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Slave Trade.

P A P E R S
RELATING TO
CAPTURED NEGROES.

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable the House of Commons,
dated 13th April 1824 ;

(as far as it can at present be complied with)

for,

COPIES OF ALL

REPORTS made by the Commissioners, or by either of them, who were appointed by His Majesty, in compliance with an Address of The House, to inquire into the State of the AFRICANS, who had been condemned to His Majesty under the Acts abolishing the Slave Trade, and who had been apprenticed, or otherwise disposed of, in the *West Indies*.

Colonial Department, }
Downing-Street, }
23 February 1826. }

R. J. W. HORTON.

VIZ.

SECOND PART OF MAJOR MOODY'S REPORT
RELATING TO CAPTURED NEGROES.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
24 February 1826.

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London, 18th February, 1826.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to submit, for your Lordship's consideration, the Second 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.

In submitting any measures for meliorating the condition, and promoting the civilization and happiness of Apprenticed *Africans*, (inhabiting the torrid zone, in parts where population is thinly settled, and where the means of subsistence is almost gratuitously obtained from the bounty of nature,) your Lordship is well aware, that they must be of a *practical*, and not of a *theoretical* nature.

The expediency of such measures cannot be appreciated by reference to Theories, however sound, which have been formed from observations on men, living in a different climate—in a different state of civilization—and under other circumstances, (physical, as well as moral,) very different from those under which the Liberated *Africans* actually are placed.

I have therefore deemed it necessary to point out some of the facts, and observations, which have influenced my judgment, in recommending the measures which I have respectfully submitted; so that your Lordship may be enabled not only to discover any error which I may have committed, but also the train of reasoning which led me into it.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

Tho^s Moody,

B. Major, Roy. Engineers.

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

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SECOND PART OF THE

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

Second Part of
MAJOR MOODY'S
REPORT.

I HAD the honour to draw your Lordship's attention, in pages 87 & 88 of the first part of my Report, dated 2d March 1825, to the examination of two captured Africans, who are now free, and entirely masters of their own time. One of these men, named William Ali, stated in page 30 of the schedules, that "a shilling, (or sixpence sterling) keeps him two days;—he has only the clothes he has on, and a checked shirt. He has no money saved, and he can't get any to save it." And also, that "*he cannot maintain himself here, meaning Tortola.*"

N^o 115. part II.
of last Session.

My colleague, in page 6 of his separate Report on Class N^o 1, speaking of *William*, John, Nelson, and Hull, says: "the three first are young men in good health, and have learned a trade, to which they have served apprenticeships of fourteen years. They are fully competent to earn their livelihood."

My opinion and that of my colleague, are at variance with that of William Ali himself, for I entirely agree with my colleague, that William being a stout, able-bodied, healthy, young man, about twenty-two years of age, is perfectly able to maintain himself, in a comfortable manner, *provided he could be induced to give the necessary STEADY exertion.*

Whether this *steady* exertion will be given or not, it is obvious must depend on William's own determination, as he is now a free man; and his statement goes to prove, that in *Tortola*, the degree of *steady* exertion required of him to support himself *comfortably* as a free labourer, is more than he is inclined to give *voluntarily*.

On the other hand, my colleague, in page 14 of his separate Report, speaking of Jem, another free African, says, "this man's apprenticeship is expired, but he is evidently unable to provide for himself, being addicted to drinking." Jem himself however, as appears from page 57 of the schedules, told my colleague and me, as follows:—"Party, says he, can live here in *Tortola*, so as to get clothes and food enough." And it further appeared that Jem cultivated a bit of ground, for which he paid no rent or taxes, but which produced "peas, ochros and pumpkins." Here we see a man of thirty-two years of age, who cultivates a bit of ground, for which he has no rent or taxes to pay, deeming himself able to obtain "clothes and food enough," by such a degree of *steady* exertion as he was inclined to give. And the proof that he was able to do so is, that, at the time of his declaration, it is stated in the schedules, page 57, that the "party is in good health," though, in the preceding page, it appeared he was badly clothed, being "in a very naked and ragged condition;" and that he had been living as a free man from 1819, to 1823, when he was examined.

In the case of Jem, I so far agree with my colleague, that Jem is of an indifferent character; but if his own account of his industry is deserving of any credit, as given in the schedules page 56, I must believe that the man who says he earned, by his labour, what was equal in value to 13½*d.* sterling a day, is perfectly able to maintain himself, (as he states he can), in a colony, where another man, in the same situation, says he sometimes subsists upon 6*d.* sterling for two days, or at the rate of 3*d.* a day.

For these reasons, I cannot agree with my colleague in the belief, that Jem is "evidently unable to provide for himself." He may be *unwilling*, but he certainly is not *unable*.

The circumstances relating to these individuals are merely selected to show, under a real, instead of an assumed case, that the Africans may have very different ideas on the

the subject of supporting themselves by their labour, from those entertained by persons, who sincerely wish to promote their welfare ; and therefore we must not deceive ourselves by fallacious analogies, and imperfect examinations of physical facts, bearing on the matter under consideration. Even if the circumstances stated were not true, yet as they might have occurred, they serve the purpose of explaining the nature of my argument, should they not enforce the truth of the facts alleged to be true.

I shall therefore now consider what are the difficulties to be encountered, and whether some may not be of a physical, as well as of a moral nature, previous to my submitting any plan to lessen or remove these difficulties, which oppose the promotion of the welfare of the liberated Africans, as labourers, and that of those colonists, who are capitalists, inhabiting the same country.

The chief inducement for *free* men to labour undoubtedly is, that the reward of that labour should be for the promotion of their own welfare ; every man judging for himself, in what his own welfare may consist.

In England, the effect of the inducements for the labourer to exert himself *steadily*, is found to be so powerful, that his daily personal exertion, during from eight to ten hours, is readily given for a sum, very little exceeding the expense of his ordinary subsistence.

In England, the cost of subsistence is apparently much higher than in Tortola, partly from *physical*, and partly from *moral* causes, whose separate apparent effects, it is of the greatest importance to distinguish, in all inquiries of this nature. If a distinction be not observed, all reasoning from analogy, in such cases, must, as hitherto, end in error and disappointment ; when circumstances of a *physical* nature influence the question, as to the means of exciting *steady* industry :—the first step in enabling a man to better his condition. For in countries 4,000 miles distant from each other, and situated even in different zones of the earth, physical causes may be in operation in one country, which may not be felt in the other : or where the same physical causes are in operation, a great difference may be felt in the intensity of their action, from the different ratios, which may exist as to the density of population, with reference to the means of creating wealth, by labour, under ordinary circumstances : for example, in the climate of England, the labourer requires more clothing than in Tortola : in England the labourer also requires that his house should be better protected against the effects of cold. Supposing, therefore, the English labourer to require only 3*d.* a-day to support life by food, it is obvious that, from physical causes, he must require a further sum to support life against evils to which the climate exposes him, but which are less felt by the liberated Africans in Tortola ; a country also exposed to occasional hurricanes, which sweep away the habitations of man before them, thereby giving an insecurity to property which no cause of a mere moral nature can efficiently control.

The physical wants of the English labourer are not only greater than those of the free African labourer in Tortola, but his property also is more secure to him, from physical causes ; and as the English labourer can only obtain what he requires to gratify his physical wants, by his personal labour, he is obliged, from the operation of physical causes, to give a greater portion of time to laborious exertion, than need be given by the free African labourer, who lives in a climate where the evils mentioned are less felt.

