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*Samuel Baker,*  
Esq.

6 August,  
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7572. When you mention the number of whites that perished in that rebellion, did you ever hear the number of the whites that were in the power of the negroes?—No; there were various statements upon that point; I do not think that there were any white men in their power in general, for they had joined their regiments.

7573. Was it supposed that there were any whites who were killed by the negroes, besides those whom you have mentioned?—Certainly not.

7574. Have you any reason to know what the inclinations of the negroes were if they had succeeded?—From hearsay only; a gentleman who had asked the negroes assured me, that the head men had no intention whatever of making the lower class free; that they meant to be themselves masters, and to have kept the others in subjection.

7575. What were their intentions as to the white persons upon the island?—I do not know; I have no means of knowing; it is a supposition in every white man's mind.

7576. Do you believe that Mr. M'Intyre could not have obtained access to the persons that were under condemnation, for the purpose of administering spiritual comfort to them, without his putting on a sword?—I know the reverse, for I happened to be present when three men were condemned; the ropes were round their necks, and they were waiting for the executioner. Mr. M'Intyre was late; he came in breathless, and immediately that he appeared he was allowed to take those men away; and they took the ropes from their necks, and allowed them to go with him aside into another room.

7577. If one free person has told another, which person has told the Committee that he could not have access to the persons condemned till he put on his sword and claimed it as a matter of right to see the prisoners after they were condemned, do you think that probable or not?—Quite improbable; for any respectable person had access to them, without interruption.

7578. Who do you think would be most known to the prisoners and to the persons generally, you who had been, comparatively speaking, only a few weeks and had not been there since 1817, and had stayed there then only a short time, or Mr. M'Intyre, who had stayed there a considerable time?—Decidedly Mr. M'Intyre, who was known to them all and was highly respected.

7579. Did the wearing the sword of a militia man give a particular opportunity of access to the prisoners?—No, they were in a large room, where I observed many gentlemen entering.

7580. Did you go in alone?—I went in on two occasions with others, and on this particular occasion I went by myself.

7581. Of whom did you ask leave to see the prisoners?—I did not ask any leave.

7582. Were the prisoners in confinement, or was it just at the eve of execution?—They were executed shortly after condemnation, and they were then in confinement in a room under a guard.

7583. Were they not executed about an hour after condemnation?—A short time.

7584. Do you know whether the prisoners were confined, or whether there was facility of access after the condemnation?—I do not know of any cases, and there were not probably many cases, of their being removed to any other place from the court-house after they were condemned, but to the place of execution.

7585. Were all hung upon whom sentence was passed?—I am not aware of any that were saved. Those that I saw were executed after condemnation.

7586. Was there free access to them before the trial?—Yes; I had access to many under confinement.

7587. Did you find any difficulty in gaining access to them?—No more than others.

7588. Are you speaking of the trials that took place during the continuance of martial law?—Yes.

7589. And after being found guilty under martial law were they executed?—Yes.

7590. Was Sir Willoughby Cotton there at the time?—I do not know whether it was during martial law or partial law that I saw him there, I met him at a friend's house.

7591. When you have been asked as to the effect of the communications to which the negroes have access, and as to the probability of its being difficult to prevent

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prevent a spirit of insubordination from spreading amongst them, are the Committee to understand, that in your opinion if that information to which they had access was free from topics which excited, and from topics which had the effect of placing the master in direct opposition to the slave, and of producing feelings of discontent and dissatisfaction in the mind of the slave towards his master, the negroes then would be in a state of insubordination, and that the spirit of insubordination which would spread amongst the negroes from reading communications, would depend upon the nature of the communications?—No doubt about it.

7592. If there was an abstinence of those topics and those communications which were calculated to hold up the master as an object of reproach and hatred to the slave, do you think they would remain satisfied?—I think they would be perfectly satisfied if they never heard of such matters.

7593. Do you attribute much of the feeling of the negroes to the excitement produced by a communication from this country on topics of an irritating nature, and calculated to produce feelings of discontent in the mind of the negro towards his master?—I attribute the greater part of it, certainly, to that cause.

7594. Do you know any thing of the anti-slavery party in England?—No, I do not.

7595. You do not know whether it is at all likely that they would be induced to alter their principles in any degree?—No, I do not know any thing of them.

7596. Have you the means of knowing whether a large portion of those who attend the Scottish Kirk are slaves?—Yes, I know them to be slaves; a great proportion.

7597. Were any of them engaged in the insurrection?—Not to my knowledge; I should think not, because the property close adjoining was not.

*Andrew Graham Dignum, Esq., called in; and Examined.*

*Andrew G. Dignum,*  
Esq.

7598. ARE you acquainted with the island of Jamaica?—Yes, I have resided there.

7599. When did you first go there?—In June 1818.

7600. Did you continue to live in the island till your recent departure?—With the exception of a short time, when I visited Carthagena for the benefit of my health.

7601. How many weeks were you absent?—For 14 or 16 days, I think.

7602. From June 1818 till what time have you resided in the island?—Till May last.

7603. Are you interested in West India property?—Not further than the collecting of the debts that are due to me in Jamaica, and my practising as a solicitor. I have no real property in Jamaica, no land or slaves.

7604. Are you a solicitor there?—Yes.

7605. Were you appointed protector of slaves in any parish?—In two parishes. In 1827, when the Act passed leaving it to the discretion of vestries to appoint protectors and defenders of slaves, I was appointed.

7606. Were you appointed by the justices and vestry of the parish who paid you a certain sum per annum for defending slaves who were brought to trial in the Slave Court, from the offences that they were charged with?—Yes, I was.

7607. Was the sum paid you by the parish?—Yes.

7608. Are you aware that a similar officer is appointed by the justices and vestries of the other parishes?—For every parish, I think; I am speaking now of 1827; to my knowledge, for every parish throughout the island. They were in some instances barristers and in others solicitors.

7609. What was the amount of the salary given?—The salaries varied; they were as high as 250 *l.* in one parish, and at the lowest 70 *l.* I think.

7610. Were those persons employed for the purpose of defending negroes upon their trial who were charged with any offences?—Yes, for criminal offences.

7611. What were the particular parishes for which you were employed?—The parish of St. Dorothy and the parish of St. John.

7612. What was the duty assigned you in that character?—I had to attend the trials of slaves when placed upon their trials, in all criminal matters; and to, in fact, take the duties of a barrister, those which are usually taken by that person in a superior court. I acted in the same way as a barrister retained for any free person placed upon his trial.

7613. Were you informed of the trial of a slave?—Yes.

7614. Then

7614. Then in fact, instead of its being left to the chance of the slave or his owner employing a person to defend that slave who was charged with an offence, you were the standing advocate for that slave, appointed and paid by the parish?—Yes.

7615. Your duty was to see that he had a fair trial, and in short, to conduct his defence in the same way as you would conduct the defence of any free person by whom you were employed?—Precisely.

7616. Had you upon all occasions free access to the slave under charge preparatory to his trial?—Invariably.

7617. So that you were always furnished with abundant means by which you could defend them against any charge?—Certainly.

7618. Do you recollect the discussion of Mr. Beaumont's motion, on the subject of compulsory manumission, in the session of last year?—I do.

7619. Had the discussion of that motion any influence in producing excitement amongst the slaves?—I cannot positively state that it had; I think in a great measure it had, and particularly in one parish, because I was informed there they avowed it, in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale.

7620. Was there any actual and open insurrection in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale?—Only partial; in Charlton estate they refused to do work.

7621. Do you recollect when the free persons of colour had conferred upon them all the privileges which white persons possessed?—Yes.

7622. Do you recollect whether that produced any excitement among the negroes?—Not that I am aware of.

7623. In what year was that?—The Act passed in the year 1830, I believe.

7624. Were you aware whether any of the meetings, which were held in the different parishes in the island of Jamaica in the course of the last year, produced any excitement amongst the slave population?—I certainly think not.

7625. It has been stated to this Committee that one of the causes of the recent insurrection was the apprehension of the slave population that they were to be transferred to the United States, in consequence of expressions having been made at public meetings indicating that; do you believe it to be so?—Certainly not; it is the first time that I ever heard that.

7626. The first time that you have heard such a cause assigned for the recent insurrections as an apprehension of the island being given up to the United States is now that it has been put to you?—It is the first time.

7627. In what part of the island were you during martial law?—I was at Spanish Town during part of martial law; I was ordered during martial law from Spanish Town to take the command of a detachment in the parish of St. Ann; it was when the first division of the St. Cath's regiment was moved, and I was sent to take charge of the second division.

7628. Did you happen to go down to the district in which the rebellion broke out?—After the insurrection I was in the late disturbed district.

7629. At what time were you there?—It was in the month of March last; from the assizes I went round to that district.

7630. Had you any conversation with any of the negroes upon any of the properties there?—Yes; on many of the properties. I went for the purpose of satisfying myself of the state of the slaves and seeing the burnt country, and on many estates I questioned them, and they appeared invariably very sorry for what had occurred, and made use of many expressions indicative of their sorrow.

7631. Will you state to the Committee what is the impression upon your mind, at present, as to the general disposition of the negroes, from any thing they said or from any thing you saw at a period so recent after the insurrection had broken up?—I think the impression upon the minds of the negroes was, that the British Government had made them free, and that they were not to do any work after the Christmas holidays; that they were to be relieved from all labour after the Christmas holidays; and it was in consequence of their finding that they had to do work that the rebellion broke out; that is my own impression from all I could observe, and from the inferences I drew.

7632. What should you say was the state of the negro mind when you saw them in the month of March, when the rebellion was over?—I cannot say what was the state of their minds; there appeared to be a great degree of shame about them; I made it a point in my rides generally to inquire of the different slaves on all the estates; they seemed very much ashamed and sorry when I questioned them about it at what had been done.

7633. Did they say any thing to you about any sectarians?—Not exactly to me;

721.

I was

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I was riding with an officer of the army who had the command of a detachment, and he made the observation to one of the gangs we were riding through in a jocular manner of "Oh, you are working for Parson Burchell;" and when he mentioned the name of Burchell, I could perceive that there was a tumult and a great deal of excitement with indignation amongst them, and not being aware of the cause of it, I said to the officer, "What is this for?" and he said in reply, "He used to mention his name (Mr. Burchell's) to them, and that when he mentioned his name, they said, 'Damn Parson Burchell, who bring us to all this trouble, if we had him here, we would kill him;' or words something to that effect.

7634. Who is Mr. Burchell?—He was a missionary at Montego Bay.

7635. Did they say this to you?—No; on the occasion of the officer before alluded to mentioning Mr. Burchell's name, there was this discontent and murmuring, and he said, "I invariably or very frequently," I am not quite certain which expression, "mention his name when I go through the estates," and he mentioned to me when he did so they made use of the expressions before alluded to.

7636. This expression is not what you yourself heard, but what the officer told you?—Yes; the gang was removing dirt from the road side with their hoes. I was not conversing with the negroes; I was on horseback, and conversing with the officer when he said to the negroes, as we were riding past them, "Well you are working for Parson Burchell," when upon saying so there was a sudden murmuring among them, and I could, I think, make out the word damn; but I did not distinctly hear what they were saying. I was conversing with him, and he mentioned to me a murmuring against Mr. Burchell always took place when Mr. Burchell's name was mentioned.

7637. You did not hear the particular expressions which the negroes made use of?—No, I heard no particular expressions in the case I have just alluded to, except what I have already stated.

7638. Will you state what any of the negroes with whom you yourself have conversed have said to you respecting the missionaries?—I cannot say that any spoke to me of the missionaries.

7639. Or of Mr. Burchell?—No; what I have stated of Mr. Burchell is derived from the officer alluded to.

7640. Had you any conversation with any of the negroes from whom you could learn what their feeling was towards the missionaries?—No; I cannot charge my recollection with any thing that took place with the negroes regarding the missionaries.

7641. You said you had private conversations with the negroes, what did they say to you?—I had with many of the slaves, and they said "that they were very sorry for what had occurred;"—"that the devil had got into their head."

7642. Will you be so good as to state the particular observations which they made use of, what other expressions besides damning Mr. Burchell, and that the devil had got into their heads, did you yourself hear?—I did not say that I heard any one of them damning Mr. Burchell. An officer of the 84th, with whom I was riding, said they invariably cursed Mr. Burchell, because they considered that he had brought them into trouble. He was the officer who had charge of a military post during the rebellion.

7643. Did you hear the negroes say that the devil had got into their heads?—Yes, that was what many have said. Upon my asking them what induced them to rebel? they said, "Massa, we cannot tell what get into negroes' heads, but the devil must get into negroes' head to make them burn down so much and behave so bad."

7644. Are there any other expressions that you heard them use?—I really cannot mention the precise words, because when they were said I had no idea I should be brought before this Committee; but generally from what I could discover, and what they said, it appeared to be their impression that they were to be free after Christmas, and to do no work.

7645. Did they tell you who had given them that notion?—No; I cannot recollect that they ever told me from whence they derived the notion.

7646. Was there at Christmas, previous to the insurrection breaking out, any thing in the general demeanour or conduct of the negroes which afforded an indication that an insurrection might be expected to break out?—Yes, I strongly think so; throughout the whole of the last year there was a very marked difference in the deportment of the slaves, and in travelling in July last to the assizes I thought it appeared to be on the north side very particularly impressed upon every person's mind

mind that there would be an insurrection at Christmas, because they stated to me that the slaves had, on several estates, mentioned that they would do no work after Christmas; and they therefore considered that there would be an insurrection.

7647. Was that before or after the resolutions of the meetings that were held in the different parishes were published?—Before the resolutions were published.

7648. Have you any reason to believe that there was any communication taking place between the negroes in different parts of the island, between those in St. James's and those in St. Thomas's-in-the-East?—Certainly, I think the conspiracy was very deeply laid.

7649. What are your reasons for thinking so?—My reasons are connected with what took place with a servant of Mr. Panton (who is now the Advocate-General). The Chief Justice and Mr. Panton travelled together to the assizes in November last, and Mr. Tuckett remarked to him, that a servant of Mr. Panton's, who was one of the suite, was a very fine looking lad, (he was about 16, I think), and he had a very pleasing countenance, and was very cheerful; and Mr. Panton in reply, said, he was a very cheerful and good servant: on their return from the assizes, Mr. Tuckett observed to Mr. Panton, "Do you know there is a very great alteration in your servant; he is very sulky, and looks dejected, and unhappy;" when Mr. Panton remarked, "perhaps it is fancy on your part, I have not seen it myself," and he made no further remark; however, when the servant arrived at Spanish Town, he said he was unwell, and his master said to him, "You shall go up to the estate, and change the air, and I shall see you in a short time; he accordingly sent him up to the estate, and Mr. Panton followed him shortly afterwards, when he found him still unwell.

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Esq.

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*Mercurii, 8<sup>o</sup> die Augusti, 1832.*

THE RIGHT HON. SIR JAMES GRAHAM, BART. IN THE CHAIR.

Vice-Admiral Sir *Charles Rowley*, K. C. B., called in; and Examined.

7650. HAVE you been acquainted with any of the West India islands, and which of them?—I have been acquainted with most of them; I took the command at Jamaica in the year 1820, and all the West India islands were put under me in 1821; I came away in the year 1823.

7651. During your command on the Jamaica station, were you much in intercourse with the inhabitants of the island, and had you many opportunities of seeing the slave population in any parts of the island?—Yes, I frequently visited many of the estates.

7652. Were you frequently upon any of the estates in the island?—Yes, I visited the parish of St. Davids, and the estates I was on were the Albion, belonging to Mr. Hibbert, and two other estates, the names of which I do not recollect; in St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, I visited the estate of Tulloch, and three other estates; and I visited also estates in St. Ann's; at Hopewell my family resided for some time; and I visited several in St. Thomas-in-the-East, when at Bath. The estates in that neighbourhood were those of the Arcedeckne, of Mr. Watson Taylor, and Mrs. Lambert; and I was on different estates in St. Andrew's and Port Royal; I was present at Bellevue, a coffee plantation of Mr. Cockburne's, and visited many of the coffee plantations in that neighbourhood.

7653. Did it appear to you, or have you any reason to believe, that there was any disposition on the part of any of the proprietors of those estates which you visited, or any of the persons who had charge of those estates, to conceal from you, or to keep you in ignorance of the actual condition of the slaves upon those plantations?—Decidedly not, I have no reason to think so; frequently I went to estates when the owners were in this country; I used to go into the fields, examine their hospitals, and talk to the negroes; it did not appear to me whatever punishment was given, that it was kept back.

7654. Should you say from your acquaintance with Jamaica, that it was a correct representation of the disposition of the people there, to state that there was an attempt to conceal what was passing, that there was an unwillingness to afford access to persons to come upon the estates, or to see what was going on?—No,

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I never saw any thing of the kind, nor was that impression ever suggested to me before now; I should say that their punishment or their regulations on the estate, so far as I saw, were open to every body; I do not mean to say, that they let people into all the secrets, the conduct of the negroes, and the mode of cultivation, but just as much as any farmer would do in this country; they showed me all their hospitals, and I went into them, and I was much pleased with them, particularly their care of the people in the hospital, and their mode of treating the children when their mothers were in the field; they were regularly brought down to the overseer's house, and there they remained under the care of two or three negroes; and if he was a married man, the wife was inspecting them; they would be there during the time the mothers were in the field; as far as I saw, I did not see any thing to be displeased with.

7655. Have you any reason to believe that alterations were made upon the estates with a view to represent to you, or in case you should happen to see the negroes, that they should appear to you in a different state or condition than that in which they ordinarily were, in other words, that they were dressed out or decked out for the occasion?—No, decidedly not; so much so, that I remember once crossing the island, going over to the north of the island, and it came on to rain, and I did not proceed to the place where I intended to sleep, in consequence of the badness of the weather; I put up where they did not know me, and there I stayed the night. The following morning I went out into the field before breakfast to see the negroes work, and when I came away I expressed myself very much obliged to the overseer for having given me shelter, and expressed myself pleased with his attention and hospitality, and gratified at the appearance of the negroes, and cheerfulness and alacrity with which they appeared to obey him; and I did not tell him who I was until that period. I had cautioned the two servants who were with me not to mention who I was, and I believe the overseer did not know me, as he told the agent afterwards that he was not aware who I was, and that he was afraid he had not treated me sufficiently well.

7656. Have you ever during your visits on different estates entered into the negro huts?—Frequently.

7657. When the negroes have been in them?—Yes, frequently.

7658. What should you describe to be the general appearance of the condition of the negro?—I can only give two instances; I had not any slaves myself, because I would not have them, but I hired regular servants; they came with certificates from their masters, and a butler and steward in consequence of my butler and steward having died; they told me the master was to have so many dollars a week, and they asked so much; a man would ask ten dollars; to the steward I think I gave about 70*l.*, perhaps his master might have 30*l.* of it, and the rest was his; that man, if he did not like me at the end of the month, walked off, and if I did not like him, I should discharge him, as I should any other servant: there were two men of that sort, one as the valet, the other a man who took care of my cattle in the mountains; the man in the mountains with the cattle, one day came to me, and told me that the estate he belonged to could no longer work, and that the negroes on the estate were sold to another person, and that he hoped I would interest myself to keep him; the person who bought the estate with the negroes, told Mr. Simpson, that if I chose I should have the negro upon the same terms as I had had him before, or that his price was, I think, 140*l.* currency, and I told the man who had been with me two years, I was going away in three or four months, and that I would make him a present of his freedom if he wished it when I went away; the man said, "I am much obliged to you, sir, but I should like to go and see my new massa;" I gave him three weeks leave, during which I paid him, and he came back, and said he was very much obliged to me, but he had rather not, if I would allow him to live with me till I went away, and if I would recommend him to the next admiral: I told him I doubted whether the next admiral would keep a mountain house; I desired him to think of it, but he would not accept of his freedom; the other man was a mulatto, who was my valet; I offered him his freedom, and he would not accept of it; and they said, "If we accept the freedom, and do not get masters, who is to take care of us when we are sick;" there were two negroes when I went to the Pen came to me; they had been there in my brother's time, and upon his death, Mrs. Rowley sent out their freedoms; I think it was about 1812 or 1813; my brother had died; they had been then, I suppose, about six years married women, and I sent to them till I could get women as servants, and I asked them what they thought

thought of being free; they said they always regretted it; that at first, of course, it was natural to be pleased with it, but they said "We have regretted it since, from the extreme difficulty of constantly getting work." It is a long while since I was there; I left it in 1823.

7659. You had been in Jamaica some years previously to that, had you not?—Yes, I was there with His present Majesty, when I was a boy about 15; at that time the negroes were a very different race of people; I saw a very great difference; at that time they were constantly importing: the negroes, I should say, at this present moment are a very different class of people from what they were even ten years ago, and every ten or twenty years must make a considerable deal of difference in the constitution of the negro; in the first place, they became one nation; he becomes a creole to all intents and purposes, and becomes more enlightened.

7660. Were your visits to the different estates of sufficient duration to afford you sufficient opportunities to form a judgment on the general character of the negro population?—I should say, yes, to a certain degree; if I am asked whether I conceive the negro is a more happy sort of being than the labourer of this country, I have no hesitation in saying, that if I had been born to labour, absolutely to labour, I would sooner have been born a black in the island of Jamaica than a white man in this country, or any other; taking my chance for the same degree of talent and industry, I should have been able at an earlier period of life to become my own master.

7661. You state that as the result of your own observations?—I do decidedly, in the negro population in that country; I do not mean to say but that there may be harsh treatment under different people; but I should say that, taking the classes together, I think they are a happier race of people than the manufacturing people, or the poorer class of people, in this country; in the first place, they do not require a number of things that they have in this country.

7562. It has been represented to this Committee that there is a great state of demoralization prevailing in the island of Jamaica, more especially among the white population; in that island did your intercourse with the inhabitants of the island, and your observation of their general character, induce you to concur in that representation, that those who live in Jamaica are represented to be the most immoral people in the world?—All I should say is, that I do not go peeping into other men's affairs; I never saw any thing of that myself; if the question means whether they are chaster in that country than they are in this, I do not know that they are; not being a married man, the question never occurred to me; I should not go to a tropical climate to find that virtue.

7663. Would a person arriving in the Island of Jamaica, and living there, have his sense of decency and delicacy more outraged than he would in any other part of the world?—No, I should say not; they are pretty nearly as wicked as the rest of mankind, and as virtuous.

7664. Supposing emancipation was to take place in the island of Jamaica, should you say, from any thing you observed in the general conduct and your acquaintance with the general habits and dispositions of the negro population, you might reasonably expect that, if emancipated, they would work for wages on the sugar estates?—I think it is perfectly impossible, whether white or black, green or yellow, to work in a tropical climate at hard labour when they can live without it. I am perfectly satisfied, that no man who was ever in a tropical climate for three years, felt the same degree of energy as when he came; there is a sort of indolence and listlessness comes upon him, that he does not feel either the energy or the inclination to work.

7665. Are you speaking of the negro or the white person?—I include the negro as well as the white.

7666. You are aware with what great facility and what inconsiderable proportion of labour the negro population may raise the provisions requisite for their own subsistence, and even in fact to sell?—Decidedly; I go by report I have had from Hayti; among other things, look at the negro who picks the coffee; how much easier his work is than if he was to be turned into the sugar field.

7667. Does it consist with your knowledge, that the negroes could, from their provision grounds, with very little labour, raise provisions not only sufficient for themselves, but also a surplus quantity they could afterwards sell, they still retaining those provision grounds, and therefore having the means, with very little labour, of supplying themselves with what they want, would they be disposed to work for wages in order to gratify any other wants?—How far they might be induced to exert themselves

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themselves to gain luxuries and other things, when they became an enlightened set of people, I am not competent to answer; a man who can get, at a very easy rate, a sufficiency to give him a livelihood, when he does not require much to cover house-rent and other necessaries, or much clothing; of course very little in that country will suffice him; and if the negro is kept in perfect darkness, there is a boundary to his wishes; but if he gets an enlightened mind, naturally he will exert himself more, in the same way as the white people who go out into that country do.

7668. It would depend upon his having, in fact, artificial wants, desires for luxuries?—Yes, it depends entirely on what makes one man go to the East and another to the West Indies, from the circumstance that he will possess himself of more luxuries; when I was there, I think the generality of the body of negroes would not have worked; how far they may be improved since that period is beyond my judgment; I cannot speak to any thing I have not seen.

7669. Sir Home Popham preceded you, did not he?—Yes, he did.

7670. Did you make any observation with respect to the general treatment of the slaves when you were there, by the overseers or others?—Generally speaking, it struck me that the overseers were exceedingly attentive, and I thought the hospitals particularly well calculated to gratify the negroes' feelings; I thought their food and their little plantations that they cultivated themselves, very good, and that they appeared to be a very happy race of men; I have seen the negroes that have come down to the Pen, who were run-away negroes, and worked in chains, just as convicts are condemned by trial to hard labour; these men I have seen punished; I do not mean to say that I have seen any cruelty inflicted; if I had, I should have stopped it.

7671. Do you recollect a place in the neighbourhood of the Admiral's Pen, called Cavaliers, represented as being attached to Pepine Estate, belonging to Mr. Wildman?—I do not recollect it.

7672. Have you any connexion with the West Indies?—None.

7673. No property?—Not the least.

7674. Have your relations any property there?—No; a gentleman who married a daughter of mine has, in Antigua.

7675. When you were upon these estates, did you make any inquiries into the quantum of punishment administered?—Yes, as far as I understood; when I say I inquired about the punishment, I asked the negroes about it, and I cannot say that I ever did hear; I heard one or two complaints made, but on further inquiry, I found, from the other negroes, that they were extremely bad characters; but I would simply say that I never did see any thing to impress my mind that the treatment of the negroes was cruel during the time I was there; when I went to Jamaica first, I was most decidedly of opinion that the slaves had been ill used; this opinion had been grounded from accounts I had heard, and from what I had read, but I altered my view after I had seen the treatment of the slaves, and at the present moment I should have my doubts very much, whether they would be a happier race for years to come than they are at present, if emancipation was granted to them; I do not think they are ripe for immediate emancipation.

7676. Did you on any one of the estates obtain information as to the quantity of punishment that was inflicted?—No, I did not.

7677. You do not mean that you did not ask that question?—It did not come into my line; I inquired generally speaking, and I took the view of the thing that any gentleman would from looking into it; I remember travelling once, seeing a negro man flogging a negro severely, and I stopped and desired the man to be released; I told the person that I should complain of him to Mr. Simpson or Mr. Shand, who was the agent to the estate, and that overseer was dismissed.

7678. He was a white overseer?—Yes; I should say that, knowing the situation of Jamaica (I speak of Jamaica strictly now), if any negro was exceedingly ill used, there are plenty of lawyers and men who would take up their cause, and bring it forward.

7679. Supposing, after you quitted the island of Jamaica, a member of the House of Assembly should thus express himself, speaking of the cart-whip: "The cart-whip, that base, cruel and debasing instrument of torture, the fellow of the rack and the thumb-screw, for the abolition of which every heart that is not callous pants; the lacerations of which are inflicted at the pleasure of an individual, at his sole command, as caprice or passion dictates, sometimes by whites of the lowest order, sometimes by one slave, the driver, at his discretion on another slave;" would you say that the member of the House of Assembly had spoken truly or untruly?

untruly?—I should say, if the cart-whip was laid on my back, it would be uncommon torture; I should say that this was very flowery.

7680. Would you say it was a true description or not?—No, I should not say it was; that was not near so much so, as I should say, many of our men receive, if I am asked whether I conceive it more violent than the cat-o'-nine-tails.

7681. What do you say to its being inflicted at the pleasure of an individual who chooses to exercise that mode of punishment?—I should think it a very bad and very cruel thing; a thing that ought not to be allowed.

7682. According to your knowledge of the law and practice of Jamaica, could not thirty-nine lashes be inflicted by any overseer or manager upon an estate at his own pleasure?—Then he would become answerable to any person who would take it up immediately, just the same as the master of an apprentice may inflict at the moment of his passion a punishment that he would be ashamed of afterwards, or if not ashamed, he ought to be, and he would be trounced by the law of his country.

7683. You believe that by law the overseer would be liable if he inflicted thirty-nine lashes?—If he inflicted beyond thirty-nine.

7684. Then he might inflict thirty-nine?—Yes, certainly.

7685. When you draw the comparison between the white people of this country and the black people there, do you take into your consideration the flogging?—Yes, decidedly; I take it in this manner, that I conceive the apprentice in this country is frequently as severely beaten as the negro is, and I therefore take it into my consideration.

7686. You think that the liability of the slaves to be flogged in the West Indies is properly to be compared with the liability of the apprentice to be corrected here?—Indeed I do.

7687. Do you believe that the slave has the same mode of redress that the apprentice would have here if he were ill used?—I should say that the slave would have the same mode; in this manner, wherever an agent goes round to visit the estates, he inquires into the condition of the slaves without the overseer. I remember going with Mr. Simpson to visit three or four estates he was agent over, and after he had seen the overseer, and dined and slept on the estate, he went out by himself to make his inquiries; and I remember he attended to any complaints made versus the overseer and versus the driver; I saw him in two or three instances turn those people off. If I am asked whether the negro has the same power to turn round and call out for a lawyer to take up his cause, I do not think he had; that may be altered now; I cannot say.

7688. Do you think he possesses the same effectual mode of redress as the apprentice would have if he was ill treated here?—On his applying to the overseer, I have reason to believe he would be attended to.

7689. Supposing the overseer is the person himself who ill-used him?—Then there is the agent who visits them.

7690. You think this applies in all cases?—With respect to what I think, with due submission to the Committee, situated as I am here, and giving evidence on so serious a business, that the word think is not correct in the question, I can only speak of what I have seen; if I am asked whether I think every man is an honest man, and every agent and every overseer a man of humanity, I certainly think not; but I mean to say, that, taking the whole, the feeling I have upon this subject, and as far as my experience goes, I think that the apprentice is as frequently ill used here, and in ratio according to the number, as they are there.

7691. You think that the quantum of punishment inflicted upon the apprentices in England, is equal, according to their number, to the quantum of punishment inflicted on the negro slaves?—Yes, I think so; I can only argue upon the thing so far as reason goes.

7692. When you make a comparison between the treatment of the slaves in the West Indies and the labourers in England, did you limit the comparison to apprentices in England, and not to labourers generally?—I do not limit my comparison to apprentices, but I include the state and condition of the daily labourers in the whole of Great Britain and the rest of Europe. The handicraftsmen, whether black or white, are better off than common labouring slaves, and so are the handicraftsmen in this country, or any other.

7693. You do not mean to compare the situation of the slaves in the West Indies with that of the labourers in England, but of those in Ireland?—If it had been my lot to have been born a labourer, I should prefer the certainty of the black labourer, for food, clothing, lodging, care, &c. to the uncertainty of the labourer procuring

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work, severity of climate, and to the other casualties a labourer has in this country.

7694. You are aware that if the apprentice is ill treated by his master, his indentures are cancelled?—Perfectly.

7695. Did you ever know a man made free in consequence of the ill treatment of the overseer?—No, I am sure I have not.

7696. Were you in the island when the conviction of a man of the name of Boyden took place, and a conviction of another person of the name of Cadien, which slaves were manumitted by sentence of the court?—No.

7697. You do not recollect that Boyden appeared to be one of three tenants in common of a slave, and that the question arose, whether the interest of the other two, who were no parties to the act of violence, would be affected, but that the objection was over-ruled, and the slave made free?—No; my knowledge upon the whole of this business is of course very trifling, never having attended any of their courts; it was a thing perfectly foreign to me.

7698. You never attended a slave court?—Never; I never attended any of their courts, except when I was called about the piratical vessels.

7699. It was perfectly notorious on all the estates to which you went, that you were commander-in-chief?—I have mentioned one instance where it was not.

7700. Do you apprehend that a common individual would have had the same influence, and been received in the same manner you were yourself, and had the same opportunities?—Yes; I do not see why they should not; if I am asked whether a person in the situation of commander-in-chief has not greater facilities than another in this country, it would be natural, if a person came in an official situation to see a ship, he would have a right to go, and he might be treated with some attention; but I suppose the question to be, whether, from my situation of commander-in-chief, I was more attended to; if I said, I wish to see an estate, it was done, particularly as my object could be only that of seeing the thing, not to pry into their secrets.

7701. You did not go to their estates with a view to ascertain the condition of the negroes?—No, decidedly not, but to gain information as far as the working of sugar and the management went, and the general arrangement.

7702. Just as if, visiting in this country, you would ride over a gentleman's park or farm?—Just the same; I used to go into the field as I should now when a man was engaged in reaping; if I saw one set of people happy and another sulky, I should say one was better off than the other.

7703. Do you think the institution of marriage which subsists in this country, the protection a man affords to his wife and his child, important, and that they are equally so to the slave?—They would have more protection there, I think, for their wife and child, as it becomes the interest of the master to protect them; they do marry now.

7704. Do you mean to say that the married negro has the same protection for his wife and child as the married labourer in this country has for his?—I do not see why they should not.

7705. May not the wife, if she misconduct herself in the opinion of the overseers, be flogged before his eyes?—I strongly suspect that it might be when I was there, if she misconducted herself.

7706. Did you think of that when you compared the situation of the men?—I did not think about marrying at the time when I made the comparison, nor did I when I made my remark; I do not know that I should have been very glad to have been born a labourer in either country.

7707. Taking that as one of the consequences, that the African negro in the West Indies is liable to have his wife flogged?—I thought that was done away with.

7708. It is not by law; supposing the liability to have the wife and daughter flogged, do you still remain of the opinion that you expressed, that the negro is as well off as the white man?—Yes; with respect to that, I must first feel myself as a married man in that situation, and I really cannot transform myself so far; I cannot bring my feelings to answer that question, because I do not bring myself to imagine it possible for me to have been a negro or a labourer; my view in making that remark was to impress my feelings to be, that the labouring slave in Jamaica, generally, was a more desirable situation than the labourer of this country, or any other.

7709. Your comparison had reference to the means of subsistence?—Yes, and as far

far as their happiness; that was my view of it, not at all as to any fine feelings as to my wife and children.

7710. You have been asked as to the state of demoralization prevailing in the West Indies; is not concubinage among the people of colour matter of great notoriety?—In answer to that question I can only say, the Committee know just as much of it as I do; never having done those things myself, I made it a rule never to inquire into the transactions of others.

7711. Was not it a matter of public conversation?—It is a sort of blackguard conversation I never allowed, and I do not think it very likely that a gentleman would presume to offend my ears with that sort of conversation.

7712. You state that it is easier to pick coffee than to dig in the sugar canes?—As far as I was told, and as far as I saw.

7713. Should you say there is no period of time when the labour of picking coffee is equal to the labour of the sugar field?—The questions are put as if it was considered I had been in the country in any other situation than commander-in-chief of the navy; I did not go to gain information on this matter, but just to see the thing; I had a mountain house, and saw them gathering coffee, and therefore I said one was a much easier labour than the other, and it did not appear to me a very laborious duty, more than picking apples in an orchard; at least, so it appeared to me.

7714. Why do you think that the negro would not work for wages if they were given him?—My own idea is, that there would not be a sufficient excitement; he would be able to cultivate his yams and to feed his poultry, therefore he would get a sufficient quantity by little work on his plantation. I do not know what he would be able to do in the other islands, such as Nevis, and the smaller islands; I do not think they would be able to subsist at all if the whites were to be removed; they would not be able to grow a sufficient quantity for their own food.

7715. You speak of Nevis now?—Yes, and the smaller islands; in Jamaica they would go to the mountains, and there every thing would grow perfectly easy; and I conceive that with very little toil a man might get a sufficient quantity for his own livelihood, and I do not think it is natural that a man should, in a tropical climate, exert himself for more; I do not think the genius of the negro is sufficiently prepared for it.

7716. Do you know what is the labour of cutting logwood?—I should think that is very severe.

7717. What should you say if you heard that 1,000 tons of logwood had been cut and sent for sale by the extra labour of the negroes of St. Lucie alone; should not you think that operated against your theory?—I think that is a strong fact, but you must recollect one circumstance—what number of negroes were there that did it? probably there might be very athletic men, men of excellent character before, and men of energy and character; the question is, what would become of those who were indolent; but I certainly think that is a great thing; may I ask how many men there were?

7718. That is impossible to ascertain?—The average of a man's work must be taken; the query is, whether the provisions those men earned were sufficient to have fed them if they had not been paid by the Government to do that; or to bring it clearer, whether the expenses that it cost Government for the produce (for I presume it was Government who did it), was not greater than they paid for the labour.

7719. Supposing that 1,000 tons of logwood is cut down by the negroes themselves in their spare hours in one year in the island of St. Lucie for their own benefit, would not that be a striking proof of their disposition to labour for their subsistence?—Undoubtedly.

7720. Do not you think that is a strong argument against the supposition that they will not labour voluntarily?—With respect to the negroes who used to work at the Pen, I paid them something more; they began about six o'clock, and then they went to breakfast at eight, they had three quarters of an hour or an hour; then they lay down about half-past eleven or twelve till one, this was during the heat of the sun; then they left off again at four or five. I have frequently said to them, "I will give them a bit each to work for another hour," that was their own, and they did it.

7721. Did they work tolerably well for that piece?—Very fairly, as well as on the other task.

7722. What was the species of work you employed them on?—Cutting the grass and the hedge-row.

721.

7723. When

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7723. When you spoke of cutting logwood being severe labour, did you advert to the manner in which it is cut?—No, I took the expression to mean that they went out with their hatchets, and cut it; that I know nothing of, I never saw it done, but I should imagine it would be laborious.

7724. Independently of the consideration of the comfort which the negroes may have, arising from their being supplied so easily with provisions, you were able to judge whether they were kindly treated, from their appearance of cheerfulness in the field?—I should say they were an extremely cheerful race of people, and that is the reason why I should say that I should prefer being born there than as a labourer here; you find them a much happier race of people than among the labourers of this country.

7725. Is it the practice when you meet a negro in the field for him to slink away from white persons?—Never.

7726. On the contrary, is not the air and manner of the negro meeting a white person that which indicates confidence?—Yes, I never saw any thing to the contrary.

7727. You have been asked whether the description, which purports to have been a description given by Mr. Barrett, of the cart-whip, is a correct one?—I must candidly say, I do not think I ever saw a cart-whip made use of; I have seen gangs go out to work cracking the whip, but I am not aware that ever I saw the whip, except in the instance I have stated, used.

7728. Would you designate that sort of whip as a cart-whip?—It put me more in mind of a postboy's whip abroad.

7729. Have you seen the whip which the pen-man carries, or the cart-boy carries when driving the steers or horses?—Yes, it was not that.

7730. Did you ever see such a whip as that, on any occasion, used or carried in the field?—No, never.

7731. Is not that term cart-whip in common conversation exclusively confined to the whip which is carried by the pen-man or cattle-boy having charge of steers or other cattle used in drawing carriages on the estate, and not the species of whip used in the field?—I should say Mr. Barrett made use of wrong terms.

7732. If he ever did make use of such a term?—If I am asked whether the cow-line would not give as severe a flogging as the cart-whip in my hand, I think I should be able to inflict punishment better with that than the other; but it is not a cart-whip, it comes nearer to the whip which postboys abroad use with the style of their cracking; decidedly the whip is a very cruel whip, there is no doubt of that.

7733. Although it might not be known in an island, that you were the admiral on the station, when you did go on any of the estates, have you seen the negroes kept out of your sight, or any thing inducing you to believe that any concealment was practised, because you were coming upon that estate?—No, certainly not.

7734. Did you know Mr. Shand?—Yes.

7735. Did you know Mr. Simpson?—Yes.

7736. In your experience amongst the planters of Jamaica, or persons there, do you think there were many gentlemen more competent to give full and extensive information to this Committee, respecting the treatment of slaves, and the condition of slaves, than those gentlemen?—I think both those gentlemen, so far as I know of them, would not only give good information, but they are the men on whose information I would sooner act than any other men I know.

7737. You would say they were two of the best witnesses Jamaica could produce?—Yes; as to any information that I had, there is none at all; I just went there, and made inquiries as other persons would do; as far as I saw of them, my conception is, that I have stated that I think in their situations they are a very happy race of people; I do not mean to say that the word slave is not a term distressing to the feelings of an enlightened mind.

7738. In your impartial judgment, those gentlemen are best enabled to give full information?—Yes, I should be guided by their information.

7739. Supposing they had left the island at an interval of time a few years past, might there not be other persons who might fill up the interval which had elapsed between that period and the present?—I know nothing of who has filled up the interval; Mr. Simpson and Mr. Shand were in the island when I left it; they have quitted it subsequent to my leaving it.

7740. Both Mr. Shand and Mr. Simpson are persons of experience, are they not?—I should say so, decidedly; I am no merchant, and am no planter, therefore I know nothing upon those subjects.

*James Beckford Wildman, Esq.* called in; and Examined.

7741. YOU are a West India proprietor?—I am.
7742. How many slaves have you upon your property?—About 640.
7743. Your estate is in the island of Jamaica?—Yes.
7744. Does it consist of one or more estates?—Three, Papine, Salt Savannah and Low Ground.
7745. You have visited those properties?—I have.
7746. When did you last visit them?—I went out last in 1826, and was there two years and a half; I was out in 1825 also. I have been home about three years.
7747. During that time where did you reside?—At Papine, one of my estates.
7748. Did you pay much personal attention to the management of your estates?—I did.
7749. And the treatment of your negroes?—I did.
7750. Will you inform the Committee in what state you found them, upon going out, in respect to religious instruction, and to advancement in civilization?—When I went out I found them perfectly destitute of all religious instruction, and the degree of civilization was only what they got from the intercourse with Kingston.
7751. Even then when they were without religious instruction, did you find them very inferior to the labouring classes of this country in natural intellect?—By no means.
7752. Did they appear to you competent to conduct the ordinary affairs of life, in driving bargains with their fellow men?—They were particularly astute in driving a bargain.
7753. Had they a competent knowledge of profit and loss?—Quite loss.
7754. Were they quite conversant with the current market price of commodities, whether a thing was cheap, had they the power of selling dear and endeavouring to buy cheap?—Perfectly; so that when I wanted to make purchases, feeling myself perfectly incompetent to cope with the tradesmen of Kingston, I used to send up one of my negroes to bargain for me.
7755. What was your first impression when you saw your negroes, was it that they were not so degraded as you had imagined from the prejudices imbibed here, or were they of the class you expected?—I was so conversant with the slave character from my father having had servants at home for many years, therefore I knew perfectly what they were before I went.
7756. Having formed your judgment on the standard of domestic blacks here, did the field negroes at all come up to that standard?—I do not think the field negroes are upon a par with the domestic negroes.
7757. Were they to a striking degree short of the standard of the blacks you had seen?—There was merely that kind of difference which we find in this country between our own servants and a girl taken out of the cottage, or a ploughman.
7758. Nothing more striking than than?—No.
7759. You found them quite destitute of religious instruction, you say?—Yes.
7760. Did it very early appear to you a paramount duty to give them religious instruction?—Very early; it was the first step I took.
7761. You watched the progress of the inculcation of religious doctrine, being among them?—I did.
7762. What was the effect of that?—The effect far surpassed any thing I expected from them; while I was among them the instances were quite as satisfactory as could be found in this country.
7763. Did their morals improve?—I consider that they decidedly did, because in two or three instances I had the means of proving it.
7764. Will you state those instances?—The one of them was a man that had been a servant to my former manager, and in consequence of that was not put into the field. I found him there, I forget in what situation; but I made him my gardener. This man was living with a woman by whom he had several children, and he had just taken another young girl, by whom he had two or three children. Not very long after I went out, I endeavoured to induce him to put this woman aside, conceiving that if I could not impress a man who was constantly about me, and whom I was seeing daily, it would be almost in vain to try it with the field negroes. I found no difficulty after expostulating with them both, telling the female that I looked upon her quite as much my slave or my child, for they look upon it in that light, and I would take care of her and her children. I persuaded her to give him

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up, and the man to give her up. They did this mutually, without any difficulty whatever, and the man returned to his old wife again. He married her, and has lived with her ever since, and, as far as I have been able to ascertain, in a perfectly correct and strict state.

7765. What was the period at which this occurred?—This was during the time I was out first, because the person I left afterwards upon the estate wrote me an account of the wedding of this man.

7766. You found the effect of the religious instruction not only a preventive against the commission of a particular offence, but a corrective of vice which was in existence?—I do not know that I could attribute this altogether to religious instruction, because at that time a very little endeavour was made with them; it was not until my second return that I was enabled to get religious instructors upon my estate; it was more out of personal regard to myself and the little instruction I gave them.

7767. Comparing the state of your negroes when you first became acquainted with them in Jamaica and when you left them, with respect to any moral features, take concubinage for instance, is that materially affected by religious instruction?—I have every reason to believe it is; it was not long ago I had a letter from a young man sent out by the Church Missionary Society there, and he told me that on Papine there were only two young people living in a state of concubinage at that time; when I went out, there was not one man that was married.

7768. Give the Committee the benefit of what you yourself saw; was the change for the better perceptible to yourself?—Decidedly.

7769. Was there a willingness on the part of the slaves to receive religious instruction?—There is great eagerness for it in many cases, I think more eagerness for it than I found in my own village.

7770. Independently of your knowledge of your own estate, from your knowledge of the island generally, do you think the desire for religious instruction and for general knowledge has obtained such a hold among the negro population that it would be difficult to eradicate it?—I am perfectly convinced it cannot be eradicated, they will have it some way or other.

7771. Had you much intercourse with the other parts of the island?—Yes, I had.

7772. If not eradicated, will it spread rapidly, do you think?—If there was the slightest encouragement given, it would spread very rapidly indeed.

7773. Encouragement is not given, is it?—I consider not by any means universally.

7774. Do you believe it is thwarted?—Very much.

7775. In what manner?—In the first place, there is a decided hostility to the instruction in letters; many of the proprietors give nothing but oral instruction, which I consider quite a farce and a deception; they take an hour for visiting the estate to give oral instruction; the negroes, perhaps, have a mile or a mile and a half to come home; during that hour the man gets them together, slowly enough, for the purpose of catechising them, and before they have an opportunity of entering into the business for which they have met, the hour is expended, and away they go again; so that I consider that quite a deception.

7776. The result of your experience among the negroes in Jamaica is, that oral instruction is quite insufficient for the communication of knowledge?—Perfectly so; it is carried on by agents, who must necessarily debar every attempt at instruction; it is only given by book-keepers, who are themselves living in the grossest state of immorality; it is impossible that instruction can ever be derived from such sources.

7777. The promulgation of scriptural doctrines from such sources, not practising what they teach, you think must bring religion into contempt?—Into utter contempt.

7778. The Committee are to receive as your opinion, that all attempts to teach the doctrines of religion without teaching the slaves to read is useless?—In the manner in which it is now attempted, I think it is worse than useless.

7779. Do you think the mode of instruction by book-keepers, as catechists, consistent with the respect due to religion, considering the habits of life of the persons who administer that instruction?—The lives of the whites are perfectly scandalous in themselves; therefore for them to inculcate morality in the slave cannot be otherwise than a gross absurdity.

7780. Leaving the moral effect of instruction, was the civilizing effect of the instruction

instruction of the negroes upon your estate, that they became more or less industrious in consequence, and more or less docile, or what was the general effect on their manners and their comfort?—I consider that the improvement was exceedingly gratifying with respect to the exertion which they would use afterwards in the labour of the estate; I had no difficulty in getting the whole of my labour done in a manner which would be gratifying to any person.

7781. As a master, with a view to your own interests, and considering it without any higher motive, you were satisfied with what you had done in imparting religious instruction to the slaves?—Perfectly; if I were devoid altogether of religious principle I should say, that the way to promote my own interests among the slaves would be to impart to them religious instruction.

7782. You are satisfied of that as the result of your own practical experience?—Yes, I have seen the result in the report of my agents; the great object I had when I became acquainted with the mode of management of estates, was, to do away with the system of punishment, driving as it is called, and to endeavour to get them to work, using the whip when it was necessary, merely as a punishment for crime, but never as a stimulus to labour; and I have found the effect of that most valuable.

7783. Were you able to throw aside the whip upon your estate as a stimulus to labour, and only to use it as a corrective for crime?—Perfectly, and I am perfectly convinced, that if the proprietors themselves were out, and would treat their slaves as christian men naturally would do their fellow christians, they would find things go on equally well without the whip, and indeed far better.

7784. Were your estates less productive, were your profits less, or your produce diminished?—Yes, they certainly were, very materially; but that I can account for in a great measure. The system when I arrived there, was severe to a degree that was quite revolting and horrible, and of course when I adopted the other extreme, the negroes then relaxed altogether; and therefore, of course, but little work was done at first of any description; it was not till afterwards, when they found I was determined the work should be done, and done in a different way, that they came into my plan, and then it went on perfectly well.

7785. How did you mark your determination that it should be done in a different way, and how did you effect your purpose?—By talking to them, and telling them that if it was not done, I must punish them for a neglect of duty.

7786. The first effect of the relaxation was idleness on the part of the slaves?—Yes, and very naturally so.

7787. How did you establish a proper state of things without the use of the whip?—By going among them, and reasoning with them.

7788. Had your kind treatment of them any influence upon them?—A very material influence.

7789. It was your personal influence proceeding from your kindness that afforded a substitute for the use of punishment as a stimulus?—Yes.

7790. Did you offer any rewards?—Sometimes I did, but I found that exceedingly difficult, because the price of slave labour is so great, it is almost impossible to offer an adequate remuneration for the labour; an estate cannot be carried on by a remuneration of labour; the labour of a slave is, I think, 3*s.* 4*d.* a day; it is quite impossible to pay a slave 3*s.* 4*d.* a day for his labour.

7791. Do you mean that you have gone into that calculation with regard to your own slaves, that the cost of their maintenance converted into currency, taking one with another, should be estimated at 3*s.* 4*d.* a day?—No, that is the price of hired slave labour for a field negro; for a tradesman it is 5*s.* or 6*s.* 8*d.*

7792. Have you gone into a calculation what the cost of your slaves converted into money is to you?—No, I do not know how it would be possible to ascertain that, it consists of in fact very little, he maintains himself.

7793. Your slaves have all provision grounds?—Yes, they are very differently situated from the state of things in Barbadoes; there every thing comes out of the master's store, and he has an opportunity of carrying on the system, which would be a complete annihilation of slavery in a very few years.

7794. Besides their provision grounds, what do you allow them upon your estate?—Herrings and salt-fish are the principal allowances they have, there is very little else allowed them, except to mothers with their children.

7795. Exclusive of the estimated rent of the provision grounds, what is the amount annually contributed by you to the maintenance of each slave, including all charges of nurses for the infant children, clothes furnished by you, and so on?—



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I am not able to state that; it would require a very minute calculation to ascertain it with certainty. I think 5*l.* a head for every slave upon the property would cover it.

7796. Exclusive of the estimated rent of the provision ground and the cottage?—Yes.

7797. Do you include every thing out of your pocket to the negro excepting the rent, or supposed rent of the provision ground?—I make my estimate in this way; I take the whole of the English supplies and the contingencies of each estate, putting these together, and applying them to the number of the negroes; I find that 5*l.* a head covers the whole of it. I think that would include every thing, but I cannot speak positively.

7798. You have reckoned the females, and the aged and the young in the calculation?—Yes, the whole.

7799. Upon the average of years, taking the average of the whole number upon your estate, 5*l.* a head covers the whole expense?—Yes, I think so; the factors accounts from Jamaica come to a certain sum for each estate; this, added to the English supplies, I think is a fair mode of calculation; and I think 5*l.* a head covers the whole.

7800. You say that hired slave labour is extremely dear, from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 5*s.* a day; what is the reason of its being so high?—There is no hired labour to be got but from those persons who have what are called jobbing gangs.

7801. Of course the supply is very limited?—Very limited indeed.

7802. What appeared to be the condition of those jobbing gangs so let out for labour at a distance from their provision grounds?—I consider that the most miserable life a slave can lead; they go from place to place, put up a little hut with leaves of trees, and are out for weeks together.

7803. When you say it is the most miserable life a slave can lead, do you mean it is possible for a human being to lead a more miserable life?—No, I do not think it is.

7804. You were asked with respect to the offering rewards to your own slaves, did you ever try to give them extra allowances for extra work?—I did in one or two instances; I have endeavoured to get that system carried on by my own attorney, but I never could get them to enter into it with any willingness.

7805. Which is the party that would not enter into it with willingness?—The overseer.

7806. Did you find the slaves reluctant to adopt it?—No, by no means. I tried it in particular instances where I wanted to get work done; I ascertained of my overseer what he thought was a good day's work; there were four able men, and I directed them to open a deep trench, and to throw up a mound to plant logwood on, and I told them to finish that by Saturday night, and they should have a dollar a-piece; they worked till eleven o'clock on Saturday night; there was a misunderstanding as to part, and it was not perfectly done.

7807. Did they work hard?—Very hard; I would not have continued it, it would have destroyed my people.

7808. Did you ascertain from this work, that they were disposed to work for money?—I am perfectly convinced that if rewards were given them for labour, they would work readily in their present state.

7809. The question resolves itself into a question of profit or loss on the part of the proprietor; you mean to say that persons may work for wages, if the wages were given?—I have no doubt the slaves would do it, but I am convinced they would not do it when perfectly free.

7810. You think that it is only when in slavery they would work for money wages?—That is the firm conviction of my mind.

7811. That when free agents, the effect of the usual stimuli for labour would be lost?—I consider perfectly lost; it is a delicate question to discuss among the slaves, and I never did talk to them about it, except to one or two. I have to my head man at Pepine, who is a very intelligent Ebo slave, an African. I explained to him the labour that the white men went through in this country, and that if he were free he would be compelled to labour still; that he would have to support himself and his family, and that if he neglected it he would be punished, and that he must give up his house and his grounds; the man shrank back at once, saying, that if that was what he was to get by freedom, he would rather remain as he was. And where they have a kind master, who treats them as he ought to do, I think they would rather remain as they are than be free, if compelled to work.

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7812. You put it to this man that he must give up his house and his ground?—  
Yes.

7813. What is the feeling of the slaves in Jamaica as to their huts and provision grounds; do they consider them as the property of their master, that he may eject at pleasure, or that they have a kind of customary right?—They look upon them as just as much their own, as if they had their own titles; they hand them down from father to son; when I came home first I brought home a little girl; the mother took her before she went away, to show her grounds, that if she returned and her mother was dead she might claim it as her property.

7814. The opinion of the slaves with respect to huts and provision grounds is very similar to that of the cottager on the waste here, who has reclaimed a piece of land, and by long enjoyment has acquired the right?—Perfectly so.

7815. Is it as strong as that?—If possible, stronger.

7816. Are they not often undeceived as to this right of possession, by being removed at the will of their masters, on the change of a sugar plantation into the cultivation of coffee, being sent to another property at some distance belonging to the same owner, or by the sale of the slave?—Yes, necessarily.

7817. Do not those cases frequently occurring tend very strongly to break through this idea of supposed right?—I do not think they do; I removed a very large body of slaves myself; I look upon that as the greatest proof of the effect of the system I adopted towards them; I removed as many as 100 slaves from Pepine to the Low Ground, the greatest possible exertion of authority a master can use, and in most cases, very fatal to human life.

7818. There they abandoned their cottages and provision grounds at Pepine?—  
Yes.

7819. What did you do for them at Low Ground?—I built up cottages, and got land cleared and planted for them before they went.

7820. That was the act of a humane master; suppose a master without your means or your disposition should make a removal without the same provision, had he not a right to do it?—Undoubtedly.

7821. In the few instances in which it becomes necessary to remove the slaves from the provision grounds where they are settled, putting the considerations of humanity out of the question, is it not decidedly so much the interest of the master, previously to have his grounds planted, and the huts built before the negroes are removed, that he makes a point of doing so?—I never heard of a point being made of doing it; the way I always understood it was done was, that a certain time was allowed to the slaves after their removal to put up their own huts and prepare their own grounds, before they were employed upon the estate to which they were removed; that is the way I believe in which it is generally done.

7822. Have you in any instance seen a removal of the slaves, so as to state that this has fallen within your observation, that their grounds were not planted, and their huts built for them previously?—I cannot speak positively to that.

7823. The jobbing gangs have huts and provision grounds, have they not?—  
They have.

7824. Where is the enjoyment of the house and provision grounds on the part of those jobbing gangs who go about working for hire?—They cannot enjoy them; they are absent sometimes for months together; a jobbing gang, generally speaking, has not that attachment to his master which a family slave has, for he is generally bought at some sale, and all that tie we have upon our slaves never exists in his case.

7825. Judging from what passed between you and your head man on the subject of slave labour, are you of opinion that the fear of losing the hut and provision ground was not the principal cause of his objecting to the change, or do you think there was any other reason?—The impression that his answer made upon my mind was, that by that he might gain nothing, and lose what he now possessed, and also lose the protection and friendship of his master.

7826. Have you ever conversed with any black upon your estate on the possibility of free labour, on condition of their retaining the possession of their provision grounds and houses, and the rent going in part payment?—No, I wanted to establish that if I could, but I was not able to effect it.

7827. What were the insuperable objections to that?—The difficulties were the getting the money to pay it; the system I endeavoured to go upon when I went out to Jamaica was taken from a pamphlet I got at that time, Steele's Plan in Barbadoes, but in Barbadoes they are very differently situated from Jamaica; in

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Barbadoes every thing the slave has comes out of his master's store, therefore, if he pays any sum for his week's labour he gets that back again, according to Steele's Plan, for the provisions and things he sells him, making him pay for every thing which comes out of the store, that was a circulation which never went out of his own power.

7828. He kept a truck shop, in fact?—Yes, he had a complete circulation of his means, and could keep it within his own power; he could sell as low as any merchant, and something lower; but our slaves having provision grounds, and supporting themselves almost altogether, we lose the great means of adopting that system.

7829. You foresaw great difficulty in trying this experiment as an isolated individual in the then state of the law?—Yes.

