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Slave Trade.

II.

continued.

FURTHER PAPERS RELATING TO

Captured Negroes :

VIZ :

Return to an Address of The Honourable House of Commons,

dated the 7th March 1825 ;--*for*

REPORTS OF COMMISSIONERS RELATING TO

CAPTURED NEGROES, APPRENTICES,

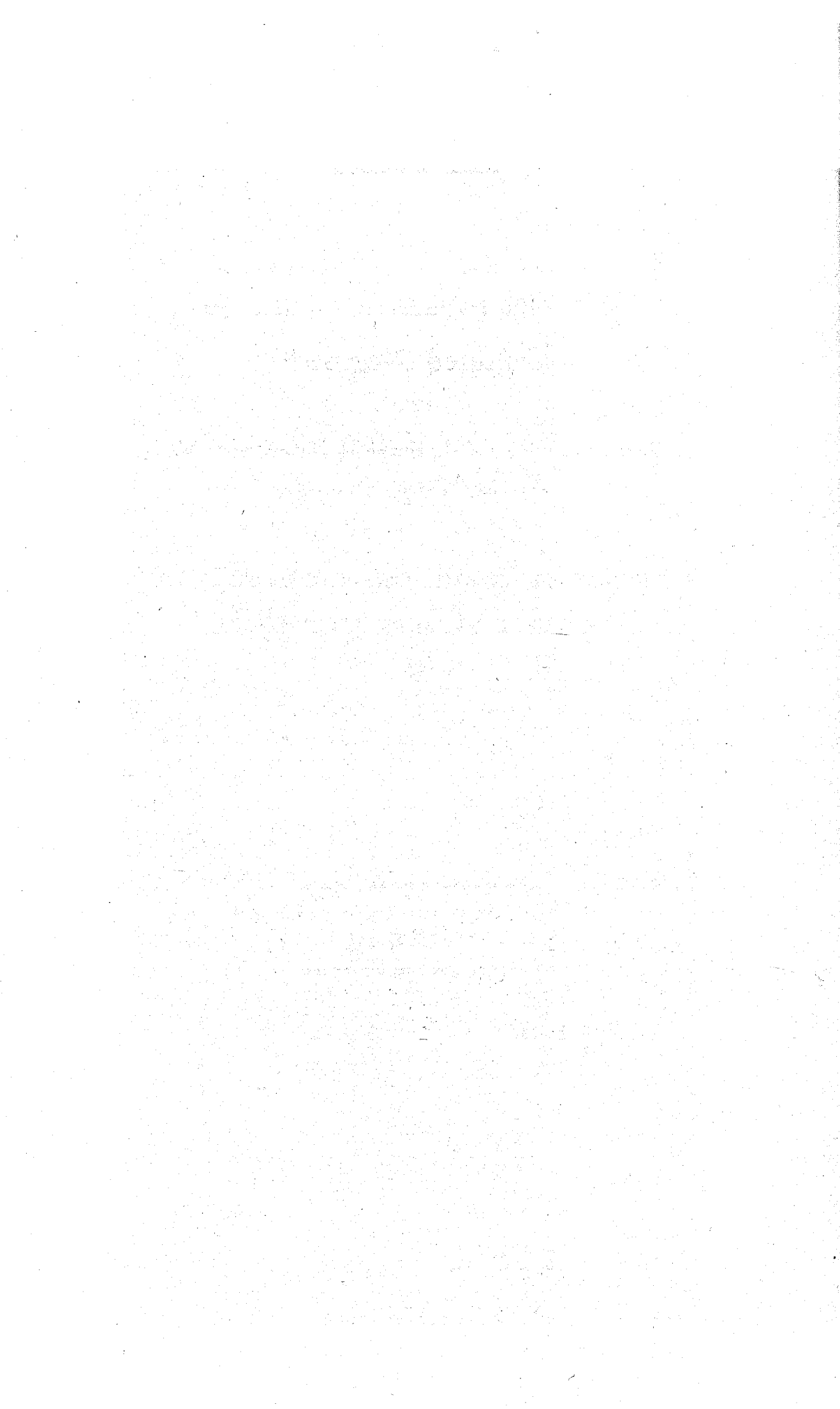
&c.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,

16 March 1825.

115.

continued.



CAPTURED NEGROES.

N° 2.

SEPARATE REPORT

Of *John Dougan*, Esquire, late Commissioner, on the State and Condition of the Captured Negroes, produced before the Commission at Tortola; dated London, 20th December 1823 - - - - pp. 5—48.

N° 3.

SEPARATE REPORT

Of Major *Thomas Moody*, Royal Engineers, late Commissioner, stating his Reasons, why he could not sign or approve of the Report of his Colleague, dated London, 2d March 1825 - - - - pp. 49—152.

N° 1.

Is the Paper marked I. Captured Negroes, N° 114.

P A P E R S
RELATING TO
CAPTURED NEGROES:

VIZ.

N^o 2.

SEPARATE REPORT of *John Dougan*, Esquire, late Commissioner, on the State and Condition of the Captured Negroes, produced before the Commission at Tortola.

N^o 2.
MR. DOUGAN'S
REPORT.

My Lord,

London, 20th December 1823.

I HAVE the honour to enclose my Report on the numbers, situation and circumstances of Africans and other negroes liberated from slavery, under the provisions of the Acts of Parliament for abolishing the Slave Trade, who were brought into the island of 'Tortola.

This Report I have endeavoured to make to the best of my ability: it would have reached your Lordship much sooner, and probably in a more perfect state, but that the severe illness which compelled me to quit Tortola in June last, continued to afflict me for a considerable period after my arrival in England.

I have the honour to be,
Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,
(signed) *John Dougan*.

Earl Bathurst, K. G.

His Majesty's principal Secretary of State
for War and Colonies.

HIS Majesty's letters patent, dated the 6th of November 1821, directed to Major *Thomas Moody* and *John Dougan*, esq. commissioned them to inquire into, and ascertain the present numbers, situations and circumstances of all Africans liberated from Slavery in the colonies, settlements and plantations in the West Indies, and on the continent of South America, under the provisions of any of the Acts of Parliament for abolishing the Slave Trade; and to report to His Majesty's Government the information they might collect, together with their opinion thereupon.

In pursuance of this commission, and of instructions received from Earl Bathurst, I now proceed to submit to his Lordship the following Observations on the subject, which will be found to refer, chiefly, to such of the Africans liberated from slavery under any of the Abolition Acts, as had been brought into the Island of Tortola, and condemned in the court of Vice-Admiralty there.

To afford a more distinct view of the subject, I shall class these Africans under three separate heads:

N^o 1. The Africans, 168 in number, who composed the cargoes of two vessels, the schooner *Nancy* and the brig *Amedie*, condemned on the 27th November 1807 and the 10th of February 1808, and who were disposed of, previous to the issue of His Majesty's Order in Council of the 16th March 1808, which prescribed the mode of disposing of such liberated Africans.

N^o 2. The Africans, 1,070 in number, taken in four Spanish ships, *Venus*, *Candelaria*, *Manuella* and *Atriviedo*, in the years 1814 and 1815, and who form the great body of liberated Africans brought into the port of Tortola.

N^o 3. Such Africans and Creole negroes, 85 in number, as had been seized on board small vessels, or on shore, from the year 1807 to 1823.

The aggregate amount of these three classes was 1,323.

REPORT ON CLASS N^o 1.

N^o 2.
 MR. DOUGAN'S
 REPORT.

AS to this Class, it will be necessary to explain, that the Africans on board the two ships, Nancy and Amedie, having been taken and condemned previous to the issue of His Majesty's Order in Council of the 16th March 1808, the regulations contained in that order as to names, marks, and mode of apprenticeship, were not, indeed could not be, carried into effect. A certain portion of the men were taken for the use of His Majesty's naval service; and a proposal was made by Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, through the agents of the capturing ships, that under the peculiar circumstances in which these Africans were placed, (no person having been as yet appointed to receive and provide for them,) he (Sir Alexander) would take charge of all such as were not wanted for the naval service, and placed them on his estates in the Island of Trinidad, to await there such orders as might be transmitted by His Majesty's Government for their future disposal.

This proposal having been approved by the Judge of the court of Vice-Admiralty, and the President of the island, was acted upon accordingly; and conditional receipts were taken for the Africans so disposed of. The details of the original disposal and present state of these two cargoes will be found in the Appendix (A).

From that Appendix, it will appear that of class N^o 1, amounting originally to 168 persons, only twenty-one were disposed of at Tortola. Of these, six were removed to Nevis, one is not accounted for, ten have died, and four only remain alive in Tortola. By the receipts, however, taken for these twenty-one persons, it appears that eleven of them were in bad health; and it further appears that the deaths which occurred in these two cargoes of 168 persons, previous to their being placed out, only amounted to five.

The principal part of the Africans in this class must be inquired after in the islands of Trinidad and Barbadoes, to which they were removed. Of the whole, only four are now alive at Tortola: John, Nelson, William, and Hull. The three first are young men in good health, and have learnt a trade to which they have served apprenticeships of fourteen years. They are fully competent to earn their livelihood. The case of two men belonging to this class, Hull, and Boatswain, or Portsmouth, was so peculiar as to have occasioned a representation of it by Sir James Leith, in a letter to Lord Bathurst, dated 21st November 1815.—Sir James stated, that, "when at Tortola last April, an unfortunate negro, named Boatswain, after having been beaten and driven from the house, literally forced himself into my presence, and claimed his freedom, as having been apprenticed out eight years, although he was still employed as a slave in cultivating the ground with the rest of the gang. I instituted an inquiry and found the man's story correct, he having been three years with Mr. Mackinrot, and six years with Mr. Dix, as an apprentice, although his indenture was only for seven years: The man was liberated. He had a broken leg, and had not learned any trade, nor had he received any moral instruction, and therefore was not likely to become a useful member of society. After much inquiry of all the negroes formerly apprenticed out, I could only learn of the existence of three of them*. Hull, a cooper, at Carrot Bay Estate, still in a state of slavery; his master, however, (Mr. Dix), promised to allow him an annual sum equal to his services, or permit him to leave the estate when he pleased." It is painful to add, that after Sir James Leith quitted the island, not only did the promise of wages to this man, Hull, remain unfulfilled, but a further servitude of seven years to the same master was imposed upon him; for it appears, by an indenture in the Custom House, dated 20th May 1815, that Hull was re-apprenticed by the collector of the customs to Mr. G. Dix, as a cooper, for a further period of seven years from that date. Hull remained the apprentice of Mr. Dix until the death of his master.

By

* It appears that Sir James Leith applied to the collector of the customs at Tortola, for information as to two cargoes of Africans, of which these were part, but could obtain no information from him whatever. Indeed the return furnished to the Commissioners from that Custom House, in 1822, entirely omits the import or export of the

cargoes of these vessels, the Nancy and Amedie, although it appears by the Custom-House books of entry and clearance, that 106 of the Africans which had been brought in them to Tortola, had been exported to Trinidad, in the brig Busy and schooner Melville, in 1808.

By the most undoubted proof produced to me, it appears that the following charges were made by Mr. Dix against Carrot Bay Estate, belonging to the Reverend Mr. Wynn, as the hire of the two apprentices, Hull and Portsmouth; viz.

N^o 2.
MR. DOUGAN'S
REPORT.

For hire of Hull, a cooper, from 1st July 1811 to 31 st } £. 529 11 9
December 1814, is 1,279 days, at 8 s. 3 d. per day - }
For ditto of Portsmouth, a field negro, from ditto to } 101 17 -
ditto, at 3 s. per day - - - - - }
<u>£. 631 8 9</u>

Hull stated that he had received only the same allowance of food and clothing as the field negroes of the estate, and never received a dog of money ($1\frac{1}{2}$ d. currency) for his own use.

The extraordinary profit accruing to Mr. Dix *, of upwards of 150 l. per annum, from the hire of Hull's services, may be supposed to have occasioned the second apprenticeship of seven years to which he was subjected, although he was most evidently fully competent to provide for himself.

This hardship was the greater, as the man was then about forty years of age. He is now upwards of forty-five, and has a wife and three children to support.

Having built himself a house and settled at Tortola, Hull prefers remaining there, working at his trade, when he can get employment, and at other times cultivating a small portion of ground, and occasionally fishing, to going to Trinidad or elsewhere.

REPORT ON CLASS N^o 2.

THE ships Venus and Manuella landed 617 persons at Tortola: of this number 222 died before they were apprenticed out. This great mortality was occasioned by the very sickly state of these vessels at the time of capture.

Of the whole of this class, N^o 2, consisting of 1,070 Africans, 534 were apprenticed out at Tortola and the adjacent islands, (including 17 who were at first indented, but afterwards taken for the military service); of these 534 apprentices, 162 have since died. See Appendix (B.)

Every feeling mind must lament to find so great a sacrifice of human life among these Africans, both before and after they were apprenticed.

The mortality which has occurred since their apprenticeship, has doubtless arisen in no small degree from the debilitated state in which many of them were, when first landed; but there is too much reason to apprehend that many have perished through negligence, harsh usage, and want of proper support.

The collector of customs appears, in the disposal of these Africans as apprentices, to have given a preference to the members of the legislative body, proprietors of sugar and cotton plantations. They received parcels of from six to ten Africans, who were indented to them as domestics, the males for a period of fourteen years, and the females for ten years; but these last, in case they should have children during their apprenticeships, were bound to serve four years longer.

About 200 in all were placed among the proprietors, planters and managers of estates in Tortola; the remainder were distributed among the inhabitants of the Road Town of that island, and in the adjacent islands.

Very

* It appears by the Parliamentary Returns, that Mr. Dix had possessed, at least, twenty of the liberated Africans as apprentices; the greater part of whom after his death were assigned over to his widow; it also appears that the people were let out on hire, in the foreign island of St. Thomas. The amount of the profits thence arising cannot be ascertained; but Mr. James Grigg, who formerly acted as collector at Tortola, informed the Commissioner that Mrs. Dix had told him, that

her Africans at St. Thomas brought her in a piece of eight of Danish money, about 2 s. 6 d. sterling, per day. Mr. Dix was one of the principal inhabitants of Tortola, a member of the Legislature, and an officer of the customs; he appears to have given a sufficiency of food and clothing to his apprentices, and as far as respected their bodily sustenance, to have done his duty, but little attention was paid to their moral improvement.

Very few of those Africans taken by proprietors of estates, and indented to them as domestics, were employed in that capacity, they were engaged for the most part in the cultivation of the ground, or as herdsmen.

By the schedule of Africans, with their trades and employments, it will be seen that of 121 males, and 170 females, now alive, upwards of 200 were indented as domestics, and the remaining ninety-one may be classed under the head of trades; of these fifty are females, chiefly laundresses, seamstresses and cooks, and the remainder are carpenters, seamen and fishermen.

Several of the proprietors of estates gave up their apprentices previously to the arrival of the Commissioners, and others subsequently thereto. These Africans, together with the apprentices of masters who had died, were mostly re-apprenticed to persons about Road Town, the chief town of Tortola, so that upwards of 200 apprentices are now placed in that town, and the remainder in the country, or in the adjacent islands. In the mean time many of them died. On the death of a planter in the island of Anegada, who had taken seven apprentices, it was found that one apprentice only had survived the master.

Another planter, at Tortola, had received a like number, and two only remained alive. In both cases, I have great reason for believing that the apprentices had experienced hard treatment, and a want of sufficient and proper food.

I feel a high gratification in exhibiting the reverse of this picture, in the kind treatment shown by J. M. Donovan, esq. a sugar planter in Tortola, towards his African apprentices.

He had received nine out of the same cargoes as those above mentioned. Eight of these were produced by Mr. Donovan in good health, well clothed, with smiling satisfied looks, evidently indicating the kindness of their provident and humane master. The characters given of the apprentices by their master was also highly satisfactory. Only one of them had died in the course of eight years.

In consequence of the death or removal of some masters from the island, and the surrender of many apprentices by others, and in consequence, also, of the diminished population of white persons in these small islands, the collector found great difficulty in obtaining proper masters for the Africans, and was compelled at last to apprentice them to persons who were in very poor circumstances, and unable to support themselves.

To exemplify this, an instance or two may be adduced :

A black man and his wife, (who cultivated some unproductive land which they hired,) had taken two females as apprentices. This man applied to me for some pecuniary assistance, confessing his inability to pay for the expense of a midwife, who had attended one of the apprentices in her confinement. On a representation to him of the injustice, in his circumstances, of keeping these people as apprentices, he was induced to carry them back to the collector, confessing his inability to provide for them. They were not received by the collector, but the master was desired to look about for a proper person to whom to transfer them; such, however, could not be found, and several months elapsed, during which they wandered about the island without a protector, and one of them went to a foreign island in quest of employment.

Another apprentice complained of the ill-treatment of his mistress. On inquiry it was found the mistress was receiving from the parish about 1 s. a day for the support of herself and children, and was actually indebted to the apprentice for part of a pig which she had purchased of him and could not pay for.

An application was made to the clergyman of the parish by a female pauper, who received from the parish a weekly allowance of 4 s., for the loan of 12 s. On being asked for what purpose the loan was required? she answered, "It was to enable her to pay for the indenture of an African apprentice, from whose labour she thought she could derive great advantage." The loan was refused, and she did not obtain the apprentice; but she mentioned the want of the price of the indentures as the sole cause of prevention to her wish. The effect of this improper mode of apprenticeship was, that many of the Africans who were ill-treated, or who were accustomed to be let out on hire, went off in small boats to the foreign island of St. Thomas. At one time these amounted to upwards of forty persons. They were occasionally brought

brought back on application to the Danish Governor; but as no proper masters could be found for them at Tortola, many of them returned to St. Thomas, where they procured employment for themselves; and there is reason to suppose, in general, profitable employment. Many of them, during the festival of Christmas 1822, came up to Tortola of their own accord, to visit their companions and friends; they appeared healthy and well clothed.

It has been remarked that the cause of this desertion of the apprentices from Tortola, and their repairing to St. Thomas, has been a desire to be their own masters, and a disposition to lead an idle life, working only occasionally when so disposed. There may be individual cases of this kind, but numerous proofs occurred to convince me, that their ill-treatment, their being apprenticed to indigent masters, and the habit of being sent off the island on hire by their own masters, were the true causes of this desertion. Why did none of Mr. Donavan's apprentices leave their master and go to St. Thomas? most of them were employed as boatmen, and boats went from their master's estate to St. Thomas almost every week.

The following extracts from a correspondence with Mr. Beare, the collector of the customs of Tortola, see Appendix (C.) will show that that gentleman considered "the brutal conduct of some masters to be the cause of the apprentices running away from the island." In a letter addressed to the Commissioners of Inquiry, dated Custom House, Tortola, 28th April 1823, the collector observes:—"I am convinced it is the brutal conduct of some masters (who treat their apprentices like slaves, and never think of performing their own engagements to His Majesty,) that occasions the running of the Africans from the island." On the 30th April Major Moody wrote to Mr. Beare to the following effect:—"I request you to furnish this office with names and numbers of the African apprentices who have run away from the island on account of the brutal conduct of some masters, who treat their apprentices like slaves, and never think of performing their own engagements to His Majesty, as also your reasons for believing this general but indefinite charge, and which it is of the utmost importance to have investigated, that the innocent may not be confounded with the guilty." Mr. Beare, in a letter dated 1st May 1823, addressed to Major Moody, thus replied,—

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, in answer to mine of the 28th ultimo, by which it would appear that you have given too general a construction to my meaning, in respect of the words used therein, regarding the treatment of African apprentices. I did not by such words intend to convey an imputation against masters *generally*, but only against some individuals. I do not pretend to furnish the names and numbers of those who have run away from the island, *wholly* on account of ill-usage; but the opinion I expressed in my letter, with respect to the conduct of *some* masters to their apprentices, is founded on circumstances that have come under my own observation, or been communicated to me in the shape of complaint, of which an instance or two may suffice to relate:

"In October last I apprenticed to Mr. Wheatly (now in the Danish island of St. Croix) the African named Henry, who complained soon after that his master had ordered him to be cart-whipped, and that he was cart-whipped in his yard in the town, in consequence of which he ran from the island.

"Very soon after my arrival here, I observed a severe whipping given in the street by Mr. Fisher to the African man Edgar. The same man, some months since, complained against the same master, of which you are aware; and a few days ago the same apprentice complained of ill-treatment experienced from the same master, in consequence of which, and of the situation of his other apprentices at Porto Rico, I deemed it proper to forward the letter I addressed to you and Mr. Dougan on the 28th ultimo."

Thus far Mr. Beare. But besides the cases specified by him several others may be adduced.

The case of Thomas, or Aquabia, apprentice to Mr. Crandell, the manager of an estate, was one of great hardship and severity. This apprentice had been severely whipped by his master, and applied for redress to the King's Counsel, to whom he exhibited the marks of chastisement. The master justified himself on the alleged ground of a theft committed by the apprentice, and the apprentice was sent back

to his master without redress. It appears by the Marshal's return that on the 15th January 1822, the apprentice was committed to prison by his master, where he remained until 27th February 1822, when he was discharged, a new master, who accepted a transfer of him, paying the gaol fees; but the committal and the discharge were both without any legal authority. In consequence of his ill-treatment the poor man was induced to quit the island along with a Spaniard, who having taken him to Porto Rico sold him there for a slave, and in that state he still remains.

The case of the two females, Kitty and Amelia, whipped by their master Mr. M'Clean, has been already represented to Lord Bathurst.

In this case his Lordship was of opinion that the conduct of Mr. M'Clean, in having inflicted a flogging upon these female apprentices, as a punishment for the evidence they had given before the Commissioners, was a sufficient reason, coupled with the previous evidence of all the parties, to authorize the Commissioners to direct the collector of the customs at once and immediately to remove the apprentices from the service of such a master: before, however, his Lordship's decision was known in Tortola, these two female Africans, although it had been recommended by the Commissioners to the collector to remove them from their master, who then indeed held them without any legal title, were re-apprenticed by him to the same master, and with whom they still remain.

The reasons assigned by the collector for placing these women again under Mr. M'Clean, and giving him a title to them which he had not before, notwithstanding that gentleman's past misconduct, was the respectability of his character, and the assurance he gave of future good treatment to the apprentices, coupled with the difficulty in these small islands of obtaining responsible persons to take charge of them as masters. See Appendix (D.)

At the sessions of March 1823, a bill of indictment was prepared against Mr. Job P. Doan, for the improper chastisement, with a cart-whip, of his apprentices George and William. This mode of proceeding was unfortunately adopted, instead of the summary process, of an immediate removal by order of the collector of these apprentices from their master, as had been done in many other instances of a less aggravated nature; and the result of it has been, that it was found impossible to form a grand jury, although the court was twice adjourned for the purpose. The matter therefore stood over for six months, the apprentices still remaining in the service of Mr. Doan. See Appendix (E.)

In these and other instances of improper treatment of the African apprentices at Tortola, which came within my own view, I found it impossible to obtain effectual redress for, or even succeed in removing them from the service of the masters and mistresses who had treated them ill, so that I was in a manner compelled to give up my solitary and unavailing efforts to that end. An instance, however, of more than ordinary brutality in the treatment of a female apprentice, which I myself witnessed, forced me to interfere, though with little hope of redressing her wrongs.

On the 9th April 1823, I was urged by some Africans to witness, with my own eyes, the ill-treatment which their countrywoman Ariange, or Kate, apprentice of R. Rymer, a free woman of colour, was at the time receiving. I accordingly went to Mrs. Rymer's house, a small house of two rooms, facing the street. On my inquiring for the mistress of the apprentice, a white man by the name of Coulter (who it has since appeared was living in a state of concubinage with Mrs. Rymer) opened the chamber door, and exposed to my view the unfortunate apprentice, without any covering whatever. Her hands were tied over her head to a cross beam of the house, so as just to permit her to touch the floor with her feet. She bore on her body marks of the chastisement given her by a cat, made of twisted cord, which Coulter held in his hand, and with which, he said, he had given her about a dozen lashes. The cause of this punishment, which Mrs. Rymer assigned, was, that the apprentice had been sent out to sell some bread, and that there was a deficiency in the returns; but the poor creature, whose painful situation would not permit much explanation, stated that the deficiency in the returns had arisen from her having sold some of the bread to persons who had not paid for it. I prevailed with them to remove the cord which bound the apprentice to the roof, and I obtained a promise that no further punishment should be inflicted upon her; a degree of moderation or which they took great credit to themselves, especially as the apprentice had been guilty

guilty of the further fault of having complained of her mistress to the Commissioners, and of having refused to go back with her to Spanish Town, where she then lived, and of threatening to drown herself, and also of afterwards running away, for neither of which crimes she had been punished. The unfeeling man who had been flogging this naked female, pointed to the cat as a justifiable instrument of punishment, and as one that showed his lenity. Beyond this, he seemed to have no sense of the impropriety of his conduct, nor of the outrage on all decency which was involved in extending this poor woman, in a state of perfect nakedness, to be punished; and indeed, the half blind of the window having fallen down, the wretched sufferer stood exposed in this state to the gaze of the mob collected in the street.

After the many instances of harsh and improper treatment of these persons, and the many more of neglect, which I witnessed, it was to me a matter of much surprise to find so many of them possessing useful acquirements, and so many of them also enlightened by religious instruction, and greatly improved in morals and civilization. The records of the court from the year 1808 do not furnish a single instance of an African apprentice having been punished for a felony or any serious crime, nor have any of them been transported from the island.

To obtain a correct account of the true state of these Africans was, however, a matter of great difficulty. In a small community like Tortola it was not easy to find persons who were perfectly disinterested. Nearly the whole of the small white population of the island consisted of persons who either were connected with the masters of these apprentices, or who held apprentices themselves; and the consciousness that the terms of the indentures had remained generally unfulfilled, and that great abuses would be found to have existed, naturally led them to concur in attributing the want of improvement of the apprentices to natural incapacity and to bad dispositions and habits, and not to neglect or ill-treatment on their parts.

With a view to obtaining the most correct information as to the actual state of moral and religious improvement among the liberated Africans, I applied to persons who, having had opportunities of ascertaining their character, were at the same time totally unconnected with either masters or apprentices, and interested only in the moral welfare of both. These were principally the Wesleyan missionaries living at Tortola, whose establishment was first formed there in 1789. Some of the present missionaries have been several years in this island, and one of them has been twenty years in the colonies.

I ought to remark, that until the last seven years no established church was erected in the island of Tortola, and since it has been built, I was informed that scarcely ten slaves at a time have been seen in it; I never observed half that number there while I was at Tortola. Almost all the religious instruction therefore which the negroes have received has been through the Wesleyan missionaries; indeed, from a long previous residence in the island of Tortola, I am enabled to affirm that the religious instruction of the slave population has been, I may say, wholly the work of these missionaries, who have erected, at considerable expense, three chapels for their use, one at the Road Town, or centre of the island, and one at each of its extremities. The progress which these missionaries have made in the work of christianizing the slaves has been very considerable. In February 1823 the total number of the members of their society at Tortola, and the little islands near it, amounted to 2,077, of which 42 only were whites. The whole slave population of the islands amounts to somewhat below 6,500. Each of the missionaries furnished me with an account of the state of the liberated Africans, from which I have given such extracts in the Appendix as relate to their religious and moral improvement. See Appendix (F.)

It will appear from those extracts, that three Wesleyan missionaries, all of them highly respectable men, had enjoyed a close and almost daily intercourse with these Africans, and therefore that they were enabled to give a more minute and just account of them than could be obtained from either distant observers or interested persons. Their report is certainly highly satisfactory. It shows that much good has been effected among these poor people, and that much more might have been effected had they been placed in less unfavourable circumstances.

It is peculiarly encouraging to find, that no less than about 100 of those liberated Africans have gone through that state of probation required by the Methodists rules, and have been fully admitted as members of the Methodist society; and it is a very remarkable fact, which appears from the records of the examinations taken

before the Commissioners, that, with very few exceptions, all those African apprentices who are members of the Methodist society have received favourable characters from their masters and mistresses, although some of them are represented previous to their admission into that society to have been turbulent and unruly.

In reply to the favourable view here given of the capacity of the liberated Africans, it may be alleged, that the Colonial Assembly of Tortola have made a very different representation on the subject, in a petition which has been lately addressed to His Majesty.

On the petition it may be necessary to make a few remarks.

The petition and the remarks thereon will be seen in Appendix (F.)

By the Schedules, it will be seen that about twenty-two couple of Africans have been married to each other ; that ten females have been married to slaves ; and that sixty African females have had ninety-one children.

When it is taken into consideration that many of these African females were very young when apprenticed, strangers to the English language, and often placed under the care of the head slaves of the estates, it is not surprising that, in their state of ignorance and dependence, and living under the same roof with their slaves, they became their wives or mistresses. One instance only occurs of a female African having a child by a white person, and he was her master.

The idea generally entertained that persons living in towns are more addicted to vice and dissolute habits, might with truth be reversed as it respects the Africans residing in Tortola. I am fully of opinion with Mr. Truscott, the missionary, that those who reside in town, having frequent opportunities of receiving religious instruction, are far more advanced in morals than the negroes who reside in the country and are remote from places of worship. Indeed, my own frequent attendance at a lecture on the Friday evening, which was instituted peculiarly for the instruction of the Africans, convinced me that they understood and felt what was addressed to them by the missionaries ; for when forcible observations were made which had respect to their own situation and circumstances, their duties to God, to their masters, husbands, wives or children, they would mark their approbation by a low whisper,—“ Very true ; ” “ That is right, ” or some other mode of assent. When it was recommended to them to send their children to learn to read, so that they might be able to read to them at home that good book the Bible, there was a general burst of exclamation,—“ Oh yes ! Oh yes ! ”

At one of the annual festivals, when the missionaries invited the African apprentices, as well as the slaves, to give a view of their feelings, and of the progress they had made in religion ; it was surprising to hear several of them give a plain and distinct account of their state, and of their religious knowledge. The relation was evidently their own, and told in their own way, and not a formal repetition of words which they might have learnt, or heard repeated before. Their mode of delivery also showed so much of earnestness, and deep interest in the subject, as to affect the feelings of several persons who heard them, and who were not aware of the degree of information they possessed.

These, and other occurrences which might be mentioned, were convincing proofs of the great benefit which the Africans had derived from the Wesleyan missionaries ; and I may truly add also, that great numbers of the slave population have benefited in an equal degree, and are strongly impressed with a sense, not only of their duty to God, but of their duty to their masters and superiors ; and indeed it may be inferred that the preaching of these missionaries is generally approved of by the planters of Tortola, from the circumstance that nearly the whole of the members of the council, the chief justice, and many members of the assembly, most, if not all, proprietors of slaves, have regular pews at the Methodist chapel, which they, as well as the minister of the established church, frequently attend in the evening. But if the case in this respect were different, the utility and respectability of these missionaries would be abundantly proved by their good works, and zealous and unwearied labours, among the liberated Africans and the slaves ; and surely they are most fully entitled, therefore, to credit, in the representations they have made relative to those Africans. For my own part, I am happy in the opportunity of paying my humble tribute of approbation of their persevering and arduous exertions in the religious instruction of the black and coloured population of our colonies.

REPORT ON CLASS N° 3.

CLASS N° 3. comprises Africans and other negroes, captured on board various small vessels, or who were seized on shore, from the 25th March 1807, to 25th May 1823. Appendix (G.)

N° 2.
MR. DOUGAN'S
REPORT.

By the best account the Commissioners could obtain, it appears that twenty-two seizures of small vessels were made, having on board seventy-nine negroes, chiefly mariners, and that two seizures were made on shore of six negroes, making altogether eighty-five persons. In the cases of seventeen seizures of the said small vessels, having forty-seven persons on board, there was either no appeal, or the sentences of condemnation were afterwards affirmed by the Lords of Appeal.

In the cases of five other seizures of these small vessels, having thirty-one negroes on board, sentences of further proof or of restoration on appeal were passed, or no decision was made.

For the seizures made on shore no appeals were made.

Very little information on the subject of these seizures could be obtained at the Custom House. Of the adjudged negroes, four were delivered over to Serjeant Turbitt, for His Majesty's service; also three to Captain Westrop, of His Majesty's ship *Peruvian*, and four to Lieutenant Hunter, of the *Laura*, for the naval service. It does not appear that the collectors of the customs considered the negroes of this third class as under their charge; for, with exception of six seized in the year 1821, and eleven above mentioned, no other account could be obtained. A belief was expressed that they had left the island, or had gone with their former masters; and yet, on referring to the records, in the registry of the court of Vice-Admiralty, it was found, that when sentences of condemnation had passed on the slaves in question, the judge directed that they should be delivered over to the care of the collector of the customs. Except, however, a description, on detached scraps of paper, of a very few of these people, no other record appears to have been kept of them by the collectors.

It was only by a careful search at the registry of the court of Vice-Admiralty, into the preparatory examinations of all vessels, having negroes on board, that the list, such as it is, of slave captures, could be made out, the lists furnished by the registrar and the collector being both defective.

In the lists furnished by the Commissioners will be found the case of the *Favorite*, Tynes master, having seven Africans on board. Special further proof was, on the 4th March 1812, required to be produced in two months. It does not appear, however, by the records of the court, that any further proof was produced, or that any thing further was done in the cause.

On comparing the affidavit, as to the number of ship's papers brought in, with the papers which now remain in the registry, the vessel's register and six of her papers prove to be wanting.

There is reason to apprehend that in some of these cases of small vessels, although in many instances proceeded against on the ground of illegal transportation of slaves, that the right of the slaves themselves to their freedom has not been sufficiently attended to. In one case, that of the sloop *Susan*, having four slaves on board, detained by His Majesty's brig *Maria*, in May 1812, and proceeded against in the court of Vice-Admiralty, her papers being lodged in registry, there is reason to believe that a compromise took place, at the island of St. Thomas, between the captors and claimants, the latter paying the sum of 500 dollars to the captors, together with their expenses, and receiving back the sloop and the slaves. There is no record in the registry how the vessel and slaves were disposed of by the court; but no sentence having been passed, of course the negroes would still remain slaves.

This case was not inserted in the list furnished by the registrar to the Commissioners.

It frequently has occurred that the captors, under doubtful and embarrassing circumstances, have waived their claims, and accepted a less consideration than they might eventually obtain; yet, in cases where the freedom of individuals depends

upon the final adjudication of the case, the sacrifice of their chance of freedom by a private compromise, which benefits the captors alone, is, in my humble opinion, a very questionable proceeding.

It appeared, in the case of nineteen of these small vessels, captured previous to 1821, and having sixty-seven negroes on board, bounty was only paid in two instances of capture—the *Edward, Jones*, four slaves; and *Prevoyant, Ouzias*, three slaves;—although it also appeared that sixteen of these small vessels, having forty-seven negroes on board, had been condemned without any appeal.

There appears indeed to have been a general neglect even of the captor's interest, in not applying for the bounty, as well as a neglect of what was of far greater import, the freedom of the negroes, entitled to their liberty. Nearly the whole of these people have quitted the island, but whether as slaves or as free men no satisfactory information could be obtained. One person only remains at Tortola, named *Jem*, who was apprenticed to *Dr. Porter*, then an officer in the customs. This man's apprenticeship is expired, but he is evidently unable to provide for himself, being addicted to drinking. A man of the name of *John Charles Degagée*, taken in the *Prevoyant*, returned to Tortola, while the Commissioners were there.

It appears by the certificate of *Richard Philips* and *Thomas Jeff Niles*, that he had lived two or three months in their neighbourhood, and conducted himself in a sober industrious manner, attending principally to fishing; but that he and his wife complained they could get no work in the country: he had since quitted the island. Previous to his departure he mentioned to one of the Commissioners, that after his liberation he entered on board His Majesty's ship *Peruvian*, where he remained until that ship was ordered to England, when he was discharged at *St. Thomas*. By hiring himself as a seaman he had obtained sufficient money to pay 225 dollars for the freedom of his wife, *Marie Virginie*.

This man was captured in the *Prevoyant*, and was one of the few for whom bounty had been paid. In a letter of *Major Moody* to *Mr. Wilmot*, dated 11th September 1822, this person was stated to be working in the chain gang at *St. Thomas*, but this statement appears very doubtful, as two free persons at Tortola have since declared him to be living as their neighbour at Tortola.

In respect to five Creole negroes, seized on shore in the year 1821, the following report was made by *Major Moody*, in his letter to *Mr. Wilmot*, dated 11th September 1822:—"The case of the woman *Christiana* ought to be noticed. On her mere assertion of being able to take care of herself, the collector at that time, under the usual construction of the Act, being a Creole, threw her with her three children into the Colonial Society, as it appears to me without due consideration, whether she was qualified to discharge her new duties of a free person, or whether the country was likely to afford her the means of subsistence by the exercise of her industry. From her declaration it appears, when freed, she found herself utterly unable to maintain herself and three children: *one died—it is feared, from want*; and the *two others she was obliged to apprentice out herself*, which would have been done *more to their advantage* had the collector been a party to the indenture, acting in the name of His Majesty. The poor creature herself now chiefly *depends for subsistence on a slave of a plantation, with whom she lives in the character of wife*, and exercising such industry as she is able to perform.

"Of the other sixty-three Creoles I have been unable to find any trace whatever, except what *Governor Von Scholten* of *St. Thomas* told me, that he believed the greatest part of the men entered on board a class of vessels, called *Colombian Privateers*, but whose conduct more resembled that of pirates. Some went to *St. Domingo*, and it is probable the rest to *Porto Rico*; they have all left Tortola."

As the examination of these cases occurred during my absence from Tortola, and the report made of them involved the conduct of the late collector of the customs, *Mr. Clement*, now deceased, and represented the distressed state of some of the liberated negroes, and the abandoned conduct of others, I was desirous of further inquiry; but it was not until some time after my return to the island that I could obtain from *Christiana Wheatly* the necessary explanations of the subject, as it related to herself and children. By her statement (see Appendix H.) it will appear that she and her three children were imported by her master from *St. Croix* to Tortola, when they were seized and condemned. This was in November 1821.

Mr. Clement, the collector of the customs, treated Christiana very kindly, and employed her in his own service, allowing her 4s. a day, which was fully sufficient to maintain herself and children. Unfortunately this kind master, as well as his wife died, and then this poor woman finding herself under some difficulty from having three children to support, she bound her daughter as an apprentice for five years to Dr. Ross, now a member of the Council, and put her eldest son to learn a carpenter's trade. Her third child, the youngest, was seized with a severe cold and bad sore throat; it was attended by Dr. Ross, and wanted neither nourishment, nor proper attendance: whilst it was ill, the clergyman of the established church came and prayed with it, and when it died, it was decently buried with the funeral rites of the church. She stated her having been married to one of the head-slaves of an estate, and that she now earned her living by rearing goats, poultry, &c. by which she procures a decent subsistence for herself and husband; she washes and mends the linen of her son, and gives him occasional presents. In conclusion, she stated that she speaks the truth when she says, that "she can very well take care of herself and assist her children, and is well satisfied with her present situation."

This statement made by Christiana herself before me, clearly shows that the collector of the customs, having paid a liberal price for the services of this woman and her children, deemed her fully capable of earning a livelihood for herself and family. It further shows, that she acted most providently after the death of Mr. Clement, in apprenticing her daughter as a domestic to Dr. Ross, a member of the Council, for the period of five years only; and in placing her son with a carpenter to learn that trade. And it shows, lastly, that her child who died, did not perish through want, but on the contrary received every medical care and proper nourishment, and that a degree of religious attention was paid to it, which seldom occurs even among the whites. The clergyman prayed with the child when ill, and performed the funeral rites when it died.

There has, therefore, evidently been some mistake or misconception of the case of this woman and her children, as reported by Major Moody; for it appears that the collector did not improvidently throw Christiana and her children upon the Colonial Society, but took her into his own service, and gave her liberal wages; and that the apprehension that the child had died from want, was groundless.

I am not aware how Governor Von Scholten, the present Danish Governor of St. Thomas, should have had it in his power to give an account of the other sixty-three Creoles in the manner stated. These negroes were captured in the years 1811 and 1812, when the island of St. Thomas was in the British possession, and there could have been no Danish Governor there. No Colombian privateers were admitted into the British islands, and consequently there could be no foundation whatever for the surmise, that the greatest part of them entered on board Colombian privateers, that some of them went to St. Domingo, and others to Porto Rico. By far the most probable event is, that they have returned to the places with which they were formerly connected, and to which the vessels belonged on board of which they were captured, namely, Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Christopher, and Bermuda, and also Martinique and Guadaloupe, which were then in our possession; but whether they are living there in a state of freedom or slavery is doubtful.

The Report on this Class, N^o 3, is very imperfect, and further inquiry is necessary. There appears to have been no person on the spot at the period of their condemnation, who deemed it his duty to see that the sentences of the court of Vice-Admiralty were fulfilled, or to make known to the negroes the rights they had received. Some of these people, therefore, may be now held in slavery though entitled to their freedom.

Information on this subject might be obtained by a communication from His Majesty's Government to the several Governors of our colonies, furnishing them with a list of the names of these small captured vessels and their masters, the time when, and the ship of war by which they were seized, together with such of the names and descriptions of the negroes as can be obtained, with directions to give publicity to these particulars, and instituting the requisite inquiries. For if two free apprentices, Hull and Portsmouth, could have been detained in a state of slavery, as stated by General Leith, at Tortola itself, where freedom had been given them, what may we not fear with respect to such as were removed from Tortola, and who probably went thence with persons whose interest it might be to conceal from them the decision

decision of the court in their favour? As for the agents of the captors they evidently neglected that essential part of their duty, the taking those steps which would at the same time have entitled the captors to bounty, and have brought to the knowledge of the negroes the freedom which the sentences of the court of Vice-Admiralty had conferred upon them.

I deem it to be only an act of justice to Mr. Clement, the late acting collector at Tortola, to state, that though he was personally unknown to me, yet from all I could hear from disinterested persons at Tortola, and from documents which I had an opportunity of examining, I feel convinced but that gentleman exerted himself in the most praiseworthy manner to obtain redress for such of the African apprentices as had been maltreated by their masters. In confirmation of this I need only refer to his report to Lord Bathurst, in which the improper treatment of the apprentices, such as their being worked under a slave driver, digging cane holes, being punished with a cart whip, &c.

In a letter from Major Moody to Mr. Wilmot, dated 11th September 1822, there is this passage :—“ And my exertions in inquiring after them have been so far successful, that out of 130 persons returned unaccounted for by the last return of the late collector here to Lord Bathurst, I have been able to account for 123 of them.”

It is but common justice, however, to the deceased collector, Mr. Clement, to explain why these persons were returned by him as “ unaccounted for.” Their masters actually refused to bring their apprentices before him, or to account for their deaths. To Commissioners specially appointed by His Majesty for this inquiry, the masters who had refused to produce their apprentices to Mr. Clement the collector, produced them before the Commissioners on their arrival, or furnished lists of such as had died. And this is the true cause why the Commissioners have been able to furnish that information, which the late collector could not obtain.

In many instances the reported circumstances of the death of apprentices is very unsatisfactory. Two Africans are stated by their master to have died by eating poisonous cassava. No inquiry by a coroner's inquest took place, but a minute was made in a little book, that they had died by eating poisonous food (cassava). The reported death of Tamuna, a female, and Onoque, a male, apprenticed to Mr. G. Martin, and afterwards transferred to Mr. G. Patnelli, required further investigation. These persons are mentioned as having been returned to the collector in October 1814, and having died in April 1815 at the barracks*. Mr. Patnelli, who furnished the information of the death of one of them, Onoque, did it on the information of Henry Kirwan, a free man of colour, who acted under the collector in superintending the Africans. Kirwan, on the back of the indentures of Onoque, which remained in the Custom House, cancels the bond, by stating Onoque as having been returned for His Majesty's service, and as having died at the barracks April 13th, 1815. Mr. Patnelli deposed, that this person died on the 18th April. This difference in the dates, however, may have arisen from error. But words are endorsed on the indentures which change the facts of the case, and which ought to be explained. Onoque is first endorsed by Kirwan as “ returned for His Majesty's service, AND SENT TO HEAD QUARTERS;” the last five words are erased, “ AND DIED AT BARRACKS” substituted in their place.

But what attaches more suspicion to this case is, that the Commissioners discovered, whilst at Antigua, that Henry Kirwan had carried away from Tortola to Antigua several of those apprentices who were bound to him, without producing any permission of the collector so to do; and that the treatment they received whilst there was so bad, as to cause Sir Benjamin D'Urban to have them taken from him; and also, that along with his own apprentices he had removed to Antigua another liberated African, on whom he had no claim whatever. It certainly also seems extraordinary that this person, Kirwan, should assume the authority he did, cancelling in the name of the collector, and as acting for him, the indentures of Tamuna and Onoque; and that those apprentices, said to be taken for His Majesty's service, should have remained at Tortola from October 1814 to April 1815. But what increased these suspicious circumstances was, that Francis Welsh, (see

Appendix

* The place so called, was a house provided by the collector for the reception of the Africans.

Appendix I.) a free coloured man, employed by the collector to attend the Africans, from the first to the time when the barracks were given up by the collector, never knew of any apprentices returned for His Majesty's service having died. He had himself attended the funeral of all who died. Besides this, the woman who was nurse at the hospital, and who was a slave of Mr. Patnelli, never knew that any of her master's apprentices who were given up had died in the hospital.

The manner in which the original indentures were drawn up was very defective, and in many instances the duplicates which remained in the Custom House were equally imperfect:—some were signed by the masters and not by the collector,—others by the collector and not by the masters. Transfers were also made of the apprentices to other masters on the back of the original indentures in the like imperfect manner. A representation was made on this point by the Commissioners to Earl Bathurst, and it was suggested to his Lordship that a new form of indentures might be prepared, and sent out to the several collectors in the West Indies, with orders that it should be adopted, instead of the old indenture and the transfer by endorsement. Directions were issued accordingly through the Commissioners of the customs. But notwithstanding this, the Commissioners of Inquiry, on a late examination, found that the greater part of even these new indentures were most improperly filled up; the period of apprenticeships being extended beyond fourteen years.

Fanny, or Umbahou, was apprenticed on the 22d February 1815, and, being the mother of children, her apprenticeship should have expired on the 22d February 1829; whereas the new indentures, dated 27th November 1822, extended the term of her apprenticeship for ten years, or until the 27th November 1832, so that, on the whole, her servitude was protracted for three years and nine months beyond the term of fourteen years, making altogether seventeen years and nine months of apprenticeship.

Anne, or Cumberland, was apprenticed by new indentures on the 18th November 1822. In this case there was an additional extension of the period of her servitude to Mr. Thomas Hill, her master, a prisoner in the common gaol for debt. A still greater hardship occurred in this case: Her master, to obtain the services of the apprentice in the prison, had her also committed to gaol with him on the 15th January 1823. She appears, however, to have been liberated from confinement on the 17th of the same month.

I have now stated the substance of the information I collected respecting the African apprentices at Tortola, and I have given the opinion of such disinterested persons as had the means of judging of their progress in point of civilization and moral improvement. That progress, however, it will appear from the facts produced, must have been much obstructed by the ill-treatment they too frequently met with; yet, notwithstanding all obstacles, I am well convinced that the great body of these persons have been sufficiently improved, and have acquired sufficient information to enable them to maintain themselves, and to render them useful members of society as free persons. This is especially true of the females. These are, in general, intelligent, active, and industrious. I have witnessed the persevering assiduity of the females with young children in their arms, attending the school at early dawn during the hour which is allowed them for that purpose. I have seen many of the same parties, at the intervals granted to them for their meals, bringing to town on their heads very heavy loads of wood, which they had collected, for sale, with a view of adding to their comforts and those of their children.

Of the females who have no children, there are very few, who, if liberated, could not readily maintain themselves without aid. To their praise, it has been affirmed by the missionaries, that there is not a prostitute among them. And even with respect to the females who have children, if they were permitted to live with their husbands, and allowed a few acres of ground to cultivate, and when not engaged in its cultivation to work for hire, they would all, in my opinion, be fully competent to provide for themselves. This remark will equally apply to by far the greatest part of the men, particularly if certain measures proposed to be adopted by His Majesty's Government should be carried into effect. Among them, indeed, are carpenters, who, without any superintendance, have constructed warehouses and other buildings, and who could therefore have no difficulty in obtaining a livelihood in any part of the world.

I do not deny that, among nearly 300 African apprentices at Tortola, individuals may be found who may still require the superintendence of His Majesty's Government; but I am fully persuaded that the exceptions are few, and that, with these few exceptions, the whole of them, at the expiration of their apprenticeships, would be fully able, with the advantages proposed to be given them by Government, to provide for their own livelihood, and that they would require no other restrictions than those which the laws impose on the conduct of other individuals of the same class.

They may be considered, notwithstanding their many disadvantages, to have made an advance in civilization. A desire to possess property of their own has been generally excited among them, and the operation of this motive, in their case as in all others, cannot fail to quicken their industry. Some address will doubtless be necessary, even in order to carry into effect the benevolent intentions of His Majesty towards them. Any measure, however beneficial in itself, which wore the appearance of compulsion and not of a real wish to promote their comfort and happiness, would naturally excite their distrust and suspicion.

Many of them having undergone severe sufferings during their long apprenticeships, would entertain apprehensions respecting any new plans for their disposal, unless conducted by persons well known to them as feeling for their situation and being desirous of their welfare, and who had thus acquired their confidence; and even in this case, it would be essential to success to conciliate the favourable opinion of the leading persons among them, whose views generally influence all the others.

With respect to the reluctance which Africans are said to feel to returning to their own country, it is to be remarked that they think of Africa only as they have known it, and are wholly unacquainted with the state of society existing at such a place as Sierra Leone. They keep, indeed, in lively recollection former scenes of rapine and warfare in their own country. The horrors of their passage* from Africa remain deeply engraven on their minds, and would make them shrink from encountering them afresh. Those also who have been so far enlightened as to appreciate the advantages of religious instruction, and of a more settled state of society than that which they recollect in Africa, are naturally fearful of the risks attending a change; at the same time, when they were told of the condition in which their fellow captives liberated at Sierra Leone were placed, enjoying freedom, and having the fruits of their labour fully secured to them, many of them expressed an ardent desire to go thither, provided they could be assured of the truth of the statement. On the whole, however, I have reason to believe, that, with the exception of those who have formed connections in the island, the greatest number would prefer going to Trinidad.

It is highly important, however, that the question of their future disposal should be decided without delay, as the apprenticeship of many of these persons will expire in the course of a short time.

I will conclude this Report by transcribing some observations which I had the honour to address to Earl Bathurst from Tortola on the 23d of March 1823, respecting the future disposal and government of those liberated Africans whose apprenticeships should have expired; and as these observations convey the sentiments which I continue, after much deliberation, to entertain on the subject, they will supersede the necessity of any further remarks.

(L. S.) *John Dougan, Commissioner.*

“ON the subject of the regulations which may be required for the future disposal and government of the African apprentices, when their apprenticeships shall have expired, and to the consideration of which subject Lord Bathurst has directed the attention of the Commissioners, I beg leave to offer the following Observations.

“The objects for which it appears necessary to provide seem to be, the comfortable sustenance and the improvement of the liberated Africans, the security of their personal liberty, and the prevention of danger or of charge to the communities of which they form a part.

“ All

* Upwards of one third of the Africans in two of the ships having died.

“ All these objects would, perhaps, be most effectually secured by their removal to the colony of Sierra Leone. They would there enjoy adequate means of subsistence and religious instruction, and would be placed beyond the reach of any attempt upon their liberty; the community of which they would then form a part could apprehend no danger of any kind from their introduction, and would be most willing to receive them, and to encounter all the risks of future charge with which their introduction might be attended. The only objections which occur to this plan are, the expense, and, in particular cases, the disruption of attachments and connections which had been formed in the place of their apprenticeship. Such cases, however, might be specially provided for. As for the expense, it would consist chiefly of the cost of freighting a vessel, and of rations of provisions for them until settled at Sierra Leone.

“ Another mode by which these objects might be obtained, though not perhaps with equal certainty, would be, by conveying them to Trinidad. Lands might easily be provided for them in that island, by the cultivation of which their comfortable subsistence might be secured, even if there did not exist in the island abundant facilities of employing themselves for hire. The means of religious instruction, though now wanting, might also be easily provided for them. The laws of that colony are peculiarly favourable to the protection of their personal freedom, and though at one time the planters of Trinidad entertained the same fears of danger and of charge from an increase of the free population, which are supposed to pervade the other islands, yet I believe experience has satisfied them that their fears were groundless. I understand that the ordinary operation of the law is found sufficient to prevent disorder; and the many advantages which the planters have derived from an increase of the number of labourers, that are procurable when wanted, and yet are no burthen to them at other times, have not been diminished, as far as I have heard, by any fresh charge on the public. The free population of Trinidad amounts to more than half the slave population, a proportion infinitely beyond that of any other of our slave colonies; yet so far has this circumstance been from operating to the disquiet of the community, that when the other islands of the West Indies have been agitated by alarms of insurrection, and martial law has been proclaimed in them, Trinidad has been free from those alarms, and no such measure of precaution has been thought necessary. I would only further remark, that the expense of removing the Africans to Trinidad from the neighbouring islands, would be trifling.

“ The adoption of either of these modes of disposing of the liberated apprentices, would seem to supersede the necessity of any re-apprenticeships.

“ But even if it should be judged inexpedient to dispose of them in either of these ways, I should still be of opinion that to re-apprentice them, except in exempt and peculiar cases, would be highly objectionable. Indeed, if not required by a clear and urgent necessity, it would, I conceive, be a measure of hardship and injustice. The apprenticeships have already been extended far beyond the intention of the Legislature, or the exigency of the case. A term, not exceeding fourteen years, has been construed to mean not less than fourteen years, and the child of eight years of age, and the adult of thirty, have been subjected to the same precise period of servitude; nor has any variation been admitted, whether they are to be taught a trade of difficult acquirement, or are merely to be occupied as domestics, or in the simplest and rudest operations of tillage.

“ The extreme harshness of this unvarying term of servitude, it appears unnecessary to dwell upon; but to prolong that servitude beyond the extreme point contemplated by the Legislature, even in the case of infants, would be an aggravation of hardship, which in my opinion, as I have already ventured to state, could only find its excuse in a clear and urgent necessity.

“ The apprentices in this island appear to have been more neglected than those in other colonies; and yet, with every disadvantage attending this state of inattention, I know but of one case in which the Africans, whose apprenticeships have expired, are not fully capable of earning their own subsistence, or in which there is any such room to apprehend that they will become chargeable to the community, as to require so severe an expedient for its prevention as that of binding them again to labour, at the will of another, for a further term of years. I conceive, indeed, that the evil apprehended would be greatly aggravated by this expedient; for at the

end of a second fourteen years, supposing the apprentice to live through it, how is he then to be supported in his old age? He has been kept all his life in a state of pupillage and helpless dependence; and now in old age, when his services are no longer worth having, he will be turned adrift, and, if not left to starve, must fall a charge on the public.

“The true way to prevent such a result would be, to give at once to each of these apprentices a small portion of good land, which he could call his own, and which would be sufficient to raise provisions for himself and his family. The labour not required for its cultivation, he would be at liberty to apply to the best advantage by hire of his services.

“He would thus have an opportunity of making some provision for old age, or would find in the aid of his children growing up around him a relief from want. In point of fact, few cases have occurred in the West-India Islands, where free blacks, or persons of colour, have become a charge on the public. I have known this island twenty-eight years, and only within the last six months has there been but one instance of a temporary relief from the vestry to a free woman of colour; and this remark applies, not merely to those islands, where, from an idea of guarding against this inconvenience, a heavy tax is laid on manumissions, but to those islands where a more liberal policy prevails, and no such tax is laid.

“With respect to those persons whose apprenticeships have actually expired, or are now expiring, I have annexed to this Report an Estimate, marked (A.) of the numbers and remarks on the two classes. With very few exceptions, I conceive that they are capable, if placed in an eligible situation, of maintaining themselves, even if no land were assigned them. If land were assigned them, the point would, in my mind, be placed beyond all doubt.

“I can see no danger to the community from setting them completely free, which the laws cannot sufficiently obviate; and if manumissions are to be at all permitted in the West Indies, if any increase of the free population is to be tolerated there, it is scarcely possible to conceive a less injurious mode of increasing it, than by the admission to the rights of freemen, of apprentices whose indentures have expired. The total number dispersed over the whole of the islands would still be small, and in any one of the islands too insignificant to cause the slightest alarm. Besides which, the process would be gradual, as the apprenticeships would be terminating, not all at once, but in successive years.

“The African apprentices in this island have, with few exceptions, kept themselves distinct from the slave population; they have always considered themselves a superior class, and have a perfect knowledge of their freedom; any attempt to countenance insurrection, they must know, would hazard their own rights and privileges. In my opinion, the liberated African would always stand in aid of the white population from any internal or external enemy; at least, I have always found it to be the case with the free blacks and people of colour of the English West-India Islands, and I see no reason why the liberated Africans should act differently; but, on the contrary, knowing the great ransom that has been paid for them, they must naturally feel a greater obligation than those who have purchased their own freedom.

“But how may the freedom of these liberated Africans be best secured? This is a difficult part of the case. The best security would perhaps be found, in a record of their freedom being inserted in some public register, to which access might be had, accompanied by a minute description of their persons for the purpose of identification, and in a certified copy of the record, vouched by the governor, being put into the possession of the liberated individual: a similar record would be necessary in the case of the children of such persons, accompanied by regulations suited to the case. They would then be protected, as far as the laws in their present state could protect them, in the enjoyment of their liberty.

(signed) “John Dougan, Commissioner.”

“Tortola, 14th March, 1823.”

Appendix, (A.)

ACCOUNT of the original Disposal, and present Condition, as far as the same has been ascertained, of the Africans, Class N° 1, taken on board two American Vessels, the Nancy and the Amedie, amounting to 168 Persons.

N° 2.
MR. DOUGAN'S
REPORT.

Appx. (A.)

1.—The NANCY, condemned 27th November 1807.

Original Disposal :	Men.	Boys.	Women.	Girls.	Total.
Sent on board His Majesty's ship Belleisle, Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, for the naval service - - - - -	35	1	-	-	36
Sent to Trinidad by Sir Alexander Cochrane, to remain on his estates there until orders were received from His Majesty's government, as by receipt taken - - - - -	-	10	8	6	24
Taken by President Turnbull, of Tortola, on like conditions - - - - -	-	4	-	1	5
Died at Tortola previous to disposal - - - - -	-	-	-	-	5
	35	15	8	7	70

Present State :	Males.	Females.	Total.
Accounted for, in the Commissioners Return, as being alive at Tortola - - - - -	2	-	2
Sent to Trinidad, to be accounted for there - - - - -	10	14	24
Died according to affidavits - - - - -	2	1	3
Died previous to disposal - - - - -	-	-	5
Discharged from His Majesty's ships of war at the Barbadoes hospital and dock yard, according to Returns from the Navy Office, to be inquired after at Barbadoes - - - - -	20	-	20
On board of different ships of war in 1808 and 1809, by the same Returns, further inquiry to be made of their discharge - - - - -	15	-	15
Died on board His Majesty's ship Centaur, by the same Returns - - - - -	1	-	1
	50	15	70

By a Return from the Navy Office, it appears that bounty was paid for 65 Africans taken on board the Nancy; viz. 35 men, 8 women and 22 children.

2.—The AMEDIE, condemned 10th February 1808.

Original Disposal :	Men.	Boys.	Women.	Girls.	Total.
Sent to Trinidad by Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, to remain on his estates until orders were received from His Majesty's government - - - - -	32	19	11	20	82
Taken by G. C. Forbes, of Tortola, on the same conditions - - - - -	-	2	1	3	6
By Thomas Dougan - - - - -	-	1	-	1	2
By Anthony Mackenrot - - - - -	1	6	-	-	7
By Doctor G. R. Porter - - - - -	1	-	-	-	1
	34	28	12	24	98

Present State :	Males.	Females.	Total.
Accounted for in the Commissioners Return, as being alive at Tortola - - - - -	2	-	2
Left Tortola with their masters or mistresses - - - - -	3	3	6
Unaccounted for - - - - -	1	-	1
Sent to Trinidad by Sir A. Cochrane, to be accounted for there - - - - -	51	31	82
Died at Tortola according to affidavits - - - - -	5	2	7
	62	36	98

By a Return from the Navy-Office, bounty was paid on 90 Africans taken in the Amedie; viz. 33 men, 11 women and 46 children. Bounty was not paid on the sick, amounting to 8 persons.

Appendix, (B.)

N^o 2.
MR. DOUGAN'S
REPORT.

Appx. (B.)

ACCOUNT of the present Condition, as far as the same has been ascertained, of the Africans, Class N^o 2, taken on board Four Spanish Vessels, the Venus, Manuella, Candelaria and Atriviedo, amounting to 1,070 Persons; as also of the number delivered over to the Collector of the Customs.

3.—The VENUS, condemned 3d August 1814.

PRESENT STATE.		Males.	Females.	Total.
Indented as Apprentices:	Accounted for, in the Returns, as being alive: Males in pp. from 120 to 140, N ^o 1 to 6, and numbered 1 to 23; Females, p. 154 to 172, numbered from 226 to 257 - - - - -	23	32	55
	Left Tortola with masters: Males in p. 142, N ^o 24 to 32; Females, p. 174, N ^o 258 to 263 - - - - -	9	6	15
	Run away to other colonies, their present condition has not been satisfactorily ascertained: Males, p. 142, N ^o 33; Females, p. 176, numbered from 269 to 270 - - - - -	1	2	3
	Sold as slaves in foreign colonies: p. 144, N ^o 34 - - - - -	1	-	1
	Taken into the military service, after having been indented as apprentices: Males, p. 146, N ^o 35 to 37; Females, p. 174, N ^o 264 to 268 - - - - -	3	5	8
	Died according to affidavits, certificates and declarations: Males, p. 146 to 148, N ^o 38 to 62; Females, p. 178, N ^o 271 to 291 - -	25	21	46
Not Indented:	Stated to have died, no satisfactory proof obtained: Males in p. 150, N ^o 63 to 64 - - - - -	2	-	2
	Given up for the military service: Males, p. 151 to 152, N ^o 65 to 178 - - - - -	66	-	66
	Died before they were indented: Males, p. 152 and 153, N ^o 179 to 225; Females, p. 178, N ^o from 292 to 303 - - - - -	95	12	107
	225	78	303	

	M.	F.	Total.
Increase of 17 Females - - -	12	9	21

Remarks:—This vessel was captured by His Majesty's ship Barbadoes, John Fleming, esq. commander, and was condemned at a court of Vice-Admiralty, in Tortola, on the 3d August 1814. On the 13th and 15th of that month, 303 Africans were delivered over to Francis Ingram, esq. Collector of His Majesty's Customs, Road Town, Tortola.

By a Return from the Navy Office, it appears that bounty was paid for 303 Africans on board the Venus;—viz. 198 men, 49 women, and 56 children.

THE Collector's Statement, dated Tortola, 13th July 1815, of Africans landed from the ship Venus, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 19th February 1821, is,—

Males, 14 years and above.	Females, 14 years and above.	Boys under 14.	Girls under 14.	Total.
198	49	27	29	303

Males 14 years and above taken for service	-	-	-	66
Males above and under 14 years apprenticed out	-	-	-	64
Females above and under 14 years - ditto	-	-	-	66
Males and females dead	-	-	-	107
Total	-	-	-	303

4.—MANUELLA, condemned 9th August 1814.