If William Ali, for example, could be induced to give a *greater* degree of exertion, and that in a *steady* manner, there can be no doubt, (in any country where labour applied in this manner to the soil annually produces more wealth than is consumed in its production), that the labour of William Ali would be valuable in proportion to the skill, the intensity, and the regularity of his labour, compared with the value of the results of his exertions.

Men in England, and in the West Indies, are equally under the stimulus of the necessity to obtain subsistence ; but, in consequence of physical causes, there appears to be a great difference in the two countries, between the effects of that stimulus, when expressed by the number of hours of labour *steadily* given during the year, compared with the results of that labour.

It obviously would be only deceiving ourselves, if, in any plan to civilize the free African labourer, by increasing his physical wants, in order to stimulate his steady industry, as the only means of obtaining them, we should begin by *assuming*, that,

as free men, the Africans would, in every respect, be under the same degree of physical stimulus, to exert themselves as the labouring classes in England are; because the circumstances in which the parties are placed are not analogical. The two classes of persons, therefore, being under the influence of physical circumstances so very different, no useful inference can be drawn from mere analogical reasoning, when causes in operation act with very different intensities of power.

In these considerations no reference has been made to any physical peculiarities in the African and European races of men: but it is necessary also to examine whether some physical differences may not also exist in this respect, which may influence steady personal labour in the lowlands of the torrid zone.

Persons who have had practical experience in the direction and control of human labour in that part of the world, as I have had for many years, have found, from experience, that the European race of men, from physical causes, are seldom able to bear the effects of the sun in the lowlands of the torrid zone; and are still less able to cultivate the soil, so as to produce, with profit, those staple articles of commerce which have an exchangeable value in Europe.

The African race of men, however, are able to bear those effects of the sun, and to undergo the labour required in agriculture; but, as I have already said, the stimulus to induce free negroes to a *steady* labour in the sun in agriculture, is not so powerful in the West Indies as in England, whilst the inconvenience experienced is much greater, in the opinion of the person, upon whom the stimulus to exertion is to act.

Sufficient exertion may be depended upon to obtain subsistence, in the generality of cases; but when the free negro has obtained that subsistence, (which he can do with little exertion,) the difficulty still remains to find a stimulus, that will urge his further exertion to obtain the pleasure most desirable to him, by means of that increased labour; as also the means of providing against contingent wants in cases of sickness, long droughts, &c.

Men practically unacquainted with those principles which govern the application of human exertion to productive labour in the torrid zone, in considering the difficulty of obtaining this adequate stimulus, appear generally to have examined the question, either very superficially, or with such a bias on their minds as induced them to admit the operation of causes to produce the effect of overcoming the difficulty, which causes, when closely examined, and even applied, have been found to be inadequate to produce the desired effect, in such a state of society, and under such a distribution of population, and wealth, as are generally found in the West India colonies of Great Britain.

Persons, therefore, who observe thus superficially, instead of reasoning from facts frequently occurring, and manifestly showing the operation of cause and effect, under circumstances similar to those in the West Indies, have been satisfied with reasoning from analogy alone, apparently without ascertaining whether the circumstances were, in point of fact, strictly analogical from which they reasoned.

From assumptions thus formed on analogies, not referable to the actual state of circumstances in the West Indies, erroneous conclusions must be the result: for example, it may be even admitted, that the moral influence of the desire, implanted in the civilized part of mankind, to better their condition, is a powerful stimulus to the personal exertions of the individual under its influence. This is a moral stimulus which ought to be seized upon, in preference to any other, by those desirous to increase the industry, the social civilization, and happiness of mankind. In real life, however, we find, from the conduct of individuals, either that the principle is not *universally true*, or that certain individuals entertain ideas, as to what is meant by bettering their condition, very different from those ideas on the same subject, which are *generally* entertained by persons in a civilized, and intelligent community, like that of England.

The careful and unbiassed inquirer is therefore obliged to admit, either that there are some exceptions to the general rule, or, in other words, that it is liable to be restricted in its universal application, by some peculiarity in the opinions of individuals, as to the mode of bettering their condition, so far as this improvement is to be effected by *steady* industry.

Such

Such an inquirer will, perhaps, also discover, that without industry, or labour, there can be no creation of wealth; and without wealth, having an exchangeable value, the advance towards social civilization will be not only slow, but uncertain.

In farther inquiring into those cases, which either form exceptions to the general rule, or which, in other words, restrict the universal application of the principle, in my travels among men in civilized and uncivilized states of society, I have observed two classes of modifying causes to be in operation. It has also appeared to me, that the number of exceptions to the general principle, was governed by the greater, or less efficient action of those two classes of modifying causes: one class of these causes appeared to me to be *physical*, such as the *heat of climate*, *density of population*, &c.; the other class of causes may be considered as *moral*, such as *ignorance*, or the effect of *human passions*, when unrestrained by the sublime influence of christianity, even in minds otherwise intelligent.

Since those ages have passed away, when the exhibition of miracles was deemed necessary by Almighty wisdom, a careful and unbiassed inquirer, possessing a plain understanding, can only look towards natural causes to enable him to produce the effects which he may hope to accomplish, in increasing the steady industry, the wealth, the civilization, and the happiness of the liberated Africans now living in the torrid zone, and in a society whose laws and institutions do not appear to have been intended for such a class of inhabitants.

I think it must therefore appear reasonable to your lordship, that I should be guided rather by my reason, than by my imagination, and feelings, in pursuing my inquiry into the best mode of accomplishing what all good men desire, although they differ widely in the means which they recommend to obtain their object.

The first cause which I shall now notice, as modifying the influence of the general principle, already mentioned, may be considered as connected with climate; and this, under the circumstances of the West Indies, presents to us an obstacle to the *steady* industry of men, which I fear the application of any stimulus, of a nature merely moral, will scarcely overcome, during the lifetime of the present race of mankind, whatever may be the effect upon succeeding generations.

During many years of active superintendence of labour, as an officer of engineers, and in other situations, I have almost uniformly observed, that the heat of the climate gives to steady, and regular labour in the sun, in the lowlands of the torrid zone, a feeling more painful than is experienced in climates, where the effects of the sun are less powerful.

The free negro, under the influence of this physical cause, is almost uniformly found to be reluctant in voluntarily giving his *steady* moderate exertions in agriculture, although the wages, or profits which he might receive would be for his own benefit, and tend to increase his own physical enjoyments.

The pleasure of repose, after the physical wants of subsistence have been obtained, is, perhaps, the pleasure most generally enjoyed by the labourers, who can obtain it, in such climates.

Under these circumstances, persons in their state of society, appeared to me to think it absurd to labour *steadily* in the sun for wages, in order to better their condition, which they seemed to consider, after obtaining subsistence, as, in a great degree, consisting of their power to enjoy *the pleasure of repose* in the shade; and which they could at once procure, by merely abstaining from that labour, by which alone, as a first step, it appeared to me, that their social condition can be improved.

Doubtless, ignorance, and the considerations arising from the existence of a state of slavery, might have had some influence in producing a state of things so different from what we could wish; but I observed the same results among Indians, and negroes, who never had been slaves, as well as among those, who had been in that state. And among individuals of all these classes, there were very different characters of mind, and degrees of knowledge; yet the effect of climate operated, in a greater or lesser degree, on all generally; and indeed it often occurred, that the most labourious were not the most intelligent; for even among men of my own class, born, and educated, like myself, in Europe, so far as regarded personal exertion, not amounting to mechanical labour in the sun, in the lowlands of the torrid zone,

I observed

I observed the influence of climate, in cases where ignorance could not be justly inferred.