7830. Has it ever occurred to you, that if the law came to your aid, that the provision grounds and the cottage were allowed to be held on the absolute condition of his labouring on the estate, and that the violation of that condition should be attended with civil punishment on the award of a magistrate, and he worked upon that condition of occupying the house and provision grounds, it would then be impossible?—I never looked at it altogether in that light; the subject of slavery has been always in my thoughts many years; the only feasible plan which it occurred to me could be pursued, would be to bring the slaves into something like the same condition as our labourers; but to withhold from them the name of freedom, because the idea that a slave attaches to freedom is exemption from all labour, and if he is obliged to work, he would say candidly that he would not thank you for freedom upon these terms. The admission of slave evidence is now effected; that was most material, for the life of the slave was in the hands of the master before. I would totally put an end to trafficking on Sunday; the Sabbath should be kept, as far as the law was concerned; then, instead of the Sabbath, I would give him another day, for the master has now the whole of the seven days; for if the slave does not work on the Sunday he starves. I would give him a day instead of his Sabbath, so that it might be left to himself to keep the Sabbath. I would provide for the establishment of paid magistrates, because I conceive it is absolutely necessary that the magistracy should be persons unconnected with the island; in that case the slave would get redress, which I have no hesitation in saying he cannot get now; and the same with respect to judges upon the bench; I consider the system now pursued with the judges is really quite a farce upon justice, persons who have never opened a law book, and know nothing of law, are seated upon the bench, to give judgment in cases in which they are totally incompetent.

7831. Are you aware of the chief justice presiding?—I do not allude to the chief justice, but to the other courts where the assistant judges sit.

7832. There is no court, either supreme or assize, in which the chief justice does not preside, unless he should happen on any occasion to be prevented by indisposition?—Perhaps that may have led me into an error; there are several attorney's offices of properties, who sit as assistant judges upon the bench, whom I consider as most improper persons.

7833. You say that you conceive the slaves understood emancipation to mean exemption from labour, and that you conceive without that they would be perfectly indifferent to the grant of freedom, especially since the admission of slave evidence; do you think they would be perfectly indifferent to the exemption from corporal punishment at the will of their master, and to the seeing their female relations flogged?—No, that is one of the main features in the system that I desire to adopt; I would take away all power of corporal punishment out of the hands of the master, and leave it in the hands of the magistrate; in fact, I would put them under the same laws as the peasantry in this country, except that I would not give them the name of freedom; I would not break that link which now exists between the master and the slave, for that has now a great effect in producing the degree of affection which now exists, and which could not exist but in that relation.

7834. Would you leave them subject to being severed from their relations?—Certainly not.

7835. Or to being dispossessed of their houses?—No otherwise than our own peasants are.

7836. Those great necessities to freedom, under whatever name, you think they earnestly desire?—Yes.

7837. Do you think they will be content, as civilization advances, without the concession of those points?—No, I should think perhaps not.

7838. Do

7838. Do you think that it would be safe much longer to deny the concession of them?

[*The Witness was directed to withdraw.*]

[*The Witness was called in, and the question again proposed.*]

I can hardly tell.

7839. Your experience has led you to observe that the negroes are very susceptible of kind treatment?—Decidedly.

7840. And that the substitution on your part of such kind treatment for the use of the whip was an effectual stimulus to labour?—It was.

7841. Speaking from your own experience, are you of opinion if the mitigation of punishment to which allusion has been made, and the impossibility of being severed, were made the condition of emancipation, or rather accompanied it, together with a concession of right to retain the cottages and provision ground, that under such inducements and with such kind treatment the negroes could not be induced to work for hire?—I should very much fear that they would not; the impression upon my mind is, that the only value the negro sets on freedom is exemption from labour; and if he should, when free, be compelled to work, I do not think he would say thank you for the freedom; at present the negro looks upon his master, I do not mean the attornies, but the proprietors, as a kind of amalgamation of all the relations of society; the way in which a negro comes to ask a favour is this, he begins with a long parenthesis, and asks you whether you are not his father, then whether you are not his mother, his brother, his sister; then having got the affirmative to all these questions, the next question is, who am I to apply to then but you when you grant there is nobody else? then he tells you what he wants; that feeling would be totally destroyed if they were to consider they had no master.

7842. Does not all that follow from a feeling of dependence upon his master?—Yes, decidedly.

7843. With the independent feeling the possession of freedom would create, are you not of opinion that, so raised in the scale of being, he would be subject to the usual motives of his fellow creatures, and would work for the comforts of life?—The comforts of life are so easily attained, he would not feel that; he will maintain himself on a piece of ground at less labour than any of the peasants of this country could.

7844. Is he content with the mere necessaries of life?—The standard of example set to the negroes by the free people in Jamaica is the worst which can be conceived; in fact, our worst classes at Kingston are some of the lowest whites and the free people.

7845. The free people of colour?—Yes; the free people of colour and free blacks, so much so that they come and live actually upon the negroes.

7846. Mr. Taylor was employed by you, was he not?—Yes, he was.

7847. How were your estates managed under his superintendence, advantageously or otherwise?—Most miserably; he was himself carried away by his own feelings, and instead of having any return, I lost 1,400*l.* last year, and should have lost every thing if his management had continued; the whole was neglected.

7848. Did his management immediately follow your own in point of time?—Yes, immediately I left the estate I put it into his hands.

7849. When you left it, the use of the whip had been almost discontinued?—Almost entirely discontinued.

7850. What change in your management did Mr. Taylor adopt?—He seemed to throw the thing up altogether; he got into his head that the duration of slavery in any shape was iniquitous, and he seemed to abandon the whole thing.

7851. Have you ascertained precisely what the change of discipline among the slaves was upon your going away?—I do not suppose there was any change of discipline; I take it there was a total relaxation of all discipline; indeed I know there was.

7852. As relates to corporal punishment, had that ceased under your own direction?—Yes, there was no occasion for it.

7853. Upon the cessation of corporal punishment you state, that on the first commencement of the change under your own hand, very little work was done; but that on the change of system being established, labour was resumed, and your estate flourished?—Yes.

7854. Will you state in more detail how you managed to enforce labour without the whip?—Where a slave behaved decidedly ill I punished him.

7855. You did flog him?—Yes, in one instance; I flogged only three during the whole

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whole time I was out there ; one was this case. One of the slaves of Salt Savannah ran away for about three days ; when he came back the overseer lectured him and sent him back to his work ; then he ran away for a week, and at the expiration of that time I came upon the estate, and the slave complained to me of extreme cruelty he had received from the overseer. I called for the overseer, who was a young farmer in Kent, who had gone out with my assistance, and asked him what the state of the case was, and he told me precisely that I have now stated, that he had run away for three days, and that he had set him to work ; then the same week that he had run away again, and that on his coming back he had locked him up. I said, if he continued running away in that way he would be no use to me ; that if he set so bad an example to the other slaves I should part with him. He was very impudent, and desired I would. I said, first of all I will punish you for this very great impertinence and bad conduct you have been guilty of. I did punish him, and gave him 16 or 17 stripes, and then he begged very hard, and promised he would not do the like again, and he returned to his work. Afterwards, when conversing with the head driver on the case of this young man, he said he was a particularly quiet and well disposed lad, but that he had no doubt the negroes had set him on to behave as he had done, under the conviction that I would not punish him at all, and that he was satisfied that having seen they were to be punished where they did behave ill, every thing would go on well.

7856. Though in point of fact the use of the whip was practically discontinued, the fear of punishment of the whip was never extinguished while you were there?—No, certainly not, when they committed crime ; the way in which I used the whip in the few instances, and I am thankful they were but few, were those in which I should have sent a man to gaol had complaint been made before me as a magistrate in this country.

7857. The impertinence of the slave did not amount to crime, did it?—His running away from his work did ; and on my remonstrating with him he was impudent, and begged me to sell him.

7858. In what year was this?—It was soon after I returned the second time.

7859. What do you conceive was the limitation of your power in Jamaica at the time, as to punishment of the slaves?—If I had stuck to the law, which is not usually the case, either on one side or the other, I might have given them 39 lashes with the whip ; I punished him with a small cat made of string with six tails to it.

7860. As you were permitted with respect to law, might you have given to the extent of 39 lashes altogether if anything displeased you, or must it have been for some legal offence?—Just as I liked, for looking at me.

7861. That you understood to be the law at that time?—Decidedly ; I was the sole judge when a man should be punished, and to what extent, provided it was not beyond that ; that was the nominal punishment I was restricted to by law ; but persons do go far beyond the law, constantly.

7862. Your understanding and from your conversation with other gentlemen, you believe their understanding of the state of the law to be, that for even looking at you a man might be punished with 39 lashes?—That I put as an extreme case ; it was perfectly arbitrary ; and if a slave did any thing to offend his overseer or owner, he might do that.

7863. You understood that a man was not liable to be questioned for the exercise of punishment within those limits?—Certainly ; he was answerable to no one.

7864. When you speak of abolishing the whip upon your estate, you mean that you abolished the whip as a stimulus for labour?—Entirely so.

7865. You kept it as a punishment for offences?—Yes.

7866. You considered yourself as *quasi* a magistrate?—Precisely, as if the overseer had been a farmer in my own parish, and he came to me to complain of a man's neglect of his labour ; I should have sent him to the tread mill for a certain time here ; there I punished him.

7867. You never used the whip as a stimulus to labour at that time?—Never.

7868. You would not use it as a punishment for an insufficient task?—No, certainly not.

7869. Mr. Taylor went further than you, abolished the whip altogether?—Yes ; my notion is, that there was a perfect relaxation of discipline.

7870. Do you remember the difference of produce between the two years before and after?—The year before he came into the management, I got 2,000*l.* ; the year he left it, I was deficient 1,400*l.*

7871. Can

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7871. Can you state the produce in sugar the year before Mr. Taylor took the charge and the year subsequent?—I cannot state that very accurately; one estate was very deficient in strength, and there was a change made from one estate to another, that was of course injurious to both; the whole of the negroes on Low Ground had been employed making preparation for the negroes I was about to remove, so that that of course lessened the produce.

7872. Can you ascertain the produce from the estates in the respective years?—I think the whole of the sugar I received during that year was 30 or 50 hogsheads, and before that I had 60 and 70 from the two estates, and 80 from the third; but I cannot speak with certainty without referring to my accounts.

7873. Did you remonstrate with Mr. Taylor upon this?—Over and over again I wrote him folios.

7874. Did he hold out the hope to you that his system of management would produce a different result?—No; he seemed to abandon the idea of produce altogether; his letters turned almost exclusively upon the question of the right or wrong of slavery, and I could get very little else out of him.

7875. Do you think the indisposition of the slaves to the cultivation of sugar is greater than the indisposition to other labour; is there a general indisposition to labour at all, if free?—I do not think if they were free any sugar at all would be cultivated; I do not think labour could be hired under any circumstances to cultivate sugar.

7876. Is not that unwillingness at the present moment on the part of the free blacks to cultivate sugar somewhat connected with the degradation of slavery which attaches to that particular species of work?—I do not consider that it is at all, it is no taunt to them to be called a slave, the taunt is not to have a master, the greatest reproach to any one is, that they have no master on whom to depend.

7877. Is there not among slaves a great distinction between domestic slavery and field labour?—The greatest possible.

7878. Is not field labour a great degradation as contrasted with domestic slavery?—If a domestic slave is turned out to field labour that is a great degradation; but the field labourer does not consider it a degradation; and before I came away I turned out all my domestic slaves on purpose to do away with the impression of any disgrace in field labour.

7879. Has it fallen within your observation to see a free man living among the slaves on an estate, so as to observe the estimation in which he is held among the slaves, and whether they consider him as respectable as one of their own people?—By no means; I have a man married to my own slave living there, and they look upon him quite sneeringly.

7880. A free black?—A free brown.

7881. Did you know Cavaliers?—Yes, very well; it is part of my mother's property.

7882. What was the population living on Cavaliers?—It was very considerable; it contains a considerable district, more than I am acquainted with; part of the Cavalier mountains belong to my mother.

7883. Is that population composed of blacks?—Almost entirely of free persons.

7884. What is the mode of life of the free blacks on Cavaliers?—They lead a most dissolute life; they are excessively drunken, and they live, I consider, almost altogether by plunder; their system is this, they hire a small patch of land, and cultivate sufficient coffee upon that land to enable them to have coffee in their house without being responsible for it; then they buy from the slaves on the coffee estates a considerable quantity of coffee, so that they are, in fact, receivers of stolen property.

7885. While you lived on Pepine had you an opportunity of observing their habits?—They were twelve miles off; I have been up there sometimes.

7886. You would not consider that a favourable specimen of free labour?—No; for their system was to dig up the crop and bolt, so that I never got a shilling; that property ought to have brought in hundreds.

7887. Were they under engagement to pay you rent?—Yes.

7888. Which they never paid you?—No; they used to dig up the crop when it became ripe and then go away.

7889. What happened the following year?—Then somebody else took it, and then there was the same thing over again.

7890. The same persons did not come back again?—Never.

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7891. In the majority of cases you were defrauded of your rent?—Yes, in the majority of cases.

7892. Did you use to see those persons working when you rode through?—I have seen one or two at work, but not many of them; I went into the house of the man who was considered the chief tenant, he held five or six acres of land there; I had a greater opportunity of seeing his mode of proceeding than any others; he immediately began to ask us to drink, and when we refused, he said, Well, if we would not he must, and he continued drinking during the time we remained in his house under shelter from a thunder storm.

7893. Would you say that the habits of that population, generally speaking, were idle and dissolute?—Exceedingly so.

7894. What was the appearance of their huts compared with those on your own estate?—There were several of my own huts that I should have been very well satisfied to live in myself; in fact my own house was very little better, for I had only the offices of the house my father had when out there; those on Cavaliers were very inferior and very dirty.

7895. How were they as compared to the general run of the slave huts on the neighbouring estates?—I should say they were inferior to the huts belonging to any industrious slaves; you would always find on any estate, huts belonging to “poor creatures,” cripples and so on, that were worse.

7896. What was their clothing, was it inferior to that of the slaves?—It was superior; but when the negroes were in their best, they were better clothed than those people.

7897. Do you think the people of colour have, in general, suits of clothing as good as the finer suits of the slaves?—Without having had an opportunity of seeing I should answer at random, that I think they have.

7898. As to the furniture of their cottages, which should you say generally was superior?—In the cottage I went into, there was perhaps a little more than in some of the slaves, but those of the superior slaves, the head people, are exceedingly comfortably furnished.

7899. What was this man, of whom you have spoken, drinking?—Rum and water.

7900. Do you think this was the fruit of his industry?—It may be got for almost nothing there, it is scarcely worth consideration.

7901. Generally speaking, what is your impression with regard to this population; was it upon the whole an industrious population or not?—No, by no means; I should be very sorry to see my slaves in the condition of those people.

7902. Do you think freedom has raised those persons in the scale of society?—By no means; if they had been respectable negroes on an estate they would have been better off.

7903. How had they acquired their freedom?—Most probably by service; it is the custom on proprietors going home, to give their personal servants their freedom.

7904. Is this a favourite resort?—Yes; it is just close above Kingston in the mountains, in a very fertile spot, and they had an opportunity of hiring land there.

7905. Is there any specimen in the island of Jamaica of a body of free negroes living together more extensive or more to be depended upon than this of the Cavaliers?—I do not know of any others.

7906. Have you ever been at a place in Manchester, called Free Town?—I never went there, I have been in the Maroon towns.

7907. Have you been over the Pedro plains?—Yes.

7908. What should you say of the body of people that come out of those huts situated there?—They are much better off than the Cavaliers people, but I apprehend that is because they have cattle.

7909. Did you see any there not possessing cattle?—No; they made a point of keeping out of sight as much as possible; they slink away when any one approaches.

7910. Is their manner less bold and less independent than that of the slaves?—Yes, a great deal; the slaves will come up with a degree of frankness and boldness that would astonish you.

7911. To what do you attribute the very shy habits of those people?—To their predatory habits; they live by plunder.

7912. How many lettings had you on the Cavaliers?—I had, at one time, about thirty; afterwards they ran the lines so as to exclude some of the best of those tenants, whose hirings they said belonged to another party.

7913. Have

7913. Have you reason to know whether they paid the neighbouring proprietors after they were so taken in?—No, I have no means of knowing that.

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7914. Had they wives and families with them?—Yes, and a number of children.

7915. Do you think they were married?—I should think not.

7916. Had they any religious worship?—No, there was none there whatever; we endeavoured to establish a school-master up there, and to have service, but that was mostly after I came away.

7917. What was the result of the experiment, bringing it within their reach, did they avail themselves of it?—I cannot speak of that; it was not till after I left the island; but the reports that we got home were favourable.

7918. That they did avail themselves of it?—Yes; I have no doubt a great many would avail themselves of it, and the children too.

7919. Have you the confidence that if they did avail themselves of it, their manner of life would improve?—I have not a doubt of that from what I have seen.

7920. But you would fear as to freedom without the restraint of religious feeling?—Yes; my idea is precisely this, that if the slaves were properly instructed, or to use Mr. Steele's expression in his Plan, that he drew them up on the line of freedom, and there stationed them; and after his system had been in practice a few years, he did not care how soon any person came and pushed them over the line, for they would not know the difference between freedom and slavery; that I wished to do, to govern them by mild and equitable laws, and to let them feel all the benefits of freedom without the name.

7921. Did you build them the houses, or did they rent the land and build?—They mostly built their own huts; their rents varied from six to eight or ten pounds currency; they paid, I think, about 2*l.* an acre.

7922. Is it possible for the negro slaves on the existing system to employ Sunday in religious instruction?—Decidedly not; they must employ it for their maintenance, or they must starve.

7923. Do you recollect Mr. Taylor making you an offer to purchase Pepine estate?—Yes, I remember something of it; I do not recollect it exactly.

7924. Was it to purchase all the three estates?—No, only to purchase Pepine.

*Veneris, 10<sup>o</sup> die Augusti, 1832.*

THE RIGHT HON. SIR JAMES GRAHAM, BART. IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. *Richard Garrett Amyot*, called in; and further Examined.

7925. DO you produce some Returns from the Colonial Registry Office?—I do.

Mr.  
*Richard G. Amyot.*

7926. What are they?—“A Return of all Summaries or Accounts of Births and Deaths, or Classes of Slaves contained in the Slave Registry Returns of Barbadoes, from 1817 to 1829 inclusive.”

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7927. Have the goodness to state the number of Africans in Barbadoes in the year 1817?—It appears by the first registry, that the number of Africans in Barbadoes was 5,423.

7928. What was the number of Creoles?—The number of Barbadians was 71,725; Creoles of other Islands, 345.

7929. What was the proportion of males and females?—The registry of Barbadoes does not afford that information.

[*The same was delivered in, and read.*]



Mr.  
Richard G. Amyot.

A RETURN of all SUMMARIES or ACCOUNTS of Births and Deaths, or Classes of Slaves contained in the SLAVE REGISTRY RETURNS of *Barbadoes*, from 1817 to 1829 inclusive.

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From the DUPLICATE REGISTRY for *Barbadoes*, for the Year 1817.

CLASSIFIED STATEMENT of the AGES and COUNTRY of the SLAVE POPULATION.

Under one Year.	From 1 to 10.	11 to 20.	21 to 30.	31 to 40.	41 to 50.	51 to 60.	61 to 70.	71 to 80.	81 to 90.	91 to 100.	101 to 114.	Ages at present unknown
2,606	20,432	16,735	14,579	10,591	6,667	3,616	1,546	548	133	20	7	13

Creoles of other Islands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	345
Africans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,423
Barbadians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	71,725
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	77,493

SUMMARY of the DUPLICATE REGISTRY of SLAVES for the Island of *Barbadoes*, for the Year 1820.

Registered in 1817	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	77,493
Ditto - this year	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	78,345
Difference	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	852

SUMMARY of the DUPLICATE REGISTRY of SLAVES for the Island of *Barbadoes*, for the Year 1823.

Males.	Females.	Total.
36,159	42,657	78,816
Registered in 1820	-	78,345
Deduct, twice Registered	-	85
		78,260
Number per present Registration	-	78,816
Difference	-	556
Births since last Registration	-	8,236
Deaths since ditto	-	6,715
		1,521

SUMMARY of the DUPLICATE REGISTRY of SLAVES for the Island of *Barbadoes*, for the Year 1826.

Males.	Females.	Total.
36,995	43,556	80,551
Registered in 1823	-	78,816
Number per present Registration	-	80,551
Difference	-	1,735
Births since last Registration	-	9,602
Deaths since ditto	-	6,713
		2,889

SUMMARY

SUMMARY of the DUPLICATE REGISTRY of SLAVES for the Island of *Barbadoes*, for the Year 1829.

Mr. *Richard G. Amyot.*

Males.	Females.	Total.
37,691	44,211	81,902
Registered in 1826	-	80,551
Ditto in 1829	-	81,902
	Difference	1,351
Births	-	9,250
Deaths	-	6,814
Manumitted	-	670
Taken from the Island	-	182
Brought to the Island	-	20
Absent	-	16

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7930. What other paper have you?—"A Return of the Number of Africans, as distinguished from Creoles, which were contained in the original Registry of Slaves for the Island of Jamaica for the Year 1817."

7931. What was the number of Africans?—One hundred and twenty-six thousand nine hundred and three.

7932. What was the number of Creoles?—Two hundred and nineteen thousand two hundred and forty-seven.

7933. What was the total?—Three hundred and forty-six thousand one hundred and fifty.

7934. What was the number of females among the Africans, and what the number of females among the Creoles?—The number of females among the Africans was 58,272.

7935. What was the number of males?—Sixty-eight thousand six hundred and thirty-one.

7936. What was the number of female Creoles?—One hundred and fourteen thousand five hundred and fifty-nine.

7937. What was the number of males?—One hundred and four thousand six hundred and eighty-eight.

[The same was delivered in, and read.]

A RETURN of the Number of AFRICANS, as distinguished from CREOLES, which were contained in the Original Registry of Slaves for the Island of *Jamaica*, for the Year 1817.

AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			TOTAL Number of Slaves in 1817.
Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	
68,631	58,272	126,903	104,688	114,559	219,247	346,150

7938. Can you suggest to the Committee any plan by which your office would be rendered more effectual?—I think, if I may be permitted to give an opinion, the only way in which the office could be rendered more effectual, would be an uniform manner of registration; for that appears the greatest difficulty; every colony having its own peculiar form, causes great confusion and disorder in making out the returns.

7939. Which return is upon the best method?—I think, for the purpose of investigation, the Jamaica return presents the best means; but with reference to the identity of the slave, the one of Berbice is the most particular.

7940. Explain what you mean?—I mean the identity of each slave is particularly marked on the original register; the personal description of the slave: with regard to any calculation to be drawn from the registry, I should say, that of Jamaica is as good as any.

7941. With regard to the prevention of the slave trade, the Berbice would be the

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the best; with reference to the conclusions as to the length of life among the negroes, the Jamaica would be the best?—I think that is the case; the Berbice registry is very voluminous; it would require a very large establishment if it were adopted.

*James Beckford Wildman, Esq.* called in; and further Examined.

*J. B. Wildman,*  
*Esq.*

7942. YOU mentioned in your last examination the case of four negroes overworking themselves for a reward which you promised for an experiment, task-work; how do you reconcile that fact with your opinion, that the negroes would not work for the stimulus of hire?—In this way; as slaves they knew they were obliged to work; they were compellable to work, therefore any reward that was given to them was a bonus to them to exert themselves.

7943. You were understood to say that was an experiment tried by yourself, for the purpose of seeing whether they would work for the inducement of gain?—Yes.

7944. There was no threat whatever used in that case, nothing but inducement, without threat or compulsion?—None whatever.

7945. And you stated, that at the end of the day they overworked themselves from the temptation of gain?—Yes.

7946. That was the only experiment you ever tried of that nature, as the Committee understood?—In several other cases I gave them money to get work done, and always found the same effect; they would always work for it.

7947. Is not the universal success of those experiments strong evidence of the influence of the desire of gain on the negro mind, independently of compulsion?—I do not think it is myself at all, for when a man is compelled to labour for a given length of time, any reward which is given to him is a bonus to that man to exert himself; but if he were free, and it was dependent only upon his own will whether he would work at all or not, I think the case would be very different.

7948. In the case of the slave there was no fear of want, because you were bound to supply him with all necessaries?—Clearly.

7949. Do not you think that was more than an equipoise to the fear of punishment; that if the fear of punishment was withdrawn, and the fear of want substituted, he would be induced to work?—I have no doubt of that, but my fear is that the fear of want would never arise if they were made free, and made villein tenants, or any thing on that system; that portion of the estate which would be given up for their use would support them amply, without any thing which could be called labour; a very few days would supply them with abundance.

7950. A state of villenage is a state of conditional labour?—Yes.

7951. Possession contingent upon the performance of that condition?—Yes.

7952. If the law were strong enough to enforce the condition, would not the labour be done?—Decidedly it would; that I mentioned with reference to Steel's plan; it was his desire to raise them from a state of slavery to a state of villenage, and to take the payment in so many days' work, and that succeeded perfectly, and so I have no doubt it would again.

7953. You think that is applicable on a large scale to a large island?—I have no doubt in my own mind that if the state of villenage could be universally adopted it would answer; that was the plan I was anxious to adopt myself, and under some such plan I would propose to continue them in nominal slavery.

7954. In a state of villenage, in fact?—Yes.

7955. You attribute your failure in that case to its being an insulated case, and not a case universal throughout the island?—No, I did not consider that I had the power to make the attempt; in the first place, I wanted the means; I had not the means of paying the people, and there were a number of other hindrances, creating extreme difficulty, which prevented my adopting it; but that was the chief one.

7956. The want of the means of payment?—And the not thoroughly understanding the system to arrange it satisfactorily.

7957. In the system of villenage they would hold their provision grounds and their cottages on the tenure of a certain work to be done; there would be very little money payment, would there?—That labour would not be sufficient by any means to carry on the estates, if the lands and the cottages were to be

valued

valued in the same way as I value my own lands and cottages in Kent; the labour I should get in return for that would never keep my crop even clean, even if put in by another power.

7958. Then it resolves itself into a question of valuation; if the law fixed a considerably higher value than upon rent of the same land in England, on the provision ground and the cottage, the money value fixed upon the cottage and provision ground would procure a certain quantity of labour, and that a large quantity?—My notion is simply this; if the planter had the same command over his negroes as the farmer has through a magistrate in England over his cottagers, the thing would be done easily enough; the cottager is compelled to work to support his family; if he does not perform his work he is punishable by the magistrate, and if the slave could be brought into that same state, and his wants were such as to compel him to work every day in the week as our cottagers do, I have no doubt the same system might be adopted with respect to them.

7959. If the law exacted from him, in return for the possession of certain property, a certain quantity of labour while his health and strength lasted, if the law were enforced, would not the labour be performed?—No doubt it would; but if it was to be merely a *quantum meruit* for the value of the cottage and land, the value would be such that no estate could be carried on, and the wants of the negroes, unless they are raised by many artificial wants which they have not at present, would not be such as to induce them to labour beyond their sustenance, and some trifle for clothes.

7960. The idea is, that the commutation of the money value of the house and land should be carried to account against the labour of the negro; with reference to the present generation, there would be nothing hard in such an arrangement, according to your idea?—I have hardly considered the question in that light, but I do not know that there would.

7961. In reference to the quantity of labour, how did you manage your estate during crop time; how many hours a day did your field gangs work?—The field gangs turned out just before sunrise; they are expected to be in the field at sunrise; from that time they worked till twelve o'clock; then at twelve o'clock, at what they call the shell-blow, they go to dinner; they come out again at half-past one, or at least the shell is blown at half-past one, and they are expected to be in the field at two; then from two till dark they work again.

7962. Did you work the boiling-house in one or two spells on your estate?—The system on one of my estates when I went out was a very dreadful one, as I considered, and of which my attorney, although he had been in the Island all his life, was ignorant; for when I told him the negroes worked what is called the long spell, that is, in fact, four-and-twenty hours, he denied it, and said it was not so; and it was not until I called up the people to him and asked them the question, that he acknowledged it.

7963. Explain to the Committee what the long spell is?—In the long spell the negro goes on at twelve o'clock in the day; he then continues the whole four-and-twenty hours in work; he is relieved then at shell-blow for two hours, and he works again from that time till dark; so that it is 30 hours' labour with the intermission of two hours; then at daylight he turns out again; the way in which they meet, that is they say, "Oh, but where twelve people are wanted we put on twenty-four;" so that twelve are always at rest; and that is the fact in one way; but it is not rest, because those women who are attending the mill are squirted all over with the cane juice, and are wet through.

7964. You are speaking of what you yourself know?—Yes; and what I saw day after day and night after night.

7965. If any witness should have stated that those who fed the mill are not wetted with the juice of the sugar cane that spirts out, that is not correct?—No, it is not; I defy any one to feed the mill without being squirted all over juice; I have done it myself; I have grown canes as thick as my arm; that cane is put in between two large rollers of 16 or 18 inches diameter; the roller is so close you scarcely can see through it; the cane is with a little impetus thrust between the roller, and that catches hold of it, and draws it in; and when the cane is rank and in good order it is so full of juice there is almost a little fountain playing on the people; they are perfectly wet through; they have on nothing but their little Osnaburgh frock and their lower clothes; then if they lie down in that state on the mill bed, which at low ground is raised

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very high, of course, they are before a small fire exposed to so piercing a draft of cold, that although I myself was clothed warmly, as Europeans are, and had a Scotch plaid which I bound round my face, I could not stand it.

7966. The crop time is generally in the coldest part of the year in that country?—The mill is generally put about in February, and from February it varies according to the climate for three, four or six months; on some estates, it is crop time nearly all the year round.

7967. Are the nights in February cold?—Excessively cold in the mountains, and in the lowlands too.

7968. Those who feed the mill through February and March are subject to suffer extremely from cold?—I consider that one great reason of the destruction of life; the negro comes out of the field after working all day under a tropical sun, and comes in to take the night spell, gets wet through in feeding the mill, and lies down on the mill floor to sleep two or three hours under that cutting wind. I consider that to be one great reason for the destruction of life on the sugar estates.

7969. A gentleman who has for years been in the management of estates, and managed the boiling-house, could not be ignorant of these facts?—It is quite impossible.

7970. Did the long spell exist on your estate?—On one out of the three.

7971. Do you know whether it was common on other estates?—I have been told it was almost universal in that part of the country; that is up in the Clarendon Mountains.

7972. When did you leave Jamaica?—In 1829.

7973. The long spell existed in 1829 in the Island?—I have no doubt whatever of it.

7974. You put an end to it on your estate?—I put an end to it on my estate immediately.

7975. What kind of spell was adopted when you put an end to that?—I endeavoured to adopt the use of spells; they have on board ships the dog watch, so as to make a constant succession; I stopped the mill at eight o'clock at night, or soon after; then I boiled off as soon as I could after that, which took an hour and a half or two hours; then I sent the whole of the people home; fire was called again at four o'clock in the morning, and they came then also to the mill, so that I reckoned every negro on the estate, if he chose, had an opportunity of seven or eight hours' comfortable sleep in every 24.

7976. Was that attended with loss to yourself?—I consider decidedly not; but then I can only argue it theoretically from the circumstances I have stated. My estate proved unproductive from other reasons; but it is utterly impossible that human life can stand that long interruption of rest, whether in work or not.

7977. What may be gained in produce is in your opinion lost in the life of the slave?—Over and over again.

7978. As far as regarded the interest of the proprietors, you would see no objection to the prohibition by law of the long spell?—Decidedly not; I consider that due to the slave.

7979. Or the regulation of the double spell, the alternation of 12 and 18 hours in 24?—Yes.

7980. The double spell is explained to be the alternation of 12 out of the 24, and 18 out of the 24 that the slave on the estate, who works from sunrise to sunset, goes to the boiling-house at 6, and continues till 12 on Monday night; he then goes off, performs his usual day's work on Tuesday, is all Tuesday night in bed, and then on Wednesday night, after his field labour, he comes on at 12 o'clock, and works 18 hours in that 24, so that is an alternation of 12 hours and 18 hours of every four-and-twenty during crop; do you think that consistent with the health of the slave or his longevity?—My impression is, that it is not. With that view I put a stop to it altogether as far as I could; but I was thwarted at every point as to the night work.

7981. By whom thwarted?—By my own people, by the negroes even; when I proposed putting an end to the long spell, they begged and prayed I would not, and I took pains to ascertain the cause, and their idea was, that it was much better to go on in that way, without being disturbed at 12 at night, for that when they were awakened at 12 o'clock at night, and called to the mill, they were so sleepy they got too late and got a flogging; but when I explained

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to them that it was not to be so, they were very glad of the change. I proved it beneficial in another way; a very fine woman came to me at Low Ground to complain of her constant loss of children; that she never could, as she expressed it, hold a child in her arms; when I came away the last time, that woman had got three children in about five years.

7982. That was under the system of having seven hours sleep in every 24 in crop time?—Yes, there is a very great objection to doing away with night-work, which my attorney has lately pressed upon me, and I have written to him proposing a plan to meet it; the fire required for boiling sugar is so intensely hot, that if by intermission they suffer the coppers and the flues to cool, it is a long time before they can get up the heat again, and that is a very serious objection to sugar-boiling. I endeavoured to obviate that, but from the almost impossibility, unless one sees every thing executed, I was unable to make effectual regulations.

7983. You ascertained the reluctance of the slaves to the abolition of the spell to arise from the fear of being called up at 12 o'clock at night, and punished because they were not in time?—Yes, I understood that from themselves.

7984. When they understood the matter, and were relieved from that fear, have you reason to believe that the change was very acceptable?—Perfectly so; I cannot have a better proof than this woman who had lost so many children before, immediately raising three.

7985. That was a single case?—There were others.

7986. Did your slaves become more prolific under their improved management?—Astonishingly so; in the three years previous to my going, the returns sent to me by my overseer, exhibited births of three only per year on Pepine Estate; there were then about 230 negroes upon that estate; the three years succeeding my going out the births were nine and two tens, or nine, ten and eleven, and they have continued so ever since. My returns certainly exhibit a greater number of deaths since I went out than they did previously, but that I think is most satisfactorily accounted for in this way; in the first place, the births being greater, the loss of children, of course, from casualties, must be greater, and during infancy they die in spite of all our endeavours; but the system in Jamaica is never to register a child till it is a certain age, till it is turned of twelvemonths old, I think; I will not undertake to say precisely the age that I ascertained myself; then the losses by miscarriage of course are never considered at all.

7987. Is your system persevered in now, to the best of your belief, by your manager, with regard to the boiling?—At this moment it is not; he boils at night.

7988. In what way; in a double spell?—Yes, we never did work the long spell in Vere, nor at Pepine.

7989. Your sugar-boiling is conducted by double spell?—Yes.

7990. Is the mortality greater in proportion to the number than when you were there, and managed it in a different way?—I am quite convinced that when the old and decrepit people I found on the estate in great numbers, are all dead, the decrease would be very considerably less.

7991. Since you were convinced that your mode of managing the boiling was even profitable to yourself, with a balance of profit on the one hand of mortality, and on the other of that brought into the account, why do you not enforce that?—That system of boiling was not profitable; and my present manager, who is every thing I can wish, and my own personal friend, also says it will be impossible to take off the crop in time if night-work is not continued. I have, therefore, proposed to him a plan to this effect; that those negroes who are required to go on to boil at night, shall not be called out to work after shell-blow; so that they will have the interval between shell-blow and the time when they are required in the boiling-house either for sleep or any thing else.

7992. Supposing another body to begin at half-past twelve, the boiling to begin at six in the evening, they would have five hours and a half rest?—Yes.

7993. You are of opinion that sugar cultivation has connected with it, if profitably conducted, night sugar-boiling?—I am afraid it must; because, unless the crop is very great, the planter gets no return whatever; and unless his crop is off, so as to allow him to avail himself of the seasons, he cannot put in his plant for the succeeding year. A single hogshead of sugar was sent home this year for my own use, with a quantity of tamarinds; having a sufficiency at

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home, I desired the merchant to sell it for the charges and freight, and I have not got one single sixpence; the charges have taken the whole value of the sugar and tamarinds; and this I know has been the case over and over again.

7994. Was that duration of spell on the estate in the Clarendon Mountains?—Yes, on Low Ground.

7995. Not on either of the others?—No, it never had been on either of the others.

7996. Has the practice of long spell, within your own knowledge, prevailed in any other part of the Island except the Clarendon Mountains?—I have not had an opportunity of knowing whether it has or not.

7997. When you speak of the peculiar drafts to which they will be exposed in lying down in the mill-house, are there no instances in which, from the construction of the mill-house, that might be obviated?—It might be obviated in this very mill-house; and I gave orders for its being prevented in this mill-house; that the two arches, through which this wind came, should be blocked up, leaving an entrance only for the people to carry up the canes.

7998. The climate in the Clarendon Mountains is much more wet and cold than in other districts?—Yes.

7999. The climate of Pepine, or Salt Savannah, you would say was much warmer both in night and day?—Yes.

8000. There is a great deal of rain in the Clarendon Mountains?—Yes, a great deal of chill and fog.

8001. With a view of enforcing the performance of that species of condition by which the negro was to work in consideration of his being allowed to retain his cottage and his grounds, and supposing that, with a view of keeping him at labour, you put a higher value upon the cottages and the grounds than really they were worth, and the negro would know them to be worth, so that it became necessary to resort to a system of coercion to keep them at labour, it has been suggested that a police might be established, by means of the free coloured population; in the course of your experience have you formed any opinion as to the feeling with which the negro would probably regard the free population being placed in superintendence over him?—I have known great resistance offered to the coloured population as constables; there is a considerable degree of irritation to being taken by a coloured man.

8002. You would say, the negro's disposition towards the free coloured people is not that which would induce him cheerfully to submit to the exertion of authority by a person in that situation?—I think they would much rather submit to persons of their own colour and condition, than to the free persons mentioned.

8003. You mentioned, in the course of your evidence on the former day, some representation or some complaint that had been made to you by one of your negroes, at the time you were adopting a particular system; generally speaking, would you not say, that they had a propensity not to suppress any complaint they might have to make of that of which they had really cause to complain, but that they were rather disposed to exaggerate their complaint than to adhere strictly to the truth?—I have never found that.

8004. You have never found any disposition to exaggerate?—I have known my own people to be very severely punished when I have been on the estate, and I never knew it for months afterwards.

8005. Without their making any representation?—Yes, I have been told casually from other negroes.

8006. In any case, which came under your observation when you came to investigate the complaint they had made against the overseer, have you found that the representation made by the negro exceeded or fell short of the actual fact?—Unquestionably I had frivolous complaints made, just the same as I have had in Kent, and I have dismissed them, saying there was no just ground of complaint.

8007. When you spoke of the persons by whom religious instruction was afforded to the negroes as catechists, you spoke of them as being book-keepers; you are aware there are other religious instructors furnished in different parts of the Island, some clergymen sent by the Conversion Society, or Island curates?—Some of the Island curates exert themselves very properly in instructing the slaves, but others do not at all.

8008. They do not give lettered instruction; is that the objection you make?—That

—That is only one ; but I do not think the instruction given in that way is by any means efficient.

8009. Do you know the system of instruction adopted by any of the curates of the Island for the religious instruction of the slaves?—I do.

8010. Will you state what is your opinion of that system, whether it conduces to the end which it purports to effect?—By no means in the world.

8011. What is the system, and what are your objections to it?—The system of instruction is oral, and the time allotted for that instruction is merely sufficient to say that instruction is given, but given in a way, I conceive, no benefit whatever can be derived.

8012. Are you speaking generally of all, or of some particular instances?—Quite generally.

8013. As falling within your own observation?—Yes.

8014. With no exceptions?—No, I cannot say that ; there are clergymen in the Island whose exertions are beyond all praise.

8015. What is the time which is allowed for the instruction?—I believe, to answer that question universally, one hour per week.

8016. On a week-day or Sunday?—On the week-day ; it is generally arranged in this way ; one estate, or more, is visited, for instance, on the Monday, one or more on the Tuesday, one or more on the Wednesday, and so on ; and when there is time to allow of a second visitation of the same estate, I have no doubt it is done ; but I think the whole system is perfectly inadequate to anything beneficial.

8017. Have you known any estate which has been for any length of time under this system of instruction?—Yes, more than one.

8018. Have you seen the effects resulting from that?—No beneficial effects.

8019. There has been no progress made?—Nothing equal to that which has been professed.

8020. How is it as compared with instruction given on other plans?—Nothing like it.

8021. Not only in reading and writing, but in the general appearance of the negroes and in their character, there has been no progress?—Comparatively none.

8022. Are you aware of the conduct of the negroes during the recent insurrection, on the estates attended by the clergymen to whom you refer?—I know that the names of two estates to which I particularly advert are not among those estates that were excited.

8023. You have not heard that the negroes upon those estates carried on the cultivation themselves during the period when their overseers were absent?—On many estates I know that they did.

8024. You said you discovered that your own slaves had been very severely punished, and that without your knowledge, when you were there?—Yes.

8025. Do you believe, from the system practised in Jamaica, that severe punishment may take place without the knowledge of the owner or the attorney?—I am perfectly sure of it.

8026. Were you the owner of a slave named Eleanor James?—Indeed I was.

8027. Was she punished?—Most brutally.

8028. Was she punished by order of persons not resident on your estate?—Punished by order of the proprietor of the adjoining estate, for going to ask for the payment for a pig she had sold him.

8029. Did she obtain any redress?—None whatever.

8030. Were you in the Island at the time?—No ; but I received the account, and laid it before the Colonial Office.

8031. Were the persons who committed that outrage in any way punished?—Not in any way whatever.

8032. From the knowledge you have of the general system on different plantations, do you think an ordinary inquirer going to those plantations would understand the extent or degree of the punishment generally inflicted?—I am perfectly satisfied that a man might go and live a month upon an estate, and be as ignorant of what was done upon the estate as if he were at home in England.

8033. If he made any inquiries, must he not make those inquiries of the overseer or book-keeper himself?—Yes.

8034. Would it not be considered an improper intrusion on his part if he



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went and examined the negroes?—One which would be resented immediately. I have gone upon an estate myself at the wish of the proprietor, with the authority of the attorney. I have been round with the overseer, and have failed at last in seeing the people.

8035. Is the interior of a plantation cautiously closed against the observation of persons who might wish to visit it?—There is no particular caution used that I am aware of; but at the same time it is almost impossible for any person to find out what is doing upon an estate.

8036. May not an attorney or an overseer exercise severe and tyrannical power without the possibility of its being known to the public, and without any likelihood of his sustaining any punishment?—Decidedly.

8037. Might it go so far as that the lives of the negroes might be sacrificed to the cruelties of the overseer, without the possibility of obtaining justice against him?—I have reason to know that that was done while I was in the Island.

8038. Slave evidence was not at that time admissible, was it?—No, it was not, and there was the difficulty.

8039. Was not the admission of slave evidence, in your opinion, a material alteration in that respect?—Decidedly it was.

8040. Are you aware of the extent to which slave evidence is admitted under the law?—Not exactly.

8041. Do you think a Commander-in-Chief visiting through the Island, or an Admiral upon the station making the usual routine of visits, unless he took very particular pains indeed, would be able to ascertain the condition of the slaves on a plantation?—I think the idea is perfectly absurd of his obtaining any knowledge at all.

8042. Supposing he took considerable pains, would he find difficulty?—The greatest difficulty.

8043. You say that from experience?—From my own experience I know it to be so.

8044. What was the conduct of your negroes during the rebellion, so far as you have heard?—Perfectly quiet and satisfactory; there was not the slightest movement among them in any way.

8045. At one period, when you were there, you began to introduce schools for their instruction?—Immediately after I returned.

8046. What was the general impression upon the public mind when you began to introduce those schools; what was held forth with respect to you?—I was set forth in the papers as an enemy to the Colony; I was told, if I meant to burn down my own estate, I had no right to burn down those of others.

8047. Were not there some infamous ribaldrous libels published in the papers against you and your family?—Yes, there were, most infamous.

8048. You do not speak of all the papers?—No, one particular paper; it was put into my hand when I was coming home; I think a more filthy libel was never published against an unoffending female.

8049. Did you find your slaves on any occasion so grateful for your attention, that they were willing voluntarily to labour for you under any emergency?—I had some very strong instances of their willingness to labour to bring up the estate.

8050. To show their gratitude?—Just so; most gratifying instances.

8051. Did they ever voluntarily offer to give up their own time?—They did.

8052. On which estate was that?—Salt Savannah.

8053. Will you state the circumstances under which they made that offer?—It was on Mr. Farquharson's taking possession as attorney; he went there with a gentleman belonging to the next estate, and the negroes came up to him in a body, and said that they were ashamed that he should take possession of the estate in the condition in which it then was; that they were really hurt that he should come and find the estate in such a condition; it passed off, but at night the slaves came together in a body, and said that they were so hurt at the condition in which the estate then was, that they would give up their Saturdays till it was put in order; and since that time the work of the estate has been carried on, to use the expression of my attorney, to his entire satisfaction.

8054. Was that bad condition of the estate immediately consequent upon Mr. Taylor's management?—Yes.

8055. Have

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8055. Have you ever known an instance of your slaves, when they have been stimulated by a spirit of rivalry, working with extraordinary diligence?—I have; one very extraordinary proof of it, which was this; my negroes on Salt Savannah were, as well as my other negroes, the subjects of taunt and rebuke from the system I had adopted towards them; they are pointed at, “There goes one of Massa Wildman’s niggers.”

8056. By the slaves on the other estates?—Yes; that they are all free, and have no occasion to work, and my slaves complain that they are made wretched by the taunts of the other slaves; but on the occasion alluded to I was making a line fence at Salt Savannah, and my then overseer had to furnish, I think, sixty or seventy slaves to dig a trench, and throw up a fence between my estate and Pusey Hall; Pusey Hall furnishing the same number of negroes, he said, “Now you are called worthless; it is said that you will not work; that your master has done away with the whip, and you will not work; the Pusey Hall people work with the whip; you must let them see what you can do.” The people set to work in such good earnest, that before the day was out, it was complained all the way down the line, by the Pusey Hall people, that the Salt Savannah people would kill them if they went on so.

8057. The system of the whip was practised there, but not on your estate?—Just so.

8058. You have disused the appearance of the whip in the field?—It is now; it was not when I was there.

8059. And with success?—With perfect success.

8060. How long has that been so?—It has not been used since I went out; it was carried into the field; then a very old negro, who had been the head man a great number of years, begged I would not take it away from the driver, because it kept up his authority; and he undertook that it should not be used at all if I would let it be carried into the field, and I agreed to it; but since that Mr. Taylor has stopped its being carried into the field.

8061. What is the course under Mr. Farquharson’s management?—I believe it has not been brought back, for he has as great a horror of it as I have.

8062. It was understood at that time on your estate that in cases in which they did not conduct themselves properly you reserved to yourself the right of punishment?—Decidedly so.

8063. And that is now the same?—Yes.

8064. The question refers to the deficiency of labour?—No, for crimes.

8065. Are you understood by your negroes to have renounced the power of using the whip for deficiency in labour?—I cannot tell what their understanding is.

8066. Supposing any negro went away from the ground and went into his own house and did not work when he ought, would that be a case in which you would consider that you would not inflict punishment?—He would be punished decidedly, but not by the whip, either by locking up or deprivation of indulgences, or in some way; but he would not be flogged for it.

8067. Or if he did not execute the task appointed?—Just so.

8068. You reserve a power and opportunity of using the whip for crimes and offences?—I do, and that they distinctly understand.

8069. As distinguished from the non-performance of labour?—Yes.

8070. You were not in Jamaica when the practice of carrying the whip in the field was left off on your estate?—I was not.

8071. Did you receive any account when it was first left off on the estate of any perceptible difference?—None whatever; Mr. Taylor adopted it the moment of my coming away.

8072. Mr. Taylor’s management led to the destruction of your crop?—Yes, or rather his neglect of management.

8073. The Committee are to understand that the whip is not now carried in the field?—I have every reason to believe it is not.

8074. Looking to the quiet conduct of your slaves during the late rebellion, to the alacrity they have shown to the offer voluntarily of their Saturdays, and their diligence in working against the Pusey Hall Estate, do you not think they are operated upon by feelings of gratitude like other human beings?—Decidedly.

8075. You have expressed an opinion that in case of emancipation negroes would be unwilling to work?—I think so.

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8076. Does your opinion rest upon the great plenty and fertility of the soil in Jamaica?—In some measure, certainly.

8077. So that you think there would be an absence of that stimulus which induces people to work in this country?—Yes.

8078. In your judgment is that the great impediment to working for wages in Jamaica?—That, added to the natural indolence of the negro character and the listlessness induced by the climate.

8079. Do you conceive that the negro character is naturally very indolent, or do you think that arises principally from the climate?—Both combined, I should say; I have worked myself in the garden with a stout negro, who has complained that if I made my field negroes work in that way, that in the course of a very few months I should not have a negro alive.

8080. Do you think you could have kept on working in that kind of way long?—No, that is impossible.

8081. Have you not known that when a negro has been employed for his own benefit he has exhibited a great degree of energy and diligence?—Yes.

8082. Have you not known that when he has been going to market he has carried upon his head an immense load, which you would not have ventured to have made him carry?—I should not certainly under the feeling of humanity; in fact no force could have made him take it up.

8083. But it being for his own benefit he voluntarily did the work?—Yes; my late attorney, Mr. Philips, told me that when he was overseer of Camanas Estate he set the people task-work, and that they got it over about two o'clock; that then they set off to Kingston, and spent the remainder of the day and the night in excess; and that a complaint was made to him by the driver, that if he went on with that system he would ruin the estate, and he was obliged to give it up on that account.

8084. In the case of the negroes carrying those heavy weights, they were voluntarily exerting themselves for their own benefit?—Yes.

8085. Was there an absolute necessity for their making that exertion; would they have starved if they had not so done?—By no means.

8086. Then they were exerting themselves for the sake of a greater benefit than mere absolute maintenance?—Decidedly.

8087. In point of fact, is it not true that the negroes in their present enslaved state do exert themselves with energy for the purpose of obtaining comforts and advantages beyond necessities of subsistence?—Certainly.

8088. Supposing they do so exert themselves for 25 days for their comfort, is there any reason why they should not so exert themselves for 35 days?—No, certainly not.

8089. The same motive would exist?—Yes.

8090. Do you think there is any particular limit in that respect which attaches to the negro race differently from other people?—By no means.

8091. If by experience your people have been found to labour on in order to procure advantages and comforts much beyond their maintenance, why should they not go on with increased energy and labour, for the purpose of accumulating wealth; why should not the negroes be operated upon by the same causes?—I see no reason particularly.

8092. Does not his industry, when he has worked on his own account, lay some ground for the supposition that, if you increase the motive, he would avail himself of the opportunity?—In many cases I have no doubt they would.

8093. You have spoken of cases of task-work where the negroes have shown extraordinary energy, but have afterwards entered into great excesses; if the negroes were fully instructed in religion, might it not be very possible they would work with energy, and at the same time abstain from those excesses?—I have no doubt of that, and in the course of a few years, if the system adopted on my estates be followed up with success, I should not have the least disinclination to the Government declaring the slaves upon the estates all free.

8094. Do you not know that it is common with persons who work very hard, in London, journeymen and so forth, that after labouring till Saturday night, they give way to habits of intoxication on Sunday, and do not work on Monday?—I know that.

8095. Does not their conduct very much resemble that of those slaves you referred to?—Very much, certainly.

8096. Did you ever observe the general conduct of the free people of colour,  
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in Kingston, for instance, the mechanics, cabinet-makers and so on, that they were industrious until they had got their money; and that having received the price of the furniture sold, they then did not resume working until they were called upon to procure money again to supply their wants; were their habits those of continuous industry, or industry only on the pressure of a want of money?—I cannot speak from experience upon that point, but my opinion would be that it was not continuous labour.

8097. From what you have known or heard of the lower orders in this country, the cotton spinners and a great body of artizans who are paid at the conclusion of their task-work, do you believe that the habits of the free blacks are different from those of artizans, white men in this country, who receiving sums of money after hard work, look for an interval of enjoyment, and even of excess?—I do not think there is any difference; the difference is to be made by religious instruction, and that alone. If proper religious instruction were given to the people, I do not think there would be the slightest danger in emancipating the whole of them; but in their present uninformed state, I do think it would be the destruction of the people and the Island altogether.

8098. Is there not this difference between those who work for task in this country, and artizans who shall have been emancipated in the West India Colonies, that the quantity of labour necessary to the providing for every essential gratification is much less in those Colonies, and that therefore a smaller proportion of the year would be required to provide for their enjoyment?—Certainly; I stated that on the former day's examination.

8099. You have spoken of religious instruction; supposing pecuniary means to be furnished, and an ample number of competent and zealous teachers to be sent out to the Island of Jamaica, state in what period of time you think the negroes might fairly be rendered competent masters of religious knowledge?—That depends so much upon the zeal of the teachers, and the capability of the people, it is a very difficult question to give an opinion on.

8100. How long did it take you, upon your own estate, to give them the quantum of religious knowledge they now possess?—Although a great exertion has been used upon my estates, and in many instances the progress made by the negroes has been most gratifying and satisfactory, the principal benefit has been derived, I consider, by young people; but I have instances among old and adults, where the most gratifying benefit has been derived by them.

8101. Do you think that to inculcate religious knowledge, from two to three years would not be sufficient when it was given by zealous instructors?—Four or five years, I think, would.

8102. And if a proper example were set them, you think it would be likely to bring them to a good state of morality?—If you could get rid of the licentious examples set them, and the iniquities into which they are led by those over them, there would be, I doubt not, great progress.

8103. Are the overseers and people over them married people?—Almost never; I say almost, for there are two or three instances within my knowledge.

8104. Do you not think it desirable that the overseers should be married men?—Yes.

8105. And that departure from the rules of morality should be visited in a marked manner?—Yes.

8106. Is any notice taken of it now?—No; married people are refused employment because they are married people.

8107. Have you known instances of that?—Yes.

8108. Persons otherwise of respectable conduct?—Yes; I had rather a distressing letter from a man who was married, under Mr. Taylor's auspices, in consequence of his not being able to get employment.

8109. Do you mean to say, that in Jamaica, among the planters, the employment of white men in confidential situations, such as overseers or book-keepers, if married, is discouraged on account of their being married?—I do.

8110. What is the nature of the objection?—That is more than I can possibly ascertain; but there is the greatest difficulty and objection made on the part of the planters to married people.

8111. Can the profligacy of the overseer or the book-keeper with the female slaves on a plantation, be consistent with the interest of the owner?—Far from it.

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8112. Is it not obviously fatal to his interest?—Very materially; I have known the greatest evils happen, and have known them upon my own estate.

8113. It being clear that it is not the interest of the owner or planter, what can be the inducement to object to the best security against such profligacy?—The system of Jamaica, from beginning to end, is of that extremely corrupt nature, that the very instruction of the negro is hindered on that account; if the negro is taught morality, he can point to his master and say, “You tell me to do so and so, but what do you do yourself?”

8114. You think that their conduct is at the expense of their interest, on account of their favour to vice?—The interest does not exist in the way in which it is assumed; I consider the interest of the planter and the interest of the attorney to be diametrically opposite, and I think that is the destruction of our West India property.

8115. Do you suppose that arises from a belief, that encouraging a married man would lead to more expense in the maintenance of a man with a family?—It may be, but there can be no such increased expense.

8116. The fact being ascertained to your own general satisfaction, that the unmarried men are favoured, will you state to the Committee what is your impression of the cause of such preference, it not being the interest of the planter in your opinion?—It is most difficult to answer that question; the reproach which would be cast on an attorney or overseer, in consequence of his mode of life, where a book-keeper was living morally as a married man, I consider as a great reason.

8117. Supposing the overseer and book-keeper were married men, would not that have a good effect?—I should say that the estate would go on a great deal better, and that the people would have an inducement to attend to their duties, which they now have not.

8118. If it were so that all the white persons employed on the estate were married, there would cease then to be that cause to deter them?—Certainly there would be under the present system, I have been told, but I cannot speak to it of my own knowledge; many have been mentioned to me as having kept women on every estate they go to.

8119. Do you refer to the attorneys?—Yes.

8120. That is the way in which you mean to explain the interest of the attorney being different from that of the planter?—No, by no means; in most cases the attorney is paid according to the returns he makes from the estate, and whether that return is made by the sacrifice of the lives of the people, they do not care one halfpenny.

8121. You do not intend to attribute it to the interest of the attorney being different to that of the planter, that this preference was shown to unmarried men?—No.

8122. If the circumstance of a married woman, the wife of the overseer, or the wife of the book-keeper, residing upon the property, might lead to habits of greater care of the children, it may be presumed there would be a greater probability of returns from the property?—Yes.

8123. So that the attorney being benefited in proportion to the returns, would have an interest in conducting the estate in a way most beneficial?—The misfortune of the management is, that even proprietors going out to Jamaica, have their eye constantly fixed on home; even men who never can think to see England again, always look to it as home, and in most instances they will not provide themselves really with the comforts of life, under the idea that at any moment they may leave it all to come to England; the overseer begins entirely upon that system; and my own overseer, a very respectable young man, gave that as the reason why he could not follow the instructions I gave him, that he might at any moment lose his overseership under me; that while he was out of work, he was obliged to live on the neighbouring overseers; that if he lost that connexion, he should be ruined.

8124. Will you recall to your recollection what you may have heard to have been the case at the period when there was a greater number of proprietors actually resident in the country, married men with their families; have you any reasons for knowing that the practice of having white persons in the situations of overseers or book-keepers, married persons, prevailed then to a greater extent than it has done since?—I believe it did not.

8125. Has

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8125. Has there ever occurred to you that at the time of the deficiency law existing which led to a greater number of whites being to be found on estates than were necessary for its cultivation in order to procure a saving of taxes, there was at that period a more considerable number of white females in the class of life likely to marry overseers and bookkeepers than there have been ever since?—I do not think there was any difference.