N^o 2.
MR. DOUGAN'S
REPORT.

Appx. (B.)

PRESENT STATE.		Males.	Females.	Total.
Indented as Apprentices :	Accounted for, in the preceding Returns, as being alive : Males in pp. from 60 to 88, and numbered from 1 to 44; Females in pp. from 100 to 110, and numbered 278 to 294 - - - - -	44	17	61
	Left Tortola with their masters or mistresses : Males in p. 92, and numbered 45 to 51; Females in p. 112, and numbered 295 to 301 - - - - -	7	7	14
	Runaway from Tortola without being examined : Male in p. 92, and numbered 52 - - - - -	1	-	1
	Left Tortola with the consent of their masters or mistresses : Male in p. 92, and numbered 52 - - - - -	1	-	1
	Taken into the military service, after having been indented as apprentices : Males p. 94, and numbered 54 to 55; Female, p. 112, and numbered 302 - - - - -	2	1	3
	Dead according to affidavits, certificates, and declarations : Males in p. 94, and N ^o 56 to 69; Females, p. 114 and 115, N ^o 303 to 312	14	10	24
Not Indented :	Given over to the military service : Males, p. 96 and 97, and numbered from 70 to 165 - - - - -	96	-	96
	Died before they were indented as apprentices : Males in p. 98 and 99, and numbered from 166 to 277; Females in p. 114, and numbered from 313 to 315 - - - - -	112	3	115
		277	38	315

Births.		Deaths.	
M.	F.	M.	F.
Increase of five Females - - -	3	3	- 1

Remarks :—This vessel was captured by His Majesty's ship Mosquito, Captain Tomkinson, and was condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court, in Tortola, on the 9th August 1814. On the 10th of the same month, 314 Africans were delivered over to Francis Ingram, esq. Collector of His Majesty's customs.

THE Collector's Statement of Africans landed from the Manuella is,—

Males, 14 years and above.	Females, 14 years and above.	Boys under 14.	Girls under 14.	Total.
236	34	41	3	314
Males, 14 years and above, taken for His Majesty's service -				96
Ditto, above and under 14 years, apprenticed out - - - - -				69
Females, ditto and ditto - - - - -				34
Males and females dead - - - - -				115
Total - - - - -				314

By a Return from the Navy Office, it appears that bounty was paid for 314 Africans on board the Manuella; viz. 236 men, 34 women, and 44 children, making the total number of 314 persons.

N. B. In the Return made by the Commissioners of the cargo of the Manuella, there is one female more than in the account given by the Collector. There is great reason for supposing that the name of a female called "Mecca or Eccomma," an apprentice of Mr. Forbes of Nevis, is twice inserted, first among the deaths, on the affidavit of S. Keys, as Mecca, or De Nubby, apprentice to Mr. Forbes; and again, as "left Tortola with Mr. Forbes, Mecca Eccomma;" this last-mentioned person was alive at Nevis by the Collector's Return in 1819

5.—CANDELARIA, condemned 1st December 1814.

N^o 2.
MR. DOUGAN'S
REPORT.

Appx. (B.)

		PRESENT STATE.		
		Males.	Females.	Total.
Indented as Apprentices :	Accounted for, in the Returns, as being alive : Males in pp. from 184 to 202, and numbered from 1 to 27 ; Females in pp. from 212 to 230, and numbered from 120 to 158 - - - - -	27	38	65
	Left Tortola with their masters or mistresses : Males, p. 204, numbered from 28 to 41 ; Females, p. 232, and numbered from 159 to 160 - - - - -	14	2	16
	Sold as slaves in foreign colonies : Males, p. 206, and numbered 46	1	-	1
	Taken into the military service, after having been indented as apprentices : Males, p. 204, and numbered from 42 to 45 - - -	4	-	4
	Died according to affidavits, certificates or declarations : Males, p. 208, and numbered from 47 to 51 ; Females in p. 232, and numbered from 160 to 172 - - - - -	25	13	38
Not Indented :	Given over to the military service : Males, p. 210 and 211, and numbered from 72 to 111 - - - - -	40	-	40
	Died before they were indented as apprentices : Males, p. 211, and numbered from 112 to 119 - - - - -	8	-	8
		119	53	172

Increase of 19 Females -

M.	F.	Total.
12	13	25

Remarks :—This vessel was captured by His Majesty's ship Barrosa, William M'Culloch, commander, and was condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court, in Tortola, on the 1st of December 1814. On the 2d of that month, 172 Africans were delivered over to Francis Ingram, esq. Collector of His Majesty's Customs.

THE Collector's Statement of Africans landed from the Candelaria is,—

Males, 14 years and above.	Females, 14 years and above.	Boys under 14.	Girls under 14.	Total.
92	27	27	26	172

Males 14 years and above taken for His Majesty's service - - -	40
Ditto above and under 14, apprenticed out - - - - -	71
Females ditto and ditto - ditto - - - - -	53
Males dead - - - - -	8
Total - - - - -	172

6.—The ATRIVIEDO, condemned 20th February 1815.

N^o 2.
MR. DOUGAN'S
REPORT.

PRESENT STATE.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Indented as Apprentices :			
Accounted for, in the Returns, as being alive : Males in pp. from 238 to 254, and numbered from 1 to 27 ; Females, pp. 264 to 312, and numbered from 143 to 225	27	83	110
Left Tortola with masters or mistresses : Males, p. 256, and numbered from 28 to 33 ; Females, p. 314, and numbered from 226 to 234	6	9	15
Taken into the military service, after having been indented : Males, p. 256, and numbered 34 ; Females, p. 314, and numbered 235	1	1	2
Died according to affidavits, certificates or declarations : Males in p. 258, and numbered from 35 to 49 ; Females, p. 316, and numbered from 236 to 272	15	37	52
Not Indented :			
Given over to the military service : Males in p. 260 to 263, and numbered from 50 to 129 ; Females, p. 318, numbered 273 to 282	80	10	90
Died before they were indented as apprentices : Males in p. 263, and numbered from 130 to 142 ; Females, p. 318, and numbered 283	13	1	14
	142	141	283

Appx. (B)

	Births.		Deaths.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.
Increase of 19 Females	16	23	1	1

Remarks:—This vessel was captured by His Majesty's ship Ister, John Cramer, esq. commander, and was condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court, in Tortola, on the 20th of February 1815. On the 20th and 21st of that month, 281 Africans were delivered over to Francis Ingram, esq. Collector of His Majesty's Customs, who made the following Statement of the Africans landed from the Atriviedo :

Males, 14 years and above.	Females, 14 years and above.	Boys under 14.	Girls under 14.	Total.
99	71	43	68	281

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Males 14 years and above, taken for His Majesty's service	72	-	72
Boys under 14 years, taken for ditto	8	-	8
Females above 14 years ditto	-	10	10
Ditto in hospital (crazy)	-	1	1
Males apprenticed out	45	-	45
Females ditto	-	128	128
Males dead	13	-	13
Ditto sick in hospital	4	-	4
Total	142	139	281

N. B. The Commissioner's Return gives two more females in the Atriviedo than that of the Collector. This difference has arisen from the examination of one female, Kitty Egina, who came from St. Thomas, and did not appear to have been apprenticed out by the Collector, but had been living at St. Thomas ; one other female, twice returned as " Mecca or Tamer," apprentice of Henry Kirwan, and carried to Antigua ; and Mecca, apprentice of Georgiana Semper of Nevis.

GENERAL RECAPITULATION OF CLASS N° 2.

N° 2.
MR. DOUGAN'S
REPORT.

Appx. (B.)

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Accounted for, as being alive in Tortola and the Virgin Islands -	121	170	291
Left those islands with their masters and mistresses, or by their permission - - - - -	37	24	61
Run away to other colonies - - - - -	2	2	4
Sold as slaves in foreign colonies - - - - -	2	-	2
Taken into the military service after being indented as apprentices	10	7	17
Died, according to affidavits, certificates, &c. - - - - -	81	81	162
Given up for military service - - - - -	282	10	292
Died before they were indented as apprentices - - - - -	228	16	244
	763	310	1,073
Increase of 60 Females - - - - -	43	48	91

N.B. Of the children, 1 male and 2 females have since died.

Appendix, (C.)

Appx. (C.)

CORRESPONDENCE with Mr. Beare, the Collector of the Customs, on the subject of the ill-treatment of African Apprentices.

To the Commissioners for inquiring into the State and Condition of captured Africans, &c.

Gentlemen,

Custom House, Tortola, 28th April 1823.

AN African named Edgar, who is an apprentice to Mr. Francis R. Fisher of this town, complains of ill-treatment from his master. Mr. Fisher is gone to Porto Rico, but on his return from thence, I will desire his attendance before you, and you will then have the goodness to determine between them. I beg to acquaint you, that with reference to my letter of the 23d January last, I some time since called on Mr. Fisher to produce the apprentice Orinoco, but he stated in answer, that the said Orinoco was at Porto Rico, that he run away from his service, and that he does not therefore consider himself bound to take any steps for producing him at Tortola. As Mr. Fisher admitted that he saw Orinoco at Porto Rico, and believed he was in *slavery*, it may be proper to take legal steps against the master to compel him to use his endeavours to bring back the apprentice.

I am convinced it is the brutal conduct of some masters, (who treat their apprentices like slaves, and never think of performing their own engagements to His Majesty,) that occasions the running of the Africans from the island. To remedy which, if possible, for the future, I request you will be pleased to inform me, whether you think it advisable, and whether you would recommend me to try the effect of a law-suit against Fisher for the recovery of the penalty of the indenture, for the purpose of forcing him to take measures for the liberation and the return of the apprentice.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

George Beare, Collector.

To George Beare, Esq. Collector of His Majesty's Customs, Tortola.

Sir,

Tortola, 30th April, 1823.

MR. DOUGAN being unwell, and intending to remove to the country for three or four days, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter yesterday, which was dated on the 28th instant.

As soon as my colleague is able to do business, I doubt not but he will agree with me in acceding to your suggestions, and, in the meantime, I request you will furnish this office with names and numbers of the African apprentices who have run away from the island on account of "the brutal conduct of some masters who treat their apprentices like slaves, and never think of performing their own engagements to His Majesty;" and also your reasons for believing this general but indefinite charge, and which it is of the utmost importance to have investigated, that the innocent may not be confounded with the guilty.

It is more particularly necessary that all charges of this kind should be fully investigated, for circumstances have occurred in our inquiries, in your presence, where some apprentices have run away from the island whilst under your charge, with permission to look out for their own masters and mistresses; as, for instance, Tom Ocranquo:—and some have advanced the fee necessary for their indentures to females, who paid it to you, and these apprentices immediately, or soon after, left this island for St. Thomas; as, for instance, Frederick Oddo and France Watchecu, who certainly never complained of brutal treatment that I ever heard of.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(signed) Thomas Moody, Commissioner.

To Major Moody, Commissioner for inquiring into the State of captured Africans, &c.

Sir,

Custom House, Tortola, 1st May 1823.

N^o 2.
MR DOUGAN'S
REPORT.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, in answer to mine of the 28th ultimo, by which it would appear that you have given too general a construction to my meaning in respect to the words used therein, regarding the treatment of African apprentices. I did not, by such words, intend to convey an imputation against masters generally, but only against some individuals.

I do not pretend to furnish names and numbers of those who have run away from the island wholly on account of ill-usage; but the opinion I expressed in my letter with respect to the conduct of some masters to their apprentices, is founded on circumstances that have come under my own observation, or been communicated to me in the shape of complaint, of which an instance or two may suffice to relate.

In October last, I apprenticed to Mr. Wheatly, (now in the Danish island of St. Croix,) the African man named Henry, who complained soon after that his master had ordered him to be cartwhipped, and that he was cartwhipped in his yard in the town, in consequence of which he ran from the island.

Very soon after my arrival here, I observed a severe whipping given in the street, by Mr. Fisher, to the African man named Edgar. The same man, some months since, complained against the same master, of which you are aware: and a few days ago the same apprentice complained of ill-treatment experienced from the said master, in consequence of which, and of the situation of his other apprentice at Porto Rico, I deemed it proper to forward the letter I addressed to you and Mr. Dougan on the 28th ultimo.

It would appear by the concluding paragraph of your letter, that you conceive a heavier responsibility rests on the collector, in respect to captured negroes, than appears to me by the King's Order in Council. It is the duties of parties to indentures, I apprehend, to prevent their apprentices from going off the island, and, if they run therefrom, to produce them again to the collector when requested.

I have endeavoured, when any of these people were thrown out of service by the death of their master, or any other cause, to provide for them again in the best way I could, by rebinding them again to such masters or mistresses as offered. Some of those at Tortola, (as I have said before,) are such characters that I cannot get any persons to take them as apprentices; and the facilities for going to St. Thomas are such, that if they will go thence, I am sorry to say, it is not in my power to prevent it.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. &c.

(signed) *George Beare*, Collector.

Appendix, (D.)

COPY of a Letter from George Beare, Esq. Collector of the Customs, to the Commissioners of Inquiry, on the subject of Lord Bathurst's Decision as to the Punishment of Two Female Apprentices.

Appx. (D.)

To the Commissioners for inquiring into the State and Condition of Captured Africans.

Gentlemen,

Custom House, Tortola, 8th November 1822.

I HAD the honour to receive your letter of the 6th instant, inclosing two papers from R. Wilmot, esq. under Secretary of State for War and Colonies, to you, for my information and guidance; and directing that, in conformity with Lord Bathurst's decision, I re-apprentice the two Africans referred to, to any respectable person or persons who are willing and competent to fulfil the regulations in the form of an indenture sent from the Commissioners of the Customs, dated London 21st March 1821; and requesting me to inform you of my reasons for indenting the apprentices to Mr. Maclean, after the considerations submitted to me by the Commissioners.

I beg to observe, that it is usual, I believe, when a commission is appointed to proceed to any part of the King's dominions to inquire into and report upon any public matter, for the department in England to give notice thereof to the subordinate authorities abroad, with directions for them to afford the Commissioners every assistance and information in their power.

In your case no notice whatever has been transmitted to this office from any public department at home, by which I could acquire any knowledge of the legal extent of your authority, and yet I have endeavoured to do all I could to facilitate the object of your inquiry.

Considering the nature of the directions now given in your letter of the 6th instant, and that it appears to me that I am legally responsible, as collector of the customs for the time being, for the manner in which I exercise the authority vested in me by His Majesty's Order in Council of the 8th March 1808, issued in pursuance of the Act of Legislature, passed for abolishing the Slave Trade, it is with reluctance I express my doubt of your competency to give directions which may interfere with the rule of conduct laid down in the said Order in Council, for the general observance of the collectors; at least, if I am responsible

N^o 2.
MR. DOUGAN'S
REPORT.

Appx. (D.)

sible in the eye of the law for the exercise of the power so vested in me, I apprehend I must not remove an apprentice from any master or mistress unless defaults are so clearly established as to amount to a forfeiture of the indentures; or I may be liable, in obeying your directions, to consequences against which, I presume, you are not authorized to indemnify me.

You are aware that the Africans, which Mr. Maclean had in his possession at the time of the examination by you in May last, were, like many others, similarly circumstanced at the time, originally apprenticed to another person, who had long given them up; and as you know Mr. Maclean was not a party to the indenture, it would not on that account have been in my power to punish him, if defaults had been legally proved against him, which, by the first regulation of the Order in Council relating to the making of indentures, would seem to be necessary to be done, before the collector could safely act upon the election given him by the second regulation of the same order for removing the apprentice. I must own also, that it appears to me, before a matter which so seriously affected the reputation of any respectable person, was submitted to Lord Bathurst, an opportunity ought to have been given the accused of disproving by evidence, if he could, what was urged against him by the complainants; and I think it but justice to add my belief, that both Kitty and Amelia were in a great measure excited to complain, by an expectation that it would cause their removal to town from the Keys, where the Africans in general, to my knowledge, are particularly averse to reside.

Having taken time to consider of the case of the Africans in question, as referred by you on the 24th May last, after perusing copies of Mr. Maclean's letter to you, and affidavits of individuals on the subject, transmitted by Major Moody on the 27th June,—the respectability of Mr. Maclean's character in the colony, and the difficulty there is in these small islands (where Africans are so numerous) of obtaining responsible persons to be their masters and mistresses, I thought it best they should remain with Mr. Maclean; and accordingly, on the 27th September last, after receiving his assurance of good treatment, they were bound to him for the remainder of the term, by transfer of the indentures, to which of course he is regularly a party. These therefore, and the foregoing, were my reasons for indenting them to him; and you will consequently perceive, at least it appears to me, that it is out of my power to re-apprentice them to any other person or persons, unless Mr. Maclean should be guilty of any breach of the covenants of the indenture. If it is true, it was imprudent in him to have them whipped for the evidence they gave before you, but allowance will no doubt be made for the warmth of his feelings, when it is considered that he did so, under the irritation of the moment, at discovering they had uttered untruths; and it does not appear that he inflicted upon them what in this country is called flogging, but only chastised them with switches as negroes do their children.

With respect to the indentures N^o 122 and 124, I shall, agreeably to your wish, take legal advice, whether they are perfect legal instruments, operative on all parties who have signed and transferred the same; and if such instruments be deemed perfect, whether the collector, from his own consideration of the case, and by his own will and act, without any restraint from the other parties to the indentures, can remove the apprentices from the services of their masters, should the collector be so disposed, or directed by proper authority to do so.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient humble servant,
(signed) *George Beare*, Collector.

Appendix, (E.)

Appx. (E.)

AFFIDAVIT of George, an African Apprentice, as to his having been cartwhipped by direction of his Master.

In the Court of Grand Sessions, Virgin Islands, Tortola.

GEORGE, an African apprentice, apprenticed to Job Parker Doan, of the island of Tortola, merchant, having shown himself acquainted with the nature of an oath, maketh oath and saith, That he was taken down to Sea Cow Bay (in a boat, together with another African, named William, his fellow apprentice,) by the said Job Parker Doan; and shortly after his arrival at Sea Cow Bay, on Parson Braithwaite's estate, he was laid down on the ground and cartwhipped by a black man unknown to this deponent; and immediately after, the said William was also laid down on the ground and cartwhipped by the same man. And this deponent further saith, That the said Job Parker Doan did (previously to the said cartwhipping being inflicted) command four black men to seize and hold this deponent, and also the said William, which was accordingly done, that is, four men to this deponent, and three men and a boy to the said William. This deponent and the said William were then taken out, their breeches stripped down, and cartwhipped. And this deponent further saith, That he received six lashes, as did also the said William, which drew blood from them both: that the said Job Parker Doan was present on the steps of the manager's house, near which they were flogged.

Sworn to in open Court, being first read and }
explained, this 20th day of March 1823. }

(signed)

The mark X of George.

Richd King, jun. Clerk of the Crown.

To the Commissioners for inquiring into the State of captured Africans.

Gentlemen,

Custom House, Tortola, 21st March 1823.

IN my letter to you of the 13th instant, written at the Court-house, I informed you that, if a grand jury could be formed on that day, a bill of indictment would be preferred against Mr. J. P. Doan.

I have now to acquaint you, that no grand jury was formed on that day, nor at the last meeting of the court for the 20th instant; but that, on the latter day, an affidavit was made in court by George, one of the apprentices, who had been cartwhipped by order of Mr. Doan, and that two indictments for the illegal treatment of William and the said George have been lodged in the secretary's office, and will be tried at the court of Grand Sessions in September next, and that Mr. Doan was bound over to answer the charge, himself in 100 *l.* and a surety in the like sum. I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

(signed) *George Beare, Collector.*

N^o. 2.

MR. DOUGAN'S
REPORT.

Appx. (E.)

Appendix (F.)

EXTRACTS from the Communications of the Methodist Missionaries at Tortola, respecting the African Apprentices.

Appx. (F.)

1. Mr. Gilgrass.—“ From their ignorance of the English language, these liberated Africans must naturally labour under many disadvantages both in civil and religious life.”—“ They were placed, too, not in the most favourable circumstances to learn,”—“ and yet they have done more than thousands of whites have done in the same space of time. How many boys have spent six or seven years at a seminary, and are much less able, at the end thereof, to converse in Latin or Greek, than these Africans were, in the same space of time, to converse in the English, a language not the most easy to learn by a foreigner. Is not this a proof that they possess intellect in common with other nations? To see how some authors have suffered prejudice to carry them beyond the truth, is astonishing; these men tell us, the Africans generally are sunk to a level with the brute, they are degraded, stupid in the extreme, deficient in intellect, destitute of all the free and noble feelings of the cultivated human bosom; that they are incapable of moral improvement, and of living a virtuous life. I do enter my strongest and warmest protest against all that has thus been said; and I can say, my protest is the result of close observance of the African nations, imported to these islands, for almost twenty years. I have not only lived among them, but devoted all my time, talent, and labours to their present and eternal happiness.

“ The liberated Africans were apprenticed to persons, who (some of them) knew little more than the Africans. Some of their masters and mistresses came originally from the same shores, were made slaves, but have been freed, and now they have undertaken to instruct these late comers. If a bad education be worse than none, I think the great disadvantage under which the Africans laboured, from the barbarous manner in which those persons speak the English tongue, has not been duly considered, as language is the medium through which instruction of Christianity must be conveyed to their understanding. All these circumstances lead me to conclude that the Africans are not worse than others. Thousands of persons of both sexes in the four quarters of the world, with all the advantages of education, are daily, wantonly, and notoriously violating the laws of nature and of God; but I hesitate not to say of these liberated Africans, that a single instance cannot, I believe, be found, on the records of Tortola, of one of them, in the lapse of fourteen years, having been executed or transported. I cannot say so much of the whites, the browns, and slaves. I am aware, indeed, that both sexes of the Africans have departed from virtue, and that some have broken the solemn bond of matrimony; but I do not know of one that has turned public prostitute.”—

“ I shall now notice briefly their progress in the mechanic arts. Where a fair trial has been given to the Africans, have they failed in any one instance? I know of none; but I could name men among them who are well able to build good houses, from first to last, without the interference of any other man; and surely, if some Africans can with so much facility acquire the art of framing and putting up houses, others would, no doubt, if they had been properly instructed, learn to make a shoe, a coat, or a saddle, &c. We cannot justly deny that they possess common sense; and when they found by painful experience that they were not taught the art or trade mentioned in their indentures, but were commanded to do any thing besides, they naturally felt disappointed, and at times manifested wrong tempers and used wrong words. It is said they are idle and ungrateful. Remove from the mind of any man those objects by which he may be excited to work hard, day after day, to the end of ten or fourteen years, and see how much he, any more than the African, will do, for the sole interest of other men, who are, to him nothing more than the law makes them, masters, if not worse. All men labour for self and relative interests, for food, raiment, habitation, &c. Where no hope of obtaining the necessaries and comforts of life can be entertained by the labouring classes, is it any wonder that they should relax their arduous labours?”—

“ When these people came first to our chapel, they had not so much as the theory of Christianity, nor did they possess such a degree of knowledge of the English language as to qualify them, though paying all proper attention, to understand fully what they heard. But by continuing to sit under our ministry, which is greatly simplified, and brought down to almost

almost the lowest degree of human intellect, they became gradually enlightened, so as to apprehend the first principles of the doctrine of Christ. To bring them on in the knowledge of all the duties enjoined upon them as members of the Christian church, we have set apart every Friday night for the express purpose of catechising them. This meeting is generally well attended by the Africans, and many others."

"Some of the female Africans have attended our school, with a design to learn to read; the proficiency which they have made is not great; but this cannot be turned against them, as lacking capacity or natural ability. The time allowed them is very little, not more than six hours in seven days. Some of their children also attend the school, but I cannot discern any difference between them and those children which have Creole parents. Generally speaking, I have ever witnessed a greater aptness in black and coloured children to learn to read, to spell, to repeat by heart, and to cipher, than in the whites born in these islands. I hesitate not to say, let these Africans be allowed the free rights and privileges of British subjects, they will conduct themselves in an orderly manner, employing their time and talents in the necessary and useful departments of life.

The liberated Africans baptized by the Wesleyan missionaries are—	Adults, 76; and	
infants, 17	- - - - -	93
Married, (couple)	- - - - -	22
Learning to read—adults, 23 females, and 20 children	- - - - -	43
Attending catechetical instruction	- - - - -	50
Members of the society, about	- - - - -	100

2. Mr. Truscott.—"According to your request, I proceed to lay before you, an impartial view of the moral and religious state of those captured Africans who are members of the Wesleyan Methodist society, or are otherwise under the religious instructions of the Wesleyan missionaries on the Tortola mission.

"But here it must be necessary to observe, that when I state to you that I have only been on the Tortola mission about fifteen months, you may be led to conclude that that period is not sufficiently long to enable me to form a correct view of their condition. I grant the justness of this observation. This would have been the case, if I had had, during that time, an opportunity of forming my opinion from their external conduct and appearance only. But when I inform you, that I and my brother missionaries are, almost daily, personally engaged in our official capacity among them and the slave population of this colony, you will conclude that we ought to be able to form a tolerable judgment of their condition.

"The means which are employed by us for their religious and moral improvement are the following:—

"On the Sabbath-day we preach twice; the intermediate time is employed in the private instruction of the slaves and Africans, by persons of the greatest piety and knowledge, chosen from among the members of the society, who are styled Leaders; each of these takes the oversight and instruction of twelve to thirty persons, Africans and slaves.

"From four to six o'clock of the afternoon of the Sabbath-days we keep a school, where many of the free, coloured, and slave children, with some of the Africans, are taught to read, spell, &c. On Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday mornings, from day light to sun rising, we give a public lecture; on the same mornings, from sun rising to eight o'clock, we keep a school, at which the children and Africans who attend are taught to read and spell, and are also catechetically instructed in the first principles of our holy religion; the school is constantly superintended by one of the missionaries. On Tuesday and Wednesday evenings there are private instructions given by the leaders. On Thursday evening there is public preaching by one of the missionaries. On Friday evening there is a public catechetical meeting held, at which slaves and Africans attend; at these meetings one of the missionaries is always present, and either instructs the people in a catechetical manner, or gives a short lecture on some important Christian duty. On Saturday evening there is a band meeting held, at which the more pious among our people receive instruction; this meeting is composed of free persons, slaves, and Africans.

"Beside these opportunities of bringing myself acquainted with the state of the captured Africans on the Tortola mission, I have had others. Before I came to Tortola I was stationed in the island of Dominica for the space of twenty months, where we had a few of the African pensioned soldiers in our society, into whose state I was at some pains to inquire. Hence, I conceive, I may venture, without the imputation of vanity, to offer an opinion, at least, on their religious character and moral conduct, and on their improvement in knowledge.

"Taking the Africans collectively, I think they will not suffer any disparagement when compared, on the subject of experimental religion, with an equal number of persons taken promiscuously from the bulk of our society, who have not been of longer standing than themselves.

"Their moral conduct has been, on the whole, all we could reasonably expect from persons in their circumstances. Many of them are strictly regular and attentive to all the religious services which have been established by the missionaries for their improvement. Of the private conduct of many, their masters (some of whom are members of our society) speak in the most satisfactory manner; indeed, few have been the instances in which we have been obliged to exercise our punitive discipline for immoral conduct. By punitive discipline, I mean either suspension or exclusion from our society, which they very much fear, and when inflicted, they are exceedingly anxious to have removed, because they esteem it a mark of the lowest disgrace.

"I believe

"I believe it can be proved that, in an equal number of Creole negroes, taken promiscuously from among the members of our society, we have been obliged to exercise our punitive discipline more frequently on them than on the captured Africans.

"It may be inquired, how is this difference, in the moral conduct of the two parties, to be accounted for, when it seems natural to expect that the preponderance would be in favour of the Creole negro? I think it may be accounted for in this way. Creole negroes are too generally trained up from their infancy in all the follies and corruptions of their parents, and in addition to these they very soon learn to imitate the sins and follies of the whites, and free people of colour. Hence they are for years carried down the stream of sin and folly until they become the subjects of a better influence.

"The Africans came here, it is true, with a polluted nature, but they were unable at once to add West-Indian sins and follies to their African depravity; hence, before time and opportunity could effect this evil, they were brought under the influence of the gospel, which has so happily effected a change of character.

"Another reason for this difference may be this, the Creole slaves live, for the most part, far distant from town, and from the other places of public worship in the country; hence, they have not those frequent opportunities for receiving religious instruction, &c. as the Africans have, who for the most part reside in town.

"There have, however, been some instances in which we have been obliged to exclude the Africans from our society, principally in consequence of the sudden ebullition of bad temper."—"In general, I have ever found them exceedingly grateful for the least mark of attention shown to them, or the least favour conferred upon them, and willing at all times, as far as they have it in their power, to assist those who need their help. They are very attentive to all our instructions, and this is manifested by their improvement in knowledge.

"They appear to possess a general knowledge of the great doctrines and precepts of the religion of Christ Jesus. It is true they cannot yet express themselves on these subjects in the most pleasing style and manner, but they do speak of these subjects in their own way, by which they afford to us a sufficient proof that they make religion the subject of their reflection in private, and that they are not ignorant of the theory of it. Even in this, they will bear a comparison with their Creole neighbours.

"As it relates to the learning of the adults: they get on but slowly; not for want of natural abilities or inclination, but for the want of time and opportunity."

"The children of the Africans who are in our school, are all, I believe, under six years of age; but these display as great an aptitude for learning as the other children of the school of the same age."

"The above observations, I believe, will apply in a general way to the free African soldiers, who were members of the Methodist Society in Dominica during my appointment there, with as much truth and propriety as they apply to their countrymen, who are members of the same society at Tortola.

"The above is as impartial an account as I am capable of giving, from a view of all their circumstances."

3. Mr. Felvus.—"I know that many of the Africans have learnt trades, where the necessary pains have been taken to instruct them. I know that some who were once indolent have become industrious, after having their minds impressed with their duty to God, their duty to man, and the advantage that would result to them from a proper attention to these things. I have also seen some of the most savage dispositions become civilized and christianized after attending to a regular course of religious instruction. I do not rely entirely on my own opinion for what I say, for I have heard masters declare, that they had Africans good carpenters and sailors; and mistresses say many things in favour of the women, as domestics"—"I cannot bear this testimony of all: after using all the means in our power with some, they have relapsed into their former habits.

"As to the instruction of the Africans: I am sorry to say, it never was attended to, before the Commissioners came out, whether the fault was in the servant or master, I know not. The Commissioners will be best able to judge after hearing both parties make their defence, but for one application we had before, we have had ten since.

"Our mode of proceeding with them is this:—We receive them first as catechumens, and set apart one night in the week to communicate moral and religious instruction to them, in the most familiar manner we can, by moralizing on those subjects with which they are best acquainted, and showing them the necessity of paying strict attention to religious duties, in order to become happy and respectable. We rise from their duty to man to their duty to God, and enforce this from the plainest passages in the Bible.

"I can say, as far as I have been able to judge, that they have both understood and approved of what they have heard, for, at the conclusion of any sentence of importance, I have frequently heard them say, in a low tone of voice, "Ah! dat true massa."

"Those that are attentive to what they have heard, and manifest the same by their conduct, we baptize, and if they are desirous, we admit them on trial, as candidates for the society; if they continue upright, we take them into (what we call) full connection, but do not admit them to the Lord's Supper until they make a public confession of their faith, as converted christians.

Appendix, (F.)

N^o 2.
MR. DOUGAN'S
REPORT.

Appx. (F.)

PETITION of the Council and Assembly of the Virgin Islands, in regard to the Removal of the African Apprentices from Tortola; and Remarks thereon.

The copy of this Petition was taken from part of the Minutes of one of the branches of the Legislature furnished me. The petition was mentioned as having been sent to Governor Maxwell, and that a copy of it had also been sent to the Colonial Agent in England.

To the KING's most Excellent MAJESTY,

The humble Petition of the Council and Assembly of the Virgin Islands.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Council and Assembly of Your Majesty's Virgin Islands, beg leave, most humbly, to represent to Your Majesty, that in pursuance of certain provisions of an Act of Parliament, passed the 47th year of his late Majesty's reign, commonly called "An Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade," several cargoes of Africans were brought into this port, and duly condemned in Your Majesty's Court of Vice-Admiralty: That of the Africans emancipated by virtue of these sentences, five hundred and thirty-four were distributed among the inhabitants of these islands, but principally in the Road Town of Tortola.

That your Petitioners view with anxiety and apprehension the period fast approaching when their indentures will expire, and the community be inundated and oppressed by a species of population already too numerous in the present state of the colony.

Could your Petitioners indulge a reasonable hope that these persons, at the expiration of their indentures, would apply themselves to agricultural purposes, your petitioners would perhaps have less cause to regret their introduction, but experience warrants an opposite conclusion. Few would thus apply their labour, as they prefer a precarious subsistence, obtained by casual employment, than that regular industry which is requisite for the cultivation of the soil.

In support of this statement, your petitioners might adduce many facts: they select the two following.

1st. Of seventy-six adult slaves, manumitted since the first registry in 1818, not one is solely employed in agriculture, and but few are partial cultivators.

2d. Of the distinct bodies of people, with their descendants, in number seventy-three, manumitted at different periods, to whom more than hundred acres of good land were given, only two or three subsist solely on the produce of the soil, and two or three more are partial cultivators; and no instance has ever occurred of any persons, from either of the two classes, having hired themselves as field labourers: but granting that the people in question, at the expiration of their indentures, would apply themselves to agricultural pursuits, having no land, they would be obliged to hire it, which additional expense would make their situation worse than the class of the free people referred to, and render it more probable that they and their progeny would become a burthen to the country for a support, which it cannot afford, from the present state of distress, to its own parochial poor, thus rendering them chargeable upon the colony, contrary to the gracious provision of 47 G. 3, c. 36, § 16.

From the reduced number of white inhabitants, the liberated Africans would also have a difficulty in disposing their surplus produce, as the supply is already equal to the demand, at a remunerating price.

That these people have, with few exceptions, been indented as domestics or tradesmen, and therefore would not be qualified at the expiration of their indentures to become husbandmen, either on their own account, or as field labourers hired to others; but were they competent to the task, and disposed to employ themselves in the latter manner, your Petitioners apprehend, that sufficient regular employment could not be obtained, from the depressed prices of produce, and the high rate at which free persons value their labour, few planters could avail themselves of their services with any prospect of advantage, consequently a very scanty and precarious subsistence would flow from this source.

Your Majesty's Petitioners most humbly represent that the African apprentices, at the expiration of their indentures, will form a distinct class of persons; for it does not appear that they will amalgamate either with the free persons of colour, or with the slave population; with the former no permanent connections have been formed, and in very few instances with the latter.

That the feelings of jealousy and hatred, engendered in the minds of the slaves towards the African apprentices, have become reciprocal; and when the latter are freed from their present restraints as apprentices, it is to be expected that the occasional acts of mutual violence between them and the slaves, and other free coloured people, will become more frequent and serious in a colony without troops, a militia, or the funds to support a proper system of police; and in such case, the safety of the colony, and the lives of Your Majesty's subjects, would be endangered.

We, Your Majesty's Petitioners, therefore, most humbly pray, that Your Majesty will graciously be pleased to take into your royal consideration these difficulties incident to the introduction of a class of people, for which our laws and local situation are unprepared, and adopt such measures for their removal from this colony, at the termination of their apprenticeships, as to your Majesty's wisdom may seem meet and proper.

There appears to be some discrepancy between the foregoing petition, and the proof afforded of the industry and considerable productive nature of the services of some of these Africans.

Africans. Mr. Dix, who practically experienced the value of these persons labour, the steady pursuit of Boatswain or Portsmouth, to agricultural labour for 1,279 days, could not have acquiesced in this petition.

The attachment of Hull to the house he has erected on Government land, and the cultivation of the ground around his house, give evident proofs that Africans will apply themselves to agricultural purposes; for Hull has refused the benefits offered by Government, and remains in a poor country, attached to the small spot which he cultivates, availing himself also of the advantages of his own trade and knowledge in fishing.

To support the opinion formed in the petition, that liberated Africans would not apply themselves to agricultural pursuits, a statement is made, that of seventy-six adult slaves manumitted since the registry in 1818, not one is *solely* employed in agriculture, and but few partial cultivators.

I have been furnished with a list of ninety-nine slaves manumitted at Tortola from the year 1818 to 1822, annexed to this Appendix, marked F. This list gives information of the names of the parties, their ages, occupation or trade, whether manumitted by will or gift, or by purchase. By this it appears,

	Men.	Women.	Children.
That the total number consisted of	20	51	28
These ninety-nine persons may be thus classed: Persons amply provided for by the will of Mr. G. Martin, possessing interests in large landed property	-	8	9
Children unable to cultivate the soil, but supported by their mothers	-	-	19
Aged females, from sixty-three to eighty-nine years, incapable of agricultural labour, two of them since dead	-	11	-
Aged males, from sixty-nine to seventy-three, two of whom are since dead	3	-	-
Persons living at the small islands of Jost Van Dykes, Anegada, and Peters Island, of whom no particular information has been obtained; but it may be observed, that nearly the whole of the free persons in these islands are fishermen, and cultivate the ground	5	10	-
	8	29	28

These sixty-five persons may therefore with propriety be withdrawn from the original number manumitted, as either incapable of agricultural pursuits, or actually engaged in it. Of the residue of twelve men and twenty-two women,

	Men.	Women.
There are, owners of small vessels, mariners, ship and house-carpenters, and blacksmiths	8	-
Females, that are housekeepers, midwives, pastry-cooks, seamstresses, who support themselves and their children	-	20
Employed in agricultural labour	4	2
	12	22

The freedom of twenty-four of the manumitted persons has been obtained by purchase. In one instance the slave paid £.330 for his liberation; other large prices have been paid by many of them for their freedom. This affords evident proof of industry previous and subsequent to their becoming free.

Aged and infirm persons, from sixty-three to eighty-nine years, cannot be expected among the number of cultivators of the land; it is enough, poor creatures, that they have never been a burthen to the community, but are supported most probably by their children, who are slaves, for they were manumitted by their masters at a very advanced age, and incapable of hard labour. In like manner are young children and their mothers, who are profitably engaged in other industrious pursuits which they have learnt. The introduction to the list of seventeen persons, amply provided for by the cultivation of a large landed property in the will of Mr. George Martin, was perfectly unnecessary.

The following are facts which relate to the industry and the property of the free people of colour at Tortola:—The parish tax of £.1,770 is raised by an assessment of six and a half per cent on £.5,000, the value of the rent of houses in Road Town, and 6s. on each slave; £.501. 18s. 6d. thereof is paid by the free black and persons of colour, as proprietors of slaves and houses in town. More than two thirds of the persons who supply the town with butchers meat and fish are free black and coloured persons. The principal butcher, Stephens, is a black man, and in a thriving way. He works in his grounds two days in the week, and applies himself to his trade as a butcher. This man declared that he could not provide for his family solely by agricultural pursuits.

Pero Elms, a free black man, who purchased his freedom, now owns six slaves; is occupied certain days in the week cultivating cotton; but this he says would not answer alone, if he did not employ himself and his people in fishing and in collecting salt. Many instances of a similar nature could be enumerated. It is necessity which compels the inhabitants whose lands are greatly exhausted, to apply to other pursuits, as well as the cultivation of the soil. There are very few possessors of landed property in the island of Tortola who are not involved in debt, as the failure in the cultivation of the soil has considerably diminished their property. An instance will exemplify the loss of property and abandonment in cultivation in a very extensive landed property and slaves of the estates of Bezaliel Hodge. In

the year 1788, it consisted of twelve sugar estates, having on them 1,114 slaves; at present it consists of four sugar estates, with 641 slaves. Except a few manumitted, no slaves appear to have been parted with.

The generality of the free black and coloured population of Tortola, and the adjacent islands, I know to be an industrious, thriving, and loyal set of people. It should not be made a matter of reproach to them that they blend other occupations with that of the cultivation of the soil, and that they will not apply themselves *solely* to agricultural pursuits; a measure which, if adopted in that impoverished country, would eventually reduce them to a state of pauperism.

The best proofs which can be adduced of the state of these free persons are, that not a single beggar of that class of people is seen in the streets; and that, although large contributions of taxation for the maintenance of the poor have been paid by the free people, no instance (until May last) has been known to me of parish relief, or allowance in any other public way, being afforded to a free black or coloured person: and here too I may add, no instance is known of any free person having been tried, for the last twenty years, for a felonious act in these islands. I have dwelt longer on this subject of the free people, as a deduction is made therefrom, that the Africans, after serving apprenticeships of fourteen years, when liberated, in like manner as those black and coloured people already free, would not be disposed to apply themselves solely to the cultivation of the ground.

The several instances which I have seen at Dominica and Tortola, of liberated Africans taking possession of unoccupied Government lands, and cultivating them to advantage, gives every indication of a very different conclusion; I have heard of similar occurrences at Antigua of the liberated black soldiers there.

The instance at Dominica was near Morne Bruce. Many of the disbanded Africans of a West-India regiment took possession of some unoccupied land, which they supposed the property of the Crown, and planted it. Without assuming to myself that knowledge of West-India culture which persons of practical experience possess, yet on viewing the lands cultivated by these free blacks, there appeared evident proof of attentive cultivation. At the same time, it is but fair to observe, that my opinion did not coincide with that of a gentleman who saw it at the same time; to him it appeared in a different light, and the cultivation was improper and negligent. I did not contest with an avowed knowledge of plantership, yet the proofs of industry were too evident for me to be mistaken, although a superior mode of cultivation might have been adopted. Fortunately, however, a very satisfactory proof convinced me that some productive benefit had arisen from this cultivation, and that of other pursuits. Lieutenant Clarke, the officer appointed to pay these persons monthly their pension of 9*d.* currency per day, mentioned to me, that latterly several of these men, not having called at the regular monthly period of payment, but after a lapse of several months, he asked the cause; they replied, that their labour was sufficient to support them, and that this money they left to increase.

The prevalent opinion in the colonies is, that a black man, if left to his own government, will not labour steadily at one pursuit, but will prefer a precarious subsistence, obtained by casual employment, and that they must be kept to regular industry by the means of a controlling power. To establish this opinion, instances are produced; but most frequently I found that all the facts of the case were not disclosed. I was told by a gentleman, also of Dominica, that having employment in the country for some of the liberated Africans, several came out to his estate to work for him; that they remained only a week, and returned to the town of Roseau, where they could only get work occasionally. On inquiry from another gentleman of the island, I found that the case was such as had been represented, as to their refusal to work any longer for this person, but that one important matter had been omitted in the representation made to me, namely, that the sum tendered by the planter for their hire was half the amount of the customary hire, and the Africans were obliged to feed themselves at a more expensive rate than in the town.

The following instance of steady industry in the cultivation of fifty acres of land, by a parcel of manumitted negroes in Tortola, and of their good conduct, came within my personal knowledge. In the east end of that island, at some distance from the public road, is a little village entirely composed of free persons, all of the name of Nottingham; this family as I may term them, had been living there from the year 1776. It appears that their master, Samuel Nottingham, a quaker, residing in Long Island in America, manumitted twenty-five slaves, six men, ten women, four boys and five girls, in the year 1776, and gave them also fifty acres of land in Tortola, which he directed them to cultivate for their common good. So quiet and retired had these persons lived there, that although I had been for many years residing in the island, yet I derived no knowledge of the situation and circumstances regarding these people, until three of them called on me at Tortola, requesting my assistance, in making inquiry of a legacy left to them in England; this occurred in December 1822.

Jeffrey Nottingham, Belinda, and Molly Nottingham, then gave me the following account of themselves; nine of the original number manumitted are now alive, they have twenty-five children, and nine grand-children, making the whole number forty-three persons. That a few of them are occasionally absent from the property for a short time, but the whole generally reside on the plantation called Long Look, which they have always cultivated since it was given to them; half of it is chiefly in provisions, and the rest is used as pasturage for their stock, which then consisted of twenty-eight cows, thirteen goats and thirteen hogs, besides poultry. That they formerly cultivated cotton, but the price falling low, and the failure of their crops occasioned them to discontinue the planting it. That Jeffrey Nottingham, exclusive of his share in the stock, and in the plantation, possessed five acres of land, and a house in Spanish Town, and a vessel of twenty-three feet keel, and that Diana and Eve have each a small vessel. Some years the seasons were bad, they

found a difficulty in getting water for their stock, and got little return for their labour; but still they had been able to support themselves, and had increased their numbers from twenty-five to forty-three. Not one of them is in debt, and their property is free from all encumbrance. That twelve of the grown-up persons are admitted members of the Wesleyan Methodist Society, and with their children attend regularly the methodist chapel at the east end of the island, except when any of them are sick. That since their emancipation, to the present day, none of them have been sued in court, or brought before a magistrate to answer any complaint made against them. One of them once obtained a warrant against a person who had assaulted him, who begging his pardon, he forgave him. The same person; on coming from sea, was arrested the day he landed, for a capitation tax on free persons, of which he had not been apprized, and was put into prison, but the next day he paid the money, about eighteen dollars, and was released.

I visited their plantation Long Look twice, and spent an entire day in walking over their grounds; as well as I could estimate, about thirty acres of it was in a state of cultivation, chiefly in provisions, and I found that they possessed the property in stock which they had represented; I also saw their three small vessels lying in a small bay. The whole of their houses had been entirely destroyed by the hurricane in 1819, they had been rebuilt, and now amounted to eleven, two of which were shingled, and the rest very good houses, built of wood, and thatched.

They are a very fine healthy race of people, all of them black, they had chiefly inter-married with each other, and seemed to dwell very happily together. None of them had been vaccinated, or had had the small pox.

Grace, the wife of Jeffrey, acted as school-mistress; some of the children read very well, and knew their catechism; they were in great want of proper school-books.

Appendix, (F.)

NAMES of free black and coloured persons, and the amount paid by them for a parish capitation tax on their slaves, of 6s. each, and on the assessed value of their houses in the Road Town of Tortola.

Names and Sum paid.				Names and Sum paid.			
£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.	
	6			Thomas W. Audain	6		
Sarah Roach				Jennette Heyligar	1	4	
Isaac Amey	1	13		Margaret Newton	2	14	
Jane Fleming		6		Francis C. Gordon	1	10	
Peter B. Buntin	4	11		Pero Elms	2		
Charles Daly		6		Thomas Crooke, sen.	9	8	
A. E. Daly		6		Thomas Crooke, jun.	3	6	
Isaac B. Westcott		12		Heirs of Margaret Bennett	1	4	
C. Fleming		6		William J. Higbie	1	13	
Joan Stephens		6		Catharine Martin		18	
John Dyer	7	4		William Smith	1	2	
James Lawson		16		Heirs of Benjamin Smith	4	8	
Heirs of James Crooke	5	6		Heirs of George Martin	197	4	
Lydia Pagans	5	14		Thomas Llewellen	1	6	
William and Ann Lewis		18		Heirs of Ann D'Arcey	12	10	
Heirs of R. Johnston	1	7		Henry Rapsot		18	
Mary Walters	8	6		Hew Temaw		10	
Frances Slaney	3			William M'Kenney		10	
Nimrod Harragin	2	16		Ann Ellison		15	
Thomas J. Niles	2	8		Daniel Johnston	1		
Anne Martin		6		Abraham Ravenier	1		
Heirs of A. C. Hill	135	16		Sarah Ann Wickham		10	
Richard Maduro		6		George J. S. G. Norman	1	10	
E. Johnston		12		Joseph Harragin		15	
Mary Norman		16		Eliza Bedford	2	10	
Mary Johnston		12		Heirs of C. Turnbull		15	
Frances Audain	1	16		Mary Van Prague	1		
Margaret Montgomerie		12		Peter Stephens		15	
Sarah Keys	5	14		John M. Farrington		10	
Bice Foreman	2	2		Sarah Hill	9	6	
A. Patnelli		6		Andrew Grimes		12	
Jane Martin		12		Heirs of J. F. Lettsom		6	
Mary Patnelli	3	16	6	Cyrene Lake		6	
Ann Berkley	1	7		Lewis Hyndman		6	
Catharine Fraser	10	8		Hopewell Molineux		6	
George Nibbs		6		Ann Molineaux		6	
Ann M'Cleverty	1	4		Eliza Shelton		6	
C. Harper	2	16		Penelope Hodge		6	
William Bagnell	1	4		Heirs of W. C. Rawleigh	14	8	
A. Stephens		16		Margaret Bennett		6	
Ann Bennett	2	19					
				Total	501	18	6

N^o 2.MR. DOUGAN'S
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Appx. (F.)

Appendix (F.)

LIST of 99 Slaves manumitted at TORTOLA from 1818 to 1822, taken

NAME of Owner.	NAME of Slave.	Adults.		Children.		Apparent Age.	Freed by will or gift.	Freed by purchase.	Sum paid for freedom.
		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.				
James Brady - -	Minkey - -	-	1	-	-	54	-	-	-
Bethiah Barry - -	Bice - -	-	1	-	-	63	-	1	-
George Chinnery - -	Mary - -	-	1	-	-	18	-	-	-
Bez ^l . Chalwill - -	Sally - -	-	1	-	-	30	1	-	-
Bez. Donavon - -	Hagar - -	-	1	-	-	64	-	1	16 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s</i>
Martha Frett - -	Jim - -	1	-	-	-	26	-	1	160 <i>l.</i>
M. D. French - -	Anne - -	-	1	-	-	29	-	1	-
Joel Guildersleeve - -	John - -	-	-	1	-	10	}	-	-
- - -	Sally - -	-	1	-	29				
- - -	Nisby - -	-	-	1	5				
Edward George - -	Johnny - -	1	-	-	-	39	-	1	132 <i>l.</i>
W. M. Glover - -	Mary - -	-	1	-	-	28	-	1	-
- - -	John - -	-	-	1	-	6	-	1	-
- - -	Maria - -	-	-	-	1	5	-	1	-
Mary Gardner - -	Ben - -	1	-	-	-	38	}	-	-
- - -	Jacob - -	1	-	-	-	70			
Abigail Hatchett - -	Jacob - -	1	-	-	-	52	-	-	-
- - -	Thomas - -	1	-	-	-	26	-	-	-
John Heyligar - -	Hannah - -	-	1	-	-	44	1	-	-
Jane Harragin - -	Mehitabel - -	-	1	-	-	34	1	-	-
Joshua Harragin - -	Betty - -	-	1	-	-	64	-	-	-
Richard Hetherington - -	Hetty - -	-	1	-	-	32	1	-	-
Alice Isham - -	Affection - -	1	-	-	-	44	-	1	-
Richard King - -	Ben Markoe - -	1	-	-	-	49	-	1	330 <i>l.</i>
Wilson Lawson - -	Johanna - -	-	1	-	-	39	-	1	}
- - -	Kitty - -	-	-	-	1	6	-	1	
Estate of Ruth Lettsom *	Jackey - -	1	-	-	-	36	-	-	-

Appendix (F.)

from the Registry, and additional information relative to them.

Trade or Occupation.	Residence.	Colour of Slave.	REMARKS.
- - -	Tortola - - -	- - -	-- No particulars obtained of this woman, or how she obtained her freedom.
- - -	Anegada - - -	- - -	-- Ditto; Bice is the mother of Bethiah Barry.
- - -	ditto - - -	- - -	-- No information of this person.
Seamstress -	Tortola - - -	Sambo -	-- Freed by Mr. Chalwill; by her industry Sally provides for two natural children of her master.
- - -	ditto - - -	Black -	-- Since dead.
{ Cotton Planter and fisherman - }	Peters Island -	Sambo -	-- This man was purchased of Mr. Martin by Mrs. Frett; by his industry Jim has nearly repaid the purchase money.
- - -	- - -	Mulatto -	-- This woman, by an exchange of a negro slave to her master, was manumitted by Mr. French.
- - -	Anegada - - -	Black -	-- No particulars of this woman and her two children.
Cotton planter -	Spanish Town -	Black -	-- Purchased his own freedom.
Seamstress -	Tortola - - -	Mulatto -	-- William Johnston, a mariner, a white man, purchased this woman, also his two children by her; they live with him, and keep his house.
- - -	- - -	- - -	
- - -	{ Island of Jost Van Dyke - - - - }	- - -	{ -- No particular information of these persons; the free people of this Island, Jost Van Dykes, get their living by fishing and planting cotton.
- - -	Jost Van Dyke - - -	- - -	
- - -	Salt Island -	Black -	-- No information.
Shopkeeper -	Tortola - - -	ditto -	-
- - -	- - -	ditto -	-- No information.
Housekeeper -	ditto - - -	ditto -	-- Mr. Hetherington by his will, gave freedom to this woman, and annually a barrel of sugar; she supports herself by her industry, and has offered to purchase the freedom of her daughter a slave.
Mariner -	ditto - - -	ditto -	-- This man owns half of a small vessel, and supports himself by trading among the islands.
Ship carpenter & owner of a ves- sel.	ditto - - -	ditto -	-- He died lately; Mr. King advanced the amount of the purchase money, 300 l. of which Markoe had repaid; at the time of his death he left a vessel and other property.
Seamstress & cake maker - - - }	ditto - - -	{ ditto - ditto - }	-- Jeffrey Pickering a free black man, bought this woman and child; she is since dead.
Blacksmith -	ditto - - -	ditto -	-- John Dracof the former master having only a right to this man's services during his life, at his death the man became free; he owns half of a vessel, worth 160 l. currency.

N^o 2.
MR. DOUGAN'S
REPORT.

Appx. (F.)

NAME of Owner.	NAME of Slave.	Adults.		Children.		Apparent Age.	Freed by Will or Gift.	Freed by Purchase.	Sum paid for Freedom.
		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.				
William Lookey	Margaret	-	1	-	-	21	-	1	£. 100
F. Macnamara	Rachael	-	1	-	-	74	-	-	-
-	Pompey	-	-	-	-	69	-	-	-
-	Penelope	-	1	-	-	54	-	1	-
George Martin	Abraham	-	-	1	-	10	1	-	-
-	Kitty	-	-	-	1	13	1	-	-
-	Shadrach	-	-	1	-	7	1	-	-
-	Maria	-	1	-	-	22	1	-	-
-	Hannah	-	1	-	-	21	1	-	-
-	Penelope	-	1	-	-	20	1	-	-
-	Amelia	-	-	-	1	13	1	-	-
-	Robert	-	-	1	-	6	1	-	-
-	Sam	-	-	1	-	10	1	-	-
-	Bazey	-	-	1	-	9	1	-	-
-	Thomas	-	-	1	-	6	1	-	-
-	Joe Phœbus	-	-	1	-	9	1	-	-
-	Boice	-	1	-	-	49	1	-	-
-	Jenny	-	1	-	-	39	1	-	-
-	Sally	-	1	-	-	42	1	-	-
-	Nancy	-	1	-	-	29	1	-	-
-	Betsy	-	1	-	-	26	-	-	-
-	George	1	-	-	-	16	1	-	-
-	Daniel	1	-	-	-	19	1	-	-
-	Richard	1	-	-	-	27	1	-	-
-	Margaret	-	-	-	1	4	-	-	-
-	Edward	-	-	1	-	4	-	-	-
-	Mary	-	-	-	1	4	-	-	-
-	Fanny Smith	-	1	-	-	44	1	-	-
-	Phibba Gordon	-	1	-	-	44	1	-	-
-	RachaelHyndman	-	1	-	-	59	1	-	-
-	Margaret	-	1	-	-	34	1	-	-
George Nibbs	Sam Beel	1	-	-	-	24	-	-	165
-	Jenny	-	1	-	-	27	-	-	396
-	Edward	-	-	1	-	9	-	-	
-	Anne	-	-	-	1	8	-	-	
-	Betsey	-	-	-	1	6	-	-	
Ann O'Neal	Violet	-	1	-	-	41	-	-	-
G. R. Porter	Eliza	-	1	-	-	30	-	-	-
G. Patnelli	Gift	1	-	-	-	32	-	-	-
Richard Roberts	Jenny	-	1	-	-	32	-	1	-
-	Samuel	-	-	1	-	10	-	1	-
-	Jimmy	-	-	1	-	7	-	1	-
-	Octavius	-	-	1	-	5	-	1	-
James Robertson	T. Molineux	-	1	-	-	21	-	1	100
-	Kitty Barrow	-	1	-	-	23	-	1	100
Estate of John Rymer	Bethiah	-	1	-	-	34	-	1	-
-	Rebecca	-	1	-	-	30	-	1	-

Trade or Occupation.	Residence.	Colour of Slave.	REMARKS.
Seamstress	Tortola	Mulatto	-- Mr. Lookey bought this woman of her former master and manumitted her; she is his housekeeper.
-	-	-	-- Feeble and infirm.
-	-	-	-- Since dead.
-	-	-	-- Since dead.
-	-	Mestee	-- Mr. George Martin left, by his will, this child heir to large estates at Tortola, having 639 slaves thereon, subject to certain bequests and annuities to eight women and eight other children of his:—
-	-	Mulatto	to Kitty a legacy of 5,000 <i>l.</i> sterling; to Shadrach, Maria, Hannah, Penelope, Amelia, Robert, Sam, Bazey, Thomas, and Joe Phébus, legacies of 1,000 <i>l.</i> sterling each, and maintenance to the age of 21 years; to Boice, Jenny, Sally, Nancy and Betsy, annuities from 200 <i>l.</i> to 132 <i>l.</i> and from six to four slaves.
-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-
-	-	Sambo	-
-	-	Mulatto	-
-	-	-	-
Carpenter	-	-	-- By Mr. Martin's directions, these three lads were taught the carpenters trade, by which they now support themselves.
ditto	-	-	-
ditto	-	-	-
-	-	Mestee	-- The freedom of these three children was recovered by a suit at law, after the death of Mr. Martin; no provision was made for them by his will; they are supported by their mothers.
-	-	-	-
Seamstress	-	-	-
ditto	-	-	-
Cultivators of the soil	-	Black	-- Employed in cultivation of the earth; they reside in the country.
Mariner	Salt Island	Mulatto	-- This man owns a small vessel; supports himself by trading in her, and in fishing.
Housekeeper	Tortola	Black	-- Mr. William Smith, a free man of colour, directed his executors to purchase the freedom of this woman, and his three children, which they did for 396 <i>l.</i> ; by the industry of the mother the children are now well supported.
-	-	Sambo	-
-	-	-	-
-	Anegada	Black	-- No information.
Housekeeper	St. Thomas	-	-- This woman lives at St. Thomas, a Danish island.
Cultivator	Cooper's Island	-	-- This man works in the ground, and is overseer to Mr. Patnelli.
Housekeeper	Tortola	-	-- William Nibbs, a carpenter and free man of colour, through the medium of Mr. Roberts purchased this woman and three children from Mrs. Macnamara; he manumitted them, and now supports them by his industry, aided by that of the mother.
-	-	Mulatto	-
-	-	-	-
Seamstresses and Cakemakers	-	-	-
Seamstress	-	-	-- These two females were natural daughters of Mr. John Rymer, sen.; they were sold by the son of Mr. Rymer to Mr. John Arindell; these females support themselves.

II.—PAPERS RELATING TO

N^o 2:
MR. DOUGAN'S
REPORT.

Appx. (F.)

NAME of Owner.	NAME of Slave.	Adults.		Children.		Apparent Age.	Freed by Will or Gift.	Freed by Purchase.	Sum paid for Freedom.
		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.				
Estate of John Rymer -	Melia - - -	-	1	-	-	79	1	-	-
- - -	Lucy - - -	-	1	-	-	68	1	-	-
- - -	Hannah - - -	-	1	-	-	70	1	-	-
- - -	Agnes - - -	-	1	-	-	89	1	-	-
Martha Sewer - -	Molly - - -	-	1	-	-	22	-	-	-
- - -	Catharine - - -	-	1	-	-	74	-	-	-
- - -	Thim - - -	1	-	-	-	48	-	-	-
- - -	Jackey - - -	1	-	-	-	48	-	-	-
John Sewer - - -	Bess - - -	-	1	-	-	46	-	-	-
Ann E. Sewer - -	City - - -	-	1	-	-	48	-	-	-
Estate of Henry Smith	Lydia - - -	-	1	-	-	30	1	-	-
Rachael Smith -	Charles - - -	-	-	1	-	3	1	-	-
- - -	John - - -	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-
M. L. Sheen - - -	Elvy - - -	-	1	-	-	49	1	-	-
- - -	Joan - - -	-	1	-	-	44	1	-	-
- - -	Fanny - - -	-	1	-	-	20	1	-	-
- - -	Betty - - -	-	1	-	-	18	1	-	-
Estate of Edward Turner	Messah - - -	-	-	1	-	9	-	-	-
- - -	Edith - - -	-	-	-	1	5	-	-	-
Henry Varlack, sen. -	Henry - - -	1	-	-	-	18	-	-	-
Vigo White - - -	Benaw - - -	1	-	-	-	44	-	-	-
Mary Walters - -	Sandy Point -	1	-	-	-	73	-	-	-
- - -	Kitty - - -	-	1	-	-	30	-	-	-
Pero Elmes - - -	Hannah - - -	-	1	-	-	44	-	-	-
Lydia Pagens - -	Peter - - -	-	-	1	-	13	1	-	-
	Total - -	20	51	18	10				

Trade or Occupation.	Residence.	Colour of Slave.	REMARKS.
- - -	Spanish Town -	Black	- - - These four aged persons were manumitted. It does not appear that any provision was made for their support. The remainder of the slaves of Mr. Rymer, a numerous and choice parcel, were sold to Mr. G. Martin.
- - -	Jost Van Dyke's -	- - -	- - - No information of these persons; they are, most probably, employed in planting provisions, and in fishing.
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - - Same remark as above.
- - -	Peter's Island -	Mulatto	- - - Of this woman and her children no information has been obtained; most of the inhabitants of Peter's Island are cultivators of the soil.
- - -	Tortola -	Black	- - - Supports herself.
Midwife	- - -	- - -	- - - She earns 100 l. a year by this employment as midwife.
Seamstress	St. John's -	Mulatto	- - - The former proprietors of these persons are kind and attentive to them.
- - -	Spanish Town -	- - -	- - - These children are supported by their grand mother.
Mariner	- - -	Black	- - - No information.
Cultivator	- - -	- - -	- - - This man works his ground at Spanish Town.
- - -	Tortola -	- - -	- - - Since dead.
Seamstress	- - -	Mulatto	- - - Supports herself.
- - -	- - -	Black.	- - -
- - -	Tortola -	- - -	- - - Manumitted by his mistress, a free woman of colour, and placed with a carpenter as an apprentice.

Appendix (G.)

ACCOUNT of the Negroes in Class No. 3, captured on board 22 small Vessels, and of 2 Seizures of Slaves made on Shore, amounting in the whole to 85 persons, and proceeded against in the Prize Court of Vice-Admiralty, or in the Instance Court, in the Island of Tortola, from the 25th March 1807 to the 25th May 1823.

No. 1.—Seventeen small Vessels of the above Class, No. 3, having on board 48 negroes, and 2 seizures on shore, of 6 negroes, making 54 persons, condemned in the Prize and Instance Court; from which Sentences no appeal has been made, or if made, the Sentences have been affirmed by the Lords of Appeal.