If the liberated African could be induced for wages, as in England, to encounter the toil of steady labour in agriculture, it is obvious that he might afterwards enjoy the pleasures of repose, or any other pleasure, obtainable by his labour: but I have almost universally observed, in the lowlands of the torrid zone, that where man could at once enjoy, even for a short period, the pleasure of repose, with little labour, he rarely devoted that little labour in agriculture *continuously* for a year, for example; that by the wages which he might receive, he *might* obtain afterwards a longer interval of that repose in the shade, which he was from time to time obliged to abandon, in order to obtain subsistence, and a low scale of comforts.

In speaking of the general operation of the physical causes, connected with climate, on the industry of mankind, working for wages in agricultural labour in the lowlands of the torrid zone, it is proper to add, that there may be a few individual cases, where the general law is not seen to be in operation; but after the most strict inquiry, I have been unable to discover any case of *steady* and *continued* voluntary agricultural industry in the West Indies for wages, such as is daily seen in England, in those agricultural employments, which require, what we should call *steady and continuous industry*.

I am well aware that free negroes, and Indians, in the lowlands of the torrid zone are found *occasionally* to work for wages in agriculture, but I never found a capitalist, who, in consequence of paying wages, could depend *entirely* on the *steady* and continuous exertion of such labour, however moderate, for that period of time necessary to reap the same crop, which the same free hands had planted.

I did, however, on some occasions, hear of both free negroes, and Indians being employed in certain kinds of agricultural industry, such as the care of cocoa, coffee, and cotton, where the crops are gathered, with little labour, from trees or shrubs, admitting of frequent and long intervals of repose, without entirely destroying the crop, though lessening its amount. These free persons generally were proprietors of the soil, which they cultivated; for in these countries, land having little value, the cultivators paid little or no rent for it, at least in the country parts remote from towns.

From such observations as it has been my lot to make, I should strongly recommend the free African apprentices, when entirely liberated, to be prepared to be generally employed, upon such kind of agricultural labour as will admit of the greatest intervals of repose, with the least injury to the crop; such as cotton, coffee, cocoa, &c. &c.

Under the present ratio between the labouring population, and the capital to employ them, in Tortola, it seemed to me, under present circumstances, impossible to induce these persons, who are free, voluntarily to labour in agriculture, for hire by the year, for such wages as the owner of the land, or capitalist *could afford to give*. It will therefore be necessary to place the liberated Africans, who will not support themselves by *steady* industry in Tortola, in such a situation, as will, after a suitable preparation, enable them to be owners of the land, which they may be required to cultivate, *solely for their own benefit*.

I shall hereafter show, that the laws and institutions of the West India colonies do not appear to have been prepared for such a class of inhabitants as the liberated Africans; with a view, therefore, to their benefit, as well as to that of the colonists, and with reference to the Act of Parliament, in this case, I beg leave to recommend, that as many of these liberated Africans as have no connections, by marriage, with slaves, or other ties resembling those of virtuous affections, in the colony where they are, should be conveyed to some of our possessions on the coast of Africa, and, if possible, placed on an island, or under those circumstances, where density of population, combined with religious instruction, may be used to overcome those physical obstacles to the formation of habits of steady industry, by which alone wealth can be created, and the progress of social civilization promoted.

It is presumed that these measures, when they can be brought into action, will have some good effect in stimulating the labour of free men in the lowlands of the torrid zone, but which cannot be expected, as long as these people, in that climate, are placed, where either great portions of unoccupied land, or other causes, render

little labour, (and that irregularly applied), necessary to obtain the ordinary means of subsistence.

Any plan for meliorating the condition of these liberated Africans, by introducing amongst them habits of steady industry, as leading to the formation of wealth, and improvement in social civilization, will equally fail with those hitherto tried, unless some other measures be combined, with religious instruction, (which, however, I regard as the basis of improvement,) in order to enforce those habits of *steady* industry, which are opposed by powerful physical causes; and without the formation of habits of *steady* industry, melioration of condition is almost hopeless.

To enumerate those measures in detail which might accomplish an object so desirable, I am well aware some amiable and benevolent persons have considered to be a very easy matter, and perfectly within their own powers to effect. The piety of those persons deserves an honour, which I cannot adequately express;—their intentions command my respect, because I sincerely believe them to be good; but judging from my own personal knowledge, (obtained during many year's experience in the control of labour in the torrid zone, and in Europe, and during my travels in different parts of North and South America, and in every West India colony belonging to any European power, from Cayenne to Porto Rico,) I am most reluctantly obliged to confess my conviction, that no man, or body of men, sitting in England, can satisfactorily specify those measures in detail, which would be necessary to accomplish the melioration of the condition of the liberated Africans.

The question must ultimately turn on the best means to stimulate, and direct steady labour; for it can only be by increasing the habits of steady industry among the liberated Africans, for their own benefit, combined with religious instruction, that their progress in social civilization, and their increased comfort and happiness, can be effectually promoted.

To regulate such details, much local knowledge, and practical experience in the control of such labour are necessary, which in England it is most difficult if not impossible, to obtain; for the subject would be found chiefly to refer to facts, often of a mechanical nature, which could only be ascertained on the spot, because there it would be most difficult to misrepresent facts, by omitting all mention of important circumstances connected therewith; but in England nothing is more common, than to hear men deciding in the most conclusive manner, on subjects connected with the West Indies, from statements of facts the most imperfect, and erroneous.

General principles, indeed, are very obvious, and can be easily stated, in England, as well as elsewhere; such as that the right of property must be created, and inviolably respected, among people in a backward state of knowledge, and civilization; for without this, there can be no progress made in industry, knowledge, or social civilization: and again it is easy to say, that to accomplish this, the executive government must have the power necessary to enforce obedience to the decrees of justice. But soon after this, the most honest and unbiassed men may get into matters for dispute, because the intensity of the power to be conferred, and the modifications for controlling its legitimate exercise, must depend much on the actual state of industry, knowledge, and civilization among the people to be governed, as well as on many local, or physical circumstances, respecting the country which the people may inhabit; and even in the different races, or nations of men living in the same community.

I cannot conceive how the necessary information on these points can be fairly presented for the consideration of any legislator whose duty it may be to enact laws for promoting the social civilization of the liberated Africans, or any class of men in their situation, unless, (as we learn has been the case in all preceding ages of the world,) that the legislators themselves can, in a manner, be made to feel, and see the operation of causes acting under circumstances so unlike those, which legislators, sitting in England, may have been in the habit of personally contemplating or observing.

