. Their produce therefore when brought to sale, can obtain no other than its natural price, I mean that price which a greater or less supply necessarily and naturally creates. The consumers of sugar neither care for, nor enquire after its original cost, or the duties and charges which it has

BOOK VI. has paid in its way to market. The importer however muſt pay the duties before he can bring his ſugar to ſale, for no man will buy unleſs the duty is firſt cleared; and whether the importer can compel the buyer to refund the whole, or any part of it, by adding it to the price of the commodity, depends altogether, as I have obſerved, on the quantity at market; it being an abſolute contradiction to affirm that great plenty and a high price on the one hand, or on the other, great ſcarcity and a low price, can exiſt at one and the ſame time. That ſugar, like other commodities, is ſometimes bought up in Great Britain by engroſſers on ſpeculation, may be very poſſible; but this is a traffic in which as neither the planters in the Weſt Indies, nor their factors at home, have any concern, ſo neither are they anſwerable for any conſequences ariſing from it.

It is true that, when providential calamities have overtaken the Weſt Indies, the evil has ſometimes been remotely felt by the inhabitants of Great Britain. When it pleaſed the Almighty to lay waſte the ſugar iſlands by a ſucceſſion of tremendous hurricanes, it was reaſonable to expect that the reduced ſtate of their exports, would inhance their value in Europe. It might then perhaps be ſaid that the conſumer of ſugar reimburſed, in ſome degree, the charges and expences of its culture and tranſportation, and the duties which had been levied upon it. It was the natural and only relief (inadequate at the beſt) which the ſugar planters could receive; but if, from ſome occaſional increaſe of price on ſuch emergencies, they are made ſubject to permanent burthens, founded on the vain and fallacious idea that, becauſe the conſumer has replaced them once, he will replace them again; the deva[illegible]tations of the elements are only the leſſer evil.

Admitting

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Admitting however that the consumer really does, in a great many cases, pay the duty, or, in other words, that the vender has it very frequently in his power to force his own price; who does not see, as an inevitable consequence, that a decrease in the consumption will soon bring the price back to its level? The products of the West Indies are rather among the luxuries than the necessaries of life, and the great consumption of sugar especially, is with the middle and lower classes of people, who can, and undoubtedly will, lay it aside when reasons of frugality require it. If any one doubts that this will be the effect, let him only enquire of any country grocer as to the fact, at a time when Muscovado sugar, in consequence of the calamities that have been stated, and from captures in war, rose suddenly one-fourth in value: He will find that the diminution in the consumption in many parts of the kingdom, was in a much greater relative proportion;—a more fatal symptom cannot attend any branch of commerce.

If the arguments which have thus been stated are not sufficient in themselves to justify the remonstrances which the planters of the West Indies have thought it incumbent on them, from time to time, to urge against the increase of duties, there are facts to be adduced, which must convince the most selfish and incredulous.

The instance of indigo has been mentioned already; and it cannot be repeated too often.—The planters complained of the duties on that article, as they have since complained of those on sugar, and they were told then, as they are constantly told in other cases, that the duties fell ultimately on the consumer. Government however at length, by abrogating all the duties, saw, and

BOOK VI. and acknowledged its error; but the remedy was applied too late; for if the duties had either been taken off in time, or if the weight of them had fallen on the consumer, instead of the planter, the cultivation of indigo, beyond all dispute, had never been wrested out of our hands.

Cacao, or chocolate, furnishes another instance of the fatal effects of high duties on importation. Strange as it may seem that an article which our own colonies can raise in the greatest plenty and perfection, should be subject to a higher proportionate duty than the foreign commodity *tea* (the place of which chocolate or coffee might have supplied;) such however was the case even when the duties on tea were nearly double what they are at present! The consequence was, that whether the duties on cacao fell on the consumer or the planter, the effect on the latter was precisely the same; for if through want of a living profit, the planter could not afford to continue the cultivation; or if in exacting a living profit, he lost his customers, because they could no longer afford to purchase, his situation became equally distressing; until necessity compelled him to change his system, and apply his land and labour to other objects. Thus the growth of cacao, which once constituted the pride of Jamaica, and its principal export, became checked and suppressed beyond the power of recovery. I think I have elsewhere observed, that there is not at this day a single cacao plantation, of any extent, from one end of the island to the other.

The cultivation of ginger succeeded that of cacao, and met with a similar fate: but perhaps the instance of coffee will come more immediately home to the imagination of ministers, because the proof which it affords, arises, not from what has been

been *loſt* by impolitic taxation, but from what has been *gained* by a prudent reduction of exiſting duties. In the one caſe, the leſſon it affords is too mortifying to be acceptable: the other they will receive as a compliment to their wiſdom. Having however ſtated the circumſtance in a former part of this work, it is unneceſſary to enlarge upon it here.

From the whole of what has been obſerved on the queſtion of duties, this concluſion appears to me to be incontrovertible; that in nine caſes out of ten, the duties which are paid on the products of the Britiſh plantations, fall chiefly (either immediately or eventually) on the coloniſt in the Weſt Indies, who is commonly the importer, and not on the conſumer in Great Britain;—and it is equally certain that, in the tenth caſe, when the conſumer pays them, *he ought to pay them*; inaſmuch as all taxes ſhould in juſtice preſs with equal weight on every member of the community, in proportion to his ability to ſuſtain them; of which, in the caſe of taxable commodities, conſumption is the criterion. To this conſideration, muſt be added the well known and eſtabliſhed axiom, that taxes paid by the public at large diſtribute themſelves ſo equally on the whole, as eventually to raiſe the price of all other commodities; each man repaying himſelf for taxes which he pays on other articles, by advancing the price of his own. Let the planters then no longer be contemptuouſly told (for ſuch has been the language of their adverſaries) that they have *groaned without a grievance*. I have ſhewn that they have been driven, from time to time, by duties accumulated on duties, from the cultivation of one production to another; and if (apprehenſive that the few valuable ſtaple commodities which now remain

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remain to them are in danger of being ſacrificed, as others have been, to a ſyſtem of impolitic taxation) they ſtate their apprehenſions to miniſters, by a recital of plain facts, and a perſeverance in well grounded complaints, it ſeems to me they are equally ſerving government, and defending their own rights and properties.—Supplies muſt neceſſarily be raiſed; they admit it; but contend that there is a point at which taxation on any particular object muſt ſtop, or it will not only defeat its own purpoſe, but have the effect alſo of endangering all former duties laid on the ſame object, by totally deſtroying its cultivation or manufacture. The ſubject now naturally leads me to the conſideration of drawbacks and bounties, on the re-export of Britiſh plantation products, the ſecond head of our preſent enquiries; and as the principal of thoſe products is ſugar, I ſhall confine my remarks to that article.

The term Drawback, in the language of the Cuſtom-houſe, is applied to the tax repaid upon the exportation of *raw* ſugar, and the word Bounty to the money which is paid upon the exportation of what is *refined*, and exported in loaf unbroken. The word drawback ſufficiently expreſſes its meaning; for (excepting the gain to government by intereſt, in conſequence of having had a depoſit of the tax for ſome time in its hands, and excepting the duty retained on the quantity waſted while the ſugar continued in a Britiſh port) the original duty paid at importation, is refunded on exportation, without diminution or addition. This at preſent (including the laſt duty of 2*s.* 8*d.* laid in 1791, and declared to be temporary) is 15*s.* the hundred weight. But as to the *bounty*, the caſe was *once* different. To encourage the refining trade in Great Britain, government gave an

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an actual premium on the export of refined ſugar in loaves, in addition to the drawback, and the collective ſums ſo refunded and paid, amounting together to 26*s.* the hundred weight, obtained generally the name of bounty; a name which is ſtill retained, although in fact, ſince the laſt duty was laid, the extra ſum which is paid beyond the drawback, is but little, if any thing, more than a compenſation for the duty which is paid on the *extra* quantity of raw ſugar expended in producing a given quantity of refined, and loſt by pilferage and waſte, between the importation and day of ſale, as will preſently be demonſtrated*.

Having

* The ſtatute book denominates that ſpecies of refined ſugar upon which what is called *the bounty* is granted, "*Sugar in the loaf and whole, being neat.*" Upon the export of this ſort of ſugar the bounty was raiſed by the 5th George III. c. 45. to 14*s.* 6*d.* and a further bounty of 11*s.* 6*d.* was granted by the 21 George III. c. 16. making together 26*s.* *per cwt.* and ſo it continues at preſent. The laſt bounty of 11*s.* 6*d.* was granted in conſequence of an additional duty of 6*s.* *per cwt.* laid in 1781, on raw ſugar imported, when Lord North was Chancellor of the Exchequer, who frankly declared that he propoſed the aforeſaid bounty purpoſely to remunerate the planters from the import duty, which he admitted they were unable to bear. It is evident, however, that the duty is permanent and certain; the relief, temporary and caſual; inaſmuch as the export of refined ſugar is altogether occaſional, depending on the fluctuating ſtate of foreign markets. Should the foreign demand fail, on whom will this additional duty fall but on the planter? This conſideration alone is a good reaſon why the bounty ſhould be more than proportionate to the drawback. Yet when parliament, in 1791, by 31 Geo. III. c. 15. laid a further duty of 2*s.* 8*d.* per cwt. on raw ſugar imported from the Britiſh plantations (appropriating the ſame, for the term of four years, towards the diſcharge of certain exchequer bills) making the import duty 15*s.* per cwt. in the whole, no addition was made to the bounty on the export of refined loaf. All that could be obtained was an addition of 3*s.* 4*d.* to the drawback, on what the ſtatute calls *baſtards, and ground or powdered ſugar*; and alſo on *refined loaf broke into pieces*, and

BOOK VI. Having thus explained what is meant by the terms drawback and bounty, in the case of sugar exported, I shall now endeavour to prove that the repayment of the duties, under either appellation, is not a matter of favour to the colonist or importer, but of rigorous justice, and is founded on a strict and conscientious right which he possesses, and of which he cannot be deprived, so long as a sense of moral duty, and a regard to equal justice shall be found among the principles of a free government.

An importer of merchandize either comes *voluntarily* into our ports, to seek the best market for the sale of his goods; or is *compelled* to enter them, that the nation may secure to itself the preemption at its own market. If he comes voluntarily, he is apprized of the regulations and duties

and all sugar called *candy*. Upon the export of these species of sugar, the drawback, previous to the 31 Geo. III. stood at 11*s.* 8*d.* only, while the duty paid on raw sugar imported was 12*s.* 4*d.* and it being but just, that the drawback should at least be equal to the duty paid, 3*s.* 4*d.* was added in that act; which, with 11*s.* 8*d.* makes 15*s.* per cwt. the precise amount of the import duties paid since that act took place. The minister who moved the additional duty of 2*s.* 8*d.* in 1791, proposed also at first to augment the bounty in the usual proportion; but the sugar refiners remonstrated against the measure, as being, they said, *beneficial only to the planters*. It is remarkable however that in the memorial which they presented on that occasion to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, they furnish an unanswerable argument in support of an actual *bounty* on the export from Great Britain of refined sugar; for they admit that a greater proportion of the refined article is now made from Muscovado than was formerly produced, *owing*, they say, *to improvements made by the planters in the raw commodity*. As those improvements were not effected but after many costly, and some fruitless, experiments, it seems no way consonant either to justice or reason that the refiners alone should reap the advantages of them, and the planters, who sustained the risk, sit down quietly under the expence.

to

to which, by the laws of the port, he will be subject; he makes his option, and if he meets with disappointment, has no right to complain; much less to expect a return of the duties which he has paid on importation, in case he shall afterwards find it more to his advantage to re-ship his goods, and try another market. He comes in the spirit of adventure, and as his profits, however great, are wholly his own, if his adventure proves fortunate; so it is but reasonable that he should submit patiently to his loss, if loss is the consequence of his experiment. This conclusion is, I think, too evident to require illustration.