Name of Slave Vessel, and Date of Condemnation.	Name of King's Ship, or Seizer.	No. of Negroes proceeded against.		NAMES.	Age.	Country.	Bounty paid on
		Males.	Females.				
Schooner Edward, Jones, 13 April 1811.	H. M. Ship Arachne, Capt. Chambers.	4	—	Charles - - - John Charles - - - Henry Walton - - - George Walton - - -	not known not known	not known	4
<p><i>Remarks.</i>—From a memorandum produced at the Custom-house, it appears that these four negroes were delivered to Serjeant Turbitt, for His Majesty's service.</p>							
Schr Regent, S. H. Gilbert, 11 Nov. 1811.	H. M. Ship Laura, Charles N. Hunter.	4	—	Josh. Lyburn - - - Names of others not known.	33	—	—
<p>By the Judge's sentence the Captor's Agent was directed to deliver the four slaves to the Collector.—No information could be obtained at the Custom-house; there is reason for believing that some of these blacks were from Bernuda.</p>							
Sloop Porpoise, Lafitte, 13 Nov. 1811.	His M. Ship, Laura, Charles N. Hunter.	9	—	No names - - -	—	5 Africans 4 Creoles.	—
<p>By the records of the Court it appears that five of the negroes were Africans, and belonged to Mr. Penard of Guadaloupe; that one negro was a native of Martinique, and three others were natives of Guadaloupe.—No information to be obtained from the Custom-house, although the negroes were directed to be delivered over to the Collector in like manner as already mentioned.</p>							
Espeigle, Vivient, 13 Nov. 1811.	H. M. Ship, Laura, Charles N. Hunter.	3	—	No names - - -	—	2 Africans 1 Creole	—
<p>The Vessel and 3 slaves were condemned, one of them of Guadaloupe.—No information from the Custom-house.</p>							
Sloop Chance, Laurent, 17 Dec. 1811.	H. M. Ship, Laura, Charles N. Hunter.	4	—	Etienne - - - Pierre - - - Serris - - - Soll - - -	28 24 50 25	not known.	—
<p>By a document at the Custom-house, dated 9th January 1812, it appears that these four negroes were delivered by the Collector to Lieutenant Hunter, of His Majesty's ship Laura, for the naval service.</p>							
Brig Gibraltar, Collinette, 15 January 1812.	H. M. ship Amaranthe, Capt. Pringle.	2	—	not known - - -	—	uncertain	—
<p>By documents in the Court, it appears that the two negroes condemned were directed to be delivered up to the collector; one of them had been a slave of Joseph Marcial & Co. of St. Bartholemew's; the other was owned by Mr. Prince, a merchant of that island. At the Custom-house no information to be had.</p>							
Schooner Adela, Dewever, 20 February 1812.	H. M. ship Laura -	3	—	Richard Cremony - Castillio - - - Vincent - - - Abraham - - -	25 20 22 28	Creole. African. Creole. Ditto.	—
<p>The names and descriptions of four negroes from this vessel were given by the Custom-house; but it appeared from the sentence of the Judge that only three slaves in this vessel were condemned; they were the property of Mr. Cremony, of St. Bartholemew's. The officers at the Custom-house could give no information what became of these negroes, or why the name and description of a fourth negro was added.</p>							

Appendix (G.)—continued.

Name of Slave Vessel, and Date of Condemnation.	Name of King's Ship, or Seizer.	N° of Negroes proceeded against.		NAMES.	Age.	Country.	Bounty paid on.
		Males.	Females.				
Sarah, — Sequar, 29 March 1812.	H. M. ship Maria, Lieut. G. Kippen.	2	—	not known.	—	—	—
<p><i>Remarks:—</i>By information from the registry in England, a vessel of this name was proceeded against, and the ship, cargo, and two slaves were condemned. No further account to be had. This ship and slaves may prove to be the same as the Jonah, Sequar, mentioned in this list.</p>							
Sloop Mary, James Todd, 24 April 1812.	H. M. ship Maria, Lieut. G. Kippen.	2	—	Hannibal - - - - Joe - - - -	- - - - - - - -	Creole. African.	- -
<p>No information from the Custom house. By the court proceedings it appeared that the vessel belonged to William Brookes, of Antigua, and that Hannibal was born there.</p>							
Sloop St. Joseph, Curette, 20 May 1812.	H. M. ship Laura	-	1	Louisa - - - -	- - - -	Creole.	-
<p>On searching the records of the Court, it appeared that Louisa was a Creole slave, and a passenger on board the St. Joseph. No sentence of condemnation appeared, although there was on Jem, a slave on board the Anthony, Davis master, included in the same monition with the St. Joseph; Louisa was apprenticed to Dr. Porter, of Tortola; she went afterwards to reside at St. Thomas, and earns her living there as a laundress.</p>							
Schooner Anthony, Davis, 20 May 1812.	H. M. ship Laura	-	1	Jem - - - -	- - - -	African.	-
<p>Was apprenticed to Dr. Porter, of Tortola; his time of servitude has expired; a very indifferent character. See his examination.</p>							
Sloop Penelope, Pike, 20 May 1812.	H. M. ship Amaranthe, Capt. Pringle.	2	—	William Heyligar George Verchild -	- - - - - - - -	Creole. ditto.	-
<p>By the proceedings of the Court, these men appear to have been born in the island of St. Christopher. The Custom-house officers knew not where they went; it is probable that they returned to that island.</p>							
Sloop Jonah, Sequar, 30 May 1812.	- - - -	2	—	Francis - - - - Thomas - - - -	27 20	Creole. ditto.	-
<p>From the examinations taken in the Prize Court, these persons appear to have been owned by Mr. Johnti, of St. Pierre's, Martinique, and born in that island. <i>Quære, can this vessel be the "Sarah, Sequar?"</i></p>							
Sloop Augustus, Hinson, 22 June 1812.	H. M. ship Laura	-	2	George Pigot William Crawford	25 22	Creole. ditto.	-
<p>These men were born at Antigua. No account where they went, or what became of them.</p>							
Ship Prevoyante, Auzias, 18 November 1812.	H. M. ship Peruvian, Capt. A. F. Westropp.	3	—	Jean Charles Degágee Charles - - - - La Cayere - - - -	- - - - - - - - - - - -	Creole ditto ditto.	-
<p>Jean Charles Degágee called on one of the Commissioners, and produced a certificate from the Registry at Tortola of his being the person liberated: he mentioned having paid twelve dollars for it; and stated that he, together with Charles and La Cayere, had served on board His Majesty's ship Peruvian, until that ship was ordered to England, when he was discharged at St. Thomas, then an English island; since that time he had been navigating in different vessels. He had acquired some money, of which he had paid 225 dollars for the freedom of his wife, Marie Virginie: that La Cayere, who had been discharged from the Peruvian at the same time with himself and Charles, had also met with some success, by which means he had purchased the freedom of his wife and two children, and that they had gone down to St. Domingo, where they settled. By a receipt at the Custom-house, November 1812, these three men were delivered on board the Peruvian for the naval service. The name of Jacques (a boy) also was mentioned; but who this boy was, did not appear.</p>							

Appendix (G.)—continued.

Name of Slave Vessel, and Date of Condemnation.	Name of King's Ship, or Seizer.	N ^o of Negroes proceeded against.		NAMES.	Age.	Country.	Bounty paid or.
		Males.	Females.				
Coque Maire, Valentine, 28 November 1812.	H. M. ship Maria, Lieut. Kippen.	3	-	not known - - - -	-	not known.	-
<i>Remarks:—</i> No information from the Custom-house: by the proceedings it appeared that this vessel, her cargo, and three slaves, were condemned.							
Sloop Revenge, 26 October 1821.	W. F. Maclean, esq. Acting Collector.	1	-	John - - - -	-	African.	-
John was smuggled ashore at Spanish Town. He was apprenticed to Mr. Maclean. See his examination, page 326 of Schedules.							
Seizure on Shore, 26 November 1821.	Henry Clement, esq. Acting Collector.	3	2	George Hughes - - - Peter Wheatly - - - William H. Wheatly - Christopher Wheatly - Bella Wheatly - - -	- boy d ^o - girl	Creole. ditto. ditto. ditto. ditto.	-
George Hughes a carpenter, Christiana Wheatly, the mother of Peter, a boy, of William Henry, a younger boy, since dead, and of Bella, a girl of 12 years of age. These persons were brought from the Danish Island of St. Croix, and landed at Tortola, they were seized and condemned. The acting collector, Mr. Clement, deeming them competent to their own maintenance, set them at liberty. By the statement of Christiana Wheatly, made 26th March 1823 (Appendix H.), it appears that the collector hired this woman and her children at the rate of four shillings currency per day, for the whole of them with food, with which she was sufficiently maintained, unfortunately the collector died, and she experienced some difficulty, having three children to support, and being a stranger in the Island, and little to begin the world with; however she was soon able to apprentice out her girl to a very respectable gentleman in the Island, and the eldest boy was placed with a carpenter to learn the trade. Her youngest boy died. It appears from her statement, that every attention was paid to the child, when ill, he received proper medical attendance, and necessary bodily comforts, and that he even received religious consolation from a clergyman of the establishment; the body was decently buried.							
The Mother appears to have done her duty to all her children; in the statement she gives particulars of her situation, and that of her children, who are well placed as apprentices and she says "she can very well take care of herself, and assist her children;" is married, and is well satisfied with her present condition.—See examination of Christiana Wheatly, page 330 Schedules.—also Appendix H.							
Seizure on Shore, 20 May 1822.	W. F. Maclean, esq. Searcher.	-	1	Cottorine Zemba.	-	-	-
See particulars in page 332 Schedules.							
Total - - -		50	4	- - - - -	-	-	7

Appendix (G.)—continued.

N^o 2.—Account of Twenty Negroes, Class N^o 3, captured in three small Vessels, condemned in the Court of Vice-Admiralty, or in the Instance Court, in the Island of Tortola; which Sentences have been since reversed by the Lords of Appeal, for whom no Bounty was paid.

Name of Slave Vessel, and Date of Condemnation.	Name of King's Ship.	N ^o of Males condemned.	NAMES.	Age.	Country.
Sloop Scourge, Dufourg, 13 November 1811.	H. M. ship Maria, Lieut. Kippen.	6	Noel. Edward. Jean Baptiste. Jean Charles. Alexis. Ruffin.	- - - - - -	- - - - - -
<p><i>Remarks:</i>—By the proceedings of the Court, it appeared that the ship, cargo, and six slaves, were condemned on an appeal; an appraisal of the ship and cargo was made at St. Thomas, then a British Island, into which port the ship was brought. No account could be obtained what became of the slaves. The Lords of appeal reversed the sentence on the 15th December 1813.</p>					
Schooner Industry, Brown, 13 November 1811.	H. M. ship Maria, Lieut. Kippen.	11	not known - - -	-	Africans.
<p>This vessel and cargo were also carried to St. Thomas, and after condemnation they were taken by the claimants on bail for 10,927 dollars. No bail was given in for the slaves; the Judge directed the 11 slaves to be delivered to the collector at Tortola; no account could be had what became of them; most probably they proceeded in the vessel. By the examinations taken, it appeared that all the slaves were Africans, mariners of the vessel, and owned in Martinique. The Lords of appeal reversed the sentence of the Court below on the 15th December 1813.</p>					
Schooner Sally, A. Duroche, 13 November 1811.	H. M. ship Maria, Lieut. Kippen.	3	Charles - - - Louis - - - John - - -	- - -	Africa. ditto. ditto.
<p>The ship, cargo, and three slaves, were condemned on an appeal; the ship and cargo were appraised, and both were sold by Mr. Thomason, the collector of the customs at Tortola. Although this transaction was immediately under the direction of that custom-house, no account could be had from it what became of the slaves, who were the property of Mr. Robert Leach, of St. Christopher, to whom the vessel belonged. The Lords of appeal reversed this sentence on the 19th of February 1814.</p>					

N^o 3.—Account of Eleven Negroes, captured in two small Vessels, Class N^o 3, proceeded against in the Prize or Instance Court in Tortola, in which Court no definitive Sentence has been passed by the Judge.

Name of the Slave Vessel, and Time of Capture.	King's Ship.	N ^o of Male Slaves seized.	NAMES.	Age.	Country.
Sloop Favourite, Thomas Tynes, 1812.	H. M. Amaranthe, Capt. G. Pringle.	7	Cicero - - - Jack - - - Jim - - - Dan - - - London - - - Jungo - - - Robin - - -	- - - - - - -	Africa. - - - - - -
<p><i>Remarks:</i>—It appeared by the Records of the Court, that the ship's papers were lodged preparatory examinations of the master and crew taken; and that on the 4th of March 1812, the judge ordered further proof, whether any and what certificate or description was given of the slaves employed in navigating the said sloop at the commencement of the voyage. If yea, to whom was it given, by whom certified, and how has it happened that such certificate was not on board at the capture; and the production of the said paper, or an account of what has become thereof. Two months were given for the production of the said further proof. It did not appear that any further proof had been produced, nor could it be ascertained that anything further had been done. The vessel's register, and six other ship's papers, were not in the registry.</p>					

Appendix (G.)—continued.

Name of the Slave Vessel, and Time of Capture	King's Ship.	N ^o of Male Slaves seized.	NAMES.	Age.	Country.
Sloop Susan, William Davis, 10 June 1812.	H. M. ship Maria, Lieut. G. Kippen.	4	Buté - - - - Dennis - - - - Wood - - - - Hercules Richardson -	- - - 25	Creole. African. African. Creole.
<p><i>Remarks</i> :—In this case it appears that the ship's papers were lodged on the 16th of June 1812, on the same day the master, William Davis, was examined.—He stated the vessel to be the property of Mr. Thomson, of Antigua; that she was of 15 tons burthen, and that there was no cargo on board; that she left Antigua for St. Bartholomew, without any clearance or permission from the custom-house. Lieut. Kippen, in his affidavit on the production of the ship's papers, states he seized the said sloop Susan on or about the day of June, off the Island of St. Bartholomews about a mile and a half from the harbour, for and on account of the said sloop having come from Antigua without any clearance, bound to the said port of St. Bartholomew, and <i>having at the same time four slaves on board, not indorsed on the papers of the said sloop</i>, according to law. No ship's papers were to be found in the court, nor did it appear that any sentence had been passed by the judge, or that the vessel's name had been inserted in a book containing a list of ships on which sentences had been passed.</p> <p>On a reference to the entry and clearance of vessels at the Custom-house, Tortola, the following appeared, "Entry," sloop Susan of Antigua, British-built, 15 tons $\frac{1}{4}$ with four men besides William Davis, master from Antigua, detained by His Majesty's Brig Maria, Captain Kippen, in Ballast, 18th June 1812. "Clearance" 23rd June 1812, sloop Susan of Antigua, William Davis for St. Thomas, in ballast.</p> <p>Strong proof was given to one of the Commissioners, that Mr. Thomson, the owner of the vessel (sloop Susan) had agreed to pay for her 500 dollars, and the court expenses; and the sloop's papers were directed to be had from the registrar for Mr. Thomson. It appeared also in like manner that four negroes belonging to the sloop Susan were carried up to Mr. Thomson from St. Thomas to Tortola. There being no sentence of condemnation pronounced, these four negroes still remain slaves.</p>					
Total - - -		11			

GENERAL RECAPITULATION of Negroes, Class 3, Appendix.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Account of Negroes captured and condemned in seventeen small Vessels, } without Appeal, or the Sentences have been affirmed - - - - - }	47	1	48
Two Seizures on Shore - - - ditto - - - - -	3	3	6
Negroes condemned in three small Vessels, but the Sentences have been } since reversed by the Lords of Appeal - - - - - }	20	-	20
Negroes captured in two small Vessels, on whom no definitive Sentence } has been pronounced by the Court - - - - - }	11	-	11
	81	4	85

Appendix (H.)

Appx. (H.)

Tortola, 26th March 1823.

THE declaration of Christiana Wheatly, a liberated negro, made before me the day above mentioned:—That she was born in the Danish island of St. Croix; whilst there she had three children: Bella, a girl; and two boys, Peter and William Henry. The father of these children is Pettice Williams, a free black man, a shoemaker at St. Croix; her master Mr. Wheatly, having brought her and the three children over to Tortola, they were seized on, and condemned some time in November 1821. Mr. Clement, the late collector, was very kind to her, and took her into his service, allowing her 4 s. for herself and children per day; she lived with him to the period of his death; after which, being a stranger in the country, she found herself under some difficulty, having three children to support, and but little to begin the world with; she therefore bound her daughter Bella, as an apprentice for five years, to Doctor Ross, now a member of the council, who has been very good to her. Her eldest son Peter, she deemed it would be most to his advantage to place with Richard Philips, a free man of colour, a ship-carpenter, who promised to teach him the trade, although no instrument of writing was drawn up; she has understood that Richard Philips has since signed an engagement to do so, by desire of Major Moody.

William Henry, her youngest son, took a very severe cold, and had a bad sore throat; in the first instance she applied what she thought would relieve the child, but finding he grew worse, she called on Dr. Ross, who attended the boy, and allowed her to bring the child to a room in his yard, where she attended and nursed the child. Whilst he was ill, the parson of the church came and prayed with him. Dr. Ross gave a coffin, and the child was decently buried by the parson.

That on her first coming to Tortola she was connected or lived with Lewis, one of the head slaves of Purcell's estate, and went to the chapel to be married to him, but on finding that Lewis had been formerly married, although separated from his wife, no marriage was allowed; she broke off all connection with Lewis. About six months ago she was married to James Hodge, a mason, one of the head slaves of the estate of Mr. Ronan Hodge.

She earns her living by rearing goats and poultry; these and other articles she sends to St. Croix, to her grandmother there, for sale, and receives in return certain articles which are wanted in Tortola, which she vends; by which, and the cultivation of vegetables, she earns a decent subsistence for herself and husband. She washes and mends the linen of her son, gives him, occasionally, little presents.

From the experience she now has, and the settlement she has made in the country, being sixteen months, she is upon the truth when she says she can very well take care of herself and assist her children, and is well satisfied with her present condition.

The mark + of *Christiana Wheatly*.

The above was carefully read to Christiana Wheatly, and explained before the signature.

(signed) *John Dougan, Commr.*

Appendix (I.)

Appx. (I.)

THE statement made by Francis Welch, a free person of colour, before John Dougan, one of the commissioners:—That he was employed by the collector of the customs of Tortola to attend on the Africans landed from the four Spanish ships, the *Venus*, *Manuella*, *Candelaria*, and *Atriviedo*, from the time they were first landed to the latest period when the whole were disposed of, and the houses hired for their use were given up, and no longer used; one of these houses was called the "Barracks," and another the "Hospital." That he well recollects all the Africans delivered up by Mr. George Patnelli for His Majesty's service, and received in the house called the Barracks; part of them had originally been indentured to Mr. George Martin, a planter: That the whole of the Africans were delivered up in one day; he does not recollect the precise day, but it was in the same month and year that Major Moody was at Tortola with General Leith: That he does not know, nor can he recollect any of these Africans delivered up by Mr. Patnelli having died in barracks, or at the hospital; indeed he is almost sure that none died of that parcel: one of them was a woman, the finest female in the cargo of the *Venus*, chosen out by Mr. George Martin, who had the first pick or choice of the cargo, and had been transferred over by him, as an apprentice, to Mr. Patnelli: she was much reduced indeed, her feet eat up by chegoes, so as to be quite disagreeable to the smell; but this woman he (Welch) knew went up in a transport from Tortola for Barbadoes.

There were other Africans delivered up for His Majesty's service to the collector by persons to whom they had been apprenticed: That there was not an instance, to his knowledge, of any apprenticed African afterwards delivered up or taken for service, ever having

N^o 2.
MR. DOUGAN'S
REPORT.

Appx. (I.)

having died at the barracks, or the hospital : That he is confident if such death happened it must have been known to him, as all Africans so delivered up for service were put under his care, and he attended the burial of every African that died : That the Barbadoes man of war took up the first parcel of Africans for service, and a transport a second parcel : That after the last embarkation of Africans for service there remained in the house, called the Barracks, three men and a crazy girl ; the men are now all alive at Tortola ; they are called Harry, Dick, and Tim, and now apprentices to Mr. Bellisario ; the crazy girl died : That two days after the ships sailed for Barbadoes with the apprentices given up for service, the three men above mentioned were removed from the barracks, and placed in the hands of Mr. Bellissario : That he (Welch) then collected the mess tubs, some frocks, and small articles that were remaining in the house called the Barracks, and delivered the whole over, together with the keys of the house, to Mr. William Smith, the clerk of Mr. Dix : That this house never afterwards was used by the collector, nor was any African admitted in it, there being no use for it.

That Mr. Ingram, the collector, reserved for himself two men and three women ; a boy called Dick ; another boy, Sam, who was afterwards drowned. One of the women was called Venus. He does not recollect the names of the other two ; but one of them died and left a child, and the third is now an apprentice to Mr. Joseph Dennington.

Mr. Ingram also took one male African for the use of the Custom-house ; but this man was afterwards given up for service, and went in the Barbadoes ship of war.

N^o 3.

SEPARATE REPORT of Major *Thomas Moody*, Royal Engineers, late Commissioner, stating his Reasons, why he could not sign, or approve of the Report of his Colleague.

My Lord,

London, 2d March 1825.

I HAVE the honour to transmit the first part of my Report on the apprenticed Africans, and other negroes, condemned to the Crown in the Court of Vice-Admiralty, at Tortola, since the Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

N^o 3.
MAJOR MOODY'S
REPORT.

I hope that the reasons given, at the end of the enclosed Report, for my declining to sign, or approve of my colleague's report on the same subject, will be deemed satisfactory, although they have led me into detailed statements, which might otherwise appear unnecessary and irrelevant.

It is possible that I may have erred in drawing wrong inferences from the facts which I have stated; but as I pledge myself to have only stated what I have conscientiously considered to be *the most faithful exposition of facts*, I trust that I may hope, in such cases, for your Lordship's indulgence.

I beg to be understood that I unequivocally exculpate my colleague from any improper motive, when a statement of fact on his part differs from my report of the same occurrence. It is possible that men with the best intentions may differ, where there may exist in their respective minds impressions of an opposite character.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

Tho^s Moody,

B. Major, Royal Engineers.

Earl Bathurst, K. G. His Majesty's Principal
Secretary of State for War and Colonies.

REPORT on the Negroes condemned to the Crown, in the Court of Vice-Admiralty, at Tortola, since the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

IN the Act 47 Geo. 3, c. 36, passed on the 25th March 1807, intituled, "An Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade," the seventh section regulates the mode of treatment and disposal of all negroes, taken as prize of war, or seized, as forfeited, under that, or any other Act of Parliament. They are declared to be "subject to such regulations as to His Majesty shall seem meet, or as shall, by any general or special order of His Majesty in Council, be in that behalf directed or appointed."

By the 16th section of the same Act, "to prevent such negroes from becoming, at any time, chargeable upon the island in which they shall have been bound apprentices," it is enacted, "that it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty in Council, from time to time, to make such orders and regulations for the future disposal and support of such negroes, as shall have been bound apprentices under this Act, after the term of their apprenticeship shall have expired, as to His Majesty shall seem meet."

In consequence of the power thus vested in His Majesty, three Orders of Council were issued, dated the 16th March 1808; one of which appoints the collector, or chief officer of the customs for the time being, in any of His Majesty's colonies, having a court of Vice-Admiralty, to receive, protect, and provide for all such negroes, natives of Africa, as have been or shall be condemned either as prize of war, or forfeiture to the Crown; delivering over to persons authorized to receive, all such negroes as may be deemed fit for His Majesty's naval or military service; and the rest are directed to be indentured as apprentices under certain conditions.

N^o 3.
MAJOR MOODY'S
REPORT.

To inquire into all those circumstances which might influence the state and condition of those different classes of negroes in the West Indies, a Commission was sent there in the beginning of 1822, and I had the honour to be a member of it, upon the recommendation of your Lordship. In that capacity I acted to the best of my ability, solely intent in the investigation of the truth, until circumstances occurred which induced me to resign, from a conscientious regard to what I considered my duty as a servant of the crown. The same sense of duty, and grateful respect towards your Lordship, induced me to act as a Commissioner until I was relieved by the two gentlemen, who were afterwards appointed to carry on the duties of the Commission.

The state of the health of my colleague obliged him to leave the West Indies before the arrival of our successors; but as long as his health permitted him, he diligently and zealously performed his duties, according to the ideas which, in the exercise of his judgment, he had formed thereof.

It is much to be regretted that we respectively viewed our duties in such different lights, because my colleague having given in a separate report, our respective assertions on matters wherein we may disagree, cannot now be so well confirmed or confuted, by the *joint examination of evidence on the spot*, as your Lordship in such cases had directed to be done.

In points, therefore, wherein the statements of my colleague may appear to me to be inaccurate, I hope your Lordship will pardon my occasionally referring to sources of information where the truth may be obtained. These I should have obtained myself, if I had been aware of many of the assertions made by my colleague, which I have only now seen for the first time, as they were not recorded in the official books of the Commission, prior to his departure from Tortola. In some cases, indeed, it appears he had privately taken declarations from persons in the colony; when we were both there; but of which I was kept entirely ignorant, until the present moment, consequently, to a certain degree, I am less enabled to confirm or confute the inferences, which my colleague may have drawn from statements procured in this manner, and now submitted to your Lordship in his Report, which has been moved for, to be laid before Parliament.

For minute details I must refer to the Schedules, subject to the defective mode in which information was sometimes taken, and recorded, in a first attempt to perform a duty not free from difficulties.

ABSTRACT showing the Number and Class of Vessels connected with the Importation of Slaves into the Island of *Tortola*, or which have been brought before the Court of Vice-Admiralty there, with Slaves on board, since the Abolition of the Slave Trade, on 25th March 1807.

No. 1.—VESSELS having on board Slaves, as Mariners, Servants, &c. condemned in the Court of Vice-Admiralty, since the 25th March 1807; but the Negroes not being in *Tortola*, no satisfactory account of their present State and Condition could be obtained.

NAME of the Capturing Vessel, and that of the Commander.	NAME of the Captured Vessel, and that of the Master.	Date of Condemnation.	Causes of Condemnation.	NUMBER of Negroes, and whether Creole or African.
H.M.S. Arachne, Capt. Chambers -	schooner Edward, J. G. Jones	1811: 13th April	covering enemy's property - - breach of revenue laws - - -	{ 3 Creoles } 1 African } 4
Laura, Lieut. C. N. Hunter	- d° - Regent, S. Gilbert -	11th Nov.		
D° - - d° - -	sloop Porpoise, J. Lafitte -	13th Nov.		Creoles - 4 5 Africans } 9 2 Creoles } 1 African } 3
D° - - d° - -	schooner Espiegle, F. Vivient	- d° -		
Amaranthe, Capt. Pringle -	brig Gibraltar, Collinette -	1812: 15th Jan.	false register - breach of revenue laws - - -	unknown - 2
Laura, Lieut. C. N. Hunter	schooner Adela, C. de Weever	20th Feb.		
Maria, Lieut. G. Kippen -	sloop Mary, J. Todd - -	24th April	- - d° - -	{ 2 Creoles } 1 African } 3
Amaranthe, Capt. Pringle -	d° Penelope, F. Pike -	20th May	- - d° - -	
Maria, Lieut. G. Kippen -	d° Jonah, J. Sequan -	30th May	- - d° - -	Creoles - 2
Laura, Lieut. C. N. Hunter	d° Augustus, R. Hinson -	20th June	- - d° - -	Creoles - 2
Peruvian, Capt. Westropp -	d° Prévoyante, J.B. Auzias	18th Nov.	- - d° - -	not stated 3

No. 2.—VESSELS having on board Slaves, as Mariners, Servants, &c. condemned in the Court of Vice-Admiralty since 25th March 1807 ; but which Condemnation was afterwards reversed.

NAME of the Capturing Vessel, and that of the Commander.	NAME of the Captured Vessel, and that of the Master.	Date of Condemnation.	DATE of the Reversal of Sentence.	NUMBER of Negroes, and whether Creole or African.
H.M.S. Maria, Lieut. G. Kippen -	schooner Industry, P. Brown	1811 : 13th Nov.	sentence reversed, 15th Dec. 1813 -	Africans 11
D° - - - d° -	- d° - Scourge, L. Dufourg	13th Nov.	- d° - - - d° -	Creoles - 6
Laura, Lieut. C. N. Hunter	- d° - Sally, A. Durocq -	13th Nov.	- d° 19th Feb. 1814 -	Africans - 3

No. 3.—VESSEL having on board Negro Slaves, prosecuted in the Court of Vice-Admiralty since 25th March 1807 ; but in which the Sentence remained incomplete on the 6th August 1823.

		DATE of the last Order of the Court.	
H.M.S. Amaranthe, Capt. Pringle -	sloop Favourite, T. Tynes -	4th March 1812 - - -	supposed to be Africans } 7

No. 4.—VESSELS alleged to have been condemned, having Slaves on board ; but on searching the Records of the Court of Vice-Admiralty at Tortola, it did not appear to Major Moody that the Slaves had been condemned to His Majesty for the purposes of the Act 47 Geo. 3, c. 36.

		Alleged Date of Condemnation.	
H.M.S. Laura, Lieut. C. N. Hunter	sloop Chance, C. Laurent -	17th December 1811 - - -	unknown - 4
Maria, Lieut. G. Kippen -	- Sarah, Sequar - - -	29th March 1811 - - -	- d° - 2
D° - - - d° - - -	- Coque-Maire, Valentine	20th November 1812 - - -	- d° - 3

No. 5.—VESSELS having Slaves on board, stated to have been prosecuted in the Court of Vice-Admiralty since the 25th March 1807 ; but it did not appear from the Records, that the Slaves had been condemned to His Majesty for the purposes of the Act of 47 Geo. 3, c. 36.

		DATE of Condemnation or Restoration.	Supposed present State of the Negroes, and their Number.
H.M.S. Alexandria, Capt. King -	brig Busy, William Bennett -	condemned 6 July 1807	sold as slaves - 207
Safety, Lieut. E. Dwyer -	ship Ainsley, J. Brown -	restored 21 Nov. 1808 -	
Haughty, Lieut. J. Mitchell	ship Africa, J. Connolly -	restored 16 March 1808	- - d° - - - 236
Latona, Capt. T. A. Wood	brig America, T. Windsor -	restored 29 Jan. 1808	- - d° - - - 209
Liberty, Lieut. Guise -	brig Falcon, J. Garcia -	restored 26 Aug. 1811 -	- - d° - unknown.
Maria, Lieut. Kippen	sloop Joseph, P. Chapin -	vessel condemned, 20	slave not condemned, now free - - 1
		May 1812 - - -	
Fly, Capt. Tompkinson -	La Mouche, L. Warrington	vessel condemned, 16	slaves sold prior to cap- ture of the vessel - 4
		Aug. 1819 - - -	

No. 6.—VESSEL having Slaves on board, wrecked within the jurisdiction of the Court of Vice-Admiralty of Tortola since the 25th March 1807; but which do not appear to have been proceeded against in that Court.

NAME of the Vessel wrecked, and that of the Master.	Date and Place of the Wreck.	Number of Negroes on board.	Number of Negroes saved, and how disposed of.	NUMBER of Negroes, and whether Creoles or Africans.
Doña Paula, J. A. Viana - -	3d Sept. 1819, on the Anagada Shoals.	253	- 240 were saved. The slaves were cleared at the Custom-house for Bahia; but evidence was produced to Major Moody, which proved they were landed in Porto Rico, and sold as Slaves there.	—

No. 7.—VESSELS having Slaves on board, condemned in the Court of Vice-Admiralty at Tortola since the 25th March 1807; of those Negroes some have been examined by the Commission, and the Distribution of the rest is given in the Schedules, according to the best information which could at that time be obtained.

NAME of the Capturing Vessel, and that of the Commander, or that of the Seizing Officer.	NAME of the Captured Vessel, and that of the Master; or circumstances under which Seizure was made.	Date of Condemnation.	NUMBER of Negroes, and whether Creoles or Africans.
H.M.S. Cerberus, Capt. Selby - -	schooner Nancy, Vial - - - -	27th Nov. 1807	Africans, 70
Swinger, Lt. Bennett - -	brig Amedie, Johnson - - - -	10th Feb. 1808	- d° - 98
Laura, Lt. C. N. Hunter - -	schooner Anthony, Davis - - - -	20th May 1812	- d° - 1
Musquito, Capt. Tompkinson - - - - -	ship Manuella - - - - -	9th Aug. 1814	- d° - 314
Barbados, Lt. Fleming - -	ship Venus - - - - -	13th Aug. 1814	- d° - 303
Barrosa, Capt. M'Culloch - -	schooner Candelaria, Garcia - - - -	1st Dec. 1814	- d° - 172
Ister, Capt. Cramer - -	ship Atréviedo, Castellanos - - - -	20th Feb. 1815	- d° - 281
Henry Clement, esq. Acting Comptroller - - - - -	{ On shore, being the servants of Mr. Wheatley, a carpenter, from Santa Cruz, who had not entered them, or reported at the Custom-house - - - - -	17th Aug. 1821	Creoles - 5
H. C. M'Lean, esq. Acting Comptroller - - - - -	{ sloop Revenge, Sprouse, landed from a South American privateer - - - - -	22d Oct. 1821	African - 1
H. C. M'Lean, esq. Acting Comptroller - - - - -	{ On shore, having been sent to the neighbouring Danish island of St. John, to be sold as a slave, by her master, named Sharpe, f. c. m. - - - - -	20th May 1822	African - 1

TOTAL - - - - - 1,318

Of whom, it appears, 248 persons died before any distribution took place, therefore - - deduct 248

And there remains to be accounted for - - - - - 1,070

Of whom the following Return will give a general idea of the mode how they were disposed of, viz.—

1st.—Taken into His Majesty's military and naval service - - - - -	352
2d.—Do not appear to have been permanently attached to the service, or indented to masters or mistresses, but appear to have been allowed to take care of themselves, under the construction of the Act 47 Geo. 3, c. 36, § 7, as given in the abstract thereof, published by the African Institution in 1810, p. 26; but of whose present state, no satisfactory account could be obtained. The Act 5 Geo. IV. c. 113, § 22, does not make the same distinction as to Creoles and Africans which was noticed in the former Act, 47 Geo. 3, c. 36. - - - - -	62
3d.—Persons, respecting whom Mr. Dougan and Major Moody appear to have received contradictory information, in consulting the official documents relative to the vessels Chance, Sarah, and Coque Maire; vide Schedules, pp. 20 and 21 - - - - -	9
4th.—Indented as apprentices, or otherwise placed with masters or mistresses - - - - -	647
	1,070

Of the first class, who entered the naval and military service, some entered into regiments, which were afterwards disbanded in the West Indies and Sierra Leone. Of these no account could be procured in Tortola, where there are no troops in garrison, or disbanded black soldiers. Of those that entered the naval service, none were in Tortola. The greater number appear to have been placed at the naval hospital in Barbadoes, and some were paid off in England: those placed in the naval hospital in Barbadoes, were afterwards removed to the dock-yard at Antigua, and have lately been again removed to Bermuda. As the Commission does not extend to Bermuda, or to Sierra Leone, it will be impossible for this Commission to obtain satisfactory accounts of the state and condition of the persons in these colonies, unless its duties be extended.

Of the second and third classes, which consisted of persons captured in small vessels, or seized on shore by officers of the customs, the information which I received was very unsatisfactory to me, and in some cases appears to have been at variance with that of my colleague; as, for instance, relative to the Chance, Sarah, and Coque Maire: *vide* Schedules, pp. 20 and 21. But as his zeal and diligence were very great, when his health unfortunately obliged him to leave the West Indies, I thought it right to quote his own words, when he had left in the office any remarks on the schedules, as at that time I was ignorant of his intention to make a separate report, or that I should be called upon for this.

Of the fourth class, amounting to 647, who were indented to masters and mistresses, or placed with them without indentures, the following Statement will give a general view, whilst the details will be found in the Schedules.

Apprentices examined before this Commission	- - - - -	292
Persons who have served their apprenticeship, and whose present state and condition have been ascertained	- - - - -	5
Persons who appear to have accompanied their masters or mistresses, or were allowed to go to other colonies, with consent of such masters	- - - - -	173
Run away to other colonies, and consequently could not be examined in Tortola	- - - - -	5
Sold as slaves in foreign colonies, and consequently could not be produced for examination	- - - - -	2
Died after having been apprenticed or placed as servants, according to the evidence given in the Schedules	- - - - -	171
Said to have died, but of which satisfactory proof could not be obtained	- - - - -	2
		<hr/>
		650
		<hr/>

By which it appears that there are three more persons accounted for than are stated to have been indented. One female captured on board the *Manuella*, was proved to have died at Tortola, by an affidavit of Sarah Keys, f. c. w. before me, when my colleague was in England, and it is supposed the same individual was returned as dead by the collector, without being indented, whereas the affidavit stated her as being an apprentice to George Forbes, of Nevis. Another female of the persons captured on board the *Atrevido*, appeared before me during the same absence of my colleague, but it did not appear that the individual had been returned by the collector as an apprentice. In the third case, it appeared to the Commissioners in Antigua, that Mr. Kirwan there had an apprentice named Tamer Mecca, which fact was accordingly noted; but the female not having been apprenticed to him, she was returned also in another class. These observations account for the apparent excess of three persons in a satisfactory manner.

Of the 292 apprentices examined before this Commission, about 100 seem still to serve the same persons to whom they were originally indented. The rest have been given up to the different collectors, and their indentures transferred to their present masters and mistresses, in a manner which was often deemed to be very imperfect. Such cases are noted in the Schedules, and will be commented upon hereafter. Besides those five persons who had finished their period of apprenticeship, there were four Creoles and one African, (forming part of the sixty-two persons already mentioned,) who appeared before this Commission, so that altogether there were 302 persons regularly examined by this Commission, and the result officially recorded. Any private examinations taken by my colleague, *without the knowledge of the secretary, or myself, or either of us being present to guarantee the accuracy thereof,*

thereof, or even the examination being recorded in the official books, are considered as not being officially taken; and, as said before, I was entirely ignorant that my colleague had submitted *such documents* to your Lordship, until I was called upon for this Report, and consequently never had an opportunity to confirm or confute them on the spot, as your Lordship directed to be done in cases of difference of opinion.

Of the 302 persons thus reported upon, 128 were males, and 174 females. It appears also that seventy-five females had ninety-eight children then alive. The account of the number of children born, is not so accurate as I could have wished; nor is the legal relation in which the parents stood towards each other, given with that accuracy which would have been desirable. I endeavoured to supply the deficiencies by referring to the Registers of the Wesleyan missionaries. From all that I could collect, I am led to believe that forty-six children out of the ninety-eight, were the offspring of matrimonial unions. Forty-five of the children were boys, and fifty-three girls.

The following Table will show the result of my inquiries as to the state of Marriage amongst the Apprentices.

AUTHORITIES for the Statements here given.	Married to other African Apprentices.		Married to Slaves.		Married to other free black or coloured People in the Island.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
From the parties themselves . . .	31	30	1	7	—	—
From a Return, dated 29th July 1824, from the Wesleyan Mission }	29	24	1	10	—	—

These Returns certainly vary from each other, but not so much as to affect the credit of either, as showing the *general* state of marriage amongst them. The variation is greatest among the females, and the circumstance must be considered with reference to female feeling, in giving to the Commissioners a statement in some degree affecting the character of the female herself. Both my colleague and I sincerely joined in urging them to have their unions sanctioned by the marriage ceremony, which I have ever regarded as a powerful means of civilization. The difference between the returns showing the number of female apprentices, who have married slaves, may have arisen from a knowledge that the Commissioners, or at least that I, always recommended them to marry free persons, or their fellow apprentices, as their marriage with slaves would limit the power of the government to settle them in a better country than Tortola. It is singular however that no apprentice of either sex intermarried with any free person of colour, though several lived with black and coloured free men as mistresses. Some of the mothers of children being dead, no means existed of satisfactorily ascertaining their state, but I have included them in the number of females (seventy-five) who have had children: that number, as well as the number ninety-eight, for the children, of course, is subject to daily variation, and is not given as being perfectly accurate. The state of society, and imperfect civilization of the African apprentices, must also be considered, in any inference which may be drawn from the state of marriage amongst them: under these circumstances, the existing state appeared to me very much to their credit, and that of their religious instructors, the Wesleyan missionaries.

The following Table will show the result of my inquiries as to the Number baptized.

AUTHORITIES for the Statements here given.	By the Rector of the Parish.		By the Wesleyan Missionaries.		By Roman- Catholic Priests.		TOTAL.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
From the parties themselves . . .	16	15	43	86	2	6	61	107
From the Methodist Mission . . .	—	—	67	68	—	—	—	—
From the Rector	11	17	—	—	—	—	—	—

It also appeared, that forty-eight of the children had been baptized by the Methodist missionaries, and seven by the rector of the parish.

Mr. Gilgrass, the senior Methodist missionary, in giving in his return to this Commission, regretted that it was so imperfect as to those baptized by his predecessors, who had not particularly distinguished those negroes who were baptized by them, as being African apprentices. His opinion was, that the number baptized nearly amounted to 200. The discrepancies between the statements of the parties themselves, and the return of the Methodist mission, I am unable to explain in a satisfactory manner, except that there was some imperfection in our mode of examination, affecting the discovery of truth.

The following Table will show the result of my inquiries as to the number of Apprentices who attend places of Public Worship.

AUTHORITIES for the Statements here given.	Attend the Parish Church.		Attend the Methodist Chapel.				Attend Roman- Catholic Chapel in St. Thomas.		TOTAL	
	Males.	Females.	In Society.		As Hearers.		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
			Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.				
From the parties themselves - - - - }	3	3	34	52	44	64	2	-	83	119
From the Methodist Mission - - - - }	-	-	36	51	-	6	-	-	-	-
From the Rector's Return - - - - }	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The difference between the statement of the parties themselves, and the return of the Methodist missionary, can be satisfactorily explained. Mr. Gilgrass only returned those apprentices whose conduct and progress in religious knowledge induced the missionaries to receive them into the Methodist society, and he did not include those persons whose conduct and progress in religious knowledge were dubious or imperfect, although such persons may have occasionally attended the chapel. The six females returned by the missionary as hearers, were attendants at the school, and learning to read. Five males, and sixteen females, have been expelled from the society for immorality of conduct, the particulars of which were not inquired after by me.

The rector stated, that he could not consider any of the African apprentices as regular attendants on divine service at the parish church, although he considered fifty free black and coloured persons (of whom sixteen were communicants) as part of his regular congregation. Indeed, the exemplary propriety of conduct and regularity of attendance at the parish church of those free black and coloured persons, was a fact that came weekly under my own observation, and afforded me so much pleasure, that I cannot resist the desire to record it, although it may not be much connected with the object of the Report; nor can I omit the present opportunity to bear my testimony to the unwearied efforts of the rector of the parish, the reverend Mr. Chadderton, and the three Wesleyan Methodist missionaries, Messrs. Gilgrass, Felvus, and Truscott, to instruct the poorer classes of their respective congregations. And I was perfectly convinced, from personal inquiries and observation, that the African apprentices have been greatly improved in their moral conduct by the instructions of the missionaries, and that, generally speaking, those domestics gave the most satisfaction to their masters and mistresses who had been most diligent in their attendance to gain religious instruction. The industry of apprentices, as tradesmen, exercising laborious occupations, did not appear to me to be so much influenced by religious instruction, as the honesty, sobriety, and obedience of personal attendants, and particularly females. Nelson, the mason, whose state and condition is given in the Schedule of the Amedie, p. 42, went to the Moravian church only twice a year, yet he appears to have been the most industrious person whom this

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Commission examined. Harry Belisario, a carpenter, who was able to direct those under him, and whose state and condition is given in the Schedule of the *Atrevido*, pp. 240 and 241, in this Report, pp. 84, 102 and 103, was expelled from the Methodist society for immoralities, yet he appeared to me to be the most intelligent person who came before this Commission. In the case of Harry, it is true, we had to investigate a complaint against him for neglect of duty, and insolence of conduct towards his superintendent, which last charge would perhaps never have been made had religious instruction been as much attended to by him as by others. Many cases could be produced to support the opinion I have thus given, but they may be deemed tedious, and unnecessary to prove, that the power of religion is great in exciting, or allaying certain passions which influence the conduct of mankind in the lower ranks of society, in a backward state of knowledge and civilization, where the passive virtues of honesty, sobriety, and fidelity are of the utmost importance, as the foundation of many other virtues; and yet that the same power is not so immediately apparent among the apprentices, in a climate within the torrid zone, when the effect is to be seen in that steady and continued industry, or exertion in the service of a master, which some occupations require more than others, and in a less agreeable form.

The following Table will show the result of my inquiries as to the Trades and Occupations of the African Apprentices.

AUTHORITY For the Statements here given.	Domestics.	Washerwomen.	Seamstresses.	Pastry Cooks and Cooks.	Seamen.	Fishermen.	Coopers.	Carpenters.	Shipwrights.	Tailors.	Gardeners.	Saddler.	Shoemaker.	Itinerant Pedlars and Huxters.	Agriculture, Cotton, and Ground Provisions.	Cotton Ginner.	Grooms and Herdsmen.	Porters, Boatmen, Cutters of Grass and Fuel-Wood.	Mason.
	Abstract of Indentures in the Custom-house	210	32	17	3	9	3	1	6	4	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Abstract of Schedules, as nearly as could be ascertained from average returns by different clerks	96	76	12	3	13	11	1	15	-	-	2	-	1	7	11	3	2	4	1
Abstract showing the result of personal inquiries made by myself, magistrates and others, respecting the actual employment and occupation of the apprentices in the month of August 1823.	196			20			13		-	-	-	-	20	11	-	33		1	

Although the above Abstracts may be useful in giving a general view of the employments or occupations of the African apprentices, it is necessary to observe that they are not here given as being perfectly accurate. Neither my time, nor the nature of the inquiry, would permit me to obtain perfect accuracy in these abstracts, where the original documents were themselves often imperfect. From the changes of masters, and the general poverty of those with whom the apprentice was placed, it was often found difficult to designate the actual occupation of the apprentice, although some occupation was specified in the indenture. For example, sometimes the same female cooked, washed, picked fuel wood, and huxtered goods for sale; the same male cooked, groomed a horse, or was a boatman, &c. and perhaps the trade, to which he was originally bound an apprentice, was none of these. The occupation followed by the apprentices therefore varied, and what might have been tolerably correct in 1822, would be found very erroneous in the course of a few months. So far back as 21st November 1815, the late Lieutenant-General Sir James Leith reported the abuses attendant on the system of apprenticing the Africans condemned in the Court of Vice-Admiralty, specifying a case where twenty-nine Africans had been apprenticed from Tortola to Mr. Forbes, living in Nevis. It was obviously impossible for the collector of Tortola to oblige a person residing in another island to instruct his apprentices, and treat them according to the conditions of the indentures; and it was equally impossible for the collector, in such cases, to afford the Commission very accurate information as to the actual occupation of the apprentices at the time of inquiry. Sometimes the African was indented as a domestic, but was taught the trade of a carpenter, as in the case of those placed with Mr. Belisario.

In such cases the apprentices were actually better provided for than was stipulated. Such cases, however, were rare, from local circumstances; and it happened more frequently that the African was bound apprentice to a trade, without reference to local circumstances, which prevented his being taught it. In the abstract, it appears Africans were indented as apprentices to shipwrights, saddlers, &c. whilst, in point of fact, the persons never were instructed in those trades. The master saddler died, and there was no other in the colony to take the apprentice. The master shipwright was alive, and alleged, that having no employment as a shipwright, from local circumstances, which he could not control, it became impossible for him to instruct the apprentices as shipwrights.

On the other hand, as few of the more wealthy inhabitants of the town would have the apprentices in their service, *even without wages*, the masters and mistresses were generally poor; and provided the apprentice could raise, in any manner, a small sum for them, the apprentices were allowed to do what they pleased, and live where they liked. In such cases it was difficult to ascertain the actual occupation of the apprentices; for when it was discovered that apprentices were thus allowed to go to the foreign free port of St. Thomas, they were removed from such master or mistress, although such a mode of employment was agreeable both to master and apprentice, and therefore both were interested in concealing the fact from the Commissioners. The occupations followed by the apprentices in the Danish island of St. Thomas, on these occasions, were generally the irregular and occasional industry of porters, servants on board vessels, &c. in which they often got comparatively high wages, which enabled them to work for money at one time, in order to live, without working, for a longer or shorter period; such a mode of existence being more agreeable to them, than steady, and regular industry, affording employment during the whole year.

From this irregular application to certain kinds of labour, and dislike to that of agriculture, it was my wish to turn the attention of the African apprentices, and therefore I was anxious to prevent their running away to the Danish island of St. Thomas, or being sent there. His excellency Governor Von Scholten afforded me every facility in removing them; but they soon returned again, as the proximity of the islands, and the frequent intercourse, rendered it impossible to prevent those Africans from going who might wish it, either from the severe treatment of their employer, or their own wish to be masters of their time. It will also be seen that in St. Thomas they were liable to be taken up and sold as slaves, as was actually the case with one apprentice. It is not undeserving of remark, that not one of the apprentices who thus withdrew from Tortola, ever hired themselves to agricultural labour for any fixed period.

The occasional high wages in irregular kinds of industry, however uncertain, appear to have pleased them better than the permanent rewards procured by an employment less exposed to uncertainty, but which required a steady exertion. And in none of these cases, (except that of Nelson, who was a mason by trade, and living upon a sugar estate in the house of his wife,) does it appear that their industry extended beyond the attainment of those necessaries of life, which the generality of the slaves in Tortola enjoyed. This remark is given as a general view of the extent of industry; a few individuals did better in those kinds of employment which were most agreeable to them. The desire of the Danish government to get rid of the African apprentices also affords matter for observation, in estimating the value of their industry and labour; for if these persons had been employed in raising those agricultural productions, which have an exchangeable value in Europe, it is obvious that the Danish government would have encouraged the residence amongst them of useful members of society as free persons, in bringing them to which state, so much money had been expended, in rewarding the captors, &c. by the government of Great Britain.

But as both the Danish government of St. Thomas, and the English local government of Tortola, wished to get rid of this class of people, it is of importance to inquire into the cause thereof.

Your Lordship, I believe, is aware that a most enlightened, benevolent, and disinterested general officer, who held one of the highest appointments under the Crown in the West Indies, was of opinion, that the scheme of apprenticing Africans in the West Indies, with a view of preparing them to be useful subjects in the colonies, was

not calculated to meet the wishes of the benevolent individuals who had formed it; and that they appeared not to be well informed respecting the action of those circumstances which influence productive industry in tropical climates among men in a backward state of knowledge and civilization, and which render colonies, like those in the West Indies, valuable to the parent state.

Had I not the sanction of this great and illustrious person, I should not have presumed to examine an important question wherein I can only oppose facts observed by myself, and occasionally confirmed by others, to the authority of names, whose virtues deserve every respect, but whose knowledge of the subject in question may perhaps be less perfect, than that of a very inferior mind, who, solely intent on the discovery of truth, obtained his information on the spot; and who for years had the experience of directing and controlling the labour of Europeans, and Creoles, of white, black, and coloured persons, of free men, and of slaves, in the torrid zone, when employed on military and civil services, in mechanical and agricultural industry, where self-interest did not exist to bias the judgment, and where the sole consideration was faithfully to discharge the duty of an officer of engineers, and the administrator of the crown estates in Guadeloupe. It is, I believe, known to your Lordship, that for the last mentioned duty I never charged, nor received any commission, or other pecuniary benefit; a circumstance which I should not have mentioned, had it not been of importance in this case to show, that my experience in West-India agriculture, and the control of the labour of men, in a backward state of knowledge and civilization, was not affected by my receiving any pecuniary reward, or commission, which depended on the increased exertion of those working under me. In military works the labour employed had reference to a previous estimate, or was contract work, performed by the job, and occasionally, whenever it could be done, by task-work. Soliciting your Lordship's pardon for this egotism, I proceed with my Report.

The case of the African apprentices was not only new, but was peculiarly difficult. His Majesty's government, on the abolition of the Slave Trade, was *obliged* to interfere with the appropriation of the labour, and the persons of men, women and children, placed under its control in a state of childish ignorance, but generally with the physical strength of mature age. These persons were free, but incapable of using their freedom, amidst a people from whom they were separated by difference of language, colour, and certain physical qualifications, affecting the formation and distribution of wealth amongst the European society in which they were now placed.

Under such circumstances I would wish to use the most moderate tone in speaking of the system adopted to give those persons habits of industry, and to direct their labour into those channels, where it would be most useful to the individual, and to the commonwealth; nor ought it to excite much surprise, that regulations, formed by those ignorant of local circumstances, should have failed in their practical application.

As the observations which I shall have to make will unavoidably bear on questions which have been agitated by persons, who formed their opinions under different circumstances, I beg to state, that my opinions have been formed as inferences from facts observed by myself. My judgment may unintentionally err in the formation of an opinion; but if I err in the statement of a fact, it must be from a deliberate design to deceive your Lordship, in which case I should consider myself undeserving of the honour to serve His Majesty for one moment afterwards, in any capacity civil, or military.

One of the errors into which those benevolent persons have fallen, who have interested themselves in the Act for the abolition of the Slave Trade, and Orders of Council founded thereon, appears to me to have arisen from their over-rating the value of labour performed by persons in a backward state of knowledge and civilization in the torrid zone, unless that labour can be duly controlled by the master.

The Order in Council of 16th March 1808, states,—“ 1st, In regard to such
“ male negroes as, from infirmity or age, are not fit for military or naval service, or
“ such as shall not be required or taken for the same as aforesaid, and also in regard
“ to female negroes, the collector or chief officer of the customs for the time being is
“ to use the earliest and utmost endeavours to bind them as apprentices, or indented
“ servants, to prudent and humane masters or mistresses, either in the same or other
“ colonies, to learn such trades, handicrafts or employments, as they may seem, from
“ their

“ their bodily or other qualities most likely to be fit for, and to gain their livelihood most comfortably by, after their terms of apprenticeship or servitude shall expire.”

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“ 2d. In respect to female negroes, for whom there is in general no employment in the West Indies, but in domestic service or the labours of agriculture, the collector or chief officer of the customs for the time being, *is to take especial care that they be not employed in the latter upon any account*; and he is hereby further directed, to bind them apprentices only to such masters and mistresses as are of good repute for humanity to their domestic slaves, and for such terms or periods only as may be sufficient for their acquiring the knowledge of their business as servants, in whatever domestic capacity the master or mistress may assign them to, with such addition thereto as may reasonably suffice to recompense him or her for the care of their instruction, and the charge of their support in the meantime, relation being herein had to the age and strength of every such female apprentice.”

In apprenticing women having children, or in a state of pregnancy, &c. it was permitted to prolong the term of service, in consideration of the master maintaining the child, or children, born, or to be born, during the apprenticeship; but in such cases, the portion of the time granted upon that consideration, was to be distinguished from that portion of the term which was estimated to be equivalent to the mother's instruction and support.

By the seventh clause of 47 Geo. 3, c. 36, the term of years for which the male or female negro should be indented as an apprentice, was not to exceed fourteen years. In Tortola, some, as John Sano Belisario, were indented for seven years, but almost all the males were indented for the full term of fourteen years, and the females for ten years, and four more, in case they had children at the expiration of the first period. The reason assigned for thus fixing on the longest period of time allowed by the Act of Parliament, was the state of extreme sickness and debility under which the Africans captured on board the *Manuella*, *Venus*, *Candelario* and *Atrevido* were, when indented out.

I happened to be employed on military duty at Tortola, on the staff of the late Lieutenant-General Sir James Leith, the Governor of the Leeward Islands, soon after the negroes captured on board these vessels were indented as apprentices.

From my situation on the staff of the Governor, who was also commander of the forces, I know that he was displeased with the collector for the arrangements made as to the long period of apprenticeship; and he considered that the board of military officers, who had assembled to select such negroes as were fit for His Majesty's service, had neglected their duty, in not finding a greater number fit for the King's service. His Excellency Major General Ramsay, then in Tortola with the troops, who had just been withdrawn from Santa Cruz, was ordered by the commander of the forces to assemble another board to examine the negroes rejected by the first board. Of this last board the commander of the forces was pleased to direct, that I should be a member, although I was the only military officer at that moment with him on his staff. After sitting several days, and examining many of the negroes, and other witnesses, the wretched state of the Africans at the time they were indented was fully proved. A few of those rejected by the first board were found fit for service, and were readily given up by their masters. It appeared that the enormous sum of about 15,000 *l.* sterling had been spent by the collector on their account, without reckoning upwards of 33,000 *l.* sterling paid in bounties to captors, or in compensation for illegal seizures to Spain. Doubts were entertained respecting the expenditure defrayed by the collector; but circumstances connected with the escape of Buonaparte from Elba, as your Lordship was informed at the time, obliged the commander of the forces to leave Tortola for the purpose of assembling troops in the Windward Islands, and he was unable further personally to investigate the matters brought under his notice, in some cases in an imperfect manner, as subsequent inquiries have proved.

One circumstance however struck the enlightened mind of the commander of the forces and Governor, respecting the low value placed upon the labour of these Africans in Tortola, as free persons and apprentices: Many who had signed indentures were desirous to cancel them, and no objections whatever were made to give up those apprentices deemed fit for the service, by those officers who formed, what may be considered a board of inquiry, on a preceding board. The Schedules will show that the number of persons thus given up amounted to about seventeen only,

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only, out of 537, who were indentured as apprentices from these vessels prior to the meeting of the last board. This circumstance shows that the miserable situation in which the Africans were at the time of condemnation, obliged the collector to extend the period to fourteen years, and even then the Schedules show he was under the necessity of indenting them to persons who were either unable or unwilling occasionally to discharge their duty to the apprentices. In fact, many had apprentices, who, instead of being "of good repute for humanity to their domestic slaves," as required by the Order in Council, never had either a slave or a servant, until these unfortunate Africans were placed under the name of domestics, &c. to masters and mistresses as poor almost as themselves. In the conclusion of the Schedules, at p. 344, your Lordship will perceive that I addressed certain queries, officially as a Commissioner, to some of the most wealthy and respectable persons in the community, none of whom had an apprentice in their service at the time they gave their opinions. The two masters who appeared to me to have taken most care of their apprentices, were the honourable Dr. Donovan, and A. M. Belisario, esq. the Marshal of the court of Vice-Admiralty, &c. I frequently entreated both these gentlemen to receive more apprentices, and they both positively refused. Dr. Donovan even objected to the signing of an indenture, in the new form, for Martin Udgino, a male apprentice, who had married a female apprentice, Theresa, in his service; and rather than do so, he wished to give up the services of those apprentices he had. These circumstances appear to prove, that the labour of the African apprentices was considered as of little value, generally, although it is certain there are a few industrious individuals amongst them, as in all classes of men, are found persons more enterprising, industrious and ambitious, than the rest of those around them. The following letter from the Collector to the Commissioners, dated 11th March 1823, will prove that, for some of the African apprentices, he said he was unable to "obtain any master or mistress."

"Gentlemen,—Agreeably to the request contained in your letter of the 4th instant, I annex you as correct a list as I can of the number of Africans that I have reason to believe are living here and the neighbouring islands, without being in the service of any responsible person; and for whom, from the bad characters of most of them, I cannot obtain any master or mistress.

(signed) "George Beare, Collector."

The list of the names referred to are, Moses, Buonaparte, Tom Dougan, Billy, Cork, Sam, Anthony, Daniel, Thomas, Richard, Otura, Betsey, Hannah, Celia, Frederick, France, Pitt, Delphine, Rose, Louisa. It appeared in evidence, in the minute dated 19th November 1822, that upwards of forty African apprentices had thus withdrawn themselves from their masters service, and were not looked after. By one man a small coin, worth 2 *d.* or 3 *d.* sterling, was offered for the delivery of his apprentice, who, it was proved to me afterwards, had been inveigled by a free coloured Spanish woman, with other Africans, on board a small sloop, and carried to Porto Rico, and sold as slaves. Cruel treatment no doubt caused some to run away from the island, but others did the same who had no master, and were allowed to select any one who would take them. Almost the first act which the Commission had to perform in Tortola was, to answer a letter wherein the executors of a gentleman (president Hetherington) who had originally a great number of apprentices, wished to give them up to the collector; and which was done. Finally, the Danish governor, Van Scholten, in his letter of 6th December 1821, from St. Thomas, requests the President of Tortola not to permit them to go to that island, "where," says the Danish Governor, "such people, without means to maintain themselves, become a burthen and a nuisance to the community." And the legislature of Tortola, following the example of that of the Bahamas, have unanimously petitioned to have these poor Africans removed from the colony.

I fear I have been very tedious in showing that the labour of the African apprentices, as free people, is not much valued.

I wish this to be considered as a fact only generally speaking, because I think that a few exceptions may exist, sufficient to prove it not to be universally true.

Respecting the cause of this, I may form an erroneous opinion; but it appears to me, that the laws and institutions of Tortola were not prepared for the reception and government of such a class of persons as the African apprentices: and that,

with reference to these circumstances, the Act for the abolition of the Slave Trade, and Orders in Council founded thereon, were not calculated for the purposes intended, and among other defects, the regulations assume as a truth, what has not yet been satisfactorily proved, viz. that it was possible by regulations, framed under the sanction of an Act of Parliament, so to provide for the government and instruction of Africans, that their labour would be very valuable to agricultural capitalists in the West Indies, without using any other means of constraint than those adopted towards free persons in England, who may require instruction in agricultural, mechanical or domestic industry.

The Orders in Council, provide for the protection of the apprentice, and impose a penalty on the master for a breach of the indentures, as to excessive punishment, &c. This is perfectly proper. But should an ignorant African not consider the labour expected from him by his master to be such as he would himself wish to give, or should he appropriate the property of others to his own use, or be insolent, or disobedient, there is no method pointed out in the Order in Council, or indenture, how his duties are to be enforced. The quantum of punishment, and its mode of infliction, are therefore left to be determined by the laws of the colony, and, if they are silent, by the discretion of the master. No rule is determined as to the extent, or mode of punishment; nor is any power or tribunal pointed out, by which, in case of a dispute, the question is to be decided. In such a case the ordinary legal tribunals of the colony can alone be resorted to; for instance, cases of indolence, insolence, or theft may have occurred, as indeed they did; for example, in the disputes of Mary with President Porter; Pitt with Michael Fraser, f. c. m.; and Thomas and William with Job Parker Doan, a merchant. If application be made to a magistrate on the part of the master, the servant, to be dealt with legally, must be committed to gaol, if a case be made out against him, and the offence be not bailable, and (if otherwise) who is likely to bail a servant against his master, in a community where the unfortunate African may not have any relations or friends sufficiently responsible? If sent to gaol the prisoner must remain till the sessions, and be fed at the expense of the colony or the master, for the apprentice can do nothing to subsist himself in prison. In the reduced prosperity, and population of Tortola, one or two sessions may pass, as has been the case, before a jury can be formed; and even if formed, as soon as the cause can be tried, the master has lost the time of his servant, who on his part, if he has been duly fed, he has lived an easy, quiet life in a climate, where repose itself is great happiness, and in a backward state of civilization, where his moral feelings are little affected by the sense of shame. It appears not to require any further reasoning to show, that such a legal mode of proceeding, however proper towards persons in England, would throw a small colony like Tortola into utter confusion, from its inadequacy to repress the evils incident to a state of society formed like that of the African apprentices, where it is doubtful whether the far greater majority would not prefer the life of a prison occasionally, with nothing to do, than a life of labour, to which their former habits, and the climate rendered them averse. By law, being free men and women, they could not be flogged. They must be acquitted, imprisoned, fined, transported, or hanged. Of these, three of the modes of punishment, it is feared would have little effect on the Africans in their present state, and the infliction of the last would close the scene of mortal existence: the colony is too poor to have bridewells or treadmills.