8126. Supposing that system of instruction you were speaking of to be introduced upon an estate, how many hours do you think employed in the manner pointed out, it would be necessary to take for the purpose of making it effectual to the negroes?—The plan I adopted, in order if possible not to be a loser by the plan, because it would have been a great assistance if I could have said to other planters my returns had not fallen off in consequence,—the plan I adopted was this: I established an infant school, and I kept the little children all day; the gang or class above them I took for a couple of hours in the morning and a couple of hours in the afternoon; the second gang I took for one hour a day out of my time, and endeavoured to induce them to stay one hour out of their time; as they did not work for themselves, it was rest to them being in the school; then the adults were under no regular system of instruction, except on the Sunday; but on Pepine estate, and also on Salt Savannah, many of the adults would come during the shell blow, and at night, for instruction, voluntarily.

8127. Considering the probable advantage to be derived from religious instruction and improvement in morals, do not you think that the time necessary to be given for the purpose of administering to the negroes that instruction would be no ultimate loss to the master?—I do not think it would at all.

8128. Do you, in point of fact, think the slaves might be educated and religiously instructed, and at the end of seven years the master be no poorer?—I am perfectly convinced of that.

8129. Have you any knowledge or acquaintance with emancipated slaves?—Only in one or two cases.

8130. Do you know of any instance of a proposition being made to an emancipated slave that he would work for hire?—I cannot say that I do positively, except in my own case; I emancipated one, and gave him an opportunity of working for hire on the estate, which he did.

8131. Are you acquainted with the condition of the free blacks at all?—Yes.

8132. Are they increasing in wealth and prosperity?—Yes, I think they are.

8133. Through the medium of their own industry?—Yes.

8134. Are you acquainted with the people of colour at all?—Yes.

8135. Are they augmenting their wealth?—I think they are.

8136. To a considerable extent?—To a considerable extent.

8137. Do not they acquire that wealth principally by their own exertions?—I should think not principally, more from legacies and gifts.

8138. Do they acquire it more from legacies and gifts than the white people acquire it?—Yes, I think they do, because it is a constant habit where men have been living with women in this way, when they go home to give them a house or property of that kind; a very large proportion of the property in the island is, I conceive, getting into the hands of people of colour from that cause.

8139. Is it not the common custom also for white people to give their children property?—Yes, of course.

8140. Do you believe, that in proportion to the respective number, the people of colour acquire more property by gift or devise than the whites by the same means?—Certainly not; I did not understand the question.

8141. Supposing the religious observance of the Sabbath were strictly enforced, and that ample means were provided not only for worship on the Sabbath, but for dedicating a considerable portion of that day to religious instruction universally throughout the island, and steadily on every Sunday, in what time do you believe the black population would be adequately instructed, in such way as to render it safe to emancipate them?—I do not think it would take a long time, but I do not know that I can say exactly within what limit.

8142. You said that you thought your own people were not yet quite fit for emancipation?—I say decidedly not.

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8143. How long have you been at work in improving their religious condition?—I think since 1826.

8144. The same pains have not been taken, generally, on other estates throughout the island?—Very few admit it at all.

8145. How do you think that five years of instruction throughout the island will prepare the whole for emancipation, when your own are not prepared, you having been six years preparing them?—The question was put supposing adequate instruction was given, and was adopted universally.

8146. Then the question returns, can you in five years educate the whole population?—I particularly pointed out that the children would be the persons who would receive the greatest benefit.

8147. If expense had been no object, do you think you could, in the time you have employed on the subject, have brought them to a condition in which it would have been safe to have emancipated them?—I do not know that I can say decidedly that I could.

8148. How, then, can you suppose that five years' education all over the island would bring the whole population into a state to be generally emancipated?—If it were universally adopted, it would be carried on with greater care than any individual could arrive at, being thwarted at every turn.

8149. Do you think that the same period of time which would enable an individual having at heart very much the object in view to bring his slaves up to the moral state in which he thinks emancipation could be safely conferred, would enable the whole population, with that general superintendence only which might be expected upon a large surface to be brought up to the same state?—Decidedly not; the whole population could not be so zealous upon that one point as individuals would be.

8150. Do you think it possible by that plan of education to raise them from the state in which the population is, to the state in which they could be safely emancipated?—Under existing circumstances decidedly not.

8151. Under no provisions for instruction?—Not under existing circumstances.

8152. What circumstances do you refer to?—To the objection felt to instruction on the part of the planters.

8153. Supposing that to be overcome, do you conceive it possible in five years so completely to change the population as that it would be safe?—No.

8154. Do you consider the time you have stated you have devoted to religious instruction to be sufficient, supposing it were adopted as cordially by other proprietors in Jamaica as it is by yourself?—It is almost impossible to say that it would; in a small community great success may attend the labour used; in another part the same success may not attend it.

8155. You consider a rather more than ordinarily state of moral control over the slaves to be necessary for the population before they are exposed to the chances of such a transition?—I think they should have a decided knowledge of religious principle and practice.

8156. And a habit of acting upon it?—Yes.

8157. You suppose there is more than usual temptation to indolence in that country, where the necessaries, and even the superfluities of life, are so easily acquired, and where the climate favours inactivity?—Yes.

8158. You hope to counteract in some degree the influence of those circumstances?—Yes.

8159. If you could suppose a considerable class not in a state of slavery previously, and not having to pass into a new state of freedom, would you not require a less degree of religious instruction, and a less degree of moral restraint imparted to keep down that class of persons, than you would to those who, being in a state of slavery, have to pass into a new state, namely, that of freedom?—I should, from the cause I have stated; I conceive that the slave has no adequate idea what freedom is. When I came home from Jamaica, a little girl, whom my sister brought home from the island, was astonished to see a white woman selling fish; they cannot fancy a white woman working.

8160. If immediately after the passing of the Resolutions of both Houses of Parliament in this country in the year 1823, adequate means of religious instruction had been supplied, and every Sabbath dedicated in the way pointed out in the former question, do you believe that the black population at this moment would either have been perfectly ready, or nearly ready, for the great boon

boon of emancipation?—If the system of religious instruction had been zealously undertaken by all parties at the time mentioned, my own opinion is, that I should not have had the slightest objection to all my own slaves being declared free.

8161. Has any marked or great increase of exertion taken place in supplying religious instruction in the Island of Jamaica since the passing of those Resolutions?—No.

8162. Has there been marked increase of exertion in any quarter?—Yes; the Church Missionary Society have been exceedingly active since that time.

8163. When you say the Church Missionary Society, do you confine it to that body?—Oh, no.

8164. To whom do you extend it?—I should extend it also to the sectarians.

8165. Great exertions have been made by sectarians to instruct the people?—Certainly.

8166. On the part of the Established Church has there been any great increase of exertion in the Island of Jamaica?—If I were to give a candid opinion, I think the appointment of the Bishop has very materially impeded the progress of instruction in Jamaica.

8167. Are you a Dissenter or a Member of the Established Church?—A very zealous Member of the Established Church, and very much opposed in some respects to the Dissenters.

8168. Yet being yourself a zealous Member of the Established Church, having knowledge of the Island of Jamaica since the passing of those Resolutions, and since the appointment of the Bishop, is the conclusion at which you arrive, that religious instruction on the part of the Church of England has advanced or retrograded in the Island of Jamaica?—It has not advanced in any degree at all adequate to the expense of the new establishment.

8169. You state that the appointment of the bishop has, upon the whole, formed an impediment, will you assign your reasons?—The bishop has thought it dangerous to interfere with the vices of the people; he has not proceeded at once to endeavour to do away with the gross immoralities he witnessed, but he has rather thought it necessary to temporize, and to leave them in their present state.

8170. When you say he has thought it necessary to temporize with the vices of the people, do you mean of the whole population, white and black, or with any distinction of colour?—The whole population, white and black; when he has known instances of gross immorality, he has not set his face against them in the way I consider a Christian bishop ought to have done.

8171. Not adverting to particular instances, but speaking generally of the life and conduct of the ministers of the Establishment, and the sectarian teachers in Jamaica, during your stay, consistently with your own knowledge, you being a member of the Establishment, with all your prejudices in favour of the Established Church, which should you say were the most efficient teachers of the black population, the ministers of the establishment or the sectarians?—The sectarians decidedly; they give themselves up very devotedly to the work, and in many instances have been eminently successful.

8172. Adverting to the lives and conduct of the clergy and the sectarian ministers, which were the most pure?—I do not know of any case of immorality among the sectarians.

8173. Do you know any among the ministers of the Established Church, not mentioning names?—I do.

8174. Do you speak from your own knowledge?—I speak from what I have heard, there is no doubt of the fact.

8175. You have spoken of the exertions of the ministers under the Church Missionary Society, are they inferior to the sectarians?—Some of them are far superior, but we also employ men of colour when we can get respectable moral people.

8176. When you say the Church of England have done nothing in promoting the religious instruction of the negroes, do you mean to apply that to the Church Missionary Society?—I did not state that.

8177. The exertions of the Church Missionary Society did emanate from the members of the Church of England?—They do solely; they do not admit dissenters among them.



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8178. Their exertions have been considerable?—Very considerable and very successful.

8179. In speaking of the immorality or the improper lives of the clergy, are you speaking of them generally as a class, or only of particular instances?—Particular instances.

8180. You do not mean to apply that generally to the class?—Undoubtedly not; I should be very sorry it should be so understood.

8181. Do you speak of those now in the island, or those you have known there previously?—Both.

8182. Speaking of them as a body, do you mean to say there are more instances of immorality than are to be found among the clergy of the Church of England in this country of an equal number?—I should think there were.

8183. You are aware probably, that in particular instances of immorality, there has been a want of power in the English Church to remove persons of that kind?—I am.

8184. If the clergy of the Church of England were devoted to their duties, would they have adequate employment for themselves in the instruction of the white population?—No, I do not think they would.

8185. The number committed to their charge would not be sufficient to employ them?—No, I think not; one of the most active ministers we had was the minister in Saint Thomas-in-the-East, and the difference he made in that population was perfectly incredible.

8186. Do you refer to Mr. Trew?—Yes.

8187. Would it not be possible for a zealous minister of the Established Church to preach once or twice to the white population mixed with blacks, and to dedicate a portion of the Sunday to the instruction of blacks only?—Mr. Trew's system was, in the morning service to direct his sermon principally to the white population; after the service was over, he had a school in which he instructed the black population, or any body that liked to come; the evening service was addressed almost exclusively to the black and coloured population, and I think after the second service he held a school again.

8188. If there were no temporizing with the vices of the population, and the Bishop enforced universally throughout the island Mr. Trew's system of teaching both blacks and whites, and the number of ministers so doing their duty were multiplied, the Sunday so observed, in what period of time do you think the character of the black population would be so raised, that they would be fitted to partake of the rights of freedom?—I could not take upon myself to name the time when it would be, but a very short period; when I was staying at Mr. Trew's house, one evening five or six head people from different estates came up, and in the course of conversation it was mentioned that there was a report about the island of an insurrection, and that the parish of Saint Thomas-in-the-East would be involved in it; he asked them their opinion; those men, one and all, said, "Do not you be afraid of any thing of the kind taking place in Saint Thomas-in-the-East; we will not only not suffer our own people to commit any excess whatever, but we will not suffer any slave from another property to interfere with us at all;" that I heard with my own ears, and a great deal more.

8189. Is Mr. Trew now in Saint Thomas-in-the-East?—No, he is not; Mr. Trew drew more malice and envy upon him than any person in the island.

8190. What became of him?—He came home to this country, and had a living given to him immediately, in Ireland.

8191. How came he to leave Jamaica?—He left Jamaica as his friends thought very unadvisedly, but it was on account of extreme ill health.

8192. He had a very good living there, had he not?—An excellent living.

8193. Did the late insurrection reach to Saint Thomas-in-the-East?—I think it touched upon it.

8194. If the mode of instruction before adverted to had been adopted in 1823, and carried on to the present time, what, in your opinion, would have been the state of affairs now in Jamaica, had there been a Mr. Trew in every parish?—Had there been a Mr. Trew in every parish, and had he succeeded equally, I should not have the slightest fear of emancipation.

8195. Not only as to safety, but as to their continuing to labour?—No, I very much doubt their continuing to labour at all.

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8196. You have stated that Mr. Trew drew upon him great malice and ill-will in consequence of his exertions, do you mean to say that he was opposed by the whites in his neighbourhood, in spreading religious instruction among the slaves?—He was seconded by many of the whites in his own parish very materially.

8197. Was the malice and ill-will which he drew upon himself, general?—Very general.

8198. This gentleman's exertions in spreading religious instruction among the slaves were disapproved of by white persons generally?—I think that that has been greater since the bishop in going round used constantly to hold up Saint Thomas-in-the-East as an example to all his clergy; he did that to an extent which raised a great deal of ill-will against Mr. Trew, at the same time that he opposed Mr. Trew himself in a very extraordinary manner.

8199. How did his support of Mr. Trew and holding him up as an example, consist with his temporizing with the vices of the population?—He did not support Mr. Trew, but in going round he spoke of Saint Thomas-in-the-East in a very laudatory way, and wished that the other parishes were like it; but at the same time he very materially opposed Mr. Trew.

8200. How was the malice and ill-will evinced towards Mr. Trew, generally?—By scandalous reports, and in various ways.

8201. Do you mean to say that he encountered any opposition on estates where he was desirous of giving instruction?—Yes; I mean to state, positively, that on estates on which he had authority to go, and where the attorney promised to support him, he was opposed and hindered most effectually.

8202. Is it necessary for an incumbent of the Church of England to have permission to go upon an estate within his own cure?—Decidedly; he cannot set his foot upon it without permission; he cannot go and instruct the negroes without the people of the estate permitting it, and even the bishop himself has restricted the clergy going upon those estates. I do not allude to Mr. Trew in my last observation.

8203. Supposing Mr. Trew, in the discharge of his duty, had thought it indispensably necessary to instruct the slaves in his own parish, the slaves being willing during shell-blow to receive his instruction during that vacant space of time, was it impossible for him to discharge that duty?—Quite impossible.

8204. What created that impossibility?—The will of the individuals.

8205. Were you to be understood that the bishop himself had restricted clergymen of the Church of England going on estates where the negroes were anxious to be instructed?—Yes; and that in one instance, to my knowledge, a threat was made to remove the curate to a distant part of the island, if he continued his exertions.

8206. Was that simply on the ground of the curate being desirous of imparting religious instruction?—I cannot tell the ground on which it was done.

8207. You cannot tell the motive which induced the bishop to interpose?—In the particular instance to which I allude it was not done by the bishop at that time, it was done by the commissaries, but supported by the bishop afterwards.

8208. Supposing a class of clergymen sent out to the island of Jamaica, not perhaps the most highly classically educated, some for instance of the men who came from St. Bee's school, men of correct life, and whose order of talent might be immediately adapted to the understanding of the negro, would you consider those persons, letting them have all opportunities of imparting religious instruction, a better description of persons to entrust with the religious instruction of the negro population, than persons of a different religion from the Established Church?—I should prefer those persons most decidedly; I consider them to be the same class of persons the Church Missionary Society have been sending out.

8209. Do you think the clergy in general could continue the exertions Mr. Trew made without injury to their health?—I see no reason on earth why they should not.

8210. Do the sectarians go to the same extent of bodily exertion?—A great deal more.

8211. Upon the whole, with reference to the sectarian teachers in the West Indies, when you consider the lives led by them under your own knowledge, their manners, the adoption of their language to the understanding of the negroes,

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negroes, and their mode of instruction, such as you have seen it practised, do you think them upon the whole well suited to the religious instruction of that population?—I think they are, but not without some reservation.

8212. First, in regard to the morality of their lives, do you believe their lives to be moral?—I believe it to be unexceptionable from what I have observed.

8213. With respect to their doctrines, have they been injuriously addressed to the passions of the negroes?—I do not believe they have at any time; I have heard their doctrines some three or four times, but not more, for I did not choose to mix myself up with them; their instruction was as sound and as good as any man could deliver.

8214. You give this opinion conceiving it just, whereas you would prefer clergymen of the establishment, brought up at St. Bees, and so on?—I would decidedly prefer pious clergymen of the Church of England.

8215. Notwithstanding that you bear this testimony in favour of the lives and the doctrines of the sectarians?—I do.

8216. Why do you prefer the clergy of the Church of England, in spite of those circumstances?—Because I have a great objection to the want of discipline among the sectarians, persons are admitted who ought not to be entrusted with the doctrines of Christianity, in my opinion.

8217. Have you seen inconvenience arising practically from that?—I cannot say that I have seen any positive inconvenience arising from it, but I know of persons being admitted whom I consider very improper persons to be admitted; but their conduct has been very exemplary since.

8218. Do you believe that one inconvenience arising from it is a want of security being given for such persons as to their discretion?—Yes, decidedly; I consider that very objectionable, their want of responsibility to some higher power.

8219. Do you think that feeling is very general, even among planters who are disposed to give religious instruction to their negroes?—I do not find that it is.

8220. They do not object to the sectarians for that reason?—No.

8221. You do not think that feeling mixes up with their objections?—No.

8222. Did you receive any opposition from the bishop at all, with respect to religious instruction upon your estate?—No, certainly not; but the bishop did great injury upon my estate, by going and talking in a way with the missionaries which tended to exalt them far above their situation, and the man who was upon Pepine, Mr. Jones, was perfectly ruined by his conversation with the bishop.

8223. You have no sort of personal hostility to the bishop on account of any opposition he made to you?—Far from it.

8224. You prefer a clergyman of the Established Church, because he must be a person always of general education and general character, and care is taken before he is admitted into that situation?—Yes, clearly so.

8225. That is the reason you prefer him to a dissenting minister?—Yes, it is.

8226. Are you acquainted at all with the relief afforded to the paupers in the island of Jamaica?—I am not at all.

8227. Do you know at all whether there is any proportion between the sums received by blacks, people of colour and whites?—I have always understood that the greater part of the whole poor rate was expended upon the whites.

8228. You stated a conversation you had had with one of your negroes on the subject of emancipation; did you ever point out to him that, in case of emancipation, he would work for reasonable wages?—No, I did not.

8229. You never pointed out to the negro the difference between a state of slavery and a state of freedom; that if free, he would be enabled to live upon his property, and be paid for his labour?—No, I never entered into conversation with any but this man; I dare not trust myself to do it.

8230. If they are so shrewd as you have represented them, do you not conceive that they could be made to understand that one great benefit of freedom was, that they would have the benefit of their own labour?—They could be made to understand that.

8231. Could not they be made to understand, that if they were attached to their residence they would have to pay rent for it?—Yes.

8232. Could not they be made to understand, that by reasonable industry they

they could enjoy their houses, live in the same state of ease, and enjoy many of the blessings and comforts of life?—I think they could.

8233. Supposing, as you have stated to the Committee, that the ordinary rate of wages was 3s. 4d. a day, paid for each individual of the jobbing gang, you had said that in case of emancipation 2s. a day would be paid, would he not think himself much better off than in a state of slavery?—Certainly.

8234. So that he might be made to understand and to estimate the benefit of freedom as compared with the evil of slavery?—I think, in general, there is a great deal of suspicion in the negro mind; they will not acknowledge themselves to be worth any thing at all. If you want to ascertain what a negro is worth, no person alive can get at it; but we know from their profligate expense on other occasions, that many of them are exceedingly wealthy.

8235. You never heard of such a concealment being practised anywhere but in a slave population, or under a despotic government?—No, I do not know that I ever did.

8236. Are you of opinion that the present state of things in Jamaica can continue long?—I am satisfied it cannot, that is one reason why I endeavoured to have my people prepared for it.

8237. What would be the result supposing things to go on as it has done the last five or six years in the island?—Generally speaking, they would get worse and worse.

8238. With respect to the state of the negroes, do you think it likely they would remain quiet if things remain just as they have done the last six or seven years?—If the same system of management is practised to them, I do not think they will remain quiet now.

8239. What are the punishments in use in the island of Jamaica now?—They are very cruel ones.

8240. Will you state what they are?—The general system of flogging is to give them a certain number of stripes with a long whip, which inflicts a dreadful laceration or a dreadful contusion; and then they follow up that by a very severe flogging with ebony switches, the ebony being a very strong wiry plant, with small leaves like a myrtle leaf, and under every leaf a very sharp tough thorn, and then after that they rub them with brine.

8241. In what part have you known that practised?—I can speak of it as having been practised in every part of the island.

8242. To your own knowledge?—I never saw it done; I could not have borne it; but I have seen the slaves who have complained of its having been done, and shown me their persons; and my own people have complained most woefully of it; they strike them a number of times with one, and then throw that away and take another, also they punish them in the bilboes in the most unmerciful manner.

8243. That is a species of stocks?—Yes; there is an iron clamp goes round the foot, and it is put into a bar, so that they may have ten or a dozen on the same bar; they let them out for their work and put them in again when that is over, and keep them for three weeks together.

8244. Can they recline at night?—Yes, they do recline, the bench is an inclined plane, and the iron bar is along the bottom of it, when the foot is clamped on upon the iron bar, and the negro lies back; the punishments in the workhouse also are dreadful.

8245. The workhouses, as far as you know of them, would not be sufficient in point of accommodation for the reasonable treatment of the slaves in case there should be any great insurrection there, would they?—Oh dear no.

8246. Are there not gaols in addition to the workhouses?—Yes.

8247. Is the state of the gaols good in general?—I have never been in any but one, and that was extremely filthy, that was at Halfway Tree near my own house; I had occasion to commit a negro there, and she was reported to me to be in so bad a state, I made a point of inspecting the gaol in consequence, and found it in a most filthy state, and the punishments were very little short of the inquisition; they were actually tortured there; the mode of flogging was to put a rope round each wrist and a rope round each ankle, and then they were what the sailors call bowsed out with a tackle and pullies.

8248. Did this fall under your own observation?—I never saw it performed, but I know it from having been applied to my own negroes when they have been sent there.

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8249. Did you make any complaint of this state of the workhouse in Saint Ann's?—I did to the custos and to the parish generally.

8250. What was the result of that complaint?—The result was, that the system of the block and tackle was defended as being a humane practice, that it prevented their turning and getting a blow in a tender part, but when I went to examine the gaol, a negro was called to come and lie down, that I might see how it was done, a skin was put down on the gravel, he was laid upon the skin, and then this tackle was applied to him, and though I was looking on and several others at the time, a negro took hold of the rope to draw it up, the man gave a yell that quite made me start.

8251. Was that from apprehension?—From the actual pain.

8252. Did you represent that to the custos of the parish?—I did.

8253. Who was the custos of the parish?—The Honourable Mr. Mais.

8254. Was any notice taken of it?—At that period none whatever.

8255. At what period was that?—Just before I came away the last time.

8256. Are you to be understood to say that the example set by the white people and free people in the island of Jamaica is one of the great impediments to the improvement of the slave population?—So I consider it.

8257. You are understood to say that the great abundance of vegetation affording a facility for procuring the necessaries and comforts of life, thus taking away the fear of want, would be one of the greatest difficulties to be encountered in emancipation?—I think it would be a very great one.

8258. Those which have been just enumerated, do not in your opinion constitute all the difficulties consequent on immediate emancipation?—By no means.

8259. Your opinion, founded on observations of the negro character, is such as to induce you to consider that the effect of the climate and also the ordinary habits of the negro, are such as to induce you to believe that if he was emancipated he would not be disposed to work?—I consider that he would not be disposed so to work as to enable any man to carry on the cultivation of his sugar estate.

8260. Those are physical causes which obstruct emancipation, the moral cause is the want of sufficient religious instruction, the means not having been afforded?—That is one great hindrance to it; one great denial.

8261. Is not there a society for the conversion of the negroes?—Yes.

8262. Has that been actively conducted?—By no means.

8263. If emancipation took place, do you think that the population is now thrown sufficiently into families to make it possible for families alone to provide for the old and young, the master being exempted from further responsibility?—I do not think that I have experienced enough to answer that question, my private opinion is, that they would; the old people are now taken great care of by the negroes, the old free people sometimes also are taken great care of by the negroes.

8264. You think the master's responsibility in the care of young and old, might be got rid of by the profitable work of the population when left in charge of them?—I do not know that I can answer that in the affirmative.

8265. You think that if emancipation takes place, the master must still be left chargeable with the support of the old and young?—I do not think he could be justly left chargeable with any one if emancipation takes place.

8266. Must he not practically?—I think not.

8267. You are to be understood to state that they would be supported by their relations, who were able to maintain them?—That depends on circumstances; if they had relations who were able to support them, I think they would be inclined to do it.

8268. You think the stimulus of family affection will induce them to work so as to support those who have been supported at the charge of the master?—I have known instances of old people taken up by others who were not their relations, with great kindness.

8269. Would a person riding over the island be able to distinguish whether the negroes were in good health and spirits or not?—No, not at all.

8270. Would he be able to judge of their physical condition generally?—No, I do not think he would.

8271. He would be able to judge of their clothing?—He would, but he would not know what clothing they had at home.

8272. He

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8272. He would on Sunday?—Yes, in some instances; but when the negroes go to work in their grounds on Sundays, they do not put on their good clothing; in order to judge of their persons, we must go to their private feasts, to a burial for instance, there it will be seen at once what they possess.

8273. Is there more difficulty riding over that island, in judging of the general appearance of the people, than in riding over England, and seeing that the people look comfortable or uncomfortable, or sick, or over-worked or under-worked?—Yes, because in England you might stop and converse with any peasant; but I do not think any person riding over the island could see the state in which the people are.

8274. He might see whether they were cheerful?—Generally speaking, decidedly so; at their burials they go to enormous expense.

8275. Are all the feelings of kindred, and love of parents and children, as strong among the negroes as among the whites?—I think they are myself; I have experienced it to a great extent; they carry it further; they have a great love for their shipmates; their mode of address to each other is exceedingly respectful always.

8276. You think if they had the means they would support an aged parent or sick child?—I have no doubt they would.

8277. Do they do it practically now?—The families support them, taking the allowances the master gives; they apply the clothing to their own purposes; they are delivered out the same as if the people were at work, and then they take care of those persons.

8278. The slave of Jamaica is principally supplied by provision grounds; how is it when they become old?—There is an allowance of flour, or whatever it may be, out of the master's store.

8279. That is given to the adults, and they take care of those persons?—One of the family generally comes and draws the allowances, and we do not know how they apply them.

8280. There is a general allowance for all the old people upon the estate?—I believe, universally, the old people are allowed provisions from the estate.

8281. When they come to a certain degree of infirmity they cease to provide for themselves by labour upon their own grounds?—Yes, undoubtedly; when they are old and decrepid, so that they become a burthen to themselves, they are thrown entirely upon the master, and he provides a place for them, and people to attend them, and food and every thing.

8282. The children practically take the expense of supporting their parents?—Not altogether, they contribute to it.

8283. Having in view only the well-being of the slaves themselves, how soon do you think emancipation could take place?—It depends entirely upon the degree of instruction given to them previously; if they were well instructed I would not wish by any means a distant period to be named for their emancipation.

8284. The question supposes every means to be employed likely to hasten the period when emancipation could take place?—The question seems so hypothetical, I do not know in what way to give a decided answer to it.

8285. When you say you would have consented, under certain circumstances, to the emancipation of the slaves upon your own estate, did you contemplate that the estate would cease to be productive to you, that sugar would cease to be grown, that you would receive no profit from it, or in what situation did you conceive you should be placed as a proprietor?—I candidly confess I conceive there would be an end of it.

8286. Is it your opinion that the slave, a native of the tropics, suffers no more from the heat of the climate than a European here?—I do not think he does.

8287. The Committee are to understand, that when you mentioned you would consent to the emancipation of the negroes, being themselves prepared, you

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viewed it as a sacrifice due to humanity, at the direct expense of your own interests?—When I mentioned that, I was alluding to Steele's plan; if I could have brought that into operation, I should have felt confident I should still have had a good return from the estates.

8288. Of sugar?—Yes.

8289. You have said that, considering Steele's plan, you drew a distinction between the facility of such a plan in a small spot, and in Jamaica?—Yes; it is impossible to apply it to Jamaica, where land is of no value comparatively at all; in Barbadoes every inch is cultivated with the greatest care.

8290. If the negro now works in order to acquire comforts for himself, and performs extra labour for their attainment, which you would think it hard to call upon him to perform for you; if he saves money, and seems to know the value of money, and employs it sometimes in procuring comforts; if he is shrewd and intelligent, and as shrewd and intelligent as Europeans under similar circumstances, do you not think it very possible your views may be mistaken, and that the same motives which operate on Europeans, and induce them to labour, might operate on him also?—I should be very sorry to suppose for a moment that in my views I was not liable to misconception.

8291. Do you conceive free labour is as cheap as slave labour?—Yes.

8292. The difficulty you anticipate is not of getting occasional labour, but constant labour?—Yes; I do not think that under any circumstances that may happen, I could answer that you would be able to get sugar at all, unless you could get it by means of instrumental labour; if you could get all the land ploughed, and the negroes had nothing to do but to form the cane hole from the loose earth, you could cultivate the cane; but if the ground was to be dug as it is now, I do not think that could be procured.

8293. Could that instrumental labour be applied in two-thirds of the island?—I think not.

8294. Is it not the fact that there is an inconvenience from the land being left exposed to a tropical sun after it is turned up by the plough?—I have heard that, but I do not assent to it.

8295. Do you consider cane hole digging the most severe labour you know?—No.

8296. Do you consider it so severe as cutting down trees?—Cutting down trees would not be so laborious as the cane-hole digging.

8297. Cutting down trees with an axe?—I think with the axe it would be more laborious.

8298. Which do you consider the most laborious, the cane-hole digging or hop planting?—I would sooner dig an acre of hops, than an acre of canes.

*Sabbati, 11° die Augusti, 1832.*

THE RIGHT HON. SIR JAMES GRAHAM, BART. IN THE CHAIR.

*William Shand, Esq., called in; and further Examined.*

*William Shand,*  
Esq.

8299. HAVE you got the account delivered in by Mr. Taylor, contrasted with your estimate?—I have.

11 August,  
1832.

[*The same was delivered in, and read.*]

The following is an ESTIMATE of Mr. Taylor's hypothetical Scheme of Free Labour, according to the present rate of Hire in Jamaica.

William Shand,  
Esq.

	£.	s.	d.
Cane-holes, at 5 <i>l.</i> per acre, 200 <i>l.</i> , and at 7 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> per acre	300	—	—
Ordinary work, at 1 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> per day, 487 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> , and at 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per day	730	—	—
Crop-work and taking spell, 40 people, at 3 <i>s.</i> 1½ <i>d.</i>	750	—	—
Wainmen, at 2 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> each, per day	45	—	—
Wainboys, at 1 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> - ditto	30	—	—
Stoker	11	13	6
Dry-trash carriers, at 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per day	60	—	—
Second gang, at 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	1,631	4	—
Watching, 10 at 10 <i>d.</i> per day, for 290 days	12	1	8
Cattle-men, 2 for 290 days, at 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per day	72	10	—
Cattle-boys, 11 for 290 days, at 1 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> per day	199	5	—
Children, 7 for 290 days, at 10 <i>d.</i>	84	11	8
Guides, 2 at 3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> and one at 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	132	18	—
Engineer and boatswain, 2 for 120 days, at 3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	40	—	—
Coopers for 200 hhd. at 4 <i>s.</i> and 80 puncheons at 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	66	6	—
Carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, &c.	200	—	—
	£.	4,365	9 10
Incidental expenses, as overseer's salary, bookkeeper and house appurtenances, staves and boards, &c. wharfage, attorney's commission, &c. &c.		1,478	16 10
	£.	5,844	6 8
To the above may be added for horned cattle and mules, 400 <i>l.</i> , and for wear and tear of utensils, mill-work and carriages, and for materials for repairing buildings, 600 <i>l.</i> , say		1,000	— —
	£.	6,844	6 8
Proceeds of 200 hhd. of sugar and 80 puncheons of rum, at 16 <i>l.</i> sterling per hhd. and 7 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> per puncheon		5,960	— —
Balance against the Planter	£.	884	6 8

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In conformity to the instructions of the Honourable Committee of the Commons' House of Parliament on Slavery, I have examined Mr. William Taylor's prospective hypothetical statement of the probable contingent expenses and proceeds of a sugar estate, carried on by free labour; and shall now proceed to give explanations to the Committee in what I differ from this evidence. Supposing it were practicable to bring the negro, in a state of freedom, to perform the labour requisite for raising canes, and producing sugar by such an immediate change, Mr. Taylor says this can only be done by placing the negro in a state of want, under strong laws, and a powerful coercive force; also, by means of "double, triple, or perhaps quadruple wages to elicit the labour."

In the face of these sentiments, however, and many other similar opinions equally strong, he computes labour by the statement alluded to at much less rates than labourers could at any period, hitherto, be hired in Jamaica; and I will explain the difference so far as my experience and information extend. For instance, cane-holes are reckoned at 5*l.* per acre, whereas the lowest rate I have paid is 7*l.* 10*s.* per acre. Select people are charged by the day 2*s.* 6*d.* and medium labourers at 1*s.* 8*d.* per day, whereas I have not known such under 3*s.* 4*d.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* The expense of making casks is not perhaps half what the cost is in this country; but I have only altered the charge for a hhd. from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 4*s.* each, and of the puncheon from 5*s.* to 6*s.* 8*d.* currency each.

The computed hire of very young and old people is not altered, nor is any thing added to what is allowed in Mr. Taylor's prospectus for those employed at night-work, with the exception of what may be termed prime people.

This gentleman estimates a crop produced by a population of 250 people at 200 hogsheads of sugar and 80 puncheons of rum, the former at 30*l.* currency per hogshead and 20*l.* currency a puncheon; but allowing the hogshead of sugar to weigh 16 cwt. and the value in this market to be net 16*l.* and 19*l.*, and the rum, 90 imperial gallons a puncheon, to be worth 7*l.* 10*s.* and 9*l.*, this will be about equal to 25*l.* per hogshead and 12*l.* currency per puncheon, or 5,960*l.* currency in all.

According to the very moderate rates at which I have put down labour, the expenses amount to 5,844*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* on Mr. Taylor's hypothetical scheme. I must, however, remark, that although this gentleman anticipates crops perhaps fully more than double what he practically produced from Mr. Wildman's Low Ground estate, he makes no allowance for cattle and mules to be purchased and reared, nor any thing for wear and tear of utensils, mill-work, carriages, and materials for repairing buildings, all of which are very heavy on sugar estates; and he remarks, that such was the occasion of the contingent expenses being increased during the time Mr. Wildman had the benefit of his abilities as a manager. If the cost of cattle and mules be estimated at the moderate sum of 400*l.* per annum, and the cost of materials only for repairs of buildings, wear and tear of carriages, utensils, mill-work,



*William Shand,*  
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work, &c. at 600*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.* this will bring the contingent expenses to 6,844*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and exceed the value of the crops by 884*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

It may be proper to observe that, although I have estimated free labour according to the usual charges made for slaves hired, this estimate is made only in reference to Mr. Taylor's hypothesis; no estate is carried on by means of hired labour, nor has it at any time been found practicable to do so with advantage.

No notice is taken in the statement alluded to, or in the accompanying evidence, of manuring cane-lands, although this is as necessary as it is to rear grain in Europe.

There are many local circumstances connected with the culture and manufactory of the cane; the temperament, habits and disposition of the negro, and other localities, which do not apply to European agriculture or manufactories; and the proprietors of Jamaica have incurred expenses, and invested capital in various ways, which, with such a total revolution in property, must become of no value.

The Rev. *Jonathan Tyers Barrett*, D. D., called in; and Examined.

Rev.  
*J. T. Barrett*, D. D.

8300. ARE you the Secretary to the Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction of the Negro Population?—I am.

8301. How long have you held that office?—I was appointed the latter part of the year 1822.

8302. Are you in the habit of corresponding with and receiving communications from the Bishops of the respective dioceses of Jamaica and Barbados?—I am.

8303. Do those communications comprehend the statement of the progress which has been made within the different dioceses in the erection of additional places of worship, the increase of the number of religious instructors, and the general progress made in religious instruction in those two dioceses?—As far as they have been transmitted to me.

8304. Have you any statement which will show, from the first period of your correspondence with the Bishops down to the present period, the various measures which have been taken in the different colonies within the respective dioceses, both as regards the building additional places of worship, and the different means of instruction?—I have from the time I was appointed secretary, before Episcopacy was established in the West Indies.

8305. Can you show what the means were before Episcopacy was established, and what they are now, so far as bears upon the efforts of your Society?—In the year 1822 the Society had four chaplains in Jamaica, three in Antigua, one in Nevis, and one in St. Kitt's, making a total of nine; there are by the last Returns 56 instructors for the negroes in Jamaica and the different islands in the diocese of Barbados.

8306. How are they distributed?—Twenty-eight in Jamaica, twelve in Antigua, besides subordinate teachers upon estates; three in Nevis; of St. Kitt's I have no definite return, but there are several paid in part by the Society; there are three in Barbados of which I am certain; there may be others in the pay of the Bishop of whom I have no returns; in Bermuda one, in Dominica one, in St. Lucia one, in Montserrat one, Trinidad, for the American settlers, one, the Grenadines one, Demerara one, Tortola one, St. Vincent's one, Grenada one; total, 56.

8307. Are you aware that in the Island of Jamaica, exclusive of the Society's chaplains, there are curates for each parish, and a rector for each parish?—Yes, what they call Island curates; there are no Society's chaplains in Jamaica at the present moment; there are catechists and schoolmasters not in holy orders. Since the appointment of the Bishop we have had but one chaplain in Jamaica, who died there, Mr. Beams, on the estate of Lord Seaford. The Bishops have objected to our having chaplains in their dioceses, on account of the irregularity of having clergymen who were not responsible to the constituted ecclesiastical authorities, and they could not allow them to be under any authority but their own.

8308. Does any statement made to you by either of the Bishops show you the increase in the number of places of religious worship since the establishment of Episcopacy?—Such Returns cannot be given by me conveniently, but they are dispersed through the Society's Reports from year to year; there are several which have been built in Jamaica.

8309. Will you furnish a reference to such of the pages of the General Report as would show the number?—I beg to refer the Committee to that Report, where there is a very close and accurate account given of all the parishes in the West Indies, and their populations, and their schools, and their places of worship, and the additional ones which have been built by the exertions of the different proprietors,

See Appendix (B.)  
Extract, No. 1.

See Appendix (B.)  
Extract, No. 2.

proprietors, and the measures which have been generally taken for the amelioration of the free and slave population.

Rev.  
J. T. Barrett, D. D.

[*The Witness delivered in the Report of the Incorporated Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands, for the year 1827.*]

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8310. Have you any statement subsequent to that?—I have; this is the Report of the Antigua Branch Association, and St. Kitt's for the present year, not yet before the public—[*delivering in the same*];—and this is one of Jamaica also—[*delivering in the same.*].—These are accompanied with this observation, that the Bishops have not been able to give the Society such ample Returns as we have had in former years; the Bishop of Jamaica in consequence of the disturbed state of the Island; the Bishop of Barbados in consequence of the hurricane; and therefore our Report this year is particularly bald.

8311. Has the Bishop of Jamaica been in the habit of corresponding copiously with the Society?—Not very copiously; he is in the habit of corresponding with the Society from time to time, and his letters of the last year are in that Report.

8312. How often in the year have you heard from him?—On an average four or five times in the year.

8313. The Society does not pay any part of the expense of the Island curates or the rectors?—None.

8314. Are you connected at all with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge?—I am a member of that Society, and upon the committee of that Society.

8315. Do you know that there are Branch Societies of that Society in the Island of Jamaica?—There is a Branch Society or district committee.

8316. Are you aware that, besides there being one larger Branch Society for the Island, there are different Branch Societies in the different parishes of the Island?—I believe they are establishing them throughout the diocese.

8317. Do you know that there are Societies in the Island of Jamaica among the ladies, corresponding with a Society which meets in this city, for the religious instruction of the children?—Yes, the Duchess of Beaufort is at the head of it; I have been occasionally in correspondence with that Society.

8318. Are you aware that that Society has been established five or six years?—I think it was established about 1827 or 1828.

8319. There are similar Societies in Antigua, are there not?—Yes, and in Barbados.

See Appendix (B.)  
Extract, No. 3.

8320. Are there any in Demerara?—There is a school there under Lady D'Urban, which receives assistance from our Society.

8321. How long is it since those Societies have been established in the different islands?—Some of the Societies have been established, I should think, about twelve years, for different charitable objects relating to the free coloured and slaves.

8322. The question refers to the Branch Society for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge?—I cannot refer to the date of that.

8323. As often as there were vacancies in the Island curates, the chaplains sent out by you have been appointed to curacies?—Yes.

8324. What was the reason of discontinuing the chaplains of your Society?—It not being consistent with ecclesiastical discipline that clergymen without any location or having any authority but that of the Bishop should be allowed to be in the parishes.

8325. Who are the lay teachers now employed by the Society?—They are of various descriptions; they are appointed by the Bishop's authority. We know little of them, either from the Bishop or from the clergyman, or the proprietors of the estates.

8326. Are they book-keepers on estates?—Some in Jamaica are book-keepers.

8327. Some are persons of colour, are they not?—Yes; of late years a great improvement has taken place in that respect.

See Appendix (B.)  
Extract, No. 4.

8328. Are they generally persons in authority on estates?—I know very little of them.

8329. You do not know the principle on which they are selected?—I do not.

8330. In the Report you have just given in, respecting the diocese of Jamaica for the year 1832, it appears that the Bishop, in a letter dated 4th June 1831, uses the following expressions: "I am still of opinion, that the Infant School system, with some modifications, would succeed well here in our towns, and I had much gratification, at a late visitation in Vere, of seeing the good effects exemplified at Salt

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Savannah, an estate of Mr. Wildman's. On this property great sacrifices of time and profit are made for the sake of instruction, and the pernicious system of night brakes and spells entirely abolished." This letter was written in 1831, to the Society?  
—Yes.

8331. Have any steps been taken by the Society for the establishment of Infant Schools on that system, in conformity to the recommendation of the Bishop?—Our connexion with the Bishop is only by placing a sum of money at his disposal, to be applied as his Lordship may think fit, for the instruction of the children of slaves and people of colour. Infant Schools, I believe, have been established by the Ladies' Society.

8332. That Society is not at all under your jurisdiction?—Not at all; we are a corporate body.

8333. You send books to the Ladies' Society occasionally, do you not?—The supply of books to the West India Church has been now confided entirely to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and I believe it has been confined to that society. Very few books have been supplied by us of late years; Hart's Lectures, and some others.

8334. The Bishop mentions that Mr. and Mrs. Sterne, missionaries of a higher order and very superior education, as he terms it, had succeeded in this mode of instruction on Mr. Wildman's estate; are they missionaries sent out by your Society?  
—No.

8335. Do you happen to know of what persuasion Mr. Sterne is?—I do not.

8336. In the communications you have had from the Bishop, has he stated that any obstructions have been thrown in the way of the religious instruction of the slaves?—I should say in very few instances; there are some instances I think I remember, but not sufficient to speak of it as a general obstruction; his tone is generally favourable as to the opportunities given him to introduce instruction; I speak of Jamaica.

See Appendix (B.)  
Extract, No. 5.

8337. Does not he state that he has found very considerable difficulty in assisting the religious instruction of the negroes?—I think not.

8338. Would it be difficult for you to look at his communications, and see whether there are not some strong passages to that effect?—There would be no difficulty whatever.

8339. Have you, from the clergy connected with your Society, had communications to that effect, that the religious instruction of the slaves has been objected to by their masters?—Our correspondence is entirely through the Bishop, except with Mr. Holberton of Antigua, who occasionally writes to me, because our school is in this parish, where we have a large establishment, freehold property, belonging to the Society, in that Island.

8340. He is the only person who communicates with you, with the exception of the Bishop?—Yes. I have had occasionally letters from Mr. Davis, in St. Kitt's, but I can hardly call any of them official letters, since Episcopacy has been established.

8341. Have you, from the Bishop of Barbados, received any communications to the effect that there is a reluctance and opposition to the religious instruction of the negroes?—I should rather say the contrary. I recollect an instance or two which the Bishop has spoken of, but I should consider these as exceptions.

8342. You would be able to refer the Committee to any extract bearing upon the subject of obstructions or facilities?—Yes.

See Appendix (B.)  
Extract, Nos. 5 & 6.

8343. In a letter of the Bishop of Jamaica, dated the 14th of March 1832, included in the Report of the present year, written therefore since the insurrection, there is the following passage: "I fear all our endeavours to promote instruction will be retarded for the present;" what is the interpretation put by the Society upon that passage?—I understand by that, in consequence of the disturbed state of the country.

8344. How will that retard the endeavours to promote instruction, order being restored?—I am not aware of any other cause; I have no private correspondence with the Bishop but what I officially bring forward.

8345. Was it by the instructions of your Society that the Bishop states, that, as a check to the spirit of insurrection, he has ordered extracts to be printed from the Homilies, on duty to magistrates and civil obedience, and those against rebellion, in order that the true doctrines of the Church upon those subjects may be generally known among the slaves?—We should not presume to issue any instructions to the Bishop; his Lordship is merely our kind agent to expend our money.

8346. What

8346. What is the number of slaves under instruction as connected with your Society?—That I cannot say; I take it in Antigua, at a rough calculation, about 1,178 connected with our Society; but that I should think is very far short of the number instructed there. St. Christopher's, I calculate 1,147 under instruction. The funds of the Society are very limited.

8347. Can you state the number in Jamaica?—I cannot give the number; I have a Return of only one Deanery in Jamaica out of three.

8348. What number does he state?—It is given in a gross Return.

8349. Had not great complaint been made because there had been no specification of the precise number of the slaves who have been instructed?—We have had no complaints; we have heard but little out of our own sphere of action.

8350. Have there not been complaints in your Society?—I have never heard of any.

8351. What are the ages of the persons instructed?—Some are adults and some young persons.

8352. Do you know to what extent marriage has taken place among the slaves?—I think that notice of this is introduced into the Report. My general impression is, that it is on the increase.

8353. You state your impression that marriage has increased?—Yes, there are some places in which it has, I think.

8354. What are your grounds for saying that it has increased?—My general impression from reading the Returns. I think there is, as I have stated, a remark to that effect in the Report I have given in, as to Antigua more particularly.

8355. Do you know whether marriage has increased in Jamaica?—I think it has in Westmoreland particularly. There is a letter from Mr. Stewart, in which he speaks of the increase; his letter is to this effect: "On Christmas-day there were very nearly, if not actually, a thousand persons in the parish church, and I am sure that very nearly half were slaves; they show every desire for religious improvement, and perhaps this fact is best proved when I tell you that the number of slaves baptized weekly, and who have been before prepared in the Sunday school by the catechist and myself, averages about 30; that on every Sunday I am in the habit of publishing banns of marriage for slaves; and that last Sunday the banns of ten couples were published by me; several also partook of the sacrament yesterday, and the total number of communicants was 120." Mr. Stewart went out from our Society, and was afterwards promoted to the living of Westmoreland; he is a very intelligent man.

8356. In the last Report from the Bishop he sent the names of the 28 catechists who are paid out of the funds of your Society, and he gives the places of their residence in this printed Report; there is no table giving an account of their condition in life, have you that information?—No; that list is not taken from the Bishop's letters; it is taken from the Accounts of the Society.

8357. You cannot furnish to the Committee, in addition to the names and residences, the condition of those catechists?—I cannot; I have no documents enabling me to do that.

8358. Are you aware that in the recent Report of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge they have said that Sunday markets are not abolished?—No; there is a very express communication in the Report from Antigua transmitted to us by the Branch Association respecting Sunday markets.

8359. Is it not stated in the Reports of that Society that every thing connected with the Christian church is still in a state of infancy?—That I do not know; I have not read the Report.

8360. Would it be difficult for you, on a future occasion, to produce to the Committee a statement of all the negroes under instruction as connected with your Society, stating whether they are free or slaves, and whether the instruction be oral or not?—It would be impossible for me to make that Return.

8361. Supposing you were examined in the next Parliament, could not you obtain that information in the interim?—It could be obtained only through the Bishops. I have before me a Return to Questions addressed to the clergy in the diocese of Barbados and the Leeward Islands up to December 1828—[*delivering in the same.*]

8362. Have you any communications from the West Indies which would lead you to think that the book-keepers who are employed as catechists and teachers are moral men?—Some book-keepers are employed in Jamaica; but I do not know any thing of them. I do not believe that the Bishop thinks altogether that it is desirable

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See Appendix (B.)  
Extract, No. 7.  
Ditto, No. 8.

See Appendix (B.)  
Extract, No. 9.

See Appendix (B.)  
Extract, No. 10.

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Extract, No. 10.

See Appendix (B.)  
Extract, No. 11.

See Appendix (B.)  
Extract, No. 4.

to

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to carry on the system of instruction by them to a great extent; he is very cautious in acting upon it.

8363. Do you know whether it is essential, before they are employed as catechists, that they should be married men?—I am not aware that it is.

8364. Have not complaints been made of the want of moral conduct on the part of those who have been employed?—I am not aware of any.

8365. You do not know to what extent the catechists have been book-keepers?—I do not, I believe the Bishop objects to the system.

8366. Do you know whether any distinction has been made in the willingness of the planters to promote oral instruction to the exclusion of written?—In the whole diocese of Barbados, I believe there is not a school in which reading, writing and arithmetic are not taught as in our National Schools in England.

8367. Does that extend to the slaves as well as to the free?—Yes; every school in Barbados is not only particularly examined and questioned, but there is not a school in which reading, writing and arithmetic are not taught; the four rules of arithmetic, the same as our National Schools of England.

8368. Is that the case in Jamaica?—I believe not to the same extent.

8369. Have you taken the trouble to ascertain in Jamaica to what extent it is carried?—I have not the same power; I have not the same information.

8370. To what circumstance is that owing?—To the nature of the Returns; I know more of the Bishop of Barbados' diocese, he being an intimate friend of mine; and I have corresponded more with him, and conversed more with him.

8371. Did not the Society with which you are connected, feel it their duty to watch the progress of religious instruction in Jamaica?—As far as it lies in their power.

8372. Have they not applied to the Bishop of Jamaica for this information?—They have, and had Returns from the Bishop of Jamaica.

See Appendix (B.)  
Extract, No. 12.

8373. Those Returns do not specify the number nor years; whether the instruction is oral or otherwise?—No, not completely in Jamaica; in Jamaica I think it is more oral than otherwise.

8374. Does not your Society feel it incumbent upon them to obtain that information through the Bishop?—I cannot say; the Bishop gives us the Report which he deems it expedient to make to us; the Report of last year was in his own handwriting; this is our Report for last year—[*delivering it in.*]—The Bishop has generally told us he has a catechist or schoolmaster in such a place, and gives the Return of the money there expended, and makes a general statement as to the station.

8375. Are your Returns and Report from the diocese of Jamaica, less full and ample than from the diocese of Barbados?—Of a different nature altogether.

8376. Are they less full and less ample?—Less ample with respect to facts of this kind. We, having a sum of money to apply to the instruction and religious education of the negroes and free people of colour (for the charter is for both objects), place that money in the hands of each Bishop, and they return to us the manner in which they have applied it. The Bishop of Barbados generally sent me his Returns from the different parishes; the Bishop of Jamaica last year sent me a written account, ready for a Report, and with that a statement of the expenditure of the monies.

See Appendix (B.)  
Extract, No. 13.

8377. Who are the Governors of the Society?—Four West Indian merchants, the clergy of several parishes in London, and persons in authority; there are about 40 of them.

8378. Why should there be any difference in the Returns, the object being the same?—That rests with the Bishops; I cannot speak to that.

8379. You do not think it necessary to call the attention of the Bishops to that?—We have addressed the Bishops very strongly upon the subjects of these Returns.

8380. What was the Report you received?—We received a Report written by the Bishop of Jamaica by his own hand, giving general statements. I conceive it would be a very difficult thing to do it otherwise.

8381. Why would it be more difficult in Jamaica than in the other islands?—The parishes in Jamaica are very large.

8382. The number of scholars are not very large, are they?—In Jamaica most of our work, I think, is done in schools; the small parochial division of the diocese of Barbados gives a great facility to the Bishop of that diocese in making Returns.

8383. Has your Society received from Sir James Carmichael Smyth, governor of Bahamas, the letter which runs thus; "I beg through you to return my thanks, and the

the thanks of these poor people, for this liberal present. The liberated Africans in this colony have small lots of ground which they cultivate, and which affords them the means of subsistence. They are a quiet inoffensive race of people, and when allowances are made for the want of instruction and the absence of all control, it is astonishing how well they behave"—Yes; I think that letter was inclosed to the Society in one from the Bishop of Jamaica.

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William Burge,  
Esq. M. P.

William Burge, Esq. a Member of the Committee, gave in a Paper, intituled, "RETURN of the CIVIL, ECCLESIASTICAL and MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS of Jamaica, the Expenses of which are defrayed by any Revenue raised in that Island, the annual Amount of such Expenses, and of any other Expenditure incurred, and which is defrayed by a Revenue raised in the Island, and of the Annual Ways and Means for raising such Revenue during the last Ten Years." From which it appeared that the Amount expended under the head of Clergy was £.24,994. 14. 3., and under the head of Charitable Institutions, £.14,656. 1. 11.

[The Entries were read as follows:]

Clergy :		£.	s.	d.
Curates' Stipends	- - - - -	8,000	-	-
Rectors' ditto	- - - - -	11,718	-	-
Registrar and Apparitor to the Diocese	- - - - -	475	-	11
Annuitants, being Widows and Orphans of Clergy	- - - - -	2,000	-	-
Expense of building Chapels	- - - - -	1,400	-	-
		23,593	-	11
Presbyterian Institution	- - - £. 301 13 4			
Support of Kirk in Kingston	- - - 700 - -			
Presbyterian Charity School	- - - 200 - -			
		1,201	13	4
Roman Catholic Curate, attached three Troops in Kingston	200 - -			
			24,994	14 3
Charitable Institutions :		£.	s.	d.
Milk-River Bath	- - - - -	2,700	-	-
Manning's Free School	- - - - -	400	-	-
Gregay's Charity	- - - - -	216	-	-
Jamaica Free School	- - - - -	1,620	4	8
Russa Free School	- - - - -	450	-	-
Merrick's Charity	- - - - -	120	-	-
Vere Free School	- - - - -	1,120	-	-
Wolmer's Free School	- - - - -	1,500	-	-
Titchfield Free School	- - - - -	16	6	8
Bath of St. Thomas the Apostle	- - - - -	500	-	-
Kingston Hospital for distressed Seamen and transient Poor	- - - - -	5,913	10	7
St. Jago Free School	- - - - -	100	-	-
		14,656	1	11

John M'Gregor, Esquire, called in ; and Examined.

8384. YOU have lately visited our North American colonies, have you not?— I have.

John M'Gregor,  
Esq.

8385. For what length of time did you reside in the North American colonies?— I have resided in all the colonies at different periods, in all about thirteen years.

8386. You were high sheriff of Prince Edward's Island, were you not?—I was.

8387. Have you any connexion with West India property?—None whatever.

8388. In a work you have lately published, intituled, " British America," there is a chapter on the subject of free negroes?—There is.

8389. In that chapter you express your opinion and observation as to the indisposition of the freed negroes to engage in any agricultural occupation?—Yes; I visited the settlements that were laid out in the province of Nova Scotia by Sir John Cope Sherbrooke and others, in the vicinity of Halifax, but there was something, I think, done for negroes previously in the province by Sir John Wentworth.

8390. What were the general habits of those persons?—As far as appeared to me they were exceedingly indolent; a great proportion of the negroes were old men, women and children; the middle aged appeared to have voluntarily left the settlement altogether to serve the white inhabitants.

8391. You

John M'Gregor,  
Esq.

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8391. You are speaking of those settled in the neighbourhood of Halifax?—At Hammond Plains, about twelve miles from Halifax.

8392. In what other parts of North America did you observe any settlement of free negroes?—There is no experimental settlement of negroes in any one of the other provinces; there are detached families in all the provinces.

8393. Did you observe the general habit of the freed negroes, how they were employed?—The freed negroes I allude to more particularly were those who left their masters in the United States of America at the time our squadron was blockading the Chesapeake. The admiral on the station issued a proclamation stating that his ships might be considered asylums for runaway negroes; those were afterwards sent to Halifax, and lands laid out under the administration of Sir John Cope Sherbrooke. Those negroes were provided with implements of agriculture, and with rations in the first instance. I was not at Halifax during the war, I was in the neighbouring colonies; thirteen years afterwards I visited Nova Scotia to ascertain their condition, and I may say their actual condition is that I have stated in that chapter in my account of Nova Scotia, in the second volume. I was frequently in the province before this period.

8394. With respect to different detached families of negroes, what is your observation?—The different families of detached negroes were principally in the first instance brought to the British American colonies by the Loyalists, who left the countries now forming the United States, and on their settling in British America they became free.

8395. Have they the same indolence and indisposition to labour as the other persons?—They appeared to me from long habit, or some other cause, not to be capable of thinking or acting for themselves; in fact, they appeared desirous of becoming domestic servants rather than acting upon the responsibility of their own judgment.

8396. Were any pains taken for the imparting to them religious instruction?—I may say there were pains taken; but it always occurred to me that all attempts at religious instruction were ill directed, they principally came under the instruction of sectarians, and there was very little attention paid to their useful instruction except by the clergy of the Established Church either of Scotland or of England. I observed the same thing apply among the few detached families of negroes in the colonies.

8397. No habits of industry or activity appeared in any of those free negroes that fell under your observation, either in the settlement or the separate families, or those whom you know to have been formerly slaves?—Occasional habits of industry, but very few. I do not know more than twelve industrious families in all His Majesty's dominions in North America; and the number of negroes settled in Hammond's Plains amounted to about 1,300.

8398. That chapter in your book on free negroes contains the result of your observation and experience, speaking generally of the free negroes in our North American possessions?—More particularly in the settlement at Hammond's Plains.