Even in those favourable circumstances of residence on the spot, where the improvement in social civilization is to be carried into effect, it is possible for the legislators to differ in their opinions, as is daily seen even in England. Such difference may often be found to arise from different statements being made of certain facts, and in such a case, as they are on the spot, it is more easy to ascertain what are the real facts, when these are of a physical nature, than when these real facts are to be investigated at 4,000 miles distance, and to be learned from the reports of other

other persons, who may give very different statements of the facts of the same case, as has actually occurred with my intelligent colleague and myself. I *believe* my colleague incapable of intentionally deceiving your lordship, and I *know*, that the same feeling influences me, but notwithstanding this, it is very possible that we may both have deceived ourselves. Yet till real facts of the cases influencing principles *be fairly and clearly* ascertained, men sitting in distant countries cannot be qualified to judge as to the justice or injustice of assertions or opinions, which, on the spot, may have influenced the belief of those persons, who were best qualified to form a sound and useful opinion. It may be easy for a person, clever in argument, and accustomed to debate, to assign moral reasons as explanatory of certain results; if these results are of a physical nature, to be seen, measured, and fairly calculated, it may be perfectly true, that the moral reasons assigned for the result may have had *some* influence in producing the effect; and yet, that the *far more influential* physical causes may be kept entirely out of sight. If, in practice, attention were paid to the influence of these moral causes *alone*, whilst the action of the physical causes were undiminished, it is obvious that the question would have been most unsatisfactorily discussed, for the consideration of those, who may have had no means of personally investigating the force and operation of the physical causes; and therefore such persons must judge, solely from the arguments of those, who omitted all reference to the operation of causes, which, in point of fact, may be those *most influential*.

And it has appeared to me, that this has often been the case, in important matters relative to the social civilization of a people like the Africans, where measures have been adopted solely from the moral arguments of men, who formed them when sitting many thousand miles distant, from the persons, and country where the improvements recommended were to be effected; it is almost unnecessary to add, that disappointment has as often been the result. At such a distance the difficulty is, to ascertain the real facts, whether physical or moral, on which the propriety of the measure recommended must altogether depend: because different habits of thinking, lead men to a greater attention to the operation of one set of causes, than to another perhaps more influential.

Distant legislators may often be unable, from want of practical knowledge, to discover how some of the physical facts may bear on the matter under consideration; in such cases, they must rely on the opinions of others. But whenever one man is obliged to judge from the *mere opinion* of another, and not from clearly understanding the bearing of all the facts of the case, the guarantee against error, by the responsibility of the judge or legislator, is lost; and sound decisions, with reference to the real statement of facts, become a matter of chance: for eloquence generally is found to be more powerful in influencing public opinion, than reason, when the hearers are ignorant.

It appears to me, that the *practical* legislator for the social civilization of the liberated Africans, would naturally recommend such a degree of power to be vested in the executive government over these people, as his *experience* had found to be necessary, in a certain state of climate, density of population, wealth, knowledge and civilization, of the persons to be influenced by the laws.

The *theoretical* legislator, with intentions as pure, might dispute the accuracy of the statement of facts brought forward by the practical legislator, or he might object to the inferences drawn from them.

Could your lordship be once assured, that you had, from either party, an accurate statement of all the facts of the cases, influencing the formation of principles, whether moral or physical, which might bear on the question, the disputes of the parties, or their erroneous opinions, would be of little consequence, as your lordship would see where the fallacy was, which led either party to form an erroneous opinion. But then in England, it would be scarcely possible for your lordship to ascertain satisfactorily, which of the parties submitted to you the most fair and accurate statement of all the facts influencing the question. Having no practical knowledge of such facts as may be, and actually are, of a mechanical nature, when opposing evidence is given by two persons, equally intelligent and respectable, if it is necessary for your lordship in England to decide, as you cannot go to the spot yourself, you must seek the aid of others, who having no responsibility, have not the same motive to give evidence accurately, as your lordship has to judge impartially, yet on such kind of evidence your lordship may be obliged to decide, in cases of conflicting statements, when imperfectly examined on the spot; and this may arise from the *ignorance* of the parties, as well as a *bias* on their minds.

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Under such circumstances, the disputed points ought to be argued by the parties *on the spot*, and amongst the people to whose actual state they referred; because, in that case, the truth would have been elucidated in such a manner as it never can be in a distant country, like England, by the parties entertaining different opinions: for a legislator, ignorant of the force of local causes, must needs be more inclined to judge from analogies, as to the operation of moral causes of which he may be better informed.

I would submit, therefore, that the expression of any opinion on my part, or the opinion of any other person, as not being worthy your lordship's consideration for one moment, unless such opinion be accompanied with those details, which would enable your lordship to judge, not merely as to the logical justice of the opinion submitted, but that the statements are able to stand the test of comparison, as to accuracy, with other statements, made by other persons possessing a good personal character, and adequate means of observation. When discrepancies are then found to exist, a series of statements will soon prove on which side truth was to be found, by showing those facts occurring most frequently, in cases where collusion was impossible.

My colleague and myself did not *on the spot* jointly examine and discuss the points in dispute between us; had this been the case, it would have been an easy matter for your lordship to have decided on the best plan for providing for the captured Africans, by giving them steady habits of industry, which would lead to wealth, knowledge and social civilization. For our disputes would generally terminate in matters of fact, relating to results, and which, when of a physical nature, they could be seen, perhaps even measured, and calculated.

Here then would have been an end to our disputes as to the results, when of a physical nature.

The disputes afterwards might have been as to the greater or less efficiency of certain alleged causes in producing the results in question.

These causes, however, which produced physical results, must have been either of a physical or of a moral nature. Each party would have had to assign his reasons for the greater or less efficiency of either of these sets of causes, by a reference to facts or reasons, which the other party could check, in case of error in the statement, and your lordship's being then able to draw your own inferences, might, without any injury to justice, consider our respective opinions as of very little consequence, further than as they were supported by the facts produced.

This mode of proceeding not having been adopted, I am liable to error in matters where I depend on the evidence of others; because the evidence produced may be defective from the ignorance of the parties, or from my own, as to the facts at issue; or the parties may deem themselves interested in the decision, or they may have some bias on one side of the dispute, or the other. Under these circumstances I shall, on the great points upon which depend the practical means of promoting the industry, wealth, civilization, instruction, and happiness of the liberated Africans, endeavour, in the following Report, as much as I am able, to support the reasonableness of the general plan which I have submitted, by the collection of facts and observations from circumstances, where the state and condition of the liberated Africans in Tortola could never have been contemplated. The tediousness of such a mode of arriving at the truth, I hope your lordship will pardon, as I have no choice.

In the West Indies, as in England, there are different kinds of labour by which working-people obtain their subsistence. In the West Indies, however, there is a peculiarity which is not seen in England to any great extent. In these colonies of Great Britain there are three races of men, marked by the most distinct organization of form and features, and even by a peculiarly strong smell, whilst their colour or complexions are as different as that of white is from black. These circumstances influencing national notions of beauty concerning the human form, exercise a great power in preventing a virtuous union among the sexes of the different races, from which alone can spring those sympathies of our nature, which in former ages have been found to overcome those obstacles, which, for a short time may have prevented the harmonious union of a body of people, gathered from different nations into one community, as we see in the United States, and in other countries.

These distinctions have arisen solely from physical causes, and are the work of an Almighty hand. We may, indeed, regret the existence of such obstacles to our wishes

wishes ; but these wishes will not be the sooner accomplished, by suppressing all consideration of the power which unfortunately opposes us.

There are other distinctions, which may be classed under those of a moral nature. In the West Indies mankind are seen in a *civilized* and in an *uncivilized* state of society. What qualifications may entitle a man to be considered *civilized*, and what may procure him the denomination of *uncivilized*, may be a matter for disputation ; but it will not be denied, that in the ordinary acceptation of the word in the English language, the captured Africans, on their first introduction to the West Indies, may fairly be considered as persons in an *uncivilized state of society*. If they are not so, then all the attempts made to civilize certain districts of Africa, must be considered as a perfect delusion on the people of England.