I was very desirous personally to trace one case through all the legal steps, that the practical result might be seen, and the utter insufficiency of the system to prevent crime, or enforce habits of industry, be made more manifest.

Under the actual state of things a door was opened for all kinds of irregularities, and the master exercising his own discretion in the punishment of crimes, or what might be considered such, the lot of the African apprentice became much worse for the time, (speaking theoretically), than any slave in the island; inasmuch as the master of a slave had a greater interest in his welfare, being his property in perpetuity, than he had in that of the African apprentice, who was only placed with him to labour for a limited period.

The apprentice also found himself doomed to labour for his master, like the slave, in return for his subsistence merely, except his master was rich, and could give him land to raise what would rather exceed his moderate wants; but even in that respect, the slave had greater encouragement and advantages. Of these last instances, there were not many, as the labours of the generality of the apprentices,

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and the poverty of the masters and mistresses, were of that degree of exertion on one part, and penury on the other, as to afford little more than a bare subsistence, in a climate where the wants of men for subsistence are few, and easily satisfied. Two or three apprentices, however, had acquired some property.

I beg to refer to the annexed letters in the Appendix, pp. 133 to 135, marked (A.) (A. 1.) (A. 2.) and (A. 3.) to prove, that in Tortola, (where the Act of Parliament and Orders of Council directed the captured negroes to be indented as apprentices,) the Crown lawyers of England gave their opinion as follows: "Supposing the English statutes respecting apprentices to prevail in any of those colonies, it must be recollected that those statutes apply only to apprentices in trades, and to those bound out under the poor laws, and not to apprentices of every description; and in the particular case of Tortola, we think the reasons given by the magistrates for their non-interference valid and sufficient."

(signed) "R. Gifford,
 "J. S. Copley."

With such authority for the opinion expressed, the defects of the Act of Parliament and Orders of Council may now be shown by facts; and I shall confine myself to the few referred to already. For example, that of Mary the apprentice of Dr. Porter, president of the island. Her examination, as finally agreed upon, is given in the Schedules for the Spanish ship *Venus*, N° 240, p. 160, and is the person mentioned in the letter to your Lordship, dated 21st June 1822, signed by the collector of the customs and myself, and which led to the opinion of the crown officers already quoted. The apprentice Mary complained of ill-treatment; the master complained of her indolence and neglect of duty. He having confined her without effect, took her before the magistrates, who declined to interfere, as not having power so to do in the case of a free person, as Mary was, unless by sending her to the sessions. What sentence could a jury award for the crime of laziness in a female servant, in a colony where there was no bridewell or treadmill, or similar institutions, and from the poverty of the inhabitants none could be erected? The master, under these circumstances, punished the apprentice by whipping her, which he had not any legal right to do. There remained, in his opinion, no other alternative. It will be seen, in the Schedule, p. 161, that the conduct of Mary in the presence of my colleague and myself, was such as "to merit the legal punishment of an apprentice that had highly misbehaved;" but what that "legal punishment" was, it seemed to me no person could define. It might be supposed that the person authorized to "protect" and "provide" for the apprentices, had the power also to punish them; but there did not appear to be any such power vested in any person, and therefore recourse could be had to the ordinary process of the law alone, which, as already said, did not appear to have been intended for such a class of persons, a circumstance which, perhaps, was overlooked by those who framed the Act and the Orders in Council; for it would have been obvious to any person acquainted with colonial affairs in the West Indies, that the laws suitable for a state of society like that of England, were not calculated for the due government of servants, like the African apprentices, under the circumstances in which they were placed.

In this case the practical result was, that Mary ceased to be of any value, as a servant to her master.

The next case was that of Pitt, who had drawn his knife on one occasion upon his master, and farther misbehaved in the presence of the Commissioners. On this occasion my colleague and I agreed to submit to the collector, "the propriety of bringing his case (that of Pitt) before proper authority, competent to try his conduct." The result is given in the Correspondence annexed, pp. 133 to 135, and marked (A.) (A. 1.) (A. 2.) and (A. 3); as also in the Schedules for ship *Venus*, N° 14, pp. 130 to 133, and it was on this occasion that I brought under the notice of my colleague the defects of the mode in which the African apprentices were examined, but to which he was not pleased to make any answer, except that in two or three hours after the receipt of my observations he retired from the duties of the Commission, without ever assigning to me any reason for the measure. As it affected Pitt, the magistrates in his case would not interfere, except to send the parties before the sessions, when he must have lain in gaol, at the expense of the colony, contrary to the 16th clause of the Act 47 Geo. 3, c. 36. The 2*l.* 8*s.* currency paid to the gaoler on account of Pitt's confinement in prison for a few days, till the magistrate's decision was given, was paid by the treasury of Great Britain.

The other case, respecting the complaints of George and William against their master, Job Parker Doan, I shall not now notice, as it forms a subject upon which my colleague, in his report, has brought a charge, or complaint, against me, which will be easily answered in its proper place.

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I observe, in the Act 5 Geo. 4, c. 113, intituled, "An Act to amend and consolidate the Laws relating to the Abolition of the Slave Trade," that a new clause is added (34), empowering the Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court, nearest to which the master shall be residing, to take cognizance of the complaint of an African apprentice against his master, and that the Judge may examine into the same summarily, and decide thereupon; further empowering the Judge to fine the master, if need be, in a sum not exceeding 100*l.* sterling, and to enforce payment thereof by distress and imprisonment, with the further power of cancelling the indenture. It will be observed, however, that the power here given to set aside the colonial courts, when the master is to be punished, is entirely silent as to how the expenses are to be defrayed when the apprentice is in error, or, as regards the master, how any aid is to be given to him to enforce the obedience of the African apprentice. And it is this last circumstance that I had presumed to bring under your Lordship's notice.

Another circumstance may be noticed, as arising from the circular of Lord Castlereagh, dated 11th April 1808, allowing one guinea a head to the collector on indenting the apprentices; for example, during the year 1822, and part of 1823, it appeared from the collector's accounts that he had re-apprenticed 105 African apprentices who had been given up to him, and for which he charged, and received from the treasury, 110*l.* 5*s.* sterling, a similar sum having been paid to a former collector for the same duty of apprenticing the very same African apprentices. In addition to this, two dollars were charged for making out each indenture; but this sum in Tortola was paid by the master or mistress, when they were able; in some cases they actually were unable to raise even that sum, and others would receive the apprentice, but would not give even two dollars for the indenture, which entitled them to the labour of the apprentice for several years, without any wages.

There can be no doubt as to the collector being entitled to the sum, in consideration of the trouble he had; but by paying him these sums on re-apprenticing the Africans, it made it the interest of a needy person to remove the services of an apprentice to another master for the pecuniary reward, and so far interfering with the duty of encouraging a due subordination on the part of the apprentices; a point deserving the more consideration, as this principle appears to have been too much overlooked in the Orders of Council. When, therefore, the collector, in his letter of 1st May 1823, assigned the cruelty of the masters as a cause of the apprentice running away, I felt it my duty to ascertain the facts of the case, as some people had run away from the island who had no masters, the collector himself having permitted them to select their own. To this inquiry, he answered by specifying the cases to which he had alluded, and qualifying his charge against the masters in general.

The case of the Portuguese ship *Doña Paula*, wrecked on the Anegada reef on the 3d of September 1819, with 253 slaves on board, of whom 240 were saved, appears to me as showing strongly what imperfect notions the framers of the Abolition Act entertained as to the value of the labour of Africans in the West Indies, without using any other means of constraint than those used towards free persons in England.

I shall first give the opinion of the crown lawyers as to the interpretation of the Acts for the abolition of the Slave Trade which bear on this question, as given to your Lordship in their letter dated 27th August 1818: viz.—"3d. That Africans cast
"on the shore of a British colony in consequence of the wreck of the vessel in which
"they were conveyed as slaves, are not to be considered as slaves illegally imported,
"but as free persons; and in such case, we think the governor of the colony has no
"power to deliver up those Africans, without their consent, to the person claiming
"ownership over them, either for the purpose of being dealt with as slaves in the
"colony, or of being conveyed to a foreign country for the purpose of being so dealt
"with; in this case, as in the case of abandoned slaves, they are to be dealt with by
"the governor *as persons in such a situation, not being Africans, would be.*"

Such being the law, it is necessary to state what the practice was in the case of the *Doña Paula*.

It resulted from evidence given to me *officially* as Commissioner, that the slaves cleared out from the Custom House of Tortola in vessels of such a tonnage, as could not possibly carry them, and the necessary provisions to Bahia in Brazil, their ostensible port of destination. It was also proved to my entire conviction, that the slaves, or rather, as they ought to have been considered, free persons, were sent to the neighbouring Spanish Island of Porto Rico, and were there sold as slaves, in contravention of the Acts of Parliament, and the express directions of your Lordship, as conveyed in your circular despatch to the late Governor Probyn, dated 15th September 1818. The vessel was wrecked on the 3d September 1819. The gentleman in charge of the administration of the government of the Virgin Islands being dead, and the collector of the customs having been dismissed, I was unable to ascertain what report had been made in justification of their disobedience of the laws, and your Lordship's instructions.

I have now to show what would have been the result, had the law and your Lordship's instructions been obeyed, as they ought to have been, and the details which I shall have to produce, must be considered as merely tending to show, what has been already stated in the case of the apprentices, that the framers of the Abolition Acts, and the Orders in Council, were deficient in local and practical knowledge, and therefore had formed erroneous notions as to the value of the labour of the Africans in the West Indies, as free persons.

The negroes saved from the wreck of the Doña Paula ought to have been treated, according to law, "as persons in such a situation, not being Africans, would be." Now if 240 Englishmen had been saved from the wreck on the Anegada shoals, every able-bodied person would have made himself useful in some way or other, and from his national feelings, habits and education, he would have been able to see from the poverty of his countrymen in Anegada, that they were unable to support him, without some industrious effort on his part to contribute to his maintenance; added to which, he could leave the island, and seek employment elsewhere, so as no longer to be a dependent on the bounty of the inhabitants of an impoverished country. These circumstances could not occur with the unfortunate Africans, between whom and the Anegadians no sympathy existed of national origin, colour, language, &c. In their case, 240 negroes, in a backward state of knowledge and civilization, ignorant of the nature of the laws respecting property, finding themselves more powerful than the Anegadians, they would have seized on the means of subsistence within their reach, to which indeed hunger would have compelled them; and violence and bloodshed would most probably have been the consequences.

In a similar case, only in a fertile country, such was, in some degree, the result of a Guineaman, being wrecked among the Charaibes of St. Vincent. These Africans on board the Doña Paula, however, having been confined on board, if the Anegadians should have thought that a greater population of ignorant Africans than their own numbers should become claimants on their hospitality, or competitors for their food, when they had barely enough for themselves, it is almost certain, that they would not have risked their own lives to save those of the unfortunate Africans, whose presence would have been attended with loss and danger. The result would most probably have been, that the Africans would not have been saved from the wreck. Mr. Gibbes, who was agent for the Doña Paula, and paid all expenses incident to the wreck of the vessel, stated that four thousand dollars were paid for saving the lives of the negroes; they being considered as property, and being removed from the island, no danger or expense was incurred by their residence.

These observations are offered to show how hard the law bore on the colonists, but they are not given to justify the breach of the law. It is observed by Mr. Earnshaw in his digest of the laws relating to shipping, navigation, commerce and revenue, in the British colonies, in giving an opinion of the law officers of the crown in June 1767: "How far the clauses of the Act of Anne, and of the other Acts altering
 " and amending the same, can be carried into execution in the British colonies and
 " plantations, will depend upon the nature of the public establishments at the colony
 " or plantation, where a ship or goods may be stranded, or near which a ship may
 " be in distress, or in danger of stranding, or where any offence may be committed." Now the nature of the public establishments in the circumstance of the Doña Paula were these: The vessel was wrecked in the vicinity of an island comparatively barren, with few inhabitants, and those wretchedly poor, chiefly depending for subsistence on fishing, and the reward for their exertions in saving the property of vessels
 wrecked

wrecked on their shoals. If, instead of a reward for their exertions in saving the slaves on board the *Doña Paula*, the inhabitants of Anegada should have had to take care of them, as distressed Africans, in an uncivilized state, it is to be feared, that self-interest, and self-preservation, would have been more powerful motives than those of humanity; and to prevent the consequences to be apprehended, in similar cases, I beg leave respectfully to suggest the propriety of His Majesty's government making some legal provision, that, in the case of slaves being wrecked, salvage should be allowed to the salvors as in other cases of property, and that the slaves should not be chargeable to the inhabitants, in order that the interests of the inhabitants, and their duty may not be opposed to each other, in a case of humanity, affecting the lives of our fellow-creatures. To show that under the Act 47 Geo. 3. c. 36, the claims of interest and of humanity were too much opposed to each other, it is only necessary to state that the negroes on board the *Manuella*, *Venus*, *Candelario* and *Atrevido*, cost the Treasury of Great Britain 13,595*l.* 15*s.* 8½*d.* sterling, for mere care and maintenance, before being apprenticed, without reckoning either bounty money to captors, or head money to collectors. Now had these vessels experienced the fate of the *Doña Paula*, besides the claims for salvage, a poor country like Tortola, oppressed with debt, would have had to provide for that great expense, according to the Act for the abolition of the Slave Trade, already quoted, which considered the Africans the same as Englishmen. The colony at this moment being unable to pay its just debts, it is obvious that the inhabitants could not have provided for the Africans, and the latter must have perished, from the inability of the colonists to support them. In the Act 5 Geo. 4. c. 113, § 23, Africans situated like those of the *Doña Paula* are now to be provided for, as if they had been condemned prize of war, but there is no provision for salvage.

An anonymous letter was sent to my colleague and myself, saying that a bribe of 1,000*l.* was paid to the collector to prevent his seizure of the *Doña Paula*. This letter was afterwards withdrawn from the office, or lost, or mislaid, as I could not find it when I entered on the investigation. The agent, however, of the vessel, who was not implicated in the charge, declared that to his knowledge the anonymous charge against the former collector was not true, as he paid all the expenses of the ship. The person who was implicated by name, declared he knew nothing about the charge. The King's advocate having given his opinion, that the vessel could not be seized, renders it not probable that a bribe would be offered to the collector to prevent his seizing the vessel. From the statements proved, as to the slaves being cleared for Bahia in vessels not calculated for the voyage, there is, however, every reason to believe that the Custom-house officers must have known, that the destination of the slaves was Porto Rico, and not Bahia. They were, as already stated, sold as slaves in Porto Rico.

The next observation which I have to make respecting the Act of Parliament and Orders in Council, relative to the African apprentices, being apparently at variance with local institutions, and therefore affecting the applicability of the Orders in Council to the objects intended to be obtained, arises from the direction given to the industry of the African apprentices.

By the Order of Council already quoted, it appears to have been expressly forbidden that women should be employed in agricultural labour. The men are not specifically forbidden in the Order of Council to be so employed; but in the blank form of indenture sent out by government to the West Indies, the following passage in the indenture for a *male* apprentice is inserted: "and shall not, nor will, on any account, employ, or cause, permit, or suffer, the said apprentice, ———, to be employed in *agricultural labour in any way whatsoever*." No facts having ever been alleged, and examined, showing that this clause was necessary to clearly understand the effect of thus directing the industry of the Africans into channels distinct from agricultural industry, some detail as to the state of productive industry in Tortola will be necessary.

Tortola is solely valuable to Great Britain as an agricultural colony. Its copper mines have not been worked for near a hundred years. Neither its veins of molybdenum, nor iron ore, have ever been explored, beyond the proofs of their existence. Its salt ponds are under no regulations, and afford no revenue to the colonial treasury, or that of the empire. Cotton and sugar are the chief articles cultivated, which have an exchangeable value in Europe, and give employment to British shipping, industry and capital.

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A debt to British merchants, secured on mortgages chiefly, amounting to about 174,500 *l.* sterling, causes the consignment of sugar and cotton to British ports annually, on an average, to the amount of about 21,000 *l.* sterling to the planter, and about 29,700 *l.* sterling in duty to the revenue.

The debt due by the colony to British merchants presses harder upon the planter than formerly, from the operation of those causes, which have now nearly destroyed colonial credit in the West-India colonies of Great Britain. A hurricane in 1819 tended also greatly to increase this evil in Tortola, by diminishing its means of payment, whilst the event itself required an increased credit.

There is no mode of paying the colonial debts but by the productive industry of the inhabitants employed in agriculture, by which articles are raised having an exchangeable value in Europe. Corn, yams, fresh fish, cattle, and fire wood, could not be sent to England, nor to any place else, to raise money for the payment of their debts in Great Britain, although a very small bartering trade in such articles and rum, is carried on with St. Thomas, a Danish free port, from whence is returned American produce, such as salt pork, cod fish, flour, lumber, &c.

But whilst the credit of the colony has thus been affected, there has been a diminution of the value, and result in quantity of that kind of produce, which has an exchangeable value in England ; so that whilst the creditors in Great Britain are rendered more urgent for payment, the colonial debtors are daily less able to pay the just demands against them, from the quantity of annual labour being diminished, at the same time that the general profits of stock in slaves, lands, buildings and machinery have been also diminished : indeed, plantations and slaves, forming that stock, have been rendered almost untransferable.

Every thing in a West-India colony, as connected with commercial credit, is supposed to depend on the labour of the negroes on the soil, as exhibited in the value of their colonial productions sold in Europe, exceeding the value of the articles consumed in the colony, during the production of those shipped to Great Britain. Now, although the total population may not have much decreased of late years, yet that part of the population employed on agriculture, producing articles having exchangeable value in Great Britain, has decreased ; and about one half per cent of the slave population has yearly been manumitted. The machinery, and other fixed capital, connected with agriculture, have become less productive, by the diminution of the moving power, consisting of slave labour, whilst the free negroes could not be induced to supply the loss for such wages, or inducements as the capitalists could give. For in the employment of mankind in labour, it is well known there are circumstances which, from a real, or an imaginary cause, have a positive effect in making a small gain in some pursuits, compensate for the pecuniary disadvantages attendant on their occupation, with reference to others more laborious and disagreeable, though in the end, perhaps, by being more certain, they would be more profitable than *irregular* employment. From whatever cause it may arise, it is certain, that whilst the labour employed in agriculture has decreased in Tortola, the competitors for employment in other kinds of labour have increased, without a corresponding demand for those other kinds of labour. The market, therefore, for labour, when not connected with agricultural industry, is overstocked, and there is no demand for it elsewhere, that can relieve this pressure, because in the neighbouring *foreign* colonies slave labour regulates the market wages, and for these wages the free negroes will not always work, so as to afford a profit to the capitalist.

The Order in Council, relative to the employment of the apprentices, further increased this evil, as it affected that kind of labour in which alone they were permitted to be employed in Tortola by the indentures ; and if the circumstance was beneficial to the Africans, it must have been at the expense of other persons in the community, whose industry had previously been exerted in those channels, and this expense in its progress fell upon the community at large ; for the favour supposed to be shown to the African apprentice, by providing against his employment in agricultural labour, did not force the other classes into the channel of agricultural industry, from circumstances connected with climate, and the relation between population, and capital invested in agriculture, in Tortola.

In the torrid zone, the white or European race of mankind are not equal to agricultural labour ; but there are many other kinds of labour which they are capa-
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ble of enduring ; but in none perhaps requiring great personal, and steady exertion in the sun, or open air, are they equal to the African race, when the latter can be induced to labour. As tailors, shoemakers, joiners, &c. &c. the European race are fully equal to the African in the capacity to endure work in the Torrid Zone. By withdrawing the apprentices from agricultural labour, and employing them in situations which the poor of the other classes, or their slaves had previously filled, equal to the demand, a particular kind of labour was over supplied, and at the same time encouraged, by government affording it at a less price. The kind of labour so encouraged also was the least beneficial to the colony, and the parent state, because it contributed least to the colonial taxes, or the production of objects having exchangeable value in Great Britain.

The reduced circumstances of the landed and other proprietors rendered them less able to employ the poorer whites, and other free persons, who thus having fewer opportunities to get the employment they would have preferred, and being unwilling, and in some cases unable, to exert themselves in agricultural industry, the public poor funds became the source of dependence for the poor whites ; and similar reasoning applies to the free coloured people of a certain class, as to their diminished means of obtaining reward for their labour : and very few, if any, could be furnished with parochial aid, as the poor funds of the colony were unequal to the demand upon them to support the poor white widows, and other females belonging to the parish.

In every climate where men can exist without much labour, the habits of steady agricultural industry are less generally found, because the stimulus of necessity has then very little power ; but in the torrid zone, where physical causes render the labours of agriculture more painful and disagreeable than in Europe, the effect thereof on the habits of rural industry is more powerful ; and more injurious to the capitalist, who cannot himself labour.

Whether these considerations led the legislative bodies of Tortola to pray your Lordship for the removal of the African apprentices from that island, I know not ; but I am convinced, under the circumstances of the colony, as to the means of rewarding labour, that the Orders of Council for directing that of the Africans into certain kinds of industry, excluding that of agriculture, were injurious to other classes of the society, in which they were apprenticed, contrary to the spirit of the 16th clause of the Act 47 Geo. 3, c. 36.

If I have taken a wrong view of this systematic discouragement of agricultural industry, instead of permitting it under proper regulations, I beg to offer, as an apology, the sentiments of an author, who was decidedly averse to slavery, and was the friend to liberal institutions. Montesquieu, liv. xiv. c. vi. says :—" The cultivation of the soil is the most laborious occupation of man. The more therefore the climate induces men to shun this labour, the more ought it to be encouraged by the influence of religion and the laws."

How far it may be just, or necessary, to impose upon the impoverished colonists the expense and inconvenience, attendant upon giving a particular direction to the industry of the African apprentices, different from that of agriculture, it is perhaps not expected of me to give an opinion. I therefore have confined my observation to the clause of the Act just quoted, and merely referred to the petition of the inhabitants of Tortola for the removal of the apprentices, as a proof that those colonists felt themselves under the pressure of an evil, and although I have adopted the same opinion, I have come to that conclusion, from reasons stated somewhat differently from those urged by the Legislature of Tortola.

The next observation I have to make on the Act for the abolition of the Slave Trade, and Orders in Council founded thereon, relates to the case of orphan children, whose parent or parents were African apprentices. In my letter of the 11th September 1822, I pointed out, that no provision had been made for the care and maintenance of the orphan children of African apprentices, consequently they must become a burden to the community, or perish from want, if individuals do not take care of them. Several persons who had these orphans applied to me for relief, but I could not point any out, as the poverty of the colony was such, that the public funds could not afford any assistance. The Produce Act for discharging the public debts of the Virgin Islands from 1817 to 1822, both inclusive, imposed taxes amounting to 15,830*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.* currency, of which 27*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* was remitted

to persons utterly unable to pay. Executions were issued for the recovery of 4,421 *l.* 2*s.* 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* and indulgence as to time had been granted for 618 *l.* 8*s.* 3*d.* so that only two-thirds of the whole sum authorized to be levied could be at that period made available. And the salary due to the late Lieutenant-General Sir James Leith, as Governor in the year 1815, was not paid at the end of eight years; nor had the present Governor received the salary due to him. Such was the state of the general credit of the public chest. The poor were chiefly supported by a fund raised from what was called the Liquor Act, although only a small part of the sum raised, had any relation to the sale of liquor. For three years the sum thus directed to be raised, chiefly by taxes on slaves, houses and horses, was 2,515 *l.* 1*s.* currency, of which 5 *l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* was remitted from utter incapacity of the persons charged to pay the tax. Executions were in the hands of the marshal to the amount of 719 *l.* 7*s.* 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* and temporary indulgences as to the time of payment were granted for the sum of 46 *l.* 0*s.* 6*d.* at the end of December 1822; so that another proof is thus afforded of the colony being unequal to provide for the poor they had previous to the introduction of this new class of inhabitants, supposing them to be entitled to parochial relief, which in Tortola is doubtful. The doubt however is of less consequence, as the colony is unable to give the allowances were the claims even admitted.

The parochial poor are white females and their children in reduced circumstances, from the failure of their husbands or fathers, and generally get support from their relations, otherwise they could not well exist, as there are few modes in which they could exercise their industry, were they more able and inclined to work than they really are. Land indeed is abundant, and would be readily given to them, but the white race are unequal to the labours of agriculture in the torrid zone; and this makes a distinguishing feature between the European and African races. As no provision is made for the orphan children of African apprentices, I submit that some regulation should be adopted for their care and maintenance at the expense of government, or by apprenticing them to proper masters or mistresses who may be induced to receive them. For the welfare of the individuals perhaps the former plan would be the best. It is due to A. M. Belisario, esq. and to the free woman Catharine Cruise, who lived near to my lodgings in Tortola, that I should state, I was almost a daily witness for many months, that the orphans under their care were treated with the greatest kindness and tenderness, from motives of benevolence and charity.

Respecting the situation of the other orphans I cannot speak from my own observation, but from what I heard I deemed it my duty to submit for consideration the propriety of establishing some plan for their benefit, which will operate upon the whole class, and that they should not be left to the care of accidental charity. And the 16th sect. of 47 Geo. 3, c. 36, being solely confined to the prevention of "such negroes as shall have been bound apprentices under this Act," becoming at any time chargeable upon the island in which they shall have been so bound, it became necessary to notice the case of their orphan children, which had not been provided for in the first Act, or in the late consolidation of the Acts for the abolition of the Slave Trade, 5 Geo. 4, c. 113.

The former Act also was interpreted to mean, that only *Africans* are to be indentured as apprentices. In an abstract of, and commentary upon, the Act for the abolition of the Slave Trade, and Orders of Council, printed for the African Institution, p. 26, it is said,—“The provisions as to enlisting and apprenticing extend “only to such slaves as are *natives of Africa*. If Creoles they are presumably able “to gain their own livelihood, and are therefore to be set at liberty as free men.”

It is upon this interpretation, that the collectors of the customs appear to have acted. It is probably a just and legal interpretation, but it does not seem to be in any way desirable to release the Creoles who may be fit for His Majesty's service, (considering how much money their liberty has cost the government), from the same obligation to serve His Majesty which is imposed upon the Africans. That the provision as to apprenticing captured negroes should extend only to Africans, and not to Creoles, appears in some cases not to be a wise regulation, as Creole females with young children may thus become free, and yet the mother may not be able to take care of herself and children. In such a case, the protection of government may advantageously be extended to them, by apprenticing them, if that system should still be persevered in, or by otherwise assisting them. The Act to amend and consolidate the Laws relating

relating to the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 5 Geo. 4. c. 113. § 22, seems to have disapproved of the principle set forth by the African Institution, as there is no distinction now made between Africans and Creoles; but the Order in Council of 16th March 1808 still is in force, and retains the expression, "Natives of Africa," on which the African Institution appeared to ground their interpretation when speaking of Creoles.

In cases where the apprentices absented themselves or ran away from their master's duty, it is not provided for by the Act of Parliament, or Order in Council, how the evil is to be remedied.

By the letter of the collector, dated 1st May 1823, it appears he did not think it his duty to remedy the evil. In England it is understood, if the apprentice should absent himself, or neglect his duty, the master may support an action of covenant against the parent, or other person who has by the deed covenanted for the due service; but I have understood there is no remedy *by action* against the apprentice himself, by common or statute law, except, I believe, by the custom of London.

In the case of the African apprentices there was no parent, and the former collector who had entered into the covenants had left the country.

I shall now chiefly confine myself to those points arising from the government having been induced to regulate, by Orders in Council, matters concerning the control and direction of the *labour* of the African apprentices in the West Indies.

The idea of regulating such local subjects, at the distance of 4,000 miles, certainly prepares the mind to expect disappointment, more especially as, on a similar occasion, it has been remarked, that no person would be less capable to accomplish such an object, than those who should fancy themselves able to execute it. I do not wish, however, to judge thus of the benevolent individuals who interested themselves in framing the Act, and the Orders in Council, whose more prominent defects I have thus slightly noticed. I cannot, however, in paying my unfeigned respect for their virtues, forbear the expression of my regret, that experience has convinced me, that those individuals were deficient in a practical and accurate knowledge of matters, on which their zeal and benevolence have induced them to take infinite pains to influence public opinion, by which much expense has been incurred by government for objects, whose final result will appear to be most unsatisfactory, when honestly, and fairly stated, by persons able to judge, and free from those prejudices, which are found to be most powerful among amiable men, who conscientiously view political institutions through their own peculiar medium of moral obligations, and who are ever the most ready to charge with the defects of prejudice, those who may differ from them in opinion.

I do not underrate, my Lord, the attacks to which I shall expose myself by the public promulgation of these opinions; but I should have considered myself unworthy your Lordship's patronage, if I feared any thing, except the misrepresentation of truth.

I shall now proceed to state the mode in which the information collected by this commission was procured, as your Lordship will then be better able to appreciate the correctness of the opinions given by my colleague and myself.

I would also respectfully express the hope that a liberal indulgence will be shown to those errors, which we may have committed; and that due allowance will be made for the failure of a first attempt to execute a duty, not free from some difficulties, which, perhaps, could neither be foreseen, nor provided against.

It is due to my colleague to state, that he had turned his attention to the formation of a plan for conducting, and recording, the examinations of the apprentices before I had; but as he showed me the schedules which he had prepared, only on the morning when we had to begin our examinations, I had not time to give them the consideration which I afterwards did. I therefore yielded to his plan, although I did not exactly understand the use of some of the columns; for instance, that headed "Admitted into Church," as there was already a column for those baptized. This form of schedules is seen in p. 60 of the Schedules, and in that form the greatest number of examinations were taken. It is distinctly stated by my colleague, in the Minutes of 6th November 1822, "That he at first put the questions to the apprentices, and took down their answers, in a schedule of a similar form to that of the secretary, at the same time generally dictating to Mr. Barrow (in the presence of Major Moody) the precise words of the apprentice."

Those

Those schedules so taken by my colleague he took away with him, as private papers belonging to himself, and the schedules, now submitted, are copied from those of the secretary, filled up, as explained by my colleague; but I do not admit, that the precise words of the parties were always given, inasmuch as matter was often omitted which had been said by the parties.

I found it afterwards necessary to point out to my colleague, that, under his mode of examination, evidence was occasionally collected under an excitement, which influenced the character of the evidence. On receipt of my observation, recorded in the Schedules, pp. 131, 132 and 133, on the 12th June 1822, my colleague, instead of affording any explanation whatever to me, withdrew immediately from the duties of the commission, and returned to England. After this retirement of my colleague, I took between eighty and ninety examinations, in the form which will be seen in the Schedules, beginning at p. 82, where it is said only one of the Commissioners presided. When my colleague returned to the commission, a new form was received for our guidance, and, under it, the remaining few examinations were taken. This form is seen in the Schedules, p. 88 and N° 44, among the Africans captured on board the *Manuella*. The first apprentice examined under it was Anganobi William, who appeared for the first time on 31st October 1822.

On the 24th January 1823, my colleague had William again produced. It will be seen in the schedules, that in answer to a question respecting clothing, the apprentice said, at the examination in January 1823, that he had only one pair of trowsers, and a checked shirt from his master during the year. Now, as the apprentice in October 1822 had said, "that he was very sorry his master was dead, for his master was fond of him," &c. it appeared to me singular, that on this second examination, he should give such an account of his master's conduct towards him, as regarded clothing. I therefore proceeded to put other questions, to satisfy myself that the apprentice was speaking the truth, when my colleague was pleased to interrupt me, in the manner I have mentioned in the Schedules, by telling the apprentice "*not to answer*," afterwards alleging that my question was a leading one.

This circumstance will show your Lordship the tone of mind under which examinations were made, even under the new form, which we were directed to adopt.

Another consideration, arising from the necessities of masters and mistresses, ought to be stated. Many persons had the labour of these apprentices without wages, or the payment of those colonial taxes, which would have been demanded of them, if their servants had been slaves. Such indigent masters and mistresses felt that the services of these apprentices not only diminished their domestic toil, but afforded a small gain, by sometimes commuting the services of the apprentices for a pecuniary reward, which, however small, was a great object for masters and mistresses in poverty to receive from apprentices, whose instruction had generally cost them nothing. In such cases, a character flattering to the apprentice was calculated to confirm the claim to the services of the servant; so that when an apprentice is described as a good cook, good washerwoman, or good domestic, it is requisite to consider the situation of the person who thus speaks of the apprentice; for a person may be considered as a good cook by a master or mistress, whose poverty prevented their having a variety of fare, and yet such a cook would be incompetent to the duties of one in the kitchen of a person whose circumstances would enable him to hire a competent cook. An apprentice, therefore, with the character of a good cook, or good domestic, or good washerwoman, in the opinion of the person giving the character, may be unable to find employment when wages are to be given. Such a consideration would deeply affect the subsistence of apprentices (particularly those who did not labour in agriculture) in a colony as poor as Tortola is.

The poverty of the master or mistress was injurious both to them, and to the servant. The latter, as a domestic, could not learn to perform those duties which gave a value to his labour when free; and the indigent masters or mistresses were less inclined to exert themselves, when they had so cheap a class of servants to labour for them, in a climate which renders toil peculiarly irksome.

On the other hand, the richer persons in the community would not be troubled with the apprentices, even without wages; so that in stating the evil, it is fair to show that the collector, in many cases, had little choice as to masters and mistresses.

A case in detail, however, will perhaps best explain the nature of the inconvenience; and I shall select the best master, in tolerably good circumstances, and an excellent servant, whose examination is found in the Schedules, p. 28 and 29.

John Sano was examined under the first form of the schedule by my colleague and me. His master, Mr. Belisario, gave him the following character: "A very good house servant." He had served his apprenticeship, and was now altogether free. He had been hired at eight dollars a month on board a small schooner. Such an account certainly was most favourable; and it seemed to be a reasonable and just inference, that in John Sano a valuable member had been added to the colonial community of Tortola. Our residence in that island enabled us to see the result as to John Sano, who never forfeited his good character.

John was not a seaman, and his hire at eight dollars a month was merely an accidental occurrence. His master, who had valued John's services at four dollars a month, with clothing and maintenance, can *now only afford to give him two dollars a month, yet still has the same opinion of his character.* Should any thing deprive him of this good master, it is not probable that John could get the same wages, low as they are, from any other person in Tortola.

In this case, we see the erroneous idea which was given of the value of John Sano's labour in the first examination, when his services were represented as obtaining eight dollars a month. As this case was the most favourable, it is needless to adduce others in less favourable circumstances.

As a domestic, government cannot much promote the welfare of John Sano; but as an agriculturalist, he could be provided for immediately; a consideration which shows the propriety of keeping in view the employment of the apprentices in such kind of industry as would enable government, under any circumstances, to provide for them, in a manner useful to the apprentices themselves, and the colonies in which they were placed. In forming an opinion as to the future fate of John Sano, it would be difficult to say any thing more positive, than the probability of a person, with so good a character, getting employment as long as he is able to work; but should an accident happen to him, as actually did, when he broke his arm, his only resource must be to that charity, which he has already experienced, on the part of his master, when he was unable to support himself.

I would beg to submit another case, where the party had never been indented, but was deemed capable of taking care of herself at the period of condemnation. In the Schedules, p. 332, is the examination of Cottrine, taken before me, when my colleague was in England; and therefore the defects therein ought not to be, in any manner, imputed to his system, but to mine.

Cottrine, according to her own evidence, (for she having no master or mistress, I had no other), appears to have formed a connection with a slave named Daniel Bruce, whose ground she cultivated for subsistence, and occasionally worked in cutting wood for fuel; and it appeared by working hard, according to her own idea, she could earn two dollars a week to buy clothes, &c. She had a house to live in, free of rent, and without any taxes to pay. Such a person may perhaps be considered a useful member of the colonial family, although her productive industry did not raise articles having an exchangeable value in the parent state. At any rate I had reason to think, she was well provided for, so far as her own welfare was concerned.

Before I left Tortola, Cottrine sent for me to see her: I found her in a state of great distress, her collar bone having been broken by the free coloured man Sharpe, with whom she had formerly lived. All that I could do, as a magistrate, was to issue a warrant for the apprehension of Sharpe, in which the president of the colony joined me, and every thing in his power was done to apprehend Sharpe, but without effect, when I left the colony, as it was too poor to support an efficient police. Had it not been for the benevolent and professional assistance of Dr. Ross, with the aid of other persons, poor Cottrine must have perished, as the colony was altogether unable to provide for her in the state of destitution in which she then was, when, to use her own words, "She had not a black dog to bless herself with." A black dog is a small coin.

It is this general want of care for any thing beyond mere subsistence, (which is easily obtained,) and very ordinary comforts, that keeps the free labouring classes

in Tortola, when they have not slaves of their own, in such a state of poverty, that their scale of comforts do not generally exceed those of the better class of slaves. The labouring classes when free, after having secured a moderate subsistence, appeared, in that climate, almost universally, to prefer the luxury of repose to any other luxury, which required for its attainment steady personal exertion in agriculture.

When an unforeseen calamity therefore falls on such persons as Cottrine, they must perish, unless private charity relieves them; but this cannot always be depended upon, in a country so poor as Tortola is.

That these cases are correctly stated, may be inferred from the particulars as to John Sano being collected in the presence of my colleague when in the island, and of Governor Maxwell afterwards. The circumstances relative to Cottrine were collected in the presence of the secretary, and afterwards in that of President Porter; and on the arrival of our successors, I pointed out the house where Cottrine was, with her collar bone broken, but circumstances prevented my pressing her destitute situation upon their consideration. If these circumstances be correctly stated, so far as so few cases can add weight to all my other observations, perhaps it is not unreasonable to infer, that these two last cases tend to show, that the information, collected in the first instance would have led to erroneous inferences as to the future prospects of the individuals in Tortola. It is not however fair to infer, that similar casualties in broken limbs, are to attend all the other liberated Africans, but they show the probable fate of those when old age, or other infirmities, may assail them, like the casualties referred to.

To show how differently my colleague and I drew inferences from the results of evidence concerning the same apprentices, I shall select two other cases, wherein both the persons are now free. The first is that of Hull, an apprentice who was examined before my colleague and myself, and the examination is given in the Schedules, p. 40 and 41.

In the Report of my colleague respecting Hull, he has introduced some information of which I was not informed by him, when he procured it in Tortola. This circumstance will naturally call for some observations on my part, when I state the opposite inferences drawn by my colleague, and myself, from the statement of Hull's case.

There was no person but Hull himself, from whom my colleague and I *jointly* received any information. The free coloured woman Janet Heyliger would not attend the summons of the Commissioners. This woman it was thought could have given us information, as she had been the kept mistress of Mr. M'Inrot, who had been the clerk of my colleague, when navy agent in Tortola, and when Hull and others, being sickly, were placed by him with this Mr. M'Inrot. The next master whom Hull had was Mr. Dix, but he was dead.

Hull's statement as to his industry, and means of subsistence, was to this effect: "He had learned the trade of a cooper, was two years employed in town, and seven years on Big Carrot Bay estate. At the time of examination he stood with himself, or was his own master: he works a little ground to maintain himself;—it is King's ground at the Tower west end. *He never put up a house upon it*;—the size of the ground he cultivates is as big as this whole house, seventeen yards by thirteen yards," (nearly one twenty-second part of an English acre); he "planted potatoes and cassada, from that space of ground he got as much vegetables as supplied him during the year, assisted by cutting wood for the people burning lime-kilns, for which he was paid, when employed, a quarter dollar per day; when he has nothing to do, he goes to the Seine with the people, who own it, and receives a share of the fish for his labour. Does not work as a cooper, there being no work." On further investigation however it turned out, "he never offered himself to any body as a cooper; this time so poor you no get nothing to work,"—meaning the poverty of the colony was then so great, that he could not get any employment or hire. "Does not know how many days in the year he gets hire for cutting wood, does not recollect how many quarter dollars he gets for the year, or month. Since the gale (1819) two persons owe him five dollars each for cutting wood for about a month. Could give no account of the time devoted to his different services; sometimes works two days in the week in the ground; sometimes gets two days hire in the same week, and sometimes he walks about doing nothing, in search

" of

“ of hire. *He has no house of his own*, but lives in an out-house of Father Mial, for which he pays no rent, but gives occasional assistance in labour. That when he is sick, Father Mial’s wife gives him a little hot water, and victuals, a little flour and potatoes. Sometimes he buys four suits of clothes in the year;” by which he meant four checked shirts and four Osnaburgh trowsers. He said, “ he could maintain himself, but has no money now at home ;” refused to go to Trinidad, on condition of having a house and three acres of land, for which he would have to pay ten dollars a year rent, and his labour would be for his own advantage ; and he stated he never heard of that proposal before. Has a wife to whom he is married, and by whom he has two children ; his wife is named Hannah, and she and the children belong to Great Carrot Bay estate ; has no other connections.

To this statement, my colleague adds further information from the correspondence of the late Lieut.-General Sir James Leith, with which I had furnished him, as at the time I was aid-de-camp, and secretary to that officer. That account I have reason to believe is correctly given by my colleague ; but some parts of the statement made by Sir James Leith were found afterwards to be very erroneous from the defective information given to him in Tortola. My colleague then states, “ That by the most undoubted proof produced to *him*, it appears the following charges were made by Mr. Dix against Carrot Bay estate, belonging to the Rev. Mr. Wynne, for the hire of the two apprentices, Hull and Portsmouth ; viz.

“ For hire of Hull, a cooper, from 1st July 1811 to	} £. 529. 11 s. 9 d.”
“ 31st December 1814, is 1,279 days, at 8 s. 3 d.	
“ per day	

which I presume is in Tortola currency, but I have no means of information, as my colleague never brought this statement to my knowledge or consideration, otherwise I should have made many important inquiries, to ascertain, from competent judges, whether the services of Hull were worth such wages ; and if so, how it happened that the same person could not, according to his own account, get any employment as a cooper, when he was a free man, working for himself, and no one to control him. I should have inquired into those circumstances, by which an individual, now free, in good health, and only forty-five years of age, who during three and a half years, under the coercion of a slave, could work for 529 *l.* for a master, whilst, when free to work for himself, he was in such a state of destitution as to have no money, no hut even, his agricultural industry limited to the cultivation of about one twenty-second part of an English acre, and for which he neither paid rent, nor tax ; that even when sick, he depended on the aid of benevolence for “ a little hot water and victuals, a little flour and potatoes ;” nay even living in the out-house of another poor person ; his wife and children, being slaves, were supported by their owner. It is to be regretted that my colleague did not enable me to pursue those inquiries, that we might together have reported thereon for your Lordship’s information. Facts like these are of the utmost importance, when fairly stated so that your Lordship could discern clearly the operation of cause and effect. Such investigations, it was my desire to enter upon, and examine *all the circumstances* of the case, instead of giving only those partial statements, with which my colleague contented himself, perhaps from his want of experience in the control of labour.

My colleague goes on to state that Hull’s case was the more hard, as “ he had a wife and three children to support.” It does indeed appear hard, if his master received upwards of 150 *l.* per annum for Hull’s labour, and gave him no part of it ; but I am ignorant on what authority this statement is made. The fact of Hull supporting a wife and three children at the time, seems to be an assertion which is not confirmed by the information of Hull himself, when the secretary and I were present at the examination, as well as my colleague. Hull *then* said he had a wife and two children, who were slaves on Great Carrot Bay estate, as may be seen in the Schedules. There is no reason whatever to believe that the proprietor of that estate does not feed, clothe, and support the wife and children of Hull.

My colleague then proceeds to state respecting Hull, that “ *Having built himself a house* and settled at Tortola, he prefers remaining there, *working at his trade*, when he can obtain employment, and at other times cultivating a small portion of ground, and occasionally fishing, to going to Trinidad or elsewhere.”

Your Lordship will perceive that it is impossible for me satisfactorily to prove a negative, when unfortunately my colleague and I differ on a matter of fact. I can

merely

merely say that Hull did not express himself in the manner asserted, when examined before the Commissioners and the secretary. At that time Hull said, that "*he had no house of his own.*" He had a piece of land, about the twenty-second part of an acre, and he said distinctly "*he never put up a house upon it.*" Again he says, "*he lives in an out-house of Father Mial, for which he pays no rent, but gives occasional assistance in labour.*" On what evidence my colleague asserts Hull's "*having built himself a house,*" as a reason for his not going to Trinidad, I am altogether ignorant. But of this I am positive, the person never assigned such a reason, when he was officially examined before both Commissioners and the secretary; nor did he assign as a reason, his preference to work at his trade in Tortola; for he distinctly said, "*he did not work as a cooper, there being no work.*" On being further examined, it appeared however that he "*never offered himself to any body as a cooper.*" Here your Lordship may perhaps perceive the effect of a bias upon the mind of my colleague in stating facts even, when free labour was concerned; and perhaps also his want of experience in the control of labour, led him into mistakes, into which, any Commissioner, so situated, may unintentionally fall.

In another part of the Report of my colleague, he again produces the two cases on which I have to remark, and of which this of Hull is one, as "*the proof afforded of the industry and considerable productive nature of the services of some of these Africans.*" Of Hull then he again repeats, "*The attachment of Hull to the house he has erected on government ground, and the cultivation of the ground around his house, give evident proofs that Africans will apply themselves to agricultural purposes, for Hull remains in a poor colony, attached to the small spot he cultivates, availing himself also of the advantages of his own trade, and knowledge in fishing.*"

By referring to the Schedules, p. 40, from the evidence of Hull himself, it will be seen, when he was free, *that he had not erected any house on the land, which he cultivated in potatoes and cassada; that its extent was only about the twenty-second part of an acre; that he did not avail himself of the advantage of his trade as a cooper; and his knowledge in fishing consisted chiefly in assisting to draw the Seine.*

To give an idea of the agricultural industry of Hull, with reference to that of an English labourer, I beg to state, that on the Schoose farm, belonging to J. C. Curwen, esq. Member of Parliament for Cumberland, a man, in one day of ten hours work, will trench forty-nine square yards in strong clay, fifteen inches deep. The ground cultivated by Hull was represented to be about equal to a space measuring seventeen by thirteen yards, or 221 square yards, equal to about four days and a half labour, even if it had been trenched as deep as fifteen inches. If the time should be doubled for weeding, and gathering the crop, the agricultural industry of Hull would be represented by nine days in the year, with reference to an English labourer. If this were doubled, tripled, or quadrupled, the result would still show the extraordinary anomaly of a negro being industrious, or at least exercising a fair share of exertion for his master under coercion, and when liberated from it, and enabled to raise for himself increased comforts, suitable to his state of society, yet when these are to be obtained by increased exertions, the advantages held out are found, in practice, not to be sufficient to excite a greater degree of exertion, than is required to provide those necessaries of life, which, in that climate, appear to be obtained with little labour. The conflict in this case of Hull, for example, seems to be between the enjoyment of the pleasure of repose, or indolence, and the pleasure of increased comforts, or enjoyments of any kind, to be obtained by labour; and that the pleasure of repose, in a warm climate, appears to be greater than any other stimulus, hitherto tried, that is not of the direct and positive nature of coercion. Yet it is from the circumstances collected by my colleague, respecting the industry of Hull, that he draws an argument in favour of the efficiency of free labour in the agriculture of the West Indies. I think a stronger proof could not be afforded of the caution that ought to be observed, in receiving evidence on this subject, from men whose minds are under a bias, and ignorant of the practical effects of human labour applied to particular services, unless the most minute details are given.

I do, my Lord, sincerely regret being obliged to expose the statements of my colleague on the value of the agricultural labour of the free negroes in Tortola; every wish of my heart leads me to desire, that the facts were otherwise than they are on this important subject, on which so much misrepresentation has been given

to the world. I confess, my Lord, that until I had practical experience in the control of free and slave labour in the West Indies, and had examined the question with more care, I also entertained opinions; as far from the truth, as those of my colleague.

The other case is that of Boatswain, *alias* Portsmouth. Of this individua the Schedules, p. 46, state that he was at first placed with Mr. M'Inrot, a clerk a that time to my colleague, as appeared by a receipt given to him as agent, to the captors. He was found, under peculiarly unfavourable circumstances with Mr. Dix, and removed from him by the late Lieut.-General Sir James Leith, and sent in April 1815 as a pioneer to Antigua, according to a statement made by me, and the affidavit of Jennet Heyliger, a free coloured woman, who had lived with Mr. M'Inrot. Of this person (Boatswain) my colleague also gives a further account, from information communicated to him by me, obtained when I was aid-de-camp and private secretary to Sir James Leith.

To that account my colleague adds, as in the case of Hull, that by the most undoubted proof produced to *him*, it appeared that the following charges were made against Carrot Bay estate, belonging to the Reverend Mr. Wynne, for the hire of "Portsmouth," which was another name by which Boatswain was known, or rather, it is most probable, the man himself pronounced the word Portsmouth in that imperfect manner, which induced Sir James to believe that the man meant "Boatswain." The charge was—

" For hire of Portsmouth, a field negro, from 1st July } £. 101. 17s."
" 1811 to 31st December 1814, at 3s. per day - }

I presume the money to be in Tortola currency. I have only to refer to my remarks on the case of a similar charge for the labour of Hull, and that my colleague never communicated to me in Tortola the information he had received, to enable me also to be satisfied of its accuracy, and to pursue other inquiries, which would have immediately suggested themselves to a person acquainted with labour, employed in tropical agriculture, but which do not appear to have occurred to my colleague.

In another part of the Report of my colleague, where he wishes to disprove the assertions of the Council and Assembly of the Virgin Islands, as to their opinion of the agricultural industry of the free Africans, he states,—“ There appears to be “ some discrepancy between the foregoing petition, and the proof afforded by the “ industry and considerable productive nature of the services of some of these “ Africans. Mr. Dix, who practically experienced the value of these persons labour, “ the steady pursuit of Boatswain or Portsmouth to agricultural labour for 1,279 “ days, could not have acquiesced in this petition.”

The fact thus produced by my colleague to refute the allegations of the petition, was, as I have already said, not submitted for my further inquiries when in Tortola, and therefore I can neither confirm nor confute it, being ignorant upon what authority the assertion is made; and, if true, under what circumstances the charge against Mr. Wynne's estate was justified by Mr. Dix; for it does not appear that Portsmouth's labour was thus rated by Mr. Dix in his own service, but in that of Mr. Wynne, whose estate paid the money to Mr. Dix, the agent for Mr. Wynne, so that the latter gentleman had no person to control the charge.

It is, however, no argument against the prevalent opinion noticed in the petition, respecting the dislike of negroes, when free from control, to labour voluntarily and steadily in West-India agriculture, beyond what the necessaries of life require. According to the evidence of Lieutenant-General Sir James Leith, as quoted by my colleague, it appears that Boatswain, or Portsmouth, “ was employed as a slave in “ cultivating the ground with the rest of the gang.” This poor creature's labour therefore was as effectually *coerced* as if he had been a slave; and the value of his industry, under such coercion, is no proof whatever that the same degree of industry would be exerted by Portsmouth when free from coercion. To have served the argument of my colleague, the value of his voluntary labour ought to have been ascertained afterwards, and when Portsmouth worked solely for his own benefit. This my colleague has not done. I was aid-de-camp and private secretary to the commander of the forces when Boatswain, *alias* Portsmouth, was sent to Antigua, and stationed at Shirley Heights, as a pioneer to the 4th West-India regiment, then in garrison.

It is painful to repeat the history of the poor creature. He robbed the larder of the commanding, though Boatswain had the ration and pay of a pioneer. For this he was tried and punished. He afterwards broke into the commissariat store at night, and robbed it; being detected, he was again tried and punished; and Sir James was at length obliged to reduce him, and turn him over to the lowest class of military labourers. The cause of this conduct probably was, as Sir James Leith supposed, "the want of moral instruction;" and therefore in his letter to your Lordship he said, "Boatswain was not likely to become a useful member of society," and which indeed was verified.

Yet this person is held out an example of agricultural industry, to refute the allegations of the Council and Assembly of the Virgin Islands, stated thus:—"Could your petitioners indulge a reasonable hope that these persons at the expiration of their indentures would apply themselves to agricultural purposes, your petitioners would have less cause to regret their introduction; but *experience* warrants an opposite conclusion. Few would thus apply their labour, as they prefer a precarious subsistence, obtained by casual employment, to that regular industry which is requisite for the cultivation of the soil." I am truly sorry that the allegations of the legislature should be such; but, however much to be regretted, I dare not conceal the painful truth from your Lordship, that I believe there is reason for the allegations preferred.

In observing such contrary inferences drawn by my colleague and myself from statements relative to the same persons, your Lordship must perceive, that one, or other of us, is under the influence of some powerful bias, and delusion, so as to warp the judgment. For my own part, I am free to confess that my judgment may err in drawing a correct inference; but, as I have already stated, if I err in the statement of a fact to your Lordship, I should deserve the highest possible disgrace, for it must be with an intention to deceive.

I do not, however, wish that the same principle should be applied to my colleague, because I believe his judgment on the subject of the comparative value of free labour in West-India agriculture to be under that bias, the power of which I know to be very great, from having been at one time under its influence myself; and even now, it is really my ardent wish, that those opinions which I have ascertained to be erroneous, were not so.

I believe my colleague to be under the strong influence of certain religious opinions, which I respect. I believe him to be truly desirous to promote the happiness and welfare of the African race of men, and my own wishes are not the less lively or sincere, though I feel also for the happiness and welfare of our fellow-countrymen, living in the same colonies with them, and possessing the chief part of the wealth of the country, in land, buildings, and machinery, solely dependent for their value on the labour of slaves; because men as free as Englishmen, it is greatly to be feared, would not, in that climate, cultivate the soil for wages that would be profitable to both the proprietor and the labourer from causes altogether of a physical nature, and therefore not likely to be effectually removed by mere legal enactments.

The general opinion of the dislike of free negroes to agricultural labour, in the West Indies, seems a barrier against measures intended to benefit the African race, and hence, as I believe, the strong wish of my colleague to destroy the impression of the truth of the fact, and by frequently dwelling on the same subject, associated perhaps with a sense of religious duty, he has attained that frame of mind, which induced him to make such assertions, as I really believe him incapable of making in other matters.

In some religious men we often see the strong power of intellectual associations opposing rational deductions, from the force of feelings, in engrossing and concentrating the attention on certain objects, and, by a necessary consequence, withdrawing it, from other important considerations; thus excluding sober and rational views, whilst in the mind, facts, and the inferences from facts, become so blended together, as to destroy all logical connection between cause and effect.

By some such process of reasoning, my colleague has drawn those extraordinary inferences from the facts submitted, which I have felt it my painful duty to confute.

Another circumstance, affecting the character of the evidence collected by the commission, arises from the imputations made against my colleague, of *secretly* and *privately*

privately examining some of the captured negroes previous to their public examination by the commission, in an official manner, in the presence of the secretary and the other Commissioner. The charge is distinctly made in the case of Jem in the Schedules, pp. 57, 58 & 59, supported by affidavits, which I could not refuse to receive from a person who thought himself aggrieved; but as the health of my colleague did not permit him to afford any explanation of the transaction, I shall not press it further than this notice thereof.

To show how far inferences can safely be drawn from the facts thus collected, I beg leave also to submit a few cases of Africans who are still apprentices. I have indeed heard an apprentice (Ann Cumberland) speak of her mistress (Joan Sheen, f. c. w.) in terms of the greatest gratitude, saying that the mistress had been as a mother to the apprentice; and yet in a few days afterwards the same apprentice complained of the same mistress, declaring it was impossible for her (the apprentice) to remain longer with such a mistress.

I prefer however, in the cases which I shall select for details, to give those where witnesses may be referred to, as to the correctness of the statements as far as they know. The witnesses in the first case were the Wesleyan missionaries, Messrs. Gilgrass and Felvus.

Daniel Onabou, recorded in the Schedules for the ship *Atrevido*, N^o 13, p. 244, was examined by my colleague and myself, according to the form and manner adopted at first.

The account of Daniel, as given by his master, a free black man, was as follows:—"He has had the apprentice about fourteen months, and is teaching him the trade of a carpenter; and that he can adze, saw, and jack a board; that the apprentice is honest and industrious; that he was married to Phoebe, apprentice to Alexander Stephens, and that both attended the missionaries."

This account appears to be very satisfactory, and the fair inference to be drawn might be, that Daniel, when free, would be a valuable addition to the colonial community. Before I left Tortola, however, Phoebe, the wife of Daniel, came to me as a magistrate, complaining of Daniel having broken her nose with a stick, and having cut her head in several places. Her person and bloody garments proving that the act of violence had been committed. She was a woman of good character, and her master a respectable and industrious free black man, who was the chief butcher in the town. It was further proved by evidence produced, that Daniel had thus treated her "because she did not give him money to buy clothes and victuals as the wives of the other African apprentices did."

As Daniel and his wife attended on the instruction of the missionaries, I requested their attendance, and Daniel admitted before them the charges preferred against him. On afterwards asking the man, who had previously given so good a character of Daniel to my colleague and myself, why he had then done so, he could give no reason for his conduct, except the amiable feeling of disliking to speak ill of the apprentice, as we would not like it.

To have bound Daniel over to keep the peace would have been to consign him to prison, at the expense of the Treasury, as he was now without any master; and as I had no power to order any punishment, the missionaries assisted me in pointing out the enormity of his conduct, after which we effected a reconciliation, which I was sorry to learn did not last so long, as I had hoped it would have done.

Your Lordship will perceive that the fair inference from the first account of Daniel would have been incorrect, and that accident alone brought me to the knowledge of other facts, which destroyed the justice of the first inference. From such considerations I would respectfully submit, that the mode adopted by my colleague and myself in collecting individual characters, as in the Schedules, does not sufficiently develop the principles on which the *general* character of a class of individuals is to be formed, preparatory to the formation of plans for their future government, when free from the restraint of masters or mistresses, and in a community composed like that of the West Indies.

In the violence of Daniel to his wife, and the reasons assigned for it, we see a trait of character entirely overlooked in the collection of individual characters in the Schedules, but of which I was a frequent eye-witness in Tortola, and indeed in many other countries, during my intercourse for many years with people in a back-

ward

ward state of knowledge and civilization; for I have generally found the males exercising their power over the females in an unjust and arbitrary manner, whilst I have always found the industry of the females more steady, and constant than that of the males, when free, and in an uncivilized state of society.

The next case is one in which my colleague was no way concerned, and for the defects no person is answerable but myself. The evidence corroborative of my statement is the inquest of the coroner.

Penelope Whan, recorded in the Schedules for the ship *Candelario*, N° 156, p. 230, was examined by me, when my colleague was in England. The character of her as given to me, and recorded, is, that she "is a remarkably well-behaved and well-conducted person;" she was married, and in society as a Methodist. She did nothing for her master, Mr. D. Fraser, who had placed her with a woman to learn to wash.

Every thing really appeared to me to be very satisfactory, yet this person, before I left Tortola, stood charged, on the affidavit of a free black woman, and on the coroner's inquest, with whipping a slave, afflicted with the yaws, for committing a theft upon her, in consequence of which punishment the slave died.

Accidentally, therefore, we have another trait of character, which I have observed to be general among persons in her state of society, exhibiting a greater disposition to commit acts of violence, under sudden impulses, than can be easily conceived by those who judge of human nature by what is observed in England. Yet this disposition requires to be carefully considered in any plan adopted for the government of such persons, when released from the control of masters and mistresses, who had exercised over them a kind of magisterial, but preventive superintendence, which I fear could never be accomplished by mere legal enactments in colonies too poor to support an efficient police.

In the case of Penelope, we have a person, in society as a Methodist, and therefore well instructed in her religious duties, so far giving way to her passions, as to do an act which places her as a criminal, charged with committing a serious crime, whilst a few months before the same person appeared to me, and I had recorded my impression for your Lordship's information, that she was "a remarkably well-behaved and well-conducted person."

I know that it was my sole and anxious study not to deceive your Lordship in any respect; yet, had not accident prevented it, I should have unintentionally, but effectually deceived your Lordship for practical purposes, had the individual character of Penelope been the foundation of regulations for her future government.

I have deemed it of importance to submit to your Lordship these considerations, as to the mode in which information has been collected, on which perhaps measures of great consequence may be founded; and as I conceive it my bounden duty neither to deceive your Lordship, nor to sanction the attempt in others, I hope I shall be pardoned for what perhaps may be considered a digression, previous to my reporting on the character of the apprentices, and other captured negroes, with reference to their moral conduct and attainments, as well as to their habits of steady industry.

It will be seen, my Lord, that the collection of individual characters, obtained in the manner that these were, does not afford the most satisfactory data on which a plan for their future government could be founded. And I am obliged to confess, that the plan which we were ordered to adopt, of separately examining the parties concerned as to character, was not attended with any advantages for the removal of the defects which I have stated; whilst that plan of examination more particularly required perfect local knowledge, as well as freedom from bias, in those appointed to conduct examinations taken so privately; qualifications which few persons can be found to possess together.

Whether my colleague felt as I did, I am unable to state; but it appears that we both had recourse to extrinsic aid: the only difference was in the mode of obtaining the information we required, and the persons to whom we addressed ourselves.

My colleague, it appears, had *privately* addressed himself to the Methodist missionaries for the information he wished to obtain, *but no part of these communications*

tions ever appeared at the office of the commission in any manner, and their existence was kept a profound secret both from the secretary and myself.

N^o 3.
MAJOR MOODY'S
REPORT.

On the other hand, I addressed myself *officially, and on His Majesty's service*, to the chief missionary, who readily furnished me with the information I required; and the information so received was, considered by me, and the secretary as public papers, and are given entire. My colleague has given extracts only from the private information which he received; and I regret that, from neither my colleague nor the missionaries, did I ever learn any thing whatever respecting these communications, when I was in Tortola. It will also be seen, that, in an official manner, I addressed myself to the most intelligent and enlightened part of the community, who had no African apprentices in their services; as, whatever their private opinions might be, I was able to form my own, after every allowance where prejudice was apparent; and their answers, entire, are submitted in the Schedules from p. 344 to 351, for your Lordship's information, under the considerations which you may think proper to use in examining them. My colleague it appears did not address himself to the latter class of persons. If the reason assigned by him for this omission has force, all the information collected in the Schedules must be considered as proceeding from personally interested individuals, because they had apprentices. These few to whom I addressed myself, towards the end of the commission, had no apprentices; but even they, in his opinion, are not to be considered as "perfectly disinterested."