On the other hand, the case of those who are *compelled* to bring their goods to our ports is widely different. The sugar planter, for instance, is not only obliged to bring his sugar at all times and seasons to a market which perhaps is already overloaded; but to bring it too in British ships, that the mother country may have the benefit arising from the freight. On the supposition that the whole may be sold for home consumption, he is furthermore compelled to pay down the duties on the full quantity imported, before he is permitted to sell any part. The home consumption is then supplied; and a surplus remains, for which a vent offers in a foreign market. The foreign purchaser, however, buys nothing for which the people of Great Britain choose to pay an equal price: they have the first offer, and refusal of the whole.—Under what pretence then can the British government, whose language it is that all duties are, and ought to be, ultimately paid by the consumer, retain the duties on such part of the goods as are not purchased for the home supply? The mother country has already received the benefit of the freight; has had a preference in the sale of the

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goods, and obtained other mercantile advantages from its importation; and the owner has suffered the inconveniency of advancing a large sum of money for duties on goods which she refuses to purchase,—an inconveniency of no small account, inasmuch as, besides the loss of interest, should the goods perish by fire, he would lose both his goods and the duty;—perhaps, as an interested man, I am not competent to decide impartially on this question; but *to me*, it appears that a final retention of the duties here spoken of, would be an outrageous exercise of power, without a shadow of right; a proceeding in the highest degree unjust, fraudulent, and oppressive.

As the foreign market will not bear the addition of the English duty, fifteen shillings *per cwt.* if the money is not refunded, are taken from the coloniſt, for having, against his will, and at a great expence of freightage, sent his sugar circuitously through Great Britain. Such an extortion for passing through a market to which he does not voluntarily resort, is virtually fixing a forced price upon the commodity; and to do this, or by force to take the commodity from him, without giving any price for it—what is it, but an act of the same nature, differing only in degrees of violence?—The plea of necessity is not applicable to the case; the object not being, as in the case of corn, a *necessary* but a *luxury* of life; and the coloniſts to whom it belongs, have no share in the power of regulating, if regulations are to be made concerning it.

If it be urged that foreigners have otherwise the advantage of sometimes buying British plantation sugar on cheaper terms than the people of Great Britain, it is answered, that this is a circumstance for which the planter is no way responsible,

sible, and in truth it is in itself but little to be regarded; since whenever it happens, the national gain is so much the greater; because the kingdom profits much more by the quantity they purchased, and paid for in money by foreigners, than it would have done, if the same quantity had been consumed at home.—Government has no means in this case of taxing the consumption of foreign nations, for if the duty be added to the price of the commodity, the foreign demand is at an end. This objection therefore is nothing more than a complaint of the home consumer, *that the duties are too heavy*; a complaint in which the planters will readily concur *.

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Hitherto,

* Since the foregoing was written, an act of the British legislature has passed, entitled, "An act for regulating the "allowance of the drawback, and payment of the bounty on "the exportation of sugar, and for permitting the importa- "tion of sugar and coffee into the Bahama and Bermuda "Islands in foreign ships." Concerning the latter part of the act, as the foreign sugar and coffee are not to be consumed in Great Britain, but put *en depot* in warehouses until re-exported, the planters of the British West Indies have no right to object to its provisions; but with regard to the regulations of the drawback, &c. the case is widely different. By this law it is enacted, that "after the year 1792, whenever the average of the prices of brown or Muscavado sugar (to be taken weekly upon oath before the Lord Mayor of London, and published in the Gazette) shall exceed, in the six weeks which respectively precede the middle of February, June, and October, the amount of fifty shillings *per cwt.* (exclusive of the duty) the drawback on *raw* sugar exported is immediately to cease for four months, and the bounty on *refined* is to cease during a like term, but commencing after an interval of one month." Such is the outline of this act, on which what I have already said in the text, is perhaps a sufficient comment; yet it may not be improper to take some notice of the great argument which was urged in support of the measure in the House of Commons; namely, that it was formed on the model of the corn trade system. But the corn trade

BOOK VI. Hitherto, I have ſpoken of the drawback on *raw* ſugar only. I am now to ſhew that my obſervations apply equally to that which is *refined*; by proving that what is called the *bounty*, is but little more than merely a modification of the drawback; the money allowed beyond the original duty being an allowance not more than adequate to the loſs of weight in the raw commodity for which the full duties have been paid by the importer, and the loſs of intereſt thereon, between the time of the payment thereof, and the time of the receipt of the bounty.

The proportions of refined ſugar, &c. procured by melting 112lbs. of raw ſugar, have been aſcertained by the committee of London refiners as follows, *viz.*

	lbs.
Refined ſugar in loaves and lumps -	$56\frac{1}{10}$
Baſtard or ground ſugar -	$22\frac{1}{10}$
Melaſſes or treacle - -	$28\frac{11}{100}$
Scum and dirt - - -	$4\frac{15}{100}$
	112lbs.

The bounty and drawback therefore, according to this calculation, will ſtand as follows, *viz.*

		£.	s.	d.
On loaf ſugar	lbs. $56\frac{1}{10}$ at 26*s.*	—	13	$-\frac{1}{2}$
baſtards -	$22\frac{1}{10}$ at 15*s.*	—	2	$11\frac{1}{2}$
		—	16	—
Duty paid - - -		—	15	—
Difference -		—	1	—

So

laws, though deſigned to reduce prices, are alſo contrived *to encourage production*. They therefore check exportation when the

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So that the *apparent* loſs to the revenue ariſing from the bounty, is one ſhilling the cwt. and no more. But, as every hogſhead of ſugar loſes conſiderably in weight, after the duty is paid, and before it is either exported or worked up, and as by the preſent ſtrict regulations reſpecting tare, the duty is frequently paid for more ſugar than the caſks really contain, it is but a moderate calculation to ſay that every hogſhead (taking good ſugars and bad together) loſes 56 lbs. which at 15*s.* per cwt. the import duty, makes 7*s.* 6*d.* per hogſhead loſs to the planter, and a clear and certain gain to the revenue, let the ſugar be diſpoſed of as it may. Thus therefore is government reimburſed for a conſiderable part of what it appears to loſe by the bounty, and the intereſt which it gains by a depoſit of the whole duties on importation, makes up the remainder. The average annual import of raw ſugar is about 160,000 hogſheads of 12 cwt. net: now ſuppoſing every ounce of this was to be exported, and receive the drawback of 15*s.* per cwt. yet from the difference of weight alone in the ſame ſugar, occaſioned by an unavoidable waſte, government would have received in duties, from this ſingle article, between £.50,000 and £.60,000 *per annum* more than it refunds in drawbacks and bounties on the ſame commodity.

The above is a plain ſtatement of facts concerning the drawbacks and bounties allowed by

the prices are high, *and give a bounty on exportation when the prices are low.* If the ſugar bill had been formed on the ſame principle, and had been meant to keep the price of the commodity at a fair medium between the public and the planter, it would have reduced the bounty when above the ſtandard, and taken off the home duty when below it, in ſuch proportions as to keep the balance even. In its preſent ſhape the act operates wholly againſt the planters.

government

BOOK VI. government on the export of sugar from Great Britain.—Of the system at large, or general practice of allowing the duties on the home consumption, to be drawn back on the export of goods to foreign markets, enough has been said by other writers.—If it be true, as it is generally allowed to be, that Great Britain by this means establishes between her plantations and foreign countries, an advantageous carrying trade, the profits of which center in herself, she has no just reason to repine at the encouragement which is thus given to foreigners to resort to her markets. It is paying money with one hand, to receive it back, in a different shape perhaps, but in more than a tenfold proportion, with the other; and no considerate statesman will easily be persuaded to think such a system improvident and prejudicial †.

I am

† The present inspector general of the exports and imports, has given an opinion on the subject here treated of, which may be deemed singular. In his evidence before the House of Commons, he considers the supplying foreign markets with the surplus produce of our own plantations as a matter of no account; and thinks it just and proper to encourage our own islands *no further than to the extent of supplying ourselves*. He declares his opinion to be, that "the extension of the cultivation of the West Indian islands beyond that degree that is requisite for supplying Great Britain and her immediate dependencies with the principal articles of their produce, *is by no means likely to promote the interests of the empire*." These are his words; and perhaps it may serve more useful purposes than the gratification of curiosity, to contrast them with the opinions of other men, who (if not of equal celebrity with Mr. Irving) were considered, in their day, to possess a considerable share of political and commercial knowledge.—Thus, in a tract by William Penn, entitled "The Benefit of Plantations or Colonies," that celebrated legislator expresses himself in the following terms:

"I deny the vulgar opinion against plantations, that they "weaken England; they have manifestly enriched, and so "strengthened

I am now brought to the third ground of objection; comprehending a subject of wider extent and CHAP. V.

" strengthened her, which I briefly evidence thus: First, " those that go into a foreign plantation, their industry there, " is worth more than if they stayed at home, the product of " their labour being in commodities of a superior nature to " those of this country: for instance, what is an improved " acre in Jamaica or Barbadoes worth to an improved acre in " England? We know it is three times the value, and the " product of it comes for England, and is usually paid for in " English growth and manufacture. Nay, Virginia shews, " that an ordinary industry in one man produces three thou- " sand pounds weight of tobacco, and twenty barrels of corn " yearly: he feeds himself, and brings as much of the com- " modity into England besides, as being returned in the " growth and workmanship of this country, is much more " than he could have spent here: Let it also be remembered, " that the three thousand weight of tobacco brings in two " thousand two-pences by way of custom to the king, which " makes twenty-five pounds; an extraordinary profit. Se- " condly, *more being produced and imported than we can spend* " *here, we export it to other countries in Europe, which brings* " *in money, or the growth of those countries, which is the same* " *thing; and this is the advantage of the English merchants and* " *seamen.*"

To the same purport writes Dr. Charles Davenant, who, if I mistake not, held the very same employment of inspector of the exports and imports which is now exercised with such superior ability by Mr. Irving. " By whatever the returns (meaning the returns from our own plantations) are worth (saith Doctor Davenant) beyond the goods exported thither, *the nation is, by so much, a gainer.* There is a limited stock of our own product to carry out, beyond which there is no passing. As for example, there is such a quantity of woollen manufacture, lead, tin, &c. which, over and above our own consumption, we can export abroad; and there is likewise a limited quantity of these goods which foreign consumption will not exceed. Now, if our expenditure of foreign materials be above this, and more than our own product will fetch, for the overplus we should be forced to go to market with money, which would quickly drain us, if we did not help ourselves other ways, which are, *by exchanging our plantation goods for their materials,*" &c. In another place, Davenant states

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and more important conſideration, than either of thoſe which I have diſcuſſed in this chapter; and on which, prejudice, ſelf-intereſt, ignorance, and miſinformation, have jointly contributed to throw a veil of obſcurity; I mean the privilege which is veſted in the planters of the Britiſh Weſt Indies, of ſupplying the Britiſh market with their chief ſtaple commodities, in excluſion of foreigners; the high duties on foreign ſugars, and ſome other products of the Weſt Indies, operating (as they were meant to do) ſo as to prohibit their importation.