Whoever, therefore, may be considered as civilized, the class of captured Africans must be considered as uncivilized, at the time of their condemnation to the crown.

Although there are many kinds of labour in the West Indies, as has been already stated, yet some kinds of labour require more skill than others ; and in the same manner, some kinds of labour require more personal exertion than others ; and, finally, some kinds of labour require to be performed in the open air, or under the influence of the heat of the sun in the torrid zone, whilst other kinds can be performed in the shade.

Were a person of plain understanding to be asked whether the civilized or uncivilized man should be employed in the labour which required skill, with reference to the welfare of the colony, or the parent state, or the interest of that part of the inhabitants who were civilized, the answer probably would be, that the civilized man ought to be encouraged to direct his exertions where such advantages as he might possess, from civilization, would be most useful in the creation of wealth for himself, for the colony, and for the parent state.

In Tortola the labour, which requires perhaps as little skill as any other, is the ordinary work of agriculture, the practical duty of which, is chiefly the management of the hoe, cutlass, &c. in preparing the land to receive the plants or seed which are to be cultivated.

From labour of this kind the female captured African was expressly forbidden, by an order of council ; and, perhaps, in consequence of some mistake, the male, by the form of the indenture, when he was placed as an apprentice, was as effectually interdicted ; the uncivilized man, therefore, was carefully withdrawn, so far as legal provision went, from the exercise of that kind of labour, which, probably, in the end would have been the most useful to him, both because it was the kind of labour for which there was the most steady demand, and because the knowledge of it was the most easily acquired ; for though it might not afford the highest *occasional* wages, it secured the most *constant* employment, with comfortable subsistence, particularly when a piece of tolerable ground was also allowed to the labourer, and therefore, under all the circumstances of the case, it was the kind of employment for which they ought to have been more particularly prepared, under the provisions of the act of parliament.

It has been said, that the uncivilized labourer was most likely to be overworked by an avaricious master in agricultural labour ; but this might have been prevented by government becoming the master.

And if regulations were expected to prevent this overworking of the uncivilized man in any kind of labour, the same principles would apply to labour in agriculture : the truth is, the liberated African, under the circumstances in which he was placed, would not like *steady industry of any kind*, and particularly that of agriculture in the torrid zone. The profound observation of Montesquieu ought to have been strictly followed, instead of being altogether neglected. His observation, which cannot be too often repeated, in this case is : "*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.*"

Instead of adopting such a plan, the uncivilized African was so placed, that in general he could only learn kinds of labour, which afterwards tended to depreciate the value of the little labour performed by the other portions of the community for their

their own benefit, and who, being more civilized, felt more the privations incident to a depreciation of the value of their labour, whilst they thought themselves as much entitled to the protection of the British government for the liberal reward of their industry in that kind of labour, for which they were capable, as the poor Africans. Such was the opinion of a most enlightened individual, high in rank, and who felt most anxious to promote the real happiness of the poor African, by teaching him to labour with a view to increase his own enjoyments, by such means as are really practicable, and the least injurious to the other classes of poor people, among whom the Africans were placed.

By those legislative measures, altogether framed in England, were sown the seeds of dissatisfaction and ill will against the poor liberated Africans; an effect that never was contemplated by the uninformed, but benevolent framers of them.

A similar train of reasoning, showing the effects of one kind of work being more laborious than another, will lead to the same conclusion; as will also the consideration respecting one class of men being better able to labour in the sun, and another class of men being better able to work in the shade. In this last case, in some colonies, the poor white inhabitants, to a certain degree, may be affected from being unable to work freely under a tropical sun; and therefore, if those branches of industry, which can be performed by them, be given to free Africans, who could have laboured in the sun, all energy or industry on the part of the poor white labourer is effectually suppressed, for the advantage of persons entitled to our humanity, but perhaps not more so than our own countrymen, when helpless in a British colony.

From the very little personal labour afforded by the poor whites, or the poor free blacks, it is not probable, they ever would have done much, if the African apprentices had not been indented to trades, or occupations, by which the former previously had obtained their subsistence. The fact of increasing the supply, however, when there was a diminished demand for their labour, certainly lessened their reward, tending ultimately to diminish their comforts, and add to the expense of parish relief,—in the case of whites generally, and in the other class partially. They who have most interest in the question, at any rate, will think so; and whether they think justly or not, they certainly feel more for themselves, when in distress, than for the poor Africans.

In this manner competitors, or enemies of a different race, have been formed against the poor liberated Africans, which, perhaps, might have been avoided had their labour been directed into other channels, under the direction and controul of government, *for the advantage of the liberated Africans themselves.*

These few remarks, explaining some of the causes of complaints, and those local disturbances which arise in Tortola, with reference to the other classes of the population, will, perhaps, show *one effect of the want of practical knowledge of legislators sitting in England*, and will enable me more fully to open those practical views, which in former times governed the legislation and institutions of our West India colonies. Without some notice of these practical views, no clear idea can be conveyed of any matter wherein the object of bettering the condition of the liberated Africans, now living in these colonies, is concerned.

The discovery of the tropical regions of America gave rise to a singular anomaly, from the principles on which parent states had usually settled new colonies.

Perhaps from not attending carefully to all the circumstances, which influenced this anomaly, much misapprehension appears to have arisen, in estimating the real effect or action of causes now in force in the West Indies, by referring to laws of a former period, as if they were actually, and generally enforced in the present day. Yet the principles developed bear upon the poor uncivilized liberated African, who has not in his favour the sympathy created by the relation of master and servant, as it once existed between the white capitalist and the creole slave, whose union of interests were much stronger, than can be supposed to exist between the other free classes of the community, (white or black), with reference to the liberated African, in a backward state of knowledge and civilization.

In the lowlands of the West India islands, the Englishmen induced to settle there, about two hundred years ago, found themselves unable to undergo the labour of cultivating the soil in that climate; and at the same time discovered, that without the

the aid of other human labour for that purpose, their emigration would be injurious to their own interests, and useless to the parent state.

Second Part of
MAJOR MOODY'S
REPORT.

Under similar circumstances, all the nations of Europe, possessing tropical colonies sanctioned an act of great injustice in permitting, and even encouraging their countrymen to hold in slavery the African race of men, who were guiltless of any crime towards them.

At that period of the history of England, the welfare and prosperity of our countrymen, even at the expense of any other people or nation, was deemed to be the laudable object of a good government; at that time the claims of general philanthropy were deemed to be subordinate considerations to those which were considered necessary for the prosperity and security of the parent state, whose insular position required the possession of a naval power; and which, it was then imagined, could not be formed without colonies, wherein more wealth was created for the empire at large, than the limited resources of Great Britain would effect, with only her own population, and limited quantity of fertile land. To maintain the sovereignty of these colonies, and increase the production of wealth in them, required the employment of ships, by which seamen were formed; by these and other means England in due time, besides benefiting in receiving either in the nature of rent, or of profits on stock, part of the wealth thus created in the colonies, became such a naval power as the world had never before seen.

Reasoning from such results, the policy of our ancestors in encouraging the production of wealth by slave labour, must be connected with considerations showing that the wealth, thus created, contributed its full share in supporting the parent state at an awful crisis in her history, when her valour and her riches enabled her naval power to become the ark which sheltered the liberties of Europe when driven from the continent, then covered with the deluge of an overwhelming military despotism.