If such reasoning be fair and just, the only information on which we can safely rely for the character of the liberated Africans, is that given *privately* to my colleague by the Methodist missionaries, of which extracts are by my colleague submitted for your Lordship's information. The testimony of no other person is given by my colleague, although he says, "I applied to *persons*, who, having had opportunities of ascertaining their character, were at the same time totally unconnected with either masters or apprentices, and interested only in the moral welfare of both." These were *principally* the Wesleyan missionaries." And it is deeply to be regretted, that my colleague has omitted to lay before your Lordship the information thus received from the *other persons*, besides the Wesleyan missionaries, as, perhaps, that of the rector of the parish, a pious and excellent person, might have been one to whom he refers.

Although the rector did not pretend to any practical knowledge of the industrious habits of the liberated Africans, yet as a clergyman of the Church of England, living in the same parish with them, he was free from that bias on the minds of the missionaries, who partook of the feelings and opinions of the individuals in England, on whom they depended for salary and protection; but who, without practical and adequate means of judging, may have deemed themselves qualified to express their opinions strongly upon those West-India questions, whose final decision almost depended on the opinion, which should be believed in England, as to the comparative merits of free and slave labour in the West Indies.

I am well aware that if the missionaries had produced any facts which could admit of the fullest investigation in support of their opinion, that the bias on their minds, and that of the persons on whom they depended for support and protection, would not have been of any consequence whatever; but in the mere expression of opinions on matters affecting the industry of the liberated negroes, a clergyman of the Church of England, who could not be removed at the will of the general body of any missionary society in England, perhaps would be considered as an evidence less objectionable than the missionaries.

I trust therefore that the evidence which I have collected, as to the character of the liberated Africans for steady industry, hereafter to be given, however defective in other respects, will be considered as disinterested, at least, as that *privately* collected by my colleague.

I deem it proper however to add, that I earnestly hope not one word, which I have written, can ever be wrested to show that I thought unfavourably of the Wesleyan missionaries whom I found at Tortola. I honestly believe them to be zealous, sincere, and intelligent teachers of the doctrines they profess; and in private life they appeared to me to be amiable and worthy persons. Moreover, I believe that for most of the moral improvement which the liberated Africans have received, they are indebted to these excellent persons.

If

If I am asked, why these persons are not more capable than those objected to by my colleague, to form a just opinion as to the mechanical and agricultural industry of the liberated Africans? I would say, that the missionaries had no personal experience in directing, and controlling the mechanical labour of persons situated like the liberated Africans, and still less their employment in agricultural industry; and evidence on these points being evidence to mechanical facts, of which they were not well informed, their evidence, to that extent, must need be deficient on the very point upon which the question turns; and it will be seen, that they do not give specific and detailed facts as evidence, so as to admit of being verified by a further examination, to show the connection between cause and effect. They give mere opinions. On the other hand their duties as teachers, and that frequently in the evening, would sometimes require their urging the more frequent attendance of the tardy or negligent African, in whose moral welfare they felt a sincere interest, and the excuse, from the infirmity of human nature, might often be imputed to labours imposed by masters and mistresses, which impeded their attendance, and no doubt it was often true; but the practical effect must be, a feeling that the labour imposed on the attendant was too much, when it impeded the great work on which they were sent. Under such every-day occurrences and excitements, they must have been more or less than men if their minds received no bias, which would affect the statement of *mere opinions*, although it might not affect the accurate statement of positive and detailed facts. On points of detailed facts the missionaries would have my ready credence, if permitted fully to examine them; but on their mere opinions I should not rely so much, as on other testimony, supported by facts. I have only to add, that I deeply regret the necessity for my thus explaining myself, and still more for submitting a circumstance, which seems to show a bias on the mind, even in forming an opinion as to the *moral* conduct of the females, by the suppression of facts necessary to be known, before a sound and decided opinion could be formed.

As affecting the moral character of the African apprentices, Mr. Gilgrass says, in his private report to my colleague, "I am aware indeed that both sexes of the Africans " have departed from virtue, and that some have broken the solemn bond of matrimony, *but do not know of one that has turned public prostitute.*"

The ignorance of the good missionary on the subject, on which he has chosen to give an opinion, will be readily excused by every one; but the idea of his discovering an extenuation of the crime to which he alludes, by declaring his ignorance of any female yielding her chastity to the temptation of money, as a *public* prostitute in Tortola, shows so strongly the force of the bias on his mind, that only a similar bias on the part of my colleague could have induced him to submit a statement so extraordinary for your Lordship's information; for both these gentlemen were sufficiently acquainted with human nature to know, that persons, having money, only pay it, for such illicit gratifications, to objects having more charms than the poor female African apprentices possessed. As it will be seen, that Mr. Gilgrass did not enter into such details as the above, in the official information given to me, I have no means whatever of judging upon the correctness of the authority on which an assertion so extraordinary is made, more especially since the Schedules prove, that even of those females who had children, not less than thirty-three were born without the sanction of marriage between the parents. Even in the house where my colleague lived in Tortola, the mistress of the house, (the free coloured woman Sally Keys), had an African apprentice, Mary Ann Unguba, in the Schedules for the Venus, N^o 232, and p. 157, who had a child only eight months old, by a slave belonging to the same person, and the father was living with another woman.

My colleague must have known also, for on both occasions he took down the communications, that in the house where the office of the commission was kept, and where the secretary and I lodged, that Mr. Cunningham had an African apprentice named Maria Imboge, in the Schedules for the Atrevido, N^o 192, and p. 292, who had a child only nine months old, by Robin an apprentice, married to another woman. Nor can he have forgotten the testimony given by a free black woman, named Rachael or Hannah Collins, respecting the language and conduct of the African apprentice Eliza Ocazzi, on the subject of being out at night, although the testimony is not recorded in the Schedules for the Atrevido, N^o 181, and p. 284, when my colleague himself took down the other matters of evidence then given.

In speaking on this subject, in a former part of this Report, it will be seen that I viewed the character of the female African apprentices in this respect with reference

reference to their previous state of society, and gave the missionaries the praise to which they were well entitled, for the great improvement they had effected in the moral condition of the African apprentices. I trust, therefore, that these remarks, showing the bias on the minds of good men, affecting their evidence when merely giving opinions, will not be considered as lessening the weight of their testimony as to facts, or their merits as missionaries.

It is on the *negative* declaration of Mr. Gilgrass, that "he did not know of any one that had turned public prostitute," that my colleague in his Report makes this *affirmative* assertion: "It has been affirmed by the missionaries that there is not a prostitute among them," meaning the African females. Such assertions, with the evidence that must have been remembered, sufficiently show the bias on the mind which makes them; and I do most sincerely wish they had been founded on facts, considering the ordinary meaning of the vice designated.

The abstract of the moral state of the Africans which appears to have been given by Mr. Gilgrass, the senior missionary, to my colleague *privately*, being somewhat different from that given to me *officially*, perhaps it will be most fair to submit them together for your Lordship's information.

Number of liberated Africans in connection with the Wesleyan Methodists.

	Baptized.		Persons married.	Learning to read.		Members in Society.	Attending Catechetical Instruction.	Expelled for Immoralities.
	Adults.	Children.		Adults.	Children.			
According to the statements given to Mr. Dougan - - - - }	76	17	44	23	20	100	50	-
According to the statements given to Major Moody - - - - }	135	48	64	6	-	87	50	21

It was very unfortunate, that neither my colleague, nor the missionaries, ever mentioned to me the nature of the communications between them, extracts from which are now submitted, by my colleague, as the authority for the measures recommended by him for the future government of the liberated Africans. It would, for example, have been extremely desirable to have had in detail those facts on which Mr. Gilgrass formed the opinion, which he gives in these words: "I hesitate not to say, let these Africans be allowed the free rights and privileges of British subjects, they will conduct themselves in an orderly manner, employing their time and talents in the necessary and useful departments of life."

I know of nothing, my Lord, that could have afforded me more interest, or more pleasure, than the investigation of the facts on which the missionary and my colleague came to this conclusion. An opinion also, which nearly coincided, as your Lordship may know, with what I had at one period of my life entertained, until a more profound and careful examination of facts led me to doubt.

As however I was kept entirely ignorant of all these communications, I never had the opportunity of even inquiring upon what facts these opinions were founded.

No facts whatever are stated to your Lordship as the foundation of the opinions expressed, and therefore I cannot judge as to the correctness of the inferences, which also would be influenced by the consideration, whether the facts frequently recurred, or were only isolated cases.

In communicating the result of the evidence collected by me, as to the moral character of the African apprentices, I shall begin with the evidence given to me officially by the same missionary, the Rev. Mr. Gilgrass, but who did not, at any time, communicate to me the information which had been given to my colleague, so that should any differences appear, I had no means afforded me of reconciling them.

I received the letter on the 29th July 1823, when I was employed in preparing to give over the commission to our successors, at which period the ill state of my colleague's health had obliged him to leave the island. Indeed some of the evidence given in was to the new Commissioners, for instance, that of Dr. Stobo; which, however, they took some pains to verify, (at least so far as to visit the settlement of free negroes at Long Look) as I had also done.

Instead of giving extracts from the report of Mr. Gilgrass on the moral condition of the African apprentices, I prefer submitting *the whole* for your Lordship's information, and it is as follows :—

“ Report of the moral and religious State of the liberated Africans in Tortola.”

“ From long and close observation made on the African character, I have not perceived any natural deficiency in their intellectual and moral powers. But I have always, and without a single exception discovered in them, an awful and total neglect of moral and religious cultivation. I have not met with one newly imported African, in the course of nineteen years that I have been a missionary, and principally to them, that had even ‘the form of godliness.’ I hesitate not to say, nevertheless, that as God has not withheld from the Africans any one gift which is essential to the ‘natural man,’ though they may be viewed in the lowest degree in the scale of human excellence, they will improve equally with others of the same character, if they may have allowed them sufficient time, a pious tutor that will instruct them both by precept and example, free access to the ordinances of the Christian religion, and be kept under due discipline by our wise laws, and good government judiciously enforced.

“ We have about eighty Africans members of our society in Tortola. Their character is not a little diversified by shades of lighter and darker hue. A few are really pious, and appear without mental reservation devoted to God. Some are only moral in their outward deportment. Others are no more (in religion) than peaceable subjects; and lastly, a few others have been at intervals intemperate in disposition, in temper, in word and in action.

(signed) “ William Gilgrass.”

“ Road Town, Tortola, July 29th 1823.”

“ P. S. The following points should not be lost sight of, that justice may be done to the African character :

- “ 1. Their age at the time they were brought hither.
- “ 2. The almost inflexibility of long established habits, which they had formed in Africa.
- “ 3. The many great disadvantages under which they laboured from ignorance of the English tongue, and the wretched manner they heard it spoken by a large majority of those to whom they were apprenticed.
- “ 4. The notorious deterioration of good morals.
- “ 5. The little or no daily stated attention paid to Bible religion.

“ W. G.”

Such was the official report made to me by the worthy missionary, accompanied by a private letter of the same date, full of kindness, and personal good wishes, which were entirely reciprocal on my part.

I also applied to the clergyman of the parish, who informed me he had no personal knowledge of the African apprentices; and as his account therefore could not be considered as formed from personal knowledge and observation I shall not refer to it, because under these circumstances, influencing its character, and being unfavourable, it does not appear to me fair to either party, that I should produce it in a case affecting *moral* character.

I also drew up a series of questions, which I addressed to the most intelligent persons in the island, who had some experience in the control of similar labour to that exercised by the Africans, but who had no apprentices at that time in their service. The whole of these persons, except one gentleman, Mr. Mark Dyer French, answered the questions with their signatures attached.

Mr. French assigned no reason for withholding his opinions, in answer to my inquiries; but being of a cautious timid character, I suppose that he did not like to give any evidence, which might give displeasure to some of his friends, and of whom my colleague was one.

Other persons however, for whom my colleague expressed great kindness, such as Mr. Carruthers, and Mr. King, answered the inquiries in the manner seen in the Schedules, pp. 344 & 348 where the statements of each person, with his signature, are given; and the originals of which were left with the new Commissioners. The persons also I believe retained a copy of their evidence given to me.

The facts stated, being matters of public notoriety, may be easily confuted if incorrectly given. When mere opinions are expressed, due allowance may be made for any bias contrary to that which influenced the opinions of the missionaries.

None of these gentlemen owned plantations, and some had no slaves. I hope therefore it will be seen, that I took reasonable precaution in collecting the evidence of witnesses, as competent, and as disinterested, as I was able to procure.

On the subject of the moral character of the liberated Africans, I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of the report, which I have submitted from Mr. Gilgrass, the missionary, with reference to that portion of the apprentices, who came under his observation. There were many others, however, of whose general character the missionary could not know much; and of the general moral character of these, some opinion may be formed from the following evidence, collected under the circumstances already stated.

Richard King, esq. senior, member of assembly, justice of the peace, and registrar of slaves, has been twenty-five years resident in Tortola, does not answer the interrogatory as to general character; but speaks as to two individuals, who had been indentured to him, both of whom he got rid of: his testimony is unfavourable as to these two persons.

Richard King, esq. junior, secretary to the island, &c. has resided from his youth in Tortola, never had an African apprentice; has had opportunities of observing their conduct, believes them to be an idle, ill-disposed set, much inclined to drunkenness.

John Gibbes, esq. member of assembly, magistrate, and treasurer, has resided eighteen years in Tortola; has never had an African apprentice; has had peculiar opportunities of observing the conduct of the African apprentices from his "living at that part of the town where they commonly muster to lounge, seek occasional employment as porters, boatmen, &c. to talk, dance, and fight." Mr. Gibbes however speaks favourably of the females as to industry; but as to moral character he states, "both males and females are in general passionate, noisy, and quarrelsome to excess, it requiring little provocation to make them cut and stab each other with knives, or any thing else which may be at hand."

William George Crabb, esq. member of council, chief justice, magistrate, &c. has been in Tortola chiefly from his infancy; has never had an African apprentice; has had frequent opportunities to observe their general character and conduct; has noticed them to be (with some few exceptions) idle and licentious, and has heard many complaints of their dishonesty.

W. R. Isaacs, esq. member of council and magistrate, has been upwards of thirty years resident in Tortola; had once one female apprentice, of whom he got rid; has had but few opportunities to observe their general character and conduct. Some conduct themselves as well as could be reasonably expected, but in general they appear to be a disorderly set of people, possessing many evil propensities.

Mr. John Carruthers, member of assembly, has been about thirty years resident in Tortola; never had an African apprentice; has had an opportunity of observing the character and conduct of a great many African apprentices, both males and females, speaks favourably of the industry of the females; but adds, "Both males and females are passionate and quarrelsome, requiring very little provocation to make them so, and when in that state the first weapon they can lay hold of is taken up in their defence."

Dr. Stobo, member of council and a magistrate, has been about three years a resident in Tortola; has not now any African apprentice; had frequent opportunities of observing the general character of the African apprentices; says, in general, they were indolent, dirty, greedy, much given to thieving, quarrelsome and vindictive.

To these I shall add the evidence of Mr. Belisario, although he had a great number of African apprentices, and to whom he appears to have behaved as a kind and good master. I was extremely anxious to have placed more apprentices with him, but as he uniformly declined receiving them, it appears to me his evidence may be considered as having a certain degree of disinterestedness.

Mr. Belisario, deputy provost-marshal, has been thirteen years resident in Tortola; has thirteen adult African apprentices and four children; has no slaves; has

has had opportunities to observe their character and conduct; does not consider them as naturally disposed to industrious pursuits, but his own apprentices have done their duty tolerably well; attributes his own apprentices being well disposed to his having, "at a very early period, placed them under the pastoral direction of the "Methodist missionaries, in whose society they have all been admitted, and at the "fit time baptized."

Mr. Belisario, having been provost-marshal since 1st July 1821, gave to this commission a return up to July 1823, showing the names of apprentices who had been committed, and discharged from gaol, during that period, with the expense incident thereto, when paid. But I fear it will give a very imperfect idea of the punishment inflicted, as many masters and mistresses saved themselves the expense, and inflicted punishments in such manner as they thought proper, and contrary to such laws as bore on the cases.

The list is also imperfect, for example, in not showing the amount of fees paid on account of the first commitment of Pitt, &c. which were ultimately paid by the Treasury of Great Britain.

EXTRACT from the Gaol Book of Tortola, commencing 1st July 1821; and showing, when Committed, when Discharged, and Amount of Fees paid, as respects African Apprentices.

Name of the African Apprentices.	Date of Commitment.	Date of Discharge.	Fees paid in Tortola Currency.		
			£.	s.	d.
Frederick - - - - -	1 July 1821 -	2 July 1821 -	—	—	—
Betchey - - - - -	4 - ditto -	3 Aug. ditto -	2	1	3
Rebecca - - - - -	10 - ditto -	11 Sept. ditto -	—	3	—
Venus - - - - -	10 - ditto -	11 - ditto -	—	3	—
Bristol - - - - -	15 - ditto -	16 - ditto -	—	3	—
Diana - - - - -	16 - ditto -	17 - ditto -	—	3	—
Thomas - - - - -	4 Aug. ditto -	18 Aug. ditto -	—	16	6
Thomas - - - - -	4 - ditto -	26 Sept. ditto -	—	12	—
Fanny - - - - -	4 Aug. 1821 -	6 Aug. 1821 -	—	4	6
Amelia - - - - -	12 - ditto -	14 Aug. ditto -	—	6	9
Betsey - - - - -	15 - ditto -	16 - ditto -	—	3	9
Maria - - - - -	18 - ditto -	22 - ditto -	—	8	9
Isaac - - - - -	26 Oct. ditto -	27 Oct. ditto -	—	3	9
Isaac - - - - -	13 Nov. ditto -	14 March 1822 -	4	13	9
Cork - - - - -	21 Dec. ditto -	22 Dec. 1821 -	—	3	—
Thomas - - - - -	15 Jan. 1822 -	27 Feb. 1822 -	1	15	3
Fanny - - - - -	23 - ditto -	26 - ditto -	—	—	—
Dick - - - - -	5 March ditto -	9 March ditto -	—	—	—
Abraham - - - - -	30 May ditto -	5 June ditto -	—	—	—
Pitt - - - - -	11 June ditto -	11 July ditto -	—	—	—
George - - - - -	18 - ditto -	5 - ditto -	—	—	—
John - - - - -	20 July ditto -	22 - ditto -	—	—	—
Kate - - - - -	23 Aug. ditto -	26 Sept. ditto -	—	4	6
Rebecca - - - - -	2 Sept. ditto -	3 - ditto -	—	3	—
Thomas - - - - -	20 - ditto -	23 - ditto -	—	5	3
Henry - - - - -	16 Nov. ditto -	17 Nov. ditto -	—	5	3
Aron - - - - -	15 Jan. 1823 -	17 Jan. 1823 -	—	10	6
Viola - - - - -	16 - ditto -	17 - ditto -	—	9	—
James - - - - -	20 Feb. ditto -	24 Feb. ditto -	1	1	9
Pitt - - - - -	24 - ditto -	25 - ditto -	—	7	6
John - - - - -	22 March ditto -	24 March 1823 -	—	4	6
George - - - - -	25 - ditto -	1 April ditto -	—	15	—
Peter - - - - -	18 May ditto -	19 May ditto -	—	6	9
Robin - - - - -	13 June ditto -	18 June ditto -	—	13	6
Hester - - - - -	11 July ditto -	12 July ditto -	—	6	—

True extract.

Tortola, 6th August 1823.

(signed) *A. M. Belisario*, Dep. Pro. Marshal.

With reference to the moral character of the African apprentices and other captured negroes, I now have the honour respectfully to submit my own opinion, formed after much careful inquiry, for the information of your Lordship. There does not appear

appear to me any natural defect in the mind of the African race, which disqualifies them from receiving moral, and religious instruction.

There are, however, physical causes which appear to affect the African and the European race in the West Indies, in producing a decided effect on certain moral feelings and conduct, as connected with the effect of a hot climate, on the habits of steady industry, in certain kinds of labour, which, in that climate, the European race *cannot perform*, and which the African race are rarely seen to perform *voluntarily*, although they, from physical causes, are alone equal to the necessary exertion.

Whilst, therefore, the missionaries have been decidedly successful in subduing many vicious propensities, to be expected in savage life, and substituting in their place, the more Christian virtues of sobriety, honesty, chastity, &c. a regard for truth obliges me to add, that I did not observe the same superiority among the African apprentices, in the active virtues of steady industry, and uniform exertion in mechanical or agricultural labour, although, from so good a foundation, it is to be hoped the other virtues will in time be observed.

Nelson certainly appeared to be one of the free class of Africans to whom praise could be given for *active mechanical industry, according to his own statements of his exertions in a foreign colony*. It appeared, however, that Nelson only attended the Moravian missionaries twice a year.

One of the apprentices in Tortola was Harry Belisario, to whose industry and abilities Mr. Gilgrass alluded. Harry decidedly had the best character for industrious exertion, and mechanical talent among the apprentices; and Mr. Belisario, the master, fairly attributes the circumstance of his apprentices generally being so well disposed to the instructions of the Methodist missionaries, yet Harry was turned out of the Methodist society; and the Schedules, pp. 240 & 241, & 321, show that his gratitude as a servant, and his conduct as a married man, were not under the influence of Christianity or religious principles.

The person whose influence among the African apprentices most nearly approached to that of Harry Ecanya, *alias* Belisario, was George Hivogo, *alias* Allen, of whom his master spoke in these terms: "Is a cook to his master, is an active servant, has been to St. Thomas several times, but always on his master's business; has quarrelled with his wife, and left her; is a very good cook, and useful about the house; very capable of supporting himself." Such a character for active industry, given by a master to George, who is a head man, affords great pleasure; yet it was with pain I personally heard this apprentice, in the Methodist chapel, tell Mr. Truscott, one of the missionaries, (who was admonishing George on account of a charge brought against him,) that "he did not care *a damn* for any man in Tortola." The influence of religion obviously was not great upon this man, yet his activity, and the influence he possessed, were undoubtedly great. To multiply instances of persons of inferior industry and influence, would be tedious and unnecessary. Added to which, it is an ungrateful task even to express a doubt of the extent of a power so benign as Christian instruction, in removing the evil influence of climate, state of civilization, and habits of a people on the agricultural and mechanical industry of any portion of the human race. I cannot, however, permit my ardent desire to have discovered a greater extent of the influence of this sublime principle of action, so far to mislead me, as to state anything, as a fact, beyond what I really and actually observed in person. Time, I hope will afford stronger proofs. But to prevent the injurious inferences which may be hereafter drawn from future failures in this respect, by other missionaries, I have been induced to draw your Lordship's attention to the very limited success in inspiring steady habits of agricultural and mechanical industry by missionaries, whose successful efforts I have personally witnessed in reforming the moral character of the African. Indeed, at one time, from observing the head men, as slaves on plantations, often Moravians, or Methodists, I entertained the hope that the power of religious instruction, even in warm climates, might be most certainly and speedily used as a stimulus to the active virtue of agricultural industry, with as much effect as I witnessed its operation in producing the more passive virtues of honesty, sobriety and chastity, and which I regard as the foundation for the other virtues.

More extended and careful observation has led me to doubt the great *immediate* effect of religious instruction *alone*, on the active virtues, when free from coercion, in a climate and society like the West Indies. My conviction of its great effect in forming the passive virtues, under any circumstances, however, remains unchanged; and this consideration leads me still to hope, that, in due time, combined with other circumstances,

circumstances, the more active virtues may be raised upon a foundation so solid, so pure, and so necessary, whatsoever may be the result.

That regard for truth, which I profess, obliges me reluctantly to acknowledge, that I have not observed the consequence of steady attention to agricultural or other laborious industry, to follow uniformly like cause and effect from religious instruction to the free negroes to any great extent, in the various countries of the torrid zone, and the different missions of Roman Catholics, Moravians, Methodists, and others which I have visited ; but I can also state, that I did observe an improved moral conduct to follow, in the virtues of honesty, sobriety and chastity, &c. among those instructed ; and these may be considered as foundations on which other active virtues may ultimately be formed.

Some of the persons whose opinions and evidence I have submitted to your Lordship in the Schedules, speak of the moral character of the female African apprentices, as being better than that of the males. I also have observed amongst all the missions visited by me in South America, in North America, and in the West Indies, that the females showed a greater desire for religious instruction than the males, and that the same was the case in Tortola among the African apprentices.

I also am inclined to hope from the success of the Wesleyan missionaries in converting and instructing such a considerable portion of these African apprentices, under unfavourable circumstances, that, in due time, the whole may be prepared, under proper regulations, for becoming more useful members of society than they are at present under the defective system, which was framed by persons who did not appear to have been well informed as to the operation of local and physical causes on the measures adopted to enable these Africans to provide wealth, comfort and happiness, for themselves by their own labour, in such a colony as Tortola.

Respecting the measures to be adopted with these Africans when free, I shall hereafter state my opinion, but in the first place it will be necessary to make some further inquiries as to the character of the African apprentices and liberated negroes with respect to habits of steady and continued industry ; because the success of all future measures will be found to depend, in a great degree, upon the views and opinions which may be now entertained on this subject ; and these opinions it is presumed will be influenced by such statements as may be submitted by either of the Commissioners, as being real facts, duly ascertained on the spot, during our official inquiries. And it cannot be concealed, that not only the future welfare of the African apprentices, but perhaps that of the slave population of the West Indies, depends, in some measure, on the principles which on this occasion may be deemed to be most consonant to nature, and truth.

Your Lordship will immediately perceive, that it involves the great question of the comparative productive effect of voluntary, and coerced labour in West-India agriculture, under all the peculiarities, and circumstances, arising from climate, state of civilization, and peculiar habits of a people.

It will be seen in the Report of my colleague, from the manner in which he introduces the value of free labour to your Lordship's notice, that he, as well as myself, felt its importance on the great West-India question. I deem it more consistent with that line of conduct, which your Lordship has a right to expect from me, that I should thus openly state the bearing of the question, upon which I am about to give the evidence, of other persons, and my own, leaving your Lordship to form such inferences therefrom as your superior judgment may adopt.

If the captured negroes and African apprentices, when liberated, have exhibited that degree of good conduct and persevering industry, working regularly and steadily for adequate wages for the benefit of their masters and themselves, requiring no regulations beyond the existing laws for their government, then, my Lord, it may be fairly argued that there can be no difficulty in providing for these persons, and others in their situation, since the mere act of emancipating them at once from individual restraint will promote their own happiness and prosperity, as well as that of the proprietors of the soil, buildings, and machinery, in the West-India colonies.

On these points it is important for your Lordship to have detailed facts, rather than mere opinions ; and I shall therefore proceed to submit certain evidence as to the character, for steady and continued industry, of the captured negroes and apprenticed Africans.

Part of the captured negroes and apprenticed Africans, as said before, are now free from the control of any master ; but the greater part are still under the control of masters or mistresses ; they therefore consist of two classes of persons.

I shall notice the evidence collected by my colleague and myself respecting each class separately.

Respecting the character for steady and continued industry of those captured negroes or apprenticed Africans, *who are now free*, and masters of their own time, I shall speak first.

Of these men, Nelson, a mason, noticed in the Schedules, p. 42, appeared to have exercised the greatest degree of industry ; and he stated that he was worth four dollars in money, and had thirteen shirts and thirteen trowsers, and gets a dollar a day when he works as a mason ; had a garden, containing about the fortieth part of an acre, which he cultivated on Saturdays and Sundays ; and that he lived in the house of a female slave, with whom he cohabited, in the Danish island of St. John, upon a sugar estate. The mode of government, as respected him, therefore, was the colonial law of Denmark, and the system of administering justice there observed on a sugar estate. Respecting this man my colleague makes no particular observation, except that he was one of three young men, in good health, had learned a trade, to which he had served an apprenticeship, and was fully competent to earn his livelihood. I entirely agree with my colleague ; but it does not appear that he was ever apprenticed regularly to any trade, but merely that his master in the Danish island placed him under a mason upon the estate. He declined going to Trinidad on the conditions offered, and his living in a foreign colony showed that he preferred a residence there to the island of Tortola, to the inhabitants of which, therefore, he never can be either an advantage or a burden.

The next person is John Sano, whose case is fully stated in p. 70 of this Report. John declined going either to Sierra Leone or Trinidad upon the specified conditions, but I have since understood that he has left Tortola, and therefore cannot be considered as a person likely to become a burden to it. Being a domestic, his duty in that situation, when in Tortola, merely displaced another domestic from that employment : changes in such employment produce little or no effect on the productive industry of the colony in agriculture. In his case, I also entirely agree with my colleague. The good character of John, as a domestic, and the diminished value of his labour, although a free man, is given in the Schedules, p. 29, and in this Report, p. 71. John appears only to have served a regular apprenticeship of seven years, and not fourteen years, as stated by my colleague.

The third person is William, the relation of John Sano. Of William also, my colleague says, he was a young man, in good health, had learned a trade, to which he had served an apprenticeship of fourteen years, and was fully competent to earn his livelihood.

Respecting this person my colleague and I do not agree. I refer to the evidence of William himself in the Schedules for the Nancy, p. 30 and 31. In the first place he never was indented to any trade, and therefore could not have served fourteen years in learning one. He, however, understood cooking a little, and how to catch fish, as well as how to row a boat, &c. ; he could work in his ground, but gave it up on the goats injuring him, and the people stealing his crop. He had no permission to cultivate ground, but nobody prevented his cultivating the spot he had selected. He had however given the ground up. He has no house of his own, but regards Mr. Grigg as his master, on board of whose shallop he sleeps at night, and does any thing he can for his old master. Mr. Grigg considered himself rather as the protector than the master of William, and appears to have acted with great kindness to him. Mr. Grigg, who gave such clothing as he could afford to William, says, " had he been industrious he could very well have clothed himself." William himself, though a free man, says that Mr. Grigg, whom he considers as his master, " gives him," occasionally " a shilling, or four dogs, to buy food, and that a shilling (or sixpence sterling) keeps him two days : That he had only the clothes he had on, and a checked shirt, and *he has saved no money ; and that he cannot maintain himself in Tortola.*" William was re-examined in the presence of Governor Maxwell, the former evidence being read over to him, and he said he would go to Trinidad, on the conditions offered. Other statements unfavourable to William are omitted ; but for the reason quoted, and William's own assertion, that he could not maintain

maintain himself in Tortola, I cannot agree with my colleague, who says, that he was fully competent to earn his livelihood. In such a case I consider William must know best, what degree of voluntary exertion he was inclined to give; and, from experience, he must have known that such degree of exertion produced, in Tortola, a very poor maintenance.

If my colleague meant, that if William would exert himself like an English agricultural labourer, he might support himself in Tortola, I perfectly agree with him, not only in this case, but in almost every other.

This point, however, is exactly the matter in dispute. Will the African apprentices, when free from individual control, work like English agricultural labourers, or apprentices, who have served their time? My answer is, that judging from facts, I do not think that the African apprentices in the West Indies will work like English apprentices in England; but if they did work like English apprentices, I am perfectly convinced their labour would be valuable to themselves, and their employers. If it be asked, why do not the free Africans in the West Indies work like free men in England, with the hope of bettering their condition, and that of their families? I am prepared, if required, to give an answer to this question; but I prefer, at present, to give a statement of facts, from which your Lordship can form your own opinion. In this case of William, the man himself says, "he cannot maintain himself here," meaning Tortola. My colleague, speaking of William and two others, distinctly says, "they are fully competent to earn their livelihood." I agree with my colleague that William could be made to earn his own livelihood, but in this case it will be necessary to interfere with his civil liberty, as a free man. Then matters for dispute would arise in ascertaining the degree of coercion, or stimulus of encouragement necessary to use for the purpose of making William exert himself to improve his own condition. One fact is obvious, that William does not entertain the same ideas, as to the best mode of increasing his own happiness, which my colleague, and I entertain; and it is equally probable that we entertain different ideas, both as to the necessity of making William exert himself, and as to the mode of making him do so. I cannot hope for your Lordship's approbation of the mode, which I shall hereafter recommend, but by thus showing, in tedious and minute detail, the nature of the difficulties to be overcome, by reference to established facts.

The fourth person in the list of free Africans is Hull, respecting whose industry my colleague has afforded some proofs, which were entirely concealed from me in Tortola; but on examination of them, it appears these proofs of the value of the industry of Hull took place when he was under the coercion of a master; and it does not even appear that Hull's labour had actually produced a value equal to the amount stated, but only that his master, Mr. Dix, had charged Mr. Wynne for such a sum, as if Hull had worked for the value charged. Mr. Wynne did not live in Tortola, but confided in Mr. Dix, who did reside there. It also appears, that my colleague in his Report, has made assertions directly at variance with Hull's own statements, as to his industry at present, when he is entire master of his own time, as stated in p. 72, *et seq.* of this Report, and p. 40, of Schedules. On this delicate point, I can say nothing more, except my real belief, that the bias on the mind of my colleague has induced him to make statements to your Lordship, on this occasion, which he is altogether incapable of doing, on other matters, where his feelings are less interested.

The fifth free person is Boatswain, *alias* Portsmouth, respecting whom the same observations may be made, as in the case of Hull. And as it would be painful, I hope it will not be deemed necessary, to repeat what has been already said in this Report on the subject.

The sixth free African is Jem, of whom my colleague says, "he is evidently unable to provide for himself, being addicted to drinking." My colleague may be right; but the man's own opinion of the matter is very different, as he says in p. 57 of the Schedules, "he can live here in Tortola, so as to get clothes and food enough;" and therefore declined going to Sierra Leone, or Trinidad. Here again occurs the same difficulty, from the African entertaining very different ideas of the best mode of promoting his own happiness, from those persons who are sincerely desirous to promote his welfare, as I am sure my colleague was, and is. I certainly feel the same desire, and yet we also differ in our opinions. In such case I see no satisfactory mode, but in our submitting facts for your Lordship's information,

tion, previous to the submitting our opinions on disputed points. Respecting this person also, I do not wish to say much, as it was he who complained of having been privately examined by my colleague, before he was officially examined by us both, and the affidavits on this unpleasant business are recorded in the Schedules, p. 58 and 59.

The next person is John Charles Degagé, whom my colleague had also examined by himself, and recorded the result; but when the man was required to come before both Commissioners, it was found he had run away from the island.

Of this person, and a letter of mine, my colleague thus reports to your Lordship:—"In a letter of Major Moody to Mr. Wilmot, dated 11th September 1822, this person (John Charles Degagé) was stated to be working in the chain gang at St. Thomas; but this statement appears very doubtful, as two free persons at Tortola have since declared him to be living as their neighbour in Tortola."

If I permitted myself to make any statement to Mr. Wilmot Horton, or to your Lordship, to the injury of the character of any person unjustly, I should conceive myself guilty of a great moral crime, whatever might be the colour or situation in life of the person. This grave charge being preferred against me, respecting this person, I presume to hope for your Lordship's indulgence in allowing me to give my statement of the matter in explanation.

The words of my letter to Mr. Wilmot Horton were,—“Of the sixty-nine slaves who ought to have been useful members of society in a British colony, as free men, I have only been able to collect information as to six. Jem, who was confined in the gaol of St. Thomas, as reported in the enclosures to our letter dated 29th May 1822, and John Charles working in the chain gang at St. Thomas. Neither of these persons, from their present situation, appear to have conducted themselves properly as free men.”

I pass over the singular circumstance of my colleague having fixed upon these two men, Jem and John Charles, to examine privately, before they were officially examined by us both, and one having informed against him, and the other having run away from the island, when he was to appear before me. The letter was written by me on the 11th September 1822, when my colleague was in England; and on the 6th November 1822, he, (for the first time that such a proposal was deemed necessary to require a formal minute,) stated in a minute, “That Jean Charles Degagé, a creole of Guadeloupe, a black man, &c. &c. was now in this island, (Tortola), *where he had been resident several months, and that he should be produced to-morrow, and a record made thereof.*” To which, on the same minute, I replied, “Major Moody received information from Mr. Grigg, that he saw the individual Jean Charles in St. Thomas, and Major Moody will be ready to examine him to-morrow, if Mr. Dougan should think it a more important object than the many important subjects now requiring discussion.” To this my colleague replied, “Mr. Dougan readily agrees to defer the examination of Degagé, the person he has mentioned, until such time as may appear most convenient to Major Moody.” To this, my reply was, “As Mr. Grigg, who saw him at St. Thomas, is not now in town, Major Moody proposes that the man be sent for, to ascertain how far his interests are likely to be affected, by any delay in his examination.”

Five days after this, on the 11th November, in the minute of that day it appears, Major Moody then stated Mr. Grigg had arrived in town yesterday, and as Mr. Dougan had been good enough, on the 6th November, to undertake sending for John Charles, (*who had never appeared before the Commissioners as Major Moody wished, to ascertain the point respecting the convenience of John Charles,*) Major Moody requested Mr. Dougan to state what steps had been taken, and why John Charles had not appeared?”

To this my colleague replied as follows: “On the 5th November he first knew there was such a person in Tortola as Jean Charles Degagé, and from the man himself he learned, that he had been resident in Tortola *several months*; of the circumstance of residence, he only knows it from Jean Charles Degagé's own account, — *it may be otherwise.*” The minute was closed by these observations from me, “suggesting to Mr. Dougan the propriety of their inquiring into the fact whether John Charles was a resident of St. Thomas, as Major Moody has been informed, accompanied by circumstances which made Major Moody believe

“ believe that John Charles had not conducted himself with propriety in the country where he then was. If Major Moody has received, and conveyed wrong information respecting John Charles, whose residence in Tortola for *several months* has been stated by Mr. Dougan, it is proper that it should be corrected, for which purpose some examination is necessary in his opinion, but the time may be that which may best suit Mr. Dougan's convenience.”

As I have distinctly invoked the punishment of being disgraced, and dismissed from His Majesty's service, if I should attempt to deceive your Lordship in the statement of a fact, I hope I may be pardoned, if I go on to prove that my colleague was not justified in the imputation preferred against me, in the case of John Charles. My colleague never produced before me, either the man, or the certificate of Richard Phillips and Thomas Jeff Niles, to which he refers your Lordship, *but without producing it*, to prove an *alibi* in favour of John Charles. On the 11th September, from Tortola, I wrote that John Charles had been in the chain gang at St. Thomas. The fact was told to me at St. Thomas, when I was there in August, and afterwards in Tortola by Mr. J. Grigg, a person who had charge of the African apprentices, and was an officer in the Custom House; and to whom John Charles, *when actually in the chain gang at St. Thomas*, had spoken in the public streets of the town; John King, esq. formerly naval agent, having informed Mr. Grigg, that John Charles was in the chain gang*. There could therefore be no doubt about the fact, in my mind, if I believed Mr. Grigg, who was a person deserving of credit, nor have I now the slightest doubt of the fact. My colleague in November said, John Charles had been “*several months*” in Tortola; but it appears from his Report, that even the certificate of Richard Phillips and Thomas Jeff Niles, *which is not produced*, only says that John Charles “*lived two or three months in the neighbourhood.*” No date is mentioned, although the question is one entirely relating to time, in proving an *alibi*: indeed the question turns upon whether the exact period was precisely *two months*, or exactly *three months*!

On the 12th November 1822, I had a letter from Mr. Cunningham, who had had charge of the police, stating that he had been able to trace John Charles, as having lived about eight days with Jenny Ronan, in a room she rented to him; but he proving a noisy and disagreeable tenant, she was glad to get rid of him without rent. He then remained about five or six weeks, as a tenant of Pero Leonard; but at the end of that time he ran away in the night, without paying his rent. This letter was entered in the official books of the office, and is in the Schedules, p. 11; yet it will be seen, that my colleague did not apply to either of these persons who had rented rooms to John Charles, and who could have given him precise dates and facts. Instead of which, he refers *privately, and without my knowledge*, to two persons, who do not appear to have had any transactions with John Charles, and even their certificate *he does not give, and the precise dates upon which the question turns, are also suppressed*!

The fact appears to have been, that as soon as John Charles learnt, that Mr. Grigg, (who had spoken to him in the chain gang at St. Thomas,) had returned to town, and would be confronted with him, he ran away from Tortola. Yet the evidence of this man, as to his own great industry, and that of others, is submitted, by my colleague, as deserving the attention of your Lordship, because it appeared to favour the ideas which he and many other good men are desirous themselves to believe, and to get the nation to believe the same, notwithstanding the millions of British capital at stake, should they be in error, and yet succeed in their wishes. The facts however in which my colleague relies, your Lordship will observe, in this case, and those of Hull, and Boatswain, were all obtained by him, without my having an opportunity to cross-question the witnesses.

Your Lordship will then perceive, it is not merely a question about the character of John Charles, or my alleged misrepresentation thereof, for since November 1822, my colleague has been meditating on this circumstance, and to the last endeavours to get laid before the Public the statement which your Lordship's fairness and candour, have enabled me to explain, in a manner which I hope will be satisfactory to all who are desirous to ascertain facts alone, and form their own judgment upon them.

Although my own character was concerned, I should not have deemed it necessary to dwell so much on this case of the free man John Charles, were it not calcu-

* Since this part of my Report was written, the arrival of Mr. King in London enables me to produce his testimony to this fact, which is given in the Appendix, pp. 149 and 150.

lated to show, what little reliance can be placed on the accuracy of a collection of individual characters, when the persons appointed to investigate them, proceed therein with such a bias on the mind, as appears to have existed in the case of my colleague, but who certainly possessed many virtues to redeem this defect. It is very natural to suppose, he thought that my mind also was under a bias, and I hope his object was merely to guard your Lordship against the effects of this *presumed* bias on my mind. Under this view of the case, my colleague can only be considered to have done his duty; and as I am perfectly conscious, that I have no bias on my mind, I trust I have not trespassed too long in defending myself from the imputations preferred. Whilst my distinct declaration, that I do not attach much value to mere opinions, but a great deal to the *correct statement of facts*, shows, as I trust your Lordship will perceive, that I do not expect any attention to be paid to my opinions, whatever they may be, unless founded on facts, given in minute detail.

I regret the length to which a clear explanation of my conduct, with respect to considerations submitted to your Lordship in my letter of 11th September 1822, will lead me, but I fear it is unavoidable.

My colleague was in England when I wrote that letter, and he did not rejoin the commission till the latter end of October 1822, when the letter in question was on its way to England. Immediately on my colleague rejoining the commission, I requested him to peruse all the correspondence, (including this letter), and examinations which had taken place in his absence; and to give me his opinion on any point wherein we might not agree. This he very readily promised to do. On the 28th of October 1822, I submitted a minute, as your Lordship had prescribed a form to be observed in the statement of differences of opinion, when the parties could not agree. The words of the minute were:—"Major Moody then asked Mr. Dougan if he had now perused the different papers, and invited him to state how far he agreed with the proceedings of the commission, and the opinions which Major Moody had officially conveyed to Lord Bathurst, or Mr. Wilmot, as recorded in the office during the absence of Mr. Dougan." To which my colleague replied,—“Mr. Dougan has read with deep interest the many intelligent remarks and opinions communicated by Major Moody to Lord Bathurst since Mr. Dougan quitted Tortola, &c. &c. With every deference he submits, that from the first view he has taken of the matter in that correspondence, where much matter is introduced, and no doubt maturely considered by Major Moody, Mr. Dougan is very desirous to give these matters also his serious and deliberate reflection; this he will endeavour to do as soon as possible.” To which I replied,—“Major Moody readily accedes to the propriety of Mr. Dougan's having full time to prepare his objections to such parts of Major Moody's correspondence with Lord Bathurst, in which their opinions do not agree.”

These extracts will show that I had no wish to conceal my opinions from my colleague, and that I invited his objections, because if such objections were founded in truth, I might have an opportunity to correct my errors; and if his objections were founded in error, that I might point out to him, and to your Lordship, wherein the error consisted, according to my knowledge of the subject.

However my opinions may appear to others, I know that the object of my inquiries was solely the discovery of truth, and to act in an open, frank, and soldierly manner. The result however disappointed me, for my colleague *never communicated to me his objections*, nor should I now have been acquainted with them, had not your Lordship been graciously pleased to afford me an opportunity to defend myself.

It was also agreed, and that agreement expressed in the same minutes, that your Lordship's instructions as to the mode of examining captured negroes in our “future proceedings,” should be interpreted as having reference only to captured negroes who *had not* been examined, and consequently that the examination of those already recorded in the Schedules should stand as there recorded, although I expressed my readiness to re-examine those who had been examined by me alone.

Notwithstanding this, I find, in the Appendix to the Report of my colleague, with reference to my letter of the 11th September 1822, an examination taken *privately* by him, without my knowledge, or that of the secretary,—without being recorded in the office books,—and without ever being seen by me, or even heard of, till called upon to sign his Report, or give in one of my own. Yet was I, and also the secretary, on the spot, when my colleague was pleased clandestinely to take the examination

examination in question, to disprove the statements made in my letter, on which it had been agreed, that I was to receive a statement of his objections. I think it must appear that I have not been fairly dealt with by my colleague in this case.

That I may, however, do strict justice to the objections of my colleague, in the case of Christiana Wheatley and her family, I hope your Lordship will pardon my quotation of his own words against me, wherein he says : “ As the examination of these cases occurred during my absence from Tortola, and the report made of them involved the conduct of the late collector of the customs, Mr. Clement, now deceased, and represented the distressed state of some of the liberated negroes, and the abandoned conduct of others, I was desirous of further inquiry ; but it was not until some time after my return to the island that I could obtain from Christiana Wheatley the necessary explanations of the subject, as it related to herself and children. By her statement (see Appendix. H.)* it will appear that she and her three children were imported by her master from St. Croix to Tortola, when they were seized and condemned. This was in November 1821. Mr. Clement, the collector of the customs, treated Christiana very kindly, and employed her in his own service, allowing her 4 s. a day to maintain herself and children. Unfortunately this kind master, as well as his wife, died ; and then this poor woman, finding herself under some difficulty from having three children to support, she bound her daughter as an apprentice for five years to Dr. Ross, now a member of the council, and put her eldest son to learn a carpenter’s trade. Her third child, the youngest, was seized with a severe cold, and bad sore throat. It was attended by Dr. Ross, and wanted neither nourishment nor proper attendance. Whilst it was ill the clergyman of the Established Church came, and prayed with it ; and, when it died, it was decently buried with the funeral rites of the church. She stated her having been married to one of the head slaves of an estate, and that she now earned her living by rearing goats, poultry, &c. by which she procures a decent subsistence for herself and husband. She washes and mends the linen of her son, and gives him occasional presents. In conclusion, she stated, that she speaks the truth when she says that she can very well take care of herself, and assist her children, and is well satisfied with her present situation.

“ This statement made by Christiana herself before me, clearly shows that the collector of the customs, having paid a liberal price for the services of this woman and her children, deemed her fully capable of earning a livelihood for herself and family. It further shows, that she acted most providently after the death of Mr. Clement, in apprenticing her daughter as a domestic to Dr. Ross, a member of the council, for the period of five years only ; and in placing her son with a carpenter to learn that trade. And it shows, lastly, that her child who died, did not perish through want ; but, on the contrary, received every medical care and proper nourishment, and that a degree of religious attention was paid to it, which seldom occurs even among the whites. The clergyman prayed with the child when ill, and performed the funeral rites when it died.

“ There has, therefore, evidently been some mistake or misconception of the case of this woman and her children, as reported by Major Moody ; for it appears that the collector did not improvidently throw Christiana and her children upon the Colonial Society, but took her into his own service, and gave her liberal wages, and that the apprehension that the child had died from want was groundless.”

This report of my colleague to your Lordship, upon a paragraph in an official letter of mine to Mr. Wilmot, dated 11th September 1822, respecting five creole negroes seized on shore at Tortola in the year 1821, I am now called upon to explain.

The case of these five people came under the interpretation of the Act of Parliament, by the African Institution, in a tract printed in 1810, in which, p. 26, it was stated, respecting captured negroes, “ If creoles, they are presumably able to gain their own livelihood, and are therefore to be set at liberty.” The five creole negroes referred to were accordingly set at liberty. The Commissioners, by an official letter dated 6th July 1822, were directed to submit, for your Lordship’s information and consideration, any communications or suggestions which might better enable them to ascertain the wishes and intentions of His Majesty’s government,

* In Mr. Dougan’s report, page 47.

government, on subjects connected with the commission. When this letter was received from your Lordship my colleague was in England, so that being deprived of his able assistance, I could only make a few suggestions and communications from myself on the 11th September 1822, of which a copy is annexed in the Appendix, beginning at p. 135, and marked (B.) And by the perusal of the entire letter it will appear not to have been a specific report, but rather some suggestions, as were required, for your Lordship's consideration; and, I trust, it will appear, that in the part where I noticed the opinion of the African Institution, it was done in a manner perfectly consistent with that respect to which so many eminent individuals were entitled, although it may also appear I did not approve of the practical result of their opinions; and, in justifying myself, it is not undeserving of remark, that subsequent to my letter noticing their interpretation of the clause referred to, in the original Abolition Act, then in force, the objections then stated by me, have been removed in the late consolidation of the Acts for the abolition of the Slave Trade.

To show that I was wrong in my opinion, as to the consequences following the adoption of the interpretation of the Act of Parliament, recommended by the African Institution, my colleague submits to your Lordship many particulars respecting the state and condition of *one* of the captured negroes, named Christiana Wheatley, and her children, to which I also had referred in my letter. Had my colleague, when we were both in Tortola, communicated to me what he has now done to your Lordship, it would have been an easy matter for me to have shown him, and your Lordship, the errors into which he had himself fallen, by his mode of proceeding under the unfortunate bias of his mind, and his eager desire to defend the opinions of the respectable members of the African Institution, who sanctioned the commentary referred to.

As I wish to devote this part of my Report solely to matters involving the character of the captured negroes, who are now free, I shall defer the matter of my colleague which concerns Mr. Clement, the late collector, till the conclusion of this part of my Report, when I shall answer it in a manner which, I trust, will be perfectly satisfactory.

In the first place, I have to observe, that my examination of Christiana Wheatley was officially taken by the secretary and me, in the office of the Commissioners, and it being deemed a "particular case," her evidence was given, as nearly as possible, in her own words, and read over to her when finished. It is given in the Schedules, p. 330.

As George Hughes was a fellow-servant of Christiana Wheatley, it will be seen, in the Schedules, p. 328, that I read over to him the previous examination of his fellow-servant Christiana, *and that he corrected part of it.* This fact must prove, that I had no wish to misrepresent the truth respecting Christiana and her family in the examination, which was duly recorded by the secretary, and *was part of the business on which I invited the opinion of my colleague;* and such opinion, according to the minute made in Tortola, he gave me reason to hope for, but which, for some reason unknown to me, he afterwards withheld, but has now given it to your Lordship; and I shall proceed to defend myself from the imputations therein conveyed.

The first assertion is, that Mr. Clement, then collector of the customs, *allowed* her 4s. a day to maintain herself and children. This assertion is not contrary to any statement of mine. Mr. Clement, as collector of the customs, was allowed to give a certain sum daily to the persons in the situation of Christiana and her children *at the expense of government.* It appears in this case, by my colleague's statement, that 1s. a day to each person was allowed, making 4s. to Christiana and her three children. Mr. Clement died almost immediately after the condemnation; inasmuch that the claim for the bounty money does not appear to have been made by him on the Treasury, or for the money paid from the Custom-House funds, as an allowance to Christiana and her children. The account of Mr. Clement in the books of the Custom-House, however, as regards Christiana Wheatley, her three children, and George Hughes, stands against government thus: "Maintenance of these five negroes, twenty-one days, at 1s. 6d. each per day, allowed by said circular, 7 l. 17 s. 6d.;" so that it appears that he charged government for 2s. a day more than he allowed to Christiana for herself and children, such 2s. per diem being probably for other comforts furnished by him, but which she may have forgotten. The period of her residence with Mr. Clement is omitted by my colleague, and it is left

left doubtful whether 4 s. per diem was the *hire* for her services, or the *allowance* given her by government. Your Lordship will perceive, that had I been present at this private examination by my colleague, I could have immediately pointed out *how the real truth was kept out of sight by his mode of proceeding*. As long as Christiana Wheatley and her children got 4 s. or 6 s. a day from government, certainly they ought to have been perfectly comfortable; but my letter of 11th September had no reference whatever to that point. I distinctly referred to the state of destitution in which Christiana with her children, although *creoles*, were, when first thrown into the colonial family, solely dependent on her own labour, and that of the children; and thence I wished to draw your Lordship's attention to the effects of the interpretation of the law by the African Institution, as it regarded humanity. In doing so, I disclaim all idea of impeaching the humanity of Mr. Clement, deceased, or the African Institution. I merely meant to show, that under their interpretation of the Act of Parliament misery may arise, which certainly was not the intention of the Act, or the wishes of the members of the African Institution.

Indeed my colleague's own observation tends to prove the justice of my remarks on the case in question. For, speaking of the death of the collector, and his wife, when the allowance ceased, my colleague says of Christiana Wheatley as follows: "Then this poor woman *finding herself under some difficulty from having three children to support*, she bound her daughter as an apprentice for five years to Dr. Ross, now a member of council, and put her eldest son to learn a carpenter's trade. Her third child, the youngest, was seized with a severe cold and bad sore throat. It was attended by Dr. Ross, and *wanted neither nourishment nor proper attendance*." On turning to the private examination of Christiana Wheatley by my colleague, she does *not* say the child did not want nourishment. The words implying that the child did not want nourishment, appear to be introduced by my colleague into his Report, without due authority; and the question in a great measure depends on that fact. In the official statement made by Christiana to me, she said "Mrs. Ross consented to receive Bella her daughter, as *she was entirely unable to support her children; and one died, as she had no means to procure it proper nourishment*: indeed she was unable to get it buried, from being too poor to buy a coffin. "This was done for her by Dr. Ross." Such was the account voluntarily, and officially given to me by the woman herself. And it is difficult to conceive a reason why she should have wished to deceive me. Yet my colleague takes upon himself to say, "that the apprehension that the child died from want was groundless." I do not notice the ignorance of the poor creature in receiving during the few weeks she staid with the collector, 4 s. per diem as an allowance, because she might very naturally have considered it as wages, but I have reason to think my colleague had the means of being better informed, had it suited him to make the inquiry. To ascertain whether she did receive the allowance in money or in articles of maintenance, I wrote to Tortola, and the following extract from the affidavit of Christiana shows the state of the case: "*Previous to her condemnation the late Mr. Clement allowed her 4 s. per day, but whether it was from his own pocket or paid by government she does not know*." And finally in a letter from Mr. Clement himself *before the condemnation* of these five slaves, he thus writes to Mr. Wilberforce, dated 10th August 1821: "They sadly want to know *if I do get them free*, whether I will let them serve me;" which clearly shows he did not consider them as servants on wages *prior to condemnation*, when they received the usual allowance, but which allowance is stated in such a manner, by my colleague, as to leave the impression, that the domestic services of Christiana Wheatley were so valuable to the collector of the customs, as to be worth 4 s. a day, whilst it is well known that no such female domestic as Christiana, in Tortola, at the time, received such a sum for wages, as may easily be ascertained by your Lordship by writing to the Governor.

I also wrote to Dr. Ross, whose name is so frequently mentioned; and his letter dated 5th August 1824, tends to prove that Christiana had given me a true account of herself, for it did appear that Dr. Ross had dismissed Christiana, and for the reason assigned by her, from his service, where she had only food and clothing, on his cellar being broken open by the slave with whom she then lived; a fact not noticed by my colleague. Dr. Ross then states: "Some time after this she quitted her then husband, and cohabited with a man named Louis, a worthless character, belonging to Norton's Valley estate, to whom in fact she became a slave, and was reduced to great want and distress; and being unable to support herself and children,"

“ she applied to me to take her daughter to live with me for her food and clothing, to which I assented. A short time thereafter, her youngest child was taken ill ; she was at this period totally destitute and in the utmost misery. I gave her a room to reside in during her son’s illness, and medical attendance, and had it not been for the assistance she received from myself and others, herself and child must have perished from want of sustenance. The child did die. I furnished a board for the coffin, a slave made it gratis, and different persons contributed to the other expenses.”

I leave your Lordship to judge if such would have been the result, if the value of the poor creature’s labour had really been equal to 4 s. per diem in that colony.

I trust I have said enough on this subject to defend myself from the imputation made against me by my colleague.

I have now to inquire into the character of Christiana Wheatley, and her means of maintaining her family. My colleague is mistaken in thinking I apprenticed the son of Christiana to a carpenter : Under the interpretation of the Act of Parliament by the African Institution, I did not feel myself authorized to act, or I would have done so ; for I have been very sorry to learn that the boy has turned out badly, although he appeared to me to be a fine boy, and would probably have become a useful tradesman had he been under proper control at his age. Neither was her daughter apprenticed to Dr. Ross for five years, as asserted by my colleague, on the authority of the mother’s private examination by him. She was merely placed with him, during his pleasure, for food and clothing.

Respecting the industry of Christiana herself, my colleague says, “ That she now earned her living by rearing goats, poultry, &c. by which she procures a decent subsistence for herself and husband. She washes and mends the linen of her son, and gives him occasional presents.”

In the private examination of Christiana by my colleague, she also says, “ These ” (i. e. goats and poultry,) “ and other articles she sends to St. Croix, to her grandmother there, for sale, and receives in return certain articles, which are wanted in Tortola, which she vends ; by which, and the cultivation of vegetables, she earns a decent subsistence for herself and husband.”

I confess I was amazed when I read the change that had taken place in the strength of Christiana, as being able to “ cultivate vegetables,” and providing subsistence for herself and her husband by her industry ; at the same time carrying on a kind of trade with a foreign island. I therefore wrote out to Tortola, and I now submit the affidavit of Christiana herself on all these points :—

“ Before George Richardson Porter, esq. President of His Majesty’s Board of Council for the Virgin Islands ; Chief Justice and Deputy Ordinary of the same ; personally appeared Christiana Wheatley of the Island of Tortola, a slave, seized for a breach of the Revenue Laws, and condemned to His Majesty, who, being sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth and saith,—

“ That when she left Louis, of Norton’s Valley, her former husband, she was in great distress ; she had no property but one hog, which Louis took from her. Since she has cohabited with Jem Hodge, her present husband, who is head mason on the estates of the deceased A. C. Hill, esq. she has been comfortable and well off, for which she is indebted to him ; he is in good circumstances, owns one cow, the milk of which she brings to town and sells, several goats and hogs, and a good stock of poultry ; he also has an excellent ground cultivated solely by himself ; she never works in it, having been brought up in the house, and unaccustomed to field labour ; independent of which, her weak constitution and indifferent state of health would render her unfit for such employment. - She has no property of her own, but one ewe goat given to her by a slave of Mrs. Isaacs, to keep for joint account. She is married to James Hodge by the Methodists, is in society, and attends band and class meetings ; also takes the sacrament. She is indebted to James for all the comfort she now enjoys, he is a good and kind husband, has relieved her from the poverty and distress she was formerly in ; he chiefly maintains her ; but she does what she can to assist him for their mutual support.

“ On no occasion did she ever send either goats or poultry to St. Croix to her grandmother. At different times she did send her a few dried peas, fifteen plan-
 115. tains,

“ tains, two small pumpkins, and five corned bonitas; on the contrary, her grandmother has repeatedly sent her bags of limes and yams; twice a bag of corneal, and once a hamper of earthen pots. The limes, yams and pots she disposed of to advantage; they were presents from her grandmother, and far exceeded in value any return she made for them. No articles were ever sent to her for sale, nor did she ever traffic. Her grandmother was a slave to the hospital serjeant, in Basin, St. Croix, who, on retiring to Denmark some time since, manumitted her in consideration of faithful services. Her son has turned out a great black-guard, and is a source of much uneasiness to her.

“ Previous to her condemnation the late Mr. Clement allowed her 4 s. a day, but whether this was from his own pocket, or paid by government she does not know.”

her
“ *Christiana* ✕ *Wheatley*.
mark.

“ Sworn to before me, the same having been previously read to the deponent, this seventh day of October, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four,

“ *Geo. R. Porter*, President.”

It is doubtless only a clerical error, when my colleague states that the condemnation of *Christiana Wheatley* took place in November 1821; in which case she may have been longer with the collector than it appeared to me she was. In the return from the registrar of the court of Vice-Admiralty to the Commissioners, of which I inclosed a copy in my letter of 11th September 1822, the date of condemnation is given as the 17th August 1821. Also in the letter of the late Mr. Clement to Mr. Wilberforce, dated 10th August 1821, he says, “ I have seized this week one man, one woman, and three children, brought here some time since from St. Croix (47 Geo. 3. c. 36. s. 4.) and the poor creatures are anxiously waiting the event of their trial, *which comes on on Saturday next.*”

The accounts of Mr. Clement also show the period of twenty-one days only, during which they had allowances at the rate of 1 s. 6 d. per day from the Custom-House fund, prior to the condemnation; soon after which Mr. Clement died.

That *Christiana Wheatley* is now better provided for, as the wife of an industrious slave, named *Jem Hodge*, than she was as the mistress of *Louis*, a slave less industrious, when she gave an account of herself to me, can be no reason whatever for discrediting the statement she then made. I trust therefore that I have defended myself against the imputation preferred against me by my colleague in this case.

Another case referred to in my letter of the 11th September 1822, as has been already noticed, was that of *John Charles*, who was stated by me to have been working in the chain gang at St. Thomas, on the evidence of a respectable gentleman.

In opposition to this statement there is not any evidence, but only an attempt to prove an *alibi*, without giving any dates. And *John Charles* himself ran away from Tortola, as soon as the person who could speak as to his being in the chain gang came to town, which circumstance alone appears to be decisive evidence that the fact had been correctly stated to me*.

The other case was that of *Jem*, who was examined by my colleague and myself, and he distinctly admitted before us both, in Schedules, p. 56, that he was found in the fort of St. Thomas by his master. There could be no doubt therefore about his having been in gaol, and in the chain gang. Indeed, previous to his examination, my colleague and I had had official correspondence on the subject.

Having therefore explained such circumstances *as to the character* of the captured negroes who are now free, in which my colleague appears to have differed from me

* After I had written this part of my Report, I heard that the gentleman was in London who had made the communication to Mr. Grigg, of *John Charles* being in the chain gang at St. Thomas. This gentleman, having been navy agent to the captors of the vessel in which *John Charles* was taken, and who actually was residing at St. Thomas at the time, favoured me with an answer to my inquiries, which settles the fact as to *John Charles* actually having been in the chain gang of St. Thomas, as I stated. Vide Appendix, p. 149, marked (C.), (C.) 1, (C.) 2.

me in opinion, I proceed to notice the rest ; and where it does not appear that my colleague had any objections to make, as he has not submitted them.

The next free negro is George Hughes, who, when a slave, had been taught the trade of a carpenter, and worked at one time for wages amounting to five dollars per week, two dollars of which he gave to his master, then living in St. Croix. George, at the age of thirty-four years, is now a free man, and says he can get no employment in Tortola, either as a carpenter or a domestic. He has no house or home, but that of the female slave with whom he lives as her husband.

At the first proposal of being removed to Trinadad he accepted it, but afterwards declined it. This person was very intelligent and an excellent workman, but appeared to be addicted to drinking rum.

The last free captured negro to whom I have to refer is an African female named Cottrine.

From the examination in the Schedules, p. 332, 333, it will appear that this person was very industrious, according to her own statement ; and that, by working what she considered hard, in cutting wood for sale as fuel, she could earn two dollars a week ; and that she also cultivated a piece of ground belonging to her husband, who is a slave ; and that another free coloured woman gives her a house to live in.