The leading principle of colonization in all the maritime ſtates of Europe, Great Britain among the reſt, was, as I have elſewhere obſerved, *commercial monopoly*.—The word *monopoly*, in this caſe, admitted a very extenſive interpretation. It com-

ſtates the imports from all the plantations at the Revolution at £.950,000 *per annum*, "whereof (ſaith he) £.350,000 being conſumed at home, is about equal to our exports thither, *and the remainder, viz.* £.600,000, *being re-exported, is the national gain by that trade.*"

To the foregoing authorities might likewiſe be added thoſe of the honeſt and intelligent Joſhua Gee, and the learned and accurate Doctor John Campbell; but perhaps, to a common underſtanding, the concluſion is too clear and ſelf-evident to require illuſtration or authority; namely, *that the export from Great Britain to foreign markets of her colonial products is juſt as beneficial to the Britiſh trade, as the export of corn, or any other production of the mother country, and equally encreaſes the balance of trade in her favour.* I ſhall therefore only obſerve further, that the export of ſugar alone from this kingdom for the ſupply of the foreign European markets during the years 1790 and 1791, was 277,656 *cwt.* of raw, and 278,391 *cwt.* of refined, which, at the rate of 45*s. per cwt.* for the raw, and of 90*s. per cwt.* for the refined, added £.1,600,000 ſterling to the balance of trade in favour of the mother country, and enabled her to pay more than one half the ſum which is annually drawn out of the kingdom for the intereſt or dividends of money lodged by foreigners in the Britiſh funds.

prehended

prehended the monopoly of fupply, the monopoly of colonial produce, and the monopoly of manufacture. By the firſt, the coloniſts were prohibited from reſorting to foreign markets for the ſupply of their wants; by the ſecond, they were compelled to bring their chief ſtaple commodities to the mother country alone; and by the third, to bring them to her in a raw or unmanufactured ſtate, that her own manufacturers might ſecure to themſelves all the advantages ariſing from their further improvement. This latter principle was carried ſo far in the colonial ſyſtem of Great Britain, as to induce the late Earl of Chatham to declare in parliament, *that the Britiſh Coloniſts in America had no right to manufacture even a nail for a horſe-ſhoe.*

As a compenſation for theſe reſtrictions and prohibitions on the colonies of Great Britain, to favour the navigation, revenues, manufactures, and inhabitants of the mother country, the coloniſts became poſſeſſed of certain commercial advantages; among the reſt, of the privilege beforementioned—the ſubject of our preſent diſcuſſion—that of an excluſive acceſs to the Britiſh market for the ſale of their produce. Thus the benefits were reciprocal; and each country, Great Britain and her colonies, became a permanent ſtaple, or mart, for the products and trade of the other.

Such was the arrangement, or double monopoly, which, with a few exceptions, Great Britain, in the plenitude of her imperial capacity, thought fit to eſtabliſh. It was the baſis of her commercial intercourſe with her trans-atlantic plantations, and ſhe terms it herſelf a ſyſtem of "correſpondence and kindneſs ‡." Whether it was an arrangement founded in wiſdom and found

‡ Preamble to the 15th C. II. Ch. 7.

policy,

BOOK VI. policy, it is now too late to enquire. It has exiſted, it has been confirmed, it has been admired, it has been imitated; and the coloniſts have embarked their fortunes upon the faith of it. All therefore that remains, is to point out the value and importance of the colonial contribution. We have ſhewn its nature and origin; its magnitude remains yet to be ſtated. It is preſumed that nothing more than this, is neceſſary to demonſtrate that, if there is any ſecurity in the national faith, ſolemnly pledged and repeatedly ratified, the ſyſtem is become a fixed and permanent *compact*; which cannot now be violated by either party, without the fulleſt compenſation to the other, but on principles which, if admitted, may ſerve to juſtify a departure from the ordinary rules of juſtice on any occaſion.

Firſt then, as to the monopoly exerciſed by Great Britain of ſupplying their wants;—The coloniſts are prohibited from purchaſing of foreigners, not only thoſe articles which Great Britain can ſupply from her own reſources, but alſo many which ſhe is herſelf obliged to purchaſe from foreigners. Thus a double voyage is rendered neceſſary, that Great Britain may benefit by the freightage; the expence of which, and all other profits, being added to the coſt of the goods, the extra price which the coloniſts pay is clearly ſo much profit to her, and loſs to them. The commodities which the Britiſh colonies in the Weſt Indies might purchaſe on cheaper terms than at the Britiſh market, are various. Eaſt Indian goods, including tea, might at all times have been obtained from Holland, and of late may be bought very reaſonably in America§.

§ The tea imported by the Americans in 1791, directly from China, was 2,601,852 lbs.—Prices in Philadelphia 33 per cent. lower than in London, the drawback deducted.

Germany

German, would supply the coarser linens, an article of vast consumption in negro clothing, and France would furnish soap and candles, silk manufactures of all kinds, cambrics, wines, and a thousand other articles of less importance. From the United States of America also might be obtained bar and pig iron, salted beef and pork, salted and pickled fish, train and spermaceti oil, and some few manufactures, as beaver hats, and spermaceti candles, &c. ‖ All these, are articles of vast consumption, and are now supplied exclusively by Great Britain and her dependencies to an immense amount, and in British vessels only; and so rigidly have the laws of navigation been enforced by the mother country, that not only the convenience and necessities of the colonies have given way to them, but a dreadful sacrifice has even been made to the system, of the lives of 15,000 of their miserable negroes, as the reader has elsewhere been informed!

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On the same principle, to increase the shipping and naval power of the mother country, the colonists are not permitted, even in time of war, to avail themselves of the cheapness and security of neutral bottoms, in sending their produce to the British market. By this second monopoly, Great Britain has secured to herself a preference of the whole world in the sale of their staple commodities, and is thus rendered independent of those nations from whom she was formerly supplied, (as the Portuguese for instance, who had the original monopoly of sugar) and over whose exports she has no controul. That this is an advantage of no small account, appears from the fol-

‖ The export of salted beef and pork from the United States of America in 1791 was 66,000 barrels. The medium price of the pork was 37*s.* sterling the barrel; of the beef 28*s.*

lowing

BOOK VI. lowing circumstance recorded by the author of an *Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations*. "About the beginning of the present century (says that writer) the pitch and tar company of Sweden endeavoured to raise the price of their commodities to Great Britain, by prohibiting their exportation, except in their own ships, at their own price, and in such quantities as they thought proper." It is surely unnecessary to observe, that no such selfish policy can at any time be displayed by the subordinate and dependent governments of the colonies.

But the circumstance that presses with the greatest weight on the British planters in the West Indies, is that branch of the monopoly, which, reserving for the manufacturers in Great Britain, all such improvements as the colonial produce is capable of receiving beyond its raw state, or first stage of manufacture, prohibits the colonists from refining their great staple commodity (sugar) for exportation. This is effected by the heavy duty of £.4. 18*s*. 8*d*. *the cwt.* on all refined or loaf sugar imported, while raw or muscavado pays only 15*s*. The difference operates (as it was intended) as a complete prohibition. "To prohibit a great body of people (says the author before quoted) * from making all they can of every part of their own produce, or from employing their stock and industry in the way that they judge most advantageous to themselves, is a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind." To this violation however the West Indian planters have hitherto submitted without a murmur, considering it as one of the conditions of the compact, or reciprocal monopoly.

* Wealth of Nations.

The

The great hardſhip on the planters in this caſe is, that the loſs to them by the prohibition, is far more than proportionate to the gain acquired by Great Britain. As this circumſtance is not fully underſtood, the ſubject not having, to my knowledge, been diſcuſſed in any of the publications that have treated of colonial commerce, I ſhall point out a few of the many advantages of which the planters are deprived by this reſtriction.

The firſt advantage would be an entire ſaving of the loſs which is now ſuſtained in the quantity of raw ſugar, between the time of ſhipping in the Weſt Indies, and the day of ſale in Great Britain, ariſing chiefly from unavoidable waſte at ſea by drainage. To aſcertain this loſs with all poſſible exactneſs, I have compared, in a great many inſtances, the invoice weights taken at the time of ſhipping, with the ſale weights of the ſame goods in the merchants books in London; and I will venture to fix the loſs, on the average of good and bad ſugar, at one-eighth part: in other words, a hogſhead of ſugar weighing net 16 cwt. when ſhipped in Jamaica, ſhall, when ſold in London, be found to weigh 14 cwt. only. The difference therefore is a dead loſs both to the public and the planter. The former, loſe the uſe of two hundred pounds weight of ſugar, and the latter, is deprived of its value, which, at 40ſ. per cwt. may be ſtated at £.3 6ſ. per hogſhead, the merchant's charges deducted.

Another ſaving to the planter would ariſe from the article of melaſſes, of which 112 lbs. of raw ſugar yield in the London refinery 28¼ lbs.: I will ſay 28 lbs. only. On this proportion, a hogſhead of raw ſugar at the ſhipping weight (16 cwt.) would, if refined in the colonies, yield the planter 448 lbs. being equal to 64 gallons. This, valued

at

BOOK VI. at 9*d.* ſterling per gallon, gives £.2 8*s.* It will be ſaid perhaps that the Britiſh refiner includes the value of the melaſſes produced in the refinery, in the eſtimate of his profits, and is thereby enabled to give a larger price for raw ſugar to the planter, who thus receives payment for the article ſaid to be loſt. It muſt be remembered, however, that the ſugar planter in the Britiſh Weſt Indies is his own diſtiller; and having the neceſſary buildings, ſtills, &c. already provided, would convert this melaſſes into rum, without any additional expence; and by this means add to its value ſomewhat more than one-third. This additional value, therefore, would be clear profit. Thus allowing 64 gallons of melaſſes to produce only 40 gallons of rum of the Jamaica proof, theſe, at 1*s.* 10*d.* ſterling the gallon, would yield £.3 13*s.* 4*d.*: the difference is £.1 5*s.* 4*d.* which may therefore be eſtimated as the loſs now ſuſtained by the planter in the article of melaſſes, on every hogſhead of muſcavado ſugar ſhipped to Great Britain.

To the foregoing might perhaps be added the ſaving of freight, on the difference between the weight of raw and refined ſugar; but I will reckon nothing on this account, becauſe I am of opinion that any given quantity of refined ſugar made into loaves, though leſs in weight, will nevertheleſs occupy more ſpace than the full quantity of raw ſugar from which it is made. It is therefore reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the price of freight would be advanced in proportion; a circumſtance which ought to obviate all manner of objection to the ſyſtem, from the owners of ſhips employed in its tranſportation.

But the great and deciſive advantage that would accrue to the planter from refining his own ſugar in

in the colonies, arises from the circumstance that his capital, or stock, is already provided to his hands; without which the savings that have been stated would avail him but little. I mean, not only that he possesses the raw material, but also, that the buildings and apparatus of all kinds which are requisite for the manufacture of muscavado sugar, are, with a very small addition, all that are wanted for the business of refining *. The necessary additions on each plantation would consist chiefly of a drying house, provided with stoves for baking the loaves, and an annual supply of earthen vessels or moulds in which the loaves are formed; with the further provision of negro labourers to be employed solely in the branch of the manufacture. The whole must be proportioned to the extent of the property. I have endeavoured to ascertain some rule for judging of this with as much precision as the subject will admit, and, without perplexing the reader with a variety of dry calculations, will observe generally, that an allowance of forty shillings sterling for each hogshead of muscavado sugar, I find to be abundantly liberal. This sum therefore I shall deduct from the difference of price at the British market between raw and refined sugar, which otherwise would be so much clear profit to the planter. The English refiner not having the same advan-

* The planters of Jamaica frequently refine sugar for domestic use, and I have seen it done in as great perfection as in London. In St. Domingo a process has been discovered of refining muscavado with the juice of limes and lemons. A refiner from thence of the name of Millet came to Jamaica in 1790, and introduced this practice with great success. I saw myself refined sugar made by him at Hyde Hall Plantation in Trelawny, with no other material than the juice of limes and Seville oranges, which for transparency and elegance surpassed the finest treble refined produced by the London refiners.

tages,

BOOK VI.

tages, has to deduct the intereſt of a much larger proportionate capital, and far greater expences in conducting the manufacture. Now 112 lbs. of raw ſugar ſold in London may be reckoned, when the prices are favourable, to yield the planter clear of all charges £.1 13*s.* The ſame quantity refined, would yield of loaves and baſtards to the value of £.2 1*s.* 5*d.* excluſive of the melaſſes. The difference is 8*s.* 5*d.* per hundred weight, or £.5 17*s.* 10*d.* the hogſhead of 14 cwt. Deduct from this the extra expence of refining in the colony (40*s.* per hogſhead) there remains £.3. 17*s.* 10*d.* which being added to the former ſums, it will be found that the whole loſs ſuſtained by the planter for the ſake of the Britiſh refinery, is not leſs than £.8 9*s.* 2*d.* ſterling on every hogſhead of his ſugar of 16 cwt. which he ſends to the Engliſh market. Perhaps the circumſtance may come more immediately home to the reader, by ſhewing how this loſs affects an individual. For inſtance, the average returns of Mr. Beckford's plantations, are, if I miſtake not, about two thouſand hogſheads of ſugar annually. He ſuſtains therefore a loſs of £.16,916 13*s.* 4*d.* *per annum*, that the Britiſh refiners may get about one-third of the money!