It is, indeed, too true, that the same valour, riches, and naval power have been unable to protect the liberties of Africa. In this case it is of the greatest importance to consider, if we have used the means most suitable to obtain the end, before we impute to ourselves blame for our want of success. The object desired by every good and humane man, is the social civilization of Africa, the greatest part of which has remained in indolence, ignorance, and barbarism from the earliest period of history; although from its northern margin, from Egypt and Carthage, the arts and civilization spread their influence northward, until the climate of the frozen zone arrested their progress, chiefly by the operation of physical causes. If we carefully examine, in the route taken, how labour was enforced, and how wealth was created, we shall not fail to discover, why the progress of the arts and civilization cannot be separated from steady and productive industry.

Whilst, therefore, our wealth and our strength have been used to accomplish effects unfortunately beyond their power, we have, perhaps, neglected to use those means within our reach, from which alone Africa, or any other country, in her situation, ever can be civilized.

The African race of men, born in a climate similar to that of the West Indies, unfortunately for them, were found to be capable of enduring the degree of steady agricultural labour, necessary to make the cultivation of the soil profitable to the English proprietor, and consequently, his capital more valuable to the parent state. Africans, as slaves, were therefore introduced into the English colonies, in direct violation of the natural abstract rights of man.

The numerical superiority, and the backward state of knowledge and civilization of the Africans, led to the formation of a code of laws, by the English proprietors, with a view to their own preservation; which, however repugnant to our present ideas of reason and justice, were, at that time, deemed expedient and necessary for the security of a few Englishmen, living amidst a greater number of Africans, in a backward state of knowledge and civilization.

Another peculiarity arose from the small number of English colonists, as capitalists, possessing all the lands, buildings, and machinery connected with agriculture, whilst the African race of men were doomed to perform all the personal labours of cultivation, for the benefit of the capitalists and the parent state. Under such circumstances, a species of police, or internal government, became necessary, which
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was very different from that of England, where the toils of agricultural labour were encountered by the poorer persons of a population, among whom capital being very unequally divided, the mass of the people, although free, were obliged to give a very considerable portion of steady labour, in return for the means of subsistence, or for wages equal to subsistence, and a certain extent of comforts. Therefore, in the climate, and amidst the very dense population of England, if the capitalist owning land should not be inclined to labour himself, he could, from the density of population, and the mode in which wealth was distributed, always render his capital productive, by hiring the labour of other persons of his own race, and perhaps of his own family, on terms profitable to himself, in return for wages equal to the ordinary value of the subsistence of the labourer, whether that value should be expressed in money, or in a period of time, during which, human exertion was given in return for the means of subsistence.

Should the property of the English capitalist consist of land of a good quality, under the denomination of rent, he could obtain an interest for his capital, with reference to the quality of his land, and the density of population creating a demand for its products on the spot.

In the West Indies, on the other hand, the climate rendered agricultural labour more disagreeable to the African than similar work is in England to the English labourer, and as in the West Indies the means of subsistence could be easily obtained, without using the same degree, or duration of exertion, that was necessary in England, *the African would not voluntarily exert himself to the same extent, in rendering the soil of the capitalists productive for wages, equal only to subsistence, and a certain extent of comforts, as is done in England.*

In this case the West India capitalist was obliged to regulate the value of his allowance to the African labourer, by the value given by other capitalists in other colonies to their labourers, employed in raising agricultural productions of the same kind; because if the capitalist in one colony, at a greater expense, raised colonial produce, in the end the cheapest would drive the dearest producer of the article out of any market wherein there may be a competition; and as the English capitalist in the West India colonies can only profitably raise certain articles, having exchangeable value in northern countries, ruin is the inevitable result when the market price of these articles is reduced by competition to a value less than the cost of production.

Any nation, therefore, adopting a mode of local police, or interior government, which gave to the landed colonial capitalists a moral, or physical force, to coerce the labour of the African, in return for subsistence and a moderate scale of comforts, would possess a decided advantage over the colonists and agricultural capitalists of any other nation, who should adopt a mode of police or government obtaining a smaller quantum of exertion for the same allowance, considered as the natural rate of wages; or only the same quantum of exertion for a much greater rate of wages or allowances; as in the last case, these wages or allowances might be so expensive as to absorb all the profits on stock, and terminate by putting an end to, or greatly lessening the production of articles having an exchangeable value in the parent state, and thus rendering the colony of less value to Great Britain, in proportion as its population exercised less exertion in calling forth the productive powers of the soil, in that part of the empire.

These observations as to the peculiarity of the local or colonial police, will apply to the two classes of Englishmen as capitalists, and Africans as labourers, whether the state of slavery, or any similar institution, like that of castes, existed or not. They are founded on the different powers and capacities of these two races of men to cultivate the soil in the torrid zone in low situations, where an unfavourable ratio also exists between the population, and the capital to employ the labouring classes.

For in the English colonies of North America, where the climate was such that the Englishman could himself labour, he soon became a capitalist, producing more wealth than he consumed, by cultivating that very land upon which the uncivilized Indians could only obtain a precarious subsistence. To the Englishman, in such a climate, the labour of the African never appears to have been of much importance; and as the population became more dense, and the soil less fertile, the labour of the African in time produced less wealth than he consumed, in a climate where his physical wants were increased by the same cold, which diminished the duration and the value of his exertions; so that in the New England states of North America, the

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institution of slavery not only became unnecessary for the production of wealth, but was felt as an evil, and therefore was abolished. The effect of that abolition will be noticed hereafter.

In our Asiatic possessions, between the tropics, the Englishman found a population so dense, as frequently to press upon the means of subsistence, and the land, instead of being unappropriated as in America, afforded a rent in proportion to its fertility. The inhabitants indeed were of a different race, but differed less in form and feature from the Englishman than did the poor African. The Hindoos also had attained a certain degree of social civilization, and labour was enforced, even in the torrid zone, by the same law of necessity as in England, arising from the density of population, and the unequal distribution of wealth. Yet in Hindostan, slavery was found to have existed for ages, beyond the reach, perhaps, of authentic history; and, as in ancient Egypt, a further distinction among the inhabitants, was drawn, by the institution of castes.

Whatever wealth may be created in the East or West Indies from the soil, it is certain that the personal exertion of Englishmen, in actual labour under a torrid sun, have added little to the mass, and that only in cool or elevated situations; but on the other hand, by their capital and skill they have added, particularly in the West Indies, greatly to the productive powers of unskilled labour in cultivating the soil.

In consequence of the power conferred by England upon Englishmen, as capitalists, or as conquerors, they have been able to appropriate to themselves a great part of the wealth created by the labour of the poor Hindoos, and the negroes, in the East and West Indies; which portion of accumulated wealth, when remitted to England, being distributed among her inhabitants, contributed to the formation of that favourable ratio between her wealth and her working population, which tended to enable the English labourer to obtain a higher rate of wages than in other countries in Europe; and this, perhaps, has reconciled the nation to those circumstances, which lowered the wages of the Hindoo labourer to a sum equal to about 2 *d.* a day, whilst the African labourer generally received an allowance of food, raiment, &c. exceeding the wages of the Hindoo, but less than the English labourer, if expressed in money.