Circumstances, however, stated in this Report, p. 71, occurred to prove to me, that she had not accumulated or saved any thing ; and when unable to work, from an injury received, she was reduced to that state of misery, that she must have perished had not the same benevolent physician, who assisted Christiana Wheatley, also assisted Cottrine.

I believe I have now fairly noticed all the chief circumstances affecting the character of the captured Africans, who are free, and entirely masters of their own time in Tortola.

The only one who appears to have actually exerted steady industry, and accumulated any wealth by his own exertion, is Nelson, residing in the Danish island of St. John, upon a sugar plantation, where he had been taught the trade of a mason. He lived in the house of the female slave with whom he cohabited, and had a small portion of ground which he said he cultivated. The property he had accumulated was four dollars in money, and thirteen shirts, and thirteen pair of trowsers ; none of the rest were to be compared with this man for steady industry, as shown by themselves. With the entire command of their own time, not one had a house of their own, either as their own property, or as paying rent for it. Not one of them by their labour contributed one farthing to the colonial revenue in direct taxes, unless perhaps in the rum they might drink. Notwithstanding the great expense which these captured negroes had cost the Treasury, the degree of exertion used by them appears on the whole to have been barely equal to obtain those necessaries of life consumed by the industrious slaves of the island, whose labour however for their masters also contributed greatly to augment the value of the colony to the parent state in proportion to their numbers.

The conduct of these people however appeared, upon the whole, to have been inoffensive, and some were very intelligent. In short, their moral character is deserving of more praise than their character for steady and continued industry, although the results were for their own benefit. Yet it appears from information collected by my colleague, that Hull and Boatswain had worked for considerable sums *when under the control of a master, and George Hughes gives the same account of his exertions* ; but when free, under the circumstances of Tortola at the time, they certainly had not used that degree of exertion *then necessary* to produce the same effects. I think however the relative prosperity of the different periods ought to be considered in measuring the different degrees of exertion used, as well as the effect of the different states of freedom and that of constraint.

It perhaps will appear to your Lordship, that it was an object of the greatest importance to ascertain the character of those captured negroes, who were now free, for steady and continued industry, because on this point depended practical inferences as to the future conduct and character of the other African apprentices when free ; but who, in the mean time, were under the control of masters and mistresses. And it is not easy among persons in their backward state of civilization to determine practically

practically what the character for industry of the person will be when free, who has been *obliged* to work as an African apprentice, or under coercion.

My colleague also, with his penetration, perceived the importance of the subject, but as the results appeared to be unfavourable to his wishes, as they were also to mine, he has unfortunately permitted the bias on his mind to resort to private and unofficial communications, concealed from me at the time; and he having submitted these to try to influence the opinion of your Lordship, it has obliged me, in this tedious manner, to examine statements, which if they had been brought before me on the spot, I could have shown them to be erroneous in a few minutes, and in the most conclusive manner, without subjecting your Lordship to the trouble of reading such dry investigations, as I have been obliged to undertake.

Your Lordship will also observe, that my colleague does not submit the testimony of the missionaries, or any other person, as to the steady industry of Hull, but gives mere opinions, and these in point of fact are directly contrary to Hull's own evidence given before my colleague and myself. In the case of Christiana Wheatley, whom he had examined privately, without my knowledge, she has, as to the points of industry, solemnly contradicted, on oath before a magistrate, the account which he has given to your Lordship, as her private statement to him.

I hope your Lordship will pardon my repetition here of my sincere conviction, that my colleague would be incapable of such a mode of proceeding in any other case than this, where his feelings misled his judgment. I dare not deceive your Lordship, but my feelings also prompt me to wish, that the truth were otherwise than it is with these poor free Africans, and their descendants, as to steady industry.

I now proceed to the character of those African apprentices, who are still under the control of masters and mistresses, for steady and continued industry, such as is seen among similar persons in England, where they are under the stimulus of obtaining maintenance by their labour, whereas African apprentices are under indentures, and a certain degree of coercion.

In the collection of the evidence of other persons than masters and mistresses on this subject, my colleague has adopted the opinion that the Wesleyan missionaries, (who had little or no practical experience in the control of mechanical or agricultural labour in the West Indies) were not only the best qualified, but the most disinterested persons.

On the other hand, whilst I thought the Wesleyan missionaries eminently well qualified to give evidence as to the moral character of the captured negroes when under their pastoral care, whether free or indented, yet I must honestly confess from my own personal knowledge of the good missionaries themselves, who possessed neither mechanical knowledge, nor experience in the actual control of the labour of persons like these negroes in West-India agriculture, I certainly never could have even imagined that they deemed themselves qualified to give useful and intelligent opinions as to the mechanical, agricultural or other habits of steady industry of the captured negroes, because they did not appear to understand such matters. The clergyman of the Church of England residing on the spot candidly confessed this, and I was quite certain he was as well qualified to form a useful and intelligent opinion as the missionaries. But indeed I did not consider the mere expression of opinions on a *practical* question, as being of much importance to your Lordship, unless when in connection with, and supported by facts, or circumstances alleged to be facts. It was the investigation of the truth of these alleged circumstances that chiefly interested me, because I considered that it was upon the basis of truth alone that any legislative measures could be safely taken, or political opinions satisfactorily formed, on this important question. Now as the influential persons among some of the missionary societies in England, far removed from the West Indies, and of which they could only judge by the reports of others, had distinctly connected the abolition of slavery with their religious opinions, (with the truth or error of which my duty as a Commissioner was no way concerned,) any matter connected with the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, which might hasten or retard that event, had a direct connection with the religious belief and opinions of the missionaries. They saw, as every body must see, that one political impediment to the speedy accomplishment of what was deemed by them to be conformable to the revealed will of God, arose from the fears and belief in the West Indies, whether well or ill founded, that when the Africans, or their descendants, now in slavery, should be emancipated,

emancipated, that the British capitalists in land, buildings and machinery, would be unable to get the free negroes to cultivate produce having exchangeable value in Europe for such wages, as would afford a profit on stock to the European capitalist, holding West India property. Now this political impediment to the performance of a religious duty, would be removed if the free negroes for such wages would in point of fact do the same work for the capitalist in lands, buildings and machinery, as he did before, as a slave for maintenance, &c. The missionaries therefore, in common with all men entertaining similar religious opinions, were under a decided bias to propagate opinions favourable to their wishes, and religious doctrines, and which would, in their pious frame of mind, be not the less strong, because no pecuniary interest prevailed; for with them the feeling of interest would not have weighed as a grain in the scale against a sense of religious duty, and the respect due from them to the opinions of those pious individuals, who possess a leading influence in the missions on which they were sent.

As however my colleague and they appear to have entertained peculiar opinions on this point, I shall examine the facts to which they refer, as the ground of their opinions, and which it would have been more satisfactory for me to have personally examined with them, and my colleague in Tortola, had they been pleased to have given me the opportunity.

Respecting the character of those Africans, still apprentices, for steady and continued industry, the evidence of the missionaries as privately obtained by my colleague, is chiefly confined to an *extract* from that furnished by Mr. Gilgrass, who says: "I shall now notice briefly their progress in the mechanic arts. Where a fair trial has been given to the Africans, have they failed in any one instance? I know of none, but I could name men among them, who are well able to build good houses from first to last, without the interference of any other man; and surely if some Africans can with so much facility acquire the art of framing and putting up houses, others would no doubt, if they had been properly instructed, learn to make a shoe, a coat, or a saddle."

Your Lordship will immediately perceive that the above observations apply to the capacity of the African to learn trades, and not to the exercise of steady and continued industry in these trades when taught, which is the important object of inquiry. Mr. Gilgrass then proceeds to assign reasons why the apprentices "at times manifested wrong tempers and used wrong words:" because, says he, they found "they were not taught the art or trade mentioned in their indentures, but were commanded to do any thing besides," and hence "they were naturally disappointed;" and in answer to some alleged charge of being idle and ungrateful, Mr. Gilgrass shows that any man in their situation would not do more "than the African will do, for the sole interest of other men, who are to him nothing more than the law makes them, masters, if not worse. All men labour for self and relative interests, for food, raiment, habitation, &c. Where no hope of obtaining the necessaries and comforts of life can be entertained by the labouring classes, is it any wonder that they should relax their arduous labours?"

Here also, your Lordship, instead of practical evidence as to the steady and continued industry of the African apprentices, will perceive only arguments why such conduct ought not to be expected from the African apprentice, from the imperfection of the system adopted towards them. I do entirely agree with the missionary as to the imperfection of the system adopted, as showing great ignorance of human nature in a backward state of knowledge and civilization, in the torrid zone, as well as ignorance of the nature of our colonial institutions. But this information, though useful, does not give an intelligent and clear statement as to the character of the people for steady industry; further than by explaining why the degree of industry should not be greater, it leaves the impression that, in point of fact, the degree of exertion generally applied is not great. This may not be the opinion of Mr. Gilgrass, but he leaves it to be so inferred, according to my comprehension.

Now had ever I been informed, when in Tortola, either by the missionaries or Mr. Dougan, of the evidence given to him alone, I should have been able to clear up all these doubts, as I should have been most anxious to have ascertained from Mr. Gilgrass all the facts which influenced the low state of industry among the *free* captured negroes, respecting whom not one word is said; but yet they actually were masters of their own time, were enabled to work for "self and relative interests." Their case, and their low state of industry cannot be explained on the same principles as that of the apprentices under the coercion of masters.

As it is, I am unable to discover the statement of even one detailed specific fact, as to the degree of steady and continued industry exercised by the African apprentices, in the evidence of the missionaries. I do not mean to say that such a detailed specific statement could not have been given. I am perfectly convinced that the apprentices were better servants in proportion as they were better Christians, and therefore, independent of positive and moral obligations, it was most desirable that they should have had religious instruction. But the anxious object of my inquiry always was to ascertain when the stimulus of coercion by a master is removed from the apprentice, on his becoming altogether free, what degree of force will moral instruction have in supplying the place of coercion, under circumstances where the ordinary stimulus of the necessity for providing maintenance and ordinary comforts only produce a small quantum of exertion, and where the force of the same stimulus of necessity is so much less than in England: indeed, where the stimulus of necessity varies in each West-India colony. Perhaps it is greater in Tortola, Anguilla, Antigua, Bahamas and Barbadoes, although from different causes, than in the other West India colonies.

Respecting all these subjects of such great interest I had never failed to inquire wherever I went.

I speak it with every respect for the religious character and attainments of the missionaries, as well as my colleague, when I say, I found they were altogether unable to form intelligible and enlightened views on this intricate and difficult question, as it appeared to me from their want of practical knowledge in the actual government of negroes, and the control of their labour under different circumstances in West-India mechanical and agricultural labour, even independent of any presumed bias on their minds, of which they themselves might be unconscious.

I was somewhat surprised, therefore, to find that Mr. Gilgrass, as a Wesleyan missionary, had been induced to give evidence bearing on this difficult political question, which evidence the worthy missionary had not given to me, with whom he always appeared ready to communicate freely. In the exercise of my discretion, with reference to the situation of Mr. Gilgrass, as a most useful and respectable missionary, I should not have deemed myself justified in submitting merely his opinions on a difficult political question dependent on practical knowledge. Had he however communicated to me any facts bearing on the question, I should have deemed them very valuable.

Instead of giving detailed specific facts, as to the great object of inquiry, Mr. Gilgrass states, that he "could name men among them (the African apprentices) who were "able to build good houses from first to last without the interference of any other man." Here is the assertion of a positive fact, as to the capability of the Africans, which, with me, is not the matter of doubt. My doubt is, whether, when free, the Africans in the West Indies, where the stimulus of necessity is so much less than in Europe, will exert themselves, when in good health, with that degree of steady and continued industry, in agriculture, which, with habits of economy, will enable them to *save capital to prevent their becoming a burden to the community wherein they may reside*, contrary to the Act of Parliament in that case made and provided; and that this can be done with advantage to the rest of the community. I do not doubt but that they will, when in good health, exert themselves, in some way or other, to obtain subsistence.

But even in such a case, as that referred to by Mr. Gilgrass, concerning the capacity of the African, it is singular that he, but especially my colleague, should have concealed any ground of their opinions from me, particularly of a mechanical nature, because they both knew I was an officer of engineers, and might be supposed to know something about the capacities and qualifications of carpenters, like those whom Mr. Gilgrass *could, but did not name*. Yet neither Mr. Gilgrass nor my colleague pretend to be mechanics, or judges of mechanical labour. Indeed in such a case I should have supposed that the evidence of an intelligent carpenter on such a positive fact, as a *good* house being put up from first to last, would, in such a case, have been not only free from prejudice, but would have been more satisfactory to your Lordship than that of Mr. Gilgrass, however respectable his character may be as an exemplary Methodist missionary. I am particularly anxious, my Lord, that my favourable opinion of him in this character may not be considered as lessened, when I presume to doubt of his qualifications to judge of the progress made by the Africans in mechanical, or agricultural knowledge and industry. Respecting agricultural

agricultural industry indeed all the missionaries are silent. I do however perfectly agree with Mr. Gilgrass, that persons capable of putting up houses, and that even in a clumsy manner, will also be able to make shoes, coats and saddles, when properly instructed. This however, my Lord, would lead to no practical consequences in Tortola, unless there are inducements to make the Africans, when free, continue steadily to work at these trades; and that there is also in Tortola a capital, and a wish to purchase, or hire the labour of persons when so instructed, to be employed in making more of those mechanical productions, referred to by the missionary, than are now produced, without the aid of these liberated Africans. It will be observed that neither by the missionary, nor my colleague, is there the slightest proof brought forward that such mechanic labour could be duly rewarded in Tortola. Their opinions have no reference to *practical facts for the future welfare and employment of the Africans, with reference to the actual state of the present population, and means of rewarding labour in Tortola.*

Mr. Gilgrass, instead of giving facts as to the steady industry of the Africans, expressed his opinions in these words: "It is said they are idle and ungrateful. Remove from the mind of any man those objects by which he may be excited to work hard day after day, to the end of ten or fourteen years; see how much he, any more than the African, will do for the sole interest of other men, who are to him nothing more than the law makes them, masters, if not worse. All men labour for self and relative interests, for food, raiment, habitation, &c. Where no hope of obtaining the necessaries and comforts of life can be entertained by the labouring classes, is it any wonder that they should relax their arduous labour?"

Your Lordship will perceive that this reasoning of the missionary assumes, that those stimuli to exertion, economy, and good order, which distinguish societies in an advanced state of civilization and population, like England, may *practically* and *immediatly* be applied to the case of the African apprentices in the West Indies.

The point *in doubt* with me, is *assumed* by him, and my colleague *to be true, without affording any evidence thereupon.*

The argument certainly proves that the system of apprenticeship was defective, in which I entirely agree; but it does not afford any *practical help* in overcoming the great difficulty in ascertaining the probable extent of their future industry when free.

A knowledge of human nature, and local circumstances, when obtained by careful inquiry, would show the great difference which exists between the situation of the labouring agricultural classes in England, for example, and the free Africans, or their descendants, dependent for subsistence upon their agricultural labour in the West Indies, on the point of relative character for steady and continued industry, arising from the operation of many causes. It appears to me, therefore, that *practically* we ought not to expect the same effects, until we have first shown that the same causes are in operation. In short, that we can only reason safely from facts given in very minute detail, so as to admit of their truth being ascertained by persons only desirous to ascertain the real truth, and show the uniform connection between cause and effect, in those cases submitted as facts. Instead of which reasoning from assumed analogies is adopted, but without first showing all the circumstances on which the correctness of such analogies must depend. When these circumstances are not similar, all reasoning from the assumed analogy is erroneous.

To ascertain the circumstances of this want of connection between cause and effect, by a careful and minute examination of real facts bearing on the question, was precisely the object I always had in view. The missionary and my colleague avoid the statement of precise facts, and give opinions only on data which is merely assumed to be true by them, as justifying certain inferences, or opinions which they draw from such assumed data. On the other hand I consider that these inferences of theirs would be greatly modified, if not entirely altered, by inquiries as to the facts respecting the labour of persons like the Africans, who are now entirely free. And as I was ever anxious to inquire into all such facts as bore on these questions, had I for one moment ever imagined that Mr. Gilgrass deemed himself qualified to give a decided opinion, founded on facts, upon such an important political question, I should have been delighted to have inquired of him into all those circumstances, or facts, from which his inferences or opinions were deduced; and, upon the spot, I should have investigated how such reasoning, or opinions of his, applied to the case

of those other apprentices, now entirely liberated, who had no masters, and therefore could have no person worse than a master to work for; the whole of whose labour being "for self and relative interests, for food, raiment, habitation, &c." I should have ascertained how many hours in the day such people laboured for themselves, and how many days in the year, and what was the result of their labour, that I could *see* and *examine, particularly their fields or gardens*. I should have had his aid to explain how it happened that such persons were frequently in greater poverty than those who had good masters, such as Mr. Belisario, Dr. Donovan, &c. I should have inquired why, with land for little, (and when removed from town for no rent,) free persons paying no taxes, having no masters, with the certainty of selling or consuming whatever they might produce, yet their "arduous labour" was so relaxed, as not to procure them more comforts of "food, raiment and habitation" than was obtained by the more industrious of that class of persons, who had to labour for the interest of other men, though they might be "what the law "makes them, masters, if not worse." Such inquiries would have elicited facts the most interesting, because of the greatest importance in showing the influence of those moral and physical causes which operate upon the free Africans, and their descendants, in the West Indies, to an extent so far beyond what they do in Europe, that a person who has not had practical experience, as I have had, can only form a very imperfect idea of their effect on the formation and distribution of wealth, comfort, and happiness, among such persons, when living in agricultural colonies in the torrid zone. I do not allude to the industry, or prosperity of free coloured persons, having slaves to work for them, but only to those, who support themselves by their own labour in agriculture.

Where the missionary, as in this case, merely gives opinions without facts sufficiently detailed to enable a person to trace clearly the connection between cause and effect, I cannot consider such reasoning as evidence to satisfy your Lordship, but merely that kind of declamation, addressed to the feelings, which in this question never fails to have a powerful effect upon those whose judgments are more influenced by their feelings than by their reason.

Notwithstanding this, I consider the statement of every fact in this case as valuable, because it is only on facts that your Lordship can feel safe in ascertaining the effects of legislative measures to provide for the future happiness of the African apprentices, in connection with the welfare of the colonies in which they may be placed.

Mr. Gilgrass's testimony is decisive as to his ignorance of any case of failure where a fair trial has been given to the Africans in learning the mechanic arts; but it would have been more satisfactory had he specified distinctly the instances of success, not because the fact is doubted, but because all the particulars of the fact would then have been known, so that fair inferences could be drawn by your Lordship how particular cases could be the foundation of future general regulations. Instead of which I am left to point out cases of failure, from which no practical good can arise, whilst endless disputes would be formed as to the trial being a *fair* one or *not*; such disputes only tending to inflame the passions, and excite the feelings, like the substitution of declamation, for evidence as to facts.

My inquiries have been, perhaps, as extensive as those of Mr. Gilgrass, because, previous to my appointment as a Commissioner, I had the direction of thousands of the African race, and their descendants; and I have known many instances of success in particular trades, and many instances of failure in others, under circumstances nearly similar.

The only fact brought forward, by Mr. Gilgrass in his evidence, as deserving notice, is where he says, "I could name men among them who are well able to "build *good* houses from first to last, without the interference of any other men." The names of the apprentices are not given, but on comparing the Schedules there are no persons to whom these terms could apply, but the apprentices of Mr. Belisario, who unquestionably was a liberal, a kind, and an indulgent master; and his apprentice, Harry, did superintend the framing, and putting up of a small wooden house, (which I saw,) in a style that would have been done in England by an intelligent carpenter, who had been about half the time at the trade, if my experience as an officer of engineers, entitles me to give a mere opinion on the subject, which is purely mechanical, in opposition to that of Mr. Gilgrass.

No other apprentices put up a framed house. Let us now examine how the case stands with this carpenter. Harry Ecanyo is the most industrious apprentice in Tortola, and is the acknowledged chief of all the Mocco and Ebo African apprentices in the island. His examination is in the Schedule for the Atriviedo, N^o 5, pages 240 & 241, and was recorded by my colleague himself. By the Schedules it appears Harry Ecanyo, better known as Harry Belisario, was indented as a domestic, but was taught the trade of a carpenter, and employed as such. His master's own words, as recorded, are, "Has been six years at the carpenter's trade, and may be accounted a *second-rate carpenter*. His character for industry is very favourable indeed in the Schedules. He, however, "complained against his master for not "allowing him clothes enough, but admitted, since 1st of June last, he had "received two suits of clothes and a jacket, and hat, and received from his master "1½ dollar per week for food, and has his time from four o'clock in the afternoon "of every day."

Under these circumstances my colleague and I agreed in recording the following remark:—"The Commissioners are of opinion that Harry has been well treated, "clothed, and fed by his master. Although he appears to be an industrious, "deserving man, yet he does not possess a grateful feeling for great services "rendered by his master." Such was the opinion of my colleague and myself at the time, in June 1822, and I still entertain the same opinion.

What the great services were which Mr. Belisario rendered to Harry were not stated in the Schedules at the time of examination; but some months afterwards Mr. Belisario, in a letter to the Commissioners, dated 31st October 1822, preferred "a charge against his head man, Harry, for neglect of duty, and very insolent "conduct towards Mr. Depinna, the gentleman under whose immediate charge all "Mr. Belisario's African apprentices have for some time been placed."

The letter in the Minute then continues to attribute the conduct of Harry, and another named Tom, to the previous conduct of another apprentice of his, named Frederick, all carpenters, and the persons alluded to by Mr. Gilgrass. Two females also, named Jane and Venus, were complained against, but their case will not be noticed, as they have not been referred to by Mr. Gilgrass.

On this occasion Mr. Belisario gave the following evidence to the Commissioners, as recorded in their Minutes, dated 5th November 1822:—"Mr. Belisario further "stated, each of his apprentices, on an average, is at the annual expense to him of "from ninety to one hundred dollars; that Harry is allowed in cash thirteen dollars "a year more than the rest." And again he says, "That expenditure is exclu- "sive of about twenty-five dollars each for the first purchase of tools for the car- "penters, which can be kept up at eight dollars per annum; that the annual "productive labour of the carpenters would be about 100 dollars, as *second-rate "carpenters*."

The result of the complaint, as is known to your Lordship, was, that Harry expressed contrition for his conduct, and I interceded for his forgiveness, which was readily granted. My colleague did not think Harry was guilty, though Harry had expressed contrition for his conduct; and under this impression, and the probability that he would be a long time standing, my colleague invited him to sit down whilst the African apprentice made his defence against the charges of neglect of duty and insolent conduct before us, as magistrates and commissioners, as well as the collector of the customs and the secretary. Of this mode of proceeding, as regarded the apprentice sitting down whilst he made his defence, I pointed out the impropriety to my colleague, as it appeared to me subversive of those ordinary regulations which prevail in most societies, where the authority of masters over slaves and other servants forms part of the law of the country, and he promised that it should not occur again; and it is only now referred to, as an incident strongly showing the bias on the mind of my colleague, when one of the African race was concerned with a white person.

The facts of the case respecting Harry, one of the most industrious and one of the most clever of the African apprentices, show that the value of his productive industry, after six years instruction as a carpenter, so nearly equalled the expense of his maintenance, whilst under the control of a master, that the difference, in his peculiarly favourable case, is only twenty-three dollars to his advantage, supposing him to be at the lowest scale of expense to his master, and that his talents and industry

industry deserved the extra reward of thirteen dollars above that of his fellow-apprentices. It is such facts as these, and others showing the peculiar advantages which Mr. Belisario had to render their labour productive, which other persons had not, that enable us to form satisfactory opinions, as to the value of the industry of the African apprentices, and the probable result when they become free from the restraint of a master by having served their period of apprenticeship.

In the case of John Sano, already referred to, he also got at one time eight dollars a month for a short period on board a sloop, but when not employed there, Mr. Belisario, who appears, in the Schedule of John Sano's examination, once to have given him four dollars a month, with clothes and maintenance, yet before I left the island the same master could only afford to give the same servant two dollars a month, with clothes and maintenance, without having any reason to complain of the servant. Hence we may form some idea of the probable value of Harry's labour when free, and which his master at one time thought was equal to the sum received for a short period by John Sano, viz. eight dollars a month.

From such facts, therefore, it must clearly appear, that there are some other circumstances than those so loosely and imperfectly noticed by the missionary, which influence the value of the industry of the apprentices, even when free, as John Sano is, and "labouring for self and relative interests, for food, raiment, habitation," &c.

It may be said that John Sano, though free and altogether liberated, yet he is not a carpenter, and it was to carpenters alone that Mr. Gilgrass alluded.

In this case, I refer your Lordship to the facts collected in the Schedule, p. 328, relative to George Hughes, a creole of Tortola, but condemned to the Crown for having been brought, without being reported to the Custom-House, from Santa Cruz to Tortola by his master, an English carpenter, who was employed after the hurricane of 1819 in repairing and building houses. George Hughes in point of knowledge and intelligence was far superior to Harry Belisario; he had been a house servant to Mr. Mark Dyer, a lawyer in Tortola, from whom he passed to Mr. William King, a merchant, and whom he accompanied to England. Finally, he was placed with a carpenter to learn the trade, and served two years, when his progress was such that his time was given him, by which was meant, whatever wages he could get beyond eight dollars a month were to be his own, and he states that sometimes he made twenty dollars a month. This man therefore, after being two years at his trade, made as much per month as Harry is expected to make at the end of his long apprenticeship. The cause of this, however, is not to be found in the relation of master and servant, but in the relative prosperity of the Danish island of Santa Cruz, and the English island of Tortola, at the times mentioned. Finally, after four years experience as a carpenter, George Hughes was sold to Mr. Wheatley, an English carpenter, with whom he worked seven years before he was liberated in the manner mentioned.

George Hughes, therefore, had been, when examined, eleven years employed as a carpenter, and in every respect was a superior workman to Harry Belisario, who had only been six years at the trade.

I shall now show what was the state of George Hughes when released from those restraints alluded to by the worthy missionary, and when George had only to labour "for self and relative interests, for food, raiment, and habitation, &c." where the "hope of obtaining the necessaries and comforts of life" was perfectly unchecked by any master being placed over him. George himself on this point says, "He has been now free about a year, during five weeks of which time he has been working with Mr. Wheatley, his former master, who gave him food but no pay, in consequence of which he left him. Since that period he has been unable to get any work as a carpenter, or to be hired as a house servant. He has no house, or home, but that of the woman with whom he lives, named Mary Ann, a slave belonging to Mr. George's lower estate, near the town; that he sets a fish pot, and catches fish, and cuts wood, which he sells in town; sometimes he catches more fish than he can eat, and is able to sell from eight to ten dogs worth, and sometimes he sells twenty-four dogs worth of wood: he has lately been very sick, but had no person to take care of him except the slave with whom he lives; that he finds it very hard to make a living, and has found his greatest support as a fiddler at dances, but he is now without a fiddle."

Such is the account given of himself by an intelligent creole negro, now liberated at the age of thirty-four years, with eleven years experience in the trade of a carpenter, who when a slave, and obliged to give his master eight dollars a month, when he had been only two years at the trade, not only accomplished it, but sometimes made twelve dollars a month besides for himself. The same individual in the prime of life, like Hull, (only the latter was brought up as a cooper,) has no house of his own, and lives miserably poor, by occasionally fishing, and cutting firewood. Hull's labour, when under the coercion of a master, is stated by my colleague to have been very valuable, amounting to 150*l.* per annum; but now the industry of both these men, when free, and having all their time at their own command, is confined to a support and maintenance not equal to that of many of the industrious slaves upon the island.

Facts clearly showing the connection between cause and effect in many similar cases would be of the utmost importance; but it appears that the bias on the minds of the missionary and my colleague prevented their taking an extended and proper view of this most important subject; for if two such intelligent persons had devoted themselves diligently to examine facts fully, fairly, and free from the previous bias on their minds, and had consulted practical persons on points upon which they were ignorant, I am perfectly convinced such an examination would have shown them, that the object which they sincerely desire to see accomplished, is rather impeded than promoted by the substitution of declamation for minute, and detailed statements of facts, because the nation will one day or other discover that on this question, they have been deceived and misled by good and benevolent men.

Having submitted to your Lordship these considerations on the nature of the evidence produced by my colleague, as showing the state of the liberated Africans in Tortola with respect to steady industry, I have now the honour to submit such evidence as I also had collected, and which at the time was duly recorded by the secretary.

Richard King, senior, member of the Assembly, registrar of slaves, and justice of the peace:—Speaks as to two African apprentices of whom he had got rid; one, because after having been taught to be a washerwoman, she became idle, and indifferent about her work; and the other, because he was a thief. And speaking generally, he says, “he has had every opportunity to observe the conduct of the Africans as to industry, which is very uncertain.” He has “observed several of them, whose masters and mistresses were not able to maintain them, go to the interior of the island to cut grass, wood, and pick wild fruit for two or three days in the week, to bring them to town to sell, and loiter the remainder of their time till their necessities required their going out again.” He further says, “they would not be able to support themselves, as they have not been brought up to cultivate the soil, nor do I think they would be inclined to do so, unless they would be impelled by some authoritative mode.” “The generality of the free people in these islands,” he continues, “are miserably poor; I believe occasioned from indolence and want of industry.”

Richard King, junior, colonial secretary, says,—He never had any African apprentice; owns no slaves; has had an opportunity of observing the conduct of the Africans generally, and believes them to be a lazy, ill-disposed set; there are few that cultivate land, and they appear not inclined to agricultural pursuits; does not believe they would be able to support themselves by regular industry, as few have been brought up to agriculture; generally speaking, the free black people are in very low circumstances.

John Gibbes, treasurer of the island, &c. says,—He never had any African apprentice; has had peculiarly good opportunity of observing the conduct of the African apprentices; says many of the females possess steady and persevering industry, exerting themselves as washerwomen and house drudges, and earning more than their daily wants require. The males, with some few exceptions, are by no means so industrious, their exertions seldom extending beyond the obtaining the means to satisfy their immediate wants. They will not, if left to themselves, remain at hard labour, be it ever so profitable to them, many days together. Those apprentices who live in and about the town have little or no time for agricultural pursuits; a small piece of land, not exceeding three acres, is cultivated by ten or twelve of them, apprenticed to one person; very little of their time is bestowed upon it. Under the present circumstances of these islands, he thinks the Africans, withdrawn from

from the control of their masters and mistresses, would, with some few exceptions, be both unable, and unwilling to support themselves by any honest means. A considerable number of free people of colour, who formerly lived by their industry, have already emigrated to the foreign neighbouring islands to seek a living. The situation of those who remain is by no means enviable.

William George Crabb, chief justice of the court of Common Pleas, master and examiner in Chancery, member of Council :—Never had any African apprentice ; has had frequent opportunities to observe the character and conduct of the African apprentices ; has noticed them to be, with few exceptions, idle and licentious ; does not think that agriculture is with them a favourite employment, or that their industry, if left to themselves, would be regular and continued in any employment. Some of the African apprentices have been indented to persons who could not always afford them maintenance ; these Africans, with others who have no masters or mistresses, (no person who would be approved of by the collector being willing to have them as servants,) are permitted to go almost at large, and they seem rather to trust to chance for a precarious supply, arising from any casual employment that may offer for a day or two at a time, than to engage in any fixed or constant kind of labour. He knows that a small number of the African apprentices have cultivated land allotted to them by their masters ; but as to the quantity, the time bestowed on such cultivation, or the produce thereof, he is not sufficiently informed to state with any degree of precision, though he is inclined to think that the cultivation has not been extensive, nor the return great.

His opinion is, that the African apprentices, if altogether free from the control of masters and mistresses, could not procure a comfortable support for themselves in Tortola ; and as house servants, not one in fifty would be employed ; that the free people in the island dependent on their own industry in trades or agriculture are, “ generally speaking, miserable in the extreme.”

William Rogers Isaacs, member of Council, puisne judge in the court of Common Pleas, magistrate, &c.—Had not at the time of giving his evidence any African apprentice ; had one, of whom he got rid, as she did not conduct herself to his satisfaction ; has had but few opportunities to observe the general character and conduct of the African apprentices ; does not think them inclined to agricultural labour, or that their industry, if freed from all interference, would be steady and continued in any employment. Some few of the African apprentices have land allotted to them in the neighbourhood of the chief town, and which land they partially cultivate ; but he is unable to state with accuracy the time bestowed on such cultivation or the produce thereof ; is inclined to think that only a trifling crop is yielded ; is confident that the African apprentices, if set at liberty to employ their time as they may think proper, would not be able to obtain by their labour, in an honest way, what would be sufficient to give them a comfortable maintenance in Tortola ; gives a most unfavourable account of the comforts enjoyed by the free black people dependent on their own industry for support.

John Carruthers, member of Assembly,—Has had an opportunity of observing the conduct of a great many of the African apprentices, both males and females ; never had an African apprentice. Many of the females were industrious ; the males (with some exceptions) are not so industrious ; their exertions extend very little beyond what may be necessary to obtain the means of satisfying immediate wants. Has not had much opportunity of observing the result of their application to agriculture ; about town, three or four acres of ground are planted in peas, potatoes, cassava, pumpkins, &c. but he cannot state the number of African apprentices employed in cultivating the ground, the time allowed them for that purpose, or the value of the crop ; under the present circumstances of the colony, does not think the African apprentices could earn a comfortable support by honest industry, if ever so well inclined ; the situation of the free coloured people is by no means enviable.

John Stobo, M. D. member of Council, and justice of the peace,—Has no African apprentice nor slave ; has had frequent opportunities of observing the general character and conduct of the African apprentices ; their efforts as labourers are in general irregular ; their application to agricultural labour is exceedingly limited ; does not believe that more than ten acres are cultivated by the whole of the African apprentices in these islands. Their mode of cultivation is so inferior, that the produce is not more than that from half the quantity of ground cultivated by
 slaves

slaves in general. Some, however, have shown a disposition to keep stock, particularly goats, pigs, and poultry; from not procuring food for their stock trespasses on the grounds of more industrious neighbours occur, ending in quarrels and fights, chiefly with the free coloured people. Does not think that the body of the African apprentices, freed from the control of their present employers, are qualified to support themselves by honest industry. The present situation of the free black and coloured people dependent on their own industry, with few exceptions, is by no means superior to that of the slaves on most estates; they are neither so well fed, nor so well housed. Gives a table, showing the productive industry and particulars of sixty-two slaves and their progeny, all of whom had been freed by manumission or birth.

Such were the statements given to me by the most intelligent, and respectable persons in Tortola, relative to the character of the African apprentices for steady industry, and more especially agricultural industry. Although none of these persons had African apprentices in their service at the time of their giving the written evidence, in the same manner as the Wesleyan missionaries gave in theirs, yet as my colleague did not deem it necessary to apply to such persons, confining himself to the Methodist missionaries, I feel myself called upon to explain why I have produced evidence to which my colleague had stated some general objections, for they do not appear to have been intended specially to apply to the persons selected by me. My colleague says, "To obtain a correct account of the true state of these Africans was, however, a matter of great difficulty. In a small community like Tortola it was not easy to find persons who were perfectly disinterested. Nearly the whole small white population of the island consisted of persons, who either were connected with the masters of these apprentices, or who held apprentices themselves, and the consciousness that the terms of the indentures had remained generally unfulfilled, and that great abuses would be found to have existed, naturally led them to concur in attributing the want of improvement of the African apprentices to natural incapacity, and to bad dispositions, and not to neglect or ill-treatment on their parts."

Such are the reasons assigned by my colleague, and which I never saw till many months after the evidence collected by me, had been in possession of your Lordship. The reasons given are merely an assertion of my colleague, that the persons to whom he alluded would be "naturally led to concur in attributing the want of improvement of the African apprentices to natural incapacity and to bad dispositions, and not to neglect or ill-treatment."

It must, under these circumstances, appear singular to your Lordship, that not one of the persons who gave evidence to me ever assigned the "natural incapacity" of the African apprentices, as a cause producing any one effect referred to by them. The missionary also defends the African apprentices against the charge of "natural incapacity," but he refers to some authors (of whose names I am entirely ignorant) and not to the persons whose evidence I have collected. It appears, therefore, that my colleague had been contending against some difficulties created by his fears, lest such evidence would be unfavourable to the theory he had formed. Had such opinions as he feared would be given, actually been given to me, I certainly should not have adopted them, without a most strict scrutiny on my part as to the facts upon which such opinions were founded. The objection of my colleague to the evidence collected having therefore no foundation in the fact stated by him, I shall proceed to compare the result as to the character of the Africans for steady industry with that of the missionaries. Both parties assert that some of the African apprentices are more industrious than the generality. The evidence collected by me tends to prove, that the females are more industrious than the males; and it gave me great pleasure to find, that in this respect my colleague also agrees in opinion with the evidence I collected, for he says, "Yet notwithstanding these obstacles, I am well convinced that the great body of these persons have been sufficiently improved, and have acquired sufficient information to enable them to maintain themselves, and to render them useful members of society as free persons. This is especially true of the females."

Though nothing can be more opposite than the evidence collected by me, and the opinion of my colleague, as to the general body of the African apprentices becoming "useful members of society as free persons," yet it is important to find one general fact in which all agree, viz. the superior industry of the females.

The

The idea expressed by my colleague, that any other evidence, than that of the missionaries would have attributed the want of improvement of the apprentices to "natural incapacity and to bad dispositions and habits, and not to neglect or ill-treatment," is not supported by the evidence collected by me; but the evidence generally states, that the situation of the colony and local circumstances rendered it not probable that the African apprentices in Tortola would become, as my colleague maintains, "useful members of society as free persons." On this point the whole object of the commission turns, because the obligations of government to provide for these people depend upon this fact.

In the first place, although it is admitted that the females are more industrious than the males, yet the greatest number of cases of maltreatment, which came before us, related to females; at any rate it no where appears that they were better treated than the males.

Mr. Crabb, the chief justice, distinctly states,—That some of these Africans "were indentured to persons, who from their limited circumstances cannot at all times afford them a sufficient maintenance." He also distinctly states, that no master who would be approved of was willing to take the African apprentices. Mr. King, senior, also distinctly states, that some of the masters and mistresses were unable to maintain their apprentices. Dr. Stobo says, many of the apprentices had solicited him to take them as apprentices which he declined, although he had no slaves of his own in attendance upon him; others it appears got rid of those whom they had, although they paid no wages to the apprentices.

There must, my Lord, have been some cause for the richer part of the community declining the gratuitous labour of these poor Africans, and who in consequence became servants to persons whose own limited circumstances could not afford the apprentices a sufficient maintenance, or proper treatment in other respects. If these statements, made to me by the most respectable persons in the colony, and confirmed by the Schedules, were true, the inference is unavoidable, that many of the African apprentices would be neglected and ill-treated, a fact no where attempted to be concealed. This result indeed appears to me to have been a certain consequence from the position in which these poor creatures stood with respect to the rest of the colonists, a subject not noticed by my colleague or the missionaries.

In some respects, however, the evidence collected by me from persons whom my colleague did not think proper persons to be examined, confirmed his own statement as to the fact of the neglect and ill-treatment of some of the African apprentices. The difference, however, is material in the inferences drawn by each, as to the future prospects of the African apprentices as free persons living in Tortola.

My colleague maintains, "notwithstanding all obstacles," the body of these persons are competent to maintain themselves, and to be "useful members of society as free persons." The evidence collected tends to prove, that even had no such obstacles existed, with few exceptions, the great body of the African apprentices would be unable to support themselves in Tortola when free from control. The case of the free black people in the colony is referred to in the petition of the legislature, quoted by my colleague, as showing in the opinion of the petitioners, that even these free black persons, under more favourable circumstances than the African apprentices, are in a state of comparative penury when dependent on their own exertions. To disprove the correctness of this opinion and inference my colleague enters into a long statement to show that the free black people are not in the situation almost uniformly described by the evidence collected by me, as well as in the petition quoted by him. I shall now notice the facts upon which my colleague dwells to support his opinion. The first is the case of Hull and Boatswain, two Africans who are now free. I have shown in pp. 72, 73, 74, 75, and 88, of this Report, that my colleague had misrepresented the case of Hull, and that both his case, and that of Boatswain, when fairly examined, only proved that the labour of these Africans was more valuable when they were under coercion than when free; a fact unfavourable to the theory of my colleague, though he does not appear to have perceived this inference, as he draws a very different one from the fact as stated by him. In like manner my colleague, in his Report, had represented another free captured negro, named Christiana Wheatley, as earning "a decent subsistence for herself and husband." That husband was a head slave upon a sugar plantation. I have shown from p. 91 to p. 96 in this Report how much the case of Christiana Wheatley

Wheatley had been misrepresented by my colleague ; and from the affidavit of the woman herself, it appears that instead of "*earning* a decent subsistence for herself *and husband*," she on the contrary depends upon her husband, a slave, for her subsistence. My colleague does not bring forward any other case of liberated Africans to prove his position, and I have shown he had misrepresented the cases of those he did produce.

My colleague then attempts to confute the following statement made by the legislative bodies of Tortola to His Majesty in their petition, when praying for the removal of these African apprentices,—“ That of the African apprentices, emancipated by virtue of these sentences, 534 were distributed under indentures among the inhabitants of these islands, but principally in the Road Town of Tortola. That your petitioners view with anxiety and apprehension the period now fast approaching when their indentures will expire, and the community be inundated and oppressed by a species of population already too numerous in the present distressed state of the colony. Could your petitioners indulge a reasonable hope that these persons at the expiration of their indentures would apply themselves to agricultural purposes, your petitioners would perhaps have less cause to regret their introduction, but experience warrants an opposite conclusion. Few would thus apply their labour, as they prefer a precarious subsistence obtained by casual employment, to that regular industry which is requisite for the cultivation of the soil.

“ In support of this statement your petitioners might adduce many facts ; they select the two following :—

“ 1. Of seventy-six adult slaves manumitted since the first registry in 1818 not one is solely employed in agriculture, and but few are partial cultivators.

“ 2. Of three distinct bodies of people with their descendants, in number seventy-three, manumitted at different periods, to whom more than 200 acres of good land were given, only two or three subsist solely on the produce of the soil, and two or three more are partial cultivators ; and no instance has ever occurred of any person from either of the two classes having hired themselves as field labourers.”

To confute these two statements,—1. As to the seventy-six adult slaves manumitted since 1818,—and 2. As to the seventy-three free negroes manumitted at former periods, having also upwards of 200 acres of land given to them, my colleague adopts the following mode of reasoning :—

He asserts that the labour of two of the African apprentices, whilst under a master, was very valuable to him, as he hired them to an absent third person, whose interests the master of the apprentices represented. But he omits to mention that the same two Africans, being freed, were reduced to penury ; and although Hull had land free from rent or taxes, the produce cultivated by him would not have occupied an English labourer ten days in the year upon the same tract of ground, as it was represented by Hull to be about those dimensions which equalled the twenty-second part of an acre.

These cases adduced affording no argument against either of the statements of the legislative bodies, my colleague has exhibited the cases of ninety-nine persons manumitted, with some information respecting them, not one word of which, bearing on the question, appears ever to have been verified in any official manner, with which I am acquainted. Had these lists been submitted for my examination in Tortola, from the many errors into which my colleague has fallen on subjects connected with the bias on his mind, I think it probable some of the assertions there given, without any authority, would have appeared to your Lordship in a different manner when the authority was fairly examined. The legislative body of Tortola are the persons most interested in ascertaining the truth of those statements which bear on the circumstance stated in their petition. A few observations however may be made on the inference drawn by my colleague from the statements which he has given in to disprove the first statement of the legislative body of Tortola. Of part of the seventy-six adults referred to in the petition as “ not one being solely employed in agriculture, and but few being partial cultivators,” my colleague says, “ The freedom of twenty-four of these manumitted persons has been obtained by purchase ; in one instance the slave paid 330*l.* for his liberation, other large prices have been paid by many of them for their freedom. *This affords evident proof of* industry”

“*industry previous and subsequent to their becoming free.*” This important inference, as affecting one fourth part of the slaves manumitted, struck me very forcibly, and I referred to the Appendix (F.) in his Report for the facts on which the inference was founded.

Your Lordship will there find, of the twenty-four persons whose freedom was purchased, that only one man, as an agriculturist alone, named Johnny of Spanish Town, purchased his freedom. The fact is not doubted by me, because I have myself known industrious slaves, who accumulated capital to purchase their own freedom, and I have even known slaves to purchase other slaves, whilst the owners were in slavery themselves; but such slaves were always head men on estates.

I beg to draw your Lordship's attention to the statement accompanying Johnny, where it is said he is a “cotton planter.” It appears therefore that it was by the result of his labour in cotton agriculture, that this industrious slave accumulated property to purchase himself. If this statement be correct, it must prove decidedly that if the free coloured people actually did exert themselves in similar agricultural labour, that they ought to be rich, and flourishing from their own industry. But whilst Johnny, as a cotton planter, has shown what may be done by agricultural industry, in the case of the free people at Long Look, whose industry is praised by my colleague, they had abandoned cotton cultivation from the lowness of the price, and were at that moment worth less than the amount of the sums given to them by a benevolent lady, after they were free, and had land of their own. Jem, another slave, whose freedom was purchased, is stated to be a cotton planter and *fisherman*, and that his industry has nearly repaid the amount of his purchase money, which appears therefore to have been borrowed. Affection, another slave thus freed, is a *mariner*, and owns half of a small shallop. I know the person very well: What my colleague calls “supporting himself by trading among the islands,” I do not exactly understand, for this person supported himself when I was in Tortola by the smuggling trade, carried on between Tortola, and the foreign free port of St. Thomas. It is certain however he had no agricultural employment. Ben Markoe, when alive, supported himself in the same manner, and, in his way, was an enterprising man. In his case also it appears he had not accumulated the amount of his purchase money, but that Mr. Richard King had advanced the amount, and had nearly been repaid. Mr. King is an excellent character, and most kindly disposed towards the African race, whether in slavery or free. Mr. King was one of the persons to whom I addressed myself to obtain answers to certain questions, and his answer as to the industry of African apprentices and free coloured people in Tortola, will be found in p. 344 of the Schedules, and in p. 104 and 105 of this Report. The other male slave who was manumitted was named Samuel Beele, said to be a *mariner*. It is not said how he obtained his freedom, but he was pointed out to me in Tortola as a fine looking young man, to whom a free female of colour had taken a liking, and had purchased and manumitted him, and he lived with her. Certainly his services had no relation to agricultural industry.

Having examined the cases submitted by my colleague as to the adult males whose freedom was purchased, it appears that the case of only one of them tends to disprove the first statement of the petition of the legislative body of Tortola, who had said not *one* of these persons, when manumitted, was solely employed in agriculture. Still, however, the facts do not warrant the general inference of my colleague, when we examine the cases of the remaining nineteen of the slaves whose freedom was purchased: of these, thirteen were females, and the rest illegitimate children, purchased by their fathers, together with their mothers. It is difficult to conceive how my colleague could refer to such cases, as showing “evident proof of industry previous and subsequent to their becoming free.”

On reference your Lordship will also see, that the first female mentioned by him, as being purchased, is Bice, a slave belonging to Bethiah Barry, the daughter of the slave emancipated. Although my colleague says Bice was freed by purchase, yet the amount is not expressed. And it is almost impossible for the mind to conceive a daughter receiving the hard earnings of a mother aged sixty-three, as the price of her manumission. I certainly cannot believe the inference of my colleague to be well founded in this case, without some further proof. The next female mentioned by my colleague as having been purchased to be manumitted is Hagar, aged sixty-four, and whose value being only 16*l.* 10*s.* currency, or 8*l.* 5*s.* sterling, shows that the value of her labour could not have been great, and therefore the inference could

could not apply in her case. The next female is a mulatto named Anne, aged twenty-nine. I am in this case at a loss how to correct the errors into which my colleague has fallen, because the statement of the truth, as to the matters which he has submitted, must needs inflict pain. Mr. Mark Dyer French who manumitted Anne, by declining to answer the questions I had submitted to him, showed his reluctance at having his name brought forward. Suffice it to say, he is a married man, with an amiable family, and that the services rendered by Anne were not of that kind to afford the proof of industry, which my colleague is so anxious to establish. I hope your Lordship will pardon my not further continuing to prove how careless my colleague has been in his Report to your Lordship, not only in the statement of facts, but in drawing inferences from those which he does state, in his own way. But in writing this painful observation, it is my duty to do justice to the benevolent and humane feelings of my colleague, and I feel quite convinced that his intelligent mind would be incapable of viewing other matters, as he has done these, solely as I believe from a strong bias on his mind upon the question, which it was his duty to investigate, and which bias it was altogether impossible to remove by reasoning; for the very attempt, appeared to me, to convince him, that the person aiming to remove such errors of judgment was himself full of colonial prejudices, and therefore not to be listened to. To avoid what he considered prejudices, he plunged into others equally disqualifying him from fairly exercising his naturally good understanding on the important matters which we ought to have discussed *jointly*, and not have produced *separately* our respective statements and opinions, until all the facts upon which they were to be founded had been fairly *investigated*, and clearly stated for your Lordship's consideration.

The second statement made by the petitioners, as to seventy-three free persons who had land left them, together with their freedom, is not specifically noticed by my colleague, which is to be regretted, as it more particularly applied to the case under consideration.

My colleague, however, proceeds with some other details to show the industry of the free coloured people in opposition to the statements of the legislative body as to their agricultural industry, and therefore it is presumed my colleague means the same kind of industry, otherwise his remarks would not confute their statements.

His first statement refers to the taxes raised on the houses and slaves in the town, which at once leads to a doubt, how far his statements bear on the agricultural industry of the free coloured people, which was the point stated by the petitioners; and he renders all discovery of the real truth impossible, by mingling the free black persons who support themselves by their own industry, with the free black and coloured people, who have inherited possessions in slaves, houses, land, &c.

This mode of stating facts your Lordship will perceive is more calculated to confuse the question, than to confute the statement of the legislative bodies. I annex in the Appendix, p. 150, and marked (D.) an official statement from the treasurer of the island, by which it appears that of the whole free coloured population (estimated to exceed 1,400 souls) that only five persons, who had been slaves, but were then liberated for good conduct, paid taxes to the crown to the annual amount of 2 l. 8 s. 6 d. sterling, and that only 108 of these free coloured persons, who were born free, or inherited property, paid public taxes to the crown, but it amounted annually to 447 l. 11 s. 9 d. sterling. It did not appear that any thing was paid as taxes by any liberated African. The proportion of free coloured people paying taxes, in comparison with those who do not, would have been a fairer proof of their general wealth and industry; my colleague does not furnish that information, but only confines himself to a parochial tax, whereas I give the general amount of all taxes, actually paid to the treasurer, and the number of those paying them, in a population of about 1,400 persons of the same class.

Your Lordship will now see under another point of view the extent of the agricultural industry of the free people in Tortola, who have no slaves.

My colleague states, that more than two-thirds of the persons who supply the town with butcher's meat and fish are free black and coloured persons. This may be correct, as the free blacks generally prefer fishing, by which a mere subsistence is at all times more easily obtained than from agricultural industry; and to obtain mere subsistence is too generally the limit of their exertions. The free black butchers also purchasing fat oxen, and fine calves from the slaves, and the planters, only

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only proves that they subsist by the labour of other persons, and those sometimes slaves. The testimony in favour of the character of Alexander Stephens *, a free black man, is correct, so far as he is the head free black butcher in the town, and probably he does make much more by purchasing and selling meat than he could as an agriculturist. But as only a few free black butchers could live by a trade, which white men could also exercise, in supplying the town with meat, the mass of the free black people must depend on other means of subsistence ; for instance, in raising the cattle, sheep, &c. to be killed ; and yet few are seen to take to agricultural industry of any kind, although it is the only business in which the demand for labour exceeds the supply. And in the case of Johnny, cited by my colleague, it appears that agricultural industry was even profitable, if his statement be correct. The solitary case of an industrious butcher, or a fisherman having six slaves to work for him, does not disprove the statement of the petitioners as to the agricultural industry of those "three distinct bodies of people" whose case formed the second statement of the petition ; and to none of these three bodies did either the butcher or the fisherman belong.

My colleague in his copy of the petition has omitted the word "three," preceding "distinct bodies of people," and also the number of acres which these "three" bodies of people had had given to them when freed, but some of which they had sold.

Dr. Stobo's evidence gives further particulars as to some of these people who were manumitted at different periods by Mr. Nottingham, Mr. Percival, and Mrs. Harragin, whose former name was Vanterpool, and by that name the negroes freed by her are called. And looking over the list given by my colleague, of those free black, and coloured people paying parochial taxes, it is singular that *not one* of the negroes freed by the above persons appear to have paid one farthing to the public taxes. Nimrod Harragin there mentioned was proprietor of seven slaves, and was not one of the negroes manumitted by Mrs. Harragin. Nor does the name of one of the twenty-four slaves manumitted by purchase, appear among the names of the eighty free coloured people who pay public taxes in Tortola, as given by my colleague in the Appendix to his Report.

My colleague states, that the lands being exhausted, the free coloured inhabitants are compelled by necessity to apply to other pursuits. But unfortunately it is in these other pursuits, that the free African apprentices become competitors with the other free black and coloured people for employment, where the demand for any kind of labour, except that of agriculture, is very limited. And the effect of this competition will be noticed in its proper place, as it has a great influence on the question about providing for the Africans. When the free black and coloured people, dependent solely on their own labour for their subsistence, are said to be "compelled by necessity to apply to other pursuits," it can only be meant, as regards those free persons, that instead of being obliged to work three or four hours in a day on their ground, (which would certainly repay their labour in time) they generally prefer a precarious subsistence, obtained by fewer hours of exertion than agricultural labour would require. It is this kind of labour alone, however, which makes the colony valuable to the parent state, more especially when the result is objects having exchangeable value in England.

These circumstances therefore do not appear to me to afford any satisfactory argument against the second statement of the petition. My colleague, instead of maintaining that the free black or coloured people do exercise much agricultural industry, which it was necessary to do to disprove the assertion of the petition, proceeds to show that "there are few possessors of landed property in the island of Tortola who are not involved in debt, as the failure in the cultivation of the soil has considerably diminished their property. An instance will exemplify the loss of property and abandonment of cultivation in a very extensive landed property and slaves of the estates of Bezaliel Hodge ; in the year 1788 it consisted of twelve sugar estates, having on them 1,114 slaves ; at present it consists of four sugar estates with 641 slaves. Except a few manumitted no slaves appear to have been parted with." I cannot comprehend how this fact, even if correctly stated, bears

* The opinion of Alexander Stephens himself, as to the industry of the *generality* of the Africans, is given in the Schedules, p. 251; in these words: "wages, as the work of the greatest part would not be worth their food and clothing." He refers to their labour at the expiration of their apprenticeships.

bears on the question ; for if the heirs of the late Bezaluel Hodge, by an expensive style of living in England, spent more money than their West-India property yielded as income, the natural consequence would be a loss of credit, and a deep injury to the productiveness of a species of capital so fluctuating in its rate of profit as West-India sugar estates, in an island subject to droughts and hurricanes, during the period of time from 1788, when such great changes have taken place in the price of sugar from its cheaper production in foreign colonies still carrying on the slave trade ; yet during these same years other persons residing on their estates have increased their capitals by the successful cultivation of their sugar estates. And in the case of Dr. Donovan for instance, who still resides on his estate, whilst his capital has increased, his negro slaves have also augmented by a natural increase, so that no argument can be fairly drawn against the statements of the petition, from the extravagance, and negligence of the heirs of Mr. Hodge. Indeed the case only proves, even if correctly stated, that the heirs of Mr. Hodge, by neglecting their own interests, became poor, and the property suffered.

My colleague then asserts, but adduces no proof, that “ the free black and coloured population of Tortola and the adjacent islands are an industrious, thriving and loyal set of people.” Their loyalty does not appear to have been impeached, but their want of agricultural industry and consequent penury is spoken of by the petitioners comprising the legislative bodies as a fact to be regretted ; and they inferred, that if the African apprentices, when free, should show the same dislike for agricultural industry, and thus become competitors for employment in branches of labour already over-stocked, by the other poor white, and free coloured people, in the reduced circumstances of the colony, that much misery would arise. The assertion of the petition appears to be a plain truism, and the good character and conduct of the free black and coloured inhabitants is not the question at issue, further, than had their habits of industry been connected with agriculture no fears could have been entertained from competition, because there was abundance of land which could be profitably cultivated by free persons, if they were inclined to work for moderate wages, viz. such as the profits of stock could afford. If free black or coloured people advance themselves, by capital left to them, or by the labour of their slaves, it must be obvious, that the industry of such persons is governed by the same law as that of white people ; and my colleague, by confounding them with that class of free black and coloured people solely dependent on their own labour for subsistence, confuses the question. To this last class alone the petitioners distinctly allude in their second statement, and my colleague wishes to disprove the truth thereof, by asserting the statement does not apply to a class of free coloured persons, who are not referred to by the petitioners ; such a mode of reasoning requires no further confutation.

My colleague then brings forward another argument, to show that it ought not to be a matter of reproach to any class of the free black or coloured inhabitants that they blended other occupations with that of the cultivation of the soil, and that they did not apply themselves *solely* to agricultural pursuits. So far I entirely agree with him, that what he states ought not to be matter of reproach, nor am I aware that it has been made a matter of reproach ; but he adds, that if they applied themselves *solely* to agricultural pursuits “ in that impoverished country, it would eventually reduce them to a state of pauperism.” This inference I cannot clearly comprehend. The colony of Tortola is essentially an agricultural colony. It manufactures no raw material. Cotton and sugar are its present staple productions. When it ceases to produce these articles, the inhabitants have nothing to remit as rent or revenue to the capitalist residing in England, nor any other means to pay for the British productions, which as residents they may wish to consume. When agricultural labour, therefore, does not yield, in such productions, values equal to the value of the articles consumed, by the labourers, &c. in raising them, a state of things has arisen, which renders it utterly impossible for “ the generality of the free black and coloured population of Tortola, and the adjacent islands to be an industrious and *thriving* set of people.” They could not *thrive*, as their industry could not be *rewarded* in a community whose prosperity depended on the excess of production beyond consumption in agricultural industry.

My colleague's knowledge of tropical agriculture, and the application of labour to it, was very limited ; and as he gives no proof in support of his inference or opinion, your Lordship will give the assertion such weight as it deserves, connected with

with the fact of Johnny accumulating property, as a cotton planter, to purchase his freedom, and the quantity of horses, cattle, goats, hogs, &c. possessed by slaves, obliged to work in agriculture five days in the week, or more, for their master, yet in the small period of time left them, they must bestow some care on these animals; and they raise cotton, vegetables, &c. for their own use and for sale. What then ought not the free negroes to accomplish with all their time to themselves, and where land can be easily obtained? I am aware, however, this is mere general reasoning on a case where the truth can only be obtained by the investigation of facts. It was an object with me, previous to the formation of any opinion upon this subject, to ascertain, as well as I could, the result of the productive industry of the slaves employed in agriculture, both for their own benefit, as well as for that of their master, of whose capital they formed part. A statement of the property acquired by the slaves for their own benefit, by agricultural labour, during the period of time granted to them for that purpose, will be the most satisfactory proof that if the free black and coloured people, dependent on their own industry, had exercised steady agricultural industry like the slaves, they would *not* "eventually be reduced to a state of pauperism," as my colleague has been pleased to state to your Lordship, except perhaps in cases of long continued droughts, or hurricanes, when the ruin would then be general, since the commercial credit of the West Indies has been recently still further diminished, by the operation of causes, connected with measures taken to abolish slavery.

In the Appendix, p. 151, marked (E.) is the statement referred to, as showing part of the capital accumulated by slaves, chiefly by agricultural industry.

It would have been more satisfactory for me, had my colleague's health permitted him to remain in Tortola till all these matters had been fairly investigated on the spot by us both together. As it is, I submit a schedule showing the mode in which I proceeded to verify the accuracy of the statement submitted, to show the result of application to agricultural industry, even by slaves. Dr. Stobo, member of council, had taken great pains in forming a correct statistical table respecting Tortola, and had included this point of inquiry, and which I have annexed.

I employed other medical gentlemen of the colony to assist me, as to the estates they visited professionally, or were acquainted with the proprietors or managers thereof. I also got separate returns from managers of estates, and, finally, I procured general returns from owners and administrators of estates, and I personally visited many of the estates to verify the returns received, as to the larger kinds of stock, by personal inspection, such as horses, horned cattle, goats, hogs and dogs. I sometimes found the return less than was told to me personally, but I rarely found it more; for I discovered a reluctance in the slave sometimes to let me know all his wealth. To the extent and order of their gardens, or as they are called, grounds, I paid particular attention. From all these means of information I drew up a general schedule, which agreed so nearly with that of Dr. Stobo that I adopted his. Your Lordship will observe, that I had included the number of dogs kept by the negro slaves, which is omitted in that of Dr. Stobo. My reason for including these animals, arose from the desire to ascertain how far the slave really had an excess of food, so as to enable him to keep such animals.

The following Schedule, relative only to part of my inquiry, will more fully show your Lordship the pains taken by me. The person signing the return is a physician attending many of the estates, and is one of the members of His Majesty's Council in the island, but has no plantation of his own.

CAPTURED NEGROES.

RETURN of Provision Grounds and Stock, the Property of Slaves upon certain Estates in Tortola, in 1823.

No	Name of Estate.	Number of Negroes.	Acres in Negro Grounds.	Horned Cattle.	Horses.	Goats.	Hogs.	Poultry.	Dogs.	Proprietors.
1.	Belmont - - - - -	* 131	50	2	-	20	60	200	18	J. M. Donovan.
2.	Mount Healthy - - - - -	160	70	25	-	100	12	170	3	Heirs of Ruth Lettson.
3.	Hannah's - - - - -	109	22	5	-	65	76	120	6	Heirs of George Hannah.
4.	Cooten Bay - - - - -	120	20	7	1	100	40	150	10	Heirs of R. Hetherington.
5.	Carrot Bay - - - - -	90	15	2	-	33	20	40	12	Richard Wynn.
6.	Joe's Hill, Sea Cow Bay, and Sage Mountain - - - - -	268	100	40	-	250	50	320	9	Heirs of George Nibbs.
7.	Joe's Hill and Edney's - - - - -	300	175	10	1	153	227	638	21	Heirs of George Martin.
8.	Richmond - - - - -	161	40	4	-	41	67	78	7	Same.
9.	Brewer's Bay - - - - -	117	35	3	-	30	47	53	8	Same.
10.	Shannan's - - - - -	65	14	8	-	38	13	41	4	Same.
11.	Turnbull's Mountain - - - - -	121	30	37	-	54	25	85	3	Heirs of Ruth Lettson.
12.	Long Bush - - - - -	95	25	15	2	12	20	} a large quantity }	-	Heirs of A. C. Hill.
13.	Northside - - - - -	126	25	33	-	36	36		-	Same.
14.	Capon's Bay - - - - -	77	13	-	-	20	8	-	-	Same.
15.	Sea Cow Bay - - - - -	157 in 55 houses.	not stated	27	-	52	71	94	6	J. Pickering.