8399. Is there any correction you would wish to make to that statement of your's in your book, so as that it might be put down as part of your evidence upon the present occasion?—I should not wish it to go forth to the world as evidence without examining it again, but I believe it is perfectly correct.

8400. Are you prepared to have it appear upon the Minutes of this Committee as your statement of the present state of the condition of those persons?—As the state of the negroes in that settlement in 1829, at the time I was in the province, I am quite prepared.

8401. That is the result of your own ocular inspection?—Yes; I should prefer, however, looking over it again.

8402. Is that chapter also the result of your own observation on the negroes in Prince Edward's Island?—I do not recollect that I have said any thing about the negroes in Prince Edward's Island; there are very few there at present; they came principally under my observation during the period I held office there.

8403. Would you apply the same observation to the free negroes who fell under your observation in Prince Edward's Island as you apply to those of whom you have just spoken?—Nearly the same.

[Chapter XIV. in the Work intituled, "British America," was read, as follows:]

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"Negroes from the United States—Sierra Leone Company—Fatal Consequences of removing the Negroes from Nova Scotia to Africa—Maroons sent from Jamaica to Halifax—Removed also to Africa—Chesapeake Negroes settled at Hammond Plains and Prescot—Wretched Condition.

"THE negro slaves who were brought to the province from the United States at different times were, whenever they chose, liberated, and after the American Revolution some hundreds of freed negroes emigrated to Nova Scotia. The mistaken philanthropy of the Sierra Leone Company caused the removal of 1,196 of these people, in 1792, at extraordinary expense, in sixteen vessels, to Africa; 65 of them died during the voyage, and many of the remainder became victims to a climate not congenial to them, although it was naturally so to their ancestors; the rest became turbulent and ungovernable. Some time after, three ships with the rebellious Maroons of Jamaica arrived at Halifax. Great but unsuccessful efforts were made to settle these people in the province. For some time their labour at the fortifications and their obedience to authority, while well fed and clothed, occasioned them to be considered rather an acquisition than a burthen to the colony. They were afterwards enrolled as a militia corps, and in a warm climate would have made good soldiers, as they were passionately fond of arms. It was also attempted to convert them to religion, in which, however, there does not appear to have been the least progress made; a plurality of wives, or rather women, and the African burial ceremonies, they declared they would never abandon; and, in short, they only listened to the ministers of religion with contumely. Two or three hard winters, however, produced sulky discontent among them, and they evinced a determined reluctance to work for themselves. Although they were housed and fed without working, and allowed to indulge themselves in their accustomed sensuality and card-playing, the spring only brought about fresh murmurs and complaints, alleging that the various engagements intimated to them on leaving Jamaica were disregarded; and after costing the island of Jamaica 47,000*l.*, and the British Government 10,000*l.* annually, for some years, they were, in 1800, also removed to Sierra Leone. The folly of making Nova Scotia a rendezvous for freed negroes was not yet, however, completed. While a British squadron was blockading the American coast in 1815, some hundreds of negroes fled from their masters, and were received by the English admiral, who sent them to Halifax. These people became idle vagrants rather than stationary settlers. Although lands were laid out for them, and tools, implements of husbandry and rations were provided for them during winter by Government, they became sulky and discontented. They thought that to be free meant to be idle; in fact, to live without working. A few of them stole off to the United States; 90 of them were removed at the public expense to Trinidad; and, as if nothing else were wanting to crown the folly of this most absurd philanthropy, one million—I believe the sum is correct, but I speak from memory—was granted to the United States, as a compensation for these negroes. The Americans themselves sneer at this ultra stretch of English generosity, and it has actually gone a great way to strengthen the common impression among them, that there is nothing too unreasonable to ask of or with which to gull honest, credulous, kind-hearted John Bull. Slavery does not exist in Nova Scotia, and the number of freed negroes may be equal to 3,000. Of these, part came originally from the West India Islands, others are the residue of those from the United States, and the remainder were born in the province. A settlement was laid out for them at Hammond Plains, and another at Prescot, both in the neighbourhood of Halifax, and every facility afforded them by the provincial government, yet they are still in a state of miserable poverty, while Europeans who have settled on woodlands under circumstances scarcely so favourable thrive, with few exceptions. There are at Halifax, and in most of the country settlements, several negroes who live as domestic servants among the inhabitants, and in this condition they are generally industrious, obedient, and well provided with food and clothing. We find them also on board the ships as sailors, but more frequently as stewards and cooks. There are not probably ten exceptions to be found among all the negroes in the province, who are their own masters, that are not indolent, improvident, miserable and ragged. They gather wild fruits in summer, which they sell in the Halifax market, and in winter they bring in brooms, which they dispose of for rum, and what food they can get. They seem inclined indeed to do any thing, and even meet starvation in the face, rather than cultivate the ground with patient industry. They think the returns for their labour too slow, too distant to wait for, until the seed they sow produce a crop. Whether their wretchedness may be attributed to servitude and degradation having extinguished in them the spirit that endures present difficulties and privations in order to attain future advantages, or to the consciousness that they are an unimportant and distinct race, or more properly to the fact that they find it more congenial to their habits to serve others, either as domestic servants or labourers, by which they make sure of the wants of the day; certain it is that they prefer servitude, and always live more comfortably in that condition than they do when working on their own account. Thirteen years after they were settled at Hammond Plains, I had the opportunity of knowing their condition. It was wretched in the extreme. The grown-up and the aged in rags, and the children nearly naked. Their habitations, destitute of furniture or common necessaries, were also unfit to defend them from the inclemency of winter. To a man unacquainted with our possessions abroad, it might be difficult to account for the poverty-stricken and unhappy condition of these unfortunate beings. To me the causes of their penury and misery were distinct and evident.

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The surrounding settlements, though the lands of which were not originally of better and in some cases not of equally good quality to that occupied by the negroes, were cultivated by emigrants, who arrived in the colony from time to time with nothing but their industry to acquire the means of living. They received no public assistance, and they had all to pay some pounds before they secured titles to the lands on which they settled, yet I found these people, with very few exceptions, in comfortable circumstances, with their houses commodious and conveniently furnished, their farms well cultivated, themselves and their families well clothed, their tables well supplied with excellent food, their moral character correct, their attention to public worship regular, and the instruction of their offspring attended to. What, then, has secured to them all these blessings? neither more nor less than persevering industry and good management. Then to what are we to attribute the penury and the misery of the freed negroes of Nova Scotia, to whom the legislature have yearly afforded assistance, and to whom the blessings of religion and the benefits of education have been as fully extended as to the other inhabitants of the province? To no cause but the absence of steady, well-directed industry and judicious management. We then come to inquire, how does it arise that the freed negroes are an indolent, improvident class of men? To account for this fact, we have only to reflect, that man, in order to husband and manage the fruits of his labour, as well as to regulate his moral conduct, must be trained from infancy by example and education so as to render such a course of life natural and desirable to him, and by which means alone will he be prepared in due season to act prudently or wisely on his own responsibility. The previous life of the negro is so very different from that of Europeans, that even when in Africa in his freest state, it would require the operations of useful and liberal instruction for more than one generation to adapt him for acting according to his own free will with the steady industry, good management and discretion necessary to render his condition equally happy with that of the husbandmen and artisans of Europe, or of their descendants settled in America. It is far from my wish, in making these observations, to inculcate the revolting doctrine that slavery is the most happy condition in which negroes can live; but all my observations in our colonies have led me to conclude, unbiassed by prejudice or by interest, that the attempts hitherto made to render the freed negroes more happy or more virtuous than they were as slaves, have been unsuccessful, and that unless the West India negroes be gradually prepared for personal liberty, they will, on obtaining their freedom, become objects of much greater commiseration than they now are in a state of bondage, and the history and present condition of the freed negroes of Nova Scotia fully substantiate these assertions."

8404. You had occasion also to see freed negroes at St. John's, New Brunswick, had you not?—There are very few freed negroes in St. John's, New Brunswick; I have gone on board vessels arriving from the West Indies, at several ports in British America, which were manned with slaves; I only know of one negro running away; they are, however, free, if they choose, on landing.

8405. Have you been much in any part of the United States?—I have travelled nearly all over the United States; not so much the Southern States; I have been in them.

8406. Have you been in any of our West India Colonies?—I have.

8407. In which?—I have been in Barbados, Grenada, Tobago, Trinidad, Antigua, St. Vincent's, and some of the Bahamas, not in Jamaica, and I have landed in St. Domingo.

8408. Have you ever formed any opinion on the subject of the emancipation of the slave population, and the disposition on their part to engage in the cultivation of sugar estates if they were emancipated?—I cannot say that I have formed any other conclusion than this; my inquiries among the negroes of the West Indies and other parts of America were chiefly for the purpose of placing their physical and intellectual character in juxta position with the organic characteristics and mental powers of the Aborigines of the Western hemisphere. My inquiries and observations then led me to conclude, that it would require the gradual operation of three generations to adapt the negroes who were brought up as slaves, or even negroes not in that condition in Africa, to act and think prudently and judiciously, and to apply themselves with perseverance to industrious and useful pursuits.

8409. Have you been much in Africa?—I never was in Africa; I allude to negroes arriving from Africa.

8410. You first went to the North American colonies during the recent American war, did you not?—I went out during the latter years of the general war, in the year 1812.

8411. You state that you think three generations must pass away before they will be able to act for themselves; are you aware that great bodies of negroes taken out of the slave ships have been landed in different parts of His Majesty's dominions, have been emancipated and have conducted themselves well?—I am aware that

that they have been taken out of slave ships, but that they have conducted themselves well, I cannot take upon myself to say that ; I know *in America they have not.*

8412. Are you aware that in Sierra Leone there are at this moment persons in official stations, and acting as jurymen, who were taken out of the holds of slave-ships?—No, I am not.

8413. You know nothing of the state of Sierra Leone?—I know it from the information I have gained from others, and from public records, but not from my own personal knowledge.

8414. You cannot speak to the state of the negroes in Sierra Leone of your own personal knowledge?—I cannot, except from the accounts I have received from others, and from official documents.

8415. Do you confidently assert, that the negroes that were first located in Nova Scotia, and then removed to Sierra Leone, have misconducted themselves there?—I believe so ; I confidently believe that the negroes that first removed from Nova Scotia, from all the accounts I have been able to gather, conducted themselves badly.

8416. Will you state the authorities on which you depend for that information?—They were gathered among the public documents at Halifax, and from conversations with many gentlemen of high reputation.

8417. How could any public documents at Halifax tell you as to the conduct of the negroes at Sierra Leone?—In the first place, the negroes sent to Sierra Leone were not only the negroes freed by their masters, but also rebellious Maroons, for whom the government had been at very considerable expense, and in connexion with that expenditure, I had accounts of their ill conducting themselves after they went to Sierra Leone.

8418. What was the date of those accounts of their ill conducting themselves after they went to Sierra Leone?—They were sent to Sierra Leone in 1792 ; the Maroons were sent there some years afterwards.

8419. You say you received intelligence of their misconducting themselves in Sierra Leone, to what date does that refer?—Some time after 1792, but I cannot positively speak to that.

8420. Does that refer to any thing so late as 1800?—I think not.

8421. Then you cannot speak to the conduct of those persons for the last 30 years?—No, they were sent in 13 ships ; 65 of the negroes died on the passage, and the accounts transmitted to Halifax were, that they became indolent and discontented, that many of them ran off from Sierra Leone, and that it was, if not impossible, extremely difficult to bring those remaining to habits of industry.

8422. This account refers to their first settlement, and not to their recent conduct?—There were none sent from Halifax, except the Maroons afterwards ; they were exceedingly troublesome in Halifax ; they were sent there in the time of the late Duke of Kent ; and for about eighteen months, while embodied and strictly disciplined by His Royal Highness as soldiers, they did very well, but after that was over, they conducted themselves very badly.

8423. With regard to the negroes that were first located in Nova Scotia, and then removed to Sierra Leone, are you to be understood that you speak positively of their late misconduct and their insubordination and idleness, or does your information refer only to a period prior to 1800?—I cannot say whether the period may have extended beyond that, but I think it was previous to that.

8424. Are you aware that those same persons are now supporting themselves respectably and well at Sierra Leone ; take the American loyalists, for instance?—I know nothing of them myself, but all the information I have received in Halifax induced me to think that those freed by the American loyalists were all dispersed or dead ; that was the information I received in 1829.

8425. Did you hear that the Maroons were dispersed and dead?—No, not that they were all dispersed and dead ; but I understand that they did not by any means turn out as it was expected they might.

8426. If it should now appear that those same persons who were half savages in Jamaica are conducting themselves well, working industriously, raising crops, and acting in official situations as jurymen, you would not rely with perfect confidence on the communications to which you have alluded?—I should hesitate very much before I came to a conclusion involving so important a question.

8427. You say that the Maroons were exceedingly troublesome in Nova Scotia?—They were ; it was scarcely possible for all the authorities there to bring them to subordination ; they spent their time in eating, drinking and gambling ; that I have

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from the accounts of many respectable persons now living in Nova Scotia, on whom I placed perfect reliance.

8428. Had they no reason to be discontented?—That I cannot say; their idea was, that they should eat and drink without working.

8429. Have you any idea that the capitulation they had made had been violated?—No, I am confident that it had not.

8430. Are you aware that General Walpole, who commanded the expedition against them, with whom the capitulation was made, had, upon his leaving Jamaica, the offer of a presentation of a sword from the House of Assembly, which he indignantly refused, and assigned as his reason, that they had shamefully broken the capitulation of the Maroons?—No, I am not aware of that circumstance. I know it is usual on the governors of various provinces leaving, for the legislature to vote a sum of money for the purpose of presenting a sword.

8431. Do you know any thing whatever of the circumstances under which the sword was voted or the sword refused?—No, I cannot charge my memory with the fact; I have merely some historical recollection of it.

8432. Did you ever hear of General Walpole having retracted any expression which could amount, or be considered to amount, to an imputation on Lord Balcarras, or any other personage having acted contrary to the terms on which the Maroons capitulated?—No; I have no accurate recollection of one more than the other.

8433. How often did you visit Hammond Plains?—That I cannot say, but often; during several years I had an opportunity of seeing the negroes coming into Halifax selling brooms and wild fruits, and so on, and frequently conversing with them.

8434. Were you ever resident on Hammond Plains?—No, I do not think that a white man ever resided among them; but they are surrounded by white settlements.

8435. You say that the persons located there are generally old persons and children?—They were not so in the first instance; the young women and young men had generally left, and were become domestic servants; a great many are distributed among the inhabitants of Halifax, or as cooks and stewards on board the shipping.

8436. Are you aware that a body of them removed from Nova Scotia to Trinidad?—Yes.

8437. Did you see their settlement when you were in Trinidad?—No, I did not.

8438. Did you hear any thing as to the different rate at which the population advanced among them from what it did amongst the other negroes?—I understood they were all dispersed; when I was in Trinidad I could get no account of them; at Port Spain no one knew any thing about them.

8439. Supposing if it should happen that they were kept together under the tuition of different officers appointed by the Crown, it would appear that the information you have received respecting their dispersion was not correct?—I can only speak to my receiving the information at Trinidad, from men in whom His Majesty's Government have at all times placed the greatest confidence; and I do say, that I am fully confident the present Master General of the Ordnance will bear me out in what I have said respecting the negroes at Hammond Plains, and so can Lord Dalhousie and Sir Howard Douglas. I have no interest whatever in slaves or West India property; I state merely that which I conceive to be facts.

8440. All attempts to give them religious instruction in Hammond Plains were ineffectual?—They were ineffectual.

8441. It was by dissenters it was attempted?—Yes, chiefly.

8442. Do you know what religious instruction they received?—It was received principally from the itinerant Methodist preachers, and I think, if I recollect well, the Bishop of Nova Scotia or the Archdeacon regretted there was not a missionary of the Church of England established among them.

8443. No missionary was established there among them?—No; I think that a missionary visited them.

8444. Can you speak to the degree of religious instruction they had received?—Their religion appeared to be fanaticism rather than religion.

8445. What led you to think this?—I found them generally in that condition of mind with respect to religion; it appeared to be much more the ravings of fanatics than the piety of men of solid piety and christian principles.

8446. State the facts on which you found that imputation?—In the first place,  
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many of those attending their sectarian meetings, were very much given to habits of theft; some of them were afterwards hung; in Prince Edward's island particularly, those liberated by Colonel Robertson, the loyalists, nearly a whole family of whom were hung for thefts and robberies; they also attended meetings regularly.

8447. Those alluded to were those at Hammond Plains?—Some of those were punished for theft, but there were none of them executed, that I am aware of.

8448. Do you judge from the fact, that they attended at Methodist meetings and were hung for thieving, that their religion was fanatical?—I do; I thought it was fanatical, inasmuch as it did not implant in their minds any thing like correct moral principles.

8449. Did you hear from others or know yourself, that persons in the habit of attending Methodist meetings were, to a considerable extent, hung for robberies?—Yes, I understood they were; but I am far from stating that their attendance on Methodist, or other sectarian meetings was the cause of their committing theft or robberies; but I considered that the religious instruction they received, when they knew nothing of habits of morality, and when they were entirely taught by those itinerant preachers, most of whom were drawn from the lowest classes of society, and some of them discharged soldiers, were nearly as ignorant of true religion as the negroes themselves, their religion was fanaticism, and not the religion of the scriptures, or not that which would inculcate moral principles, or correct conduct.

8450. You speak from your knowledge, that those persons in the habit of attending the Methodist meetings were hung for robbery?—I say that some negroes that attended Methodist meetings were hung; I am far from saying that all who attended the Methodists meetings were hung, but I saw the execution of some.

8451. How many of those who attended Methodist meetings at Hammond Plains were hung for robbery?—I do not know of any being hung at Hammond Plains for robbery, but I allude to those in Prince Edward's Island; they were freed negroes; the lands were given them by Colonel Robertson, who brought them from the United States.

8452. Had these persons lands to work on?—Yes; but the lands were neglected; they used to make shingles, and work at petty jobs in Charlotte Town.

8453. Is the soil at Hammond Plains sterile?—Not, probably, equal to some of the best lands in Nova Scotia, but equal to some good agricultural districts.

8454. Is the soil and climate at all congenial to the persons born under a tropical sun?—The winter is generally severe to those born under a tropical sun.

8455. Do you think that, considering their habits and their constitution, it is well adapted to an experiment of labour in that climate?—With the exception of three months in the winter season, I think that the climate is quite congenial to their habits; during nine months of the year, with the exception of the sea coast, it is nearly as hot as in the Antilles; but it appeared to me it was entirely from their not having been trained in useful habits, or from the capacity of their mind, that they did not succeed.

8456. It was the want of instruction and education which appeared to you to be the cause of failure?—Yes; but it appeared to me that instructing one generation was not by any means sufficient; I have always considered that the education received at the fire-side of the parents, is of much more importance in forming the mind for industrious pursuits than any other.

8457. You are understood to say that the Hammond Plain colony was neglected by the clergy of the Establishment?—Yes; I consider so, generally, as far as their religious instruction might be concerned; but the benefits of instruction through the sectarians, were as fully extended to them as to any of the colonists, and there are many settlements in the colonies of Irish and Scottish people dependent entirely upon sectarian ministers.

8458. Though neglected by the Establishment, religious instruction was imparted to them sedulously by the sectarians?—I do not say that they were so much neglected by the Establishment as that they had a greater desire for the others; they were men of their own level.

8459. The simple manners and plain habits of the sectarians were more suited to them?—Yes, but their instruction was by no means calculated to establish useful habits among them.

8460. You object to sectarian doctrines probably?—No, by no means; I would allow every man to adopt those principles most consistent with his conscience.

8461. Upon the whole, their education was not advanced, and the failing may be attributed to that circumstance?—I am firmly of opinion that it will require at

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least three generations to direct the minds of people, brought up as the negroes are, to steady pursuits; I am also of opinion that there are many instances that form an exception to the general rule; but as a general rule that is decidedly my opinion.

8462. You judge of the black population from that experiment on the Hammond Plains?—Yes, for there was a great deal done for them; with the exception that there was no church mission among them, there was every thing done; for many years there was a sum voted for their support by the legislature; they are still of great expense to the province.

8463. There is no church missionary established among them?—I am not certain there is not; I think the Bishop of Nova Scotia told me last year there would be.

8464. At the time you wrote your chapter, was there any school?—Yes; there was a sum of money for the support of the school voted by the Colonial Legislature; I forget the sum now.

8465. No clergyman of the Established Church was resident among them?—No, I think not; they were visited by one.

8466. And no missionary?—No missionary established; some of the missionaries visited all the settlements.

8467. Had they any place of worship?—Yes, they had a chapel.

8468. But without a resident officiating minister of any persuasion?—There are two or three of themselves who preached, but I never heard such extraordinary ravings in my life as what are termed the sermons of those preachers.

8469. Those were half educated black preachers?—They were.

8470. Your opinion of free labour is founded on the case where there was no constant religious teacher, either of the Church Establishment or of any sectarian persuasion?—Not my whole opinion; I merely speak as far as religious instruction is in question; for I came to the conclusion that before teaching them what they were not prepared to comprehend, they ought to have been taught useful instruction, such as cultivating the soil, mechanical arts, and the best mode of reconciling their minds to habits of industry.

8471. You draw your general conclusion with respect to the nature of free labour from a case in which lettered instruction and religious teaching by a resident pastor were wanting?—No, for I am firmly of opinion, that unless such instruction is connected with useful instruction in husbandry and necessary simple arts, no good can be done among the negroes or the aborigines of North America; for let persons state what they please, most of the efforts of religious teachers have been of very little benefit; never indeed when not connected with instruction in husbandry and the simple arts and rational plain morality.

8472. Was there a resident pastor, either of the Established Church or of the sectarians, in Hammond Plains?—Only occasionally, not a white resident clergyman; I believe the sectarian preachers among them lived on whatever contributions they received from the various people to whom they preached.

Mr. Andrew Graham Dignum called in; and further Examined.

Mr.  
Andrew G. Dignum.

8473. YOU were stating on a former day a conversation that had passed between you and Mr. Panton respecting a slave, you speak from what was told you by Mr. Panton?—Yes.

8474. You are not cognizant yourself of any of those circumstances?—I am not. Mr. Panton very soon after followed his servant, and on his arrival found he was still complaining; and he asked him whether he had any wish to return to Spanish Town; he said he had, and he was accordingly sent by Mr. Panton in a cart that was going to town. Some time in the night this servant (as the person driving the cart gave the account stated) took a very high leap out of the cart, and broke his neck. During the insurrection Mr. Panton was sent up to the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East by the Governor, and he discovered that his servant had had a letter given him at Montego Bay, when he was down, and that he had carried it and delivered it to one of the head people of his estate, who was a ringleader in the rebellion; and the only reason Mr. Panton could give for his committing the rash act, was the treacherous part he had acted in taking the letter from those parties at Montego Bay, and delivering it.

8475. Did Mr. Panton's estate suffer in the rebellion?—No estates in that quarter suffered; there were partial risings in the Manchineil district, the negroes refused to work.

8476. Was

8476. Was there any evidence adduced of the participation of Mr. Panton's slaves in the plot?—Yes, one of his slaves was hanged or shot, I think.

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8477. This had been a favourite servant of Mr. Panton?—Yes, I knew the man very well.

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8478. Do you know Mr. William Miller, the gentleman who was formerly custos of Trelawney?—Yes.

8479. Do you know of his having arrived in the island of Jamaica during the progress, or immediately after the insurrection was over?—Yes.

8480. Are you acquainted with his general reputation and character?—Very well.

8481. Mr. Knibb you are aware was under prosecution?—Yes.

8482. If it were represented to this Committee, that Mr. Miller had deputed Mr. Knibb, accompanied only by another missionary, to take the depositions of persons who were in custody under the charge of being implicated in the insurrection, should you believe that to be probable?—No, I should not.

8483. What would be your reasons for not considering it probable?—Mr. Miller might have consented, but that he would in the case of the late rebellion have wished a clergyman of the established church to be present, I think is more than probable.

8484. The persons, to whom it is said Mr. Miller gave Mr. Knibb permission to resort for the purpose of examination, were slaves who had not been tried, but under commitment on a charge of having been implicated in the rebellion; from your knowledge of the character of Mr. Miller, do you believe it probable he would have permitted Mr. Knibb, a missionary, to have gone and taken the examinations by himself of persons, with a view to ascertaining the causes of the insurrection?—Certainly, I should not think so; it is however a mere opinion of my own.

8485. You stated in your former examination, that you had been for some years defender of slaves, appointed by two parishes?—Yes.

8486. Has your attention been directed to the contents of the consolidated Slave Law?—It has.

8487. Are you aware of the clause in the Consolidated Slave Law, which was in force in 1816, which relates to the power given to the overseer to inflict 39 lashes, and the corresponding clause in the Consolidated Slave Law now in force?—Yes.

8488. Are you aware that the clause in the Law of 1816, and the clause in the Law of 1831, are precisely the same?—I believe they are similar.

8489. You are aware that this clause says, no slave shall receive more than ten lashes, unless the owner, and so forth, be present; that no owner, guardian, and so on, shall on any account punish a slave with more than 39 lashes at one time; in point of practice, is the understanding of this clause, that an overseer not exceeding the number of 39 lashes, or inflicting less than 39 lashes, would not be considered as committing an offence, although he had inflicted that number without any cause whatever; or should you say, that having inflicted that punishment, he would be considered as guilty of the immediate offence contained in the subsequent clause, of having wantonly and cruelly punished the slaves?—I will not speak now with reference to the former law; if the same question were put to me when the former law was in operation, my answer would not be the same; but I will speak of my impression under the former law. I consider it was in the power of the overseers under the former law to be very arbitrary, and he might punish a slave; and the slave not giving evidence, of course he could not be brought before any tribunal for punishment; but the case is very widely altered now, because many of the overseers have been brought before tribunals for punishing a slave; even when the lashes have not been 39, or have been only 39, the slave is invariably listened to by the magistrates; the overseer has been summoned to attend, and to give a reason why he has so punished the slave; and on its not appearing sufficient to the magistrate, the overseer has been punished. The evidence of the slaves against the overseer is now received under the last law passed, which came into operation on the first of November last; overseers have been fined by the magistrates when they thought the punishment has exceeded the offence.

8490. As the law of 1816 stood, it was not a defect with respect to what constituted the offence under that law, but it was the defect of the law in not admitting slave evidence, so as to prove the want of an adequate excuse for punishment?—Undoubtedly.

8491. Under the former clause the offence would be committed, but through the

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want of slave evidence there was difficulty in proving it?—Yes, that is now removed, and I have seen overseers brought before tribunals, and fined as high, I think, as 25 *l*.

8492. Have you any doubt that under the old law of 1816, supposing there to be the evidence then admissible, namely, the evidence of free persons, that upon the establishment of the fact of a less number than 39 lashes being given, but nevertheless being given upon a bad motive, or the want of an adequate excuse, the overseer would have committed the offence contemplated by the law as cruel or wanton punishment, and been convicted accordingly?—I think he would if it could have been proved there was wanton punishment; that is now easily proved by the late Act, by which slave evidence is admitted.

8493. You were, I think you said in the course of your former examination, upon some estate during martial law?—Yes.

8494. Did you make inquiries upon that estate of any negroes?—Very particular inquiries.

8495. Which estate was that?—When I was sent up to take the command of the 2d division of my regiment, which was stationed in St. Ann's, General Cox had information that some of the fugitive rebels were making their way into the windward parish of St. Mary and St. Ann, and he ordered me to send out scouring parties through the woods, and, if possible, to apprehend them. In discharge of my duty, I called up the head people on the properties I visited, when I surrounded their houses, and I mentioned that I did it for the purpose of not alarming any of them, as I thought they might have suspicion that there was something wrong upon the property, when I mentioned that I called upon them by the directions of the governor and the general to search their houses for arms and ammunition. I had every assistance given me, and the alarm was immediately removed; and after searching the different houses upon the estate which the head people carried me to, I invariably asked them if they wished their freedom, and upon my explaining to them they must give up their houses and land to their masters, and made many other observations, they said they did not want their freedom. I particularly questioned the people on the estate of Belmont, belonging to the late Mr. Stephen Drew, on which there was a private chapel; I heard there was a disaffection among the people. The head man, Timothy, was exceedingly comfortable, he had three rooms and a garden, and plenty of provisions; I had seen but little of negro houses till the late insurrection, when I had to go into three or four hundred of them; I found an immense quantity of provisions at Timothy's, it was literally crowded to the roof; I asked him what he was doing with so much provisions; he said he took it to market, and there was no sale for it; it was an ample stock for his family for three years to come; when I spoke to him about freedom, he said he never wished for freedom, or had any idea of it. I said I did not come there by order of any proprietor, but that the Government had sent us, as there were bad negroes in the parish, and we had to search for arms.

8496. Were there any other conversations you had with the negroes?—I could mention an anecdote as to the missionaries; there was an idea that the negroes were very discontented in consequence of their chapels being destroyed, and their ministers not in the parish, they having removed to Kingston and Spanish Town; at Carton, belonging to the estate of Mr. Dobson, last year, in going to the assizes, I made a stage; he complained exceedingly of being annoyed at night by the psalm singing in the negro houses; he said he did not put a stop to it, for that the fact was, that Mr. Betty, a neighbour of his, had had a number of questions put to him from the Colonial Office, and he had lately died, whether produced by that I do not know, but it was said that it affected his health; he said I am not going to submit to any questions from the Colonial Office, and I would rather put up with this great annoyance every night, though I am aware it is a great injury to my people, for I cannot expect them to work for me while they are singing all night in this way. When I was there last in March, after the insurrection, I heard the gomby and dancing going on; I could not help making the remark, "These sounds are very different to those I heard when I was last here;" he said, "Yes, they are very happy and contented now; instead of psalm singing, they go to church, and have their amusements the same as usual; and this morning, on calling one of my head men, I said, Well, is methodism all over now? he said, Yes, massa, now the chapel is down, and the minister gone, we go to the Church of England, and we save our money (I think the expression was), and have our fowls and things as usual; and upon one of the negroes passing at the time, he addressed him as  
daddy

daddy or father, I think the Baptist name is daddy; he said, Well, daddy, good morning; he said, Do not call me daddy now; if you please, call me father, as you used to do, now chapel down and minister gone; we cannot be read out now." I cannot state any thing particular respecting the missionaries, of my own knowledge.

8497. Do you consider that the great bulk of negroes in Jamaica, in consequence of the recent insurrection, are now in that state of mind that by no possibility, even if they were left alone, they would remain in a state of tranquillity, that they would engage in an insurrection again, supposing them left to themselves, without any appeals being made to their passions, and without any excitement being produced by the publications to which they have access, or persons making communications to them about freedom?—From my own impression, from what I have seen of the negroes in the disturbed districts, and throughout the island, I can confidently say, particularly in the disturbed districts, they feel very much ashamed of what has taken place, and that if left to themselves, they would be very happy. I do not anticipate another rebellion if they are left alone, perhaps I may be singular in my opinion, but that is my impression.

8498. Will you explain what you mean "if left alone"?—I mean if not excited; I mean no idea being put into their heads that there is a certain time after which they were not to work for their masters, which is the slave's idea of freedom.

8499. You do not mean if missionaries are excluded from the parishes?—That depends entirely upon the doctrines of the missionaries; I do not pretend to know what the doctrines of the missionaries are, but that missionaries, or any other persons, shall not interfere and stir them up to rebellion, or lead them to expect that there is a day after which they were not to work for their masters.

8500. Do you mean, judging from their past conduct, that no Wesleyan or Baptist teacher should be admitted as instructors in Jamaica?—I can have myself no objection to any missionaries so long as I know they preach proper doctrines; it depends on the improper doctrines, whether preached by a layman or missionary; I do not mean to speak of any class of men. The Acts of the British Government, the Orders in Council, and Discussions in Parliament, if read to the negroes, and read by illiterate persons, would excite them.

8501. You mean not only the exclusion of missionaries, but that there shall be no more Orders in Council, and no more despatches about the present condition of the slave?—That would be rather too extensive.

8502. What limitation would you wish to put upon that expression?—I mean if the masters were left to themselves.

8503. Not interfered with in any way?—Not interfered with in any way by the British Government, so as to induce a feeling on the slave's mind that he was removed from the power of his master.

8504. That is what the Committee are to understand by the masters being left to themselves?—Yes.

8505. You have been a defender of slaves?—I have.

8506. Have you ever visited a workhouse, or a parish gaol, as their defender?—I have.

8507. Are you at all aware of the mode of punishment there?—I am.

8508. Have you never seen a negro what is called bowsed, by an instrument which is in use, extended by machinery for the purpose of flogging?—I am aware how they are punished, but I have never witnessed a punishment.

8509. Describe how they are punished in a Jamaica workhouse or a parish gaol?—I believe they are laid down (I am not aware that their punishments are the same in every workhouse), so as to give the length of their bodies; it is not like the soldiers, for they are not prostrate, I believe; sometimes the hands are tied, or sometimes two slaves, one takes hold of one hand and one of the other. I never witnessed a punishment there to my knowledge.

8510. Are you aware that there is a mode of extending the body by the application of a mechanical power?—I am not aware of that.

8511. You never heard of such a thing?—Never.

8512. Do you know the parish gaol of St. Andrew?—I never visited the gaol; there is a workhouse there.

8513. As a defender of slaves, have you ever heard them complain of this species of punishment?—Never.

8514. Do the people view it as one of extraordinary severity?—They have never come to me to complain of it.



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8515. Did you receive any impression that this punishment was more than ordinarily severe upon the triangle, such as you have described?—I recollect at this moment I have seen the negro punished after trial; but it was not in the workhouse, but in the market-place, before the court-house; he was ordered to have 39 lashes; I never have happened to see any punishments in the workhouses.

8516. Never of the slaves you defended?—No; the man I refer to was ordered to have 39 lashes, and not more than 10 touched him.

8517. Were you appointed by the magistrates to be the defender of the slaves?—Under the law the magistrates and visitors have the power of appointment.

8518. You were appointed under that law to defend slaves on such trials?—On all criminal trials.

8519. State what you mean by criminal trials; were they all offences committed by slaves, or what we should call crimes?—If I were to construe the Act strictly, it was only, perhaps, where the crime would be punished with death; but I made it a point to attend all cases, even of running away; where there was a complaint before two magistrates I did not attend, but only where there was a jury.

8520. In all cases where there was a jury you were the appointed defender of the slaves?—Yes, in the parishes I have mentioned.

8521. You had nothing to do with the treatment of the slaves on plantations or elsewhere?—No.

8522. You were in no degree authorized to interfere to protect a slave from any ill treatment?—No, there was a Council of Protection; I had notice from the clerk of the peace to attend when a trial took place.

8523. Supposing any person to be punished contrary to this 3d section, had you any right to interfere?—I should not consider that I had.

8524. You have been asked whether you witnessed any punishment; will you state what are the descriptions of punishments inflicted in the workhouse; according to your information how are they punished, by flogging?—Sometimes by flogging; sometimes they are worked in chains three or six months, according to sentence passed upon them. Flogging has been very much abolished; I think lately there has been more working on the roads.

8525. That is by sentence of the Court, after a trial by jury?—Yes.

8526. Are the stocks used in the workhouses at all to your knowledge?—I think not; I am not certain; I have seen one workhouse, but it depends on the crime, I believe.

8527. What was the state of the workhouse you saw; was it clean?—It was kept very clean; I speak of the St. Elizabeth's workhouse; I went to a great many of the apartments; it was very clean.

8528. In any parish gaol you have visited, has the order been good?—Yes, there has been great attention to cleanliness.

8529. The gaols were remarkably clean?—Yes, I think they are as clean as circumstances will admit of.

8530. You have been asked as to the construction of the 3d section; were you ever in court yourself so as to know the construction put by the Judges on the 3d section?—Yes.

8531. What was the construction put upon it?—Many persons in England have an idea that under that Act an overseer has a power to give a slave 39 lashes whenever he pleases, but that is not the construction that any legal man or any magistrate, to my knowledge, has ever put upon it. I know of several trials which have taken place of overseers before the tribunals; of two magistrates associating themselves together, and hearing the evidence of slaves against their overseers; the overseer always has a summons to attend to give a reason for the punishment he has given. It is not because the negro has committed a trifling offence that he may give 39; an overseer has perhaps said he thought he might go to the number of 39; the magistrates have said, "Yes, for aggravated offences but you have overstepped the law," and for the purpose of letting him know he must not go to that extent, they have fined the overseer.

8532. Will you state any one case in which you heard the magistrate so rule?—I think it was a man of the name of Ellis; I am not sure, but I can easily ascertain it. I was not prepared when I left Jamaica to come before this Committee. The overseer's name, I think, was Ellis; that was the only occurrence I have known on the south side, and on slave evidence; he was the first overseer convicted on slave evidence, I think. It was in the month of November last, I believe.

8553. Do

8533. Do you recollect the names of the magistrates?—I can recollect the name of the estate, the estate was Nightingale Grove.

8534. Were you agent for the slave?—No, I was with one of the magistrates, who said that they had punished the overseer as he deserved, and that he was very glad that the case had come before him.

8535. What was the name of that magistrate?—I think Mr. Rowland Williams or Mr. Thomas James Barnard; they were partners, and I may confound them.

8536. You were not present at the trial?—No, but I heard of it afterwards.

8537. The 33d clause says, "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 keeper of such workhouse, or keeper of such gaol, shall be present; and that no such owner, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator or overseer, workhouse keeper or gaol keeper shall on any account punish a slave with more than 39 lashes at one time;" what are the description of offences for which the overseer can inflict 39 lashes?—There are no particular offences laid down in the Act.

8538. What would you consider a justifiable offence to merit 39 lashes?—The same question might be put as to an apprentice in England; I think that is the best answer I can give.

8539. About the same?—Yes.

8540. Suppose in a field gang working in a line in cane-hole digging one man lags behind and does not keep up with the gang, is that an offence which would justify the overseer in inflicting the 39 lashes?—No, I do not think it is, nor do I think the overseer would give a man 39, nor do I know a case of the kind; the driver might give that man a few lashes, which I have seen occasionally done; it has been more frequently the noise of the whip than the lash he has received; I have seen two or three given, and the man has gone on with his work; I have not seen much of field labour, though I have, in travelling through the country, seen gangs at work occasionally.

8541. As a professional man putting a construction on this clause since slave evidence was admissible, should you say that if an overseer gave a man flinching from his work 39 lashes, he would be punishable under that clause?—If I were sitting as a magistrate (and I think any magistrate I am acquainted with would do the same), and that overseer were brought before me, and the only evidence against that slave was that he was flinching from his work, I should punish him; the driver of course would be examined, for the drivers are generally summoned to attend, and if the driver stated only that he was not doing his work like others, and he was laid down and punished with 39 lashes, the magistrates, I have no doubt, would punish the overseer, conceiving he was not warranted in doing any thing of the kind.

8542. You have seen the slaves at work?—Yes, frequently.

8543. Have you ever seen them whipped by drivers for laziness?—I should not speak to whipping; I have seen them smack the whip, it has made a noise, and they have gone on working; I may have seen one or two cuts over the shoulder, but I have not seen any thing I could call whipping; it was like the cane of a schoolmaster; it was more from fear the slave worked than the pain inflicted.

8544. According to your experience they are never flogged in the field for neglect of work?—My experience leads me to say what I have mentioned, that I have never seen them flogged; I have seen the whip smacked, and I have seen them cut over the shoulder, but that very seldom.

8545. Do you believe that the 39 lashes are very seldom inflicted by the attorney or overseer of the estate?—I think very seldom; I am acquainted with many proprietors and overseers, and I know they are desirous of doing away with punishment, and that it has been very considerably abolished; in fact, I know in many cases of the doing away with flogging; I have solitary confinement. I know on some estates there is no whip now, only switches of tamarind; the use of the cat has been introduced by one or two, but they have been obliged to discontinue it, in consequence of the excitement of discontent or insurrection on the very introduction of the cat. A gentleman on the north side said as the cat was in the army and navy, he would introduce it upon his estate, as there was so much said upon the subject of the cart whip in England; and on his introducing it, they (the slaves) begged for God's sake he would never use it, as they preferred the whip.

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8546. What is the name of the whip you mentioned just now?—They call it in England the cart whip, but in Jamaica the driver's whip.

8547. You called it just now the cart whip?—Yes, they call it the cart whip in England, but it is not so.

8548. Describe the difference between the whip used in Jamaica and the whip called in England the cart whip?—The stick is generally the length of the slave's arm, it is of very strong wood, and the thickness of it may be the size of my middle finger; it is of very tough wood, and will not break.

8549. About two feet long?—Yes, I should think that is about the average length of it.

8550. Did you see the cart whip which was exhibited in the House of Lords?—I did.

8551. What is the length of the lash in Jamaica?—The lash is very long; I should think that the lash is perhaps four or five yards; I know that they can touch a negro a long way off, and when they are lying down, but the thick part of the whip never touches the negro.

8552. The part nearest the handle is very thick, is it not?—It is about the thickness of the handle, I think.

8553. Is there any limitation or restriction respecting the flogging of domestic slaves, as distinguished from slaves on plantations?—I think not; domestic slaves being so much about the person, they in general wish to be lenient, and to try other modes before they are sent to be punished; if they are sent to the workhouse there is a marked difference.

8554. Is the master of the domestic slave restricted by the law within 39 lashes, not being on a settlement or plantation?—Yes, certainly.

8555. By what law?—By the Act of 1831.

8556. The words are, "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 keeper of such workhouse, or keeper of such gaol, shall be present, and that no such owner, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator or overseer, workhouse-keeper or gaol-keeper shall on any account punish a slave with more than 39 lashes at one time and for one offence, nor inflict or suffer to be inflicted such last mentioned punishment, or any other number of lashes, twice in the same day." Is there any law which applies to a slave not on a plantation?—That law has been considered to affect every slave, so much so that the workhouse supervisor would not administer the punishment, unless he had a magistrate's order; no person in Spanish Town would administer punishment beyond ten lashes, unless he had the order of a magistrate; I know that is the way in which the clause has been construed in Jamaica, though the clause would not apply to a house slave in the towns, yet it has always been so construed by the magistrates.

8557. Do you mean to say that the 33d section is construed to extend to domestic slaves?—Construing the Act strictly, that clause does not extend to them, but that construction has been put upon it by the magistrates in the towns; they have said there should be no more power over a domestic in a town than on a plantation; as a lawyer, I must admit that the words are against that construction put by the magistrates.

8558. The supervisor would not inflict more than ten lashes on a domestic slave without the order of a magistrate?—No.

8559. In what situation did you practise in this country?—I was admitted a solicitor in Jamaica.

8560. You have not practised as a solicitor in this country?—No.

8561. You were never entered as a solicitor in this country?—No.

8562. You are a native of this country?—I am.

8563. The Committee are to understand that you were never admitted a solicitor in any court in this country?—Never.

8564. Have you attended any lectures that have been given on the subject of negro slavery lately?—Yes, I attended two.

8565. Have you any communication with any other body of persons, as to the premeditated interruption of those meetings?—No; perhaps the Committee wish me to explain why I have gone to those meetings, if so, I shall be very happy to do so.

8566. You

8566. You know of no plan of an intention to interrupt those meetings at all?—It is the first I have heard of it.

8567. Are you acquainted with a person of the name of Franklin?—I am.

8568. You do not know of his having gone with any intention to interrupt those meetings?—I know nothing of the kind, I only met Mr. Franklin by accident when I was at the chapel the last time; I did not see him at the previous meeting.

8569. Do you know any thing of Mr. Borthwick?—No, except meeting him there one evening.

8570. Do you know any of the persons by whom the interruption was occasioned at those meetings?—Interruption! what is meant by interruption?

8571. There was an interruption at those meetings, was there not?—As far as some persons expressing their sentiments, and there was noise in the chapel.

8572. No violence at all?—I was not present when any violence was committed, it was not in my presence; but I should wish to state what occasioned my being there; it was occasioned by my dining with some gentlemen who were going, and they requested as I had been in the West Indies that I might be called upon to state a few facts relative to the late rebellion, which I stated I could have no objection to, as they knew I could state the brutal outrages (that have not been stated to this Committee) of females being violated and of ripping open the bowels of persons, and the scalping of soldiers, and many other facts connected with the rebellion.

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## APPENDIX.

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Appendix (A.)

GENERAL RETURN FOR 1817, AND INCREASE

ANALYSIS of the CONTENTS of TWELVE PLANTATION RETURNS in the Island of *Jamaica* at the Date of the First Registration, on the 28th of June 1817;

ESTATE.	PARISH.	AFRICANS.																			
		18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.		under 6.		6 to 12.		12 to 18.	
		Male.	Female.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1. Orange Valley	Trelawny	1	1	2	4	6	2	6	12	14	5	14	13	31	31	57	52	38	43	35	33
2. Linton Park	- ditto	7	8	6	12	25	13	13	11	12	7	8	10	2	8	27	22	20	13	10	16
3. Fontabelle & Southfield	- ditto	4	5	17	17	32	23	31	23	20	14	18	10	25	22	28	30	37	39	24	24
4. Hopewell	St. Mary	-	-	1	-	13	12	6	13	6	10	5	10	12	22	24	20	15	21	15	22
5. Llanrumny	- ditto	7	1	38	23	25	42	19	16	13	6	9	18	11	24	18	32	19	22	16	6
6. Fountain, &c.	Clarendon	2	-	10	6	24	29	20	23	9	12	3	10	7	10	13	18	28	17	22	20
7. Whitney	- ditto	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	20	12	7	8	19
8. Bogue	St. Elizabeth	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	25	26	29	25	16
9. Hampstead	- ditto	-	-	6	-	31	26	41	44	19	13	5	7	3	8	26	30	19	12	14	14
10. Lyssons	St. Thomas, East	10	2	35	45	5	8	5	9	9	25	21	16	22	17	26	24	33	28	31	24
11. Hector's River	- ditto	-	-	5	1	11	1	3	17	4	-	2	-	16	16	19	24	14	23	19	24
12. Golden Vale	Portland	1	5	10	10	21	16	31	22	17	6	9	7	12	9	32	31	32	28	32	21
TOTAL of the Twelve Estates		32	22	131	118	198	172	175	192	123	98	94	101	141	167	304	328	293	282	251	239

AN ACCOUNT of the INCREASE and DECREASE upon the same TWELVE PLANTATIONS, between

ESTATE.	PARISH.	BIRTHS.			Number of the Infants, born of						Mothers not traced.	Purchases, or other Causes of Increase.						Total Number.			
		Male.	Female.	Total.	AFRICANS.			CREOLES.				AFRICANS.			CREOLES.						
					M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.				
1. Orange Valley	Trelawny	41	39	80	3	2	5	38	37	75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Linton Park	- ditto	17	16	33	8	8	16	9	8	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Fontabelle & Southfield	- ditto	18	11	29	8	5	13	10	6	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Hopewell	St. Mary	16	17	33	2	1	3	14	16	30	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1
5. Llanrumny	- ditto	16	23	39	15	17	32	1	6	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Fountain, &c.	Clarendon	7	15	22	2	6	8	5	9	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Whitney	- ditto	12	17	29	-	-	-	12	17	29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Bogue	St. Elizabeth	20	17	37	-	-	-	20	17	37	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9. Hampstead	- ditto	6	8	14	1	4	5	3	3	6	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10. Lyssons	St. Thomas, East	17	16	33	6	9	15	11	7	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11. Hector's River	- ditto	18	19	37	1	3	4	17	16	33	-	-	1	1	2	2	4	-	-	-	5
12. Golden Vale	Portland	16	19	35	5	5	10	11	14	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL of the Twelve Estates		204	217	421	51	60	111	151	156	307	3	-	1	1	3	2	5	-	-	-	6

ANALYSIS of the foregoing DEATHS, distinguishing Sex and Country, and the Ages between which they occurred,

	AFRICANS.																			
	18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.		under 6.		6 to 12.		12 to 18.	
	Male.	Female.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Between 28 June 1817 and 28 June 1820.	1	-	8	7	8	8	13	13	8	10	14	10	35	36	45	47	17	13	11	11

AND DECREASE, BETWEEN 1817 AND 1820.

distinguishing the Sexes and Countries of the Slaves, and their Ages, in Classes of Six Years respectively.

CREOLES.														AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			UNITED NUMBERS.		
18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.
25	32	22	21	18	22	16	19	6	9	5	3	6	11	74	68	142	228	245	473	302	313	615
4	15	6	4	4	6	5	2	2	2	-	1	2	2	73	69	142	80	83	163	153	152	305
13	15	11	20	14	20	5	9	1	11	4	2	8	2	147	114	261	145	172	317	292	286	578
17	16	20	31	15	22	13	11	11	7	6	3	6	10	43	67	110	142	163	305	185	230	415
5	6	8	12	7	16	6	3	2	3	-	2	4	3	122	130	252	85	105	190	207	235	442
11	7	9	13	18	13	4	8	7	4	4	4	-	3	75	90	165	116	107	223	191	197	388
14	19	10	21	13	16	11	6	11	10	3	1	12	21	3	2	5	108	140	248	111	142	253
10	19	28	26	15	12	22	13	8	13	15	14	13	19	3	-	3	182	186	368	185	186	371
7	7	2	4	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	105	98	203	69	68	137	174	166	340
21	18	22	16	5	10	3	5	4	5	4	11	2	5	107	122	229	151	146	297	258	268	526
17	21	13	15	18	15	8	19	8	7	7	5	12	17	41	35	76	135	170	305	176	205	381
14	15	17	12	15	12	9	3	8	5	2	1	7	3	101	75	176	168	131	299	269	206	475
158	190	168	195	143	164	102	99	68	76	50	47	72	96	894	870	1,764	1,609	1,716	3,325	2,503	2,586	5,089

the 28th June 1817, and the 28th June 1820, the latter being the Date of the First Triennial Registration.

DEATHS.							MANUMISSIONS.							Transportations, Desertions, &c.						Sales, or other Causes of Decrease.							
AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.	AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.	AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.	AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.
M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	
14	9	23	15	18	33	56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
9	6	15	7	12	19	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
14	12	26	14	11	25	51	-	-	-	4	3	7	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
8	12	20	7	4	11	31	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-			
8	13	21	8	14	22	43	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
6	5	11	9	7	16	27	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	6	12	12			
-	-	-	10	6	16	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
-	-	-	9	15	24	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
8	4	12	5	4	9	21	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
10	6	16	16	14	30	46	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-			
7	7	14	12	13	25	39	-	-	-	1	3	4	4	2	-	2	1	-	1	3	-	-	-	-			
6	9	15	9	5	14	29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1			
90	83	173	121	123	244	417	1	-	1	5	8	13	14	2	-	2	3	-	3	5	1	-	1	6	6	12	13

in Classes of Six Years respectively.

SUMMARY of INCREASE and DECREASE during the Three Years, and Number of Slaves remaining.

CREOLES.														INCREASE.						DECREASE.						Difference.	NUMBER of SLAVES remaining.
18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.		Birth.	Otherwise.	TOTAL.	Death.	Otherwise.	TOTAL.								
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.														
6	6	4	4	7	12	8	4	4	3	3	5	13	14	421	6	427	417	32	449	22	5,067						



APPENDIX TO REPORT FROM

Appendix (A.)—continued.

GENERAL RETURN FOR 1820, AND INCREASE

ANALYSIS of the CONTENTS of the RETURNS upon the same TWELVE PLANTATIONS in the Island of Jamaica, on the 28th of June 1820,

ESTATE.	PARISH.	AFRICANS.																			
		18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.		Under 6.		6 to 12.		12 to 18.	
		Male.	Female	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1. Orange Valley	Trelawny	-	-	1	2	7	3	2	4	6	7	20	15	24	28	66	63	38	42	35	34
2. Linton Park	- ditto	3	1	7	16	13	7	19	15	12	8	13	13	2	8	22	15	17	18	20	8
3. Fontabelle & Southfield	- ditto	-	-	7	13	30	17	25	22	28	23	17	9	26	18	31	23	21	33	32	31
4. Hopewell	St. Mary	-	-	1	-	6	6	7	9	5	10	9	11	7	19	28	25	15	19	17	23
5. Llanrumny	- ditto	3	-	17	7	32	40	25	24	11	6	17	20	9	20	25	38	13	24	19	13
6. Fountain, &c.	Clarendon	-	-	7	5	15	13	13	23	18	17	9	17	6	10	10	23	20	17	21	19
7. Whitney	- ditto	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	16	29	17	11	6	10
8. Bogue	St. Elizabeth	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31	28	20	27	25	18
9. Hampstead	- ditto	-	-	2	-	18	4	41	56	15	9	20	18	1	7	14	25	28	17	10	16
10. Lyssons	St. Thomas, East	2	-	34	28	10	20	3	8	5	20	19	17	24	23	28	25	23	17	27	29
11. Hector's River	- ditto	-	-	-	-	9	2	7	6	2	9	3	-	11	12	23	25	19	17	18	29
12. Golden Vale	Portland	-	2	4	6	21	11	19	22	27	9	12	6	12	9	33	35	27	33	36	14
TOTAL of the Twelve Estates		8	3	80	77	165	123	163	189	129	120	139	126	122	154	327	354	258	275	266	244

AN ACCOUNT of the INCREASE and DECREASE upon the same TWELVE PLANTATIONS, between

ESTATE.	PARISH.	BIRTHS.			Number of the Infants, born of						Mothers not traced.	Purchases, or other Causes of Increase.						
		Male.	Female.	Total.	AFRICANS.			CREOLES.				AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.
					M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	
1. Orange Valley	Trelawny	40	31	71	-	2	2	40	29	69	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	3
2. Linton Park	- ditto	11	17	28	4	7	11	7	10	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Fontabelle & Southfield	- ditto	16	15	31	8	2	10	8	13	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Hopewell	St. Mary	18	17	35	2	1	3	16	16	32	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	2
5. Llanrumny	- ditto	14	14	28	9	9	18	5	5	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Fountain, &c.	Clarendon	4	6	10	1	-	1	3	6	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Whitney	- ditto	9	11	20	-	-	-	9	11	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Bogue	St. Elizabeth	23	10	33	-	-	-	23	10	33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9. Hampstead	- ditto	15	13	28	2	8	10	8	2	10	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10. Lyssons	St. Thomas, East	25	12	37	11	2	13	14	10	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11. Hector's River	- ditto	16	16	32	2	-	2	14	16	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12. Golden Vale	Portland	16	21	37	3	4	7	13	17	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL of the Twelve Estates		207	183	390	42	35	77	160	145	305	8	-	-	-	-	5	5	5

ANALYSIS of the foregoing DEATHS, distinguishing Sex and Country, and the Ages between which they occurred,

	AFRICANS.																			
	18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above		Under 6.		6 to 12.		12 to 18.	
	Male.	Female	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Between 28 June 1820 and 28 June 1823	-	-	4	3	9	8	10	8	12	9	21	10	28	36	65	61	16	10	8	10

AND DECREASE, BETWEEN 1820 AND 1823.

the Date of the First Triennial or Amended Registration; distinguishing the Sexes, Countries and Ages of the Slaves, in Classes, as before.

CREOLES.														AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			UNITED NUMBERS.		
18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.
30	33	25	24	24	22	9	17	16	14	5	7	6	10	60	59	119	254	266	520	314	325	639
7	18	5	9	4	4	5	4	2	2	-	-	4	5	69	68	137	86	83	169	155	151	304
16	9	11	24	11	19	8	14	2	6	3	9	10	1	133	102	235	145	169	314	278	271	549
14	24	13	13	21	33	16	12	8	10	11	5	8	11	35	55	90	151	175	326	186	230	416
10	4	8	8	6	13	4	7	3	2	2	3	3	2	114	117	231	93	114	207	207	231	438
18	11	2	12	20	5	6	9	3	6	8	5	-	2	68	85	153	108	109	217	176	194	370
14	18	9	22	14	15	9	14	8	6	8	6	10	19	3	2	5	111	150	261	114	152	266
19	10	20	23	19	16	11	8	18	22	13	12	17	18	3	-	3	193	188	381	196	188	384
10	5	7	6	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	97	94	191	70	71	141	167	165	332
24	20	21	20	13	10	4	4	4	5	4	11	3	7	97	116	213	151	148	299	248	264	512
18	21	13	15	10	16	13	18	9	10	8	8	10	16	32	29	61	141	175	316	173	204	377
22	21	13	12	18	14	7	6	5	3	5	4	9	3	95	65	160	175	145	320	270	210	480
202	200	147	188	161	168	92	114	78	86	67	70	80	94	806	792	1,598	1,678	1,793	3,471	2,484	2,586	5,067

the 28th June 1820, and the 28th June 1823, the latter being the Date of the Second Triennial Registration.

DEATHS.							MANUMISSIONS.							Transportations, Desertions, &c.							Sales, or other Causes of Decrease.						
AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.	AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.	AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.	AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.
M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	
8	6	14	24	15	39	53	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	3			
4	5	9	7	11	18	27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	3			
14	10	24	12	19	31	55	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
2	6	8	13	15	28	36	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
7	9	16	5	7	12	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
13	10	23	5	6	11	34	1	-	1	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
1	1	2	6	5	11	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
-	-	-	14	16	30	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
9	5	14	7	4	11	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
12	14	26	23	17	40	66	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	1			
4	5	9	14	16	30	39	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
7	6	13	18	3	21	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
81	77	158	146	136	282	440	1	-	1	1	2	3	4	1	-	1	1	-	1	2	1	1	2	3	4	7	

in Classes of Six Years respectively.

SUMMARY of INCREASE and DECREASE during the Three Years, and Number of Slaves remaining.

CREOLES.														INCREASE.			DECREASE.			Difference.	NUMBER of SLAVES remaining.
18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.		Birth.	Otherwise.	TOTAL.	Death.	Otherwise.	TOTAL.		
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.								
13	7	11	9	10	7	4	9	6	3	5	3	12	13	390	5	395	440	15	455	60	5,007

APPENDIX TO REPORT FROM

Appendix (A.)—continued.