It is however to be remembered, that the preceding calculations are founded on the ſuppoſition that leave was granted to import refined ſugar into Great Britain from the Britiſh colonies at the ſame duties which are now paid on raw or muſcavado. I am apprized that the revenue would, in that caſe, ſuſtain a loſs proportionate to the diminution in the quantity of ſugar imported, unleſs it was (as undoubtedly it would be) made up by an adequate increaſe of the duties on the improved commodity. With every allowance however

however on this account (as well as for an increased rate of freight) the planter's profits would be sufficiently great; and in truth, refined sugar imported from the colonies, would afford to bear a much heavier duty than merely such a rateable contribution; so that the revenue would not be injured, but greatly improved by its importation, while the public at large would obtain sugar in its best state much cheaper than they obtain it at present *. CHAP. V.

Thus

* My business is not to seek out resources for increasing the public revenue, but as a matter of curiosity, I beg leave to subjoin the following facts: The quantity of raw or muscavado sugar imported from the British plantations into Great Britain in the year 1787, was 1,926,121 cwt. and the gross duty paid thereon was £.1,187,774. 12s. 8d. If this sugar had been kept to be refined in the plantations, it would have been one-eighth more in quantity; that proportion having been lost at sea by drainage. This would have made 2,166,886 cwt. which, according to the computation of the London refiners, would have yielded 1,083,443 cwt. of loaf, and 425,638 cwt. of baftards (excluding fractions). Now supposing the duty on loaf sugar had been only 10s. *per cwt.* more than the present duty on muscavado (which it would have well afforded) and the baftard sugar to have continued at 15s. per cwt. the British revenue in that case would have received as follows: (both the public and the planter being at the same time benefited in a high degree) viz.

	£.	s.	d.
On 1,083,443 cwt. of loaf - at 25s. per cwt.	1,354,303	15	—
425,638 cwt. of baftards, at 15s. per cwt. -	319,228	10	—
Duties which might have been levied	1,673,532	5	—
Duties actually paid in 1787 -	1,187,774	12	8
Difference in favour of the revenue	485,757	12	4

Such is the sacrifice which is made by the planters of the West Indies, and the public of Great Britain, in supporting

BOOK VI. Thus have I shewn the magnitude of the price at which the British colonists in the West Indies have purchased, for a century past, the monopoly of the British market for their chief staple commodities. It is monopoly for monopoly; an arrangement not framed by the colonies, but by the mother country herself, who has suffered it to grow sacred by time, has recognized it by a multitude of laws, and enforced it by stricter ties and recent provisions. Well therefore did

the private interests of that useless intermediate body of people the sugar refiners in England; who, whenever the casualties of war, or providential calamities have overtaken the West Indies, and thereby created a temporary advance in the price of raw sugar, have been the first to raise a clamour against the monopoly of supply enjoyed by the planters, themselves at the same time possessing the monopoly which I have described! It may not be useless to add, that those people are, in a proportion unknown in any other branch of trade, *foreigners*; who live in the most frugal way in England (about one thousand in the whole) and retire with their savings to their own country. There are few operations more simple or which require a less expensive apparatus, than that of refining sugar. Can it then be just or reasonable to sacrifice to a manufacture, thus subordinate in its nature and limited in its extent, the essential interests of 65,000 British subjects in the West Indies, and half a million of money, which is now annually lost to Great Britain, that this manufacture may be supported? It is remarkable that the same observation occurred to Davenant, who wrote soon after the revolution in 1688. Speaking of the impropriety of laying heavy duties on the produce of the West Indies, he proceeds in these words: "And here it may not be improper to take notice particularly, of the high imposition laid upon refined sugars imported hither, upon a wrong notion of advancing our manufactures, whereas in truth it only turns to the account of about fifty families (for the refiners of England are no more) and is greatly prejudicial, and a bar to the industry of at least 14,000 persons, which are about the number of those who inhabit our islands producing sugar." *(Davenant, Discourse 3, on the Plantation Trade.)* What would this author have said, had he known the facts which I have stated above?

a great

a great ſtateſman * obſerve, "that it was a compact more ſolemn than any that an act of parliament could create;" and when ſpeculative men aſſert, and intereſted men complain, that a compact thus founded and ſupported is at this time not ſufficiently favourable to Great Britain; the anſwer is obvious. If Great Britain regrets its operation and wiſhes to diſſolve it, let her firſt make compenſation to the coloniſts for all that they have undertaken, and the ſacrifice they have made, under it; and next, when ſhe releaſes herſelf from all future obligation to obſerve it, let the releaſe be reciprocal; extending equally to one party and the other. This done, the coloniſts will have no cauſe to accuſe her of injuſtice, —but this not done, they will aſſert that ſhe has violated her faith with them; that her conduct is oppreſſive and fraudulent; and her ſtatutes ſnares to the unwary. CHAP. V.

In the mean time, it is impoſſible not to conſider as exceedingly partial and unjuſt, thoſe clamours and attempts by which, on any temporary advance in the prices of Weſt Indian products, the public diſcontent is pointed towards the inhabitants of our ſugar iſlands. They are partial, inaſmuch as they conſider the burthens and wants of the conſumers on one ſide, without adverting to the burthens and diſtreſſes of the coloniſts on the other. They are unjuſt, as their manifeſt aim is to extend to rivals and foreigners, whoſe trade is not ſubject to be controuled by Britiſh laws, thoſe advantages which have been purchaſed by, and ſtand excluſively pledged to, the Britiſh Weſt Indies, whoſe trade is ſtill to be left bound by our regulations.—At this juncture indeed, now that

* Mr. Fox.

BOOK VI. the largeneſs of the exportation has demonſtrated, that no foreign colonies in the Weſt Indies can ſupply us with ſugar, cheaper than our own, another project, of more fatal and extenſive miſchief, is reſorted to; and the national attention is awakened by the hopes of a vaſt and profitable ſugar culture, under the foſtering protection of government, in the boundleſs regions of the Eaſt Indies. Thoſe plantations which have hitherto proved more than adequate to our wants; which, from proximity and inſular ſituation, are eaſily defended; which enrich our manufacturers, encourage our fiſheries, and return all their acquirements into the boſom of their alienated parent, are it ſeems to be neglected, and the national encouragement diverted to diſtant independent countries, whoſe inhabitants purchaſe but few of our commodities, and conſume none of our fiſh, but take bullion inſtead of them; who rather ſend manufactures to our markets, than receive them from us; and whoſe exports may be checked and controuled by a thouſand accidents which at this diſtance can neither be obviated nor foreſeen. In ſhort, by recommending the ſettlement of ſugar plantations beyond the Cape of Good Hope, this project maintains that it is wiſe to remove encouragement from proximate and dependent colonies, to countries which, being placed beyond the reach of civil regulations from hence, can be governed only by the ſword, and which, at no very remote period, may regain their independence;—when however it will be too late to reſort back to our ruined and deſerted colonies in the Weſt Indies!

If the reader imagines that the intention of this ſcheme is to open a ſugar trade with the Eaſt Indies, to Britiſh ſubjects without diſtinction, it is neceſſary he ſhould be informed that nothing is farther

farther from the thoughts of its advocates and promoters. Their aim is to transfer the monopoly of the West Indies, to the monopolists of the East; being well apprized that a great importation of sugar for a few years from India, would effectually stop the cultivation of this article in the British colonies, after which the market would be their own; and the supply, as in the case of all other articles of *foreign* growth, be encreased or diminished, as the interest of the importer, not of the public, should regulate and direct. CHAP. V.

For myself, I am unwilling to believe that the British government has at any time meditated intentional injury towards the sugar islands, and therefore cannot be persuaded that such a project will ever receive the sanction and support of administration. The planters however, judging of the future by the past, have abundant cause for anxiety and alarm; and if it were permitted to an uncourtly West Indian to expostulate, freely and explicitly, with the king's ministers on the treatment which those colonies have experienced from the mother country during the last twenty years, and on the danger to be dreaded from innovation, he might display a statement of facts,—unpleasant indeed to hear,—but extremely difficult to controvert or elude. Such a person might, without any deviation from truth, present them with a detail not unlike the following *:

"It is well known (he might say) that the sufferings of those colonies which fell under the dominion of France were very great; and that at the conclusion of the war, such of the planters as survived the vexations of the enemy, and were

* See an exceeding well-written pamphlet, entitled *The Case of the Sugar Colonies*, from whence this detail is copied almost verbatim.

not

BOOK VI. not actually bankrupts in their fortunes, as a great many were, were reduced to embarraſſments nearly approaching to it. For the honour of the Britiſh name it ought to be recorded, that no ſooner was an iſland taken from under the Britiſh protection, than the property of its inhabitants was treated, to all intents and purpoſes, as the property of natural-born enemies. Your veſſels of war cruized upon them, and made prize of our effects wherever they were to be found. Even neutral flags afforded no protection againſt your depredations; until the higheſt authorities in the law had pronounced ſuch conduct to be illegal; and parliament interfered to facilitate the paſſage of the products of Grenada, which having ſurrendered at diſcretion, were ſtill expoſed to capture. Even the hurricane, that moſt awful viſitation of Providence, which uſually arreſts the vengeance of men, and by exciting ſofter affections, diſpoſes them to acts of fraternity, loſt its uſual effect of procuring a paſſage even for the neceſſaries of life; and thoſe whom the ſtorm had ſpared, your rapacity would have ſtarved.

"The war ceaſed, and with it the dominion of France over all the iſlands (Tobago excepted, which was ceded to her in perpetuity); but our miſeries ſtill ſurvived; for the treaty of eighty-two, which gave peace and independence to North America, only transferred hoſtilities to the ſugar colonies; as they have never ceaſed from that time to the preſent, to be harraſſed with vexations of one kind or another. The firſt meaſure by which they were annoyed, aroſe in the policy of the ſtate. It was thought neceſſary to diſſolve their connexion with the continent. The conſequence of which was, that Jamaica being deprived of its produce of negro proviſions by a ſeries of tem-

peſts

peſts and unfavourable ſeaſons, loſt fifteen thou- CHAP. V.
ſand of her ſlaves by famine. And yet you talk of humanity as if it were a national virtue!