In the West Indies, when the uncivilized African labourer was first placed with the English capitalist, the latter required, at that time, some power to protect his property as well as his person. In that climate also the African labourer, in his uncivilized state, required the action of some power upon him to induce him to give the necessary exertion of steady labour, as well as to restrain him from the use of his physical strength, if directed to objects dangerous to the public tranquillity, or the personal security of the Englishman; for the African might be tempted to resort to violence by the injustice committed, in obliging him to labour contrary to his wishes.

Hence the formation of a code of laws, and institutions, by the English proprietors, with a view to coerce the labour of the African at that time, which, however repugnant to our ideas of reason and justice, with reference to the situation of the labourer in England, were deemed, at the period of their enactment, expedient and necessary, notwithstanding their abstract injustice.

From laws and institutions thus formed, arose customs and habits, which, confounding causes and effects arising from the different physical powers of the two races of men, acted upon considerations which may often be considered the incidental, rather than the real and natural causes of those measures, which have formed the colonial policy, not only of England, but of all other European powers, with reference, as is sometimes alleged, to the mere colour of the different individuals, who now inhabit the British West India colonies.

The Aborigines of the Indian race, also of a different colour from the European race, being unequal to endure the toils of agriculture, and being comparatively few in number, have in the English colonies generally escaped the local police, or system of government, which coerced all within its influence to a life of constrained labour.

Although free from those restraints imposed by fear, or the love of gain, on the natural liberty of man, yet, in the torrid zone, these Indians have made no progress in social civilization, although masters of their own time, and possessing the most fertile soil in the world, together with the friendship and amity of the white colonists. To promote their social civilization and happiness no modern *Las Casas* has arisen, and their habits of industry, and moral improvement, have been left to the feeble efforts

efforts of a few Spanish missions in Trinidad. In Guiana, want of pecuniary means has paralysed the efforts made to civilize and instruct the Arowauks, and other Indians, by that exemplary sect of Christians, the United Brethren.

If I have erred, in noticing the situation of the Indians in our colonies, I feel assured your lordship will pardon me, as I am convinced, now these colonies are finally ceded to the crown of Great Britain, and an episcopal establishment erected in the West Indies, that it will not be long before measures are taken to provide for the present neglected state of these Indians, in their want of the habits of steady industry, and moral instruction. In their case mere emancipation, or freedom from constrained labour, has not tended either to increase their numbers, or promote their happiness and social civilization.

The introduction of Africans, as slaves, into our colonies, has led to the formation of another class of inhabitants, differing both from the Africans as slaves, and from the English as capitalists.

This third class forms what are termed, the free black and coloured inhabitants; and as the liberated Africans who may remain in the West Indies, must ultimately merge into this class, it is necessary to submit a few observations as to their situation, with reference to steady industry, &c. that your lordship may be better able to judge of any plan which may be submitted for providing for the future welfare of the liberated Africans, who must needs be considered as among the labouring classes of society.

Those free black or coloured colonists, who are capitalists, of course can only be considered as capitalists with reference to their means of profitably employing the liberated Africans, and in this respect, I consider them in the same situation as white capitalists.

The principles of policy, which influenced the laws and institutions connected with the African race in slavery, in an early period of our West India colonial history, appear to have also operated upon the free black and coloured population, although the cases were not similar. The white capitalist having no claims on the personal labour of the free black and coloured population, could have no right to constrain their labour for his benefit; and no measures ever have succeeded in giving to the lower classes amongst them, habits of steady industry. It is obvious, however, that the principle of fear, or that of providing for the personal security of the English capitalist, has had a marked influence on many laws and regulations relative to the free coloured race, which, at this time, appear not to be expedient, with reference to the intelligence and property now possessed by some of that class of persons, as well as their general loyalty and good conduct: for this ought to be affirmed *generally*, notwithstanding the political conduct of some of the free coloured people in a few of our islands, wherein insurrections may have taken place, as in Grenada, St. Vincents, and Barbadoes.

I am therefore far from approving of many of these old laws, of our islands, which relate to the free black and coloured population; nor am I in any manner disposed to approve of those old laws which relate to the government of a class of slaves, now placed in circumstances so very different from those, which at that time might, perhaps, have required such laws to be enacted. Indeed I consider it equally impolitic and injurious to delay the establishment of those measures by law, which are actually in force from usage, arising from the progressive improvement in the treatment of the slaves, and their own improvement in social civilization.

As the free blacks in the new world more nearly approach the class of liberated Africans, I shall chiefly consider the principles which operate on them.

I found the principle of fear acting with a still greater force upon the lower classes of the free black and coloured people in some of the united states of America, than in our colonies; and I deem it proper to submit the result of my observations, that the subject may be seen in more points of view than one. In speaking of the condition of the free negroes in the United States, perhaps principles can be as fully developed to show how circumstances, both of a physical and moral nature, must be considered, in submitting any plan for meliorating the condition of the liberated Africans, as if reference were had to our own colonies; whilst those excitements of the imagination and feelings, which so often mislead the judgment, may, perhaps, be so far lessened, as to better enable me to conduct an inquiry respecting the actual operation of principles, connected with physical causes; the investigation of which appear to me so important, that I think no useful practical results ever can be expected, until their existence, or non-existence has been ascer-
tained,

tained, as the first step to comprehend the real force of obstacles to be overcome in any practical plan for the melioration of the condition of the captured Africans. Afterwards the policy and practicability of any measures to lessen or remove such obstacles, will be better ascertained by your lordship.

A sincere wish to promote the happiness of all concerned, induces me to submit only such points for consideration, relative to the United States and foreign countries, as involve principles of a physical nature, applicable to the melioration of the condition of the liberated Africans, now living in our colonies; but as the official inquiries of my colleague and myself, in our own colonies, are also submitted, nothing will have been withheld from your lordship's knowledge, that either of us could usefully furnish.

To provide for the personal security of the white race of men against the physical powers of the black and free coloured race, I found, in the southern sections of the United States, laws practically in force, more revolting to my sense of justice, as an Englishman, than I did in our own colonies. Necessity was the only plea alleged by the republicans of the United States.

A physical circumstance, arising from the different races of men, appeared to me to present a great difficulty to the practical philanthropist, desirous to meliorate the condition of the liberated Africans, or free negroes, in *any country* where the free negroes form only a portion of the community, whose national wealth is created by the cultivation of land, in the possession of capitalists, or landlords, of the English race of men, whose features, complexion, and ideal sense of beauty, are generally in conformity with those of the northern inhabitants of Europe.

In such communities as I have referred to, an observer will not fail to discover the *want* of a certain class of sympathies, which are daily seen in action, when men of the same *race* live together, even in republics like the united states of America, although a portion of the community consisted of men of different nations, and habits, but yet resembling each other, in external form, colour, features, &c.

I allude to the extraordinary rarity of *virtuous unions* having taken place, between the males and females of the pure negroes and the pure whites in America. I certainly have *heard* of such unions as, in certain classes of society, are *seen* in London; but in America they were considered rather as *very extraordinary occurrences, particularly if the male should be a pure negro, and the female a pure white.* On the other hand, when the female is an African, lust, aided by fear or avarice, has often led to an *illicit* union between these races.

The Englishmen, or northern Europeans, generally differing still more in form, colour and features, from the Indian and African races of mankind, the virtuous union between him and the Indian or African females are more rare in those countries where they reside near each other, than takes place between merely dark coloured females and southern Europeans, or Spaniards; although those unions arising from lust or avarice, are perhaps as frequent with the northern Europeans as with the Spaniards.