GENERAL RETURN FOR 1823, AND INCREASE

ANALYSIS of the CONTENTS of the RETURNS upon the same TWELVE PLANTATIONS in the Island of *Jamaica*, on the 23th of June 1823,

ESTATE.	PARISH.	AFRICANS.																			
		18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.		Under 6.		6 to 12.		12 to 18.	
		Male.	Female.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1. Orange Valley	Trelawny	-	-	1	1	2	3	6	1	6	11	9	3	28	34	62	56	49	48	36	40
2. Linton Park	- ditto	-	-	6	8	5	11	24	12	10	11	12	7	7	14	14	18	24	14	19	12
3. Fontabelle & Southfield	- ditto	-	-	3	5	13	15	30	21	25	21	16	12	32	18	27	18	21	24	34	35
4. Hopewell	St. Mary	-	-	-	-	1	-	13	9	3	11	5	6	11	23	31	30	22	16	13	21
5. Llanrumny	- ditto	-	-	7	1	33	21	22	37	18	12	12	5	14	32	27	31	14	28	18	19
6. Fountain	Clarendon	-	-	2	-	8	5	21	25	15	21	3	10	5	14	11	21	11	16	22	15
7. Whitney	- ditto	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	20	26	13	19	12	7
8. Bogue	St. Elizabeth	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	41	24	18	21	24	27
9. Hampstead	- ditto	-	-	-	-	6	-	30	25	35	40	15	12	2	12	17	18	22	28	18	12
10. Lyssons	St. Thomas East	-	-	9	2	31	41	4	7	5	8	7	23	28	21	27	18	19	16	28	26
11. Hector's River	- ditto	-	-	-	-	5	1	9	2	2	13	3	-	9	8	29	31	15	19	10	18
12. Golden Vale	Portland	-	-	1	4	10	9	19	15	27	17	16	4	15	10	29	39	23	28	30	26
TOTAL of the Twelve Estates		-	-	29	21	114	106	183	154	146	166	98	82	151	186	335	330	251	277	264	258

AN ACCOUNT of the INCREASE and DECREASE upon the same TWELVE PLANTATIONS, between the

ESTATE.	PARISH.	BIRTHS.			Number of the Infants, born of						Mothers not traced.	Purchases, or other Causes of Increase.									
		Male.	Female.	Total.	AFRICANS.			CREOLES.				AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.			
					M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.				
1. Orange Valley	Trelawny	36	45	81	-	2	2	36	43	79	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Linton Park	- ditto	17	17	34	4	2	6	13	13	26	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Fontabelle & Southfield	- ditto	18	12	30	3	2	5	15	10	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Hopewell	St. Mary	20	24	44	1	-	1	19	24	43	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	2	2	2	2
5. Lanrumny	- ditto	12	9	21	5	4	9	7	5	12	-	-	1	1	1	3	4	5	5	5	5
6. Fountain	Clarendon	10	9	19	2	1	3	6	8	14	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Whitney	- ditto	16	15	31	-	-	-	16	15	31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Bogue	St. Elizabeth	19	24	43	-	-	-	19	24	43	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9. Hampstead	- ditto	6	8	14	1	3	4	3	4	7	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10. Lyssons	St. Thomas East	24	17	41	7	5	12	17	12	29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11. Hector's River	- ditto	18	16	34	-	-	-	18	16	34	-	-	-	-	1	2	3	3	3	3	3
12. Golden Vale	Portland	12	13	25	3	2	5	9	11	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL of the Twelve Estates		208	209	417	26	21	47	178	185	363	7	-	1	1	4	5	9	10	10	10	10

ANALYSIS of the foregoing DEATHS, distinguishing Sex and Country, and the Ages between which they occurred,

	AFRICANS.																			
	18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.		Under 6.		6 to 12.		12 to 18.	
	Male.	Female.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Between 28 June 1823 and 28 June 1826	-	-	1	-	4	8	19	10	20	16	14	10	54	42	58	61	14	14	10	9

AND DECREASE BETWEEN 1823 AND 1826.

the Date of the Second Triennial or Amended Registration ; distinguishing the Sexes, Countries and Ages of the Slaves, in Classes, as before.

CREOLES.														AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			UNITED NUMBERS.		
18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.									
33	29	23	30	22	21	17	21	15	18	5	9	8	10	52	53	105	270	282	552	322	335	657
10	15	4	14	5	4	4	6	-	-	2	-	5	6	64	63	127	87	89	176	151	152	301
20	21	10	15	10	16	13	18	3	6	1	11	9	2	119	92	211	148	166	314	267	258	525
13	18	18	15	17	31	13	18	12	10	10	7	9	9	33	49	82	158	175	333	191	224	415
15	5	4	6	8	10	6	13	5	3	2	3	3	3	106	108	214	102	121	223	208	229	437
20	18	7	4	8	12	16	10	4	5	4	3	3	5	54	75	129	106	109	215	160	184	344
6	16	13	19	7	21	12	16	9	6	9	8	12	19	2	1	3	113	157	270	115	158	273
23	15	10	19	28	21	15	8	17	13	7	12	19	22	3	-	3	202	182	384	205	182	387
11	11	7	7	2	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	88	89	177	78	80	158	166	169	335
29	22	17	13	17	16	3	9	3	2	3	5	6	15	84	102	186	152	142	294	236	244	480
18	19	13	19	13	15	15	15	7	16	7	6	16	17	28	24	52	143	175	318	171	199	370
29	21	14	15	16	11	11	12	8	3	5	4	8	4	88	59	147	173	163	336	261	222	483
227	210	140	176	153	182	126	146	83	82	55	68	98	112	721	715	1,436	1,732	1,841	3,573	2,453	2,556	5,007

28th June 1823 and the 28th June 1826, the latter being the Date of the Third Triennial Registration.

DEATHS.							MANUMISSIONS.							Transportations, Desertions, &c.							Sales, or other Causes of Decrease.						
AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.	AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.	AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.	AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.
M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	
12	10	22	15	29	44	66	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
4	7	11	10	10	20	31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	-	1	3	-	-	-	-			
23	10	33	14	13	27	60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
6	3	9	19	14	33	42	-	-	-	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-			
15	12	27	12	13	25	52	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
10	11	21	7	4	11	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	2			
-	-	-	10	11	21	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
1	-	1	24	15	39	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
11	9	20	2	1	3	23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1			
7	8	15	10	15	25	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
4	7	11	15	16	31	42	-	-	-	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
18	10	28	14	13	27	55	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	-			
111	87	198	152	154	306	504	-	-	-	4	4	4	4	3	-	3	3	1	4	7	-	1	1	2			

in Classes of Six Years respectively.

CREOLES.													
18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.	
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
8	13	7	6	7	10	5	8	6	2	7	5	26	30

SUMMARY of INCREASE and DECREASE during the Three Years, and Number of Slaves remaining.

INCREASE.			DECREASE.			Difference.	NUMBER of SLAVES remaining.
Birth.	Otherwise.	TOTAL.	Death.	Otherwise.	TOTAL.		
417	10	427	504	14	518	91	4,916

APPENDIX TO REPORT FROM

Appendix (A.)—continued.

GENERAL RETURN FOR 1826, AND INCREASE

ANALYSIS of the CONTENTS of the RETURNS upon the same TWELVE PLANTATIONS in the Island of *Jamaica*, on the 28th of June 1826,

ESTATE.	PARISH.	A F R I C A N S.																			
		18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.		Under 6.		6 to 12.		12 to 18.	
		Male.	Female.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1. Orange Valley	Trelawny	-	-	-	-	1	2	7	3	1	4	4	5	27	29	58	58	60	57	35	39
2. Linton Park	- ditto	-	-	3	1	6	14	13	6	15	13	11	8	10	14	24	26	14	8	14	16
3. Fontabelle & Southfield	- ditto	-	-	-	-	7	13	25	16	22	18	20	20	22	15	25	19	27	17	19	31
4. Hopewell	St. Mary	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5	7	8	4	7	11	26	28	38	27	18	13	17
5. Llanrumny	- ditto	-	-	3	-	16	7	28	35	24	22	4	4	16	29	22	17	20	33	12	22
6. Fountain	Clarendon	-	-	-	-	7	4	12	11	8	21	14	12	3	16	11	15	10	20	19	16
7. Whitney	- ditto	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	22	20	15	27	16	11
8. Bogue	St. Elizabeth	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	30	25	24	20	26
9. Hampstead	- ditto	-	-	-	-	2	-	15	3	34	52	13	8	13	17	20	21	9	21	27	17
10. Lyssons	St. Thomas East	-	-	2	-	31	25	10	17	2	6	4	19	28	27	37	17	21	21	22	17
11. Hector's River	- ditto	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	2	7	6	2	6	6	3	30	27	16	21	14	15
12. Golden Vale	Portland	-	-	-	2	4	4	20	11	12	17	16	8	17	7	26	32	23	28	21	32
TOTAL of the Twelve Estates		-	-	8	3	74	69	148	109	132	168	92	97	153	183	343	320	267	295	232	259

AN ACCOUNT of the INCREASE and DECREASE upon the same TWELVE PLANTATIONS, between

ESTATE.	PARISH.	BIRTHS.			Number of the Infants, born of						Mothers not traced.	Purchases, or other Causes of Increase.									
		Male.	Female.	Total.	A F R I C A N S.			C R E O L E S.				A F R I C A N S.			C R E O L E S.			Total Number.			
					M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.				
1. Orange Valley	Trelawny	38	25	63	1	-	1	37	25	62	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Linton Park	- ditto	12	9	21	2	1	3	10	7	17	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Fontabelle & Southfield	- ditto	13	10	23	4	-	4	9	10	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Hopewell	St. Mary	11	11	22	1	1	2	10	10	20	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	2
5. Llanrumny	- ditto	7	12	19	3	4	7	4	8	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Fountain	Clarendon	7	10	17	-	1	1	6	7	13	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Whitney	- ditto	10	18	28	-	-	-	10	18	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Bogue	St. Elizabeth	13	14	27	-	-	-	13	14	27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9. Hampstead	- ditto	11	8	19	-	-	-	11	8	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10. Lyssons	St. Thomas East	16	28	44	4	5	9	12	23	35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11. Hector's River	- ditto	16	17	33	-	-	-	16	17	33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12. Golden Vale	Portland	19	15	34	2	1	3	17	14	31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL of the Twelve Estates		173	177	350	17	13	30	155	161	316	4	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	2

ANALYSIS of the foregoing DEATHS, distinguishing Sex and Country, and the Ages between which they

	A F R I C A N S.																			
	18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.		Under 6.		6 to 12.		12 to 18.	
	Male.	Female.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Between 28 June 1826 and 28 June 1829	-	-	-	-	6	4	19	13	21	10	22	15	52	46	56	40	12	9	8	14

AND DECREASE, BETWEEN 1826 AND 1829.

the Date of the Third Triennial or Amended Registration; distinguishing the Sexes, Countries and Ages of the Slaves, in Classes, as before.

CREOLES.														AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			UNITED NUMBER.		
18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.
35	28	26	31	22	21	23	21	9	17	15	14	8	12	40	43	83	291	298	589	331	341	672
20	8	6	18	5	8	3	2	2	4	-	-	5	6	58	56	114	93	96	189	151	152	301
31	29	14	6	8	22	11	16	7	12	1	4	9	9	96	82	178	152	165	317	248	247	495
14	21	15	21	14	11	15	28	14	11	6	10	14	8	27	46	73	160	183	343	187	229	416
18	12	7	3	8	8	5	13	4	6	3	2	4	4	91	97	188	103	120	223	194	217	411
17	18	18	10	2	12	15	4	6	6	3	6	5	7	44	64	108	106	114	220	150	178	328
5	10	13	16	5	22	13	15	9	14	8	6	13	20	2	1	3	119	161	280	121	162	283
23	17	18	15	19	21	17	14	10	7	14	21	11	16	2	-	2	197	191	388	199	191	390
8	16	9	4	7	7	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	77	80	157	81	87	168	158	167	325
26	22	22	18	15	19	12	10	2	3	4	4	5	13	77	94	171	166	144	310	243	238	481
15	26	16	18	12	13	8	14	13	17	7	7	16	17	24	17	41	147	175	322	171	192	363
34	14	20	20	12	11	16	12	4	6	3	3	11	5	69	49	118	170	163	333	239	212	451
246	221	184	180	129	175	139	150	80	103	64	77	101	117	607	629	1,236	1,785	1,897	3,682	2,392	2,526	4,916

the 28th June 1826 and the 28th June 1829, the latter being the Date of the Fourth Triennial Registration.

DEATHS.						MANUMISSIONS.						Transportations, Desertions, &c.						Sales, and other Causes of Decrease.									
AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.	AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.	AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.	AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.
M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	
12	4	16	20	16	36	52	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
9	3	12	5	7	12	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-			
17	14	31	10	8	18	49	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-			
6	11	17	20	18	38	55	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
24	13	37	11	3	14	51	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
6	17	23	16	10	26	49	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-			
-	-	-	9	9	18	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
1	-	1	16	12	28	29	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-			
8	10	18	5	3	8	26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
9	12	21	21	9	30	51	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	1			
3	1	4	5	11	16	20	-	-	-	3	11	14	14	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-			
25	3	28	18	24	42	70	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	2	3	5	-	-	-	1 2 3			
120	88	208	156	130	286	494	-	-	-	5	12	17	17	2	4	6	6	2	8	14	1	-	1	1 2 3	4		

occurred, in Classes of Six Years respectively.

CREOLES.

18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.	
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
14	9	15	11	8	7	7	8	5	4	8	6	20	25

SUMMARY of INCREASE and DECREASE during the Three Years, and Number of Slaves remaining.

INCREASE.			DECREASE.			Difference.	NUMBER of SLAVES remaining.
Birth.	Otherwise.	TOTAL.	Death.	Otherwise.	TOTAL.		
350	2	352	494	35	529	177	4,739

APPENDIX TO REPORT FROM

Appendix (A.)—continued.

GENERAL RETURN FOR 1829, AND ACCOUNT OF GENERAL

ANALYSIS of the CONTENTS of the RETURNS upon the same TWELVE PLANTATIONS in the Island of *Jamaica*, on the 28th of June 1829,

ESTATE.	PARISH.	AFRICANS.																			
		18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.		Under 6.		6 to 12.		12 to 18.	
		Male.	Female.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1. Orange Valley	Trelawny	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	2	6	1	1	9	18	26	60	55	60	49	45	47
2. Linton Park	- ditto	-	-	-	-	6	8	5	8	22	12	8	10	8	15	25	20	11	16	20	13
3. Fontabelle & Southfield	- ditto	-	-	-	-	3	5	12	12	25	13	19	17	20	21	27	20	20	10	20	23
4. Hopewell	St. Mary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	8	2	9	8	19	26	32	19	24	22	13
5. Llanrumny	- ditto	-	-	-	-	7	1	25	20	16	30	8	8	11	25	16	19	21	31	13	24
6. Fountain, &c.	Clarendon	-	-	-	-	2	-	7	4	15	20	11	9	3	10	13	17	9	17	10	14
7. Whitney	- ditto	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	24	32	15	22	13	18
8. Bogue	St. Elizabeth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	30	32	35	19	17	21
9. Hampstead	- ditto	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	20	22	32	36	11	12	16	15	13	17	21	27
10. Lyssons	St. Thomas East	-	-	-	-	8	1	30	35	3	7	5	7	21	32	33	36	18	14	18	16
11. Hector's River	- ditto	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1	8	2	1	11	7	2	29	29	24	22	14	17
12. Golden Vale	Portland	-	-	-	-	1	4	10	8	8	12	13	16	10	6	28	24	19	32	20	17
TOTAL of the Twelve Estates		-	-	-	-	28	20	102	90	136	127	100	133	117	168	327	331	264	273	233	250

AN ACCOUNT of the GENERAL INCREASE and DECREASE upon the same TWELVE PLANTATIONS, between

ESTATE.	PARISH.	BIRTHS.			Number of the Infants, born of						Mothers not Traced.	Purchases, or other Causes of Increase.						
		Male.	Female.	Total.	AFRICANS.			CREOLES.				AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.
					M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	
1. Orange Valley	Trelawny	155	140	295	4	6	10	151	134	285	-	-	-	-	3	3	3	
2. Linton Park	- ditto	57	59	116	18	18	36	39	38	77	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3. Fontabelle & Southfield	- ditto	65	48	113	23	9	32	42	39	81	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4. Hopewell	St. Mary	65	69	134	6	3	9	59	66	125	-	-	-	5	2	7	7	
5. Llanrumny	- ditto	49	58	107	32	34	66	17	24	41	-	1	1	1	3	4	5	
6. Fountain, &c.	Clarendon	28	40	68	5	8	13	20	30	50	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	
7. Whitney	- ditto	47	61	108	-	-	-	47	61	108	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
8. Bogue	St. Elizabeth	75	65	140	-	-	-	75	65	140	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
9. Hampstead	- ditto	38	37	75	4	15	19	25	17	42	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	
10. Lyssons	St. Thomas East	82	73	155	28	21	49	54	52	106	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
11. Hector's River	- ditto	68	68	136	3	3	6	65	65	130	-	1	1	3	4	7	8	
12. Golden Vale	Portland	63	68	131	13	12	25	50	56	106	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
TOTAL of the Twelve Estates		792	786	1,578	136	129	265	644	647	1,291	22	-	2	2	9	12	21	23

ANALYSIS of the foregoing GENERAL ACCOUNT of DEATHS, distinguishing Sex and Country, and the Ages between which they

	AFRICANS.																			
	18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.		Under 6.		6 to 12.		12 to 18.	
	Male.	Female.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Between 28 June 1817 and 28 June 1829	1	-	13	10	27	28	61	44	61	45	69	43	167	158	222	209	59	46	37	44

INCREASE AND DECREASE BETWEEN 1817 AND 1829.

the Date of the Fourth Triennial or Amended Registration; distinguishing the Sexes, Countries and Ages of the Slaves, in Classes, as before.

CREOLES.														AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			UNITED NUMBERS.		
18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.
33	38	32	24	18	26	21	19	17	20	14	17	9	12	28	39	67	309	307	616	337	343	683
19	10	8	15	4	13	4	3	2	1	2	3	4	4	49	53	102	99	98	197	148	151	299
32	33	17	17	10	14	8	15	13	16	1	5	6	13	79	68	147	154	166	320	233	234	467
9	19	12	17	15	12	15	27	9	16	9	9	14	8	20	36	56	150	177	327	170	213	383
13	17	14	4	2	6	5	10	6	10	5	3	4	5	67	84	151	99	129	228	166	213	379
17	15	16	15	4	4	6	14	13	10	4	3	5	5	38	43	81	97	114	211	135	157	292
12	7	6	15	13	19	6	18	11	16	9	6	11	17	2	1	3	120	170	290	122	171	293
23	26	21	12	8	18	25	20	12	8	13	13	8	24	1	-	1	192	193	385	193	193	386
17	12	11	10	6	7	2	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	69	70	139	87	92	179	156	162	318
28	25	26	19	14	13	14	16	1	8	3	2	6	14	67	82	149	161	163	324	228	245	473
8	14	17	17	13	16	12	14	15	13	5	13	16	16	21	16	37	153	171	324	174	187	361
25	20	28	19	11	14	15	8	11	10	4	3	8	3	42	46	88	169	150	319	211	196	407
236	236	208	184	118	162	133	168	111	128	69	77	91	121	483	538	1,021	1,790	1,930	3,720	2,273	2,468	4,739

the 28th June 1817 and the 28th June 1829, being the Dates of the Original and last Triennial Registration.

DEATHS.							MANUMISSIONS.						Transportations, Desertions, &c.						Sales, or other causes of Decrease.								
AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.	AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.	AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.	AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total Number.
M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	
46	29	75	74	78	152	227	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	3				
26	22	48	27	41	68	116	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	2	-	2	4	1	-	1	3	-	3	4
68	46	114	50	51	101	215	-	-	-	4	4	8	8	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	32	54	59	51	110	164	-	-	-	1	5	6	6	-	-	-	2	1	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	47	101	36	37	73	174	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	43	78	37	27	64	142	2	-	2	1	-	1	3	-	4	4	1	-	1	5	-	-	-	8	6	14	14
1	1	2	35	31	66	68	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	2	63	58	121	123	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	27	63	19	13	32	95	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1
38	40	78	70	55	125	203	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	2	2	-	2	1	-	1	3
18	20	38	46	56	102	140	-	-	-	4	16	20	20	2	-	2	2	-	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	28	84	59	45	104	188	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	2	2	4	7	1	-	1	1	2	3	4
402	335	737	575	543	1,118	1,855	2	-	2	11	26	37	39	8	4	12	13	3	16	28	4	1	5	13	11	24	29

occurred, in Classes of Six Years respectively.

SUMMARY of the GENERAL INCREASE and DECREASE during the Twelve Years, and Number of Slaves remaining.

CREOLES.														INCREASE.			DECREASE.			Difference.	NUMBER of SLAVES remaining.	
18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.		Birth.	Otherwise.	TOTAL.	Death.	Otherwise.	TOTAL.			
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.									
41	35	37	30	32	36	24	29	21	12	23	19	69	81	1,578	23	1,601	1,855	96	1,951	350	As above	4,739



Appendix (A.)—continued.

GENERAL RECAPITULATION OF RETURNS, FROM THE FIRST OR ORIGINAL,

ANALYTICAL RECAPITULATION of the CONTENTS of the foregoing TWELVE PLANTATION RETURNS, at the

DATE OF REGISTRY.	A F R I C A N S.																			
	18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.		Under 6.		6 to 12.		12 to 18.	
	Male.	Female.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
28 June - - 1817	32	22	131	118	198	172	175	192	123	98	94	101	141	167	304	328	293	282	251	239
28 June - - 1820	8	3	80	77	165	123	163	189	129	120	139	126	122	154	327	354	258	275	266	244
28 June - - 1823	-	-	29	21	114	106	183	154	146	166	98	82	151	186	335	330	251	277	264	258
28 June - - 1826	-	-	8	3	74	69	148	109	132	168	92	97	153	183	343	320	267	295	232	259
28 June - - 1829	-	-	-	-	28	20	102	90	136	127	100	133	117	168	327	331	264	273	233	250

RECAPITULATION of the INCREASE and DECREASE upon the foregoing TWELVE PLANTATIONS, between the respective

PERIODS OF INCREASE AND DECREASE.	BIRTHS.			Number of the Infants, born of						Mothers not traced.	Purchases, or other Causes of Increase.						
	Male.	Female.	Total.	A F R I C A N S.			C R E O L E S.				A F R I C A N S.			C R E O L E S.			Total Number.
				M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	
Between 28 June 1817 and 28 June 1820	204	217	421	51	60	111	151	156	307	3	-	1	1	3	2	5	6
Ditto - - 1820 - - 1823	207	183	390	42	35	77	160	145	305	8	-	-	-	-	5	5	5
Ditto - - 1823 - - 1826	208	209	417	26	21	47	178	185	363	7	-	1	1	4	5	9	10
Ditto - - 1826 - - 1829	173	177	350	17	13	30	155	161	316	4	-	-	-	2	-	2	2
TOTAL in Twelve Years - -	792	786	1,578	136	129	265	644	647	1,291	22	-	2	2	9	12	21	23

ANALYTICAL RECAPITULATION of the Account of DEATHS between the ORIGINAL and TRIENNIAL REGISTRATIONS respectively, with the

PERIODS OF MORTALITY.	A F R I C A N S.																			
	18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.		Under 6.		6 to 12.		12 to 18.	
	Male.	Female.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Between 28 June 1817 and 28 June 1820	1	-	8	7	8	8	13	12	9	11	15	10	36	35	45	47	17	13	11	11
Ditto - - 1820 - - 1823	-	-	4	3	9	8	10	8	12	9	21	10	28	36	65	61	16	10	8	10
Ditto - - 1823 - - 1826	-	-	1	-	4	8	19	10	20	16	14	10	54	42	58	61	14	14	10	9
Ditto - - 1826 - - 1829	-	-	-	-	6	4	19	13	21	10	22	15	52	46	56	40	12	9	8	14
TOTAL in Twelve Years - -	1	-	13	10	27	28	61	43	62	46	72	45	170	159	224	209	59	46	37	44

BY the Analysis of the original Return for 1817, it will be seen that the Total Number of Slaves upon the Twelve Estates, at the commencement of the Registry, was 5,089, of which number 1,764, or rather more than one-third were Africans, and the remaining 3,325 Creoles. Of the former Class, 894 were Males, and 870 Females; and of the latter, 1,609 were Males, and 1,716 Females.

It will be seen that the periodical division of Age commences with the Africans at 18, below which there were very few, if any, at the establishment of the Registry. With the Creoles, it necessarily begins with Birth. The Sexennial form adopted, will exhibit with sufficient accuracy the number of Females of each Country between those Ages, which, for the advantage of comparison, may be termed the limits of Pubescence, as well as determine with greater precision than could be arrived at by the usual Ten Years' division, those periods of life at which the greatest mortality occurs amongst the Slaves.

Following this view, it will be seen that at the date of the original Registry, the number of African Females between the ages of 18 and 42, was 504; of Creoles, 648; and it may be also observed, that the number of Males of corresponding ages at the same date, was in the African Class, 536, and in the Creole, 571.

In like manner it will be found, that the Analytical Recapitulation of the General Returns exhibits the relative and proportionate numbers of the Slaves in their Sex, Age and Country, at every successive period of the Registration.

By the Table of Increase and Decrease, it appears that during the first Three Years of the Registry, the Total Number of Births upon the Twelve Estates was 421; of these, 111 were traced to be the children of African Mothers, and 307 of Creole Mothers; the remaining 3, the Country of whose Mothers could not be traced with accuracy, have been omitted in the calculations. The Total Number of Deaths during the same Three Years, it will be seen, amounted to 417; of this number 173 were Africans, and 244 Creoles. The number added to the Twelve Estates by causes independent of Birth, amounted, as appears during the same period, to 6, and the numbers deducted by causes independent of Death, as follows: by Manumission, 14; Transportation and Desertion, 5; Sale or otherwise, 13. In this manner all the additions and deductions may be traced through the Recapitulation of Increase and Decrease, at every successive period of the Registry, and it will be seen that their Total Numbers during the Twelve Years, were, by Birth, 1,578, of which 265 were of African, and 1,291 of Creole Mothers, leaving 22, the Country of whose Mothers has not been determined. By Purchase or otherwise, 23. By Death, the Total Number during the Twelve Years appears to have been 1,855; 737 of which were Africans, and 1,118 Creoles: by Manumission, 39; by Transportation and Desertion, 28; and by Sale, or other causes, 29.

In

TO THE LATEST TRIENNIAL AMENDED REGISTRATION.

Dates of the ORIGINAL and FOUR TRIENNIAL REGISTRATIONS respectively; distinguished and classed as before.

CREOLES.														AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			TOTAL OF SLAVES.		
18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.
158	190	168	195	143	164	102	99	68	76	50	47	72	96	894	870	1,764	1,609	1,716	3,325	2,503	2,586	5,089
202	200	147	188	161	168	92	114	78	86	67	70	80	94	806	792	1,598	1,678	1,793	3,471	2,484	2,586	5,070
227	210	140	176	153	182	126	146	83	82	55	68	98	112	721	715	1,436	1,732	1,841	3,573	2,453	2,556	5,007
246	221	184	180	129	175	139	150	80	103	64	77	101	117	607	629	1,236	1,785	1,897	3,682	2,392	2,526	4,918
236	236	208	184	118	162	133	168	111	128	69	77	91	121	483	538	1,021	1,790	1,930	3,720	2,273	2,468	4,739

Periods of the ORIGINAL and TRIENNIAL REGISTRATIONS, and the TOTAL NUMBERS during the Twelve Years.

DEATHS.						MANUMISSIONS.						Transportations, Desertions.						Sales, or other Causes of Decrease.									
AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total	AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total	AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total	AFRICANS.			CREOLES.			Total
M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	Number.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	Number.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	Number.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	Number.
90	83	173	121	193	244	417	1	-	1	5	8	13	14	2	-	2	3	-	3	5	1	-	1	6	6	12	13
81	77	158	146	136	282	440	1	-	1	1	2	3	4	1	-	1	1	-	1	2	1	1	2	3	4	7	9
111	87	198	152	154	306	504	-	-	-	-	4	4	4	3	-	3	3	1	4	7	-	1	1	2	-	2	3
120	88	208	156	130	286	494	-	-	-	5	12	17	17	2	4	6	6	2	8	14	1	-	1	1	2	3	4
402	335	737	575	543	1,118	1,855	2	-	2	11	26	37	39	8	4	12	13	3	16	28	4	1	5	13	11	24	29

TOTAL NUMBER during the Twelve Years, distinguished and classed as before.

CREOLES.													
18 to 24.		24 to 30.		30 to 36.		36 to 42.		42 to 48.		48 to 54.		54 & above.	
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
6	6	4	4	7	12	8	4	4	3	3	5	13	14
13	7	11	9	10	7	4	9	6	3	5	3	12	13
8	13	7	6	7	10	5	8	6	2	7	5	26	30
14	9	15	11	8	7	7	8	5	4	8	6	20	25
41	35	37	30	32	36	24	29	21	12	23	19	71	82

RECAPITULATION of the SUMMARIES of INCREASE and DECREASE, with the Numbers remaining at the several Dates of the Registration, and the Total Difference in Twelve Years.

INCREASE.			DECREASE.			Difference.	NUMBER of SLAVES remaining.
Births.	Otherwise.	TOTAL.	Deaths.	Otherwise.	TOTAL.		
421	6	427	417	32	449	22	5,067
390	5	395	440	15	455	60	5,007
417	10	427	504	14	518	91	4,916
350	2	352	494	35	529	177	4,739
1,578	23	1,601	1,855	96	1,951	350	5,089

In the Analytical Recapitulation of the Deaths, it will be seen, that of 173 Africans who died during the first Three Years of the Registry, 71, or nearly two-fifths had attained or passed the age of 54; and of 244 Creoles who died during the same period, 92 were under the age of 6, and 27 beyond 54; amounting together to nearly one-half the Creole mortality, between the first and second Registry. In a similar way the Account will be found to exhibit the Number of Slaves who died between the respective divisions of Age, during the intervals between the several Registrations, as also the Total Number between each division, during the Twelve Years; and it will be seen, by the latter Account, that the number of Africans who died at the extreme age in the Table, amounted to 329, or more than one-half of the mortality amongst that Class. Of the Creoles who died, it appears that 433 were under the age of 6, and 153 had passed 54; comprising together also more than one-half the Total Number.

In the Recapitulation of the Summaries, it appears that the Total Decrease between 1817 and 1820, was 22 Slaves; between 1820 and 1823, 60; between 1823 and 1826, 91; and between 1826 and 1829, 177; making a Total Decrease in the Twelve Years, of 350 Slaves. Deducting from this number the difference between the Increase and Decrease, otherwise amounting to 73, it will be found that the actual diminution from Death alone, during the Twelve Years, was 277, being

a fair average proportion of the general Decrease from the same cause, upon the whole Population.

The result obtained by the foregoing Inquiry appears to be, that the mean Annual Production of the Africans by Birth, was, 1 in 69; the loss by Death, 1 in 25. The mean Annual Production by Birth of the Creoles, was 1 in 32; the loss by death 1 in 40; showing on the former Class, a decrease of 30 per cent. and on the latter Class an increase of about 7 1/2 per cent. during the Twelve Years.

In these calculations, no allowance has been made for the Infants born of Africans, and dying during the period of the Registration, amounting to about one-third of the whole, and included in the account of Creole Deaths.

The Analysis will be found to present, in all its parts, a fair epitome of the Slave Population of Jamaica; the Numbers at the first Registry having been 346,150, and at the last, 322,421; the diminution from all causes therefore during the Twelve Years, was 23,729, or very nearly the same proportion of the first number, as 344, the actual decrease by Death, Manumission, Transportation and Desertion, bears to 5,089, the Total Number of Slaves upon the above Twelve Estates, at the commencement of the Registry.

Appendix (B.)

**EXTRACTS from the REPORTS of the SOCIETY for the CONVERSION and  
RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION of the NEGRO POPULATION.**

(Referred to in the Evidence of the Rev. J. T. Barrett, D. D.)

EXTRACT, No. 1. See Questions 8306 & 8356.

LIST of the TWENTY-EIGHT CATECHISTS in the Diocese of *Jamaica*, who are wholly or partly remunerated by the BISHOP from the FUNDS of the SOCIETY.

George Davidson	- - - - -	Westmoreland.
James Bonnor	- - - - -	St. George's.
R. B. Parchment	- - - - -	St. Elizabeth's.
Tho <sup>s</sup> Jones, Schoolmaster	- - - - -	Kingston.
C. J. Dunkerly, Branch National and Assistant Schoolmaster	- - - - - } - - - - - }	Kingston.
W. Ayton, Catechist	- - - - -	Lime Savannah, Clarendon.
John H. Hale, Catechist	- - - - -	St. Mary's.
W. Clarke, Catechist	- - - - -	Hanover.
W <sup>m</sup> Broadley, Catechist	- - - - -	Clarendon.
Rose Reid, Schoolmaster	- - - - -	Spanish Town and Caynanas.
Henry G. Lawson, Catechist	- - - - -	St. James's.
John Allen, Schoolmaster	- - - - -	Pedro Plains, St. Elizabeth's.
J. Arch. Ball, Schoolmaster	- - - - -	St. George's.
J. Bodon, Catechist	- - - - -	Clarendon.
W <sup>m</sup> Eaton, Catechist	- - - - -	St. Elizabeth's.
W. S. Rice, Schoolmaster	- - - - -	Port Royal.
Daniel Roberts, Schoolmaster	- - - - -	St. Thomas-in-the-East.
Eugene Keslar, Catechist	- - - - -	St. Thomas-in-the-East.
Philip Hall, Catechist	- - - - -	St. Andrew's.
James Shepperd, Catechist	- - - - -	Westmoreland.
W <sup>m</sup> Barcome, Assistant Master of Turk's Island.		
Five Sub-Catechists	- - - - -	St. Catherine's.
James Stones, Sub-Catechist	- - - - -	Westmoreland.
Peter Tabois, Sub-Catechist	- - - - -	Clarendon.

CATECHISTS and SCHOOLMASTERS in *Antigua*.

(*Appendix, page* ) *Report of Antigua Branch Association.*

"The Society pays through the Lord Bishop of the Diocese the following Stipends:—The Master, Assistant and Mistress in the regular daily Schools; two Country-school Teachers in the Parish of St. John and St. Mary; five Sunday-school Teachers in St. John's, one in St. George's, one in St. Peter's, and a Catechist in Barbuda; besides assistance given to the Clergy in remunerating subordinate Teachers."

EXTRACT, No. 2.—See Question 8309.

"Mr. Cottle's Chapel, *Nevis*, was opened for the first time on Wednesday, the 5th of May."—*Report for 1824, page 20.*

"Mr. Huggins had not completed his Chapel, but it was in a forward state."—*Report for 1825, p. 21.*

"The Chapel of Lord Harewood's Estate, *St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, Jamaica*, was consecrated by the Bishop in 1827."—*Report, 1827, p. 18.*

"Steps

"Steps have been taken by Mr. M'Caw towards erecting a Chapel on Guy's Hill, *St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, Jamaica*."—*Report, 1827, p. 20.*

"The one now erecting," parish of *Manchester, Jamaica*.—*Report, 1827, p. 33.*

"A third Chapel is now building in Golden Grove, the estate of A. Arcedeckne, Esq., parish of *St. Thomas-in-the-East, Jamaica*."—*Report, 1827, p. 40.* "Has been built."—1828, p. 6.

"Mr. Griffiths visits the Maroons, and they have begun to build a Chapel," *Portland, Jamaica*.—*Report, 1827, p. 44.*

"It is in contemplation, however, to build three Chapels in this parish, *St. George, Jamaica*, namely, at Annotta Bay, Hope Bay, and in the district of Buff Bay River."—*Report, 1827, p. 45.*

"A Chapel is building by Mr. Daley, of Black River," *St. Elizabeth, Jamaica*.—*Report, 1827, p. 51.*

"Mr. Herding, the attorney for Buttall's Plantation, *St. George, Barbados*, intended to commence the building of a Chapel."—*Report, 1827, p. 78.*

"Parish of *St. Philip, Antigua*; a new Church is proposed."—1827, p. 101. The consecration of this Church is noticed in the *Report for 1830, p. 37.*

"The site of a Church has been fixed upon," *Demerara*.—1827, p. 153.

"It is intended that a Church shall be built at Mahaica, and a Chapel of Ease at Mahacony, *St. Mary, Barbados*."—*Report, 1827, p. 156.*

*St. Lucia*. "A spot of ground has been fixed upon as eligible for building a small Church."—1828, p. 20.

"St. Michael's Chapel, recently erected, belonging to Port Royal and St. David's," *Jamaica*.—*Report, 1828, p. 5.*

"The Maroons at Accompong Town, *St. Elizabeth's, Jamaica*, had nearly completed a Chapel."—1828, p. 6.

"The Church in St. Philip's parish, *Antigua*, is going on rapidly; a Chapel is building in Pope's Head Division; and there is a prospect of another being erected at Bendall's Bridge."—1828, p. 13.

"The new Church of St. John's, Essequibo, was nearly completed when the last accounts came away."—1828, p. 21.

"In compliance with the suggestions of the Bishop, (*Jamaica*) the Vestries of St. Andrew, St. George, Trelawney, St. John's, and St. James, St. Elizabeth, and Hanover, have either already erected or advertised for tenders for the erection of Chapels at Mount James, Hope, and Annotto Bays, Duncan's, Luidas Vale, Montego Bay, Locovia, Green Island."—1829, p. 2.

"In the parish of Kingston, *Jamaica*, the Chapel erected by private subscription and a grant from His Majesty's Government is nearly ready for consecration." "In the parish of St. Ann, a Chapel has been built at Aboukir, on the borders of Clarendon, under the Will of John Howlett, Esq."—1829, p. 3.

"A place of worship has been licensed by the Bishop, on Passive Estate."—1829, p. 4. Parish of *St. Andrew, Jamaica*.

"A Chapel has been consecrated by the Bishop, during this year, in the Mountain District, *Jamaica*, built by the Vestry."—1829, p. 5.

"A Chapel is now building at Luidas Vale," *St. John's, Jamaica*.—1829, p. 16.

"The Vestry of this parish (*Trelawney, Jamaica*) have passed a resolution, and have taken steps for the erection of a Chapel for the Curate at Duncan's."—1829, p. 16.

"Application has been made to the Bishop to license a temporary place of worship at *Rio Buono, Jamaica*, the old one having become dangerous."—1829, p. 16.

"The Vestry of this parish (*St. Elizabeth, Jamaica*), in pursuance of their resolution in December last, have advertised for tenders for a Chapel to be erected at Locovia. Temporary places of worship are at present licensed by the Bishop at Locovia, Grosmonde, and Windsor. In the Santa Cruz Mountains a place of worship is much required, and the Bishop is not without hopes that the Vestry will comply with his earnest request on this point. In the mean time, temporary places of worship have been licensed."—1829, p. 17.

"The Vestry of this parish (*St. James, Jamaica*) have appointed a committee to carry into effect their resolution to erect one or more Chapels for the slave population."—1829, p. 17.

"The Vestry (*St. James, Jamaica*) have passed a resolution that a Chapel shall be immediately built for the Island Curate."—1829, p. 19.

"The Vestry (*Hanover, Jamaica*) have since contracted for a Chapel to be built at Green Island."—1829, p. 20. "They have also appointed a committee to treat with the Vestry of St. James relative to the building of another Chapel at Great River, as soon as their funds will admit of it, at the joint expense of both parishes."—1829, p. 20.

"An additional Chapel has been recently consecrated in this parish (*St. Michael, Barbados*), on the plantation Friendship."—1829, p. 25.

"On Tuesday, the 15th of December 1829, St. Mark's Chapel, in the parish of *St. John, Barbados*, was consecrated by the Bishop of the diocese."—1829, p. 29.

"A Chapel of Ease has lately been erected in this parish" (*St. Philip, Barbados*).—1829, p. 29.

"In this parish (*Christchurch, Barbados*) it is contemplated to erect one or more places of public worship."—1829, p. 30.

*St. Lucia*. "A liberal subscription and voluntary taxation have been entered into for the erection of a Protestant church in Castries."—*Report, 1829, p. 35.*

*Bequin.* "The walls of a new Church were finished in September 1829."—*Report, 1829, p. 35.*

*Grenada.* "The Legislature have under consideration the application of the Government grant of 5,000*l.*, and have appointed a committee to select proper sites for the churches, &c."—*Report, 1829, p. 35.*

*Demerara.* "The Church of St. John's is finished, and was opened in September."—*Report, 1829, p. 36.*

"In the parish of St. Matthew, a portion of a building formerly used for preparing coffee, has been fitted up for divine service."—*Report, 1829, p. 37.*

"The foundation-stone of St. James's Chapel (*Antigua*) was laid on September 11th, 1829, and that of St. Luke's on the 26th of the same month." "The solemn and interesting ceremony of consecration was performed by the Lord Bishop of the diocese at St. James's, on the 28th, and St. Luke's on the 30th of December last."—*Report, 1830, Appendix, p. 33.*

*N. B.* There are other places of worship which have been erected by voluntary and parochial subscription, of which there is no mention in the Reports of the Society.

EXTRACT, No. 3.—*See Question 8319.*

"THE Bishop has transmitted the following Reports of Societies established in aid of the Education and for the Relief of the Poor in his Diocese:—

"Second Annual Report of the Society for aiding the Education of Poor Children."

"First Annual Report of the Association for aiding the Education of Poor Children of Colour in the Parish of Christ Church, Barbados."

"Third Annual Report of the Society for the Education of the Coloured Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, and for other charitable Relief."

"Third Annual Report of the Ladies' Branch Association for the Education of Female Children of the Coloured Poor on the Principles of the Established Church, St. Michael's."

"Eleventh Annual Report of the Barbados Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church."

"Quarterly Report of the Boys' Bay School, Bridgetown."

"First Annual Report of the English Harbour Society for aiding the Education of Poor Children, Antigua."

"Second Annual Report of the Free School, Tobago."

"Report of the Governors of the Charitable Institution for the Support and Education of Destitute White Children, St. Christopher's."

"General Report of the Charity Schools in the Town of Basseterre, St. Christopher's."

"Evening Schools, St. John's, Antigua."

EXTRACT, No. 4.—*See Questions 8326 & 8362.*

IN the Bishop of Jamaica's Letter, he says,

"The plan of domestic education by means of book-keepers on the several Estates is gaining ground here. While, on the one hand, I do not lay much stress on this method, yet, on the other, I cannot deny that much benefit has resulted from it, both to the teachers and the slaves."

Upon which the Report of the Society contains the following remarks (*page 8*):—

"The Bishops of Jamaica and Barbados concur in repeating that a system of domestic religious education is now in progress, the principle of which is to provide every estate with its teacher or catechist, whose office it will be to give systematic instruction to the people, under the direction of the clergy of the Established Church. In Jamaica the book-keepers on many estates are now employed in instructing the slaves. Whether these are in all respects persons fit to be intrusted with such an office, is certainly doubtful, and much apprehension is felt by the Lord Bishop of Jamaica on this head; although his Lordship acknowledges, that the system, as far as he has hitherto had opportunity of watching its effects, has been productive of good. Still it must be evident that much is gained, when the necessity, or the advantage, or the duty of imparting to slaves Christian instruction is thus practically admitted. The book-keepers, as a class of men in society, cannot but be benefited by the obligation which this new duty will lay upon them, of learning themselves that which they have to teach others; and even if instruction in worldly knowledge, rather than in religious truth, be in some cases the object which a Proprietor has in view, an active and zealous clergy will not fail to avail themselves of the opportunities which increased civilization affords for the effectual propagation of true religion."

EXTRACT, No. 5.—See Questions 8336 &amp; 8342.

## EXTRACTS FROM REPORTS.

“YOUR Committee must again advert to the continued aid and co-operation of the Right Hon. Sir George H. Rose, and likewise acknowledge with thankfulness the encouragement to proceed in their labours, which they have received from the Venerable Archdeacon Pope, in his having kindly permitted his name to be enrolled amongst the list of Vice-Presidents, with an expression of his deep interest in the welfare of your Institution, as well as for his able and successful advocacy of the Society's cause, in preaching the Anniversary Sermon. Also, from the Proprietors of Belvedere, Peterfield, Pembroke and Stoakes Halls, have they received ample encouragement. Nor is the undeviating kindness of your excellent President to be forgotten; your Society would record his unwearied attention to its interests, with sentiments of real respect and gratitude. They have also to fulfil a pleasing duty in stating, that the attention of former friends continues unabated.”

(Report for 1828 of the St. Thomas-in-the-East Branch Association, Jamaica, page 29, Appendix.)

“Let it, however, be distinctly understood, that your Committee would by no means consider *oral instruction as a substitute for learning to read*; they regard it only as an admirable channel for conveying instruction, in the absence of this more salutary blessing.”—Page 30.

“It affords, indeed, ample encouragement for this feeling, and one for which your Committee desire to be deeply thankful, that they are permitted to record from Proprietors such assurances of good-will and friendly co-operation as are to be found in the following Extracts:

“One gentleman writes,—‘I approve of the principle upon which the Society you mention has been established in St. Thomas-in-the-East, for affording religious instruction to the negroes, through the medium of the Established Church, patronised as it is by the Bishop, and my friend, Mr. Cuthbert, the President.

“‘My good wishes attend the laudable views of this Society, and you may subscribe a couple of doubloons in my name.’

“Another Proprietor writes,—‘I am glad to find that an Association connected with the principles of the Church of England, has been formed in St. Thomas-in-the-East. To the diffusion of those principles I wish every success. I consider religion the best foundation, and, in these particular times, the surest basis on which the improvement of the negro character, and their consequent improvement of condition, can be framed. I am desirous that my negroes should be a good moral population, with industrious habits and dispositions. I have desired my attorney to put my name down as an annual subscriber, with a donation of ten pounds.’

“From a third, the following has been received,—‘I feel myself singularly obliged by your important and to me highly interesting communication. Most anxious are we here to do every thing to the utmost of our power in christianizing and promoting the religious instruction of the negroes, which we have much at heart; and I would be much gratified if you would favour me with any further communication on the subject, and inform me particularly in what manner and to what extent you would wish me to contribute, and how others have done regarding similar properties.’

“Another Proprietor writes,—‘I am very happy to find that you have established a Branch Association in connexion with the Incorporated Society for the Religious Instruction and Education of the Black Population of the Parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East. I lose no time in assuring you of my ready support; and, as far as they are available, of my humble services for the promotion of the wise and benevolent objects for which you are associated, and I shall most willingly record my name in the Register of your Society as an annual subscriber. It was, indeed, gratifying to me to hear that the work of religious instruction was making progress, as I am fully satisfied that religion is the surest pledge of the happiness of the negroes, and of the safety, peace and comfort of the Colonies. Insubordination, rebellion and bloodshed are as opposed to the principles of the Gospel of Peace, as light is to darkness and as order is to confusion.’

“‘I have written by this post,’ observes another Proprietor, in a Letter recently received, ‘requesting my attorney to aid the expense of the plan, by paying into your hands £.10. currency, annually; to recommend the overseers and book-keepers to treat the clergyman or catechist that may be appointed to attend the Estate personally, with becoming attention and kindness, and afford him all the aid in their power to enforce a serious attention, that a proper impression may be made on the minds of the people.’

“Your Committee would now refer to only one more Extract, from others that might be adduced, where two joint Proprietors write as follows:—‘Every feeling of duty urges us imperatively to promote the cause of the propagation of the Gospel amongst the Slaves, by all safe and approved means. Through the Gospel, we are convinced lies the sure and safe road to the most effectual amelioration of their condition, and to the promotion of their best interests; and, also, moreover of those of the master, which will be found in their increased sobriety, industry and probity, consequent to which will be their increase of substance, in their rational fidelity to their superiors, in their marriages, their chastity, and in an increasing population. But were not our best interests, as well as those of the negro, vitally connected with this question, we avow as Christian men, that we should feel ourselves bound to use every lawful endeavour to bring to the knowledge of salvation, through our Redeemer, all those over whom our influence extends, and for whose present and everlasting weal we

are deeply responsible. The most just and natural mode of our contributing to the objects of the Association in St. Thomas-in-the-East appears to us to be, that we should take upon ourselves the whole expense of giving religious instruction on our estates; and the best mode of giving that instruction appears to us to be, the formation of a school for its negro population. It is but just and right that we should ourselves bear the charge occasioned by the instruction of our population, and not allow it to be borne by others.

“ From these truly gratifying communications, breathing sentiments of the noblest and purest benevolence, and worthy the breast of every individual in our community, your Committee would take courage and go forward in their work. On the goodness of their cause, as on a firm basis, they rest, and feel assured that ample means will be provided them to enable them to carry on their important undertaking. And here they desire respectfully, yet earnestly, to call upon those individuals who have as yet not favoured them with their assistance, to come forward now to help this work of the Lord, to aid your Committee to follow up the labours already commenced, and to provide additional means that they may disseminate the salutary blessings of Bible knowledge on every estate throughout the whole of this extensive Parish.”

(*Report for 1828 of the St. Thomas-in-the-East Branch Association, Jamaica, page 38, Appendix.*)

“ The Rev. J. I. Jones, Rector of St. Philip’s, Antigua, writes thus:—‘ It is a subject of great thankfulness to me to be able to state, that the system of giving daily domestic instruction to the children by teachers appointed and paid by the master, has been commenced within the last quarter on four estates. From two of these the little ones are brought to church or chapel every Sunday. Whenever I have had time I have catechised them, and their progress, as far as it has yet gone, is very satisfactory. One estate, not under the care of the Catechist, has been visited by me twice or thrice a week, except when I have been prevented by some unavoidable interruption, for the purpose of instructing the young during the time of the Proprietor, who has kindly promised to reward a subordinate teacher, whenever one shall be appointed. A similar promise has been made by another Proprietor to a principal slave on his estate, who has, for some time past, been very creditably and successfully engaged in teaching the younger negroes. On one of the four estates above alluded to, on which the teachers are remunerated by the Master, I have twice, during the last month, lectured the negroes of all ages, in time allowed by the Proprietor for that purpose, and have been invited by him to repeat my visit weekly. Indeed, the countenance and encouragement afforded me by this gentleman have been most gratifying.’ ”

(*Report for 1828 of the Antigua Branch Association, Appendix, page 53.*)

“ Many of them, both old and young, have been taught by Mr. Croot to read the Scriptures.”

(*Report for 1828, Barbuda, Appendix, page 54.*)

“ If instructed in his early years in the principles of his faith and duty, and taught to read the Scriptures, the most industrious labourer will, under the Divine Grace, be able afterwards, at his leisure hours, and on the Lord’s day of rest, to keep up and advance his religious knowledge, so as to live like a Christian, and benefit by the assistance of his Minister; all which it is unreasonable and unscriptural to expect from those who are suffered to grow up in heathen ignorance.”

(*Report for 1828, Appendix, page 55.*)

“ To the adult negroes on the estates, little, I fear, can be done in the week, as they are not allowed to attend the Catechist but in their own time, namely, between twelve and two. They can, however, manage to attend divine service on Sundays, occasionally at least, as they are to a great degree fed by their masters. The children are always allowed to attend the Catechist, and on many estates an adult negro, able to read, is appointed to instruct the children. To two or three of these I have given cards and the broken Catechism.

“ As far then as I am enabled yet to judge, the Catechist’s duty is here chiefly to superintend and stimulate the instruction of the younger negroes, which is in some, and, I should hope, will, by and by, on all the estates, be daily kept up by a steady slave on each estate, who can read, such an one being generally to be met with; and when they are able to read, and Prayer-books have been placed in their hands, it is to be confidently hoped that the rising generation will observe the Lord’s day more religiously.”

(*Report for 1828, Appendix, page 59.*)

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EXTRACT, No. 6.—See Question 8342.

REPORT for 1829, p. 14.

“ Every facility is afforded to the Rector and Curate for visiting the estates under this system of instruction. It was introduced in April, and is now generally prevalent. At first, a portion of two days in each week was allotted for instruction, but subsequently the teachers have devoted their evenings also to the same object, and the rapid progress made by the slaves on some of the estates is highly creditable to the teachers. There are upwards of 1,200 adults and children under regular attendance.”

(*Rev. Mr. Barton’s Report, Parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, Jamaica.*)

“ Every facility is given to the Island Curate for visiting estates.”

(1829, page 17. *St. James.*)

“ One mode of instruction, however, would obviate many of the difficulties, namely, daily schools upon the estates. Many of the Proprietors are disposed to furnish their negroes with such opportunities of instruction.”—*Report for 1829, page 36. Tobago.*

Parish of *St. Thomas-in-the-East.*

“ On almost all the estates in this Parish the Clergy are readily received, and Mr. Panton continues to derive much encouragement in his labours from the attention of the Slaves, and their increasing attendance at public worship.”—*Page 8.*

Parish of *St. Catherine.*

“ Mr. Dallas, the Island Curate, offered his services, by a Circular, to the Proprietors of the Parish, but with no successful result, except from one individual.”—*Page 11.*

EXTRACT, No. 7.—*See Question 8346.*

ANTIGUA.

(*From Report for 1831. Appendix 19, 20, Antigua Branch Association.*)

	Free.	Slaves.
St. John's Boys' school - - - -	114	41
— Girls' school - - - -	68	45
English Harbour Boys' school - - - -	44	22
— Girls' school - - - -	35	15
Near St. James's Chapel, St. John's school - - - -	-	30
Old Road, St. Mary's school - - - -	-	25
At Rectory, St. Philip's school - - - -	-	47
Rev. N. Gilbert's Noon school - - - -	-	26
— Night school - - - -	-	31
— Sunday school - - - -	-	57
— From other estates - - - -	-	72
— Other Slaves - - - -	-	184
3 Sunday schools in St. John's:—		
1 held in the Society's school-rooms - - - -	-	200
1 St. Luke's Chapel of Ease school-rooms - - - -	-	80
1 St. James's Chapel school-rooms - - - -	-	50
St. George's Sunday school - - - -	-	100
St. Mary's Church Sunday school - - - -	-	54
St. Peter's Church Sunday school - - - -	-	54
St. Philip's Church Sunday school - - - -	-	45
	<u>261</u>	<u>1,178</u>

EXTRACT, No. 8.—*See Question 8346.*

ST. CHRISTOPHER.

(*Report for 1831. Appendix 31.*)

SUMMARY of the NUMBER of CHILDREN of all Classes under Instruction in the Schools superintended by the Clergy.

White children - - - -	-	76
Free coloured and black children - - - -	-	365
Slaves in the daily Town schools - - - -	145	-
Slaves in the daily Estates' schools - - - -	882	-
Slaves in the Sunday schools, being the } excess above the number who attend } the Estates' schools - - - - }	120	-
	<u>1,147</u>	<u>441</u>
TOTAL -	<u>1,588</u>	



## APPENDIX TO REPORT FROM

EXTRACT, No. 9.—See Question 8347.

## DIOCESE OF JAMAICA.

*(Extracts from Report for 1831.)*DEANERY of *Surrey*—(No Return.)DEANERY of *Cornwall*—(No Return.)DEANERY of *Middlesex*.Parish of *St. Catherine*.

Rose Reid, schoolmaster and catechist, at Spanish Town, and five sub-catechists.  
Three estates visited; two of them daily, and the third three times a week.

Total number of Slaves upon these estates	-	-	-	458
Total number instructed	-	-	-	69, all children.

Parish of *St. Dorothy*.

Three estates visited. Total number of Slaves thereon 253, of whom 72 are under instruction; viz. 69 children, and three adults.

Parish of *St. John*.

Six estates visited. Total population of them 1,486. Under instruction 220; viz. 218 children, and two adults.

Parish of *St. Thomas-in-the-Vale*.

Under instruction 1,287 negroes; viz. 186 adults, and 1,101 children.

Parish of *St. Mary*.

Three estates under instruction, but no Returns have been received.

Parish of *St. Ann*.

Four estates visited, upon which there are 538 negroes; 126 of whom are under instruction.

There are also 12 other estates under instruction, from which there are no Returns.

Parish of *Clarendon*.

William Ayton, catechist at Lime Savannah; William Broadley, catechist; Peter Tabois, catechist; who have 1,391 negroes under instruction; viz. 98 adults, and 1,293 children.

Parish of *Vere*.

There are 748 negroes under instruction; viz. 17 adults and 731 children.

Parish of *Manchester*.

Five estates under instruction, of which the population is 673; 514 of whom are under instruction; viz. 323 adults, and 191 children.

The disturbed state of the colony has not allowed the Bishop to send a more full Return of this Deanery, nor any account of the Deaneries of Surrey and Cornwall.

EXTRACT, No. 10.—See Question 8352.

EXTRACTS FROM REPORT OF INCORPORATED SOCIETY for 1829—Page 5.

Parish of *Kingston*.—Page 4.

“Marriages amongst slaves are on the increase.”

Parish of *St. Andrew, Jamaica*.

“Every facility and encouragement appear to be given to the intermarriages of slaves belonging to the same property. At Clifton Mount, out of 250 slaves, not six adults remain unmarried.”

Parish of *Port Royal*.—Page 7.

“A reference to the Parish Registers is satisfactory as to the marriages among slaves. In 1826, 10; in 1827, 26; in 1828, 61; in 1829, 64.”

Parish

Parish of *Vere*.—Page 12.

“ Marriage is become more frequent among this class (slaves), fourteen having been solemnized within the last six months.”

Parish of *St. Ann*.—Page 15.

“ Marriages are increasing among the slave population of this Parish.”

Parish of *Trelawney*.—Page 17.

“ Baptisms and marriages of slaves have increased very much during the present year.”

Parish of *Westmoreland*.—Page 20.

“ Marriage is observed to be more frequent among slaves, not among the coloured population.”