* N. B. The number of negroes has reference to those actually on the property at the time, to whomsoever belonging, and not to the actual number of slaves owned by the proprietors.

(signed) John Ross.

Such a document, if correct, although only applying to some of the estates, appears to me to be a satisfactory disproof of the assertion of my colleague, that if the free black and coloured people, dependent on their own industry, had applied themselves solely to agricultural pursuits in that impoverished country, they would not eventually be reduced to "pauperism," as subsistence must have been secured to them by a few days labour in each week.

The next argument brought forward by my colleague, to disprove the statements of the petitioners, is in these words: "The best proofs which can be adduced of the state of these free persons are, that not a single beggar of that class of people is seen in the streets; and that, although large contributions of taxation for the maintenance of the poor have been paid by the free people, no instance (until May last) has been known of parish relief, or allowance in any other public way, being afforded to a free black or coloured person: and here too, I may add, no instance is known of any free person having been tried for the last twenty years for a felonious act in these islands." I have great pleasure in adding, as far as I know, my testimony to the general moral good conduct of the free black and coloured people of Tortola, but I regret that I am unable to confirm all the details given by my colleague. As to beggars of that class, I speak from personal experience that they do beg, although they are not importunate. Indeed it is a circumstance, when the seasons are favourable, calculated to excite surprise, why there should be any able-bodied persons reduced to beggary in a country where mere subsistence is obtained with little exertion by those able to work. In one case, wherein I was asked for charity by a person of this class, I refused it, but said I would buy some sprats of him if he would bring them to me, being at the time at a fisherman's house near the sea. The man borrowed a sprat net, and in an hour returned with what he had caught in that time. I do not now remember the actual quantity of sprats, but four persons partook heartily of them, and did not consume them all. The man only demanded about sixpence sterling for the fish. On another occasion, during a period of about three hours, in rowing in a boat from Musquitto Island to a bay in Virgin Gorda, to visit an old Charaibe military position, one of the boatmen, with only a hook and line, caught so many fish, that, with the conchs and crabs caught on shore by the rest of the boatmen, there were in less than four hours about four pounds weight of good food provided for *each person in the boat*, consisting of two white men and four boatmen. In such a country there ought to be no beggars. The other two statements made by my colleague as to their receiving no parochial relief, and no free person being tried for a felonious act for the last twenty years, are so very important to the free coloured people, that I wish he had afforded some information to connect these effects with the cause thereof, as it could have been so easily obtained. Such facts, however, as are given by my colleague, do not disprove the statements of the Tortola petitioners as to the neglect of agricultural industry, by the free coloured people of Tortola, dependent solely on their labour for their maintenance.

My colleague however seems to think otherwise, as he says: "I have dwelt longer on this subject of the free people, as a deduction is made therefrom, that the Africans after serving their apprenticeship of fourteen years, when liberated in like manner as those black and coloured people already free, would not be disposed to apply themselves *solely* to the cultivation of the ground."

The petitioners merely notice the alleged fact of not one person subsisting solely by agriculture in one class of free black and coloured persons; and that two or three, in another class, the petitioners admit do subsist solely by agricultural labour. The *sole* application to agriculture is *not* mentioned in that part of the petition, where fears are expressed that the *African apprentices* when free will not apply "to agricultural purposes." There is in that part no limitation of their labour *solely* to agriculture, on which my colleague dwells so much.

He then proceeds to show, that the petitioners had not any reason for their fears, in these words: "The several instances which I have seen at Dominica and Tortola, of liberated Africans taking possession of unoccupied government lands, and cultivating them to advantage, gives every indication of a very different conclusion. I have heard of similar occurrences at Antigua of the liberated black soldiers there."

What instance in Tortola is alluded to by my colleague I cannot imagine, except the instance of Hull, whose case had been so much misrepresented by my colleague.

The instance in Dominica is more clearly referred to, and his fair acknowledgment that his "opinion did not coincide with that of a gentleman, who saw it at the same time," recalls to my recollection the circumstances of the case, as I was the person to whom my colleague alludes, as not coinciding in opinion with him. My mode of viewing the case he thus describes: "To him (Major Moody) it appeared in a different light, and the cultivation was improper and negligent: "I did not contest with an avowed knowledge of plantership, yet the proofs of industry were too evident for me to be mistaken, although a superior mode of cultivation might have been adopted." I remember the circumstances perfectly well. In riding up to Morne Bruce, a small patch of ground was planted in cascada. A gentleman in company with my colleague and myself pointed it out as having been taken possession of by some of the disbanded black soldiers. My colleague certainly immediately adduced it as a proof of the truth of the theory he had formed. I pointed out how foul with weeds was the little patch of ground, as proving how it was neglected. It appeared to me, that three or four men in a day could have put all the little patch in *complete* order, as to weeding. I inquired how many men were employed in cultivating it, and was told several, but could not ascertain how many, or the time devoted by them to the little spot of ground. Yet with the perfect ignorance of how much ground was cultivated, and how many persons were employed, and how long they had worked on the patch of ground before him, at that moment full of weeds, injuring the cultivated plants, does my colleague feel himself justified formally to assure your Lordship, that "the proofs of industry were too evident for him to be mistaken." To any person acquainted, however slightly, with tropical agriculture, the only proofs, such as they were, tended to show the indolence of the cultivators, if they exceeded four persons*. It must be obvious, that the bias on the mind of my colleague here quite deprived him of the use of his judgment, in a fact before his eyes, so far as information could be then gathered respecting the particulars; and he has carefully avoided giving any details on the subject.

What the real facts were, I wished to know, before I gave my opinion. My colleague, in the absence of facts, felt himself enabled to form an opinion, and justified in giving it to your Lordship as the result of personal observation.

His statement of the occurrence with Lieutenant Clarke affords another illustration of the manner in which my colleague drew his inferences from circumstances, where cause and effect could not be seen by persons free from that strong bias on the mind which appeared to influence him. The plain fact was, that the disbanded soldiers, living among the negro slaves on the plantations, easily obtained their subsistence in that country, when the seasons were favourable, and that some of these soldiers did not come for their pay at the time appointed, but came after it. Thus affording a clear proof that their wants as free persons were easily satisfied, and that they had perfect confidence, that their half-pay, or pension was safe in the hands of Lieutenant Clarke. But it is impossible to gather therefrom any thing more, than that in Dominica a free black person can easily support himself, particularly when assisted with a pension of 9*d.* currency a day, a fact which cannot be doubted; for the slaves support themselves in the same colony with only a very small portion of their time, whilst the soldiers had all their time to themselves, and a pension besides: added to which, if the pension did not support the soldier, he must work or starve; a fate that ought not to attend any man in Dominica, when the seasons are favourable. In cases of hurricane, or prolonged drought, the result may be different.

My colleague then gives what he says is the prevailing opinion in the West Indies, viz. "That a black man, if left to his own government, will not labour steadily at one pursuit, but will prefer a precarious subsistence, obtained by casual employment, and they must be kept to regular industry by the means of a controlling power. To establish this opinion various instances are produced, but not frequently I found that all the facts of the case were not disclosed."

* Since I wrote the above, Lieutenant C. P. Wyatt, and Assistant surgeon Martin, who were then quartered on Morne Bruce, have arrived in London. On their authority I state, the number of black disbanded soldiers connected with the cultivation was from twenty-five to thirty residents, besides stragglers, who occasionally joined them. These officers say, the ground "could not exceed from twenty to twenty-five acres." Lieutenant Brandreth, who had been commanding engineer at Dominica, says he has "a distinct recollection of the features of the hill, and he would therefore say the above portion did not exceed fifteen acres; it might be less." These facts will enable your Lordship to judge better of the degree of industry exercised by these free negroes, and renders any remark from me unnecessary.

On referring to the petition from Tortola, it will be seen that the opinion here stated is applied only to agricultural labour, the words are: "Few would thus," (*i. e.* for agricultural purposes,) "apply their labour, as they prefer a precarious subsistence, obtained by casual employment, to that regular industry which is requisite for the cultivation of the soil." The petitioners then make certain statements which my colleague endeavours to disprove, and I have laboriously followed all his reasoning produced for that purpose, to show that he has failed in his attempts as regards Tortola. He then cites a case in Dominica, to which the Tortola petition could not possibly have any reference. Not any name or specification of circumstances enable the reader to verify the statement given by colleague; but if the case refers to Mr. Trew, then secretary at Dominica, who mentioned his wish to employ some liberated Africans, who would not accept of his conditions, then indeed the statement of my colleague verifies his own remark, as to not disclosing all the facts of the case. But as no name is mentioned, and the statement of Mr. Trew (who also was not a planter) is so misrepresented, that I cannot usefully reason upon it, until it be ascertained to be the one referred to by my colleague.

The argument of my colleague then concludes with the statement of the case of a number of free negroes manumitted in Tortola by Mr. Nottingham, a benevolent quaker.

The Tortola petitioners had in their second statement referred to the conduct of "three distinct bodies of people," but as my colleague has confined his remarks solely to *one* of these bodies, who had been emancipated by their owners, I shall here confine my attention to point out to your Lordship how much he has misrepresented the case of that body of people, whom he has selected, as being the most favourable to the theory he appears to have formed, on the comparative value of free and slave labour in tropical agriculture. In the publication of the Society for the mitigation and gradual abolition of Slavery, intituled, "Substance of the Debate in the House of Commons on the 15th of May 1823," in the Appendix (A. A.) this statement of my colleague respecting the negroes freed by Mr. Nottingham is brought forward, to attempt to disprove some opinions of Mr. Alexander Baring. In p. 236 of that work, reference is made to the visit paid to the village of the Nottinghams, in 1822, by "two gentlemen," on whose authority certain particulars are said to be given. These particulars are the same as were transmitted for your Lordship's information by my colleague on the 16th January 1823, and with some changes now brought forward again. So far as I am concerned, I did not sanction in any manner the statement given by my colleague, and I uniformly replied to the numerous inquiries made of me on this subject after my return to England by members of parliament and others, that the accounts published by the society above-mentioned were very incorrect.

It is now my duty to state to your Lordship, that when in Tortola I personally investigated the circumstances alleged by the Tortola petitioners respecting the "three bodies" of negroes emancipated by Mr. Nottingham, Mr. Percival, and Mrs. Harragin, as well as several others, not referred to by the petitioners.

My colleague not having noticed the other bodies of free negroes, no remarks are required from me, except an examination of his statements respecting the agricultural industry of the Nottinghams.

My colleague is correct in stating that Samuel Nottingham had emancipated twenty-five slaves belonging to him, who resided at the place called Long Look, near Fathog Bay in Tortola. It is true also that he gave them the land on which they had lived, and that its quantity was about fifty acres. On my first acquaintance with these people, they stated to me, as they did afterwards to my colleague, their anxiety about a legacy which had been left to them in England. Indeed they told me 176 joes had been paid to the old people by Dr. Dawson, but they seemed to be under an impression that still more was due to them. Mrs. Abbott, the sister of Mr. Nottingham, was the person who had left them the money, and her agent they told me was a Mr. Disney of Southampton.

These persons I understood were manumitted by a deed, dated 30th June 1776, and letters to them from Samuel Nottingham, dated Bristol, 30th of 9th month 1782, address them as free persons.

In the inclosure to the letter of my colleague, dated 16th January 1823, he gives the names of the twenty-five negroes emancipated, consisting of six men, ten women,
four

four boys and five girls, whose names also, as given by him, are the same as were given to me, except three of the girls, whom he calls Docer, Abber and Hager, whereas the names of these persons were given to me, as being Dora, Eve and Diana.

My colleague says, so quiet and retired had these persons lived, that he knew nothing respecting them until three of them called upon him respecting the legacy. To me they were described by different persons as being a nuisance to the neighbourhood where they lived, by carrying away for sale at the foreign island of St. Thomas, in their boats, articles alleged to be stolen.

I beg, however, to state, that I never permitted my mind for a moment to entertain an opinion so unfavourable towards persons, who were entitled to be considered innocent until their guilt was proved.

In my first visit to Long Look, I met some of the people carrying horses to the pound for having trespassed on their grounds, and nothing could exceed the civility of the people to me personally at all times; and therefore so far as the Nottinghams appeared to me, I am happy to confirm the account of my colleague as to their quiet and retired mode of life. I had afterwards occasion to interest myself with a planter, in favour of one of them, who had had a quarrel with his slaves respecting the mutual trespasses of the cattle belonging to the Nottinghams, and the slaves of a neighbouring estate.

My colleague gives his information on the authority of "Jeffry Nottingham, Belinda and Molly Nottingham." I saw and took notes of the information given to me by these persons; but I received much information from other persons, also of the same family, as well as others connected with the Nottinghams, such as Abraham Vanterpool, the husband of Mary; from the husband of Diana, named Jeffry Pickering, at that time a slave on the neighbouring sugar plantation, where he was head blacksmith; and from Jasper Rapsott, a boat-builder and a free man, married to Eve.

My colleague says, nine of the number originally manumitted were alive in 1822, when he was there. When I was at their village only six persons of the original stock were mentioned to me as being then alive in the village.

The names of the persons emancipated, and their descendants now alive, were given to me, and amounted to forty-one; but perhaps my colleague may be more correct in stating them as forty-three, for they were not all in the village when I took the enumeration. I now come to statements of my colleague so very opposite to what I observed, that your Lordship will immediately perceive, that either my colleague, or I, must have been under some powerful delusion, and these points, your Lordship will perceive, all relate to the assumed value of free labour in tropical agriculture, on which my colleague endeavours to prove to your Lordship, as the society, already referred to, had, on his authority, endeavoured to prove to the people of Great Britain, that erroneous opinions on this subject existed in the West Indies.

In the first place, my colleague says, "Half of it" (the land given to the Nottinghams) "is chiefly in provisions, and the rest is used for pasturage for their stock, which then consisted of twenty-eight cows, thirteen goats, and thirteen hogs, besides poultry."

According to this statement, twenty-five acres (being half of the fifty acres left to them) are stated to be cultivated *chiefly* in provisions. Now there was no other cultivation on the estate but provisions, and although I did not measure it, yet I could form a decided opinion, that half the land was not cultivated. At one of my visits I was accompanied by a gentleman who had more experience in surveying land, and who had been a farmer in Great Britain, and his opinion was, that one-fourth part of the land was not cultivated, and such certainly appeared to me to be nearer to truth than one-half. The greater part of the remainder for pasturage was sadly neglected, from bushes spoiling the pasturage, which three or four days labour of the people able to work would have removed.

The quantity of cattle stated as belonging to them, by my colleague, is also greater than that given to me, and he does not notice their condition; but I do not from thence infer that he has over-stated the quantity, because the different times at which the returns were made may explain, why a difference should have existed;

only it is to be observed, that Jasper Rapsott, a boat-builder, and a free man, who intermarried with the Nottinghams, was the greatest proprietor of cattle. Thomsin, a female Nottingham, living with Gift, a slave on the North Side estate, was only so far an owner of cattle, in that her husband was said to have cattle. When sick, she was in such poverty as to be attended gratuitously by Dr. Stobo, as he has informed me. The question as to the extent or degree of industry exercised by these persons in agriculture, however, turns upon the quantity of land cultivated by the Nottinghams, consisting, as my colleague says, of forty-three persons, and of whom I shall assume that only one-third, or fourteen persons, are able to work in agricultural labour, which, with reference to the real facts of the case, would be to each working person one acre of land, in such a wretched state of cultivation, as of itself showed the indolence of the owners.

I shall, however, assume that fourteen acres, or upwards of a fourth part of the land, was cultivated equal to cane cultivation, and that two thirds of the people did not work in agriculture, from youth, old age, or any other cause. I shall now submit to your Lordship, considerations to show the degree of exertion used by these free black people, who had the advantage of being tolerably well instructed in their religious duties, and who were under the stimulus of working entirely for their own benefit, and with every encouragement arising from having land given to them, and paying no taxes whatever; in short, under the powerful stimulus of bettering their condition and that of their family, under most liberal circumstances, with reference to their former state as slaves.

The first consideration is the proportion of population to the ground from which they derive their subsistence: forty-three souls are stated to derive their support from fifty acres, divided between pasturage and cultivation.

The comparative density of population, considering the number of cattle kept, therefore is most favourable to the necessity of exercising agricultural industry for subsistence; the number of live stock being stated as twenty-eight cows, thirteen goats, and thirteen hogs, to be supported on the same land. The result of all these motives to exertion is, that supposing only one-third of the people to cultivate even fourteen acres, that only one acre of land will be cultivated by each actual labourer during the year. M. Coulomb, a French officer of engineers, who in 1799, published the result of experiments as to human exertion in various kinds of labour, found that an ordinary labourer in France could delve a portion of ground corresponding to an English acre in about twenty-one days. In the case given by M. Coulomb every inch of the ground is turned up. This was not the case of the ground of the Nottinghams. The cultivation consisting merely of making holes to receive the cassada, potatoes, yams, and pigeon pea trees, not one half of the ground therefore was really delved; but as there may be doubts as to the extent of ground in cultivation, I shall consider that a person working equal to the exertion of the French labourer could prepare the ground of one person, for a crop, by digging it completely in twenty-one days; and as a very full allowance, the same number of days may be required to weed and gather the crop; and where no kind of machinery is required, except a hoe and a basket. The land belonging to themselves, and being free from rent or taxes, the capital invested chiefly consists of the labour of the workmen, except the value of the seed, the hoe and the basket, &c.

The quantum of exertion, measured by the labour exercised in France, used by only one-third of the population of the Nottinghams in agriculture, therefore amounts to about forty-two days in the year. During the remainder of the working days in the year, whatever number they may be, these free black people do not hire themselves in any other kind of agricultural labour. They are either doing nothing, or are employed in fishing, which yields them an abundant return of food; or in carrying to the Danish island of St. Thomas, in the shallows, belonging to the husbands of two of the females, and to Jeffry one of the males, such articles as they and the slaves on the neighbouring plantations may have for sale, such as live stock, fish and fire-wood. For which, in return, they bring back such articles as may be required, chiefly consisting of American flour, and corn meal, salt beef and pork, &c. which are procured cheaper at the foreign island of St. Thomas, than these articles could be exported from Great Britain or Ireland to Tortola. And during the year I resided in Tortola not one of the three shallows ever entered or cleared at the Custom-House, the whole trade, as I learnt, being carried on by smuggling, and to a certain extent, however limited, opposing the revenue laws.

I should

I should not have noticed this to your Lordship, had I not found in the work printed for the Society for the mitigation and gradual abolition of Slavery, p. 238, when speaking of the industry of these free people, as an answer to some statement made by Mr. Alexander Baring in the House of Commons, it is said under the sanction of the society: "As far as advantage to this country (*i. e.* Great Britain) goes, we will venture to say, that the forty-three Nottinghams consume more of British produce and manufactures in a year, and promote the traffic of Tortola itself, more than three times the number of slaves would do. But Mr. Baring will say this is a single instance. True; but why is it so? Not because there are not many slaves who would have equally rewarded the benevolence of their master, but because there has been but *one Nottingham.*"

This sentence terminates a paragraph relating to the little colony of the Nottinghams, the account of which is prefaced, in p. 236, by the remark to which I have already referred, wherein it was considered by many persons in England, that I was one of the two individuals on whose authority the statements were made. It is not therefore from the slightest feeling of disrespect to the respectable persons forming the society, (many of whose opinions at one period of my life I entertained,) but it is from a conscientious regard to what I consider my duty, that I submit to your Lordship such information concerning the objects of the commission, wherein it appears to me erroneous statements have been made, and to clear myself from any participation in the act.

I do not wish to press forward my own opinions, but it is apparently impossible to conceive how in a colony like Tortola, deriving its value and importance to the parent state from the results of the agricultural labour employed on its soil, that forty-three free coloured persons exercising the quantum of agricultural labour, compared with a labourer in France, equal to forty-two days in the year, in raising articles, not one of which was exported to the parent state, could give activity to British industry to three times the extent of the same number of slaves, working, perhaps, 300 days in the year on similar soil, in the same colony, and producing articles chiefly exported to the parent state, either as the payment of rent, or interest on capital, or for the payment of British goods sent back, and either to be consumed by the slaves, or the colonial capitalist.

On the other hand the Nottinghams, producing nothing that had an exchangeable value in England, sold their surplus food, and carried the produce of slave labour, and their own, to a foreign island to exchange for such articles as they could obtain in the foreign island, which they could profitably smuggle into Tortola, such as American flour, corn meal, salt beef, pork, &c. &c.; because people, in their state of civilization, consume in preference such articles, and which are produced cheaper in the United States than in England. On a large scale this may be seen, on comparing the articles now exported from the United States to Haiti, in comparison with those formerly sent from France.

I am well aware it may be objected, that part of my data for comparison is taken from the industry of a French labourer, and opposed to the labour of free black persons in the torrid zone. I took the only experiment which I knew to have been made by a man of science, and of undoubted authority on the subject. I am well aware that M. Coulomb himself found that Europeans could only perform half of some kinds of labour in the West Indies which they had performed in Europe. To have doubled the period of exertion in the case of the Nottinghams would not however have been fair, inasmuch as the Nottinghams were not Europeans, but accustomed to the climate wherein they were born. But if the period of exertion, or the quantity of land cultivated, were doubled or tripled, or even quadrupled in favour of the Nottinghams, on account of climate, still the assertions on which I have commented would be equally unfounded. The only West-India authority with which I am acquainted, to which objections would not be made, is Mr. Steele of Barbadoes, who adopted a copyhold system for the management of one of his plantations in Barbadoes. He states respecting the holing of ground for canes, which is considered the hardest work in the West Indies, that fifty of his slaves holed twelve acres in six days. Now the Nottinghams did not prepare their land for cane cultivation, and a great part was in the easy cultivation of pigeon pea trees. Yet according to Mr. Steele's data one acre of land was holed by the labour of twenty-five days of one slave, and he remarked that amongst the fifty were some who "had usually pleaded infirmity and inability," whereas I have assumed that only one-third of the Nottinghams laboured in agriculture, and that two-thirds did not

assist. In neither case was the whip used as in slave labour, and self-interest was the stimulus to both, except that Mr. Steele had still the power to punish, under the sentence of a court formed by himself. Under whatever well ascertained data the examination be made, the result will be a decided proof of the erroneous statements made, respecting the value of the labour of the Nottinghams, as compared with the value of the labour of the slaves of Tortola, with reference to the interests of the parent state, which unquestionably, according to the acknowledged principles of political economy, as I am prepared to prove, derived much more advantages from the labour of the slaves, than from that of the Nottinghams, with regard to equal numbers of each.

I need not repeat that Mr. Nottingham was not the only person in Tortola who had emancipated male and female slaves, leaving them land also for their subsistence, a Mr. Percival acted in the same manner, and emancipated seventeen slaves, to whom he gave a cotton estate in Guana Island, which at the time of his death rented for 150*l.* sterling per annum.

Mrs. Harragin, formerly Vanterpool, also emancipated twenty, and gave them land in the island of Great Camanoes.

These are the three bodies of slaves, who had been emancipated, to whom the legislature of Tortola had referred; but I am unable to explain why my colleague has only noticed one of them, unless perhaps the result of his inquiries respecting the other two bodies had been, like mine, still more unfavourable as to the value of their free labour in West-India agriculture than the case of the Nottinghams proved; for after many years of undisturbed freedom, with the advantages of religious instruction, and two schools in their village, the Nottinghams in 1822, after valuing the property of the husbands of the female Nottinghams, as the property of the wives alone, yet they were not then worth the sum of money which had been distributed amongst the older people in cash, and even after valuing the land given to them as capital of their own creation.

Yet, my Lord, this case of the Nottinghams was a specific statement annexed to the parliamentary debates on the memorable 15th of May 1823, to show to the British public the superior value of free over slave labour in West-India agriculture as regards Great Britain,—a question, my Lord, on which hangs the fate of millions of British capital.

This consideration I hope will induce your Lordship to pardon the minute details into which I have entered, to show how dangerous may be a bias on the mind of any person enabled officially to state, as facts, circumstances which had been investigated in a manner so imperfect, arising perhaps from want of practical knowledge in the management and details of labour employed in West-India agriculture.

My colleague in his Report also states, that the Nottinghams “formerly cultivated cotton, but the price falling low, and the failure of their crops, occasioned them to discontinue the planting of it.” They told me they had discontinued it on account of the low price, and the land being too good for the cotton plant; and they explained very satisfactorily how the good quality of the land affected the crop. But as they had land of different qualities, and the mode of pruning when the land is too good is well known, they convinced me, that if they had been more industrious, they could have cultivated cotton more profitably than the neighbouring proprietor of Beef Island, who, with only forty-six slaves in the field, and from about double the number of acres planted in cotton which Long Look had altogether, produced on an average of good and bad years, sixty-seven bales of cotton, which gave him even at the low prices of 1822, about 3¼ per cent on his capital, including expenses and losses of every kind, and among these expenses was about 50*l.* sterling for taxes, which, being raised on slaves, the *free* people cultivating cotton did not pay. Nor does cotton pay the 4½ per cent duty. With such encouragement, it is seen, that, in Tortola, free labour could not be induced voluntarily to encounter that exertion in the easy cultivation of cotton, which gives 3¼ per cent interest on agricultural capital, of which slaves formed the greatest part. Whereas in the case of the free negro he was both labourer and capitalist. In some years formerly, however, the proprietor of Beef Island had made as high as 15 per cent on his capital, considering slaves as stock; and during these years, the land of Long Look belonged to the Nottinghams, who were making nothing from it, in comparison.

The statement of property possessed by the Nottinghams, as given by my colleague, is made in the same spirit, which he himself notices, when he says, frequently, "All the facts of the case were not disclosed," to support an opinion as to the value of free labour in West-India agriculture.

For instance, in speaking of Jeffry Nottingham, he mentions his possessing five acres of land in Spanish Town, and a shallop of twenty-three feet keel; but he omits to mention that the wife of Jeffry was Grace Frett, of Spanish Town, one of seven slaves emancipated by Mrs. Elizabeth Frett of that island, in the same manner as had been done by Mr. Nottingham, Mr. Percival, Mrs. Harragin, and others. This Grace was the daughter of William Frett, emancipated at the same time. William owned two sailing-boats, one of fourteen, and the other of six tons. He afterwards owned four slaves, named Cudjoe, Will, Joe, and Abel, with several head of horned cattle, and four horses. When free, however, he ultimately lost the greater part of this property, but the remains of it chiefly passed to Grace. It is painful to add, that the party of negroes thus emancipated by Mrs. Frett exhibited the same result as to industry, when free, as the others did. Of Grace Frett, the wife of Jeffry Nottingham, it is due to her to say, her conduct has been very good, and she keeps the largest school in the village, if a collection of rude huts can be so called.

In like manner my colleague says, "Diana and Eve have each a small vessel of twenty-three feet." Diana and Eve are elderly women; all their children have been born free. Diana was married to Jeffry Pickering, a slave on the neighbouring sugar estate, where he was a head man. Jeffry Pickering was considered as the real owner of the boat and cattle, mentioned by my colleague as a proof of the industry of the Nottinghams. From Jeffry himself I heard heavy complaints against the laziness of the young Nottinghams, and that he was himself obliged to hire slaves to work the land of his wife, for if he did not the children neglected the ground. Abraham Vanterpool, a fine young man, who had married a Nottingham, boasted to me that he often worked two hours in a day in his wife's grounds. Abraham was one of the people emancipated by Mrs. Harragin, but lived at Long Look with his wife, as the Vanterpools had then no houses of their own, on their land in Commanoes.

Of Eve, in like manner, it is necessary to say, that she is the wife of Jasper Rapsott, a boat-builder, and to whom the boat belongs. Indeed Jasper, as I understood him, gave in to me all the cattle of the family as belonging to him. He also complained of the indolence of the young people. I understood from him that eight acres of land was cultivated by his family, then consisting of the two parents, eight children, and the son-in-law.

The extent of ground appeared to me to be over-rated. Jeffry Pickering, the slave, was considered the most intelligent man in the village, and I was glad to hear that he has been lately emancipated, but for reasons not so favourable to the Nottinghams as I could have wished. His owner removing his slaves to Trinidad, the wife and family of Jeffry, consisting of five or six persons, being all free, wished to go with him, but Mr. Pickering thinking he had suffered by the vicinity of this free colony to his plantation, preferred giving Jeffry his liberty, for a small consideration, to taking him and his family with his slaves, though Jeffry was a good blacksmith. I am not giving any opinion as to the wisdom or propriety of the line of conduct pursued by the former master of Jeffry Pickering; but the circumstance will show your Lordship the opinion of proprietors on the injury arising from having free negroes settled near their estates, although these opinions may be very erroneous. It also confirms the evidence given in p. 349 of the Schedules, where a reason is alleged why the proprietors consider the vicinity of a class of free negroes like the Nottinghams as injurious to their interests, by the facility thereby afforded for their slaves to dispose of a certain kind of property. And whilst my colleague gives the dimensions of the shallops belonging to the Nottinghams, he does not give any information as to the mode of employing them, and whether they navigated under droghing passes, or registers. Had the statements made by him been discussed with me in Tortola, it would have been easy to have supplied all those omissions, which entirely influence the character of the facts. As it is, I can only give your Lordship such statements as were made to me at the time; I cannot now state how far they apply to present circumstances.

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The sufferings experienced by the Nottinghams in dry seasons, stated by my colleague, however much to be regretted, were common to all other proprietors of land in Tortola; but it was, with respect to the owners of slaves, in favour of the Nottinghams that in such years they had no taxes to pay, whereas the proprietors of land and slaves had not only to pay taxes, but were obliged sometimes to borrow money to procure food and clothing for their slaves, under unfavourable terms, to be repaid in better times. Nobody being disposed to trust the indolent Nottinghams, they could not incur debt; and in the very driest seasons, the sea to them afforded fish for subsistence, and the salt ponds yielded salt, and being free people they could go where they pleased, and leave the colony, to exchange these articles for others in the foreign island of St. Thomas, and they could reside there or elsewhere till the seasons became more favourable for cultivation; whilst as regarded the master, and the enslaved negroes, on such occasions, the latter may not be removed after a certain time to another colony in numbers, but must remain where they are and suffer, unless their master can procure credit to purchase the means of other subsistence than fish. It is true such occasions rarely occur, but should they ever happen, the situation of the slaves in such islands as Tortola may be dreadful, when the clauses in the last Act for the consolidation of the laws for abolishing the Slave Trade on this subject take effect.

I am perfectly at a loss to know what is meant by my colleague in his statement, that the Nottinghams have increased from twenty-five to forty-three souls. In his letter of 16th January, he states, "During a period of forty years, they have thrived in the manner described, and increased their number nearly double."

In p. 237 of the Society's statement on my colleague's evidence, it is said, "They are a fine healthy race, all black, *having married with each other.*" My colleague in his official Report, however, only says, "They had *chiefly* married with each other."

I paid some attention to this point, and either my colleague or I have been deceived. The greatest part of the Nottinghams appear to have died childless, but of those who did bear children, as was stated to me, Margaret had children by a slave named Klaas, belonging to a Mr. Smith; Dora had children by Cudjoe a slave, by Damon a slave, and by Jack Potter a free man, no way connected with the Nottinghams; Diana had her children by Jeffry a slave; Elizabeth had children by Adam Cruise a slave, and by Allen a free man, unconnected with the Nottinghams; Mary had a child by Abraham Vanterpool, already mentioned; George had a daughter named Belinda, by Betsey a free woman, unconnected with the Nottinghams. Of Belinda's children, John had a child by Fanny Sharpe a free woman, and Jeffry had children by Grace Frett a free woman, both of whom were unconnected with the Nottinghams. Beneba had a child by Pero a slave. In short I do not know one instance where the Nottinghams intermarried with each other! Under these circumstances, I cannot understand any of the statements made on the authority of my colleague, as to the Nottinghams having nearly doubled their numbers in forty years. If I understand the case rightly, only half the numbers can be fairly estimated as the progeny of the Nottinghams, the other half referring to the other parents; and in this view of the subject, a decrease in their numbers, instead of doubling them, appears to have been the result.

I hope I have stated the matter fairly, according to the information which I received, and perhaps the extraordinary discrepancy between this statement of mine and that of my colleague may be explained by a reference to that bias on the mind of my colleague, of which perhaps he was not sensible, yet it influenced his mode of stating facts to that degree, that on some occasions the omission of important particulars connected with the facts stated, produced all the consequences of falsehood, of which on other subjects he was quite incapable. There may however be also important facts omitted by me, respecting the increase of the Nottinghams, as I did not expect it would ever have been a matter for discussion, otherwise I should have collected more information on the subject when I was on the spot. What I did collect and verify, however, will be sufficient to show the error into which my colleague has fallen; at the same time I admit the possibility of my having received imperfect information; but by giving the details, I afford the means of correcting any error into which I may have fallen unintentionally.

After this most tedious and painful digression, I return to the consideration of the character of the apprenticed Africans, from which the Report of my colleague had

had drawn me to examine what he considered a confutation of the statements made by the legislature of Tortola in their petition to have the African apprentices removed from that island.

Doubtless the legislature of Tortola may be mistaken in their opinions, but the mere fact of their agreeing to sign such a petition shows they really did think that the labour of the African apprentices, when free, would not be useful to them, or the colonists generally.

And this fact alone, my Lord, is calculated to excite important reflections, as to the character of the free Africans for industry in West-India agriculture.

Is it probable that mere prejudice against the colour of a man's skin could ever induce any body of people, like the Tortola petitioners, to make a request so apparently absurd, as that of removing from their colony a numerous body of Africans, consisting of able-bodied men and woman, if they were as willing as they were capable of working, and increasing the value of the land now given to pasturage, for want of cultivators to be employed thereon?

This absurdity is the more apparent, when it is considered, that the petitioners themselves, and those of the same European origin, are incapable of cultivating those fields, now thrown out of cultivation for want of labourers.

Can such men ever rationally hope to have cultivators for lower wages than these African apprentices could afford to take, who have literally been purchased by bounty money paid by the Treasury of Great Britain, and who have been fed, and taken care of from the same funds, without one farthing of expense to the petitioners?

It does, I confess, appear impossible to reflect on the mere fact of the signature of the petition, without at the same time admitting, from its very nature, that *some* reason affecting the industry of free Africans must have existed for preferring such a petition.

From the manner in which my colleague has noticed this petition, I am, however, led to think the absurdity of the act cannot be such as, at first sight, it may appear.

The fairest way would have been to have brought it under discussion with me in Tortola, and produced the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries, or any other witnesses, or documents, to disprove the assertions made in the petition. Nothing of this kind was done. If the general conduct of the apprentices, already free, was such as to disprove the assertions, or opinions of the petitioners, that circumstance would have been a conclusive argument; but this was not alleged. The petitioners referred to the conduct of "three distinct bodies of people" emancipated under most favourable circumstances, as proving the reasonableness of their apprehensions. Of these "three distinct bodies of people," my colleague only notices *one*, and even his own statements, fairly examined rather confirm, than confute the apprehension of the petitioners, as regards the Nottinghams.

The apparent discrepancy between the statements of the petitioners, and those alleged facts brought forward by my colleague, therefore, is diminished: but to consider the question as bearing on the African apprentices, requires a great deal of detail, relative to local circumstances. I shall endeavour to give a short sketch of these circumstances.

On the settlement of the British West-India Islands, it was soon found that the inhabitants of Great Britain could not cultivate the soil by their own labour, so as to benefit themselves or the parent state. At that period of our history it was considered wise and patriotic to promote the interests of British subjects at the expense of foreigners of whatever nation. Under this selfish system of patriotism, a great act of moral and political injustice was committed, in importing into our colonies, natives of Africa, as slaves, to execute those agricultural labours, of which our own countrymen in that climate were incapable. The government of Great Britain certainly greatly benefited by this act of injustice; and, under their sanction, Englishmen, and their descendants, continued to invest capital in land, in buildings, and in machinery, connected with the agriculture of these colonies, which was carried on by slaves, considered as part of that capital, or stock, the profits on which, tended to enrich the proprietor, and benefit the nation.

After the lapse of centuries, the benevolent quakers of the United States of America, began to examine how the principles of this selfish system of patriotism coincided

coincided with our duties as christians. In their own country they succeeded in getting abolished the state of slavery, in the northern provinces of the union, where the white, or European race, could labour in agriculture, as well, or better, than the African race. The climate also being favourable to the European race, and the means of subsistence easily obtained, increased population, and emigration rapidly supplied the demand for labourers, so that little inconvenience arose to the agricultural capitalist, who before had depended on slave labour, and his own personal exertions to render that capital productive. In the southern states of the union the case was different, as to the capacity of the European race to undergo the labours of agriculture, in the unhealthy tide lands, which were fatal to whites, but not to blacks, actually cultivating the soil; and under these circumstances, the African race is still doomed to labour in slavery, because the American capitalist could not in the southern states get *free* labour to render the soil so productive to him, and the nation, as it is at present. Their self-interest, and self-preservation have prevented the adoption of the principles of general philanthropy.

The benevolent principles of the American quakers, found a congenial spirit among Englishmen, and the result was, in the first place, the abolition of the slave trade; the effect of which, as regards political economy, was merely to prevent any more capital being invested, for the purpose of increasing the number of labourers in agriculture, in the British West-India colonies. So far as Tortola, and the other old English islands were concerned, the operation of the abolition of the slave trade was considered beneficial, as it prevented more labourers being introduced to cultivate lands, possessing advantages over their soil, not only as to fertility, but as to locality, causing the production of a greater quantity of their staple article, sugar, by means of much less negro labour. These local, and other causes, favourable to the new colonies, might be considered as, 1st, exemption from hurricanes; 2d, improved machinery; 3d, facility of transport; and, 4th, a soil not requiring the labour of collecting manure for the fields, &c. &c. Against such advantages, the white capitalists in slaves, land and buildings, &c. residing in the old islands, could not have entered into competition in the production of sugar, whose price would be regulated by the cost of that article, under the most favourable circumstances, when the supply exceeded the demand in the British market, as was actually the case.

Under these circumstances of an over supply of sugar in the British market, the local disadvantages of the old West-India islands, are now felt as much, as if the slave trade had not been abolished by England, in consequence of foreign powers still continuing to import African slaves as labourers, to produce, *in the foreign colonies*, the staple articles of their soil on the cheapest terms, which meeting the surplus produce of Great Britain in foreign markets, regulates the price, according to the general cost of production, and the state of supply and demand, &c.

As far as concerned the competition of foreign colonies, the British Government could afford no relief to the old English colonists. Nor could it perhaps be afforded to them in any manner, unless by rendering agricultural labour cheaper; thus enabling them, like the Barbadoes planters, to manure their fields more abundantly, without an increased expense, or by enabling them to use machinery, which would render manual labour less necessary, and consequently less expensive.

The last measure obviously was impossible, both from local circumstances, and because the benefit of any improved machinery could not be withheld from their competitors. Respecting the first measure, mere accident *appeared* to have provided the remedy to Tortola, by the introduction of the African apprentices.

Several foreign vessels, with slaves on board, were accidentally condemned in the court of vice-admiralty of Tortola, and the Africans, except such as were taken for the military and naval services, were apprenticed to masters and mistresses in the island, chiefly for the terms of ten and fourteen years, without reference to their occupations, ages or capacities. Such a measure at the first sight appears to have been a singular favour conferred upon the white capitalists of Tortola, in furnishing them with African labourers, at the cheapest rate possible, for all the expense relative thereto, was defrayed by the Treasury of Great Britain, and it amounted to a very large sum of money.

After ten years experience of the benefits derived from these cheap labourers, my colleague produces the petition of the legislature of Tortola to your Lordship, stating their wish to get rid of these very cheap labourers.

In the first part of this Report, I endeavoured to explain, that in a West-India colony, its prosperity solely depended on the efficiency of its agricultural industry. Now the Orders in Council, founded on the abolition of the slave trade, expressly forbade all the females of these Africans to be employed in agricultural industry, and the indentures in like manner have tended to prevent the males from being employed in that kind of work, although the Orders in Council were silent on the subject, as regarded the males. Why the indentures prohibited the males from being employed in agriculture, I have never been able to discover. I have reason to believe there has been some delusion in the transaction.

In many instances, however, both the Orders in Council, and covenants of the indenture were disregarded. But certainly the mass of the people were not employed in agricultural labour, and, in point of fact, the labour of the African apprentices did not increase the quantity of the staple articles of sugar and cotton, to any positively certain extent, that could be worth specifying, certainly not equal to the labour of ten able-bodied slaves, notwithstanding the several thousand pounds that had been paid on their account, by the Treasury of Great Britain.

Money therefore has been liberally expended without benefiting in an adequate manner, the poor Africans themselves, whilst the white inhabitants pray to have them removed from the colony, and consequently they cannot believe themselves as having benefited, or as likely to benefit, by the residence of the free Africans among them: Such a state of things cannot fairly be attributed to the operation of mere unreasonable prejudices; at any rate the matter is deserving of some investigation, to show all the facts, and local circumstances, connected with climate, state of the population, with reference to capital, &c. &c. which have produced this anomalous state of affairs.

I have already stated, that the white or European race of men cannot profitably cultivate the soil in our West-India islands, and low lands on the Continent, within the tropics. It was the cultivation of the soil by African slaves, raising productions having exchangeable value in England, which paid for the employment of many poor Englishmen in various ways in the colonies. In time also many negroes were emancipated, as well as the offspring of female negroes from European fathers. A new class of inhabitants therefore were formed, called the free black and coloured people, many of whom inherited much property in slaves, lands, buildings, &c. and many depended on their own exertions for subsistence. This last class naturally became competitors with the poorer persons of the English race in various occupations. In that of agricultural labour the whites could not work. These free black and coloured persons, therefore, as competitors, had a decided advantage over the poorer whites in all occupations requiring much exposure to the sun, and in certain localities affecting health. In the retail traffic also with the slaves, for the productions raised, or sold by the latter, the free black and coloured people had an advantage over the poorer whites, from habits and connections; and from their colour, and race, inspiring greater confidence in the slave, in all cases, where a doubt of his right to the article offered for sale might be entertained, and subsequently examined. On the other hand the poorer whites having claims for parochial relief, became less inclined to exert themselves, and frequently sunk into poverty, retiring from the competition, and becoming a burden to the community. Some however maintained their station, and by their abilities and industry increased their little capital in mechanical trades, and even in traffic, but *not one* in Tortola by personal labour in agricultural industry. Some of both classes had a few slaves, who assisted them in their respective pursuits to obtain the means of subsistence, by the profits dependent on their own exertions, and that of their slaves, in occupations not further connected with agricultural industry, than that, in an agricultural colony, their success chiefly depended on that of others, whose capital and labour were employed in cultivating articles having an exchangeable value in Europe.

The poorer whites, particularly the females, from the operation of these and other causes, were thus thrown upon the parish, or poor funds. In 1822 the adult poor of Tortola receiving parochial relief, I understood, were *entirely females*, of whom four had children; and that the funds were altogether inadequate for their support: indeed they must have suffered the misery of extreme want, if the aid of voluntary and private charity had not been given.

During the time of liberty in Guadaloupe the white females also were the greatest sufferers, although possessing extensive plantations and buildings. The poor French
white

white female proprietors were in the utmost distress for food and raiment, because their former slaves, when free, could not be induced to work steadily, as the cultivation required, for such reward as the proprietors could afford to give, and the system of dividing the profits failed altogether, except on estates where the buildings and machinery were in perfect order previous to emancipation. But when repairs were required, neither funds nor credit could be obtained for the purpose on sugar estates, so that in time, even on those estates best furnished, all went to ruin. I state these facts, from the knowledge, obtained during my residence in Guadaloupe, as secretary and aid-de-camp to the Governor-General. In Guadaloupe, therefore, the poor white females could not support a competition against the free black and coloured persons on those employments wherein they both could labour, as the occupations requiring least labour, were the soonest over supplied; and the result was misery in the extreme, merely from the white race being unable, as in Tortola, to compete with the black race, in certain kinds of industry in the West Indies. Recent circumstances in Tortola have diminished the capital, created by agricultural industry, which gave employment, however limited, to certain of the poor white and free black and coloured persons, with whom, from circumstances deeply to be regretted, the greatest part of the African apprentices are now placed, and by their labour, such as it is, benefiting these poorer classes chiefly.

When the indentures of the apprentices shall have expired, the present reprehensible system of apprenticing them to such persons, it is hoped, will never be renewed; but in that case the African apprentices, as free people, will also become competitors for employments, already over supplied, in those occupations now undertaken by the poorer white, and free black and coloured people.

The demand for labour in their occupations having greatly decreased, and the supply of labourers being thus greatly increased, the persons least able to enter into competition must be the sufferers; and from the climate, and local circumstances, this class of sufferers will be the poorer whites, whose number as claimants on parochial funds will therefore be increased, at a time when the country cannot provide for the poorer females, and their families already dependent on the poor funds.

Here then we have a state of things, difficult to conceive, by a person who draws all his abstract notions from the state of society in Great Britain, for it surely is anomalous, to see an increased number of poor, created by an increased number of acres of land being thrown out of cane, and cotton cultivation. By an increased portion of labour in the formation, and application of manure to the soil, good crops could still be raised; but the rates of wages, which such crops could afford, are not sufficient to induce free negroes to work in that climate, where land is now of little value, (many possessing as much as they please to cultivate without permission, rent, or taxes,) and where fish is so abundant in the sea, which all have the right to catch who are able, and where salt at certain seasons may be gathered on the same terms. The soil cannot produce coffee, or cocoa, which requires very little labour to gather the crops.

Under such circumstances as these, the petitioners of Tortola fear the consequences of an increase of African labourers, who will not employ themselves in agricultural industry, although the demand, at a low rate of wages, is greater than the supply; but the high rate of wages, such as is given occasionally in the foreign island of St. Thomas, for labour not agricultural, the Tortola planters cannot afford to give. The ordinary remedy for a great difference between the natural, and the market price of wages is an increase of population, on the part of those who can afford to subsist with little labour; but in Tortola, there are two classes of people, with unequal capacities to endure labour, connected with agriculture, the source of wealth in that colony; so that while the one class, able to endure that kind of labour, and any other, may perhaps populate up to the means of subsistence, but under the strong preventive check of climate, &c. the other, or white class, will decrease from misery, want, and also the effects of climate under such circumstances.

For the justice of their fears, the petitioners appeal to certain alleged facts, and therefore no opinion could be formed thereon, until I had examined the arguments of my colleague to refute these facts and the statements made, as to "three distinct bodies" of free black and coloured people, who were emancipated under favourable circumstances.

These long and tedious details, however, now enable me to notice another important subject, as regards the poor African apprentices, which my colleague must have accidentally overlooked. This subject relates to the manner how these African apprentices are likely to be received, when free, in a community composed like that of Tortola; and if they are not well received, what is likely to be the result. I shall first state the opinion of one of the African apprentices themselves.

At a meeting of the Commissioners on the 19th November 1822, when my colleague and I were both present, Tom, an apprentice, as appears by the Minutes, gave the following evidence:—

“ Party, (*i. e.* the apprentice,) addressing the Commissioners says: ‘ This
 “ ‘ Tortola is very bad. How they come to the Custom-House to take Africans!
 “ ‘ Suppose they got sick, them say they don’t care nothing about them, because
 “ ‘ they have not paid any money for them; they say them Africans come to take
 “ ‘ the country, (meaning Tortola.)’ On being asked who he meant as the
 “ ‘ persons who said, ‘ them Africans come to take the country?’ (meaning Tortola,)
 “ ‘ he replied, ‘ Them creoles; one of them called George Stephen, a free coloured
 “ ‘ man,’ said to him yesterday, (at the time when Tom’s fowl had gone into
 “ ‘ George Stephen’s kitchen, from which it flew without breaking any thing, and
 “ ‘ was afterwards shot in Tom’s own yard by George Stephen, that he asked
 “ ‘ George Stephen why he had shot his fowl? he replied,) ‘ he did not care for
 “ ‘ any bit of fowl that belonged to any African, or a goat itself he would shoot it!’
 “ ‘ He (Tom) said to him (George Stephen,) ‘ How is it that your hog comes into
 “ ‘ my yard and eats my potato vines, and I don’t shoot it?’ George Stephens
 “ ‘ replied, ‘ Then this was a Guinea negro’s fowl that came into his kitchen, and
 “ ‘ he shot it;’ that he told this to his master, who told him to say nothing, but
 “ ‘ leave the matter to him. By creoles, he means black and coloured people, and
 “ ‘ not white people, with whom he could live very well; that the creole slaves
 “ ‘ dislike the Africans so much, that they do not wish to see them with their eyes.’”

“ On being asked what would become of the African apprentices, of whom he
 “ said the Commissioners would not find one half should they return after
 “ Christmas? He says, ‘ For the sake of living bad, suppose any body took them
 “ ‘ to serve them, and they ask for victuals to eat, or clothes to wear, and if they
 “ ‘ cannot get it, they lick ’em until them gone away.’ Being asked where he
 “ supposed they (the Africans) would run away to? he replied, ‘ To St. Thomas;
 “ ‘ and if you bring them up, they will get a boat, and he does not know where
 “ ‘ they will go.’” See also in the Schedules, p. 338.

It is hoped the imperfect language, in which the evidence is given, will be sufficiently understood, as showing, that in Tortola an unpleasant state of feeling exists between the African apprentices, and the poorer class of free persons, and even the slaves. Of this feeling my colleague could not be altogether ignorant, not only from the preceding evidence given to us both, but from the frequent battles, and quarrels in the streets, of which he may have been occasionally a witness. Indeed, one of the apprentices, Bonaparte, who lost an eye in a fight with a negro of the island, told me he was indebted to my colleague’s being near at the time, that matters were not worse.

It has frequently happened to me personally to separate combatants in the streets. The results of one affray, when I acted as a magistrate, are given in the Schedules, p. 338. On that occasion I found an African apprentice of Mr. Belisario, named George, of an excellent character, but, at this time, armed with a cutlass, in search of a free man, to kill him, or attempt it, for having most wantonly destroyed some of his goats.

The colony, from poverty, is altogether unable to provide funds to support an adequate police. It is not difficult to imagine, what must be the final result of such a state of things, on the future welfare of the colony.

It will be seen, p. 54 of this Report, that not one marriage had taken place between the African apprentices, and any free black or coloured person, although several of the African females had illegitimate children by free black and coloured fathers.

In the evidence given by the most respectable persons in the community on this subject, Mr. King, senior, says: “ From my own knowledge of the free people of
 “ these

“ these islands, I am decidedly of opinion that they would not receive the African apprentices into their society, as the former views the latter with the utmost contempt ; and the slaves of these islands hold them in the same estimation, consequently animosities would arise between the parties, and the result would be danger and expense to the community.”

Mr. King, junior, says : “ I do not believe that the free black people would admit the Africans to associate with them, nor do I believe that the higher class of negro slaves would even admit them into their society at present.”

Mr. Gibbes says : “ Free persons of colour, as well as slaves, hold Africans in contempt ; that there is not the least hope of their being amalgamated with any class of coloured people already free, or slaves likely to become free. This (in addition to an envious hatred on the part of the slaves against a class of beings they consider so much inferior to them, but who nevertheless enjoy freedom,) has generated such a state of feeling as, I am satisfied, will produce, at no remote period, serious disquietude in this community. Under these circumstances, I am decidedly of opinion that the situation of these people, let loose after the expiration of their apprenticeships, will be truly pitiable.”

Mr. Crabb,—“ Does not think, from the feeling which the free black people in this island, (*i. e.* Tortola,) and even those who are solely dependent on their industry for a livelihood, evidently entertain towards the African apprentices, that they would receive or recognize them as belonging to their class of society. There is also existing in the minds of the slaves towards those apprentices a degree of jealousy and dislike, which is very visible ; and it does not appear that apprentices are more favourably disposed towards either the former or the latter of those two descriptions of persons ; so that after serving their time they will form quite a distinct class of people, who, if permitted to remain here, must, with their numerous progeny, become very burdensome and dangerous to the community.”

Mr. Isaacs, also, “ Does not think it likely that the free black people who are solely dependent on their own industry for a living would receive the African apprentices as belonging to their class of society, as the former consider themselves far superior to the latter ; and besides, there appears to be a great degree of animosity existing in the minds of such description towards the other, which has on several occasions broke out with great violence between parties of each. The slave population also in general entertain a great degree of jealousy and ill-will towards those apprentices, and they likewise seem to be very unfavourably disposed towards the slaves ; from which I have reason to conclude that the apprentices, when free, will form a class totally distinct from either of the other two, and that their remaining in the island would be attended not only with an expense that the country could not bear, but with great danger to the community.”

Mr. Carruthers states, “ That the free people of colour, as well as slaves, hold the African apprentices in such contempt, that he does not think they will condescend to suffer them to join either of their classes in society.”

Dr. Stobo says, “ The free black and coloured people have a singular dislike to the African apprentices, which will require a very long time to efface. They often quarrel, and, by way of epithet, call them ‘ Dirty Guinea negroe,’ and ‘ Joram Jo,’ signifying something vile. The creole slaves even hold them as very inferior to themselves. I am of opinion a length of time will elapse before they will be received into the society of free black and coloured people, or even slaves.”

From the uniform testimony of the above individuals, having no African apprentices in their service, your Lordship may be able to form an opinion how unpleasant, and uncomfortable the situation of these poor Africans are likely to be in Tortola, when they become free people, competitors for employment in certain occupations with the poorer classes of society of free persons, and even with the slaves, in some modes of gaining a subsistence.

This last circumstance requires explanation in an inquiry like this, representing facts so anomalous to the state of industry in England, and so different from what has been so diligently, and efficiently represented to be the general state of things in the West Indies, as regards the amount of property possessed by slaves, that I hope your Lordship will pardon my giving some details on the subject, as my colleague, from some cause or other, has entirely omitted to notice them in his report.

Among the slaves in Tortola there are different classes, distinguished by their intelligence, their industry, general good conduct, and their comparative wealth. Some entirely depend for subsistence on what their master gives them, but others, more industrious, have property in cattle, goats, hogs, cotton, provisions, &c., as has been shown elsewhere. Every slave, after his day's work, or at any other time allowed by his master, may, if he pleases, take a bundle of fire-wood or grass, collected by himself, to sell. With the amount he may receive, he generally purchases such articles as he may desire, and the sum will buy. The same observation applies to feathered stock, &c. raised by himself. In this kind of labour the slave was rewarded, in proportion to the price of the article he had for sale, and which price was influenced, by the number of persons, who supplied the demand for these articles. The African apprentices, who did not follow any regular industry, when want urged them, sometimes resorted to this very kind of employment, which had been profitable to the slaves, thereby diminishing the little gains of the latter, by the increase of competitors in this kind of industry. The slaves therefore felt their means of obtaining a certain kind of comforts abridged, by the competition of the African apprentices, who, having their time at their own disposal, when not indented, as Mr. King, senior, stated, went "to the interior of the island to cut grass, wood, and pick wild fruit for two or three days in the week, to bring them to town to sell, and loitered the remainder of their time till their necessities required their going out again."

In short, their exertions merely extended to obtain subsistence and very moderate comforts, and in the direction given to the industrious exertions of some of the Africans they interfered with the moderate gains of the slaves, as the exertions of other apprentices did with those of the poorer class of white, free black, and coloured people, to whom, however, I did not consider the injury done, as admitting of relief, inasmuch as it obliged these free black, coloured, and white people to work, when able, and could get employment, in those occupations wherein they could labour, a few hours in the day, or a few weeks in the year more, than they had been accustomed to, and which, for the whole year, had been so little, that the same degree of exertion would not have supported an English labourer a few months in England. These statements are merely given, as explanatory of some of the circumstances, which probably caused the enmity between the African apprentices, and the other poor people of the island, whether slave or free. Perhaps also this enmity was heightened, as regards the slaves, by their seeing these African apprentices, masters of their own time, without any claims thereto greater than they themselves had, in their own mode of viewing the relative position of each, and more especially when they compared their own knowledge and attainments with those of the Africans. Whether this reasoning be correct or not, the fact of enmity existing between them was certain; and this was an evil. On the other hand, it probably had the effect of directing the industry of the slaves to the rearing of cattle, wherein very few of the Africans could compete with them, which (however injurious to the lowest and poorest class of slaves) was an advantage to those slaves who had most prudence and industry; for although there is a law forbidding slaves to possess cattle, yet in practice, like several other laws, it is not enforced; for the quantity of live stock of different kinds possessed by the slaves is very considerable.

The time is fast approaching when the proprietors will be no longer able to produce sugar, or other articles having an exchangeable value in Europe, from the competition of foreign colonies, with cheaper agricultural labour, from their still carrying on the slave trade, &c.

In this case the proprietor of lands, buildings and machinery, in such colonies as Tortola, must, for subsistence, raise cattle, and provisions, for the supply of the foreign colonies; when it is to be apprehended the proprietors will not permit their own slaves to be competitors with them, in raising the same articles for sale, from their own soil, as their poverty may prevent their being able to grant the indulgences now afforded. The evils of competition between the free Africans, and the slaves will then be worse than ever in its effects.

From all these details your Lordship will perceive, how many elements of discord have been created, to affect the happiness and welfare of the African apprentices now, and hereafter, when free in a colony like Tortola. The result must inevitably be, increased embarrassment to the colonists, and in the end must drive the Africans to foreign colonies, *where they may be, because they have been, seized and sold*

as slaves. The effect of providing for the Africans, at the expense of the other classes of the colonial population, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, appears to me deserving of very serious consideration, with regard to the happiness and welfare of the whole, whether white or black, slave or free. It is a very difficult question how to act in the best manner, until all the facts influencing the relative value of free and slave labour in West India agriculture, have been fairly investigated.

I am well aware such a result never was contemplated by the benevolent persons who framed the Orders in Council relative to these African apprentices.

Highly appreciating, as I do, the moral character of these gentlemen, I am bound, by a sense of duty, to submit to your Lordship, that suitable regulations for the government of Africans in the West Indies cannot advantageously be framed in England, by persons ignorant of local circumstances, and those principles on which the labour of persons in a backward state of civilization can be beneficially directed, in a climate where little labour is required to supply the mere necessary wants of men; and where agricultural labour is generally opposite to that repose in the shade, which forms a personal pleasure of the highest kind, to the inhabitants of the West Indies.

Each colonial government on the other hand, as I have endeavoured to show, may have its local interests so affected, as to forget, that the selfish spirit of patriotism is no longer admitted as a principle to influence legislative measures with respect to the Africans. Therefore, although they may be the persons most capable to point out the evils to which they themselves, by the new principles of philanthropy, are exposed; yet they perhaps may not be equally able to point out the remedy. To guard against the further ill effects of local ignorance in persons residing in England, and also against local prejudices, I submit that any remedies proposed should, in the first instance, be submitted to the local authorities for their report thereon, after which, they may be finally acted upon by an Order in Council, with more chance of success, than has hitherto been the consequence of such orders. Indeed a clause in the Act for the consolidation of the Acts for the abolition of the Slave Trade, passed so late as the last session of Parliament, as well as the Orders in Council to which I have referred, will perhaps show the necessity of this mode of proceeding.

It does not appear, that any member of either House of Parliament considered himself as possessing sufficient practical knowledge, to make any observation on the probable effect of the 24th section of the Act 5 Geo. IV. c. 113, obviously intended for the benefit of the African apprentices.

Yet, my Lord, had there been any Member possessing the necessary practical knowledge, he would have seen, that such an enactment tended to increase, rather than diminish the evils experienced with reference to the poor African apprentices. The difficulty was, to induce respectable and responsible masters and mistresses to take the African apprentices into their service, in consequence of which they were unfortunately placed with poor white and free black and coloured people, who were neither able, nor perhaps willing, to fulfil the covenants of the indentures towards the apprentices. But in proportion as the apprentices had been longer in the country, it might be hoped their services would be found to be more valuable, and thus induce respectable and responsible people to take them as servants. At this stage of the business, an Act of Parliament passes, with a clause, enabling the apprentice to cite the master before one of the most expensive courts in the West Indies, and to have his cause decided summarily, without any jury; and that the master, if wrong, may be fined 100 l. or be imprisoned if unable to pay. And if the master be acquitted, to whom is he to look for the payment of his expenses, or the court for their fees? If the master be condemned, the judge may have a chance of making the master pay his fees; but he has no chance of being paid, if the master be acquitted. The principle of equity in such a law does appear to me so unfounded in justice, or even policy, that I cannot help thinking the legislators who adopted it, very deficient in local knowledge, as regards the West Indies; for if any person possessing such knowledge, had heard such a clause read, they could not have failed to have remarked, that, under its operation, still fewer proper masters would take such a class of servants under these conditions. The practical result must be to induce many respectable and responsible masters to get rid of those apprentices whom they have; or at any rate prevent their taking more into their employment. Many other evils could be stated, as affecting the increased expenditure of the Treasury, but these are sufficient to show the effect of want of practical knowledge in legislating for

for regulating the labour of persons 4,000 miles distant, and under circumstances, as to climate, state of civilization and habits, so perfectly different from what we daily observe around us; and it is from such observations that mankind generally draw inferences, and even establish them as principles, which, though correct as to the facts to which they refer, may be, and often are, very erroneous, with reference to other facts, duly connected by cause and effect, under circumstances very different from those observed in England. In the United States of America, for example, in the northern provinces of the Union, where comparatively few of the African race was held in slavery, it was found an easy matter to emancipate them, because in that climate the white race could enter into competition with them in agricultural labour under great advantages, so that free labour was as cheap, if not cheaper, than slave labour in agriculture. But in the Southern States, where in certain parts the white race could not enter into competition with the African race in agricultural labour from the operation of physical causes, it was found that the principles, which were true in one parallel of latitude of the same nation, were not true, or at least not applicable, a few more degrees to the south, where the African race still remain in a state of slavery.

Had the Orders of Council encouraged, *under proper regulations*, the employment of the African apprentices in agricultural labour, raising objects having an exchangeable value in Europe, wherein they would have had in Tortola no competitors, their labour would now have been of some value to themselves, to the colony and the parent state, whilst the Treasury of Great Britain would have been saved the increasing expenditure to which it is exposed, from the adoption of plans not suited to the people, and local circumstances.

I have still to inquire how, under all the circumstances of the case, the future welfare of the African apprentices, and liberated creole negroes, can now be provided for, without exposing the colony in which they may be placed to danger or expense.

As this subject has been attended hitherto with so much difficulty, I cannot hope for your Lordship's favourable consideration of the plans which I shall have the honour to submit, until I develop the principles on which I found them, as well as give some idea as to the probable operation thereof.

It is not, however, in my power to draw up this part of my Report in time to be laid before Parliament at the same time with the Schedules, and the Report of my colleague; and, therefore, I must request your Lordship's indulgence for separating my Report into three parts, of which this is the First. The Second will contain Plans for providing for the captured Negroes in future; and the Third will contain my Defence against the Imputations which my Colleague has been pleased to prefer against me as a Commissioner. The part which personally concerns me being the least important, I shall prepare the last for your Lordship's perusal; only in the mean time I would respectfully request, that I may not be blamed for any conduct which my colleague has been pleased to impute to me, until my defence has been read.