"What ſince has been the diſpoſition of Great Britain towards us, may be learnt from the popular converſation at this day; from the conduct of large bodies aſſociated for the abolition of the ſlave trade, and ultimately of ſlavery itſelf; from the eſtabliſhments projected and in execution, on the coaſt of Africa, with views declaredly hoſtile to our intereſts; from the numbers of inflammatory paragraphs and calumnious pamphlets that daily iſſue from the preſs to prejudice the Weſt Indian planters in the public opinion; from the indefatigable circulation of addreſſes, exhorting the people to the diſuſe of Weſt Indian ſugar; and laſtly, from various propoſals with reſpect to the reduction of the price of the commodity. In ſo many ſhapes does this ſpirit manifeſt itſelf, as to give juſt grounds to conclude, that ſomething like a decided purpoſe is entertained for the total ruin of the ſugar colonies, and that the vexations we have hitherto experienced, are only preliminaries to the ſyſtem which is to be conſummated by the grand meaſure of raiſing of rivals to our monopoly in your eſtabliſhments in the eaſt.

"It has been imputed as a reproach to the ſugar colonies, that they are expenſive, and that they engage you in war. Never were the Weſt Indian colonies the cauſe of war; but whenever the two nations of France and England are engaged in any quarrel, from whatever cauſe it may ariſe, thither they repair to decide their differences. They are made the theatre of war; they are the victims, but never the origin of the teſt. The inhabitants of the French and Engliſh iſlands live in an habitual intercourſe of good offices,

BOOK VI. offices, and would wish for eternal peace; and they have reason for it, for what are they to gain by war?

"When, therefore, we reflect upon the various means which have been employed to prejudice the West Indian planters, we find ourselves totally at a loss to conjecture what it is that could excite so much acrimony against us; as there exists none of those causes, which usually provoke the envy of men, and exasperate their malignity. The West Indians are not remarkable (with very few exceptions) either for their gigantic opulence, or an ostentatious display of it. They do not emerge rapidly from poverty and insignificance into conspicuous notice. Such of them as possess fortunes of distinguished magnitude, as some gentlemen of Jamaica are happy enough to do, are not the creation of a day. Their names are to be found in the earliest records of the island, and their adventures were coeval with the first establishment of the colony, and of course their properties, such as we now find them, are the fruits of the toil of successive generations. Many there are, indeed, who have competencies that enable them to live with œconomy, in this country; but the great mass are men of oppressed fortunes, consigned by debt to unremitting drudgery in the colonies, with a hope, which eternally mocks their grasp, of happier days, and a release from their embarrassments. Such are the times which we have lately seen, that if suffered to continue, might possibly have given effect to their exertions, and have lifted them out of their distresses. But it seems that poverty is considered as the legitimate heritage of every West Indian planter. They may encounter loss, and struggle with adversity; but never are they to profit of contingencies

gencies that may enable them to repair the diſaſ- CHAP. V.
ters of adverſe fortune, to which they are peculiarly ſubjected by their poſition.

"If the miniſter means the ruin of the Weſt Indian colonies, he may effect it by promoting the extenſive cultivation of the ſugar cane in the Eaſt Indies, with a view to the ſupply of any part of the European market; and we have only equity to oppoſe to power, for we cannot repel injury. Murmurs would be unavailing, and our reſentments important; but it would be a baſe deſertion of intereſt, to ſuffer ourſelves to be intimidated into a voluntary ſurrender of right. We proteſt therefore againſt any innovation, and adhere to the ſyſtem of double monopoly: There we are at anchor; and if there is no ſecurity any where againſt the ſtorms and afflictions of Providence, ſo neither is there againſt the injuſtice of men; but we ſhall at leaſt have the conſolation of not ſuffering the reproaches of our own boſoms, or of leaving accuſers in our poſterity!"

To ſuch a remonſtrance as the foregoing, reſpectfully but firmly delivered, it is difficult to ſay, what reply could be given. If, however, it is not the wiſh or intention of government to violate the national faith with the colonies, by depriving them of their monopoly, their apprehenſions on that head may be eaſily removed. In this important buſineſs ſatisfaction being given, to the reſt, if candour were to dictate an anſwer, although much muſt be admitted, much too might be ſaid, and honeſtly ſaid, to ſoften and conciliate. It may be urged that, however harſh and unkind the conduct of the mother country has occaſionally been thought, the colonies ought not to forget that they are indebted to her for all that they poſſeſs; their birth and origin, laws, government, religion

BOOK VI.

gion and liberty; deriving from her parental solicitude and powerful protection, every circumstance that renders them prosperous in themselves, and enviable to others. If, during the fatal and destructive war which terminated in the dismemberment of the empire, they had their share—perhaps more than their share—of the general calamity, they will not forget that all of them that had suffered by capture (Tobago excepted) were restored by the peace to the blessings of a British constitution and government. Perhaps, since that time, a more liberal policy, a more generous freedom, might in some points have been wished and expected; but it should be remembered, that they enjoy, and have long enjoyed, as a compensation for commercial restraint, the privilege of the British market, and the benefit of the British capital. They possess too, every characteristic mark of a free people in their internal concerns. They are taxed solely by their own representatives, and have not the image, but the substance also, of an English constitution. This whole state of commercial servitude and civil liberty (as a great writer* hath well observed) taken together, though certainly not perfect freedom, yet comparing it with the ordinary circumstances of human nature, may be pronounced a happy and a liberal condition.

To the candid and ingenuous, I trust I need not offer any apology for thus having, in the conclusion of my book, suggested considerations, which may tend to obviate misapprehensions, remove prejudices, and mitigate anger between those, who though divided by local situation, are allied to each other by the dearest ties of interest, affection, and consanguinity. I have thought this the more necessary, as it appears, by the bitter-

* Mr. Burke.

ness

neſs and acrimony with which ſome men ſpeak of the ſugar colonies, that their aim is to inſtigate the national reſentment, and heighten the public animoſity towards them. Inſtead of manifeſting a diſpoſition, "fond to ſpread friendſhips and to cover heats," theſe gentlemen ſeem to me to exert their talents in miſrepreſentations, which can anſwer no other end than to ſet the remaining parts of the empire at variance with each other. I look not in this place to any of thoſe fanatical writings on ſlavery and the ſlave trade, which, equally diſgraceful to humanity and letters, propagate the moſt daring and outrageous falſhoods without ſcruple or ſhame. I allude to authors of a very different ſtamp; to perſons who, having the means of better information, and poſſeſſing abilities to influence the public opinion, have ſuffered the prejudices of party to bias their judgment. As a man perſonally intereſted in the welfare of the ſugar colonies, I have attempted, by diſplaying their importance and value, to point out the wiſdom and neceſſity of lenient councils, and a liberal indulgence in the government of this kingdom towards them. In aiming however to encourage forbearance and kindneſs on the one ſide, I have, as a loyal and dutiful ſubject, endeavoured to conciliate affection, and promote filial obedience on the other. If the coloniſts reflect ſoberly, I am perſuaded they will perceive that, in a conteſt with the mother country, they have nothing to gain, and every thing to loſe. Reflections of this kind, it is hoped, may diſpoſe to mutual confidence and moderation; and tend equally to promote the welfare of the colonies, and the ſtrength, proſperity, and glory of Great Britain!

END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

APPEN-

APPENDIX

TO

VOLUME THE SECOND.

JAMAICA, HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,

VENERIS, 23° *die Novembris*, 1792.

MR. Shirley, from the committee appointed to enquire into, and report to the houſe, the ſtate of the ſugar trade, and the effect which an act, paſſed during the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, entitled, *An act for regulating the allowance of the drawback, and payment of the bounty, on the exportation of ſugar; and for permitting the importation of ſugar and coffee into the Bahama and Bermuda iſlands, in foreign ſhips*, is likely to have on the ſaid ſugar trade; to enquire into the conſequences that may follow an abolition of the ſlave-trade; &c. &c. reported as follows:

THAT, in obedience to the order of the houſe, they had proceeded to collect the beſt information that could be obtained, to enable them to judge of the effects that muſt neceſſarily ariſe from the operations of an act evidently calculated to prevent the price of ſugar exceeding a certain ſtandard; for which purpoſe the committee thought it proper to compare together two periods of time, in which the Weſt India colonies enjoyed the bleſſings of peace, and in which the quantity of ſugar imported into Great Britain from the Weſt Indies was nearly the ſame, but its value very different. The firſt period comprehends the term of four years, viz. 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775, (it was not till the beginning of 1776 that the American privateers began to ſeize Weſt India ſhips); the ſecond commences with 1788, and includes the three ſubſequent years: During both theſe periods, none of the ſugar colonies were afflicted with hurricanes; in the former, the importation of ſugar into Great Britain amounted to 3,921,781 *cwt.* from Jamaica, and to 3,762,804 *cwt.* from the reſt of the ſugar colonies; and in the latter to 5,130,085 *cwt.* from this iſland,

iſland, and to 2,563,228 *cwt.* from the reſt of the iſlands.

And it appears from the reports of the lords of the committee of council, ſubmitted to his majeſty's conſideration, that the quantity of tonnage of Britiſh veſſels that have cleared outwards from Jamaica alone to all the parts of the world, between the 5th of January 1787 and 5th of January 1788, amounted to 85,788 tons; and from the books of the receiver general of this iſland, it appears that, from the 1ſt of January to the 31ſt of December 1791, it has been 138,149 tons; an increaſe, in the ſpace of three years, of 52,361 tons, of the utmoſt importance to the navigation of Great Britain, giving employment to 5,700 additional ſeamen.

Many circumſtances were favourable to this iſland during the firſt period, particularly the price of ſlaves, which, upon an average of 29 cargoes, was 34*l.* 10*s.* 3½*d.* ſterling *per* head, whereas during the latter it has been 47*l.* 2*s.* 6½*d.* and is now 59*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* an advance of 71 *per cent.* the natural conſequence of which is, that hired labour has riſen from 14*d.* to 21*d.* ſterling *per* day. During the ſame period, the price of lumber from America has increaſed 37 *per cent.* ſalted beef from Ireland 22½, and ſalted pork 10 *per cent.* and in regard to that moſt eſſential article of conſumption, herrings, (with which our negroes muſt be fed), the advance is no leſs than 66 *per cent.*

Notwithſtanding ſo conſiderable an advance in the price of herrings, the committee perceive, by an account returned by the naval officer, that during the firſt period 76,168 barrels were imported, and that during the latter the importation amounted to 169,051 barrels.

The committee have further to ſtate that, in conſequence of the ſcarcity of wood in many parts of the iſland, a number of ſugar eſtates are obliged to import fuel from Great Britain; whereby the collieries are benefited, and the Britiſh navigation encouraged.

Among other circumſtances, likewiſe, which occurred in theſe two periods, favourable to the firſt, it appears, from

from the minutes of the houſe, that the taxes raiſed in this Iſland in 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775, amounted to 111,422*l.* 0*s.* 8½*d.* ſterling, which, on an average, is 27,855*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* each year; whereas, in the latter period, the contingent expences of government have encreaſed ſo enormouſly, that it has been neceſſary to provide, for the laſt four years, no leſs a ſum than 409,312*l.* 17*s.* 1½*d.* ſterling, which, for one year, is 102,328*l.* 4*s.* 3¼*d.* independent of the revenue granted to the crown in 1728. To this muſt now be added, the Britiſh pay and ſubſiſtence of the 20th light dragoons, and the pay and ſubſiſtence of the privates of the 16th and 20th regiments, lately arrived from Halifax, which, with the iſland ſubſiſtence, and the building of barracks, may altogether exceed 45,000*l.* ſterling.

The Committee, having enquired into the difference of the expences that attended the cultivation of ſugar eſtates between the firſt and the ſecond period, endeavoured to procure the beſt account of the price of ſugars at Britiſh markets, and of the balance remaining in the hands of the Britiſh factors, at the diſpoſal of the ſugar planters, after deducting from the groſs ſales the duties, the inſurance, the freight, commiſſions, and other charges of ſale, together with the amount of the ſupplies annually exported from different ports in Great Britain and Ireland for the ſupport of their eſtates; for which purpoſe they applied to Mr. Taylor, a member of this committee, and requeſted that he would direct his clerks to extract from his books the ſales, not only of his own ſugars, but of thoſe made on eſtates entruſted to his care.