Parish of *St. David's*.—Appendix, Page 49.

“ The number of marriages solemnized during the last year was only 36. For the last six months 23, being within 13 of the preceding year.”

Parish of *St. John, Antigua*.—Appendix, Page 64.

“ By the following statement of marriages and baptisms in the parish of St. John it will be seen, that of the former, as respects the slaves, there has been a most gratifying increase during the last year far beyond any former return.

“ Marriages :—Free, coloured and black, 3; - - Slaves, 10. - - Total, 13.  
 “ Baptisms — 74; - - — 162. - - — 236.  
 “ Of whom five were adults ”

EXTRACTS from REPORT of the INCORPORATED SOCIETY for 1830.—Appendix, p. 33.

Parish of *St. James*.

“ It is most gratifying to notice, that marriages among the slaves have been more frequent during the last year than for any preceding period. There were 13 couples married in the parish church last year, being three more than were solemnized during the year 1829; and it is with much satisfaction it can be asserted, that the comfort and the benefit of living in such a state have been felt and manifested, especially in the attention which the parties appear to pay each other during time of sickness, and the greater care which, in some instances, seems to have been taken in keeping their houses neat and cleanly. Eight marriages of free coloured and black persons have been solemnized during the last year.”

Island of *Barbuda*.—Appendix, page 40.

“ An account too was taken of the number of those who were living as married persons faithfully with each other, and there were found to be 56 couples. One couple only had the opportunity of being duly married by a minister of the Church of England; the rest were united, some by the Wesleyan missionaries a long time before, some since by Mr. Adams. Of the seventeen children baptized at this visit, seven were the offspring of persons so united, and were consequently christened before the other infants.”

EXTRACT from REPORT of ANTIGUA BRANCH ASSOCIATION for 1831.

“ On the subject of *marriage* the Committee are of opinion, that the sentiments of the lower classes have undergone, latterly, a decided improvement. Regular marriages in church have certainly become more frequent. The following is a statement of them in 1831 :—

	Free : Coloured and Black.	Slaves.
St. John's	5	7
St. George's	2	3
St. Mary's	-	-
St. Peter's	1	-
St. Paul's	1	-
St. Philip's	-	5

“ There occurs, however, in many cases, a great obstacle to improvement in this branch of Christian morals, which, though doubtless not originally contemplated, has by lapse of time been brought about. The obstacle alluded to is, that the law as it stands at present, by forbidding the marriage of slaves with free people, tends to occasion the formation of illicit connexions, and throws a very unpleasant difficulty in the way of the minister of religion, especially when the parties concerned have been living together for some time, and are desirous of having their connexion regularly sanctioned by a legal solemnization.

## EXTRACT, No. 11.—See Question 8358.

## EXTRACT from REPORT of ANTIGUA BRANCH ASSOCIATION for 1831.

“ Of the *general observance of the Sunday*, the Committee have the happiness of being able to speak now with far greater satisfaction than has ever been their lot before.

“ The abolition of the Sunday market, attended as it was, at first, by circumstances which excited deep regret, has, under the overruling care of God, been productive of the best results. The number of negroes, well dressed and appearing in town with their several articles for sale, on the Saturdays, bespeak the wise and benevolent concessions of their masters; and the quiet appearance of the streets on Sunday, and the fuller and more regular attendance of the slaves at church, beyond that of any former period, abundantly prove that the abolition of Sunday market, though unaccompanied by any substitution of time for marketing by law, is, however, through the judicious indulgence of the masters, working well. The Committee have good reasons to believe, though they cannot take upon them positively to state, that just and proper regulations to furnish the slaves with other time for marketing instead of Sunday, have been generally, if not universally, made. But whether this be so or not, it may be confidently asserted, that the town of St. John, on the Sunday, presents an aspect of order, sobriety and abstinence from secular business, which cannot but be truly gratifying to the Christian beholder.”

## EXTRACT, No. 12.—See Question 8373.

DEANERY of *Surrey*.Parish of *Kingston*.

“ At Kingston Sunday schools, 450 scholars are taught to *read* in the five schools there established.”—*Report for 1829, page 4.*

Parish of *St. Andrew's*.

“ On Sunday afternoons, some of the children are taught to *read*, and others instructed in the Catechism orally. At Clifton Mount, in the Mountain District, the slaves are instructed by the overseer, under the superintendence of the curate; and subordinate teachers, selected from among themselves, are found very useful in imparting knowledge to the negroes. A strong prejudice still exists against the admission of persons of colour on estates and plantations.”—*Page 4.*

Parish of *St. George*.

“ A Sunday school has been established at Buff Bay, for the gratuitous instruction in *letters* and religious education of free and slave. The national system is partially adopted; nineteen coloured and six white teachers lend their gratuitous assistance to the officiating minister at the Sunday school, which is rapidly increasing.”—*Page 5.*

Parish of *Portland*.

“ Two new Schools have been established during the present year, one at Port Antonio, open two hours every day for the gratuitous instruction in *reading* of free and slaves; the other each Monday for the gratuitous instruction in *reading* of the slave children on Retreat Plantation.”—*Page 6.*

Parish of *Portland*.

“ In the School at Moore Town there are 105 young persons and children entered upon the school books. The children are *learning to read* (Report, page 6), but are not sufficiently advanced in reading to be enabled to answer the Responses (in the Psalms) with propriety.”—*Appendix, page 47.*

## SUMMARY.

Districts visited by the Society's Catechists.—Morant Bay District, Morant Bay and Blue Mountain District, Bath District, Plantain Garden River District, Manchioneal District.

Grand Total:—Adults catechized, 164; Children catechized, 1,116; Children *learning to read*, 40; Total, 1,320.

Parish of *St. Thomas-in-the-East*.

“ A School is about to be established for free coloured children. The children are taught by a book-keeper at Blue Mountain Estate, and at Amity Hall.”—*Page 9.*

DEANERY of *Middlesex*.Parish of *St. Catherine*.

“ At Ellis's Caymanas and Ellis's Crawle, Schools are now formed, to be conducted by slaves who have been at the School of Industry for the last ten months. There are 25 children at the former, 15 at the latter; at *each a book-keeper* presides, with an additional salary.”—*Page 10.*

Parish of *Vere*.

“ The children, and other slaves, who attend at the Sunday school are taught to *read*. These are remarkable for their proficiency in *reading*.”—*Page 12.*

DEANERY of *Cornwall*.Parish of *Hanover*.

“ In this Day-school, Mr. Clarke also instructs, gratuitously, 20 children of indigent parents, of whom some are slaves; and most of them, the latter not excluded, in *reading, writing and arithmetic*.”—Page 20.

Parish of *St. Elizabeth*.—(Report for 1830, page 15.)

“ The School in the district of Pedro Plains, under Mr. J. Allen, continues to be well attended. At present there are 11 girls and 38 boys, who are instructed in *reading, writing, arithmetic and English grammar*.

“ There is a Sunday-school at Grosmonde, under Mr. W. Eaton, consisting of 24 adults *reading* the New Testament, 70 *reading* the Spelling-book, 68 children *reading* words of two syllables, and 120 learning the Alphabet. They are also instructed in Psalmody and the Catechism.

“ Mr. R. Parchment attends at the church, gaol, workhouse, and upon the Bellevue and Southfield properties, and instructs those who present themselves in the Catechism.”

EXTRACT, No. 13.—See Question 8377.

## LIST OF GOVERNORS.

## PRESIDENT.

Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London.

## VICE-PRESIDENTS.

The Right Hon. Lord Bexley.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Durham.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Winchester.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Llandaff, Dean of St. Paul's.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Jamaica.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Barbados and the Leeward Islands.

The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of London.

The Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster.

## GOVERNORS.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Chichester, Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's.

The Right Hon. Lord Kenyon.

The Right Hon. Lord Seaford.

The Right Hon. Lord Auckland, President of the Board of Trade.

The Right Hon. Viscount Melbourne, Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Sir Henry William Martin, Bart.

Sir John Perring, Bart. } Senior Aldermen of the City of London.

Sir R. Carr Glyn, Bart. }

Stephen Lushington, D.C.L. Chancellor of the Diocese of London.

The Very Rev. the Dean of Carlisle, D.D., Rector of St. George's, Hanover Square.

The Very Rev. the Dean of Ripon, B.D.

The Venerable V. Bayley, D.D. Archdeacon of Stow } Resident Prebendaries of

The Rev. W. Tournay, D.D. } Westminster.

The Rev. H. H. Edwards, M.A.

The Venerable J. H. Pott, M.A. Archdeacon of London.

The Venerable G. O. Cambridge, M.A. Archdeacon of Middlesex.

The Rev. Thomas Hughes, D.D. } Canons Residentiary of St. Paul's.

The Rev. F. W. Blomberg, D.D. }

The Rev. S. Smith, M.A.

The Venerable J. J. Watson, D.D., Archdeacon of St. Alban's.

The Venerable H. C. Jones, Archdeacon of Essex.

The Rev. R. Macleod, D.D., Rector of St. Anne, Westminster.

The Rev. G. H. Bowers, M.A., Rector of St. Paul, Covent Garden.

The Rev. G. Richards, D.D., Vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields.

The Rev. G. D'Oyly, D.D., Rector of Lambeth, Surrey.

The Rev. J. Lonsdale, B.D., Rector of St. George, Bloomsbury.

The Rev. J. G. Ward, M.A., Rector of St. James, Piccadilly.

The Rev. J. E. Tyler, B.D., Rector of St. Giles-in-the-Fields.

The Rev. G. Beresford, M.A., Rector of St. Andrew, Holborn.

The Rev. T. R. Wrench, M.A., Rector of St. Michael, Cornhill.

The Rev. A. M. Campbell, M.A., Paddington.

The Rev. W. H. Hale, Charter-House.

William Burge, Esq. M.P.

William Manning, Esq.

C. N. Pallmer, Esq.

George Hibbert, Esq.

Joshua Watson, Esq.

Major Moody.

James Colquhoun, Esq.

J. P. Mayers, Esq. Chalk Farm.

The Heir-at-Law of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

## Appendix (C).

## FREE AND SLAVE LABOUR.

EXTRACT from the Examination of *Annasamy*, (a native of Madras, settled in Mauritius), by the Commissioners who visited the Eastern Colonies to inquire into the Means of improving the Colonial Establishments.

*Mauritius, 16th August 1827.*

WHAT was the condition of the slaves on the estate of Bon-Espoir when you purchased it in 1822?—Many of them were in bad health.

Did they appear to have been hard worked?—It appeared to me that they had; but I do not know the fact, as I had not been on the estate before I purchased it.

It appears, that between 1822 and 1825, there were fifty deaths on the estate, or one-sixth of the whole number; will you explain the cause of this mortality?—I have stated that many of them were in bad health.

Did you manage the estate yourself within those periods?—I did; but there were overseers (European and Creole.)

Have you been accustomed to regulate the quantity of work on your estate?—I have.

What number of hours a day do the slaves work?—From half-past four or five o'clock in the morning till half-past seven, and from eight till twelve o'clock, and from half-past one till seven o'clock, Sundays excepted.

Do the women perform the same work that the men do?—Except the children and the pregnant women, they perform the same field-work. The women are not employed in the sugar house.

Are women taken off work during the whole period of their pregnancy?—From the third month to the period of their delivery.

How soon do they go to work after the child is born?—They perform light work after three months, making mats and such things, and after nine months they return to the proche (hoeing.)

Do many of the slave children die?—I have more than eighty negresses on the estate, and of those, not more than ten bear children; and I reckon about four children born in a year, and about two that may live to five years old.

Then there has been a constant decrease on the numbers, from the excess of deaths over births?—There has.

Have you encouraged the women to form permanent connexions?—Some of the women live constantly with one slave; but in general they change. I have not interfered, but have endeavoured as much as possible to keep them united to the men with whom they live.

Were you engaged in agriculture in India?—I was at one time engaged in agriculture at Sumala-Cotta, and was employed under my uncle in collecting the land revenue.

You are acquainted with the condition of the labouring class in India?—I am.

Do you consider that the condition of the labourers in India is better or worse than that of the labouring slaves in this country?—It is worse here.

In what respect is it worse?—Because in India the labourers are paid for their labour, even those that are attached to the land; I speak of those parts that I have known. They also plough in India, and here they work with the hand.

Do the women labour in India as they do here?—In cleansing and transplanting, but not in ploughing.

Has it ever occurred to you to cultivate your estate by free labourers from India?—I thought of it at one time; but I altered my intention.

Did it appear to you that there was any difficulty in introducing free labourers from India?—My objection to bringing them was, that I should have been obliged to reside on the estate to manage them, and as it would have been difficult to keep them in order, from the necessity of making a distinction between them and the slaves.

Do you conceive that it would answer to employ them upon a property where there were no slaves?—If they were treated well, it would.

Will

Will you explain what you consider to be the treatment which would be calculated to reconcile them to the employment?—They would need such treatment and indulgences as they are accustomed to in their own country, and I do not think they could expect to meet with them in this colony.

Have you managed your estate in the last year?—I have visited it occasionally; Mr. William Telfair manages it.

Do you produce a great deal of sugar on the estate?—We do.

Do you think such estates are profitable, taking into consideration the loss of property in slaves by mortality?—It is only since last year that it has become profitable.

Have you broken up much new land?—There has been about 50 acres of new land cultivated since I acquired the estate.

Is the land manured?—It is.

Generally, do you consider that the condition of slaves is better on sugar estates, or on those in which other produce is cultivated?—If the slaves are equally well treated, I think it makes no difference whether they cultivate sugar or other produce. I allude to the cultivation of provisions; I know nothing of spice cultivation.

Are you acquainted with the cultivation of sugars in India?—I have seen it cultivated, but the mode of preparing the sugar is very inferior.

Do you consider that, by improved methods, as good sugar might be grown in India as is grown at Mauritius?—I think by the introduction of machinery and of iron boilers, and also by cultivating the sugar canes in a better way, that better sugar might be made in India.

Have you an intention of returning to India?—I have; and it is my intention to cultivate sugar in India in the same manner that is practised here.

Would you employ slaves in the cultivation in India?—No; only free labourers.

What part of India, that you are acquainted with, do you conceive best adapted to the production of sugar?—Bengal is best suited, but I think of first trying the cultivation upon the Coromandel Coast, near my native country.

What capital would you consider necessary to enable you to form an establishment for the cultivation and preparation of sugar in India, upon the scale of that which you possess in this colony?—If I select good land and well watered, farming it either from Government or individuals, I conceive that 50,000 rupees, or £.5,000, would enable me to form a complete establishment on the same scale; and the profits would be very considerable, if the rents were settled not too high.

Do you consider that the profits of your capital would be much greater than those you derive from your present estate?—They would certainly be much greater, as there would be profit and no loss, either from interest of capital invested in land or slaves, or by death of slaves.

What do you reckon would be the difference in the cost of maintaining your slaves, and of maintaining hired labourers in India?—If I buy a slave for 400 dollars, and as interest here is 12 per cent. per annum, the interest on 400 dollars is four dollars a month, and reckoning the food and clothing at 1 ½ dollar a month, the expense on each slave is 5 ½ dollars; and I could hire a labourer in India at 2 dollars, or 4 rupees, including his food.

Do you consider that an Indian labourer will do as much work as a Mozambique slave?—The Indians have more skill and intelligence, and will do more work in their own country than the slaves do here.

What is the value at which you estimate your property at Bon-Espoir?—I value it at 40,000 *l.* or 200,000 dollars, being 20,000 *l.* for the slaves, and 20,000 *l.* for the land and stock.

Do you think there is good security for mortgages upon sugar estates in this colony?—If my estate were unincumbered, I could raise 50,000 dollars on mortgage of the land alone, and 80,000 dollars on it by also mortgaging the slaves.

Is it not customary to mortgage the slaves with the land?—It is sometimes done, but not generally.

Why do you consider that you could raise 50,000 dollars on mortgage on your land alone?—Because it is in full cultivation and in the best quarter of the island, and would readily sell at this time without the slaves for 100,000 dollars, including the machinery, &c.

(signed) *Annasamy.*

A true copy of the examination taken down by us.

(signed) *W. M. S. Colebrook,* } Commissioners of Inquiry.  
*W. Blair,* }

Steam Engine	£. 2,000
Cattle Mill complete	500
Iron Boilers, &c.	500
Buildings	1,000
Expenses until the crop	1,000
	<hr/>
	£. 5,000

## Appendix (D.)

REMARKS on the Means of improving the System by which Labour is exacted in the  
SLAVE COLONIES, by Captain *Elliot*, R. N., Protector of Slaves for *British Guiana*  
(18th January 1832.)

IN the general Remarks appended to the Report which I have to-day had the honour to deliver to his Excellency the Governor, I felt it necessary to abstain from entering into any explanation of the causes to which I attribute the deplorable increase in the Punishment Returns for the half year ending on June 30th, 1831.

\* Herewith trans-  
mitted.

Adverting to the Observations \* I submitted to his Excellency the Governor some time since, upon the defects of the system for portioning the labour by task, as it is generally practised in this Colony, I take the liberty to remark, that I am almost daily furnished with additional reason for confirming the conviction I expressed on that occasion.

The largely increasing Punishment Returns clearly prove that the actual system of coercion, extensively as it is used, is perfectly inadequate to insure the completion of the quantum of labour, which it is loudly declared the slaves could easily finish, if they were disposed to make the effort; and a further consideration of the punishments recorded for non-completion of work during the last eighteen months, must lead to the inference, that at least a fifth of the work allotted has fallen short under the inefficacy of the present mode of securing its performance.

Either this position must be admitted, or the painful conclusion will present itself, that the punishments have been inflicted to a great extent for the non-completion of work, which circumstances of unfavourable weather and other causes of difficulty rendered impossible of performance.

But I do not believe this to be the case; on the contrary, I am persuaded that the whole allotted work might have been performed, if the slaves had been disposed to labour with any degree of cheerful industry, and in this view of the case, it seems that the time is fully come, (considered with relation to the interest of the proprietor himself,) for applying a wise and sufficing principle to *encourage* the performance of labour.

It is not my purpose to contend that the slaves will work *regularly* for wages, and I am perfectly aware that regularity of work is absolutely necessary in the cultivation of the ordinary produce of these countries; but if they know that the power to coerce them be left, surely it is rational to conclude that they would rather choose to work industriously, with a hope to acquire profit and gain time, than they would perversely determine to work ill and late, to the exclusion of all chance of advantage, and under a strong apprehension of receiving punishment.

A great love of money, a passionate admiration of dress and finery, and a remarkable proneness to imitate all the habits of expense of the whites, are the well known characteristics of the negro race; and certainly such qualities present the most favourable means for powerfully seconding the efficacy of a safe and judiciously directed course of encouragement, involving the immediate and great modification and eventually the complete disuse of a system at once degrading, irritating and inefficacious.

To revert once more to the ground of reasoning furnished by the Punishment Returns. If the owner could insure the completion of the whole quantum of labour allotted to every slave in each week, by distributing amongst the labourers who had performed it, at the very least one-eighth part of the fair value of that full amount, it is clear, on his own showing, that he would gain greatly by adopting such a mode of securing the thorough performance of the whole meted work.

Considering the subject in this light, let it be supposed that each person who produced, at the end of every week, a certificate from the manager or overseer, that he had been employed the whole of the week, and had each day completed the task allotted to him, should be entitled to his proportion of the value of the produce of that week's labour. In the early institution of such a system, it is obvious that the payments should be very prompt, and, above all, it should be carefully insisted upon, that no approach to the payment of wages by truck should be admissible; the amount should vary according to the strength and skill of the labourers, dividing them for that purpose into two or three gangs, according to the extent of the population and its state.

To those who are employed in the more responsible situations, and in those parts of the process which require adroitness and attention, proportionally larger wages should be paid.

Such a mode of regulating the scale of distribution, would induce a disposition to deserve reputation for fidelity and care, and would beget an industrious inclination to acquire a knowledge of the more skilful branches of the business.

Those who could produce certificates that they had performed *more* than their allotted tasks, should receive payment, according to a just estimate of the value of the *surplus* labour they had performed.

The results of this arrangement would prove, what I have the best local authority for knowing to be the case, that many of the people from whom (on account of feebleness, &c. &c.) only *half* tasks are exacted under the present system, will be found to perform more work,

work, incited by the impulse of personal profit, than is now required from the most efficient people in the gang.

A sure consequence would immediately present itself in a diminution of the hospital list, not only because it would stimulate those who resort to the sick-house, merely from indisposition to labour, but because it would generally create a motive of an inspiring nature, which could not fail to promote the health and strength of the whole slave population.

Another beneficial consequence of such an approximation to the cultivation and manufacture of colonial produce, by the payment of wages, would assuredly manifest itself in the growth of a highly increased degree of dexterity on the part of the slave for facilitating the performance of his own labour: and, on the other hand, it would tend to induce a more assiduous attention to the relief of that labour by advancing skill in agriculture, and the application of mechanism; means for a long series of years too much neglected. It is extremely pleasing, however, to observe the considerable extent to which the more painful parts of the work have been alleviated in the course of the last few years; and if all classes of persons, the employer as well as the labourer, brought to the furtherance of this very desirable object, a powerfully supported motive for its success, it is certain, that the quantum of manual labour actually requisite in these processes would speedily be greatly reduced.

To render such a system efficacious, it would be necessary to frame it upon a liberal scale, and, above all, it would be indispensably necessary that the strictest faith be kept with the slave. There must be no increase of the work allotted to him to perform as matter of necessity on his part, because by industrious practice it comes to be easier of performance. In short the motive to encourage him to active exertion must be within his reach, or it is not reasonable to expect that he will make any effort to attain the proposed advantage.

If the slaves resorted to their daily labour, impelled by the hope of acquiring profit, I am satisfied, that, one day in the week taken with another, they would perform in the course of six days at least a *third* more work than can be procured from them under actual circumstances: and, as soon too as they began to touch the means of extending their comforts, and enjoying the conveniences of life, by the honest efforts of their own industry, great and advantageous changes would be effected in the whole structure of society. Small retail dealers would find it worth their while to establish themselves in the vicinity of the large estates, and the proprietors would gladly encourage them to do so; because it would have the effect of keeping their slaves at home, and enable them to direct and control their habits of expense, besides, in other respects, greatly improving the value of their properties. Villages would gradually grow up in the populous neighbourhoods for the location of tradesmen and rural artisans; district markets would be established; industrious competition would take place in all species of profitable occupation; the price of labour would diminish with the price of provisions, and the whole machinery of civilization would fall into vigorous action.

The present mode of endeavouring to insure the performance of labour is every day becoming more distinctly inadequate, and, upon the whole, when the utterly inefficacious nature of the system be considered, when it is remembered that, under such circumstances, the rapidly advancing intelligence of the negro must principally develop itself in an increasing dexterity, by all manner of means, to evade and defeat it; I cannot refrain from declaring it to be no source of astonishment to me, that the Punishment Returns for the half year ending June 30, 1831, are so large, as it has been my painful duty to record them to be. That they will continue to increase, may be taken as certain, and I am convinced I speak the sentiments of the most reflecting gentlemen in this country in saying, that this state of things cannot continue to subsist. The slave has advanced beyond such a system of government, and the attempt to overtake and arrest him in his career by an increasing degree of severity, would be fatal indeed; but, docile and forbearing, it would be a work of little difficulty beneficially to direct his energies and uses by the immediate and judicious substitution of better means.

I am not unacquainted with the state of St. Domingo; and certainly nothing can be less apposite to the present question than an argument resting upon the actual condition of the people of that island, and the attempt by analogous reasoning to deduce the certainty of consequences of a like description, if an effort should be made to secure the cultivation of these slave countries by the adoption of a system of wages generally but carefully instituted.

By the provisions of the "Code Rural," the labourer, it will be said, is constrained to work, and yet, if he chose to do so, he would acquire a profitable return; how comes it then, it may be asked, that St. Domingo is reduced almost to the condition of a wilderness? Without discussing the merits or defects of that body of legislation, it is sufficient for my present purpose to say, that it is to all intents and purposes a dead letter. The labourer is not constrained to work; there never has been the faintest attempt to give effect to the law, and there never could have been; for the actual government which promulgated it, has always remained, from a variety of political causes, utterly without the power to enforce it.

In that country there was no *gradual* transition from slavery to freedom, and the people had no opportunity of acquiring habits of industry by the dependence of the increase of their comforts and conveniences on the progressive growth of their diligent industry.

Under the iron rule of Toussaint, Dessalines and Christophe, they were indeed forced to labour by coercive means of the most cruel and fatal description; but where was the encouraging principle to induce them to do so? They had changed the colour of their masters, but not the nature of the system, except indeed that the last was incomparably more harshly exercised than the former. The wretched labourer saw the whole fruits of his



his hardly wrung exertions fall into the hands of those despots and their minions: and in the natural course of human events the intensity of the evil led to its violent removal, overwhelming and sweeping with it, in one common devastation, all those principles of peace, order and early civilization, upon the cherishing and wise direction of which depended the hope of establishing a better state of things on a firm foundation.

Was it possible to suppose that a people suddenly and violently redeemed from the intolerable pressure of arduous labour, completely unproductive to themselves and exacted by the most rigorous severity; a population nearly in a state of barbarity, possessing hardly any wants beyond the mere necessities of life, and those almost spontaneously supplied by the nature of the climate, was it reasonable to suppose that they should have passed at once from such a state into habits of regular industry?—And what analogy can there be between their present situation and the condition of a slave population over whom the power to coerce labour would exist by law to the most efficient extent? The best guarantee for the peaceful and wholesome continuance of that power, so long as it is needful, (and that it is still needful cannot be denied,) is to be looked for in the watchful activity of the government to restrict and prevent any abuse of it; and more especially in the wise and benevolent efforts of the Proprietary to modify and obviate the necessity of its application by the presentation of better and more powerful incentives to industry.

In Hayti the practical experiment has been between the choice of industry without a sense of its value or necessity, and the enjoyment of that indolence and complete relief from continuous labour naturally so attractive to a suddenly emancipated people. In these countries the means of giving to the experiment a direction more certain of success remain to be used. Here the case for practical trial would be, not the *choice*, but the absolute *necessity* of exertion, and the manifest advantages presented to all parties by its cheerful pursuit. If the Mother Country and the Government were satisfied that these advantages were fairly within the grasp of the slaves, it is not reasonable to suppose that there could be any disinclination to leave in the hands of their masters, moderate but sufficient means to give permanency to industrious habits.

It is certain that the first rudiments of civilization, habits of cleanliness, the inducement of the early necessities which beget industry, the subjection of the natural depravity and ignorance of mankind in a state of barbarity, must be taught under the agency of coercive measures; but when these objects are accomplished, or accomplished to a certain extent; when the people have learned to know the power of their combined force, and are accustomed to use it, it is absolute infatuation to suppose that a mere system of unalloyed coercion can continue to control them.

I have passed several years of my life in the West Indies, and have served on the Coast of Africa; and I have had occasion therefore to observe the negro before he was policed, as well as the extent to which he has been so, and certainly the difference between the full-grown man at the period of his deportation from the Coast of Guinea, and the slave of a like age born in the West Indies, affords a convincing and astonishing proof of the capacity of this people for improvement.

I am anxious, however, not to be misunderstood in this respect, for I believe it is no uncommon though deplorable error to suppose, that he has advanced beyond his real condition. He certainly has gone beyond the reach of a bare system of coercion, but it would be a fallacy to pretend that he has improved beyond all necessity of a mitigated degree, exercised in the presence of encouraging motives. In fact, the slave may be thought to stand just in that critical position, when it seems to be alike easy to guide him into a state of civilization, or plunge him back into the ignorance and barbarity of his African condition.

It is a great mistake to suppose that the respectable and reflecting portion of society in this country do not clearly perceive that the slave population is much improved; but perhaps the very greatest misfortune of slavery is its inaptitude to adapt itself to those changes, which it is in its very nature to insist upon. The system stands still while it forces the slave into a state of intelligence demanding a form of government of much more extended resource for his safe direction. To yield anything, it is said, is to abandon all; but this is an extremely unsatisfactory ground for resisting the legal sanction, and rejecting the direction of improvement which it is impossible to prevent; and, in short, to modify nothing in the shape of slavery, would be to manifest the semblance of complete power, risking, in reality, all the tremendous consequences of perfect weakness.

It is a source of bitter complaint in this country, that the constant expectation of legislation from England is calculated to produce the most unfortunate effects on the minds of the slaves; and it is represented, that the consequences of such a state of vague impatience on the one hand, and of alarm and consequent disinclination on the other, are calculated seriously to retard the progress of amelioration.

If all had been done and were still doing, which might have been effected by the proprietors themselves, with real advantage to their own interests, to meet the feelings of the country, so unequivocally expressed in Mr. Canning's Resolutions of 1823, unanimously adopted by both Houses of Parliament, there would have been as little necessity as there can have been little inclination to legislate upon this subject at all.

I am convinced, however, that no thinking man of experience in the West Indies could deny, upon calm and deliberate reflection, that if there had been no legislation at all on the subject of amelioration, the difficulties of this question, so far as they regard the state of the people, would be much greater than they are at present. The increased intelligence of the slave would have daily demanded an increasing degree of vigour to coerce him to work;

work; but consider the actual condition of this population, and then let it be fairly answered, whether such a state of things could have continued to exist without, long ere this, having produced some fatal and irreparable convulsion.

The necessity of ameliorating legislation of a progressive tendency, has, unfortunately, been forced upon the Government by the disinclination to legislate effectively with such a view on this side of the Atlantic. It is superfluous to say that there is very little disposition in this country frankly to accept these laws; and the painful consequence is, that the slave has not derived all the advantage from them which it has been the object of His Majesty's Government to extend to him. Men read them carefully indeed, rather to cavil at, and with a view to evade, than to conform to them. However zealous His Majesty's officers may be in all branches of the public service charged with their administration, it must be obvious, that in this unfavourable state of feeling upon the part of the Proprietary, and with a slave population dispersed over a vast tract of country, the means of insuring and insisting upon the observance of a body of law (necessarily very detailed in its nature), are small and slow of operation.

Such legislation, however excellent it may be, cannot provide for every exigency in the relative transactions of master and slave; and it is difficult to doubt that the least omission, or dubious construction, until the point can be submitted to legal interpretation, will be made to press against the slave. Nay, in too many cases (the truth ought not to be concealed) the very letter of the law will be executed in such a temper of irritation as will render it rather a source of inconvenience than of relief. Here then is the slave population clearly convinced of the benevolent intentions of His Majesty's Government and the British Public in their behalf, and perfectly sensible, on the other hand, that these intentions are frustrated to no inconsiderable extent by the feeling with which the laws are received and acted upon in this country. The probable consequence of this unfortunate state of things is seriously to be dreaded.

With the greatest submission and respect, I will venture to remark, that, it seems, the only practicable mode of allaying all those evils, and preventing convulsion, is by the early adoption of measures *in their own nature* progressive, and obviatory of the necessity of frequent legislative modification. I would humbly beg also to observe, that it appears that the great objects of tranquillity and real benefit to the slave might be powerfully seconded by the appointment of Commissioners, entrusted with certain powers for the purpose of concluding upon the spot some definite arrangement, based upon the immediate and general acceptance of a system of monied payment of wages, carefully adapted in its constitution to the condition and necessities of the population.

Completely to ensure to the slave adequate time and means to sustain and assist himself by his own efforts, and to adopt a system in the nature of Poor Laws, would be the great principles for legislative arrangement.

Indeed, upon this last point it may be well to observe, that nothing is more called for in the West Indies, than some efficient mode for affording due support from public sources, to the helpless and worn-out slaves of indigent persons.

The value of the supplies to the working slaves might very advantageously to their improvement be made good to them in a monied shape, though no doubt, in the early stages of such a practice, it would be proper to leave in the hands of their masters a power to appropriate certain portions of the wages of the improvident to the furnishing of such articles as it is requisite they should possess.

Under such an improved state of things as I have ventured to suggest, the slaves would readily acknowledge they were possessed of property, and would take advantage of the Savings Banks to vest it in the public securities of the Colony; and it is under these circumstances that great practical benefit would be derived from the Compulsory Manumission process. Indeed, although it would be unreasonable to expect that all evils would be cured, and all difficulties removed, yet it does seem that great advantages are attainable by a prudent but efficient pursuit of such a system as I have taken the liberty to advert to: and if any means can be devised or any practicable facilities afforded for the encouragement of its general adoption, no time should be lost in the attempt to establish it on a fair and extended basis.

It is impossible to observe the actual condition and habits of the negro race in the West Indies, even in the most casual manner, and to consider the state of public feeling in England on the subject of slavery, without being powerfully struck by the reflection, not only that the necessity for a great change is ripe, but with how little cheerful co-operation immensely beneficial modifications, involving progressive and rapid advancement, might at once be safely produced.

In conclusion, I cannot help expressing my conviction, that by the concession of a reasonable share of the profits of their own exertions to these people, they would in no long lapse of time have tranquilly and legally possessed themselves of a deep interest in the maintenance of peace and order, and in the increase of the wealth and importance of the Colonies.

(signed) Charles Elliot,  
Protector of Slaves.

Demerary,  
Office of Protector of Slaves,  
January 18th, 1832.

## Appendix (E.)

ANSWERS returned by Captain *Elliot*, R.N. Protector of Slaves for *British Guiana*, to QUESTIONS, addressed to him by direction of Viscount *Goderich*, relating to the Treatment of the Slaves in *British Guiana* (1831).

1st Question:—AT what hour in the morning is the daily task usually commenced?—

IN the first portion of the 5th Section of the Ordinance of the Governor and the Court of Policy, 29th April 1830, it is provided, under a penalty of 20*l.*, That the hours for field work of slaves shall be from six in the morning till six in the evening, and not longer; and that two hours shall be allowed them during that period for rest and meals.

The first signal of preparation on a sugar estate is made at about 4 A.M., ordinarily by the ringing of a bell; perhaps, to say that the first signal is made at 4 hrs. 30 min. A.M. would be to afford as accurate an average as it may be practicable to furnish of the general custom in the Colony.

The people then rise, and the period of their departure for the field depends principally upon the neighbourhood or remoteness of the projected work from the buildings. There is so little variety on this point, that it admits of much more precise answer as to the general state of the fact, than I fear it will be in my power to afford on most of the other questions to be considered.

The slaves employed in field labour may be said to have commenced the daily task at some time between the hours of 6 and 7 A.M.

I am satisfied that the portion of the law I have cited, so far as it relates to the period of the commencement of field labour, is observed; indeed, natural causes tend to ensure its observation; the low parallel of latitude in which the Colony is situated, gives but little difference of time throughout the year in the period of the sun's rising, so that the day is always sufficiently young at 6 A.M. (considering the rapid transition in this part of the globe from the darkness of night to day-light) to make it very difficult to have collected and actually employed a gang of people on any species of work before that hour.

There is no habitual work done about the buildings by the people employed in field labour before they set out, and the interval between their rising (about 4 hrs. 30 min. A.M.) and their departure to the field is usually devoted to the preparation and eating of their breakfasts.

2d Question:—At what hour in the evening is the work usually finished?—

It would be futile to attempt to deduce any general average hour of the time in the evening when the task of all the slaves in the Colony employed in field labour is usually finished; but in order to explain the hopelessness of arriving at any safe general conclusion upon this point, it appears to be indispensably necessary that I should enter fully into an explanation of the nature of the task system, as it is commonly understood and practised in this Colony.

When the whip was no longer allowed to be kept in the field, as a stimulus to labour, it became absolutely necessary to substitute some other motive for the completion of work. Perhaps it may not be displaced to remark here, that (fortunately both for the master and the slave) the position that the whip was merely in the field (in general) in the hands of the driver as a symbol of his authority, no longer requires examination; in this point the amelioration has been complete, and the advantageous consequences to all parties convincing.

In the absence then of immediate coercive stimulus, the performance of labour by "task" was the most obvious means of presenting a sufficient inducement to industrious application; and certainly, exercised as such a system ought to be, it is difficult to doubt that it would be alike efficacious, both for the prevention of punishment and the completion of as large a quantity of work as it is reasonable can be completed; that is to say, reasonable, considered with relation to the amount and strength of the population employed, and the extent of the soil to be maintained in a state of cultivation.

It is certainly natural to conjecture, that for the successful institution of the performance of labour by task, the system should have been minutely explained to the slaves, and its advantages made obviously manifest to them. In short, it was to be supposed that the adoption of the system was the result of an agreement between the master and his slave.

"The law," under this view, would the master have said to the slave, "allows me to employ you for ten hours in the field, between six in the morning and six in the evening, and it allows you two hours of that interval for rest and meals; now, would you rather that I should insist upon your employment for the ten hours the law has permitted without fixing any stated portion of work, punishing you if I were not satisfied with the amount you had completed, or, on the other hand, would you prefer to have a certain portion of work allotted to you, which, by reasonable vigorous exertion, you may complete in much less time than ten hours?"

"In

“ In this last case, if you choose to work continuously, all the time that you do gain upon the ten hours allowed to me by law (and you need only triflingly encroach upon the other two hours to refresh yourselves from time to time) may be added to the time you have economised of your own, and thus, at the close of your work, you will have a large portion of the afternoon wholly for yourselves.”

It does not appear that the adoption of the task system has been the result of such explanation and agreement as I have adverted to. I cannot discover that the work is performed by task because the slave has been led to perceive it was most advantageous for him, that it should be so performed.

After very attentive inquiry, it does not seem to me that any option was left to him on the subject. Certain portions of work are allotted to him, and he has been broadly told, “ I know you can do that quantity of work, and if you do not, you shall be punished.” This is indeed to give a task; but it is not the allotment of work accompanied by an obvious motive to encourage its completion; it is surely not the adoption of the task system in the manner the subject was alluded to by the Memorialists (connected with these Colonies) to the King in Council in the year 1825.

The manner in which the slave will naturally regard the matter is this: Can he complete the task in such a portion of time as makes it worth his while to work vigorously? If he can complete it by about 3 p. m., it is because in that case he would gain at least an hour upon the lawful period for his employment allowed to his master; but if the task will occupy him (the strength of one person considered with regard to that of another) till four, or perhaps five in the afternoon, what does he gain by such a system of portioning the labour? Where is his encouragement to endeavour to complete the work? It would be better for him that no fixed quantity of work should be allotted, but that his master should exact the ten hours of his employment in the field, which the law has sanctioned, and that the slave should enjoy the two hours of remission between six in the morning and six in the evening.

It is true that the quantum of the different species of field labour allotted to each person on sugar estates is nominally not very dissimilar; but is it always similarly judiciously modified according to the state of the field, the weather, the health, strength and sex of the labourer? I greatly fear it is not.

In the fact that the system is perfectly and successfully practised on certain estates, is to be found the most convincing proof of its complete efficacy; and I know that in those estates the great principle of the rule is, to take especial care that the labour of each day is proportioned according to all the circumstances demanding consideration. The task allotted to each person is such a quantum as it is quite clear can be performed by that person in eight or eight hours and a half of reasonably vigorous labour, and the result of this simple and excellent principle is apparent in a diminished return of punishment, and a sustained, if not an increased, return of produce.

The task system, efficaciously practised, is the dawning of the production of sugar by the payment of wages. The master who pursues it humanely and skilfully finds it his interest, upon every account, to offer the slave the payment of an hour or two hours of the time allowed him by law for the employment of that slave, and if this last finds that the work is so proportioned that he really can gain the offered price, he will be sufficiently disposed to make the effort; but in too many cases that offered price is unattainable, and therefore, of course, the effort is not made.

I have conversed with several experienced planters, not only in this Colony, but in various other parts of the West Indies, on this subject, and I cannot say I ever heard any more insuperable objections to my own view of the probable success of the system, as I think it ought to be practised, than I shall now submit. It was objected by one gentleman, that the real disadvantage of such a practice of the “task” as I have spoken of was to be looked for in the ground there was for apprehension that it was calculated to stimulate the negroes to make exertions injurious to their health. But it seems to me that it is better the slaves should work too hard (as this gentleman has suggested) of their own accord, under the impulse of an encouraging motive, than that they should work too long, wholly unsupported by such a feeling.

I do not by any means contend that the slave is sufficiently advanced to work regularly for wages; I am painfully conscious he is not; but this case does not fall within any such necessity of advancement upon his part. The slave knows he must work, and it is not to be doubted that he would rather work well and briefly than ill and long, and get punished besides. I repeat, that I am persuaded the slave would not work regularly if he knew the power to coerce him were removed; but in the case I have supposed, the regularity of his labour (unfortunately so indispensable in the cultivation and manufacture of sugar) would be ensured by the same motive as it is at present, that is to say, by the fear of punishment.

The other objection against the real system of “task work” has at first a more practical appearance. It was objected that the reason it does not work so well as it seems calculated to do, is because the people hurry over their work in so slovenly a manner, in order to get it done quickly, that they are frequently obliged to do it three or four times over again. Let the slave clearly perceive that he has a task to do well which can be done well in about eight hours of industrious labour, and he will find it his interest to do it thoroughly at once.

Show him that if it be ill done, he is a loser of the benefit which might have accrued to him by doing it well at first, and he will not lose that benefit often.

But the task must not be increased because the slave, by dint of industrious practice, comes to perform it sooner than he did at first. It is obvious that if the strictest faith be not unflinchingly kept with the slave in this respect, he will be little disposed to work industriously.

I should be glad to believe that such a case has not occurred; but at all events, if it has, it cannot be matter of surprise that such a practice of the task system has failed of success. The slave would be little inclined to work industriously if he felt that the early completion of his labour to-day would produce the allotment of a larger task to-morrow.

Taking into consideration every species of field work necessary for the cultivation of the sugar cane, remembering that some varieties of that labour are much harder and more painful than others; weighing all these circumstances, and the exhausting nature of the climate, and the indisposition of the negro race to continuous exertion, it does seem rational that a slave, *whom it is hoped to induce to labour by an encouraging motive*, never ought to have a larger task allotted to him to perform *in the field* than can be done thoroughly in about eight hours.

I trust it will be obvious from the observations I have made, that it would be quite impossible to afford any precise single answer to the particular question under consideration. To deduce a *general average period* of the time in the evening when the task is usually finished, would be unjust to those persons who are practising the task system upon judicious principles; their minimum would be thrown into the scale to reduce the maximum of others, and a convenient means of distinguishing between a sensible and fallacious practice of the system would be lost; but perhaps the best approximation to an accurate solution of the question may be afforded by dividing the answer thus:

First Part of Answer to Second Question.

On those estates where the task system is practised as it seems to be *just* to the slave and *advantageous* to the master that it should be practised, the slaves employed in agricultural labour (one day taken with another throughout the year) have completed their task in the field at some time before 3 P. M.

Second Part of Answer to Second Question.

On many estates in this Colony, under present circumstances, the slaves employed in agricultural labour (one day with another throughout the year) *leave off* their work in the field (task is rarely ever *completed*) sometime between the hours of 4 and 6 P. M., and usually nearer 6 than 4.

I will not close these remarks without observing, that in a recent conversation with a highly sensible gentleman (a proprietor in this Colony), on the mistaken policy of allotting such large portions of work to the slaves, or at all events not attending sufficiently to the modification of it according to circumstances, he said to me, that he was so satisfied of the truth of that view, that whenever his manager complained to him that the people did not complete their work, he was persuaded, and always discovered, that more had been allotted than it was reasonable to expect the slaves would strive vigorously to complete. In fact, it appeared either that there was no motive for industry, or that it was not sufficiently encouraging.

This gentleman's Return of punishment and Return of produce are demonstrative of the truth of his opinions, and the advantage of his practice.

He concluded by assuring me, that he did not doubt the evils of the system, as it is generally pursued, would necessarily cure themselves, because people would find it their interest to allot less work, and ensure the completion of more.

Indeed, if I were asked what principle of legislation seemed to me to be calculated to remove or allay the mischief of the present general custom, I should be disposed to suggest, that the provision of the law with respect to the length of time allowed to the master for the employment of his slave should not be touched, because I cannot help sanguinely hoping that a larger view of the advantage to the owner himself, of a task system holding out a really attainable motive to encourage the completion of labour, must be gaining ground; and for the facilitation of so desirable an object, it appears to me, that it would be good to leave the present length of time for the occupation of the slave in the hands of the master, because, by allotting a task which *can be completed* within a considerable period of that *lawful* interval, the balance time might be most advantageously offered to the slave by his owner as an encouragement to labour industriously.

I am afraid, too, that to legislate further in detail upon this point, would, upon several grounds, be attended with little or no advantage to the slave. In the first place, it is to be apprehended that to reduce the length of time the master should be entitled to his labour in the field, would tend the more heavily to press him during the period *he could be employed*. It is obvious that the amount of the different kinds of labour to be performed could not be specified, and there is not much reason to suppose that the work would receive as fair a modification as it ought, in proportion to the reduced length of time in which it was to be performed.

It must be admitted, also, that there is no cordial disposition frankly to accept and execute such legislation, and the means of enforcing an enactment of this kind, which could not fail to be generally obnoxious, are small, and extremely slow of operation.

It appears that all that can be done is to lay down and *ensure the complete observation* of certain leading principles, and to leave to the amelioration of the detail of the system to adapt itself to the difference of circumstances occasioned by the alteration and softening of the great features of slavery.

I fear I have dwelt at very inconvenient length upon this subject; and my own sense of the feeble and imperfect manner in which I have treated it, is a source of regret to me, but

I could

I could not permit myself to abandon the attempt to explain it, in the light it appears to me, only because I painfully feel my own inability to express myself more succinctly and perspicuously than I have been able to do.

*3d Question:—*What is the ordinary length of the intervals of rest allowed during the day?

Is that rest generally complete, or are there any duties to be performed either for the owner, or for the more immediate advantage of the slave himself?—

Adverting to the first portion of the 5th Section of the Ordinance already cited, it will be remembered that the slave is allowed two hours for rest and meals, between six in the morning and six in the evening.

According to the present general custom of the Colony, a bell is rung at about 11 A. M. and again about 1 P. M.

Nominally this is an interval of rest; but though I cannot say, I believe the people are not always constrained to recommence their work till the 2d bell rings, yet, as the labour is performed by allotment, they commonly choose to do so.

When the place of the work is situated at any distance from the buildings, it is not unusual to have the victuals cooked in the fields, in order to save the loss of time in returning to and from the buildings.

It will be remarked, that the two hours allowed by law are not necessarily an *uninterrupted* period.

In my own view of the manner in which the task system ought to be understood and practised, the great advantage to the slave, of those two hours, should be for the just construction of a proper rule for the measurement of the quantum of work to be allotted to him. Thus, it might be reasoned, the master is entitled to ten hours of the slave's labour in the field; and if the law gives the slave two hours out of the twelve between 6 A. M. and 6 P. M., the master should so proportion the work as to proffer two more; that is to say, if the slave by industrious application choose to avail himself of that boon, then it should be left to himself to take what rest he pleased, in whatever proportions he felt necessary, for his own refreshment.

Upon the whole, I must again observe that this question does not admit of any approach to satisfactory solution by a single answer. I hope, however, the following replies may tend to afford as much information on the subject as the nature of circumstances permits.

First part of Answer to Question the Third.

The slaves on those estates where the task system is properly practised, take what rest they please in the field as it suits them, but as they surely complete their tasks (one day with another throughout the year) some time before 3 P. M., they are always certain to gain an hour *more* than the time allowed them by law for rest and meals.

The slaves upon most estates in this Colony, under present circumstances, probably enjoy about two hours of uninterrupted time for rest and meals during the period of their occupation in the field.

Second Part of Answer to Question the Third.

It is almost the universal practice in this Colony to require that each field slave should collect a bundle of grass, and deposit it in the yard of the buildings, after the day's labour be closed. This bundle weighs, on a fair average, perhaps about eight pounds, and it is probably most frequently collected during the course of the day's work in the fields.

In allotting the day's task to a slave, I think it would be fair to give him half an hour for the collection, bringing home, and depositing of his grass; proportioning the agricultural part of the task so that it could be finished in seven hours and a half; and for the collection, &c. &c. of the grass, half an hour more.

When the day's work in the field is finished, there are no duties to be performed by the owner for the more immediate advantage of the slave himself.

*4th Question:—*To what extent is labour required by night; how many nights or parts of nights is the same slave usually employed; and during what part of the year is nocturnal labour in use?—

Here it will be proper to cite the second portion of the Section of the Ordinance of the Governor and Court of Policy, already referred to, namely, the 5th.

“ And that with regard to slaves employed in and about the buildings for the *manufac- turing* and *preserving* of crops, there shall be allowed at least eight hours' rest, not less than six hours of which shall be between sunset and sunrise, and the whole eight without interruption, under a like penalty of 20*l.*”

In this Colony there are no regular seasons of crop, and perhaps, on a fair average, the sugar estates, in the ordinary state of the weather, are manufacturing produce something about ten days in every month in the year.

On a plantation with an engine of the average force, about a ten-horse power, and having a boiling-house furnished with the ordinary conveniences, perhaps about three hogsheads of sugar are manufactured in the course of the day; and it may be said that about twenty-four slaves are always engaged about the engine, in the boiling-house, carrying megass, and, in short, in the several parts of the process.

The fire is lighted at about 4 A. M., and as an average it may be computed that the produce is manufactured and the fire extinguished at about 10 P. M.

There are commonly two spells of people engaged in the manufacture of the sugar, so that each spell is employed between nine and ten hours of every twenty-four.

There is necessarily considerable variety of practice on this subject, owing to the difference of management, the substitution of machinery for manual labour, the amount of the effective population, &c. &c.; but I believe the following Answer will afford an adequate idea of the general state of circumstances.

Answer to Question  
Fourth.

Labour is required for about ten consecutive nights of every month in the year, or rather *parts of nights*, that is to say, between sunset and 10 P. M., and the slaves employed about the engine and in the boiling-house are usually employed *every other night* of those ten consecutive nights from 6 P. M. till 10 P. M.

The fire being lighted at about 4 A. M., extinguished at about 10 P. M., and the work being done by spell, the slave enjoys the proportion of time allowed him by law, viz. eight hours of uninterrupted rest, six hours of which shall be between sunset and sunrise.

The tenor of this Question renders it convenient that I should refer in this place to a practice which I am persuaded needs only to be fairly considered to be satisfactorily mended; I allude to the fact, that part of the watch duty at night is performed by people who have been employed in the field in the day-time precisely to the same extent as the rest of the gang, and who return to their labour in the morning exactly at the same hour as the rest of the slaves. I am aware of the responsibility I incur (situated as I am) in advancing assurance, that I am satisfied, after attentive inquiry, that the general custom is what I have stated it to be. I do not mean to say that there is not a head watchman (and on large estates probably more than one), who has no daily duty to perform in the field; but I do say, that there are generally four or five people of the field gang during the night employed as watchmen, and that they are allowed no extra time for preparation, either before the watch be assumed, or for rest after it be finished.

The practice is not defensible, and ought to be prohibited.

*5th Question*:—What is the average nature, amount, weight and quality of the food allowed to plantation slaves, male and female, adults and children respectively?—

See Schedule of weekly allowance of provisions, and yearly allowance of clothing annexed to 4th Section of Ordinance of Court of Policy, 29th April 1830.

It would be unjust to omit to remark, that the amount of the food allowed is, in general, less than the amount provided. Indeed I cannot help thinking that the slave has gained nothing by the enactment of this portion of the law.

The proprietors of the large estates are generally liberal in these points, and their poorer neighbours are almost constrained to conform to their practice.

There would have been little fear in leaving the liberal care of the slaves entirely to the proprietors. A grinding economy cannot be imputed as a common feeling in this country; and as I have already remarked, the custom of the rich proprietors in such matters necessarily and beneficially influenced the practice of the whole community.

I will not conclude this paper without saying a few words on the successful efforts which have been made on several estates in this Colony, for diminishing the amount, and facilitating the performance of manual labour by the application of machinery.

Cattle have been substituted for men to tow the punts in the canals, and indeed in this point I imagine the improvement has been generally adopted.

Rail roads have been laid for the easy removal of the megass from the grinding mill, an alleviation of an extremely pressing species of labour, principally performed by the women, and I believe frequently with injurious consequences. Advantageous alteration has been made in the construction of the windmills, obviating the necessity of a painful ascent to the entrance with a load of canes upon the head. The fields have been more extensively intersected by trenches to the relief of the slave, by reducing the distance of the carriage of the canes to the punts, and in several other points alleviation of labour has been effected, not only by mechanical means but by the more skilful arrangement of the whole detail of the business of planting.

These improvements have undoubtedly been attended with considerable expense; but it is an expense which I trust will repay itself manifold in more considerations of value than those merely of a pecuniary nature; and certainly the highest credit is due to the humanity and public spirit of those gentlemen who have distinguished themselves by the liberal promotion of the great object of diminishing the onus of manual labour.

(signed) Charles Elliot,  
Acting Protector of Slaves.

## I N D E X.

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## A.

**ABOLITION OF SLAVERY :**

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3. *Plans for.*
4. *Police.*
5. *Stipendiary Magistrates.*
6. *Sugar Cultivation.*
7. *Wages.*
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11. *New York.*

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*Carraccas.* Carraccas in the same situation as to slavery as Cuba, *Fleming* 2594—Freedom of slaves in Carraccas, *Fleming* 2644—Regulation of Bolivar for the emancipation of slaves, *Fleming* 2645–2647—Sugar is cultivated and exported, *Fleming* 2648—Employment of free blacks, *Fleming* 2652—Rate of wages, *Fleming* 2653—Rapid progress of the black population towards civilization, *Fleming* 2659—Slaves maintain themselves without assistance, *Fleming* 2659—Manumission was suddenly effected, and without convulsion, *Fleming* 2660, 2661—Progress of cultivation since emancipation, *Fleming* 2668–2671—Cultivation of sugar increased, *Fleming* 2667—Free blacks continued cultivation of sugar estates, *Fleming* 2678—Emancipated slaves forced to work a certain number of years for their maintenance, *Fleming* 2687, 2688—Witness has seen free persons working on sugar estates with slaves, *Fleming* 2689—Cultivation of sugar increased since emancipation, *Fleming* 2693—Employments of blacks, *Fleming* 2698–2705—Slaves widely scattered over the country, *Fleming* 2697—Translation of the Spanish Order regulating the treatment of slaves, concerning their education, food and clothing, occupations, amusements, dwellings and infirmaries, aged and disabled, *Fleming* 3247—Causes of Bolivar emancipating his slaves, *Fleming* 2809.

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*Carlton Estate.* On this estate the negroes, during the insurrection, preserved the property, *Knibb* 3327.

*Carmarthen.* Refusal of witness to stand for that borough, upon the principle of supporting Mr. Buxton's Resolutions, *Williams* 4270.

*Carolina, South.* Law in South Carolina, respecting the admission of free persons of colour, *Ogden* 4922—Great jealousy in South Carolina as to slave properties, *Meir* 5529—Difficulty of manumitting slaves in this province, *Meir* 5530.

*Cattle.* Slaves often allowed to feed cattle on estates, *Taylor* 159—Principally bred in the island; they import also, *Scott* 5198–5200.

*Cavaliers Estate,* employment of free blacks on, *Taylor* 297—Nature of the land called Cavaliers; character of the persons who live there, *Simpson* 5457—Their habits of life do not represent an establishment of emancipated persons working for wages, or affording an example of industry to negroes, *Simpson* 5460—Population of Cavaliers; free blacks lead a most dissolute life, *Wildman* 7884–7893, 7912–7916.

*Catechists* sent out from this country for instruction of negroes, meet with great obstruction, *Barry* 1241–1243—Catechetical instruction quite inefficient for the purpose of conveying religious and moral knowledge, *Thorp* 2122, 2123.

*Causes of the Insurrection in Jamaica.* See *Insurrection*, I. 2.

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2. *Baptist.*
3. *Wesleyan.*

1. *Generally.*

Excitement likely to be occasioned in the minds of slaves by the destruction of their chapels, and the ill treatment of their ministers, *Young* 6269—Conduct of negroes at the destruction of the chapels, *Baker* 7368—Evidence concerning the destruction of chapels, *Baker* 7503–7510—Indifference of negroes to the destruction of the chapels, *Dignum* 8496.

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Destruction of the Baptist chapel by white people, *Knibb* 3417–3425—Thirteen Baptist chapels were destroyed during the insurrection in Jamaica, *Knibb* 3836—Effect produced on the minds of the slaves by these circumstances, *Knibb* 3839—Destruction of Salter's Hill chapel, *Knibb* 4016.

3. *Wesleyan.*

Four Wesleyan chapels were destroyed during the insurrection, *Knibb* 3837—Liberality with which white persons subscribed towards building chapels in Jamaica; unfairness of attributing bad motives; Wesleyan chapels frequently subscribed for to a



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## 3. Wesleyan—continued,

large amount, *Simpson* 5548-5554—At the time of witness's arrival in the island, the Wesleyan chapel had been shut up for nine years, *Shipman* 6114—Places of religious worship in Jamaica, when witness first went to the island, *Shipman*, 6191—Number of the congregation in each of the churches at which witness administered, *Young* 6244.

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*Character of Slaves.* See *Slaves*, 2.

*Christian Knowledge.* Nature of the branch societies established in the West Indies by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, *Barrett* 8314-8316.

*Christianity.* Incompatibility of Christianity and slavery, *Duncan* 1755; *Hankey* 4658—Spread of Christianity among slaves is incompatible with a state of slavery, *Knibb* 3574—As it will enlighten many it will not sanctify, *Knibb* 3575—Manner in which witness touched upon doctrines connected with the freedom of Christianity when addressing slaves, *Knibb* 3550-3555—Witness always abstained from using exciting texts, *Knibb* 3582-3586—General belief that the spread of Christianity will lead to the abolition of slavery, *Knibb* 3954—Opposition of West Indians to preachers of Christianity is equal in the West Indies against all sects of Christians, *Hankey* 4671—State of Christianity among slaves fourteen years ago, *Simpson* 5863—Christian principles are opposed to slavery, *Young* 6250-6252—Unchristianized slaves not yet ready for emancipation, *Young* 6253—All Spanish slaves are Christians, the law not allowing them to retain slaves unless of that religion, *Fleming* 2707.