I trust that, from the statements given in this part of my Report, it will be thought I have assigned sufficient reasons to justify my declining to sign or approve of the Report of my colleague, as sanctioning it to be the result of a statement of facts, in the opinions of both of the Commissioners, sent out to inquire into the state and condition of the apprenticed Africans and captured negroes in the West Indies;—

1. Because, in my opinion, the mode adopted in collecting individual examinations by us was not calculated to give a fair, clear and distinct idea of all the circumstances which influence the actual state and condition of the free Africans, with reference to the laws and institutions of Tortola, as regards the welfare of the English colonists and their descendants; the effect being, to collect cases, frequently under excitement, showing the abuse of power by the white race, without, at the same time, showing all the circumstances arising from laws, institutions, and the effect of climate on the black and white races of men, rendering the former capable, and the latter incapable, to support themselves in certain occupations of productive industry. For, without these circumstances being fairly investigated, it appears to be difficult, if not impossible, either to ascertain the real nature of the evils existing, or the proper means of lessening or removing them,

them, as is required, to enable Government to conform to the Act for the abolition of the Slave Trade, 47 Geo. 3, c. 36, § 16.

2. Because my colleague has entirely omitted to notice any of the consequences, as more specifically arising from the want of local information displayed in the Orders in Council, as affecting the state and condition of the apprentices, and more particularly respecting the value of the labour of these free Africans in the island of Tortola.

3. Because my colleague has entirely omitted to notice the obvious and acknowledged peculiarity in the exertions of the labouring classes of the community in the West Indies, consisting in the inability of Englishmen, or their white descendants, to enter into competition with the African race in occupations requiring much exposure to the sun, as in agricultural industry; and the effects, thence arising, from the Orders in Council, regarding the Africans, on the poorer classes of the white, black, and coloured free labourers, who have no home or asylum except Tortola, wherein they were born, or wherein they may have established themselves.

4. Because my colleague has entirely omitted to notice the mode how the Orders in Council, and recent form of indenture, by withdrawing the African apprentices from agricultural industry, have created them competitors with the slaves also, in certain kinds of industry, and exciting envious feelings between them and the free Africans, as well as between the latter, and many of the other poorer free classes of the community, whether white, black or coloured.

5. Because my colleague produces documents in support of his opinions, which were never officially verified on the spot, nor ever formed part of the official records of the commission in possession of the secretary, and consequently I, being ignorant even of their existence, was deprived of all means of examining, *on the spot*, the individuals whose statements those documents professed to contain, or others, as to the truth of the assertions made; whilst, in all cases of difference of opinion, your Lordship had directed, in the letter to the Commissioners dated 9th September 1822, “that each party is to enter on the minutes of proceedings a statement of the point in dispute, containing, first, a narrative of facts; secondly, an account of the evidence, oral or documentary, by which the truth of the narrative can be established; and thirdly, an explanation of the reasons which induced us to form the opinion which in any such case may have been adopted.” My colleague, on the contrary, presents to your Lordship some evidence, which never was given *officially* to the commission, *which never made a part of the records*, but which would have been gladly received by me, had I had an opportunity of further examining the reverend and respectable Wesleyan missionaries presenting it; nor had I ever known, that they had either given any evidence to my colleague, or intended to do it, upon questions, connected with the control of labour in the West Indies.

6. Because my colleague has introduced into his Report assertions respecting the value of free labour in West-India agriculture, which prove to be incorrect, when the real facts are fairly stated; and in that particular case, I believe my colleague to be an incompetent judge, from a bias on his mind, and from want of practical information, respecting the effect of human exertion on particular kinds of labour in West-India agriculture; so that his mere assertion, or opinion, has no weight, unless clearly, and distinctly supported by detailed facts, proving such opinions to be just inferences therefrom.

7. Because the plan proposed by my colleague for the future disposal of the African apprentices, does not seem calculated for the attainment of their future welfare, when considered in connection with the interests of the colonists in Tortola, and the spirit of the Act of Parliament, which placed them, as apprentices, in certain West-India colonies.

Thomas Moody,

B. Major, Royal Engineers.

Appendix, (A.)

Appx. (A.)

My Lord,

Tortola, 21st June 1822.

WE have the honour to forward for your Lordship's information, copies of a correspondence, (enclosed and numbered 1 and 2,) which we have had with the magistrates of this island, relative to the apprenticed Africans, under charge of the collector of this port, on which we would respectfully solicit your Lordship's instructions how to act; and perhaps it would be desirable to address us separately, as the commission for inquiry into the state of captured Africans may have left Tortola, before your Lordship's instructions would be received here.

For your Lordship's further information, we beg leave to mention, that two African apprentices, named Mary, and Pitt, behaved in a manner so insolent, and insubordinate to their masters, whilst under examination, that both the Commissioners agreed their case ought to be submitted to some authority competent to try their crime. Mary, having a master, was left to him; but the indentures of Pitt, being imperfect, and he having run away to St. Thomas, no person could speak to his character, except the person whom he insulted, and whom he had lately served. This person was therefore sent before the magistrates by the collector, and they were very well disposed to support the authority of the master, but did not think they had the power of trying the case, for the reasons stated in their letter, enclosed, and numbered 2.

The collector's instructions, 16th March 1808, which direct him to provide and take care of these captured Africans, are silent as to the power given him to maintain a due subordination whilst under his special care; and as complaints have been preferred against officers in his situation for inflicting punishment on the African apprentices, he is at a loss how to act, when the magistrates decline taking cognizance of the offence of an African apprentice, unless it be brought before a court of Oyer and Terminer, which would be attended with such an expense, and delay, as would be injurious to both parties.

We therefore respectfully solicit your Lordship to inform us, how far the collector is to be considered authorized, by his instructions of 16th March 1818, and the last paragraph of the Order in Council of same date, to support a due subordination, by the infliction of moderate punishment upon an African apprentice. But we would always prefer the adjudication of the case by legal authority. We also solicit information, how far the magistrates of Tortola, in Enclosure N^o 2, have taken a right view of the law of the case, as at Antigua the practice is understood to be different.

We have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(signed) *Thomas Moody,*
Commissioner for captured Africans.

George Beare,
Collector of Customs for the time being.

Right honourable Earl Bathurst, K. G.
&c. &c. &c.

(A. 1.)

(Enclosure, N^o 1.)

Gentlemen,

Tortola, 18th June 1822.

THE Commissioners for inquiring into the state of captured Africans, having referred to the Collector of His Majesty's customs, the cases of two African apprentices, who had been insolent and insubordinate to their masters, in the presence of the Commissioners, and Collector, the latter gentleman took the apprentice Pitt before your bench, on the 14th instant, when he was informed, that the apprentice laws of England not applying to this colony, they did not feel themselves competent to try the apprentice Pitt.

N^o. 3.
MAJOR MOODY'S
REPORT.

Appx. (A.)

We have respectfully to request whether the above statement correctly expresses the opinion of your bench, and if you would be pleased to enter into any further detail, to enable us to receive Lord Bathurst's instructions.

We have the honour to be, &c.
(signed) *Thomas Moody*, Commissioner, and
George Beare, Collector.

To G. W. Crabb, Richard King, John Ross,
Wm. Gordon, and Richard Roberts, esquires,
magistrates, Tortola.

(A. 2.)

(Enclosure, N^o 2.)

Gentlemen,

Tortola, June 19th, 1822.

WE had the honour to receive your joint letter, addressed to us yesterday, mentioning that two African apprentices had, in the presence of the Commissioners for inquiry into the state of the captured Africans, and the collector of His Majesty's customs, been insolent, and insubordinate to their masters; and that the former gentlemen having referred the case to the latter, he had, on the 14th instant, brought Pitt, one of those offenders, before us as a board of magistrates for trial, when it was stated to that gentleman, that the apprentice laws of England not applying to this colony, we did not feel ourselves competent to try him. You then request to be informed whether such statement correctly expresses our opinion, and signify a wish, that we should enter into detail on the subject, to enable you to receive Lord Bathurst's instructions relative thereto.

In reply to which, we do not hesitate to say, that we did not consider ourselves authorized to enter on a trial for the offences stated to us, being of opinion in the first place, that the statutes of England relative to apprentices (say 5 Eliz. c. 4. 20 Geo. 2. c. 19, &c.) do not, in all cases, apply to the condition of apprentices in the colonies; and in no case to that of the particular description of apprentices alluded to: and in the next place, if they did, that we could not consistently take cognizance of the offences alleged to have been committed by Pitt, as it appeared that the person to whom he was insolent in your presence, (and to whom he had, at a former period, been insubordinate), was not then his master, he having delivered him up, and a transfer of the indenture having taken place many months previously thereto: and as he could not be viewed in the light of a slave, he could not, of course, be tried under the Act in force in this island, giving authority to magistrates to try, and order punishment to slaves for offences by them committed. We further beg leave to observe, as there is no law in existence here, authorizing a summary mode of proceeding for small offences committed by this class of persons, that the court of Oyer and Terminer must, we apprehend, be held to be the only proper tribunal to hear, and determine on all such transgressions, as well as crimes, as they shall be charged with.

We have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

(signed) *Wm. Geo. Crabb*, *John Ross*,
Wm. Gordon, *Richard Roberts*,
Richard King,

To Thomas Moody, esq. Commissioner, &c.
George Beare, esq. Collector of H. M. Customs.

(A. 3.)

My Lord,

Lincoln's-Inn, 28th December 1822.

WE have had the honour to receive your Lordship's letter, transmitting to us an extract of a letter from the Commissioner of inquiry into the state of the African apprentices in the West Indies, stating that considerable difficulty had arisen in some of the islands respecting the jurisdiction of the magistrates in the case of those African apprentices. In some colonies the magistrates had deemed themselves competent to administer the law, in all complaints between master and apprentice,

apprentice, in conformity with the law of England, while in others, they have declined to interfere, conceiving that they have no jurisdiction; and as it was very desirable that the law on that point should be ascertained, your Lordship was pleased to desire that we would report to your Lordship, for His Majesty's information, our opinion whether the British statutes on this subject apply to the colonies in the West Indies, and more particularly with regard to that class of persons into whose condition it is the special object of the Commissioners to inquire.

We have accordingly taken the same into our consideration, and beg leave to report to your Lordship, for His Majesty's information, that we are unable to answer this general question, because the colonies in the West Indies are not all governed by the same laws, but differ much in their constitutions, the question therefore may receive a different answer as it regards different colonies; supposing however the English statutes respecting apprentices to prevail in any of those colonies, it must be recollected that those statutes apply only to apprentices in trades, and to those bound out under the poor laws, and not to apprentices of every description; and in the particular case at Tortola, we think the reasons given by the magistrates for their non-interference valid and sufficient.

We have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

(signed) *R. Gifford,*
J. S. Copley.

Earl Bathurst, &c. &c. &c.

N^o 3.
MAJOR MOODY'S
REPORT.

Appx. (B.)

Appendix, (B.)

Sir,

Tortola, 11th September, 1822.

I HAVE had the honour to receive your letter of the 6th July 1822, conveying Lord Bathurst's instructions to the Commissioners, to submit for his Lordship's information, and consideration, any communications, or suggestions, which may better enable us to ascertain the wishes and intentions of His Majesty's Government, on subjects connected with the commission for inquiring into the state of captured Africans, &c. but which may not have been fully embraced in our first instructions.

Of his Lordship's gracious permission I shall not fail to avail myself from time to time, as it is my earnest desire to conform myself to the wishes, and intentions of His Majesty's Government. The subject introduced to his Lordship's notice by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, is certainly one of great importance, and I can only express my regret for the delay, which has taken place, in soliciting his Lordship's instructions thereon.

With reference to any plan for the future mode of employing, or disposing of the African apprentices, after the expiration of their indentures, in case it should be deemed advisable to place any of them in Trinidad, or the coast of Africa, for example, it would be desirable to be informed, what allowance, or portion of land, &c. His Majesty's Government might be pleased to allot to the respective African settlers. Those, whose indentures are already expired, could then give us their opinion, and even election, in which case we may be instructed how to act, or we could report the result for his Lordship's further instructions to the Commissioners, and the Governors of the islands, or colonies, where the liberated Africans may be residing.

Considering that suggestions, on account of local means of getting information, are invited, it is respectfully submitted for his Lordship's consideration—

1st. That His Majesty's Government should offer to those captured Africans, whose good conduct should render it safe, to place them, as free men, under proper superintendance, in Trinidad, three acres of land, without any expense for grant, surveying, &c. to each man, on the copyhold tenure of fealty, and personal service; so as to enable His Majesty's Government, *for the sole benefit of the people themselves*, to have the power of directing such personal service to the formation of habits of useful industry, in some manner hereafter to be determined on.

2. That such personal service, when employed by Government, will be paid for, according to the industry, and ability of the individual; but if such personal services should be required by any planter, or inhabitant of the colony, that all contracts for such labour should be approved of by the local government, before the liberated African leaves the settlement, or allotment assigned for his residence.

Appx. (B.)

3. That for the first year, food, clothes, tools, domestic utensils, &c. will be provided by Government, but the amount to be considered as a debt due by the liberated African, to be paid for, by personal service, or otherwise; and such sums of money, so repaid, to be annually accounted for, by the superintendent, in its application to contribute to the support of an hospital establishment, and the means of obtaining religious instruction, both of which, however, will be provided by His Majesty's Government, in the first instance.

4. That a house, according to the number of the family, be erected by Government on the lot of each liberated African, in the manner of the country, suitable for persons in their situation, and that an annual rent, equal to ten per cent on the value of the house, be paid by the occupier, which sums for rent, when paid, are to be accounted for, and applied as before suggested.

5. That the same circumstances should apply to the case of each woman, to whom three acres of land should be given on the same tenure, and for each child under the age of eight years one acre of land; and if above eight, and under sixteen years, two acres of land should be given to the parents, or guardians of such child, or children, adjoining their own allotment.

If the Commissioners were authorized to hold out these or any other terms, they would be better able to recommend some plan for the future establishment of the liberated Africans, at the expiration of their indentures, whether it may be on the coast of Africa, or in any West-India island.

Some of the industrious African apprentices, to whom I have spoken on the above plan, have told me they would like such an arrangement. Others, having formed attachments to their present masters, and mistresses, and some connections with the slaves, by whom they have children, are desirous to remain where they are. The greatest part, it must be confessed, however, wish to be permitted to provide for themselves in towns, by some irregular kind of industry, by which they work a few days, and then lead an idle life, and sometimes a dissipated one, until want again urges them to labour.

However desirable it is to consult, when prudent, their own ideas of happiness, it appears to me that such a mode of life, in places where that class of people exist in considerable numbers, would lead to dangerous results, in a community where slavery exists, and where the laws and institutions of colonial society, have not been duly prepared for the reception of such a class of inhabitants. To prepare the generality of liberated Africans to perform their duties, as freemen, in colonial society, it appears to me, that some such training would be necessary, as an improvement on the feudal copyhold system of our Saxon ancestors, would perhaps best supply. These ideas I shall further develope as soon as I have finished with Tortola, but it is on the principle of the copyhold system, that I wish to retain for Government, the command over the future services of the apprentices. I am, however, happy to say, there are several apprentices, who have conducted themselves so well as servants, *that if they continue to act as they have done*, there can be no doubt but they will become useful members of society, not even requiring the slight constraints of the copyhold system, but which has its rewards as well as punishments.

The enlightened and benevolent mind of Major-General Sir Benj. D'Urban, like that of the late Lieutenant-General Sir James Leith, when he was commander of the forces here, saw that the captured Africans could be usefully employed in His Majesty's service, not only in recruiting the West-India regiments, still kept up, but in diminishing the public expenditure, by adopting some efficient plan for the instruction of the people in trades, as carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, &c. combined with the means of obtaining a knowledge of religion. Sir Benjamin, however, thinks, and in this respect, I entirely agree with him, that all persons of this class who may be connected with the army, should be placed under regulations as specific, and strong, as those for any other class of people in the service.

With a view to the future disposal of those who may be usefully employed in the service, on the expiration of their indentures, or who may be placed under the command of the forces hereafter, on their condemnation in a court of Vice-Admiralty, it would be desirable to know the wishes and intentions of His Majesty's Government, whether the Commissioners should draw up a special report on that class of Africans now attached to the army, *but not as soldiers*. In such case perhaps it would be desirable, that directions should be given by his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, and His Grace the Master-General of the Ordnance, that all officers in the different departments of this army, and that of Jamaica, and Bahamas, should attend the commission, when summoned, to give such information

as may be in their power to afford on all matters connected with the captured Africans, not attached to regiments, or on all matters connected with their subsistence, discipline, instruction, or control of their labour, when employed on the public service in any manner, *except as soldiers*; but in no manner whatever ought the commission to interfere between the soldiers and the officers.

From the present reduced state of the resources of Tortola, and the number of Africans already apprenticed here, it may be desirable to provide, in time, for the reception of any other considerable number of Africans, who may be condemned in the Court of Vice-Admiralty here, and therefore I presume to suggest, that all captured negroes, not required for the service, should be sent to Trinidad, where the means may better be provided to prepare them gradually to discharge the new duties which, as free people, they will have to perform. This is entirely a precautionary measure, as no case at present requires the application of its principle.

From the state of Tortola, as already referred to, a great number of the apprentices, notwithstanding all the exertions of the collector, are constantly running away to St. Thomas, a Danish unlimited free port, a few hours distant, wherein, however, they have no legal protection as free men, and from whence some have been sold into slavery in Porto Rico, and others been taken there, but I cannot ascertain their present actual condition, whether they are now as slaves or free people. In cases of that kind, would it be consistent with my duty as a Commissioner to visit such foreign colony, showing my commission, as my credentials, and respectfully soliciting the permission and aid of the foreign government to enable me to ascertain the actual condition of the captured African, at which stage my duties would terminate in any foreign colony, and that I should report the result to you, for the information of Earl Bathurst? The best effects resulted from my paying a *private* visit to the Danish governor, Colonel Van Scholten, when the apprentices in his government required to be examined by me in Tortola. His Excellency and the Judge, who was also chief of the police, offered every assistance in their power to me to have the people sent away from St. Thomas, by having them collected in the gaol by the police officers. It was, however, deemed better to try the effect of persuasion. They all promised to accompany Mr. Grigg, who is regarded as a father by the apprentices, and familiarly called by them "Tata," or father Grigg. Several kept their promises and came up with him, but some gave us the slip, so as to require a second voyage to St. Thomas for them when, Mr. Grigg, the acting searcher and waiter, told me, he saw a great number of the apprentices, who had merely come up to Tortola "to get their names in the book," and had immediately ran away again. Some indeed, whilst under the charge of the collector, and allowed to select their own masters, ran away to St. Thomas in like manner. In such cases, would it not be desirable to remove such apprentices from Tortola to serve the period remaining of their apprenticeship in Trinidad, preferring masters living in the country to those living in town, as in many cases the latter circumstance appears to have had unfavourable effects on their moral conduct, and in lessening their ability to qualify themselves hereafter for the obtaining of a permanent subsistence by labour useful to themselves, and the state? It has been found impossible to prevent their running away to St. Thomas, their passage frequently costing nothing, but their own labour at the oar, and never more than 1 s. or 2 s. paid to the slaves, or free coloured people who have charge of the boats, which go from the numerous bays, and small quays of this government to the foreign free port of St. Thomas, without any communication with the Custom-House; thus teaching the apprentices to evade the laws of the revenue, neglect their duty as servants, and disobey the orders of the collector of the customs, their legal protector. Some expense also is incurred in bringing these people back to Tortola; but I think the masters and mistresses ought to pay such expense, because during the legal process, founded on the bond of the indenture, the collector would be better enabled to ascertain whether the apprentice ran away of his own accord, or whether he had been sent down by the master or mistress on hire, of which they received a part, as cases of this kind have appeared before me as Commissioner, and on these occasions the apprentice was always recommended to be removed from the master or mistress. The collector, however, complains, and I believe justly, that he is unable, from the reduced population, to procure proper masters and mistresses. The more independent classes of the community will not receive the apprentices, so that he is obliged to apprentice them to less wealthy persons, and even to some whose characters he has afterwards found reason to disapprove. These African apprentices are not here considered as *parish* apprentices, and therefore persons,

possessing property, are not compellable to receive them by 8 & 9 Wm. 3. c. 30. In cases of ill-treatment of apprentices, it is also held that the law of 5 Eliz. c. 4, §. 35, and 20 Geo. 3. c. 19, §. 3, 4, & 5, 32 Geo. 3, c. 57, §. 11, 12, 13, & 14, do not apply here, and where we have no house of correction if they did. The indentures also, in many cases, have been so carelessly executed, and in some altogether lost, that it is impossible to prosecute upon the bond. The indenture of the apprentice, and his services have frequently been assigned from one person to another, in the most lax way; and as the only legal guardian of these people is the collector, the Acts of 32 Geo. 3, c. 57, §. 7, and 56 Geo. 3. c. 139, §. 9, respecting the assignment of indentures being sanctioned by two justices, has in no case been complied with, because the sanction of the collector has been deemed sufficient. If it was necessary to prosecute, in a case of an indenture thus assigned, would not these statutes be in the way, if the prosecution was conducted with reference to the English law of master and apprentice? And indeed I believe it has been held in England as good law, "that the person of a man is not strictly or legally assignable." From the mortality incident to a West-India climate, half the masters and mistresses to whom apprentices were originally indentured are dead, when the mutual obligations between the parties ceased. The collector was, and still is in the habit of charging the master or mistress two dollars for each indenture, or transfer of an indenture, a practice which is liable to some objection, as it makes it the interest of the collector to have the indentures frequently assigned over. On the other hand, as the collector ought to be rewarded for his services, perhaps it would be better to give him some permanent allowance annually, in proportion to the number of negro apprentices actually under his protection. The present uncertainty of the law on the subject of the assignment of indentures is another reason why I deem such a charge objectionable; and I think it would be better to have an entirely new indenture instead of a transfer. In such case, the form of indenture sent out by the Commissioners of the customs with their circular letter, dated 21st March 1821, perhaps may be adopted instead of the one now in use. Instead of having each indenture drawn up by a professional person, two or three hundred blank forms may be sent to each collector at a port where a court of Vice-Admiralty is, or where negroes may be condemned, as the expense would be little more than the value of the stationery.

There are also some captured Africans whose terms of apprenticeship have expired, and some captured creoles, who have never been apprenticed out after their condemnation. Of those people no proper records have been kept in the Custom-House; but it seems desirable that some record of them should be kept, as well as of their children. And as indentures are liable to be lost, or destroyed, it would perhaps be proper to order the collector to keep a book or register, on the principle of the Act 42 Geo. 3, c. 46, and that such register should be deemed evidence of indenture, in case the original should be lost. And further, perhaps it would be desirable to legalize those cases where the collector may have assigned over the indenture of apprentices to other persons, should the present law of the case be doubtful.

Respecting those people who have served their apprenticeships, and the propriety of keeping some record of them, I have the honour to enclose copies of correspondence which I have had with the acting collectors of Nevis, and Tortola on this subject.

In our commission, by writ of privy seal, are these words: "Nor does the protecting authority of such officers" (*i. e.* collectors) "over the said apprentices extend beyond the terms of apprenticeship," which words I observe form part of that address of the House of Commons to His Majesty, which led to the institution of this commission. In the Act 47 Geo. 3, c. 36, §. 16, commonly called "The Act for the abolition of the Slave Trade," it is provided, "That it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty in Council, from time to time, to make such orders and regulations for the future disposal and support of such negroes as shall have been bound apprentices under this Act, after the term of their apprenticeship shall have expired, as to His Majesty shall seem meet, and as may prevent such negroes from becoming at any time chargeable upon the island, in which they shall have been so bound apprentice as aforesaid." This Act was passed 25th March 1807. On the 7th January 1808, Lord Castlereagh wrote a circular letter to the governors of West-India islands, directing them respectively to take charge of all prize slaves, "till further directions should arrive under His Majesty's Order in Council." On the 11th April 1808, Lord Castlereagh wrote another circular to the same governors, wherein he informed them that his Lordship enclosed "a copy of an order of His Majesty, in Council, appointing the collector
" or

“ or chief officers of the customs in — to receive, protect and provide for all such natives of Africa as have been or shall be condemned, either as prize of war, or forfeiture to His Majesty’s use in the said island.”

The circular just quoted, the orders of His Majesty in Council of the 16th March 1808, a letter of George Harrison, Esq. to the Commissioners of Customs, dated 12th December 1811, and the order of the Commissioners, 27th December 1811 upon the last mentioned letter, were forwarded to Mr. Dougan and myself, by E. Delavaud, Esq. on the 5th February 1822, just before we left London, for the West Indies. These are all the papers which we have received, that give us any information of what may have passed between His Majesty’s Government and the governors, or collectors of the customs, on the subject of the prize, or captured Africans. On comparing the clause of the Act for the abolition of the Slave Trade, which enables His Majesty to make regulations, &c. for the captured Africans, “ after the term of their apprenticeship shall have expired,” with the Order in Council, placing these people under the care of the collector, it appears to me, that these people should *still* be considered as under the protection of the collector, until His Majesty in Council should make some other regulations respecting those whose terms of apprenticeship have expired; and that the expression in our commission, that the protecting authority of the collector *does not* extend over the apprentices beyond the terms of apprenticeship, is at variance with the letter, and spirit of the Act of Parliament, and Orders in Council. Having no knowledge of any other orders on this subject, I would respectfully beg leave to suggest that orders should be sent to the collectors, that they should consider all “ slaves or natives of Africa” condemned to the crown, and afterwards liberated by the termination of their apprenticeship, or otherwise, as still being under their protection, and their present condition to be specified in their annual reports. I beg leave to offer some further considerations, as showing the reasons for my offering the above suggestion. In the Act 47 Geo. 3, c. 36, §. 7, is shown how slaves taken as prize of war, or seized as forfeiture, are to be disposed of. These slaves may be creoles born in the West Indies, or in Africa. Doubts have been entertained whether the provisions of the clause applied to *all* slaves, or only to those who were natives of Africa. In a little tract, printed in 1810 for the African Institution, and distributed by the members, there is an abstract of the Acts of Parliament for abolishing the slave trade, and of the Orders in Council founded on them. And in p. 26 of that tract, there is the following observation on the clause referred to: “ The provisions as to *enlisting* and *apprenticing* extend only to such slaves as are natives of Africa. If creoles, they are *presumably* able to gain their own livelihood, and are therefore to be “ set at liberty as free men.” The practice here has been in conformity with this opinion, and I have now to communicate the result, not to show the opinion was ill founded, but that it is desirable to have an account from the collector, from time to time, stating the present situation of the creole captured negroes, and that they should be considered as still under his protection. It will appear from the enclosed letter to me from the acting collector of Nevis, that Africans also, who had served their term of apprenticeship, were not disposed to attend to his recommendation for them to remain with their former mistress, Mrs. Forbes, until he could receive instructions as to their future disposal. According to a list which I annex, N° 3, it appears that sixty-nine slaves, considered as creoles, have been condemned here, and “ set at liberty as free men.” The list enclosed is from the register of the Court of Vice-Admiralty; a list required from the Custom-House for the same object is extremely imperfect. Of the sixty-nine slaves who ought now to have been useful members of society in a British colony, *as free men*, I have only been able to collect information concerning six. Jem, who was confined in the gaol of St. Thomas, as reported in the inclosures to our letter dated 29th May 1822, and John Charles, working in the chain-gang at St. Thomas; neither of these persons, from their present situation, appear to have conducted themselves properly as free men. The other four were condemned about a year ago, and have not left Tortola. Of these four, the declarations of George Hughes, and Christiana Wheatley for herself and two surviving children, annexed, and N° 3 (A. B.) will convey their own account of themselves. The case of the woman Christiana ought to be noted, because on her mere assertion of being able to take care of herself, the collector at that time, under the usual construction of the Act, being a creole, threw her, with her three children, into the colonial society, as it appears to me, without due consideration whether she was qualified to discharge her new duties of a free person, or whether the country was likely to afford her the means of subsistence, by the

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the exercise of her industry. From her declaration it appears, when freed, she found herself utterly unable to maintain herself, and three children. One died, it is to be feared, from want, and the two others she was obliged to apprentice out herself, which would have been done more to their advantage, had the collector been a party to the indenture, acting in the name of His Majesty. The poor creature herself now chiefly depends for subsistence on a slave of a plantation, with whom she lives, in the character of a wife, and exercising such industry as she is able to perform. Of the other sixty-three creoles I have been unable to find any trace whatever, except what Governor Von Scholten of St. Thomas told me, that he believed the greatest part of the men entered on board a class of vessels called Colombian privateers. But whose conduct more resembled that of pirates. Some went to St. Domingo, and it is probable the rest to Porto Rico. *They have all left Tortola.*

The account of the Africans whose terms of apprenticeship have expired, is not satisfactory, but it is more so than that of the creoles. These statements I trust will strengthen my recommendation already given. The enclosed letter from the collector of Tortola, N^o 2. will show that he agrees with me in opinion. Lest it may be thought I have not used due diligence to inquire after these creoles, unaccounted for, I beg leave solemnly to assure you, I have used every exertion in my power, not only in Tortola, but in the foreign islands of St. John, and St. Thomas, to which I went at my own private expense; and I propose to do the same in Porto Rico, where I know some of the African apprentices are, and my exertions in inquiring after *them* (the African apprentices) have been so far successful, that out of 130 persons returned "*unaccounted for*" by the last return of the late collector here, to Lord Bathurst, I have been able to account for 123 of them.

I would also beg leave to suggest, that the collectors of His Majesty's customs in charge of African apprentices, should be directed, on *no account whatsoever*, to indent Africans to persons who sail in, or are masters of vessels, navigating the seas under a foreign flag. One apprentice on board a Danish vessel jumped overboard, and was drowned, to avoid punishment. Another on board some foreign flag, after being reported to Mr. Dougan and myself, as run away to St. Thomas, I have since discovered to be at Jamaica, having been allowed to go on board the vessel which was condemned at Jamaica. It is on this subject that I enclose a letter to the collector at Jamaica, which, if approved, may be forwarded.

There is a case which does not appear to have been provided for in any Order in Council, or instructions to governors, or collectors, that I have seen, but on which I would respectfully request to know the wishes and intentions of His Majesty's Government.

In several instances where a female African has been apprenticed, she has died, leaving one or more children. The master or mistress of the deceased mother, being under no obligation to take care of the child or children, they are exposed to be lost, for want of care. It is fortunate that in the cases where it has occurred in Tortola, the masters and mistresses have been good and humane people, and the children are exceedingly well taken care of. The principle of the mother's term of apprenticeship being prolonged in proportion to the number of children she may have, perhaps can be applied to this unforeseen case, and the child may be apprenticed a prolonged number of years to compensate for the care and expense bestowed on rearing it. I would suggest that the indentures for both sexes, should be drawn up in the usual form, and the time so arranged that they should expire when the party attains the age of twenty-one years, with the usual condition, when the party is a female. I fix upon that age, because if the parties became free sooner, they would be left to their own guidance, at an age when the passions are strong, and the judgment weak, rendering them more liable to fall into those errors, which would diminish their utility as members of society.

Yesterday I received the enclosed letter from Mr. Doan, who I know to be a very good master to the two apprentices, who ran away. Their desire obviously is to be their own masters, and live irregular lives in such large towns as St. Thomas. Had Jenkinson got away to Curaçoa, he never would have returned, but in all probability joined the patriots of the new republic of Colombia. When such characters appear among the African apprentices of Tortola, where they cannot be retained, I would submit that they should be sent to Trinidad, by a mail boat, to serve the rest of their time in that island. The collector of Tortola, and the same officer in Trinidad, could arrange the details, and report their proceedings on such cases.

It might perhaps be of great use to me, if I could be put in possession of extracts of any correspondence which the Colonial Office, the Treasury, and Commissioners of Customs

Customs may have had with the commander of the forces, governors, and collectors of customs in the West Indies, on the subject of the African apprentices. The opinions given on any one case, by His Majesty's Government, would enable me to see my way clearly when similar cases may occur in islands or colonies, to which such opinion may never have been communicated. But this I fear would take up too much time. It would be desirable also for me to receive a copy of any late Acts, or parliamentary Papers relative to the abolition of the slave trade.

I fear from the length of this letter, that I have encroached on the indulgence afforded to me, in inviting the communications, and suggestions, which I have presumed to offer, with some reluctance, as I feel assured they can have little value beyond the circumstance of their having originated amidst the scenes to which they refer.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

R. Wilmot, Esq. (signed) *Thomas Moody.*
Under Secretary of State for War and Colonies.

(B. 1.)

Sir,

Custom-House, Nevis, 17th July 1822.

I HAVE the honour to address you on the subject of five African apprentices, whose apprenticeship expired last March. They applied to me a few days ago for certificates under my hand that they had served their time, and informed me that they would no longer remain with the person to whom they were bound, and stated that they were capable of providing for themselves.

I requested them to remain with Mrs. Forbes until I should receive your instructions, but they refused to comply with my directions, and they are now employed by different persons in the town.

I consulted Governor Maxwell as to how I should act in this case, and he recommended me to apply to you; may I therefore solicit the favour of you to forward to me your instructions by an early opportunity?

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Major Moody,
&c. &c. &c.

Your most obedient humble servant,
(signed) *L. Gordon, junior, Acting Collector.*

(A true copy.)

J. Barrow, Secretary to the Commissioner of Inquiry
into the state of captured Africans.

Sir,

Tortola, 19th July 1822.

I HAVE had the honour to receive your letter of the 17th instant, on the subject of five Africans, who had been apprenticed at Nevis.

As I have no information as to the names of the persons, in what vessel captured, to whom apprenticed, or under whose authority, I hope you will pardon my speaking of the ease of these people in general terms.

By 47 Geo. 3. c. 36. §. 16. the power is given to His Majesty in Council to make such regulations for the disposal and support of such negroes, as have been bound apprentice, under that Act, after the term of apprenticeship shall have expired, as shall seem meet, and as may prevent such negroes from becoming at any time chargeable upon the island, in which they shall have been bound apprentices.

Now, till such further pleasure of His Majesty be known, it seems to me, that the care of these people is vested in you, as collector of His Majesty's customs; and that in their future employment, after the termination of their apprenticeship, that you ought to be satisfied that they really are capable of providing for themselves.

In such case, by giving them such certificates, as will show they are working for themselves, under your sanction, I think you will have done all that can be expected of you; for your care and protection of their interests naturally form a part of what the Order in Council expects from collectors. In any part of this duty, I feel assured you will have all the support which his Excellency can give.

As soon as the report of this commission shall be made, on the present state and condition of these persons, to His Majesty's Minister for War and Colonies, it is probable you will have further instructions, from competent authority; but at present

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it does not appear, that you can do more than see that the people are usefully employed for themselves, and kindly treated.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

L. Gordon, junior,
&c. &c. &c.

Your most obedient humble servant,

(signed) *Thomas Moody.*

(A true copy.)

J. Barrow, Secretary to the Commissioner of Inquiry
into the state of captured Africans.

(B. 2.)

Sir,

Tortola, 29th August 1822.

AS there are Africans in this island who have served the period of their apprenticeship, and others who have been liberated on their being condemned to the Crown, I have the honour to submit to your consideration, the propriety of a correct record being kept of those people in your office, and that each person should be provided with a certificate, showing the civil state, in which they are now placed by the law.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(signed) *Thomas Moody,*

Commissioner of Inquiry into the state of captured Africans.

(A true copy.)

J. Barrow, Secretary to the Commissioner of Inquiry
into the state of captured Africans.

George Beare, Esq. Acting Collector of H. M. Customs,
&c. &c. &c. Tortola.

Sir,

Tortola, 29th August 1822.

I HAVE received the letter you addressed to me this morning, wherein you state that as there are Africans in this island who have served the period of their apprenticeship, and others who have been liberated on their being condemned to the Crown, you submit the propriety of a correct record being kept of those people in my office, and that each person should be provided with a certificate, showing the civil state in which they are now placed by the law.

In answer to which, I have the honour to acquaint you, that I concur with you in the propriety of the measure, and shall have no hesitation in adopting your suggestion.

But as I am not in possession of any instructions from home, which relate to the people so circumstanced, I submit for your consideration, whether it will not be proper that you address His Majesty's Secretary of State upon the subject, with the view that, if it is expedient the above should be established as a general regulation, official directions may be forwarded, to that effect, through the Commissioners of His Majesty's customs.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(signed) *George Beare,*

Collector of Customs for the time being.

(A true copy.)

J. Barrow, Secretary to the Commissioner of Inquiry
into the state of captured Africans.

Thomas Moody, Esq. Commissioner for inquiring into the
state of captured Negroes, &c. &c. &c.

(B. 3.)

RETURN of such Ships or Vessels, and the Number of *Slaves* considered as "Creoles" on board, which have been condemned in the Court of Vice-Admiralty at Tortola, under any of the Acts for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Name of Captors or Seizing Ship.	Name of Captured Vessel and Master.	Date of Sentence.	Decretal Part of Sentence.	Number of Slaves condemned.
H. M. schooner Laura, Lieut. C. N. Hunter, commander -	sloop Porpoise, Jean Lafitte, master -	1811 : 13th Nov.	condemned - -	9 males.
Same - - - - -	schooner Espiegle, Francis Vivian, master -	13th Nov.	condemned - -	3 males.
H. M. brig Maria, Lieut. Geo. Kippen, commander - -	schooner Industry, Peter Brown, master -	13th Nov.	condemned - -	11 males.
H. M. schooner Laura, Lieut. C. N. Hunter, commander -	schooner Sally, Antonio Duroche, master -	13th Nov.	condemned - -	3 males.
H. M. brig Maria, Lieut. Geo. Kippen, commander - -	sloop Scourge, Jean Laurent Dufourg, master -	13th Nov.	condemned - -	6 males.
H. M. schooner Laura, Lieut. C. N. Hunter, commander -	schooner Regent, Samuel H. Gilbert, master -	11th Nov.	condemned - -	4 males.
H. M. brig Amaranthe, Geo. Pringle, commander - -	brig Gibraltar, Abraham Collenette, master -	1812 : 15th Jan.	condemned - -	2 males.
H. M. schooner Laura, Lieut. C. N. Hunter, commander -	schooner Adela, Corn' De Wever, master -	20th Feb.	condemned - -	3 males.
H. M. brig Amaranthe, Geo. Pringle, commander - -	sloop Favourite, Thomas Tynes, master -	4th March	Further proof decreed within two months ; from Barbadoes; vessel, &c. claimed for Samuel Ames of said place, about which nothing further appears -	7 navigators.
H. M. brig Maria, Lieut. Geo. Kippen, commander - -	sloop Mary, James Todd, master -	24th April	condemned - -	2 males.
H. M. schooner Laura, Lieut. C. N. Hunter, commander -	schooner Anthony, John Davis, master -	20th May	condemned - -	1 male.
H. M. brig Maria, Lieut. Geo. Kippen, commander - -	sloop Jonah, Joseph Se-guan, master -	30th May	condemned - -	2 males.
H. M. brig Amaranthe, Geo. Pringle, commander - -	sloop Penelope, Francis Pike, master -	20th May	condemned - -	2 males.
H. M. schooner Laura, Lieut. C. N. Hunter, commander -	sloop Augustus, Richard Hinson, master -	22d June	condemned - -	2 males.
H. M. brig Peruvian, A. F. Westropp, commander -	sloop Prévoyant, Jean Baptiste Auzias, master -	18th Nov.	condemned - -	3 males.
Henry Clement, acting collector H. M. Customs - -	five negro slaves - -	1821 : 17th Aug.	condemned for having been imported into Tortola by one Henry Wheatley -	3 males & 2 females.
	schooner, Edward Jones, master - - - -	1811 : 13th April	- - - -	4 males(a)
				69

This list of creole captured negroes was furnished by the Registrar of the court of Vice-Admiralty, from whose general return it is extracted.

(a) Furnished by the Custom-House, having been omitted by the Registrar of the Admiralty.

(A true extract.)
J. Barrow, Secretary to the Commissioner of Inquiry into the state of captured Africans.

(B. in B. 3.)

DECLARATION of Christiana Wheatley :—Has been innoculated, with her two children. This is a particular case. Christiana Wheatley, and her two children, belonged to Mr. Henry Wheatley, a carpenter, and native of Tortola, who brought her and three children, with another slave named George, a carpenter, and a creole of Tortola, from the Danish island of Santa Cruz. They were condemned in the court of Vice-Admiralty on 17th August 1821, and were all liberated, being considered creoles, and not liable to be indented as apprentices, like Africans. Since that period she has been exposed to several hardships. After she was liberated, she lived about five months with Dr. Ross, where she was made very comfortable, and happy ; but the person who lived with her as a husband, named Henry, a slave belonging to Mrs. M' Cleverty, having broken into the cellar and stolen the liquor, when the key was left in her possession, Dr. Ross would not keep her longer

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MAJOR MOODY'S REPORT.

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longer, but afterwards Mrs. Ross consented to receive Bella, her daughter, as she was entirely unable to support her children; and one died, as she had no means to procure it proper nourishment; indeed she was unable to get it buried, from being too poor to buy a coffin. This was done for her by Dr. Ross. Richard Phillips, a free man, was good enough to take care of the boy Peter, and he now lives with him. She has now nobody dependent on her, and lives with Louis, a slave, belonging to Purcel's Estate. She lives by huxtering corned fish, which she buys fresh, and salts it. She buys three boneta fish, weighing about twelve pounds, for twelve dogs, and pays one dog for salt, which she is able to sell for fifteen dogs in the country. With this she buys clothes, and she is fed by her husband. She has been brought up as a seamstress, and sometimes gets work from the coloured people to do for them, and on those occasions she can make three bits a day by her labour. But this work is very scarce, and she is obliged to depend on her huxtering. She appears to be in a very maugre and poor state of health, and was obliged to retire, whilst under examination, on account of a swimming in her head.

(A. in B. 3.)

DECLARATION of George Hughes:—Has been innoculated. Heard read to him the account given by Christiana, his fellow-servant with Mr. Wheatley, and says it is all true; but he thinks she makes a mistake about the money she gets by selling salted, or corned fish, for though sometimes she may make only two dogs by corning twelve pounds of fish, and may sometimes lose, when times are bad, yet that generally she must have made more money by selling salted fish than she states. She also mistakes in saying Mr. Wheatley is a native of Tortola, as he was born in England. The party himself was born in Tortola, and was bred a house servant, and lived many years in that capacity with Mr. Mark Dyer, a lawyer in Tortola. He was also servant to Mr. William King, whom he accompanied to Scotland, where he remained fourteen months, but the winter not agreeing with him, he begged his master to send him back to the West Indies, which he did; and he remained in Tortola till his master also came to the West Indies. He then lived with Mr. King in St. Thomas about four years, and not being able to agree with his fellow-servants, his master sold him in St. Thomas to a gentleman of Santa Cruz. This occurred before the English took Santa Cruz. Judge Gillerup, who bought him, kept him as a house servant, with whom he remained twelve months. Not liking to be a house servant, he begged his master to give him a trade, on which he was placed with a carpenter. He was two years learning that trade, when he had his time given to him by his master, on condition of his paying two dollars a week. When times were good, he used to make five dollars a week. After being thus employed two years, the judge sold him to Mr. Wheatley for 850 pieces of eight. He was seven years with Mr. Wheatley, working as a carpenter in Santa Cruz, and St. Thomas. When the hurricane happened at Tortola, he was working at St. Thomas. After that event, Mr. Wheatley went to Tortola, where he got work; and the job at St. Thomas being finished, the party went back to Santa Cruz, to Catherine Harragin, a free coloured woman, who lived with Mr. Wheatley. The last named person wrote to Catherine Harragin to send over the party to Tortola, to work at his trade as a carpenter, which he did. He came from Santa Cruz in a small boat, called the Enterprize, of which the master was a free black man, named Kendal.

He was in prison for an alleged breach of the peace, when the collector, Mr. Clement, made a levy on him for being illegally imported into this island, and was consequently liberated, and not apprenticed out, being a creole. He has been now about a year free, during five weeks of which time he has been working with Mr. Wheatley, his former master, who gave him food, but no pay, in consequence of which he left him. Since that period he has been unable to get any work, as a carpenter, or to be hired as a house servant. He has no house, or home, but that of the woman with whom he lived, named Mary Ann, a slave belonging to Mr. George's lower estate, near to the town. That he sets a fish pot and catches fish, and cuts wood, which he sells in town. Sometimes he catches more fish than he can eat, and is able to sell from eight to ten dogs worth, and sometimes he sells twenty-four dogs worth of wood.

He has lately been very sick, but had no person to take care of him, except the slave with whom he lives. That he finds it very hard to make a living, and has found his greatest support as a fiddler at dances, but he is now without a fiddle. The following statement was then made to him: If Government were to offer him

him three acres of land in Trinidad, free of rent, but on the condition that he should work for Government, on fair wages, whenever he was required, that a house should be put up by Government for him, in proportion to his family, but he should pay every year ten per cent of its value for rent; that he should have food, tools, and utensils from Government for the first year, but that he should pay for them as he was able, by his services. He at first said, he would gladly accept of such an offer; but when this was written down, and read to him, he said he would rather not go if the choice was left to him, as he was very happy where he was. It is not so easy to form an idea of the character of the creoles, as no person attends with them, and their statements are consequently given under no check, whilst the African apprentice answers questions in the presence of those, who have the means of pointing out how dubious statements can be further investigated. The present person having been in Europe, and living long in respectable families, was very intelligent, and perfectly understood the nature of his situation. He appears to be a good workman, but addicted to drinking rum. His appearance is wretched, and squalid, and his clothes all in rags.

(A true copy from Schedules.)

J. Barrow, Secretary to the Commissioner of Inquiry
into the state of captured Africans.

(B. 4.)

Sir,

Tortola, 27th May 1822.

WE have the honour to inform your Excellency, that soon after our arrival here we were informed an African apprentice named Jem was confined in the Danish fort at St. Thomas, and that by the laws of that colony it was probable he would be sold as a slave. Governor Van Scholten, in his letter to President Porter, dated 6th December 1821, which we enclose, states, "No strange man of colour by the laws of Denmark are allowed to reside at St. Thomas or be considered free, unless he obtain a free brief from the government, or otherwise permission to remain there, in order to prevent the colonies from being infected with bad subjects from other countries."

Under those circumstances, with a view to save time, and expense, on the 11th instant we submitted the case to the consideration of President Porter, and in conformity with our instructions requested him to take such measures as he might think most proper to restore the individual to his liberty.

We have the honour to enclose the answer of President Porter, who lost no time in communicating with his Excellency Governor Van Scholten. We have also the honour to enclose another letter from President Porter, conveying information as to the individual Jem, but we apprehend his Honor has not, as yet, had any official communication from the Danish Governor.

It is also necessary further to state to you, that we find the individual Jem has served his apprenticeship, and has been his own master for a year or two.

Under these circumstances we feel it our duty to avail ourselves of your Excellency's obliging assurances of your wish to give the commission all the aid in your power for the better accomplishment of those services expected from it. It appears by our commission that the protecting authority of the collectors over the said apprentices does not extend beyond the terms of apprenticeship. We therefore respectfully submit to your Excellency, whether this is not a case wherein you may judge it proper to enter into such correspondence with the Danish Governor, and His Majesty's Minister for War and Colonies, as you may think most likely to restore the individual to liberty, if he should not have forfeited his claim thereto by some crime. It would also be desirable at the same time to establish some regulation for the future, so that the local government should be early apprised of the apprehension, and detention of apprentices in the Danish colonies, that the expenses might be lessened by a speedy liberation of the individuals.

We have been sitting for a week, during which period we have met with no difficulties to impede the progress of our inquiries.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servants,

(signed)

Thomas Moody,
John Dougan.

(A true copy.)

J. Barrow, Secretary to the Commissioners of Inquiry
into the state of captured Africans.

His Excellency Colonel Maxwell, Governor of St. Kitts,
&c. &c. &c.

N° 3
MAJOR MOODY'S
REPORT.

Appx. (B.)

Sir,

Tortola, Nov. 28th, 1821.

YOUR Honor is doubtless aware that some years since a large number of the natives of Africa were condemned to His Majesty in the Vice-Admiralty Court of this island, under what is termed the Abolition Act. Those who were not selected for the service of the army, or navy were, in conformity with that Act, apprenticed for a term of years to individuals in this island.

Many persons to whom these people were apprenticed, either ignorant of the obligation by which they were bound, or supposing no notice would be taken of the breach of their covenant, in direct violation of the Act of Parliament, have sent or permitted these apprentices to go to your island, and remain there. And many of these negroes, so apprenticed, have run away, and are at present in St. Thomas's passing as free persons, and who are entirely at their own disposal.

Among these, I have just now been informed that one called Jem, who was an indented servant to the late Mr. James Robertson of this island, deceased, was lately put into the fort in your island, (on what ground I have not heard,) and sold to a person named Wolf, who has since sold him *as a slave* to some person, who carried him in that capacity to Porto Rico. I have further been informed, that another of these Africans, named John, (who was apprenticed to a coloured man in this island, named Jem Wickham, who is dead,) is at present in your fort, and will also be sold, as the other is stated to have been.

Having received this information, it becomes an imperious duty upon me to acquaint your Honor, that these persons by the laws of England are free, but although free, they are under the control of His Majesty, to whom they were condemned, and that by our laws they cannot be sold as slaves.

The information which I have received may be true, or it may not, but having received it, I feel compelled to mention the matter to your Honor, well convinced that should it be as represented, you will interpose your authority, not only to prevent the sale of the negro John, but so far as in your power to rescue from slavery the man Jem.

I remain very respectfully, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(signed) *George R. Porter*, President.

(A true copy.)

J. Barrow, Secretary to the Commissioner of Inquiry
into the state of captured Africans.

His Honor Lieut. Col. V. Scholten,
Commandant of the islands of St. Thomas and St. John,
St. Thomas.

Answer to the above.

Sir,

Government House, St. Thomas, 6th Dec. 1821.

IN compliance with your Honor's wish, I have investigated into the facts, stated in your letter of the 28th ultimo, and have hereby to inform you that a negro, Jem, alias James, was taken upon Mrs. Vetter's estate, on the 12th of May this year, as a thief, and consequently put in gaol. He either would or could not give the least information about himself, or how he came to this island, and seemed to be mad. After having been arrested over the time prescribed in our laws, he was according to the same, no reclamation of him having been made, advertised in the newspapers for sale, and sold by public vendue, for one dollar, to Mr. Aaron Wolf, who afterwards sent him to Porto Rico.

Probably this may have been that negro Jem, of whom your Honor writes was free, and an apprentice to Mr. James Robertson, deceased; but as these circumstances were not known here, and even not mentioned by the man himself, he could not be looked upon in any other light than a run-away slave, who, not claimed by any one, was sold off in order not to remain a burthen to the colony.

Your Honor is no doubt informed, that no strange man of colour by our laws is permitted to reside here, and considered as free, unless he obtains free brief from the government, or otherwise permission to remain here, in order to prevent the colonies from being infected with bad subjects from other countries.

Concerning negro John, I have the honour to enclose a translation of a receipt dated 4th instant, of which your Honor will see that this man is delivered up to Captain B. Smith.

By

By your Honor's letter I further observe, that many of those negroes condemned to His Britannic Majesty have found their way to this island, but as these cannot be discerned from run-away slaves, and, in order to avoid all difficulties, I should be glad to find that your Honor would, if possible, find means to prevent the sending of them to this country, where such people, without means to maintain themselves, become a burthen and nuisance to the community.

I remain, with great respect,
Your Honor's most obedient and humble servant,

(signed) *P. V. Scholten,*
Lieut.-Colonel, Gentleman of H. M. Bed Chamber, Knight of the Royal French Order du Merite Militaire, Stadshauptman of St. Thomas, and Commandant of the Danish West-India Islands St. Thomas and St. John's.

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MAJOR MOODY'S
REPORT.

Appx. (B.)

(A true copy.)

J. Barrow, Secretary to the Commissioner of Inquiry
into the state of captured Africans.

His Honor Geo. R. Porter, Esq.
President of the Virgin Islands, &c. &c. &c.
Tortola.

EXTRACT from Schedule relative to Mr. M'Cleverty's African Apprentices
Jane and Eliza.

ELIZA UNOBI.—Mrs. M'Cleverty, free coloured woman; widow of J. M'Cleverty, says she was a washer, and was with Mr. M'Cleverty about six months; they took the whole of the African apprentices to St. Thomas, a Danish island, where they went to live there, about 1816, or 1817; the two female apprentices named Jane and Eliza were missed in the morning by Mrs. M'Cleverty. Sarah, a slave of her's, told her, the next morning, that they had removed all their things from the house.

Mr. M'Cleverty sent for the captain of the free corps, Cornelius, who is since dead, and offered a reward for their apprehension. The captain mentioned, that on the same evening a slave of his had eloped, and gone off in a boat to Porto Rico. Robin, apprentice to Mr. Parkinson, a carpenter, and husband to Eliza, one of the above apprentices, told Mrs. M'Cleverty that he had received a present from his wife, who was at Porto Rico, and had two children. This was six weeks ago, from May 1822. This is all the information she has been able to obtain of them.

Jane Itchecuma.—Gives the same account of Jane's running away as she has done of Eliza. Eliza had a husband as mentioned.

DECLARATION of William Ocanja, an African Apprentice, indented as
a carpenter to William Nibbs, f. c. m. Cabinet-maker in Tortola.

THE declarant, William, states, that about 1816 he was a sailor on board the sloop *Amelia*, belonging to his present master, and commanded by him; that he went to a part of Porto Rico, the name of which he does not know, but he was ordered to pick fire-wood; that when on shore, he saw one of the African apprentices, a Moqua woman, whom he knew, named 'Nyang in her country, which is the same as declarant's; her English name was Eliza, and she was an apprentice to the late Mr. M'Cleverty, a free coloured man; he knows that she lived with the late Mr. M'Cleverty, in St. Thomas. He was often in the habit of speaking to 'Nyang, being his countrywoman, and, when he went to Mr. M'Cleverty's, he asked after her, and his countrymen told him she had ran away, but did not know whither she had gone. The female he saw at Porto Rico was the same woman. When he spoke to her, she had a jug in her hand, and was coming for water. He spoke to her twice in Moqua, before she would answer him; at last she asked him how he came there, in Moqua, and then asked how an African apprentice, (her husband), did, whose country name was Apan, but now called Robin, who is a carpenter, living with Mr. Parkinson,

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MAJOR MOODY'S
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Appx. (B.)

and lately run away to St. Thomas. She then begged him to wait till she returned, when she went, and fetched seven plantains and six heads of Indian corn, and begged the declarant to give them to Apan, or Robin, for her, and begged the declarant to tell her husband Apan that he would never see her more. She then filled her jug with water, and went away. She did not tell him that she had two children. Had no further conversation with her, and does not know whether she is a slave or not.

As the declarant had been three times sent for to the Custom-House to give his declaration, and each time he positively refused to obey his master and attend, he was asked his reason. He told his master he was afraid to go to the Custom-House, for fear his countrymen should think he was carrying news and beat him, and that made him afraid. By telling news, he means informing about smuggling, and going to St. Thomas.

Taken before me at Tortola, this 7th September 1822,

(signed)

Thomas Moody.

DECLARATION of William Nibbs, Cabinet-maker.

THE declarant states, that on the 15th November 1816, he was at Ponce Harbour, in the island of Porto Rico, and sent the African apprentice William on shore to pick wood, which he did, and returned. He knows the African apprentices of Mr. M'Cleverty, named Jane and Eliza, who were both very fine-looking women. Had heard they had both run away, and Mr. M'Cleverty stated he feared they had gone to Porto Rico. When he was at Ponce he understood that Monsieur François, whom he knew once lived at St. Thomas, had recently purchased a plantation at Ponce, and that he took his establishment from St. Thomas thither, and he thinks he is the most likely person to give an account of the females, if they should still be at Ponce.

(signed)

W^m Nibbs.

Taken before me at Tortola, this 7th September 1822.

(signed)

Thomas Moody.

(A true copy.)

J. Barrow, Secretary to the Commissioner of Inquiry
into the state of captured Africans.

(B. 5.)

Sir,

Tortola, 10th September 1822.

PREVIOUS to my going to Antigua in June last, I called at the Custom-House to have my African apprentice Johnson inspected by the Commissioners, but owing to the number presented that day, he could not be examined. The day before my return Mr. Dougan left this for England, and the examination of apprentices was deferred a few days. The day you recommenced the examination, I was obliged to sail for Antigua, and on my return found Johnson had absconded. I have used every exertion that lay in my power to get him from St. Thomas, both by repeatedly sending, and going myself for the purpose of apprehending him. I employed a police officer to look after him, but not knowing his place of residence he could not succeed in taking him. While in St. Thomas I heard, much to my astonishment, that another of my African apprentices was there (named Jenkinson). He had arrived in St. Thomas in a Joes Van Dyke's boat the day before I went down, and had shipped himself on board a sloop bound for Curaçoa; the vessel was to sail the day I caught him. I brought him up, and wished the collector to take him, this he declined doing, saying I must find some person to take him from me. Our police officer (Mr. Coulter) would have taken him, and went to the collector with me for the purpose of getting the indentures transferred, but the boy not liking Mr. Coulter, the collector refused to bind him against his inclination. Under these circumstances what am I to do? This boy I am convinced will take the first opportunity of leaving me, and he can escape to St. Thomas with such great facility, that there is no such thing as keeping him secure, unless I confine him, which I do not wish. It would certainly be a hard case for me to pay for them, after having used every exertion in my power to keep them securely, and I can get no one to take them from me, as they are both notorious runaways.

I am, Sir,

Respectfully your most obedient servant,

(A true copy.)

(signed)

J. P. Doan.

J. Barrow, Secretary to the Commissioner of Inquiry
into the state of captured Africans.

Major Moody.

Appendix, (C.)

N^o 3.
MAJOR MOODY'S
REPORT.

Appx. (C.)

Dear Sir,

29, Half-Moon-street, 15th February 1825.

WHEN in Tortola, I received the following letter from Mr. James Grigg of the Custom-House, wherein reference is made to your *name*, as informing him of John Charles, (a liberated negro captured by H. M. ship *Peruvian*), being in the chain-gang of St. Thomas, in August 1822, which has been attempted to be denied by the certificate of T. J. Niles and R. Philips, f. c. m. of Tortola. I hope you will pardon my inquiring of you, if the enclosed statement of Mr. Grigg be correct, as far as you are concerned; and if you are positive that John Charles Degagé really was at that time in the chain-gang of St. Thomas.

I am, &c.

(signed) *Thomas Moody*, late Commissioner, &c.

John King, esq.

(C. 1.)

Sir,

Custom-House, Tortola, 12th Decéber 1822.

IN respect to John Charles, I must beg leave to inform you, that on the 8th day of August, when in search of the absent African apprentices at St. Thomas, I was informed by John King, Esq. that a man by the name of John Charles was in the chain-gang, and that he had the certificate given to Captain Westropp of His Majesty's ship *Peruvienne*, which he went to his desk and gave me; in consequence of this information, I the same day, on passing at some little distance the chain-gang, called out, John Charles, and was answered, "Here I am, Sir." As I was then going to the judges I had not time to proceed after them; and the Africans I had collected being on board the vessel, and waiting my getting on board to sail, I was compelled to come away without again going after him.

(signed) *James Grigg*.

Major Moody,
Commissioner, &c. &c. &c.

(Enclosure.)

Custom-House, Port of Tortola.

THESE are to certify, that George D. Dix, Esq. hath produced at this office three men, Africans, taken by His Majesty's ship *Peruvienne*, Captain Westropp, and condemned at this island, on board the sloop *Prévoyante*, Ozias, master, of Martinique, on the day of this present month, having been slaves acting on board the said vessel as seamen, and as such forfeited to His Majesty; which persons have been delivered over to be retained in His Majesty's service on board of said ship, in conformity to His Majesty's Order of Council of 16th March 1808. Given under our hands at the Custom-House, the 25th day of November 1812.

James Grigg, acting for
Thomas Thomason, Collector.
George R. Porter, Acting Comptroller.

Description:—Charles, a man five feet four inches; John Charles, a man five feet two inches; La Guerre, a man five feet; whose persons, age, and complexion was not filled up.

J. Grigg.

Jacque, a boy, captured in another vessel was shown at same time.

(C. 2.)

Dear Sir,

61, Margaret-street, February 16th, 1825.

I RECEIVED your's of yesterday's date this morning, and in reply have to inform you, that John Charles was in the chain-gang at St. Thomas, and applied to me, as having been agent for His Majesty's ship *Peruvian* at the time of his capture, to endeavour to get him released. I cannot say positively as to the date, but believe it was as mentioned by Mr. Grigg; the remainder of his statement is perfectly correct.

I am, &c.

(signed) *John King*.

Major Thomas Moody.

N^o 3.
MAJOR MOODY'S
REPORT.

Appendix, (D.)

Appx. (D.)	List of Persons, natives of Africa, who have been Apprentices, or liberated under any Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, now paying any public Tax in Tortola, and how much.	List of Persons, natives of Africa, who have been liberated by their Owners for good conduct, now paying any public Tax, and how much.	List of Creole Slaves who have been liberated by their Owners for good conduct, now paying any public Tax, and how much.	List of free coloured Persons born free, or inheriting property, now paying any public Tax, and how much.
	No persons of this description in these islands who pay any public tax.	No persons of this description in these islands who pay any public tax.	There are about five persons of this description now paying public tax, which amount to about 4 l. 17 s. this present year, 1822.	One hundred and eight free coloured and black persons who pay taxes under different tax bills, which amount to about 895 l. 13 s. 6 d. this year, 1822.

(signed) John Gibbes, Treasurer.

N.B. The money is stated in Tortola currency, of which one half will give the amount in sterling.

Appx. (E.)

Appendix, (E.)

VISIBLE PROPERTY possessed by Slaves in the Virgin Islands, 1823.

	(Sterling.)
38 Horses, at 7 l. 10 s. per head - - - -	£. 285 - -
938 Horned cattle, 5 l. - - - -	4,690 - -
2,125 Goats, 10 s. - - - -	1,062 10 -
1,208 Pigs, 10 s. - - - -	604 - -
33,120 Poultry, 1 s. 6 d. - - - -	2,484 - -
23 Boats, 5 l. - - - -	115 - -
Fish pots and fishing-tackle - - - -	123 10 -
Property in buildings, chiefly in town - - - -	700 - -
Furniture and utensils, at 15 s. per head - - - -	4,968 - -
	£. 15,032 - -

In the above I have not estimated the disposable portion of esculents and fruits, and cotton raised by slaves. They cultivate, on their own account, about 1,675 acres of land, which is estimated to yield annually 3 l. 10 s. sterling per acre, in total 5,862 l. 10 s.* After supporting themselves, the surplus they dispose of at market, which amounts to a very considerable sum. The industrious also possess in cash considerable sums. I am fully satisfied that they are in possession of capital, arising from sale of stock and crop, to fully the amount of 5,000 l. sterling.

(signed) John Stobo.

* The number of slaves who cultivate ground for their own benefit being 2,933, and each negro is averaged to cultivate, in ground provisions, two roods eleven perches, which is estimated to yield annually 1 l. 19 s. 10 d. They possess stock to the value of 9,125 l. which are estimated to yield annually 1,369 l. or to each for their labour, arising from stock and crop, 2 l. 9 s. 2 d. annually on their own account.