By thoſe accounts it appears, that his factors in Great Britain ſold, during the firſt period, 4,018 hogſheads, weighing 51,634 *cwt.* on an average of 34*s.* 8*d.* *per cwt.* and that, during the laſt period, they ſold 5,314 hogſheads and 10 tierces, weighing 76,365 *cwt.* on an average of 58*s.* 7*d.* *per cwt.* and that the balance at the diſpoſal of the ſugar planters, after all deductions made, was 18*s.* 4½*d.* *per cwt.* during the firſt, and 32*s.* 2*d.* during the latter period.

And here the committee cannot but point out to the houſe the extraordinary advantages reſulting to the parent ſtate from the culture of canes in the Weſt Indies; for the above calculations clearly ſhew, that when ſugars were ſelling at 34*s.* 8*d.* Great Britain received out of the ſales, for duties, ſupplies, inſurance, freight, and charges, 16*s.* 3½*d.* for each hundred weight ſo imported and ſold; and when ſelling at 58*s.* 7*d.* no leſs than 26*s.* 5*d.* *per cwt.* and as the imports of ſugar into Great Britain from the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands have amounted, on an average of the laſt four years, to 1,923,328 *cwt.* it muſt be evident (though at firſt ſight it may appear hardly credible), that Great Britain has received annually, from the amount of the groſs ſales of ſugars, and the purchaſe of ſupplies, 2,983,161*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* ſterling, beſides the benefits that reſult to her monied men from an intereſt of 6 *per cent.* and to her farmers and manufacturers from the profits of the ſugar planters, which ultimately center in Great Britain, or are expended in improvements here.

The committee have included in the above calculations the duties, amounting to 1,442,490*l.* ſterling; for though it may be alledged, that the revenue of Great Britain might derive the ſame advantages from an importation of ſugars from any foreign colony, yet the account of ſales of the factors in Great Britain prove that the duties are paid by the planters; that the factors not only deduct it out of the groſs ſales, but even charge an intereſt on it until the ſugars are paid for by the purchaſers; and that it depends on the price ſugars ſell at, whether the planter ſhall be reimburſed or not.

The committee having been able to ſtate to the houſe the price of ſugars, and the balance at the diſpoſal of the planters in the hands of their factors in Great Britain, during theſe two periods of time, it remains to ſhew the effects that theſe circumſtances have had here.

The committee find that, during the firſt period, there were 775 ſugar eſtates in Jamaica, exporting to Great Britain annually 76,897 hogſheads, which weighed at the

the home markets 980,436 *cwt.* and the balance at the diſpoſal of the planters being 18*s.* 4½*d.* *per cwt.* theſe 76,897 hogſheads neated 900,775*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* ſterling.

It is well known that the ſugar exported from hence to America (amounting, during the firſt period, to 408 hogſheads each year), and what is ſold here for the conſumption of the iſland, together with the rum, do not defray all the expences attending ſugar eſtates, if the purchaſe of ſlaves and the payment of taxes for the ſupport of government are to be added to it. The ſugar planter muſt draw bills of exchange for theſe two articles on account of the balance ſtated above to be at his diſpoſal in Great Britain.

On a very low calculation, and upon a general average, ſugar eſtates in Jamaica require an annual ſupply of ſix ſlaves each, to keep up the health, the ſtrength, and the number of its labourers. A gang of new negroes affords at firſt a great proportion of workers; but when they become old and infirm, and when the number of children increaſes, either new ſlaves muſt be bought, the old ones over-worked, or the produce of the eſtate be conſiderably reduced.

It is univerſally allowed, that two-thirds of the taxes are paid by the ſugar eſtates.

Theſe two articles being deducted from 900,775*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* the committee find, that the ſum of 726,992*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* was the neat proceeds of 775 eſtates during the firſt period, being the whole that the ſugar planters had to ſupport themſelves and families, to educate their children, to pay the intereſt of the advances made by their factors in Great Britain, and to diſcharge the principal: this being impracticable, what was the conſequence? In the courſe of twenty years, one hundred and ſeventy-ſeven eſtates have been ſold for the payment of debts, to the total ruin of many induſtrious men; fifty-five eſtates have been thrown up; and ninety-two are ſtill in the hands of creditors: And it appears, from the return made by the provoſt-marſhal (who acts in Jamaica as ſheriff of the iſland) that 80,021 executions, amount-

ing to 22,563,786*l.* ſterling, have been lodged in his office, in the courſe of twenty years.

The four laſt years afford better proſpects; for though the price of ſlaves, of lumber, ſalted beef, pork, and herrings, is conſiderably increaſed, and the taxes are much higher, yet the neat price of ſugars to the planter having riſen from 18*s.* 4½*d.* to 32*s.* 2*d.* *per cwt.* they have begun to pay their debts, and, in conſequence of ſuch payments, have got into better credit.—In the courſe of the laſt year, 2,181 executions only were lodged in the office of the provoſt-marſhal, amounting to 569,724*l.* ſterling, and the quantity of ſugars imported into Great Britain has increaſed from 980,436 *cwt.* to 1,282,514 *cwt.* an increaſe of 302,078 *cwt.* The committee have further to obſerve, that 47 ſugar eſtates are ſettling in this iſland.

This increaſe in the value of ſugars has been occaſioned, not ſo much by an increaſe of conſumption in Great Britain and Ireland, as by a greater demand for foreign markets. It appears that Great Britain, during the years 1790 and 1791, exported 277,656 *cwt.* raw, and 278,391 *cwt.* refined ſugars; which, at the rate of 45*s.* *per cwt.* for the raw, and 90*s.* *per cwt.* for the refined ſugars, has added at leaſt 1,600,000*l.* ſterling to the balance of trade, in favour of the parent ſtate.

And here it may not be improper to obſerve, that, from the operations of an act limiting the price of ſugars to a certain ſtandard, foreign refiners and grocers, not knowing whether the drawback, and payment of the bounty, will or will not be allowed, cannot depend on being ſupplied from the Britiſh markets; and ſhould the ſugars made in the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands be thereby confined to the conſumption of Great Britain and Ireland, the importation exceeding the conſumption, the ſugar planters will return again to that ſtate of bankruptcy and ruin from which they are beginning to emerge.

The committee have further to obſerve, that the productions of the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands are as much a part of the national wealth, as if the ſame had come

to

to the port of London from any part of Great Britain; that every acre of land turned into a ſtate of cultivation by the induſtry of the coloniſts, is an increaſe of wealth to the parent ſtate; that the profits of the planters center in Great Britain; for whatever price is paid for ſugar that money is immediately repaid by the planters to their creditors, or laid out in Great Britain, or expended here in improvements, which ultimately enrich Great Britain; that the exports of ſugars from Great Britain to foreign markets are as beneficial to the Britiſh trade as the exports of corn, or any other production of Great Britain; that it equally increaſes the balance of trade in its favour; that all wiſe nations have always conſidered an increaſe of wealth as much more eſſential than the increaſe of any ſpecific tax; that an increaſe of wealth produces an increaſe of conſumption, and, of courſe, renders every tax much more productive. And the committee beg leave to add, in proof of the ſtrength of theſe arguments, that from Monſieur Arnould's account of the balance of the French trade at the time the revolution took place, it appears that France exported to Italy, Holland, Germany, and the Baltic, ſugar and coffee, the productions of her Weſt India iſlands, to ſuch an amount, that ſhe received the immenſe ſum of 120 millions of livres annually from this branch of her commerce; and Monſieur Arnould adds, that, without it, the balance of trade would have been greatly againſt her.

The committee are of opinion that, theſe matters being properly ſtated to parliament, there can be no doubt that juſtice will be done to the Britiſh coloniſts; they therefore recommend to the houſe to inſtruct Mr. Fuller, the agent of Jamaica, to petition the houſe of commons, praying for the repeal of that part of the act paſſed laſt ſeſſion, entitled, *An act for regulating the allowance of the drawback, and payment of the bounty, on the exportation of ſugar, and for permitting the importation of ſugar and coffee into the Bahama and Bermuda iſlands, in foreign ſhips*, which regulates the exportation of ſugars from Great Britain to foreign markets. As to the meaſure of opening free ports in the

the Bahama and Bermuda islands for the importation of foreign sugars and coffee, the committee are of opinion, that as these sugars and coffee are not to be consumed in Great Britain, but put *en depot* in warehouses until re-exported, no great injury can arise from it to the British West India islands; and though there may be some danger that such a regulation may give considerable uneasiness to foreign states, particularly to France and Denmark, yet if the carrying trade of Great Britain can thereby be improved, it will increase the British navigation, and add to the security of this island.

The committee having enquired into the state of the sugar trade, proceeded to consider the consequences that may follow an abolition of the slave trade; and are of opinion, that it would not only put a stop to all further improvements in the culture of sugars and coffee, but that it would in time considerably reduce the quantity:

That it would gradually diminish the number of white inhabitants in the island, and thereby lessen its security:

And that it would cause bankruptcies, create discontents, and ultimately interrupt the peace and tranquillity, and affect the internal safety, of Jamaica; the consequences of which would be highly injurious to Great Britain, and fatal to this valuable island.

In order to prove that an abolition would considerably reduce the quantity of sugars and coffee, it is proper for the committee to shew, that the question of increase and decrease in the number of our slaves has not been considered in its true point of view. No doubt, there is a decrease, owing to the several causes that have been repeatedly urged; but it is not so much the decrease in number that requires a new supply of labourers, as the decrease of effective workers. There are many planters who actually possess more negroes than they had some years ago; and yet these planters will be obliged to reduce the culture of their lands, if the trade should be abolished.

For

For instance, the committee will suppose a planter settling with a gang of one hundred African slaves, all bought in the prime of life: Out of this gang he will be able at first to work, on an average, from eighty to ninety labourers. The committee will further suppose, that they increase in number; yet in the course of twenty years, this gang will so far be reduced in point of strength, that he will not be able to work more than from thirty to forty. It will, therefore, require a supply of fifty new negroes to keep up his estate; and that not owing to any cruelty, or want of good management on his part; on the contrary, the more humane he is, the greater number of old people and young children he will have on his estate. This decrease of culture will be gradual, and will not at first be materially felt; but, in the course of time, it will reduce the quantity of sugars and coffee exported to Great Britain by her own colonies so much, that she will be obliged to purchase, instead of selling, these articles at foreign markets, to the great benefit of other nations; who will not follow her example, but who will, on the contrary, encourage their sugar colonies, and extend their cultivation.

The committee have further to observe, with regard to the coffee planters, that it is only of late years that any progress has been made in the cultivation of this valuable article. During the first period, the whole of the exports did not exceed 2,114,842*lbs.* and were annually decreasing. In 1773 and 1774, the assembly of Jamaica gave great encouragement to the coffee planters, both by granting premiums, and by publishing every information that could be procured from those parts of the world where the cultivation of coffee was supposed to be best understood: But the committee do not find that such encouragements produced any effect. In 1783, the excise on coffee was reduced by parliament to 6*d. per lb.* and this alone appears to have given new life to its culture. During the second period, the exportation has been annually increasing, and in 1791 amounted to 2,999,874*lbs.* There are at present 607 coffee estates in Jamaica, employing 21,011 negroes. The greater number of these estates are only settling; and as it requires five

five years before coffee trees can be in full bearing, the committee are of opinion, that, in a few years, it will be an article of the firſt importance to Great Britain. Hiſpaniola produced, in 1789, 76,286,530 *lbs.* of coffee; which, at 90*s. per cwt.* is 3,432,893*l.* ſterling; but it will take many years before this unfortunate colony can recover from the dreadful calamities ſhe has been, and ſtill continues to be, afflicted with; and as France, before the rebellion of the ſlaves at Hiſpaniola, exported to Hamburgh, Bremen, Lubeck, Dantzick, Denmark, Sweden, and Ruſſia, ſugar and coffee to the amount of * 55,000,000 of livres, the committee preſume to think, that Great Britain, by encouraging her own coffee planters, has now a favourable opportunity of increaſing the value of her exports to Ruſſia; a moſt deſirable object, as the balance of trade is conſiderably in favour of that empire.