See also *Conversion of Negroes*.

*Christian Record.* See *Newspapers*.

*Christmas.* Nature of negro festivities at Christmas, *Cooper* 1661-1663

See also *Abolition of Slavery*, 1.

*Christophe.* State of the island of Hayti under his government, *Sutherland* 2932—Committed suicide, *Sutherland* 2939—Murder of two of his children, *Sutherland* 2964.

*Churches.* Number of churches in St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, besides Wesleyan chapels, *Barry* 1012—Church of England establishment in St. Elizabeth, *Barry* 1015—At Westmorland, *Barry* 1017—People who attend churches in Kingston principally persons of colour and free blacks, *Barry* 1291—Determination of free people of colour to defend their chapels subsequent to the late insurrection, *Duncan* 1503, 1584—Motives in Jamaica for building chapels, *Duncan* 1766-1778—Places of worship have been very much increased in Jamaica, every encouragement given to religion, *Shand* 6987—Churches more generally frequented by slaves now than formerly, *Baker* 7355.

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*Church Missionary Society*, exertions of the, *Wildman* 8162, 8176-8178.

*Church Union Society.* Constitution of that society, *Duncan* 1724-1726—Resolutions adopted at meetings of this society, *Duncan* 1726—Branches established in different parts of the island, *Duncan* 1727—Many of the members of this society are Jews, *Duncan* 1731.

*Civil and Military Establishments.* Return of the Civil and Military Establishments of Jamaica, the expenses of which are defrayed by any Revenue raised in that island; annual amount of such Expenses, and annual Ways and Means for raising such Revenue during the last Ten years; p. 549.

*Clarendon Mountains* On Clarendon Mountains a negro cannot require more than six days labour to raise what is necessary for him during the year, *Shand* 6404.

*Clarke, Mr.* His testimony to the beneficial effects of religious instruction on the minds of his slaves, and its influence on their conduct, *Barry* 808.

*Clergy* divided into parties; one educating to the utmost, the other not promoting instruction, *Taylor* 676, 684—Catechists sent out from this country to Jamaica meet with great obstruction, *Barry* 1241-1243—Clergy of the Church of England do not generally direct their attention to the instruction of slaves, Mr. Hilton an exception, *Barry* 1248-1250—There is as much opposition to clergymen of the Established Church on the part of planters as any sect, *Duncan* 1494, 1495, 1499, 1500—Conduct of planters towards the clergy, *Duncan* 1776, 1778—Discouraged in their attempts to convey instruction to negroes; slaves state their attendance on ministers has been discouraged, *Duncan* 1809—Reason why sectarian ministers are preferred by slaves to ministers of the Church of England, *Knibb* 3950; *Wildman* 8211—Reasons why clergy cannot live on estates in the houses of overseers, *Knibb* 4007—State of the Scotch church among slaves in Jamaica, *Simpson* 5888-5892—Alterations among slaves owing to the advance in education and spiritual knowledge, *Loving* 1933—Caused by indefatigable exertions

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exertions of the missionaries, *Loving* 1935—And greatly aided since the establishment of a bishopric by the Church of England, *Loving* 1936—Conduct of clergy in Jamaica during the late insurrection when serving as soldiers, *Knibb* 3721—Formerly the clergy paid little attention to the negroes, change for the better since the appointment of a Bishop, *Scott* 5307—Provision for the clergy by the parishes of Jamaica, *Shand* 7297—There is not a sufficient number of clergymen in the island, *Baker* 7485—Appointment of a Bishop has very much impeded the progress of instruction in Jamaica, *Wildman*, 8166–8170.

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*Climate.* Tendency of a hot climate to make persons indolent, *Duncan* 1361—Season most unhealthy for negroes is during the prevalence of the north winds, *Shand* 6955.

*Clothing.* Negroes generally well clothed, *Taylor* 683; *Simpson* 5558—Allowance to negroes two suits of Osnaburgh, Kilnarnock cap, and a rug coat for wet weather, *Barry* 770—Many negroes wear better clothing, purchased by sale of their provisions, *Barry* 773–775—Clothing of negroes generally good; those belonging to religious societies are better clothed than others, *Barry* 1308–1311—In general slaves are badly clothed, *Duncan* 1436—Statement concerning the distribution of clothing on witness's estate, *Scott* 5420—Value in money of clothes annually furnished to negroes, *Simpson* 5718, 5723.

See also *Stores.*

*Cocoa.* See *Provision Grounds.*

*Coffee* cannot be established except in a virgin soil, *Scott* 5221.

*Colonial Church Union Society.* See *Church Union Society.*

*Colonial Establishments.* Extract from the examination of Annamassy by the Commissioners who visited the Eastern Colonies to inquire into the means of improving the Colonial Establishments, *App.* p. 588.

*Combination.* See *Insurrection.*

*Compensation.* Compensation to planters should be a part of the general measure as adopted by the legislature, certainly should not precede it, *Hankey* 4680—Negro owes no compensation, but the nation does to proprietors, *Hankey* 4682—Plain way of emancipating slaves would be to indemnify the proprietors and then make the experiment, *Scott* 5182.

*Compulsory Manumission.* See *Manumission.*

*Conduct of Slaves.* See *Insurrection*, I. 3.

*Constabulary.* See *Police.*

*Conversion of Negroes.* Number of chaplains which the Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction of the Negro Population had in the West Indies prior to 1822, *Barrett* 8305—No society's chaplains now in Jamaica, being objected to by the Bishop, *Barrett* 8307—Number of slaves under the instruction of the Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction of the Negro Population, *Barrett* 8346.

Extracts from the Reports of the Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction of the Negro Population, *App.* p. 578.

*Cooper, Rev. Thomas, (Analysis of his Evidence.)* Occupation of witness in Jamaica, 1600—Manner in which slaves derived their subsistence, 1605—Slaves must work at all times, Sundays not excepted, to obtain their subsistence, 1606—Time allowed slaves on Mr. Hibbert's estates, 1608—Bookkeepers and drivers are obliged to look after negroes or they would neglect to work properly at their provision grounds, 1610—Their custom to sell their provisions at market on Sundays, 1613, 1614—Slaves should be allowed a day and a half each week all the year round for their own labour, 1616—Which would enable them to maintain themselves, 1617—Slaves would become better labourers and members of society in all respects if emancipated, 1621—Complaints of free blacks that in working for white persons they were often defrauded of their wages, 1622, 1623—Free-born people as well disposed to industry as persons in this country, 1624–1626—Best mode of remunerating manumized slaves is by task-work, 1627—Negroes if emancipated would be disposed to work for wages, 1628—Employment of free blacks, 1629–1632—Objection to the allotment of provisions grounds in part payment of emancipated slaves, 1633, 1634.

No apprehension of negroes retiring into the woods, 1635—Reasons for believing negroes would be industrious, 1638—Rising intelligence of the free-coloured population, 1640—In proportion to numbers more distress among whites than the free population, 1642—Police regulations which would be necessary in case of emancipation, 1648—Change of magistracy would also be called for, 1649, 1650—Nature of the negro festivities at Christmas, 1661–1663—Period of witness's residence, 1817–1821, 1664—

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General depression of spirits observable in the negro character, 1672-1674, 1678—State of education in the island at that period, 1680-1688—Dislike of owners of slaves to have them instructed in reading, 1694-1696—Willingness of slaves to work for wages, often been employed by witness, 1697—Danger apprehended by white persons from teaching slaves to read, an opinion participated in by witness, 1705—Knowledge is wholly incompatible with slavery, 1706, 1707—It was not sufficient to depend upon negroes, even for cultivating their own grounds a superintendence was necessary, 1709.

*Cooper, Mr.* Instructions given by him to the negroes on the Georgia estate, *Simpson*, 5807, 5808.

*Courts Martial* were held under the direction of Sir W. Cotton; but military officers did not sit on them, *Knibb* 8619—Witness believes sentences were passed, and executions followed without the knowledge of Sir W. Cotton, *Knibb* 3623—Names and sentences of the whole that were tried at Falmouth during martial law, *Knibb* 3640—Justice of the sentence of the courts martial, *Williams* 4177-4185—One hundred persons were executed by hanging and shooting, and one hundred flogged, *Williams* 4194—Belief of slaves that they would have justice done them at courts martial, *Williams* 4269—Were formed entirely of military officers, *Williams* 4313—Manner in which the trials of slaves were conducted, *Williams* 4322.

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*Creoles.* Superior intelligence of Creoles over imported Africans, *Fleming* 2575, 2576, 2582; *Scott* 5329—Population of the island increases where the negroes are entirely Creoles, *Scott* 5234—Creoles in America more healthy and increase faster than Africans, *Meir* 5543, 5544.

See also *Free Blacks. Natives of Colour. Registry of Slaves. Religious Negroes.*

*Crops.* In some estates crop depends principally upon rattoons which spares cane-hole digging, *Taylor* 429—General time of crop beginning, *Taylor* 464—Description of field-work going on during crop-time, *Shand* 6425—Negroes look better during crop-time than any other, *Shand* 6426—Less mortality during crop-time than any other, *Shand* 6960—Manner in which witness managed his estate during crop-time, *Wildman* 7961

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*Crown Lands.* Great quantities of waste crown lands in Jamaica, *Barry* 875.

*Crown Slaves.* Conduct of the captured negroes and Creole escheated slaves liberated from dependence on the Crown in the island of Antigua, *Loving* 1988—Jealousy likely to be engendered among slaves from observing the happy situation of liberated Africans, *Loving* 1990—Manner in which the Crown slaves were liberated, *Loving* 2004—Which was entirely done in one day, *Loving* 2006—State of civilization of these men, *Loving* 2013-2018.

*Cruelty to Slaves.* Most appalling cruelty can be inflicted by overseers on negroes, which cannot be punished, *Taylor* 653—Brutal punishment of a slave named E. James, *Wildman* 8026.

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*Cuba.* Number of free people in Cuba, *Fleming* 2544-2546—Good condition of free people of colour in Cuba, *Fleming* 2547-2549—Their industry, *Fleming* 2510—Sugar cultivation, *Fleming* 2551-2557, 2568—Doubts expressed by Spaniards as to which labour was cheapest free or slave, *Fleming* 2570, 2571—Continuation of Slave Trade in Cuba, *Fleming* 2572, 2573—Negroes in Cuba less intelligent than Jamaica slaves, *Fleming* 2574—Discontent not so prevalent in Cuba as Jamaica, owing to the law of compulsory manumission, *Fleming* 2577—Tariff fixing the price of manumission, *Fleming* 2580—Different conduct observed in Cuba towards African and Creole; pains taken by Spanish planters to inculcate religious discipline, *Fleming* 2587—Considerable number of manumissions annually take place, *Fleming* 2589—Slaves in Cuba work by task-work and have fewer working days than in Jamaica, *Fleming* 2592, 2593, 2598-2600—Common in Cuba for agricultural slaves to purchase their freedom, *Fleming* 3234—Translation of the Spanish Regulations for the treatment of slaves, concerning their education, food and clothing, occupation, amusements, dwellings and infirmaries, aged and disabled, *Fleming* 3247.

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*Cultivation of Sugar.* See *Sugar, I. 1. 2. 3.*

## D.

*Delegates.* Delegate parish meetings in Jamaica; violent language used at them against the mother country, *Knibb* 3273-3279—Effects of meetings on the minds of the negroes, *Baker* 7528.

*Demerara.* The peace of the country would in no way be endangered by a sudden grant of freedom, *Austin* 2235—Fertility of the soil in Demerara and Surinam, *Austin* 2240.

*Distress,*

*Distress.* See *Poor Funds.*

*Dignum, Andrew Graham* (Analysis of his Evidence.) Residence of witness in the island of Jamaica, 7598—Was appointed Protector of Slaves in two parishes, 7605—Salary and nature of the office, 7606-7617—Effect of Mr. Beaumont's motion on the minds of the slaves, 7619—The idea that the island could be given up to America had no effect on the minds of slaves, 7625, 7626—Feelings of sorrow expressed by slaves after the late rebellion, 7630—Cause of the rebellion from the belief of negroes that they were to be made free after Christmas, 7631, 7644—Exasperated feelings against the missionaries after the rebellion, 7633, 7636—The negroes had a marked difference in their appearance for some time previous to the rebellion, 7646—Conspiracy was very deeply laid, 7648.

(Second Examination.) Account of Mr. Panton's negro servant, 8474—Witness doubts whether Mr. Miller would request a missionary to attend the prisoners under trial during the insurrection, 8482—Effect of slave evidence being admissible in preventing cruelty to negroes, 8489-8492—Instances in which negroes have assured witness they had no desire for freedom, 8495—Indifference of negroes to the destruction of the chapels, 8496—Witness anticipates no further rebellion if slaves were now left alone, 8497—Nature of the punishment in gaols and workhouses, 8506—Duty of Protectors of Slaves as to the defence of negroes, 8518-8523—Gaols in the West Indies as clean as circumstances will admit of, 8529—Construction put by legal persons on the section of the Slave Act relating to the right of overseers to punish slaves, 8531—Difference between the whip used in Jamaica to drive slaves with and the cart whip, 8548—Domestic slaves are under the same law as to flogging as other negroes, 8555, 8556—Though the law will not bear the construction put upon it by magistrates, 8557.

*Domingo, Saint.* Severity of the Rural Code of Saint Domingo to enforce labour, *Barry* 1091-1093—No sugar now made for exportation, *Barry* 1095—State of Hayti, *Fleming* 2719—Difficulty of getting people to labour in 1827; afterwards no trouble, they worked for wages, *Fleming* 2719-2720—There is a prohibition against corporal punishment, *Fleming* 2725—The happiest and best fed negroes in the West Indies are in Hayti, *Fleming* 2726—Supposed increase of population, *Fleming* 2728—Comparative state of negroes, 1797 & 1828, *Fleming* 2740—Among the population, civilization is rapidly progressing, *Fleming* 2770—The government partakes more of civilized than savage life, *Fleming* 2792—Better managed than many of the South American States, *Fleming* 2794—Continual excitement kept up by the constant demands of the French and Spaniards, *Fleming* 2796—State of the island, 1815, when the governments of Christophe, Pechon and Spain existed, *Sutherland* 2932—Policy of Pechon, who succeeded in undermining the government of Christophe, *Sutherland* 2939—State of civilization, *Sutherland* 2940-2943—Proprietors of estates felt difficulty in getting labourers, *Sutherland* 2944—Agrarian Law passed by Pechon, *Sutherland* 2944-2948—Murder of two of Christophe's children, *Sutherland* 2964—Extract of a letter from Mr. Sutherland to Lord Spencer or Lord Auckland on the state of trade and productions of the island of Saint Domingo, dated 1804, *Sutherland* 2982, 2983—No peace prevailed in the island till the Agrarian Law was passed, *Sutherland* 2990—The division of land was not seizing another person's property, but a sub-division of abandoned estates, *Sutherland* 2997—No white person can now by law hold landed property in Hayti, *Sutherland* 3000.

See *Agrarian Law. Labour*, 5. *Sugar*, I. 3. *Wages*, 6.

*Drivers.* Motives which influence in choosing drivers, *Barry* 1101—Persons chosen for drivers are generally those of the best character on the estate, *Scott* 5033—Manner in which they coerce slaves to labour, *Scott* 5038—Whip seldom used except by direction of overseer, *Scott* 5041—Whip more rarely used now than formerly, *Scott* 5042—Drivers invariably chosen on account of good character, and are never continued in their situations when disliked by negroes, *Simpson* 5581-5583—Qualities for which drivers are selected, *Simpson* 6028—Are selected on account of possessing greater intelligence than other negroes, and being capable of directing the work, *Shand* 6413—Powers generally intrusted to drivers, *Shand* 7059.

*Drunkennes.* Negroes not more addicted to drunkenness than other persons, *Taylor* 43-47.

*Duncan, Rev. P.* (Analysis of his Evidence.) Stations at which witness has officiated, 1318-1323—Numbers of the various congregations, 1325-1335—State of schools, 1328, 1339-1349—Intellect of negroes generally; instance of an aged female learning to read, 1350—Slaves as willing to work as others, 1352—They have a desire for the enjoyment of luxuries, 1353, 1354—Alacrity with which negroes would work if emancipated, 1356—Dislike of free blacks to cane-hole digging, which they consider degrading, 1358-1360—General excuse of negroes not attending divine worship was necessary attendance on provision grounds, 1377—Indispensably necessary for negroes to work on a Sunday, 1378—Attendance on church once a month is a fair average, 1378—Causes which prevent their more frequent attendance, 1384, 1385-1387—Effect of religious education and the spread of Christianity on slaves, 1394-1404—Immoral state of society in Jamaica, 1405—Slaves would labour harder in a state of freedom

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freedom than slavery, for remuneration, 1409—Labour of cane-hole digging not so hard as that of many English labourers, 1409—Free blacks labour harder than at cane-holes, 1410, 1412—Good effect of religious instruction on the minds of slaves, 1416—No complaints among negroes as to food, 1421—Probable effect of emancipation on slaves, in regard to the cultivation of sugar, 1426–1435.

Labour of negroes in their own provision grounds, 1441—Negroes generally allowed hogs and poultry on estates, 1449—Sunday market supplied by negroes, 1453—Time now allowed negroes sufficient for raising food, but by the present arrangement they are deprived of Sunday as a day of rest, 1454—Law to enforce manumission by purchase would not have an extensive effect, 1457—Allowance of fish, 1461—If negroes were to be at once emancipated there would not be that inconvenience which will result from a continuance of slavery, 1465, 1466—Probable effect of emancipation on the state of labour in the island, 1468, 1469–1471—Reasons why slaves would continue when in a state of freedom to cultivate sugar as at present, 1475—There are sometimes instances of overseers taking away negroes' provision grounds, 1477, 1478—But this power very rarely used, 1480—Probable turn affairs would take as to arrangements between masters and slaves in the event of a speedy emancipation, 1482—Arrangements which would be safe for proprietors to make, as to exchange of land for labour, 1483–1488.

In case of infringement of agreement as to land, a vigorous police must be established to force the same, 1490—Good effect of religious habits exemplified in the conduct of negroes at Saint-Thomas-in-the-East during the rebellion, 1491–1493—There is as much opposition to clergymen of the Established Church on the part of planters as any sect, 1494–1495, 1499, 1500—Partial emancipation, however regulated, would be attended with discontent, 1503—The only two eligible plans are, to make all free at once, or appoint a day after which all children shall be born free, 1504, 1506, 1507, 1514—Effect of freedom and religious habits on the mind as to the care taken of children by their parents, contrasted with a state of slavery, 1510–1513—Plan by which emancipation might be gradually carried into effect, 1516–1518—Opposition to religious instruction by planters at this moment fiercer than ever, 1519—Explanation of causes which led to the adoption, by a body of Wesleyan preachers, of resolutions in 1825, expressing their opinion as to the state of slavery in Jamaica, and its consistency with Christianity, 1522–1528.

(Second Examination.) Further evidence concerning causes of missionaries signing the resolutions of 1825, 1536–1572—Causes which led to the late insurrection, 1576—Had the plans of 1823 been acceded to on the part of the planters, they would have produced no bad effect at all, 1580—Consequences of their continued and violent opposition, 1581—In the present state of things, peace cannot be long preserved, 1582—Determination of the free people of colour to defend their chapels in Kingston, 1583, 1584—Brutal attacks on the missionaries; case of the minister at Falmouth, 1585—The determination to be free has increased tenfold since the late disastrous event, 1586—The peace of the island cannot be maintained if slavery be continued, 1589—Whatever may be the dangers of sudden emancipation, they are greatly exceeded by the dangers of the continuance of slavery, 1592—The peace of the island cannot be long preserved without the discontinuance of slavery, 1594—The opinions of witness have been further confirmed by what he has heard since he left the island, 1582, 1595.

(Third Examination.) Further reasons for supposing that if slavery continues, peace will not continue in the island of Jamaica, 1710—Insufficient protection given by the law to the property of missionaries, 1710, 1711—Case of Henry Williams, 1714–1723, 1750—Constitution of the Colonial Church Union Society, 1724–1726—Proceedings of the society, 1727—Good behaviour of Christian slaves during the late rebellion, 1732—Slaves will not longer remain without freedom, 1733—There is much more hostility now than some years since to religious instruction, 1738—Partly caused by the institution of Sunday schools in which negroes are taught to read, 1739—Inflammatory language used in the House of Assembly; its effect on slaves, 1741–1747—Anxiety of negroes to learn to read, 1748, 1798—Manuscript sent to witness of the resolutions which were entered into by Wesleyan missionaries 1824, 1754—Incompatibility of slavery and Christianity, 1755–1759—Jamaica press injurious to Christianity, 1763—The "Watchman" is not injurious to the peace of the slaves, 1767—Conduct of planters generally to clergy, 1775, 1778—Motives for building chapels, 1766, 1777, 1778—Opposition to negroes being allowed to read, 1787, 1814—Opposition has even been made to oral instruction, 1780, 1790, 1792, 1816—Doubts as to expressions attributed to negroes on the scaffold, 1800–1806—Clergymen have asserted that they were discouraged in their attempts to convey instruction to negroes; slaves state their attendance on ministers has been discouraged, 1809—Evidence concerning money subscribed in Jamaica from Wesleyan societies there to aid the parent society here, 1825–1827—Anxiety of negroes to possess the luxuries of life, 1836–1837—Not more property possessed by slaves now than formerly, 1840—How far slaves are affected as to imposition of labour by the distressed state of planters, 1842–1846.

(Fourth Examination.) Extract of a letter from Rev. David Kerr, April 25, 1832, 1847—Memorial of the Rev. D. Kerr and W. Wood, Wesleyan missionaries, 1847—Communications between witness and Mr. Stephens, 1860–1878—Evil consequences

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to negroes of embarrassed circumstances of their masters, 1882—Instance of this happening at Mount Concord Estate, 1883—Feasibility of a plan for abolishing slavery in ten years, at an average of one-tenth per annum, claim for preference being his religious and moral conduct, 1886–1892—Common occurrence of cases of opposition to the marriage of negroes, 1893, 1905.

## E.

### EDUCATION.

1. *Generally*.
2. *America*.
3. *Antigua*.
4. *Demerara*.

#### 1. *Generally*.

Education received by negroes on estates managed by witness, *Taylor* 31–33—No marked inferiority of intellect in negroes as compared with other human beings, *Taylor* 35, 36, 38—Instruction given to children well retained by them, *Taylor* 38, 39—Consequences of the introduction of education on the black population, *Taylor* 237; *Duncan* 1394–1404—Spread of education as compared with 1816, *Taylor* 581–583—Increase of lettered knowledge going on with immense rapidity, *Taylor* 585—Parties among the clergy on the subject of education, *Taylor* 676—Impossibility under slavery to introduce education properly, or attendance on religious worship, *Barry* 938–841—Planters who have established places of education for their slaves, *Barry* 944—Proprietors of estates who encourage the religious instruction of their negroes, *Barry* 1234—Catechists sent out from this country meet with great obstruction, *Barry* 1241–1243—Negroes possessed of sufficient intellect to become with preparation religious teachers, *Barry* 1313—State of education in Jamaica 1821, *Cooper* 1680–1688.

In the magistrates generally a strong opposition to the instruction of negroes, *Barry* 1163, 1229, 1230—Dislike of owners of slaves to have them instructed in reading, *Cooper* 1694–1696; *Duncan* 1787, 1814; *Thorp* 2109, 2110—Danger apprehended by white persons from teaching slaves to read, an opinion participated in by witness, *Cooper* 1705—Knowledge totally incompatible with slavery, *Cooper* 1706, 1707—Greater opposition than formerly, caused by the institution of Sunday schools, in which slaves are taught to read, *Duncan* 1739—Anxiety of negroes to learn reading and writing, *Duncan* 1748, 1798—Opposition has even been made to oral instruction, *Duncan* 1789, 1790, 1792, 1816—Oral instruction permitted on estates, *Thorp* 2104—General desire on the part of negroes for instruction, *Thorp* 2117, 2118—Allowed to a greater extent in St. Thomas-in-the-East than in other parishes; consequent good effect on the morals of the negroes, *Thorp* 2138, 2140, 2141—Increase of reading among slaves, *Fleming* 2500—Rapidity with which they gain information, *Fleming* 2506–2516.

Desire of lettered knowledge very much on the increase, *Knibb* 3542—Desire of acquiring knowledge powerfully increased since the late rebellion, *Knibb* 3545—Value of slaves increased by instruction, *Hankey* 4567—When instructed, slaves have become more tranquil and more obedient, *Hankey* 4572—Generally speaking, reading among slaves is encouraged by ministers of the London Missionary Society, but not against the wish of planters, *Hankey* 4574, 4575—Instructions to missionaries in no way to interfere in political or other events than those concerning religion, *Hankey* 4577—Slavery cannot long continue, slaves possessing knowledge, *Hankey* 4579—Danger of over education, *Scott* 5338—Witness has no objection to slaves being taught to read, *Simpson* 5875–5886—Education of slaves one step towards qualifying them for emancipation, *Young* 6257, 6258.

Oral instruction quite insufficient for the communication of knowledge, *Wildman* 7775, 7776—And the organs by which it is administered quite incompetent, *Wildman* 7776–7779—Interest of the master to educate the slave, *Wildman* 7781—Abuse with which witness was met, for attempting to introduce schools on his estates, *Wildman* 8046, 8197–8202—Plan adopted by witness on his estate for educating slaves, *Wildman* 8126—Mr. Trew's system of educating the negroes, *Wildman* 8185–8188—Approval of the Bishop of Jamaica of the infant school on Mr. Wildman's estate, *Barrett* 8330—General tone of the Bishop's correspondence favourable to the opportunities given him to introduce instruction, *Barrett* 8336—Number of slaves under instruction of the Society for the Conversion of Negroes, *Barrett* 8346—Bishop of Jamaica not anxious to employ book-keepers of estates to a great extent, *Barrett* 8362—Returns received from the West India Bishops, concerning the education of negroes, *Barrett* 8370–8382.

#### 2. *America*.

No steps have been taken by education, for any measure of emancipation, *Ogden* 4869, 4870—Americans apprehensive of the effect of education on the slaves, *Ogden* 4871—In New York, no general education took place prior to emancipation, *Ogden* 4886—Provincial governments of the different States are very averse to its introduction among slaves, *Ogden* 4904—Would be injurious to property and of no service unless preparatory to freedom, *Ogden* 4911.

**EDUCATION**—continued.**3. Antigua.**

Alterations owing to the advance in education and spiritual knowledge, *Loving* 1933—Caused by the indefatigable exertions of missionaries, *Loving* 1935—Greatly aided since the establishment of a bishopric by the Church of England, *Loving* 1936.

**4. Demerara.**

Education of slaves in Demerara; schools established by witness, *Austin* 2396-2400.

See *Moravians. Newspapers. Religious Instruction. Schools. Stockman. Trees.*

*Elizabeth, Saint.* See *Churches.*

*Effects of partial Emancipation.* See *Slaves, 2.*

*Elisonda & Co.* Property of Elisonda & Co, *Adams* 6574—Cultivated by slaves, *Adams* 6575.

*Elliott, Captain.* See *Guiana, British. Labour, 2.*

*Emancipation.* Probable number of emancipated slaves in Jamaica, *Barry* 852—Manner in which land is procured by emancipated slaves, *Barry* 866—Employments, generally, of emancipated slaves, *Morgan* 3153—Witness never knew an emancipated slave work on a sugar plantation, *Morgan* 3156; *Shand* 6439—Conduct of emancipated slaves generally good, *Morgan* 3159—Employment of emancipated slaves, *Simpson* 5916—Great mass of emancipated slaves very idle, and in a great measure supported by slaves, *Shand* 6432—Instance of emancipated slaves who earned their existence by severe labour, *Austin* 2272, 2284, 2289, 2290, 2393—Conduct of emancipated slaves generally good, *Morgan* 5159—No emancipated slave ever hires himself on an estate except as a tradesman, *Scott* 5055—Instance of unwillingness of slaves to be emancipated, *Shand* 6438.

See also *Abolition of Slavery. Creoles. Cuba. Domingo, St. Estates. Free Blacks. Freedom. New York. Wages.*

*Escheated Slaves.* See *Crown Slaves.*

*Estates.* Offer of witness to purchase estates to free negroes, and establish a system of free labour, *Taylor* 113; *Wildman* 7923, 7924—Knowledge acquired by witness of different estates, *Taylor* 370—Condition of negroes upon Holland Estate, *Taylor* 380—Manner in which witness intended to regulate negroes on the estate he proposed to purchase, *Taylor* 700—Calculation of the probable amount of money necessary to carry witness's plan into effect, and what the excess would have been over what was allowed for house and garden, *Taylor* 702—Chimerical nature of Mr Taylor's scheme, *Simpson* 5668—There is scarcely any profit from West India estates, many get into debt, *Scott* 5345—Caused by overproduction from all parts of the world, *Scott* 3349—Which could only be remedied by reduction of duty on sugar, and consequent increase of consumption, *Scott* 5355—Property would be of no value in the event of emancipation, *Scott* 5365—Embarrassed state of West India property may affect the comfort of slaves, *Scott* 5158—Value of land on estates, *Simpson* 5758, 5760-5763—Cultivation of the Hope Estate, belonging to the Duke of Buckingham, *Simpson* 5767-5788—Estimate of Mr. Taylor's hypothetical scheme of free labour, according to the present state of hire in Jamaica, *Shand* 8299—Opportunities afforded different public officers of visiting estates; Admiral Fleming's residence in the island, *Simpson* 5790-5799—Facility with which estates can be visited, *Simpson* 5083, 5485, 5988; *Shand* 7238, 7239; *Rowley* 7653—Land seldom let on lease in Jamaica; instance of witness, under peculiar circumstances, letting land for Lord Carrington, *Shand* 7160-7165—Difference between letting pens and sugar estates, *Shand* 7168-7176—Opportunities of witness visiting estates when no preparation could have been made, *Rowley* 7655—Miserable management of witness's estate under Mr. Taylor's superintendence, *Wildman* 7847, 7870-7874—Witness contemplates that on emancipation his estates would cease to be productive, *Wildman* 8285.

State of sugar estate in St. Domingo visited 1828; quantity of sugar estimated to be produced from it, *Fleming* 2777—Estate as well managed as any in the West Indies, *Fleming* 2779—Causes of the decrease of sugar cultivation in Hayti, *Fleming* 2784—Cultivation has been hitherto prevented by the disturbed state of the country, *Fleming* 2789—No white person can now hold landed property in Hayti, *Sutherland* 3000—Sugar works have been established since the expulsion of the French, *Sutherland* 2950.

See also *Agrarian Law. Hospitals. Land. Sugar Cultivation.*

*Evidence.* Slave evidence not accredited in Jamaica during witness's residence in the island against white persons; law on this subject has been altered, *Young* 6365—Effect of slave evidence being admissible in preventing cruelty to negroes, *Dignum* 8489-8492.

*Examination of Slaves.* Witness desired to examine prisoners, after the rebellion, and informed that if any slave will divulge that which may lead to a full disclosure of the rebellion, efforts shall be made to have his life spared, *Knibb* 3847—Copy of examinations taken, *Knibb* 3870, 3884-3886.

*Execution.*

*Execution.* Doubts as to expressions attributed to negroes on the scaffold, *Duncan* 1800-1806—Number of capital punishments which took place subsequent to the late rebellion, *Knibb* 3610—Courage displayed by blacks when suffering execution, *Knibb* 3667-3675—Letter to witness from a young man who prayed with the blacks and was then made to fire at them; he was a Methodist leader, *Knibb* 3686—Effect of punishment inflicted during the rebellion upon the minds of the slaves, *Knibb* 3797—Samuel Sharpe, the man who planned the rebellion, was a Baptist, and has been taken and executed, *Knibb* 3805—Fifty persons have been executed, six of the members of the Baptist churches, *Knibb* 3832—Execution of Waite, a man of colour, *Knibb* 3891—One hundred persons executed during insurrection, *Williams* 4194—Number executed, *Baker* 7536.

*Extinction of Slavery.* See *Abolition of Slavery. Freedom. Estates.*

## F.

*Falmouth.* Attack on a missionary accompanied with assault, *Duncan* 1585—Names and sentences of the whole that were tried at Falmouth during martial law, *Knibb* 3640—Resolutions against Baptists adopted at a meeting at Falmouth, *Knibb* 3559.  
See also *Schools.*

*Female Slaves.* See *Flogging. Slaves, 3.*

*Finlayson.* See *Magistrates.*

*Fish.* Pickled fish usually allowed to negroes, *Taylor* 12—Allowance of fish usually made by planters, *Duncan* 1461, 1462—Usual allowance of fish is one barrel to three negroes, *Shand* 6408—Quantity of herrings usually given among negroes on estates, *Shand* 7149-7158—Allowance to negroes besides provision grounds of herrings and salt fish, *Wildman* 7794.

See also *Provisions.*

*Fleming, Vice-Admiral, (Analysis of his Evidence.)* Periods of residence in the West Indies, 2433-2435—Increase of intelligence in negroes, 2436—Slaves, if emancipated, would be capable of maintaining themselves, 2438—They now work for themselves or for hire most industriously, 2439—Dissatisfaction of slaves as to their situation in Jamaica, 2441—Different treatment of slaves in Trinidad to Jamaica, 2443—Probability of insurrection, if the resolutions of the House be not carried into effect, 2445, 2446—Comfort of free blacks; manner in which they maintain themselves, 2458, 2459.

(Second Examination.) Parts of the island of Jamaica visited by witness, 2472, 2483-2496—During last residence, confirmed in opinion as to intellect of blacks not being inferior to white people, 2499—Increase of reading, 2500, 2501—Which of itself will put an end to slavery, 2503—Rapidity with which they gain information, 2506-2516—Improvements which have taken place in the condition of slaves in Jamaica, 2518—Cartwhip less used than formerly, 2518-2524—Number of free people in Cuba, 2544-2546—Good condition of the free people of colour in Cuba, 2547-2549—Their industry, 2550—Sugar cultivation, 2551-2553, 2560-2564—Wages paid to free negroes for working on sugar estates, 2555-2557, 2568—Doubts expressed by Spaniards as to which labour was cheapest, free or slaves, 2570, 2571—Continuation of the slave trade in Cuba, 2572, 2573—Negroes in Cuba less intelligent than Jamaica slaves, 2574—Superior intelligence of Creoles over imported Africans, 2575, 2576, 2582—Discontent not so prevalent in Cuba as Jamaica, owing to the law of compulsory manumission, 2577—Tariff in Cuba fixing the price, 2580—Different conduct observed in Cuba towards African and Creole slaves, 2584—Pains taken by Spanish planters to inculcate religious discipline, 2587—Considerable number of manumissions annually take place, 2589—Slaves in Cuba work by task-work, and have fewer working days than in Jamaica, 2592, 2593, 2598-2600—Caracas in the same situation as Cuba, 2594—Opinion of English planters that slave labour is cheapest, 2595—Price of slaves in Cuba and Jamaica, 2597—System of slave trade carried on in Cuba, 2608—Superiority of white inhabitants of Cuba to the inhabitants of other islands, 2609—Sale of slaves imported into Cuba more among new proprietors than old inhabitants, 2612-2614—Origin of the law for compulsory manumission in Cuba, 2615-2618—Slaves purchase day by day, 2619—Redress against masters in any case of injustice, 2623—Protection afforded to slaves by intercourse with priests, 2626-2628—West Indies might be cultivated by free labour; reasons for this opinion, 2635-2638.

Freedom of slaves in Caracas, 2644—Regulations of Bolivar for the emancipation of slaves, 2645—No disorder occasioned by these regulations, 2647—Sugar is cultivated and exported from the Caracas, 2648—Employment of free blacks, 2652—Rate of wages, 2653—Rapid progress of the black population towards civilization, 2659—They maintain themselves without assistance, 2659—Manumission was suddenly effected, and without convulsion, 2660, 2661—Progress of cultivation since emancipation, 2668, 2671—Cultivation of sugar increased, 2669—Free blacks continued cultivation of sugar estates freely, 2678—Character of General Peyanga, 2685—Emancipated negroes were forced to work a certain number of years for their main-



*Fleming, Vice-Admiral, (Analysis of his Evidence)—continued.*

tenance, 2687, 2688—Witness has seen free persons working on sugar estates with slaves, 2689—Witness believes cultivation of sugar to have increased since emancipation, 2693—Proportions of white and slave population, 2695—Slaves widely scattered over the country, 2697—At the time of emancipation, many entered the army, 2698—Employment of free blacks in towns, 2705—All slaves are Christians, Spanish law not allowing them to remain slaves, unless of that religion, 2707—State of Jamaica as to emancipation since the insurrection, 2711.

State of Hayti, 2719—Difficulty of getting people to labour in 1827; afterwards no trouble; they worked for wages, 2719, 2720—There is prohibition against corporal punishment, 2725—The happiest and best fed negroes in the West Indies were in Hayti, 2726—Supposed increase of population, 2728.

(Third Examination.) Part of Hayti visited by witness, 2732—Comparative state of negroes 1797 and 1828, 2740—Sugar cultivation in Hayti by free negroes, 2746—Rate of wages a franc a day and victuals, 2751—Price of meat in Jamaica 12 *d.*, in Hayti 2 *d.*, 2754—Marriage getting more general than formerly, 2759—But generally not practised, 2760—Among the population of St. Domingo civilization is rapidly progressing, 2770—State of the sugar estate visited, 1828; quantity of sugar estimated to be produced from it, 2777—Estate as well managed as any in the West Indies, 2779—Causes of the decrease of growth of sugar in Hayti, 2784—Many Europeans have stated that cheaper sugar could be made in Hayti with free labour than by slaves in British colonies, 2786—Cultivation has been hitherto prevented by the disturbed state of the country, 2789—The government partakes more of civilized than of savage life, 2792—And better managed than many of the South American States, 2794—Continual excitement kept up by the constant demands of the French and Spaniards, 2796—Bolivar emancipated his slaves on account of having taken refuge in Hayti, the government refusing assistance unless he would promise freedom to his blacks, 2809—State of slaves in the Bahamas, 2813—Employments of slaves and free blacks on these islands, 2818–2822.

Proportion of slaves and free population in the Bahamas, 2824—State of Africans at these islands; some never become civilized, others rapidly, 2827–2832—Wages in these islands very high, 2833—Moral state of black population in Bahamas better than any island except Bermuda, 2838—Their superior condition attributable to religious knowledge as bearing upon the moral character of the slave population, both in regard to civilizing their manners and improving their moral conduct, 2840–2842—State of liberated Africans as to their preference of civilization over savage life, and their fondness for comforts and luxuries, 2845–2850—Free blacks in the Bahamas have become free from the manumission laws, 2856—Exports from the Bahamas, 2860—Opinion expressed often in Jamaica that if the mother country treated the colony in the manner they were treating it, it would throw them into the hands of the Americans, 2866, 2878—Witness left England expecting to find the resolutions of the House of Commons carried into effect; his opinions respecting emancipation confirmed by long residence, 2896—Slaves at one time had much apprehension that the government of Jamaica might be transferred to America, 2905—Slaves more cause to be discontented in Jamaica than Trinidad, 2914, 2915—General emancipation would be less dangerous than no emancipation at all, 2916—Plan for gradual emancipation on a scale of gradual increase from 1833, to be completed in ten years, 2917—And some such plan might be so conducted as to be safe to the planter and satisfactory to the slave, 2922.

(Fourth Examination.) Tariff of the price of slaves at the Caracas 1829, 3219—Which was also in force at Trinidad, 3221—These colonies under the Spaniards governed by their laws for the Indies, 3224—Compulsory manumission formerly the law in Trinidad, 3225—Common in Cuba for agricultural slaves to purchase their freedom, 3234—Regulations of the importation of slaves in Caracas, 3236—Translation of the Spanish order regulating the treatment of slaves concerning their education, food and clothing, occupations, amusements, dwellings and infirmaries, aged and disabled, 3242—Letter from Mr. Ingenac to Admiral Fleming, 3247.

*Flogging.* Estate on which no flogging was practised, *Taylor* 67—Physical coercion necessary to the protection of labour through the instrumentality of slaves, *Taylor* 65—Necessity of flogging as a stimulus to labour in the absence of other motives to labour, *Taylor* 186—Pregnant women not flogged if known to be so, *Taylor* 506—Whip often very little used; extent to which black drivers may flog, *Taylor* 509–517—Sensitiveness of negroes as to flogging women, *Taylor* 664—Corporal punishment is necessary in a state of slavery, *Barry* 1097–1099—Flogging less used than formerly, *Fleming* 2518–2524—Instance of a child flogged at Macclesfield, *Knibb* 3759—Punishment of Catherine Williams for refusing to live with the overseer of the estate, *Knibb* 3762, 3763—Punishment of Samuel Swiney, *Knibb* 4055—Many slaves died of flogging after the late insurrection, *Knibb* 3610—Whip seldom used except by direction of overseers, *Scott* 5041—Whip more rarely used now than formerly, *Scott* 5042, 5302—Witness has seen punishments inflicted on slaves which he disapproves of, but not frequently, *Scott* 5067—With a slave-estate managers are obliged to use coercion, *Scott* 5068—Attempts of witness to disuse the whip, *Simpson* 5497, 5999—Flogging women an outrage on all decency, and contrary to every feeling of Christianity, *Young* 6386

*Flogging*—continued.

6386—No corporal punishment is inflicted on any of the labourers in Hayti, *Sutherland* 2973.

Fear of bodily suffering indispensable to produce labour, *Simpson* 5955—In the present state of slaves they could not be managed without the whip or some such means, *Shand* 7250, 7256—Partly owing to excitement kept up from this country, *Shand* 7253, 7254—7262—Necessity of corporal punishment, *Baker* 7463—Witness never saw any thing to impress his mind that the treatment of negroes was cruel, *Rowley* 7675—Number of lashes allowed to be inflicted by overseers, *Rowley* 7682; *Wildman* 7859—7863—Witness never saw cartwhip used but in one instance, *Rowley* 7727—Witness has found the valuable effect of ceasing to use the whip for driving, *Wildman* 7782, 7783—Practised by witness on his estate only three times, *Wildman* 7855—Witness never used the whip as a stimulant to labour, *Wildman* 7867.

Brutal punishment of a slave named Eleanor James, *Wildman* 8026—Cruelty which might be practised on estates without redress, *Wildman* 8036—Result of work performed by witness's slaves without fear of whip in conjunction with others subject to flogging, *Wildman* 8056—Witness has disused the whip with perfect success, *Wildman* 8059—System of discipline pursued in lieu of flogging, *Wildman* 8062—Construction put by legal persons on the section of the Slave Act relating to the right of overseers to punish slaves, *Dignum* 8531—Difference between the whip used in Jamaica and the cartwhip, *Dignum* 8548—Domestic slaves under the same law as to flogging as other slaves, *Dignum* 8555, 8556—Though the law will not bear the construction put on it by magistrates, *Dignum* 8557.

See also *Courts Martial. Gaols. Stipendiary Magistrates. Whip.*

*Folkes, A.* Sent the first Baptist missionary to Jamaica about sixteen years ago, *Knibb* 3789.

*Free Africans.* See *Bahamas. Crown Slaves.*

*Free Bill.* Removed the disabilities under which people of colour previously laboured; passed in 1830, *Taylor* 617—Belief of many negroes that this Bill was intended to embrace them, *Taylor* 621—Effect of this Bill not yet very apparent; will co-operate with other causes in producing improvement, *Barry* 847.

**FREE BLACKS.**

1. *Generally.*
2. *Antigua.*
3. *Bahamas.*
4. *Canada.*
5. *Cuba.*
6. *New York.*

**1. Generally.**

Employments usually followed by free blacks, *Taylor* 60—Instance of a free black working on a sugar estate of Mr. Wildman's, *Taylor* 62—No instance of a free negro working in the fields, *Taylor* 63; *Morgan* 3156; *Shand* 6439—Terms on which free blacks might be induced to work, *Taylor* 86—Free negroes resident in a district called Above Rocks, *Taylor* 126; *Simpson* 5461—Lands which might be applied to the use of free negroes, outlying lands, *Taylor* 132—Employment of free blacks upon Cavaliers Estate, *Taylor* 297; *Simpson* 5457, 5460—Great proportion of free blacks attend religious worship as compared with slaves, *Barry* 814—Manner in which free blacks generally maintain themselves, *Barry* 848—850, 858—Probable number of emancipated blacks in the island, *Barry* 852—Causes which prevent free blacks from working in the field, *Barry* 859—Often possess slaves, *Barry* 860—Manner in which land is procured by emancipated slaves, *Barry* 866—Desire of free blacks to emancipate their wives and children, *Barry* 895.

Work harder than cane-hole digging, *Duncan* 1410, 1412—Employments of, *Cooper* 1629—1632—In proportion to numbers, more distress among white population than free blacks, *Cooper* 1642—Dislike of free blacks to work in the fields, *Thorp* 2039, 2040—Willingness of free blacks to endure severe work, *Thorp* 2096; *Austin* 2271—Instance of emancipated slaves who earned their existence by severe labour, and saved money, *Austin* 2272, 2284, 2289, 2290, 2393—Employments generally of emancipated negroes, *Morgan* 3153—Conduct of emancipated slaves generally good, *Morgan* 3159.

Conduct of free blacks, manner in which they maintain themselves, *Fleming* 2458, 2459—Lazy character of free blacks in the West Indian islands, *Williams* 4210—4213, 4449; *Siand* 7089—7102; *Wildman* 7912—7916—No emancipated slave ever hires himself on an estate, except as a tradesman, *Scott* 5055—Emancipated slaves are generally employed as tradesmen, *Bowen* 6911—Emancipated negroes have in no instance become industrious or useful in their situation, *Shand* 7014—Freedom has not raised these persons in the scale of society, *Wildman* 7902—Bad character of the inhabitants of Pedro Plains, *Wildman* 7907—Free blacks increase in wealth from their own industry, *Wildman* 8131, 8132.

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**2. Antigua**

**FREE BLACKS**—continued.**2. Antigua.**

Many free blacks in Antigua who engage willingly in labour, *Loving* 1956—They are not allowed to engage in field labour, *Loving* 1958—Intercourse between free blacks and slaves, which must necessarily increase the danger of keeping the slaves in a state of slavery, *Loving* 1998–2000.

**3. Bahamas.**

Employment of slaves and free blacks in these islands, *Fleming* 2818–2822—Proportion of slaves and free blacks in the Bahamas, *Fleming* 2824—State of liberated Africans as to their preference of civilization over savage life, and their fondness for comforts and luxuries, *Fleming* 2845–2850—Free blacks in the Bahamas have become free from the manumission laws, *Fleming* 2856.

**4. Canada.**

State of slaves who have escaped from southern provinces, and settled in Canada, where they maintain themselves by agricultural pursuits, *Paul* 3047–3053—State of the Wilberforce settlement, *Paul* 3055—State of the Malden settlement, *Paul* 3073—State of the free blacks in the settlement in Nova Scotia, *M'Gregor* 8390—Conduct of Maroons in Nova Scotia, *M'Gregor* 8427—All attempts to give the negroes on Hammond Plains religious instruction were ineffectual, *M'Gregor* 8440.

**5. Cuba.**

Numbers of free people in Cuba, *Fleming* 2544–2546—Good condition of free people of colour in Cuba, *Fleming* 2547–2549—Wages paid to free negroes for working on sugar estates, *Fleming* 2555–2557, 2568.

**6. New York.**

Maintain themselves by their labour, earning from 10 to 12 dollars a month, and their provisions, *Paul* 3035–3037—Improvements in their moral and religious character, *Paul* 3041–3045.

**Freedom.** Precautions necessary on attempting to commence a system which shall end in giving freedom to negroes, *Taylor* 116—Outlines of a plan for maintaining order, and imposing restrictions in case any measure of emancipation were carried into effect, *Taylor* 118–123—Opinion of witness as to this plan, *Scott* 5185, 5187–5203; *Simpson* 5849–5856—Opinion of an intelligent negro as to the power of suddenly exchanging cottages and land, and giving wages instead, *Taylor* 162—A sudden change could not be made, *Taylor* 164—General desire of negroes to obtain freedom near Kingston less in remoter districts, *Taylor* 168—Some would be placed in a worse situation by freedom, many are indifferent to freedom, *Taylor* 170—Domestic servants more anxious for freedom than agricultural labourers, *Taylor* 174—In most classes there is a desire for freedom, *Taylor* 175–177, 654, 669—Suggestions of witness as to the mode of effecting the extinction of slavery, *Taylor* 711–714—Chimerical nature of Mr. Taylor's plans, *Simpson* 5668–5673—Slaves would labour for hire in the event of freedom, *Barry* 786; *Morgan* 3150—Anxiety for freedom, *Barry* 891—No danger would result from freedom, *Barry* 904—Love of freedom exemplified by those executed for the late rebellion, *Barry* 917—No improvement in Jamaica will ever extinguish the strong desire the slaves have for freedom, *Barry* 1292; *Duncan* 1586–1589—Effect of freedom and religious habits on the mind as to the care taken of children by their parents, *Duncan* 1510–1513—The determination to be free has increased tenfold since the late insurrection, *Duncan* 1586—The peace of the island cannot be maintained with slavery, *Duncan* 1589, 1733.

The peace of Demerara would not in any way be endangered by a sudden grant of freedom, *Austen* 2235—Prevalent belief of slaves that they were to obtain freedom at Christmas 1831, *Knibb* 3265, 3744, 3876; *Williams* 4279–4283—General belief throughout the island that they are to be free, ardent longing for it, *Knibb* 3290—In consequence of conversations heard among the whites, *Knibb* 3877—Determination not to remain slaves, willingness to work if free, *Knibb* 3295, 3296—Feeling of religious slaves on the subject of freedom, *Knibb* 3576; *Morgan* 3197—Effect of Mr. Beaumont's speech for emancipation and compensation in the House of Assembly, Jamaica, *Barry* 884–888; *Duncan* 1576; *Knibb* 3888; *Baker* 7419; *Dignum* 7619—Belief of slaves that they were to be free after Christmas, oath taken not to divulge their information on the subject, *Williams* 4279–4283.

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## INSURRECTION.

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#### I. Jamaica.

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2. *Slaves.*

Unwillingness of slaves to work, *Taylor* 64—Physical coercion necessary to the production of labour through the instrumentality of slaves, *Taylor* 65—Slaves in Jamaica infinitely harder worked than the peasants in Scotland, *Taylor* 78—Severity of negro labour, *Taylor* 81—Manner in which slaves earn money after work hours, *Taylor* 158—Difference in slaves' labour when working for themselves and their master, *Taylor* 212; *Wildman* 8081—Female labour, *Taylor* 227-231—Hours of labour, *Taylor* 389-404—Pregnant women are not worked at cane-hole digging, *Taylor* 506—Probable effect of emancipation on labour of slaves, *Duncan* 1468, 1469-1471—Arrangements which it would be safe to make as to exchange of land for labour, *Duncan* 1483-1488—In case of infringement of agreement police to enforce the same, *Duncan* 1490—How far slaves are affected as to imposition of labour by the distressed state of planters, *Duncan* 1842-1846—Necessity of a law enforcing field labour in case of emancipation, *Loving* 1966-1969—During crop-time no restriction to the hours of labour, when negroes work eighteen hours out of twenty-four, *Thorp* 2068-2073.

No discontent among negroes beyond complaints of over labour; *Thorp* 2136, 2137—Slaves would perform much more work if free, *Thorp* 2245—Slaves work for themselves or for hire most industriously, *Fleming* 2439—Different treatment of slaves in Trinidad and Jamaica, *Fleming* 2443—Opinion of English planters that slave labour is cheapest, *Fleming* 2595—Negroes begin work at day-light, have time allowed for breakfast and dinner, *Scott* 4692—Slaves cannot suffer hardship from the planters exacting more work than the average quantity, *Scott* 5770-5774—Are more severely worked than labourers in this country, *Taylor* 73-77—Not more severely worked than a labourer in this country, *Barry* 1085; *Duncan* 1409—Slaves much better off than any classes of labourers in this country, *Williams* 4199, 4364, 4368, 4394; *Rowley* 7660—More cheerful and have less care about them than labourers in this country, *Shand* 6430—They are more contented and better provided for than the lower class of people in Scotland, *Shand* 6431—Hours of labour generally from sunrise to sunset, with the exception of time for meals, *Shand* 7292—Slaves, where they have a kind master, prefer that state to freedom, *Wildman* 7811—Opinions as to the labour of slaves if emancipated, *Scott* 5246—Negroes impatient of control if more is exacted from them than they know to be their duty, but otherwise easily managed, *Scott* 5285—Women employed at cane-hole digging, *Simpson* 5967.

Remarks on the means of improving the system by which labour is exacted in the Slave Colonies by Captain Elliott, Protector for British Guiana, *App.* p. 590.

3. *Carraccas.*

Employment of free-blacks, *Fleming* 2652—Blacks maintain themselves without assistance, *Fleming* 2659—Progress of cultivation since emancipation, *Fleming* 2668, 2671—Blacks continue cultivation of sugar estates freely, *Fleming* 2678—Emancipated negroes were forced to work a certain number of years for their maintenance, *Fleming* 2687, 721.

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3. *Carraccas*—continued.

2688—Cultivation generally by slaves, *Adams* 6575, 6578—Peons are employed on estates, *Adams* 6601, 6624, 6752—Difficulty of finding labourers from the thin population in Columbia, *Adams* 6690—Employment of free-blacks, *Watson* 6777—General cultivation by slaves free labourers; Peons, called in during crop-time, *Watson* 6792—Industry of negroes working for their emancipation, *Watson* 6814—Small labour required from a negro for his support, *Watson* 6817-6842.

4. *Cuba*.

Sugar cultivation, *Fleming* 2551-2553, 2560-2564—Wages paid to free negroes for working on estates, *Fleming* 2555-2557, 2568—Doubts expressed by Spaniards as to which labour is cheapest, free or slave, *Fleming* 2570, 2571.

5. *St. Domingo*.

Many Europeans have stated that cheaper sugar could be made in Hayti with free labour, than by slaves in British colonies, *Fleming* 2786—Proprietors of estates felt great difficulties in getting labourers, *Sutherland* 2944—The whole cultivation of the island is carried on by free labour, *Sutherland* 2949—Difficulty of proprietors of obtaining labourers, *Sutherland* 2951—Negroes in Hayti better off than the peasantry in Scotland, *Sutherland* 2979—Earnings of the cultivators of the soil in Hayti do not exceed 7 s. per head per annum, *Shand* 6996.

See also *Cane-hole digging*. *Estates*. *Free Blacks*. *Freedom*. *Jobbing-gangs*. *Task-work*. *Wages*.

*Labourers*. Comparison between slavery and the state of labourers in this country. See *Labour*, 2.

*Land* which might be applied to the use of free negroes, the outlying land, *Taylor* 132—Outlying lands could not be occupied without the permission of the owner, *Taylor* 133—Quantity of land necessary for the support of a negro and family, *Taylor* 137—Very little let for rent in Jamaica, *Taylor* 677—Probable situation of owners of estates and negroes, if emancipation should take place, as to occupying land, *Taylor* 693-696—Great quantities of uncultivated land in Jamaica, *Barry* 172—Effect of emancipation upon the price of land, *Duncan* 1425—Arrangements which would be safe for proprietors to make as to exchange of land for labour, *Duncan* 1483-1488—If cultivation of sugar were to cease, land would be applied to no other purpose, *Scott* 5322—Wheat, barley and oats will not grow on the soil, no grain except Guinea corn, and in Clarendon a little rice, *Scott* 5231—Impracticability of any scheme for renting lands to negroes, and paying wages, *Simpson* 5564—Value of land on estates, *Simpson* 5758, 5760-5763.

See also *Estates*. *Provision Grounds*. *Sugar cultivation*.

*Landlords*. See *Planters*.

*Liberated Africans*. Extract of a letter from Sir J. C. Smith, Governor of Bahamas concerning the liberated Africans, *Barrett* 8383.

See also *Bahamas*.

*Liberty of the Press*. Liberty of the press not a difficulty in the way of progress to the measure of emancipation, *Hankey* 4656.

See also *Bahamas*.

*Logwood*. Quantity cut at St. Lucia during the extra hours of labour by slaves, *Rowley* 7714.

*London Missionary Society*. Generally speaking reading among slaves is encouraged by ministers of the London Missionary Society, but not against the wish of planters, *Hankey* 4574, 4575—Instructions to missionaries in no way to interfere in politics or other events than those concerning religion, *Hankey* 4577—There are no missionaries of the London Society now in Jamaica, *Hankey* 4622.

*Loving, Henry*, (Analysis of his Evidence.) Proportion of white and coloured population of Antigua, 1920-1926—Number of slaves in the island, 1927—Alterations owing to the advance in education and spiritual knowledge, 1933—Caused by the indefatigable exertions of the missionaries, 1935—And greatly aided since the establishment of a bishoprick by the Church of England, 1936—System of education pursued in that island, 1938—Increase of marriages among the slave population, 1939—Discontent which evinced itself among the slaves, 1831, when the sabbath was taken away from them, 1942—Owing to this country strenuously desiring that markets on that day should be abolished, 1947—Since which the Legislature have not recognized giving any day to the slave, 1950—Many free blacks in Antigua who engage willingly in labour, 1956—They are not allowed to engage in field labour, 1958—Love of slaves for such luxuries as they can command, 1961, 1962—Necessity of a law enforcing field labour in case of emancipation, 1966-1969—Slaves would endeavour to carry on cultivation with some other commodity than that of the sugar cane, 1971.

How far machinery might be substituted for manual labour, 1973—Nine-tenths of the slaves in Antigua attend some place of religious worship, 1980—Great contrast between

*Loving, Henry*, (Analysis of his Evidence)—*continued*.

between the condition of the negro and free black, 1983-1986—Content of the captured negroes and Creole escheated slaves liberated from further dependence on the Crown in the island of Antigua, 1988—Jealousy likely to be engendered among slaves from observing the happy situation of the liberated Africans, 1990—Intercourse between free blacks and slaves, which must necessarily increase the danger of keeping the slaves in a state of slavery, 1998-2000—Manner in which the Crown slaves were liberated by the Governor of Antigua, 2004—Which was entirely done in one day, 2006—State of civilization of these men, 2013-2018—Impossibility of planters paying wages at present paid to free blacks in case of emancipation, 2022—Probable state of planters on emancipation taking place from want of capital, 2025, 2026.

*Lumber*. Brought principally from America to supply West India estates, *Scott* 5399.

## M.

*M'Gregor, John*, (Analysis of his Evidence.) State of the free blacks in the settlement in Nova Scotia, 8390—Opinion of witness as to the necessity of a gradual operation of three generations to adapt negroes brought up as slaves to act and think prudently, and apply themselves to industrious pursuits, 8408—Conduct of negroes removed during the American war to the settlement of Sierra Leone, 8412-8424—Conduct of the Maroons in Nova Scotia, 8427—All attempts to give the negroes in Hammond Plains religious instruction were ineffectual, 8440.

*Machinery* would be more employed in the event of emancipation than it is at present *Duncan* 1467—How far machinery might be substituted for manual labour, *Loving* 1973—The use of the plough might be substituted for cane-hole digging, *Thorp* 2176—Introduction of machinery tended to the preservation of life in America, where negroes ceased pounding rice by hand, *Meir* 5546.

*MacIntyre, Mr.* See *Prisoners*.

*Macclesfield*. Instance of a child flogged at Macclesfield estate, *Knibb* 3759.

*Magistrates*. Want of in the island of Jamaica, *Taylor* 680—A greater number necessary in case of abolition of slavery, *Barry* 912—Resolutions complimentary to magistrates passed by Wesleyan society, *Barry* 1145—Not the act of missionaries generally, *Barry* 1149—In the magistracy generally a strong opposition to the instruction of negroes, *Barry* 1163, 1229, 1230—Copy of resolutions passed by missionaries at a meeting held at Kingston, September 1824, *Barry* 1165—Copy of resolutions by the committee in this country when receiving the resolutions from Jamaica, *Barry* 1166—Changes must take place on emancipation, *Cooper* 1649, 1650—Impossibility of substituting the authority of the magistrate for that of the master in enforcing labour, *Scott* 5075—Willingness of magistrates and Attorney-general to follow up any complaints of slaves or missionaries, *Simpson* 5660-5656—Case of Mr. Jackson and Mr. Finlayson, *Simpson* 6014-6021—Obstructions offered to witness from magistrates in the exercise of his religious duties, *Shipman* 6102—Friendliness of magistrates in Trelawney and St. Thomas-in-the-East, *Shipman* 6168.

See also *Resolutions of Missionaries*. *Stipendiary Magistrates*.

*Maintenance of Slaves*. See *Slaves*, 5.

*Malden Settlement*. State of the Malden settlement of free blacks in Canada, *Paul* 3073.

*Manderson, Mr.* See *Arrest*.

*Manufacture of Sugar*. See *Sugar* II.

## MANUMISSION,

1. *Generally*.
2. *Bahamas*.
3. *Caracas*.
4. *Cuba*.
5. *Trinidad*.

### 1. *Generally*.

Slaves on being manumized not likely to turn vagrants, *Taylor* 199—Greatest number are among domestics, *Taylor* 558—Excitement prevailing among slaves about Mr. Beaumont's Bill for compulsory manumission, *Barry* 884-888; *Duncan* 1576—Law to enforce manumission by purchase would not have an extensive effect, *Duncan* 1457—Great disappointment of negroes on the rejection of Mr. Beaumont's Bill for manumission, *Duncan* 1576—Effect of Mr. Beaumont's speech for emancipation and compensation in the House of Assembly, *Knibb* 3888—Witness has known a case of a slave maintaining himself, and paying his master for his hire, *Knibb* 4027—Also of a negro who has redeemed himself and his wife, *Knibb* 4031—Plan of witness for compulsory manumission by valuation, *Williams* 4509—Freedom offered by a very influential

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influential proprietor to his slaves on certain conditions, if witness will go back and be their instructor, *Knibb* 4011—Evidence concerning conversations of witness with Mr. Knibb on the subject of emancipating slaves, and conveying to them religious instruction, *Hankey* 4581—4616—Case of Boydon, whose slave was manumitted on account of ill treatment, *Rowley* 7696.

See also, *Beaumont, Mr.*

2. *Bahamas.*

The blacks in Bahamas have become free from the manumission laws, *Fleming* 2856.

3. *Carraccas.*

Manumission was suddenly effected and without convulsion, *Fleming* 2660, 2661—Emancipated negroes forced to work a certain number of years for their maintenance, *Fleming* 2687, 2688—Manner in which slaves charge their masters on payment of their value, *Adams* 6613—System of compulsory manumission in Spanish colonies, *Watson* 6810.

4. *Cuba.*

Discontent not so prevalent in Cuba as Jamaica owing to the law of compulsory manumission, *Fleming* 2577—Tariff in Cuba fixing the price, *Fleming* 2580—Considerable numbers of manumissions annually take place, *Fleming* 2589—Origin of law for compulsory manumission in Cuba, *Fleming* 2615, 2618—Slaves purchase day by day, *Fleming* 2519—Redress against masters in case of acts of injustice, *Fleming* 2623—Common in Cuba for agricultural slaves to purchase their freedom, *Fleming* 3234.

5. *Trinidad.*

Compulsory manumission formerly the law in Trinidad, *Fleming* 3225.

*Markets* well supplied with provisions by negroes, *Taylor* 357–360; *Williams* 4425—Custom of negroes to supply Sunday markets, *Cooper* 1613, 1614; *Thorp* 2061—Markets supplied by slaves with provisions, *Williams* 4425—Extent to which they labour for this purpose, *Williams* 4427–4430—Negroes not only cultivate sufficient for their own support, but supply all the markets, *Simpson* 5557—Assistance given to negroes by masters in conveying their provisions to market, *Simpson* 5931—Discontent of slaves when their Sunday market was abolished at Antigua, *Loving* 1947—Markets supplied in Demerara, *Austin* 2386–2391—Distance which negroes often travel to market, *Barry* 779, 796, 797; *Scott* 4949—Situations in which negroes may find intermediate markets without proceeding to town, *Simpson* 5959; *Shand* 6409, 6410.

*Maroons.* Life generally led by the Maroons, *Taylor* 542—Much employed in the cultivation of arrow root, *Taylor* 543—Have tradesmen among them, who have been employed by witness, *Taylor* 546—Their general habits are, going over the woods hunting the wild hog and fishing, *Taylor* 553—Improvement in the Accompong since 1828, *Taylor* 556—Nature of the Maroon establishment, who have always a superintendant at the town, and their own courts and local regulations, *Scott* 5277.

See also *Free Blacks*, 4.

*Marriage* between white persons and their mistresses of colour more frequent now than formerly, *Barry* 838—General feeling among women of colour to prefer living with white men as mistresses to marrying persons of colour, *Barry* 1278—Almost entirely unknown among negroes, *Duncan* 1405—Common occurrence of cases of opposition to the marriage of negroes, *Duncan* 1905—Antigua, increase of marriage among the slave population, *Loving* 1939—Discouraged among slaves in Demerara, *Austin* 2333, 2334—Incompatibility of slavery with matrimony, *Austin* 2336, 2337—Marriage more encouraged than formerly, *Austin* 2348—Every encouragement given to marriage on estates under witness's charge, *Simpson* 5857–5861—Marriage encouraged in Jamaica, *Rowley* 7703—Witness's impression that marriage among slaves is on the increase, *Barrett* 8352–8355—Marriage getting more general than formerly, *Fleming* 2759—But generally not practised, *Fleming* 2760.

*Martial Law.* See *Courts Martial.*

*Mattresses.* Shrubs in Jamaica used for stuffing mattresses, *Taylor* 635.

*Measles.* See *Mortality.*

*Meir, William,* (Analysis of his Evidence.) Has resided in the United States from 1794–1822, 5508—And was a slave holder, 5511—Has now parted with all, 5512—They were principally employed in growing rice and cotton, and a little sugar, 5513—Doubts very much whether slaves in Georgia would work for wages in case of emancipation, 5515—Emancipated slaves never worked in the fields, they generally retired to town, 5519—At the period of slave emancipation in New York there were not many to free, 5521—Great jealousy in Georgia and Carolina as to the slave properties, 5529—Difficulty

*Meir, William*, (Analysis of his Evidence)—*continued*.

—Difficulty of manumitting slaves in those provinces, 5530—Jealousy of the northern states of the wealth of the slave-holding proprietors, 5532—Publications recommending or encouraging freedom would be instantly suppressed, 5533, 5534—Attempts at insurrection during witness's residence in the United States, 5537—On witness's estate the slave population increased, 5540—Creoles more healthy and increased faster than Africans, 5543, 5544—Introduction of machinery tended to the preservation of life, when negroes ceased pounding rice by hand, which brought on disorders, 5546.

*Mexico*. Management of property in Mexico, *Watson* 6856—System by which labour is procured similar to the truck system in this country, *Watson* 6856-6862, 6863—Attempts of an American to establish sugar mills failed from the difficulty of procuring labour, *Watson* 6865—Witness never saw sugar cultivated by free labour, except in a very limited degree, in Mexico, *Watson* 6879—Price of sugar in Mexico, *Watson* 6891.

*Militia*. Militia of Jamaica not strong enough to cope with the blacks without the assistance of the King's troops, *Williams* 4473.

See also *Courts Martial*.

*Missionaries*. Always avoid conversations on the subject of slavery, *Barry* 893—Strict injunctions to missionaries to interfere only for the purposes of religious instruction, *Barry* 925, 926—Number of Scottish missionaries in Jamaica, *Barry* 1247—Nature of instructions given by Wesleyan Society to the missionaries, *Barry* 1251—Missionary society has nothing to do with publications of individual missionaries in the public prints, *Barry* 1254—Manner in which missionaries are sometimes led to interfere as to slaves, *Barry* 1255—No missionary of any denomination had any thing to do with instigating the rebellion, *Barry* 1295-1299—Distinction between the discipline of the Wesleyan and Baptist missionaries, *Barry* 1300—Attacks on the missionaries since the insurrection, *Duncan* 1585—Systematically opposed by planters, *Duncan* 1586—Alterations in the habits of slaves owing to indefatigable exertions of missionaries, *Loving* 1935—Number in Demerara and Essequibo, *Austin* 2312.—Hostility of whites to be accounted for from the circumstances that they considered the missionaries protected by the government, *Knibb* 3585, 3586.

Outrage committed on Mr. Bleeby, a Wesleyan missionary, *Knibb* 3842—Great discontent would be excited by any attempt to withdraw missionaries from the island, *Knibb* 3930, 3955—Different conduct on different estates as to encouragement given to missionaries, *Hunkey* 4649—From their intercourse with slaves cannot form correct ideas of their character, *Simpson* 5578—Adverse feelings excited in the minds of persons in Jamaica against missionaries on account of the discussions about Mr. Smith, *Young* 6274-6276—Fear of missionaries that excitement might be occasioned against them that impediments might be thrown in their way, *Shipman* 6174, 6175—Belief of witness that many missionaries extort money from the slaves, *Shand* 7221, 7224; *Baker* 7347—Many preach in an objectionable manner, *Shand* 7231—Independence of missionaries of merchants or planters in a pecuniary point of view, *Shipman* 6087, 6088—Attacks on the missionaries' property since the insurrection, *Duncan* 1586; *Knibb* 3498-3515—Insufficient protection given by law to the property of missionaries, *Duncan* 1710, 1711.

See also *Baptist*. *Moravians*. *Resolutions of Missionaries*. *Wesleyan*.

*Mocha*. Murder of the overseer of that estate by the negroes during the rebellion, *Baker* 7412.

*Money*. Negroes could make as good a bargain and understand value of money as well as white men, *Barry* 792-795.

*Morals*. State of society in Jamaica, *Taylor* 257; *Barry* 1263—General immorality of all society in Jamaica, *Barry* 817—Custom of free people of colour, and female slaves, to live as mistresses to white men, *Barry* 825-837, 841, 842—Marriage between white persons and their mistresses of colour more frequent now than formerly, *Barry* 838—This immoral mode of life attributable to slavery, *Barry* 836-843—Influence of religion in counteracting the vicious state of morals, *Barry* 845—Description of the state of society in Jamaica, *Barry* 1263—General state of immorality through the island, *Barry* 1256, 1258, 1259, 1262—Probable effect of emancipation on the moral life of slaves, *Barry* 1265, 1275—Immoral state of society in Jamaica, *Duncan* 1405—State of the West Indians as to intercourse with black women, *Williams* 4522-4528—In case either of violence or seduction of female slaves on estates, overseers would be brought to justice, *Williams* 4573, 4574—Instance of serious complaints being made against an overseer attempting to force two young women; such attempts perfectly impossible, *Simpson* 5659—No greater state of demoralization in Jamaica than other countries, *Rowley* 7662.

See also *Marriage*.

*Morant Bay*. See *Schools*.

*Morgan*,

*Morgan, Rev. Thomas*, (Analysis of his Evidence.) Resided seventeen years as a Wesleyan minister in the slave colonies, 3109-3111—Had frequent opportunities of observing slaves, 3119—And conceives that the negro only needs the opportunity of displaying that he possesses a mind in common with his fellow creatures, 3120—In consequence of the religious instruction communicated to them, they became a more moral set of people, 3125—Moral improvement cannot at present be carried to a great extent, owing to the inability of negroes to attend religious instruction, 3127—Particularly in Jamaica, 3129—In many of the islands no objection is made to the instruction of slaves; in Saint Kitt's the preaching was allowed in the houses of the President and the Speaker of the House of Assembly, 3130, 3131—The same facilities were not afforded in Jamaica, 3134-3136—Manner in which slaves were maintained in the smaller islands, 3137, 3138—Negroes generally industrious when working for themselves, 3148—And they would work willingly for hire for reasonable wages, 3150—Even on sugar plantations, 3151—Employments generally of emancipated negroes, 3153—Witness never knew an emancipated slave work on a sugar plantation, 3156—Conduct of emancipated slaves generally good, 3159—State of heathenism in which slaves lived prior to the mission of Wesleyans 1786, 3165.

State of the slaves in Jamaica worse than in other islands, 3170—In Kingston alone the Wesleyan methodists had 40,000 members in the society, 3172—No danger would arise from emancipating the slaves, 3175—They would become industrious members of society, 3176—And follow occupations if paid for their labour, 3177—There is danger in continuing the state of slavery in Jamaica, 3178-3180—Desire of religious negroes for freedom, 3181-3184—Emancipation should not be gradual but total; great danger would arise from a partial measure, 3185, 3186—Rapid improvement taking place in free people of colour in Jamaica, 3189—In case of freedom there is nothing to be feared from the religious portion of the slaves, 3197—Any gradual emancipation would create great jealousy among the slave population, 3201-3203—Time allowed negroes to work in Saint Vincent's, 3206—In the present condition of slaves in Jamaica, religious instruction could not be administered to a proper extent, 3207—Slaves in Jamaica are prevented from attending places of religious worship, 3210—There is greater danger in postponing emancipation than there would be in granting immediate freedom, 3214—But it could not take place safely without regulation, 3218.

*Mortality*. Early deaths in Jamaica; many carried off by the hooping cough, *Taylor* 494—Often by the measles, *Taylor* 497—Less mortality during crop-time than any other, *Shand* 696o.

*Moravian Missionaries*. Assistance rendered by them in the education of negroes, *Taylor* 589.

*Mortgages*. Probable effect on planters who are mortgaged, of any general measure of emancipation as respects their mortgagees' conduct, *Austin* 2262.

*Mount Concord*. Testimony of the overseer of that estate as to the beneficial effects of religious instruction on the minds of slaves, *Barry* 800.

*Muir, James*. Attachment shown by him to his master during the late insurrection in Jamaica, *Barry* 950.

## N.

*Natives of Colour*. A great deal of communication between the low natives of colour and the slaves, *Barry* 881—Persons who attend places of worship principally persons of colour and free blacks, *Barry* 1291—Rapid improvement taking place in free people of colour in Jamaica, *Morgan* 3189—Customs of free people of colour to live as mistresses to white men, *Barry* 837, 841, 842—Marriage between white persons and their mistresses of colour more frequent now than formerly, *Barry* 838—General state of immorality, *Barry* 1256, 1258, 1259, 1262—General feeling of women of colour to prefer being mistresses to white men to marrying men of colour, *Barry* 1278—Free coloured people generally detest the American Government, *Duncan* 1579; *Knibb* 3284, 3285—Property to a large extent frequently held by people of colour, *Shand* 7115—Very small portion of which has been acquired by their own industry, *Shand* 7120—People of colour have been found good managers on small properties, *Shand* 7122—But not such good managers as Englishmen, *Shand* 7125—Attachment of natives of colour to this country, *Baker* 7531—Increasing wealth of people of colour, *Wildman* 8134-8140.

See also *Creoles*. *Free Blacks*. *Morals*. *Religious Instruction*.

*Newspapers*. Contents of the Jamaica newspapers likely to create discontent among the negroes, *Taylor* 661—"Watchman" and "Christian Record" are both read by slaves, *Taylor* 604—Such publications must excite the minds of the slaves, *Taylor* 609—Abuse of missionaries in the daily publications in Jamaica, *Knibb* 3450-3459—Eagerness of slaves for the possession of newspapers, by which means they acquire knowledge of all that passes on their condition in this country, *Knibb* 3604-3609—Speech of witness published in the "Patriot" newspaper, *Knibb* 3774—Means by which slaves get information of the contents of newspapers, *Knibb* 3800—Head-men in plantations can read; they get the newspapers, read them to others, and give their own interpretation, *Young* 6369.

*New York*, Act passed by legislative assembly of, respecting the abolition of slavery, *Paul* 3014—Number of slaves in the State, *Paul* 3015—When the period of emancipation arrived there were no disturbances, *Paul* 3024—Slaves maintained themselves by labour, earning from 10 to 12 dollars a month, *Paul* 3035-3037—Masters in New York always considered more humane than slaveholders of southern provinces, *Paul* 3039—Improvement in the moral and religious character of slaves, *Paul* 3041-3045—Causes of New York emancipation not being passed to take effect at a prospective date, *Paul* 3087—Population of the States of New York 1,900,000, *Paul* 3091—Number of slaves at New York when emancipation took place, *Ogden* 4792—Proportion they bore to the white population, *Ogden* 4793—Gradual manner in which abolition of slavery was effected, *Ogden* 4798—General impression that their condition was not much improved, *Ogden* 4802—Emancipation in New York not a reasonable instance to justify a similar experiment where the proportion of population differed, *Ogden* 4805—Great proportion of minor offences committed by coloured persons, *Ogden* 4909.

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*Night-work*. Night-work is done without in the Leeward Islands, and might also in Jamaica, *Taylor* 491-501—During crop-time no restriction on the hours of labour, *Thorp* 2068—Nature of night-work; manner in which gangs are divided into spells, *Scott* 4973—White persons on an estate are deprived of rest more than the slaves, *Scott* 4989—Negroes never have so little as six hours rest, *Simpson* 5473—Manner in which night-work is performed during crop-time, *Simpson* 5475—Healthy and cheerful appearance of slaves during crop-time, *Simpson* 5477—Slaves never show any particular signs of exhaustion on returning from their labour, *Simpson* 5480—Period of spells and night-work, *Simpson* 5975-5987—Proportion of night-work which falls to negroes during crop-time, *Shand* 6415—Nature of spell-work during the night, *Shand* 6421—Nature of what is called the long spell, *Wildman* 7963—Condition of those who have to feed the mill, *Wildman* 7965-7968—Arrangements made by witness in place of the long spell; satisfactory results of the alteration, *Wildman* 7975-7979, 7985—Impossibility of taking off the crop if night-work is not continued, *Wildman* 7991-7993.

See also *Crops*. *Sugar Plantation*.

## O.

*Oaths*. Belief of slaves that they were to obtain their freedom at Christmas; oath taken not to divulge their information on the subject, *Williams* 4279-4283.

*Oats*. See *Grain*.

*Offices*. See *Civil and Religious Establishments*.

*Ogden, James de Peyster*, (Analysis of his Evidence.) Native of New York residing at Liverpool, 4787, 4788—Number of slaves in New York at the time emancipation took place, 4792—Proportion they bore to the white population, 4793—Occupation of slaves generally, 4795—General manner in which abolition of slavery was effected, 4798—General impression that their condition was not much improved, 4802—The emancipation in New York not a reasonable instance to justify a similar experiment where the proportion of population differed, 4805—Their habits were not improved by freedom, 4810—States in which slavery is still permitted, 4813—One-sixth of the population of America is slaves, 4816—There has no general plan of emancipation been adopted or considered practicable in the United States, 4819—And the slave population is certainly not in a state to receive immediate emancipation, 4820—United States first passed a law against the importation of slaves, 4822—Slaves generally who have been emancipated turn their attention to becoming coachmen or footmen, but do not cultivate the soil, 4825—Witness never heard of an example of emancipated slaves working at plantations, 4829—Insurrections in the United States, 4839—Nature of rice plantations, and the labour of negroes in cultivating them, 4840—Sugar and rice cannot be cultivated by whites, 4843—Slave regulations in the United States as to future colonies, 4844—The immediate abolition of slavery has never been proposed in either House of Congress, 4855—The warmest friends of the slaves have never considered such a measure practicable, 4857—There are many difficulties connected with the subject of emancipation, independent of the rights of the planters, 4861—Great difficulty to decide what would become of the slaves in the event of their freedom being suddenly granted, 4862.

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colonies on account of the greater part of the population being white, 4897—The provincial government of the different States are very averse to the introduction of education among slaves, 4904—In New York a great proportion of the minor offences are committed by coloured persons, 4909—Education to slaves would be injurious to the tenure of property, and of no service unless preparatory to a state of freedom, 4911—Slave population increases rapidly in Virginia, 4915—Consequences of removal from Virginia to the Southern Provinces to the health of the slaves, 4917—The cultivation of rice more injurious than the cultivation of sugar, 4920—Law in South Carolina respecting the admission of free persons of colour, 4922—American government obliged to tolerate slavery for the sake of the preservation of large properties, 4924—The Americans are naturally anxious to maintain their property, but are not jealous of slavery, 4927—States bound to uphold each other; in case of insurrection, the States would immediately march to the succour of the white population, 4932.

*Oral Instruction* quite insufficient for the communication of knowledge, *Wildman* 7775, 7776—And the organs by which it is administered quite incompetent, *Wildman* 7776-7779—Nature of instruction, which is oral, given by the island, from which no benefit can be derived, *Wildman* 8007-8015, 8021.

*Orders in Council.* Manner in which they were received by the House of Assembly, *Duncan* 1741—General confederacy in the West Indies among the whites to cast off the mother-country from the dissatisfaction they feel at the late Orders in Council, *Williams*, 4286.

*Osnaburghs.* See *Clothing.*

*Overseer.* Officer most in communication with attorneys, *Taylor* 287—Witness never heard of a case of a trial of an overseer for his ill-treatment of a slave, *Knibb* 4134—In case of violence or seduction of female slaves on estates, overseers would be brought to justice, *Williams* 4513, 4514—Instance of serious complaints being made against an overseer attempting to force two young women, such attempts perfectly impossible, *Simpson* 5657-5659—Great hospitality exercised by overseers of estates, *Shand* 7002—Generally speaking, agents manage property better than principals, *Shand* 7003-7005, 7009—Overseers not generally married men, it being an objection with planters generally, *Wildman* 8103-8122.

*Outlying Lands.* See *Lands.*

*Owners of Estates.* See *Estates. Lands.*

*Oxford Estate.* Conduct of a slave, named Barrett, on the Oxford estate, who, during the late insurrection, preserved the property, *Knibb* 3318-3320.

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*Parish Meetings.* Delegate parish meetings held in Jamaica a great cause of the insurrection, *Knibb* 3283—Effect of meetings on the minds of the negroes, *Baker* 7528.

*Partial Emancipation.* See *Abolition of Slavery, 2.*

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*Paul, Rev. Nathaniel, (Analysis of his Evidence.)* Native of the United States, and a Baptist missionary, 3006-3009—Act passed by the legislature of New York respecting the abolition of slavery; abolishing it in 1827, 3014—Number of slaves in the State, 3015—When the period of emancipation arrived there were no disturbances, 3024—For three years subsequent to the date of emancipation witness heard of no complaints, 3033—They maintained themselves by their labour, earning from 10 to 12 dollars a month, and their provisions, 3035-3037—Masters in New York always considered more humane than slave holders of Southern Provinces, 3039—Improvement in their moral and religious character, 3041—Anxiety for education, 3041-3045—State of slaves who have escaped from Southern Provinces and settled in Canada, where they maintain themselves by agricultural pursuits and have introduced the culture of tobacco, 3047-3053—State of the Wilberforce settlement, 3055-3058—Land purchased by this settlement of the Canada Company, 3059—Roads made by them, 3061—Moral state of the society, 3066—Advantages of these settlements over the slaves in the States in a moral point of view, 3068—Agreement to exclude the use of ardent spirits from the settlement, 3069, 3070—State of the Malden settlement, 3073—No danger in emancipating slaves from a state of slavery, 3078—Causes of the New York Emancipation Act being passed to take effect at a prospective date, 3087—Population of the States of New York amounts to 1,900,000 according to the last census, 3091—Employments of slaves prior to emancipation, 3094—Opinions of witness as to emancipation, founded on his view of the state of slavery in New York, and on the character of those slaves who have been emancipated, or have freed themselves, in New York and Canada, 3107.

*Pechon.* State of the island under his government, *Sutherland* 2932—Policy of Pechon, who succeeded in undermining the government of Christophe, *Sutherland* 2939—Agrarian Law passed by Pechon, *Sutherland* 2944-2948—No peace prevailed in the island till the Agrarian Law was passed, *Sutherland* 2990.

*Pedro Plains.* Bad character of the inhabitants of Pedro Plains, *Wildman* 7907.

*Pens.* Land seldom let on lease in Jamaica; instance of witness, under peculiar circumstances, letting land for Lord Carrington, *Shand* 7160-7165—Difference between attempting to let pens and sugar estates, *Shand* 7168-7176.

*Peons.* General employment of Peons in the Carraccas, *Adams* 6624—Slaves on estates in which witness was concerned, worked conjointly with Peons, *Adams* 6752—Free labourers, Peons, in the Carraccas, called in to labour during crop-time, *Watson* 6792—Amount of wages paid to each Peon on estate in Trinidad, cultivated by witness, *Bowen* 6924—Spanish Peons the only free labourers employed, *Bowen* 6926.

*Peyanga.* Character of General Peyanga, *Fleming* 2685.

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*Plantain Garden River.* Slaves on that estate refusing to purchase their liberty, *Taylor* 578.

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*Plumer, William.* Punishment of William Plumer in order to induce him to implicate his master, Mr. Burchell, *Knibb*, 3765-3771.

*Poland.* Effect of the discussion of the Polish question in the newspapers on the minds of slaves, *Knibb* 3291.

*Police.* Strict police a necessary accompaniment to emancipation, *Taylor* 714—Any police, however strict, preferable to the present state of slavery, *Barry* 906—Free people would be perfectly competent to discharge the police duties, *Barry* 907-911—Necessity of a strong police in the event of any general measure for emancipation, *Barry* 1087-1089—Manner in which they should be stationed through the island, *Barry* 1090—In the event of emancipation a proper police might be so established as to ensure the peace of the island, *Duncan* 1466—Police must enforce good faith in the event of land being lent for labour, *Duncan* 1490—Police regulation which would be necessary in case of emancipation, *Cooper* 1648; *Thorp* 2168, 2181, 2191, 2192—Free people would form a portion of the police as well as the people instructed among the slaves, *Thorp* 2191—A police could not be well formed of persons of colour on account of jealousy existing between them and blacks, *Scott* 5285—Impracticability of forming a police corps of coloured persons to coerce blacks; animosity between the colours, *Simpson* 5567, 5568—Dislike of negroes to free people of colour as constables, *Wildman* 8001.

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*Poor Funds.* Claimants on the Poor's Fund, Barbadoes and Demerara, *Austin* 2405-2415—In proportion to numbers more distress among whites than blacks, *Cooper* 1642—Negroes have claims on parish relief in Jamaica; variation of the poor laws in Trelawney, *Scott* 5061—Expenses of white persons out of the poor rate, as proved by returns from the parish clerk of Trelawney, *Scott* 5136-5141—Poor funds in the parishes of Jamaica; greatest portion of applicants are white persons, *Simpson* 5918-5920—Witness has always understood that the greatest part of the poor funds are expended upon whites, *Wildman* 8227.

## POPULATION.

1. *Caracas.*
2. *St. Domingo.*
3. *Jamaica.*

1. *Caracas.*

Proportions of white and slave population, *Fleming* 2695.

2. *Domingo, St.*

Increase of population, *Fleming* 2728—Since the emancipation of negroes in Hayti population has decreased, *Shand* 7045.

3. *Jamaica.*

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General returns, 1817-1829, of contents of Twelve Plantation Returns in Jamaica; distinguishing sexes and countries, increase and decrease of population, *App.* p. 566.

Population of Jamaica decreases, *Taylor* 232—Principally on sugar estates, *Taylor* 233—Causes of the decrease of population, *Taylor* 472-480, 486—Population would increase if women were exempt from night-work and flogging, *Taylor* 507—State of population on Mr. Wildman's estates, *Taylor* 523—Proportions of white and coloured population in Antigua, *Loving* 1920-1926—Number of slaves in the island, *Loving* 1927.

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*Port Royal Mountains*, bad character of negroes in that district, *Barry* 800.

*Poultry.* Negroes generally allowed to keep poultry on estates, *Duncan* 1449; *Scott* 5050—Negroes have complained that overseers have taken their poultry, *Duncan* 1451.

*Preachers.* See *Baptists.*

*Preaching.* Manner in which witness touched upon doctrines connected with the freedom of Christianity, when addressing slaves, *Knibb* 3550-3555—Witness always abstained from using exciting texts, *Knibb* 3582, 3583—Witness always preached that emancipation should not be the result of rebellion, *Knibb* 3792—Exhortation of witness to slaves to return to their work at the breaking out of the rebellion, *Knibb* 3903-3909—Extract of a sermon preached by witness 1824 on the duties of slaves, *Young* 6239.

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*Prisoners.* Witness desired to examine prisoners, and informed that if any slave will divulge that which may lead to a full disclosure of the rebellion every effort shall be made to have his life spared, *Knibb* 3847—Copy of examinations taken, *Knibb* 3870, 3884-3886—Improbability of Mr. Miller sanctioning Mr. Knibb in examining prisoners during the rebellion, *Baker* 7359, 7494, 7496; *Dignum* 8482—Statement that Mr. McIntyre could not see the prisoners without having a sword on, untrue, *Baker* 7576—Free access allowed to negroes after condemnation, *Baker* 7579.

*Property.* See *Estates. Land. Slaves, 7.*

*Protector of Slaves.* Salary and nature of the office, *Dignum* 7606-7617—Duty of protector as to defence of slaves, *Dignum* 8518-8523.

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*Provisions.* Markets partly supplied with provisions by negroes, *Taylor* 357, 360; *Williams* 4425—There is never any deficiency of provisions; negroes sell theirs at a considerable profit, *Taylor* 384, 385—No complaints among negroes as to food, *Duncan* 1421—Negroes generally sell their extra provisions at market on a Sunday, *Thorp* 2061—Price of meat in Jamaica 12*d.*, in Hayti 2*d.*, *Fleming* 3754—Fact of slaves raising provisions no proof that they would, if emancipated, endure the labour requisite for cultivating an estate, *Williams* 4541—Many negroes possess considerable sums of money by the sale of their provisions, *Scott* 5048—Vast quantities of food are annually imported from America, with which planters supply their slaves in case of drought or scarcity, *Scott* 5159, 5160—Value of provisions annually furnished to negroes, *Simpson* 5724-5730—Assistance which negroes receive from their masters in conveying their provisions to market, *Simpson* 5931—Provisions raised by negroes; fertility of soil, *Shand* 6398—On Clarendon mountains a negro cannot require more than six days to raise what is necessary for a year's support, *Shand* 6404—Allowances given to negroes besides their provision grounds, *Shand* 6407—Large proportion of negroes do not raise provisions for sale, *Shand* 6943—Extent to which provisions might be raised in Jamaica for the service of the island, *Shand* 7079-7083—Dangerous consequences which might arise from the want of proper cultivation in case of hurricane, *Shand* 7299.

## PROVISION GROUNDS.

1. *Generally.*
2. *Emancipation.*
3. *Interference of Overseers.*

1. *Generally.*

Nature of negroes' provisions and labour bestowed upon their grounds, *Taylor* 300; *Scott* 4941—Provisions usually raised by negroes on their grounds, *Taylor* 307—Extent and nature of land usually allotted to negroes, *Taylor* 323-331—Cultivation of yams and cocoas, *Taylor* 332-335—Time employed by slaves in cultivating their grounds, *Taylor* 342-349; *Scott* 4944; *Simpson* 5471, 5610—Are the means by which slaves gain their subsistence, *Barry* 769—Articles generally raised, *Barry* 772, 1053-1056—General excuse of negroes on Sunday was their necessity for attending their provision grounds, *Duncan* 1377—Indispensably necessary for negroes to devote their Sundays to their provision grounds, *Duncan* 1378, 1384—Labour of negroes in their provision grounds, *Duncan* 1441—Time now allowed slaves sufficient for raising food, but by the present arrangement they are deprived of Sunday as a day of rest, *Duncan* 1454—Custom in Demerara and Barbadoes as to provision grounds, *Austin* 2379, 2380.

Law allows twenty-six days holidays, but negroes generally have every Saturday, *Scott* 4944; *Simpson* 5471—Time allowed in the middle of the day is generally employed in working in their gardens, *Scott* 4967—Negroes consider their grounds as much their own property as the owners consider their estates, *Scott* 5093; *Simpson* 5562—Great difficulty would occur, in the event of emancipation, in making negroes give up their grounds, *Scott* 5095-5098—Negroes not only cultivate sufficient for their own support, but supply all the markets in the island, *Simpson* 5557—Negroes could not comprehend the idea of paying rent for their provision grounds, *Simpson* 5563—Provision grounds allotted on witness's estate of Killets in Clarendon, *Shand* 6403—Cultivation of yams, corn and plantain, *Shand* 6398—Quantity of land which a slave and his family can cultivate, and produce thereof, *Simpson* 5681-5717—Labour requisite for tilling negro provision grounds, *Shand* 6936—Different cultivation necessary on different estates, *Shand* 6946—Opinion of slaves as to the tenure of their provision grounds, *Wildman* 7813—Customary arrangement with slaves on removing them from one estate to another, *Wildman* 7821.

2. *Emancipation.*

Objection to the allotment of provision grounds in part payment of emancipated slaves, *Cooper* 1633, 1634—Slaves might hold their provision grounds at a reasonable rent, or by payment of labour, *Thorp* 2168-2170—Opinion of witness that the great body of negroes in Jamaica would be contented to engage to cultivate sugar properties upon receiving their grounds without paying rent for the labour they gave, *Thorp* 2213, 2214—If emancipated slaves were put in possession of their provision grounds, you could not depend on their labour for cultivating sugar, *Scott* 5208, 5209—If duty were paid in wages the island would be dependent for food on a foreign supply and incur the risk of famine, *Scott* 5210.

3. *Interference of Overseers.*

There are instances of overseers taking away negroes' provision grounds, *Duncan* 1477, 1478—Power very rarely used, *Duncan* 1480—Bookkeepers and drivers are obliged to look after negroes, or they would neglect to work properly at their provision grounds, *Cooper* 1610—Not sufficient to depend upon negroes for cultivating their grounds, *Cooper* 1709—Some negroes will labour hard for themselves, others are obliged to be looked after to prevent their neglecting their provision grounds, *Scott* 5085—Negroes generally require urging to attend their provision grounds, *Simpson* 5950.

*Publication.* Bad effect on negroes of speeches and publications from this country, *Simpson* 5575, 5576.

*Punishments.* See *Flogging.* *Gaols.*

*Pyke, John Ford,* (Analysis of his Evidence.) Has resided in Cuba, 6759—Has been in the interior of the country, 6761-6763—Has no information on the subject of free labour, 6764—Nor any knowledge of the cultivation of sugar, 6769—Nor of the state of the country, as to compulsory manumission, 6770.

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*Rattoons.* In some estates crops depend entirely upon rattoons which spares cane-hole digging, *Taylor* 405, 406—Proportion regulated by quality of land, *Taylor* 415.

*Reading.* See *Newspapers.*

*Registry of Slaves.* A return of all summaries or accounts of births and deaths, or classes of slaves contained in the Slave Registry Returns of Barbadoes, 1817-1829, *Amyot* 7926.

Number of Africans, as distinguished from Creoles, which were contained in the original Registry of Slaves for the island of Jamaica, 1817, *Amyot* 7937—Suggestions for improvements in the regulations of registering slaves, *Amyot* 7938.

*Religious Instruction.* Capabilities of negroes to receive religious instruction, *Barry* 737—Effects of religious instruction on the minds of slaves, *Barry* 800, 808; *Hankey* 4567, 4572—Much greater facility of affording religious instruction if emancipation should take place *Barry* 807—Want of provision for religious instruction, *Barry* 811—Number of slaves receiving religious instruction cannot exceed 50,000, *Barry* 812—A greater proportion of free blacks attend religious worship than slaves, *Barry* 814—Strict injunction to missionaries to interfere only with slaves for the purpose of religious instruction, *Barry* 925, 926—Impossibility under slavery, to introduce proper attendance on religious worship, *Barry* 938-941—Proprietors of estates who encourage religious instruction of their negroes, *Barry* 1234—Catechists sent out from this country meet with great obstruction, *Barry* 1241-1243—Probable effects of religious instruction on the moral conduct of slaves, combined with emancipation, *Barry* 1265, 1275—Religious knowledge increases the desire of freedom, *Barry* 1293—Effect of religious education and the spread of Christianity on slaves, *Duncan* 1394-1404, 1416-1418—Opposition by planters to religious instruction fiercer than ever, *Duncan* 1519, 1738—Catechetical instruction quite inefficient for the purpose of conveying religious and moral knowledge, *Thorp* 2122, 2123—Consequence of religious knowledge being conveyed to the head and not to the heart; probable effect on slaves, *Thorp* 2163, 2165—Less likely to make slaves discontented with their present state, than a moral and literary education, *Thorp* 2216, 2217—In consequence of religious instruction they became a moral set of people, *Morgan* 3125.

Religious instruction cannot at present be carried to a great extent, owing to the inability of negroes to attend to it, *Morgan* 3127—In many of the islands no objection is made to the instruction of slaves, *Morgan* 3130—Number of witness's congregation who could read, *Knibb* 3541—Desire of lettered knowledge much on the increase, *Knibb* 3542—Desire of acquiring knowledge greatly increased since the rebellion, *Knibb* 3545—Manner in which witness touched upon doctrines connected with the freedom of Christianity when addressing slaves, *Knibb* 3550-3555—Suspensions of negroes as to motives of masters; witness has been warned by blacks to keep to his own chapel and away from overseers, *Knibb* 3976.

The same facilities were not afforded in Jamaica, *Morgan* 3134-3136—In case of freedom there is nothing to be feared from the religious portion of the slaves, *Morgan* 3197—In the present condition of slaves in Jamaica, religious instruction could not be administered to a proper extent, *Morgan* 3207—Slaves in Jamaica are prevented from attending places of religious worship, *Morgan* 3210—State of religious instruction when witness first visited the island of Jamaica, *Shipman* 6191—Support given to religious instruction by the most respectable part of the community in Jamaica, *Shipman* 6192—The lowest society were those from whom the greatest obstruction was received, *Shipman* 6192.

Value of slaves increased by instruction, *Hankey* 4567; *Simpson* 5596, 5599-5603; *Wildman* 7760—When instructed they have become more obedient and more tranquil, *Hankey* 4572—If a reasonable ground of the hope of liberty were held out to negroes, and religious instructions were given at the same time, the end would be salutary, *Hankey* 4657—Value of religious instruction to slaves in their present situation, *Hankey* 4667; *Wildman* 7760-7764, 7781—Great hostility to the religious instruction of the slaves, among a considerable body of proprietors in the West Indies, *Hankey* 4679—Indisposition to religious instruction on the part of planters greatly decreasing, *Hankey* 4687—Owing to the general amelioration in the character of those instructed, *Hankey* 4688—Should be extended among negroes, *Scott* 5337—Anxiety of planters generally, that their slaves should receive religious instruction, *Simpson* 5604, 5645, 5646, 5866-6875—Planters have generally encouraged religion among slaves, *Shand* 7200, 7207—Fondness of negroes for religious instruction cannot be eradicated, *Wildman* 7770—Oral instruction quite insufficient for the communication of knowledge, *Wildman* 7775, 7776—And the organ by which it is administered quite incompetent, *Wildman* 7776-7779—Nature of instruction, which is oral, given by the island curates, by which no benefit can be derived, *Wildman* 8007-8015, 8021—With proper religious instruction, no danger in emancipation; at present it would be the destruction of the people and the island, *Wildman* 2097.

*Bahamas:* Moral state of black population in Bahamas better than in any islands except Bermuda, *Fleming* 2838—Their superior condition attributable to religious knowledge, as bearing upon the moral character of the slave population, *Fleming* 2840-2842.

*Cuba:* Pains taken by Spanish planters to inculcate religious discipline, *Fleming* 2587.

*Saint Kitts:* Religious instruction and preaching were allowed in the house of the President and the Speaker of the House of Assembly, *Morgan* 3130, 3131.

*Religious Negroes.* Number possessed with sufficient intellect to become religious teachers, *Barry* 1313—Love of the King generally by all negroes who are attached to the Wesleyan sect, *Duncan* 1576—Nine-tenths of the slaves in Antigua attend some place of religious worship, *Loving* 1980—Number generally attending witness's church; general appearance of cleanliness among the congregation, *Thorp* 2084-2090—Effect of religion on the minds of slaves, *Young* 6267—Excitement likely to be created in the minds

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minds of slaves by the destruction of their chapels and the ill treatment of their ministers, *Young* 6269—Devotion of several negroes to the cause of religion, *Young* 6333—Fitness of religious negroes for freedom, *Young* 6335.

*Removal of Slaves.* See *Slaves*, 8.

*Rent.* See *Land. Provision Grounds.*

*Resolutions of the House of Commons.* Had the plans of 1823 been acceded to on the part of the planters, they would have produced no bad effect at all, *Duncan* 1580—Probabilities of insurrection if the resolutions of the House be not carried into effect, *Fleming* 2445, 2446—Opposition of planters to these resolutions being carried into effect, *Duncan* 1576—Knowledge of free blacks of the resolutions of the House of Commons, 1823, and consequent information of slaves on the subject, *Thorp* 2133, 2134—Effect of the resolutions of 1823 on the negro population of Barbadoes, *Austin* 2228—Witness left England expecting to find the resolutions of the House of Commons carried into effect, *Fleming* 2896—Effect which might have been produced had the resolutions of 1823 been zealously carried into effect, *Wildman* 8160.

*Resolutions of Missionaries at Kingston.* Resolutions complimentary to magistrates, passed by Wesleyans at Kingston, *Barry* 1145—Not the act of missionaries generally, *Barry* 1149—Copy of resolutions passed by missionaries at a meeting held at Kingston, 1824, *Barry* 1165—Copy of resolutions of committee in this country on receiving resolutions from Jamaica, *Barry* 1166—Explanation of causes which led to the adoption, by a body of Wesleyan preachers, of resolutions expressing their opinion as to the state of slavery in Jamaica, and its consistency with Christianity, *Duncan* 1522-1528, 1536-1572—Copy of resolutions sent to witness, *Duncan* 1754.

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4. Habits of Life.
5. Maintenance.
6. Possession of Slaves by Negroes.
7. Property.
8. Removal of Slaves.

## 1. Attachment to their homes and masters.

Willing to bear much ill treatment rather than move from their habitations, *Taylor* 200, 201—Instances of the attachment shown by slaves to their master, during the late general insurrection, *Barry* 950—Conduct of a slave upon Weston Favell estate, *Knibb* 3312—Of a slave named Barrett on the Oxford estate, *Knibb* 3318—On the Carlton estate, *Knibb* 3327—Of slaves on several estates, *Knibb* 3329-3350—Slaves, where they have a kind master, prefer that state to freedom, *Wildman* 7811—Dependence of slaves on their masters, which feeling would be totally lost by freedom, *Wildman* 7841.

## 2. Character.

Negroes generally indolent, but excited with hopes of personal advantage, *Taylor* 217-220—Generally estimated too low, *Taylor* 222—Character and habits of negroes generally, *Taylor* 560—General depression of spirits observable in the negro character, *Cooper* 1672, 1674-1678—Great contrast between the condition of the negro and free black, *Loving* 1983-1986—Conduct of the captured negroes and Creole escheated slaves of the Crown liberated from further dependence, in Antigua, *Loving* 1988—Jealousy likely to be engendered among slaves, from observing the happy situation of the liberated Africans, *Loving* 1990—Kindness of negroes towards each other, *Austin* 2237—Increase of intelligence among negroes, *Fleming* 2436—Dissatisfaction of slaves at their situation in Jamaica, *Fleming* 2441—Intellects of blacks not inferior to that of white people, *Fleming* 2499—A negro only needs opportunity of displaying that he possesses a mind, in common with his fellow creatures, *Morgan* 3120—Impression on the minds of slaves, from the manner in which they have been treated since the rebellion, are those of jealousy and deep rooted revenge, *Knibb* 3665—Up to 1826, the habits of negroes were cheerful; the late events in Jamaica have proved they are no longer contented, *Scott* 5088, 5089—Negroes are impatient of control, if more is exacted from them than they know to be their duty, otherwise easily managed, *Scott* 5283—Missionaries, from their intercourse with slaves, cannot form correct ideas of their character, *Simpson* 5578—Intelligence of negroes; many capable of understanding that they are working for themselves as well as their masters, *Simpson* 5587, 5588—Tendency of the negro character to complain, *Simpson* 5656—Variations in the character of negroes on different estates, *Simpson* 5826-5845—Idleness of slaves, *Simpson* 5896—Great improvement taken place in the slave population, *Shand* 7010-7013; *Baker* 7328; *Rowley* 7659—Emancipated negroes have in no instance become industrious or useful in their situation, *Shand* 7014—Distinction of character between slaves of different countries in Africa, *Shand* 7056, 7295—Slaves are extremely cheerful, *Rowley* 7724-7726—Negroes particularly astute in driving a bargain, *Wildman* 7752-7754—Field negroes not on a par with domestic slaves, *Wildman* 7756—Slaves have no feeling of degradation from their situation, *Wildman* 7876-7879—Witness has not found it the nature of negroes to exaggerate complaints, *Wildman* 8003—Indolence of, *Wildman* 8079—Kindness of negroes for their aged relatives, *Wildman* 8275—Love of young for their parents, *Barry* 798—General demoralized state of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, *Barry* 799—Bad state of, in Port Royal Mountains, *Barry* 800—Good state of, where religious instruction has been attended to, *Barry* 800, 808—Negroes generally a shrewd people; particular instances of the reverse, *Barry* 927—Often possess very strong intellectual powers, *Barry* 928—Very attached to masters who are kind, *Barry* 931.

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## 3. Female.

In case either of violence or seduction of female slaves on estates, overseers would be brought to justice, *Williams* 4513, 4514—State of the West Indies as to intercourse with

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with black women, *Williams* 4522-4528—Women generally speaking much more difficult to manage than men, *Scott* 5071—Instance of serious complaints being made against an overseer attempting to force two young women to comply with his desires, such attempts perfectly impossible, *Simpson* 5057-5059.

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States in which slavery is still permitted, *Ogden* 4812—One-sixth of the population of America is slaves, *Ogden* 4816—There has no general plan of emancipation been adopted, as considered practicable in the United States, *Ogden* 4819—Slave population certainly not in a state to receive immediate emancipation, *Ogden* 4820—United States first passed a law against importation of slaves, *Ogden* 4822—Slaves who have been emancipated turn their attention to becoming coachmen or footmen, but do not cultivate the soil, *Ogden* 4825—Emancipated slaves never work at plantations, *Ogden* 4829—Insurrections in the United States, *Ogden* 4839—Slave regulations in the United States as to future colonies, *Ogden* 4844—Immediate abolition of slavery has never been proposed in either House of Congress, *Ogden* 4855—Proportion of slaves in America one-third of the whole population, *Ogden* 4863—Slaves are brought from Virginia for sale in the Southern Provinces, *Ogden* 4880—No danger of slaves rising, from proportion of white and black population, *Ogden* 4897—American Government obliged to tolerate slavery for the preservation of the large properties, *Ogden* 4924—States bound to uphold each other; in case of insurrection each State would march to the succour of the white population, *Ogden* 4932—Jealousy of the Northern States of the wealth of slave holding proprietors, *Meir* 5532—Publications recommending freedom would be instantly suppressed, *Meir* 5534.

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*Slave Trade.* Continuation of the Slave Trade in Cuba, *Fleming* 2572, 2573—System of Slave Trade carried on in Cuba, *Fleming* 2608—Price of slaves in Cuba and Jamaica, *Fleming* 2597—Sale of slaves imported into Cuba more among new proprietors than old inhabitants, *Fleming* 2612-2614—Tariff for the valuation of slaves agreeable to the last regulation, from eight days old to fourteen years of age, *Fleming* 3220—Regulations of the importations of slaves in the Caracas, *Fleming* 3236—During the Slave Trade the principal part imported consisted of adults, *Scott* 5240.

*Slave Law.* Reception of Mr. Huskisson's despatch, 1827, communicating the disallowance of the slave law, *Simpson* 5800-5805.

*Smith, Mr.* Adverse feelings excited in the minds of persons in Jamaica against missionaries, on account of the discussions about Mr. Smith, *Shipman* 6142; *Young* 6274-6276.

*Spanish Slaves.* All slaves are christians, Spanish law not allowing them to remain slaves unless of that religion, *Fleming* 2707—Mild state of slavery under the Spanish yoke, *Sutherland* 2933—Tariff for the valuation of slaves agreeable to the last regulation, from eight days old to fourteen years of age, *Fleming* 3220—Which was also in force at Trinidad, *Fleming* 3221.—Colonies under the Spaniards governed by the laws of the Indies,

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Indies, *Fleming* 3224—Regulations of the importation of slaves in the Caracas, *Fleming* 3236—Translation of the Spanish Order regulating the treatment of slaves, concerning their education, food and clothing, occupations, amusements, dwellings and infirmaries, aged and disabled, *Fleming* 3242—System of slavery much milder in Spanish than English Colonies, *Watson* 6809—System of compulsory manumission in Spanish colonies, *Watson* 6810.

See also *Abolition*, 9. *Caracas*. *Cuba*. *Insurrection*, III. *Labour*, 3. *Manumission*, 3.

*Spells*. See *Night-work*.

*Spencer*, Lord. See *Imports*.

*Spring Vale Penn*. Implication in the rebellion of the Baptist congregation of that estate, *Knobb* 3965.

*Stephens*, Mr. Communications between witness and Mr. Stephens, *Duncan* 1860–1878.

*Stipendiary Magistrates*. Should be appointed whenever emancipation takes place, *Taylor* 714—Appointment of, would prove a most judicious measure, *Barry* 913—Should be appointed in case of emancipation, and should have free people under their authority, *Thorp* 2194—With these arrangements, in comparison to their former situation, negroes would be satisfied, *Thorp* 2202—The fact that the overseer would not be allowed to flog them, but that punishment was to emanate from a stipendiary magistrate, would be almost tantamount to emancipation, *Thorp* 2215—Any scheme of a stipendiary magistracy utterly impracticable, *Simpson* 5571—Plan of witness for the management of the island by stipendiary magistrates, *Wildman* 7830–7833.

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*Stockman*, Mr. Sent by Mr. Palmer to his estates in Jamaica; treatment experienced by him from the overseer of the estate, *Barry* 944.

*Stoney Hill*. Revolt of slaves at, *Young* 6249.

*Stores*. Instructions of witness to his attorney to arrange the payment of slaves in money in preference to delivering stores, in order to teach them the value of money, *Hankey* 4624—Management of stores by overseers, *Scott* 5323—Statement concerning the distribution of negro clothing on witness's estate, *Scott* 5420—Necessity of regular importation of stores from this country, *Scott* 5391.

## SUGAR.

I. *Cultivation*.

1. *Generally*.
2. *Carucas*.
3. *Domingo, St*.
4. *Mexico*.

II. *Manufacture*.1. *Generally*.

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Instance of a free black working on a sugar estate of Mr. Wildman's, *Taylor* 62—No instance of a free negro working in a field, *Taylor* 63; *Morgan* 3156; *Shand* 6439—Dislike of free blacks to work in the field, *Thorp* 2059, 2060—Witness never knew of field-labour and boiling-house work being performed by emancipated blacks, *Taylor* 291–293; *Simpson* 5467–5628—If negroes were free, no sugar would be cultivated,

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3. *St. Domingo*,

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See also *Cane-hole digging*. *Labour*. *Night-work*. *Task-work*. *Wages*.

4. *Mexico*.

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II. *Manufacture*.

Distribution of labour after the cane is reaped and cut for the purpose of being manufactured, *Taylor* 440—Arrangements which take place in the allotment of night-work, *Taylor* 441–455—Number of persons necessarily employed in a boiling-house, *Taylor* 458—Process of the manufacture from the cutting the cane till the sugar is in the boiling-house, *Scott* 4999—Canes must be manufactured forty-eight hours after cutting, or they would spoil, *Scott* 5000—Consequence of labourers striking work during process would be the total loss of the sugar under manufacture, *Scott* 5001—Notwithstanding the labour negroes most healthy during the crop-time; hospitals frequently shut at that period, *Scott* 5017; *Shand* 6426—Nature of night-work, *Taylor* 491, 501; *Scott* 4973, 4989; *Simpson* 5475, 5477, 5480, 5975–5987; *Shand* 6415, 6421—During crop-time no restriction to the hours of labour, *Thorp* 2068.

*Sugar-cane*. Description of labour connected with the cultivation of the cane, exclusive of cane-hole digging, *Taylor* 429—Distribution of labour after the cane is reaped and cut for the purpose of being manufactured, *Taylor* 440.

*Surinam*. Fertility of the soil, *Austin* 2240.

*Sutherland, Robert*, (Analysis of his Evidence.) Residence of witness in Hayti, 2924—State of the island 1815, when the three governments of Christophe, Pechon and Spain existed, 2932—Mild state of slavery under the Spanish yoke, 2233—Policy of Pechon, who succeeded in undermining the Government of Christophe, 2939—The latter committed suicide 1821, 2939—State of civilization, 2940–2943—Proprietors of estates felt difficulty in getting labourers, 2944—Agrarian law passed by Pechon, 2944–2948—The whole cultivation of the island is carried on by free labour, 2949—Sugar works have been established since the expulsion of the French at a great expense, at which time they were all destroyed, 2950—Difficulty of proprietors of obtaining labourers, 2251—Sugar very little used by natives, 2961—Murder of two of Christophe's children, 2964—Nature of the Code Rural; but there is no compulsory labour, 2967, 2968—No corporal punishment is inflicted upon any of the labourers in Hayti, 2973—Wages are the only inducement to work, which are paid by the proceeds of estates, 2975—Negroes in Hayti better off than peasantry in the Highlands of Scotland, 2979—Extract of a letter from Mr. Sutherland to Lord Spencer or Lord Auckland on the subject of the state of trade, and productions of the island of St. Domingo, dated 1804, 2982, 2983—No peace prevailed in the island till the Agrarian law was passed; it had the effect of pacifying the natives, 2990—The division of land was not seizing the other person's property, but a sub-division of abandoned estates, 2997—No white person can now by law hold landed property in Hayti, 3000.

*Swiney, Samuel*. Case of his punishment, *Knibb* 4055.



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*Tariff.* Tariff for the valuation of slaves, agreeable to the last regulation, from eight days old to fourteen years of age, *Fleming* 3220—This tariff was formerly in force at Trinidad, *Fleming* 3220.

*Task-work.* By giving task-work, and paying for extra labour, more work is done than by flogging, *Taylor* 104—Task-work is better performed by negroes than time-work, *Scott* 5077—Slaves in Cuba work by task-work, and have fewer working days than in Jamaica, *Fleming* 2592, 2593, 2598, 2600—Task-work on coffee plantations often more severe than on sugar estates, *Shand* 6992-6994—Effect of task-work in negroes similar to that on artizans in this country, *Wildman* 8094-8098.

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*Taylor, William, (Analysis of his Evidence.)* Residence of witness in Jamaica, 1—Estates managed by him, 6—Number of negroes, 9—Nature of cultivation, 10—Manner of maintaining the slaves, 12—How far they maintain themselves, 13—Sugar sometimes cultivated by negroes; there is no law against it, 18—Days which are allowed for slaves to labour for themselves, and number of holidays, 25-29—Education received by negroes on estates managed by witness, 31-33—No marked inferiority of intellect in negroes, as compared to other human beings, 35, 36, 38—No natural incompetency, 37—Instruction given to children well retained by them, 38, 39—Negroes not more addicted to drunkenness than other persons, 43-47—Number of free blacks and natives of colour, 49-52—Manner in which they maintain themselves on an estate of Mr. Wildman's, 53—Articles which they generally cultivate, 54—Bad state of the inhabitants of that district owing to absence of religion and education, 57—Employments usually followed by free blacks, 60—Instance of a free black working on a sugar estate of Mr. Wildman's, 62—No instance of a free negro working in the fields, 63—Unwillingness of slaves to work, 64.

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