The moſt numerous claſs of white inhabitants in Jamaica conſiſt of the overſeers, tradeſmen, and bookkeepers, employed on ſugar eſtates, pens, and other ſettlements. It appears, from the returns of the different pariſhes, that there are now 767 ſugar eſtates, including thoſe that are ſettling, and 1,047 pens and ſettlements in coffee, cotton, and indigo, having each thirty ſlaves and upwards; and ſuppoſing that there are, upon an average, four white men on every ſugar eſtate, and one on each pen and ſettlement, their numbers will be about 4,000. All the overſeers and tradeſmen, and a few of the bookkeepers, ſave ſomething out of their ſalaries; and they have no other way of laying out their money but in the purchaſe of ſlaves; whereby the tradeſmen, if they are induſtrious, will in time be able to ſet up for themſelves in buſineſs, and the overſeers procure themſelves to retire to when old and infirm. Should the abolition take place, theſe uſeful men will hoard up all they can ſave, and, when they have made up a ſmall ſum, they will remove, and probably ſettle in the United States of America.

The committee have further to obſerve, that, from the encouragement given to overſeers, and the proſpect

* Vide Monſieur Arnould, *vol.* II. *p.* 203.

they

they have at present of independence, they are now in general a very respectable class of people; many being men of good families, and many having had the advantage of a liberal education: To this, in some measure, may be attributed the mild treatment of the slaves intrusted to their care; for manners have more influence on the morals of the people, than even the laws; such men were not to be had formerly; planters were obliged to hire the first white men they could find; and the committee presume to think, that the few persons worthy of credit who have given evidence in favour of the abolition, have formed their ideas of the treatment of the slaves in the West Indies, from what they might have formerly seen of the conduct of such men.

The committee having stated, that an abolition of the slave trade would depopulate the country, have further to observe, that the same cause would produce the same effect in the towns: Such merchants as have already acquired fortunes by trade, seeing no probability of employing their money to advantage in the purchase of lands in Jamaica, would quit the country, and carry away their capitals; and the traders and shopkeepers, losing their customers, would not be able to make their annual remittances, either to their correspondents or to the manufacturers in Britain.

The committee have now to consider the consequences of an abolition with respect to those who, having inherited, bought, or patented, unsettled lands, are now making every exertion to open and cultivate the same; and are of opinion, that these valuable men would thereby be thrown into a state of despair, because it would put it out of their power either to sell or improve their properties.

In such a situation, can there be a doubt that every effort will be made to smuggle slaves? Will not a man face every danger to save himself and his family from ruin? The island abounds with creeks and bays, where small-decked vessels may run in at any time; and, in order to prevent smuggling, a very considerable naval force must be stationed here, at an enormous expence.

These

These ships of war must keep the sea during the hurricane months: But, if this duty is to be left to the custom-house officers, unless they are supported by a military force, not one of them will be able to do their duty but at the risk of life; and such will be the discontents of the people, from so severe a measure as an abolition of the slave trade, that the committee have reason to apprehend, that even a military force would prove ineffectual. The slaves, seeing the white people in a state of discord with each other, would do what the slaves have done at Hispaniola; they would rebel, burn the estates, and destroy the inhabitants.

The committee will now suppose the seizure of a slave ship: What is to become of the cargo? Are the negroes to be sent back to Africa? If they are, what can be more cruel than to expose them, and the crews of the vessels, to the dangers of a second voyage, much more perilous and tedious than the first, and for which they would not be prepared? But, if they are not to be sent back to Africa, and, on the contrary, to be landed here, these negroes will immediately become subject to the laws and regulations of Jamaica; and the legislature of this island will never suffer a number of uncivilized men to be placed in a state of freedom, which would materially injure the safety of the country.

&c. &c. &c.

TABLES

TABLES

OF

Weſt Indian Exports and Imports

TO AND FROM

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

TABLES

West Indian Exports and Imports

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

TABLES, &c.

NUMBER I.

An ACCOUNT of the VALUE of the WEST INDIA IMPORTS, according to the Cuſtom-Houſe Prices, imported in the following Years, viz.

YEARS.	VALUE.
1698	£.629,533
1699	586,255
1700	824,246
1701	738,601
1702	476,168
1703	626,488
1704	489,906
1705	706,574
1706	537,744
1707	604,889
1708	592,750
1709	645,689
1710	780,505
1711	556,198
1712	648,190
1713	762,248
1714	843,390

1715

YEARS.	VALUE.
1715	£.999,412
1716	1,104,188
1717	1,204,057
1718	896,031
1719	875,358
1720	1,117,576
1721	852,529
1722	1,015,617
1723	1,087,254
1724	1,160,568
1725	1,359,185
1726	1,222,511
1727	1,039,513
1728	1,498,023
1729	1,515,421
1730	1,571,608
1731	1,310,580
1732	1,315,458
1733	1,618,013
1734	1,141,068
1735	1,460,609
1736	1,423,039
1737	946,423
1738	1,475,910
1739	1,566,838
1740	1,185,107
1741	1,402,986
1742	1,309,886
1743	1,404,610
1744	1,156,952
1745	1,024,097
1746	1,148,124
1747	941,116
1748	1,615,122
1749	1,478,075

YEARS.	VALUE.
1750	£.1,514,452
1751	1,444,775
1752	1,428,824
1753	1,838,137
1754	1,462,601
1755	1,867,256
1756	1,687,177
1757	1,906,147
1758	1,858,425
1759	1,833,646
1760	1,861,668
1761	1,953,622
1762	1,762,406
1763	2,254,231
1764	2,391,552
1765	2,196,549
1766	2,704,114
1767	2,690,673
1768	2,942,717
1769	2,686,714
1770	2,110,026
1771	2,979,378
1772	3,530,082
1773	2,902,407
1774	3,574,702
1775	3,688,795
1776	3,340,949
1777	2,840,802
1778	3,059,922
1779	2,836,489
1780	2,612,236
1781	2,023,546
1782	2,612,910
1783	2,820,387
1784	3,531,705

YEARS.	VALUE.
1785	4,400,956
1786	3,484,025
1787	3,758,087
1788	4,307,866
1789	3,917,301
1790	3,854,204

NUMBER IV. *Continued.*

EXPORTS from IRELAND to the WEST INDIES, for the Years 1790, 1791, and 1792, continued.

Denominations.	Year ending Lady Day, 1790.										Year ending Lady Day, 1791.										Year ending Lady Day, 1792.									
	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	Montserrat.	Nevis.	Saint Kitts.	Tortola.	Wt. Indies in General.	Quantity.	Rate of Value.	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	Montserrat.	Nevis.	Saint Kitts.	Tortola.	Wt. Indies in General.	Quantity.	Rate of Value.	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	Montserrat.	Nevis.	Saint Kitts.	Tortola.	Wt. Indies in General.	Quantity.	Rate of Value.
Linen. Tanned - Yards	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	20 0 0	—	611	—	—	—	—	—	—	611	1,222 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Linen. Dito - Cost. pr.	—	7 3 21	—	—	—	—	—	—	7 3 21	22 4 6	22 0 0	1 3 8	—	—	—	—	—	—	34 1 4	97 8 0	—	6 0 0	38 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	38	76 0 0
Linen. Coloured - Yards	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	800	800	133 0 8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Thread. Wrought, Cost. pr. lb.	60 0 0	—	42 1 0	—	—	—	—	104	104	834 0 0	88	47	—	—	—	—	—	220	355	1,718 0 0	68	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	87	174 0 0
Thread. Small Parcels, Value	—	3 10 0	1 0 0	—	—	—	—	104	108 1 0	864 10 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	180 0 0	1,332 0 0	664 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	7 0 0
Lawn, Cotton, and Silk Manufactory - Value	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4 10 0	4 10 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 10 0	1 10 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cambric - Value	1,561 13 4	784 10	3,993 15	—	—	—	—	977 0 0	6,336 13 7	8,436 13 7	—	670 2	4,740 17 0	—	—	—	—	—	1 4 10 0	2 10 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	94	94 2 0
Cambric - Yards	—	—	3,163	—	—	—	—	—	3,163	900 0 0	—	—	2,217	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	92	92 2 0	3 10 0
Cloth Plain - Yards	177,873	88,492	370,990	—	362	—	200	173	3,600	900 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Coloured - Yards	8,823	3,963	21,735	—	—	—	—	1,738	36,623	3,811 5 0	114,807	57,402	1,216,328	—	—	—	—	382 16 0	1,389,535	880 10 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Flour - Cost. pr. lb.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11,866	18,172	37,000	—	1,304	—	10,342	1,872	303,384	1,733,079	116,930 12 0	271,244	91,647	8,409	—	—	—	—	397	7,840	1,960 0 0
Groats - Barrels	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	149	149 1 21	149 1 21	—	1	2,478	—	—	—	—	—	3,062	76,550	6,891 6 7	4,698	6,682	28,593	—	—	—	—	1,677	41,925	10,481 5 0
Oatmeal, Cost. pr. lb.	200 8 0	101 0 0	23 0 0	—	—	—	—	324	58	9 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	171 1 24	8 3 21	676 1 20	3,833 3 23	2,196 13 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,677	64,776	8,094 17 3
Millinery Ware - Value	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	31 3 21	337 5 21	297 8 0	472 0 0	220 1	439 0 24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	388 3 21	1,000 23 0
Mumm - Barrels	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	80 0 0	—	—	—	—	12 0 0	750 1 0	18 0 0	1,311 2 14	393 9 0	340 0 0	73 0 0	133 0 0	—	—	—	—	111 3 0	1 0 0
Oil, Rape, Tons, Hhds. Gl.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	35	35	3 3 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5 0 0
Paper, Writing - Reams	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	1 10 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	83	83 2 0	165 2 0	1,239 13 0
Pork - Barrels	2,002	3,817	9,318	20	81	2,283	264	3,664	19,885	23,872 0 0	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	318	1 6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sailors Ware - Value	80 10 0	4 0 0	67 7 0	—	—	—	—	—	71 7 0	169 19 6	1,310	5,010	8,373	—	110	787	213	6,824	314	18,077	23,115 10 0	111	—	28	—	—	—	—	—	139	69 18 0
Salt - Hogsh.	—	10	136	—	—	—	—	—	146	109 19 6	—	8 12 0	47 13 0	—	—	—	—	44 0 0	360	180 1 0	12 0 0	10 0 0	79 3 6	—	—	—	—	—	—	22 0 0	223 1 6	223 1 6
Shoes - Pairs	787	1,230	1,665	—	—	—	—	4	3,610	1,805 0 0	—	—	338	—	—	—	—	—	2,375	1,187 10 0	—	—	247	—	—	—	—	—	—	22 4 3
Soap - Cost. pr. lb.	43 1 7	36 1 14	799 3 22	1 0	31 1 0	8 3 0	118 2 24	3,063 3 0	4,100	2,777 0 0	1,858	632	3,418	—	—	384	—	2,308	8,780	8,050 0 0	7,054	1,026	11,490	—	—	—	—	498	5,872	19,733 4,933 5 0
Shirts. Cairs - Doz. No.	4 0	—	58 7	—	—	—	—	—	62 7	31 3 6	152 3 22	324 3	1,672 2 24	8 0	—	39 1 0	23 0	455 1 22	2,364 2	4,940 0 0	231 1 0	112 1	1,038 2	—	—	—	—	—	870 8 23	2,244 0 0
Shirts. Goat - Cost. pr. No.	—	—	6 3 20	—	—	—	—	—	6 3 20	42 2 0	3 0	—	10 10	—	—	—	—	—	13 10	16 6 8	—	—	2 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	3 0 0
Stationary Ware - Value	23 13 2	7 13 0	47 6 3	—	—	—	—	0 18 0	69 11 5	69 11 5	—	7 6 0	14 2 0	—	—	—	—	—	21 8 0	23 9 0	9 22 0	4 0 0	28 3 6	—	—	—	—	—	0 10 0	—	10 4 0
Stockings. Cotton - Pairs	—	—	84	—	—	—	—	—	84	3 13 0	—	—	84	—	—	—	—	—	84	3 13 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Stockings. Thread - Pairs	—	—	108	—	—	—	—	84	192	38 10 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Stockings. Woollen - Pairs	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	800	800	60 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	84	3 13 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Starch - Cost. pr. lb.	22 0 0	—	37 0 0	—	—	1 0 0	—	—	60	54 0 0	27 0 0	7 0 0	84 0 22	—	—	3 0 0	—	13 0 0	144 2 22	103 0 0	20 0 0	3 0 0	96 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	7 0 0	—	32 1 0
Stone Blue - - -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tallow - Cost. pr. lb.	7 0 14	22 1 0	225 3 0	—	—	—	—	804	1,054	23 9 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tongues - Dozens	394 6	238 12	1,246 12	—	—	—	—	—	1,880	940 0 0	2 3 0	31 3	817 1 22	—	—	20 3 22	1 2 0	32 2 0	353 3 14	633 0 0	1 0 0	92 0 24	226 0 13	—	—	—	—	—	32 0 0	423 3 7	870 0 0
Upholstery Ware - Value	—	28 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	28 0 0	28 0 0	139 0	170 0	1,063 6	—	83 0	228 6	44 0	331 6	2,892 1	1,881 0 0	104 3	161 0	1,048 0	—	—	—	—	—	89 0	42 0	313 0	2,374 7 6	2,374 7 6
Wax Candles, Cost. pr. lb.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	5 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Small Parcels in general, Value	138 10 2	105 3 3	348 13 3	—	32 13 4	88 3	1 4 7 10	0269 7 8	12,203 3 1	1,082 3 0	37 10 8	96 3 6	249 13 0	—	1 3 6	50 11 9	4 14	0262 14 8	884 6 1	884 6 1	37 19 6	64 9 2	683 17 4	—	—	—	—	—	105 7 4	3 3 0	340 17 3	837 13 8	837 13 8
									Amount, per No. IV.	118,393 18 0										174,778 3 0										178,449 3 4
									Value of Exports in 1790	131,649 0 8									Value of Exports in 1791	131,648 4 11								Value of Exports in 1792	155,334 9 8
										£250,044 18 8										£306,430 9 11										£333,784 14 8

NUMBER V.

An ACCOUNT of the QUANTITY and VALUE of all GOODS imported from the *West Indies* into the Kingdom of *Ireland* for the Years 1790, 1791, 1792.

Denominations.	Year ending Lady Day, 1790.								Year ending Lady Day, 1791.								Year ending Lady Day, 1792.							
	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	Saint Kitts.	Tortola.	West Indies in General.	Quantity.	Rate of Value.	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	Saint Kitts.	Tortola.	West Indies in General.	Quantity.	Rate of Value.	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	Saint Kitts.	Tortola.	West Indies in General.	Quantity.	Rate of Value.
Brass, Shroff - Cwt. grs. lbs.	—	—	2 0 25	—	—	—	2 0 25	7 2 6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bullion - - Ounces	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chocolate - - lbs.	—	—	750	—	—	150	300	112 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Coffee - Cwt. grs. lbs.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Copper Plates and Sticks Cwt. grs. lbs.	7 0 24	—	301 3 0	—	—	83 2 24	392 0 0	3000 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Drugs - Value	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	238 2 27	—	—	114 0 0	408 2 27	2,666 17 6	—	—	—	—	—	56	56	4 10 0
Dyers Stuffs. Fustick - Cwt. grs. lbs.	87 17 0	43 19 0	249 19 0	—	—	69 25 0	384 20 0	1,536 10 0	7 25 0	33 0 0	280 16 0	—	—	720 25 0	931 27 20	931 27 20	3 1 0	34 3 0	311 3 0	—	—	348 1 0	698 3 0	6 2 27
Indigo - lbs.	—	400 0 0	600	—	—	200 0 0	1,200 0 0	720 3 0	200 0 0	—	440 0 0	—	—	1,200 0 0	1,840 0 0	1,656 0 0	500 0 0	40 0 0	870 0 0	100 0 0	—	1,410 0 0	2,490 0 0	1,245 0 0
Logwood Cwt. grs. lbs.	40 0 0	—	1,437 3 0	—	—	80 0 0	1,557 3 0	3,892 18 9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Redwood Cwt. grs. lbs.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3079 0 0	—	—	430 0 0	3,510 0 0	7,020 0 0	—	—	730	—	—	730	730	365 0 0
Sanders - Cwt. grs. lbs.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,735 0 0	—	—	3,735 0 0	4,735 0 0	9,348 15 0
Small Parcels - Value	—	28 0 0	100 0 0	—	—	—	128 0 0	128 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	24 0 0	24 0 0	204 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	340 0 0	680 0 0
Anotto Cwt. grs. lbs.	220 1 7	—	—	—	—	—	220 1 7	1,188 11 0	—	3 0 0	—	—	—	—	3 0 0	7 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cocoa Nuts - lbs.	—	—	2,880	—	—	—	2,880	72 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	22 4 0	—	—	—	—	22 4 0	22 4 0
Ginger - Cwt. grs. lbs.	—	—	2,887	—	—	20,577	23,464	1,876 14 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pepper - Pounds	—	71 1 21	40 0 27	—	—	0 2 7	111 3 21	103 18 0	—	139	376	—	—	8,053	8,582	429 2 0	—	—	600	—	—	—	7,344	367 4 0
Pimento - Pounds	—	—	222	—	—	—	222	14 1 0	—	137 0 24	88 2 0	—	—	—	162 2 24	243 18 0	—	17 3 0	208 2 26	—	—	—	226 3 22	339 13 1
Rice - Cwt. grs. lbs.	—	—	10,890	—	—	—	10,890	544 10 0	—	—	8	—	—	—	8	0 17 0	8	16	73	—	—	—	179	14 5 4
Succard - Cwt. grs. lbs.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,415	—	—	—	3,415	410 15 0	—	—	13,532	—	—	—	13,532	676 4 0
Sugar, Muscovado Cwt. grs. lbs.	30 0 0	377 0 0	3664	—	—	3664	7035	138 6 0	88 0 0	—	417 0 0	—	—	324 3 14	829 3 14	114 7 6	482 1 7	—	—	—	—	—	482 1 7	482 0 3
														497 0 0	1,002 0 0	133 6 0	59 0 0	133 0 0	849 0 0	80 0 0	—	—	763 0 0	764 12 0
Small Parcels - Value	13,758 0 7	2,777 8 0	12,248 0 0	1,879 0 7	—	6,222 2 27	35,873 0 7	79,328 5 2	22,116 0 9	3,496 3 21	22,906 2 7	—	—	78,496 7 0	127,508 0 9	135,168 0 0	2,845 3 27	2,331 3 27	13,893 1 3	1,879 0 21	—	18,849 1 19	39,866,384 1 3	249,679 11 9
Hides, tanned - Number	20 2 0	8 19 0	83 19 0	—	—	17 3 0	128 3 0	128 3 0	7 20 20	2 25 0	79 18 2	—	—	42 3 4	132 7 20	30 7 20	21 3 0	2 3 0	61 3 0	0 20 0	—	—	85 0 0	212 21 2
Lime, Lemons, and D-Juice Gallons.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	150	—	596	—	—	—	746	2,984 0 0
Maladie - Cwt. grs. lbs.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	62	62	7 4 2	—	—	—	—	—	—	125	31 1 2
Oranges and Lemons Cwt. grs. lbs.	26 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	26 0 0	1 0 0	32 0 0	—	—	—	—	323 1 0	355 1 0	472 17 6	—	—	—	—	—	—	853 1 21	2,560 3 2
Skins, Lofh - Number	—	—	25	—	—	10 0 0	35 0 0	3 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	7 0 0	30 0 0	6 3 0	25 0 0	0 1 20	28 0 0	—	—	—	64 1 20	8 1 0
Sperm, Raw - Gallons	80,314	15,098	364,009	25,664	—	361,378	846,463	634,847 10 0	—	—	79	—	—	—	79	39 10 0	—	—	1,648	—	—	—	1,648	92 0 0
Tar - Barrels	—	47	—	—	—	—	47	58 15 0	20,415	11,343	403,884	—	3,328	335,424	439,384	43,938 5 0	28,631	8,564	735,898	—	—	—	773,093	38,654 13 0
Tobacco - Pounds	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	19	—	—	—	—	19	12 2 0
Toys - - Value	—	—	—	—	—	5,130	5,130	38 7 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wine, Port Tun, Hhd. Cafk	2 0 205	—	19 3 0	—	—	3 3 3	24 13 3	14 13 3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Barrel Staves Cwt. grs. lbs.	230 0 0	80 0 0	222 2 0	—	—	2 3 22	334 3 22	500 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	62 3 206	62 3 206	14 10 0	—	—	—	—	—	17 20 0	17 20 0	14 20 0
Hoops - Gross grs. lbs.	—	—	22 0 0	—	—	—	22 0 0	22 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	9 3 21	22 3 21	330 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	3 0 23	55 1 24
Staves - Gross grs. lbs.	—	—	2,642 2 0	—	—	2,230 0 0	4,872 2 0	660 12 3	206 0 0	470 1 20	692 3 0	—	—	478 2 21	1,746 3 0	380 13 9	331 0 0	123 0 0	390 1 20	10 0 0	—	—	1,248 0 0	1,560 3 20	623 12 6
Plank - Value	—	—	32 0 0	—	—	—	32 0 0	84 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Timber - Tons, Feet	—	—	382 10 0	—	—	—	382 10 0	1,528 0 0	10 0 0	—	69 10 0	—	—	—	79 10 0	79 10 0	—	—	73 0 0	—	—	—	73 0 0	73 0 0
Wooden Ware - Value	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	27 10 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wool, Cotton - Cwt. grs. lbs.	23 1 24	176 0 7	2,343 0 21	89 0 24	—	490 0 0	3,121 0 0	6,256 0 0	220 0 0	—	2,564 3 0	—	—	82,483 0 0	85,267 3 0	12,813 13 0	—	—	2,607 20 21	60 0 0	—	—	2,667 20 21	3,990 10 11	3,990 10 11
Small Parcels in general. Val.	4 7 0	—	—	—	—	2,413 2 0	3,013 3 0	10,333 0 0	534 0 0	97 3 0	6,246 0 0	2,849 3 21	—	1,783 8 21	4,720 2 0	13,224 0 0	22 3 4	44 8 20	649 3 27	120 0 0	—	—	836 3 24	2,469 3 27
							4,87 2	4,87 0	532 17 6	—	—	—	—	—	532 17 6	298 17 6	4 0 0	—	73 3 0	—	—	—	78 3 0	3,880 0 0
																								56 9 0
			Rate of Value of Imports, 1790 —					£.289,363 8 10						Value of Imports, 1791 —		£.448,389 2 10						Value of Imports, 1792 —		£.443,774 14 3