In the new world of America, virtuous unions between the extreme colours of black and white are always considered something in violation of the ordinary sympathies which spring from a pure affection, and therefore derogatory to the feelings of caste; for even the free coloured females, I understood, would have a reluctance, if *advanced in civilization*, to form a *virtuous union* with a pure negro.

In the West Indies, where the blacks are so much more numerous than the whites, the influence of this physical circumstance in preventing the virtuous union of the two races may, perhaps, explain why those sympathies are not found, which unite together men in the same community; and it is to be feared, from the physical constitution of human nature, that ages must pass away before this obstacle to our wishes can be overcome; and while it exists, there cannot be any *real* political equality of condition between the two races, whilst living together in the same community. In the eastern states of North America, the whites are of a moral character, and much more numerous than the negroes, whom they had most benevolently emancipated, and for whose improvement they had spent, and are still spending, large sums of money, notwithstanding the want of that kind of sympathy to which I have referred.

Previous to my visit to the United States, from the information of others, I had expected to find that such physical differences among the moral inhabitants of the eastern states would have had little effect in a country where all men were equal,
and

and where democratic principles were considered as those becoming a good citizen of the republic. I found that those unions, stimulated by lust or avarice, were more rare among a moral people; but I also found, that the virtuous unions between the two races were opposed by the same physical circumstances, which were as powerfully in action in the north and eastern parts of the republic of the United States, as in the West Indies: so that the intelligent, and free American negroes lived amongst the moral, virtuous and free American whites of the eastern states, as citizens of another country, nay, almost as beings of another world, between whom and the whites the strongest sympathies of their common nature had no *virtuous union*, or *social bond*.

Some of these intelligent free negroes in the United States, (with whom I often conversed for the express purpose of personal observation,) felt the ban under which they were put, by the influence of prejudice, as they considered it, after the laws of the country had declared them free, and equal to any other citizen of the state; and in the confidence inspired by my inquiries about their situation, I was often asked if, in England, white women did not marry black men? and with apparent simplicity it was inquired, why the American white women were so prejudiced against black men? When I inquired of some of the most benevolent white American citizens, who interested themselves particularly about the melioration of the condition of the free blacks in America, if they could explain why virtuous unions so rarely took place between the black and white races in the Eastern states, they seemed to shudder at the thought of circumstances being otherwise, but were always ready to admit, that it was a circumstance which diminished their hopes of creating those sympathies between the two races, without which, there could be no permanent and unalloyed happiness in their intercourse as citizens of the same nation, and living together in the same country, and that it was beyond the power of legislative enactments to remove this insuperable difficulty.

To time, and time alone, they looked for a remedy, but they confessed they had little hopes even from time; and therefore they thought it best for both parties, that the poor blacks should leave the country.

In pursuing my inquiries, it appeared, according to official statistical returns respecting the northern sections of the Union, that the black race of mankind was, in that climate, less prolific than the whites, under their respective circumstances; and even that the slaves in the south were more prolific than the free blacks; results which were altogether opposed to my expectations, and previous information.

Perhaps the influence of climate on the laws of vitality, and the principles which influence personal labour, as regards different races of men in different climates, if fairly examined, would produce useful results, in showing how the services of one race can be rendered most useful in promoting social civilization among a different race, and in a different climate.

Those who merely refer the degraded state of the free Africans, or blacks, to their having been formerly slaves, and leave out of their consideration the consequences arising from physical differences in form, colour, feature and smell, influencing those general ideas of beauty, creating the passion of love that most commonly leads to a virtuous union of the sexes of different nations, must be considered as having taken a very narrow view of the question, from the prevalent custom of merely referring to moral causes alone, and omitting all references to those of a physical nature, though still more powerful in their effect.

In the United States of America we see the descendants of men who had been in the most servile condition, nay, even degraded culprits, now enjoying all the sympathies of their fellow citizens; and the man would be looked upon as a bad republican who should reproach another with the servile condition of his white ancestors.

Doubtless, slavery was terminated in a manner more accordant with the feelings of all parties among our Saxon ancestors, from not having to contend with the difficulties arising from their bondsmen being of a different race; whereas, as far as my observation has extended, whenever the black and white race have lived together as free men and slaves, although the blacks may be legally made free, yet their extreme physical differences appear to have prevented the two races from amalgamating into a harmonious community of civilized people. I have found among republicans, that this difference of colour practically defeats benevolent laws, and acts as an unconcealable national cockade between two apparent rival nations, though both are under the same government, and equally free according to law.

In

In discussing the subject under consideration, I should ill perform a public duty if I suppressed all mention of a physical cause like this, which, in practice, is found to have an effect so powerful, however the philanthropist or the philosopher may regret it, and however it may be beyond their power to remove it by legislative means.

It is easy for legislators, removed from the observation of causes and effects, to fancy measures for removing such difficulties; but speaking as a person of plain understanding, I should say that no act of parliament, or order in council, ever could place those liberated Africans, and the whites in the West Indies, upon an equal footing, so as to accomplish that harmony between them, which arises from an union of interests, and an equality of political power, among men of the same race, in a climate suited to all; a black skin, woolly hair, peculiar features, and a strong smell, will, I fear, for ages have an influence on the ideas of beauty entertained by Englishmen in the West Indies, and the consequences thereof will prevent, in that country, as in America, the formation of those general sympathies of our nature, which spring from the virtuous union of the sexes in civilized communities.

The speculative philanthropist must have carelessly studied the best mode of promoting the civilization of a people in a backward state of knowledge, who has not observed the power obtained, when those sympathies of our nature arising from a virtuous union of the sexes can be used, to create, among different people, a new order of virtues, and a refinement in the enjoyment of pleasure, by giving to chastity and modesty the happiness of being cherished and beloved. To be deprived of this power, from physical causes, as regards the amalgamation of the black and the white races of men, weakens the hands of the practical philanthropist; but they would not be strengthened, by suppressing all mention of such a circumstance in a Report like this.

It is only from a sense of duty that I submit such considerations to your lordship, because I solemnly and honestly believe them to be true, and I should be the first to rejoice at the discovery, that my judgment has been misled, by some weakness in my powers of observation; for I have not been misled by my own feelings, or my interest, since the former are directly opposed to the result, and the latter is utterly unconnected with the subject.

I cannot believe that the God of Truth wills its suppression, as a means of promoting the success of benevolence. It appears to me to be my duty to submit such facts to your lordship as may lead to the consideration, whether the efforts of benevolence may not be more certain of arriving at the object, which all good men desire, by the better adaption of means to obtain it. In this case, the promulgation of truth will be painful to those speculative philanthropists only, who having with honest and pure zeal adopted erroneous principles of action, and having hitherto failed, instead of reviewing the operation of physical causes, which under any circumstances, acted upon by them, would have impeded success, eagerly impute the causes of failure to events which, on strict examination of their influence as causes upon the effect to be obtained, could only have performed a very subordinate part.

In the eastern states of America, the negro race of men were emancipated from slavery by their white masters voluntarily. Notwithstanding this act of benevolence at the end of nearly half a century, in New England, the negroes alone, of all mankind, find themselves degraded and unhappy, in a country where all men, *by law*, are on a footing of *perfect equality*.

The free blacks, at present, submit to their fate, because they are the least numerous portion of the community. Their former masters now wish the negroes, as free men, to leave America. What would the negroes wish, if in numbers they were more powerful than the whites? Without answering this question the speculative philanthropist would immediately recommend an amalgamation of the races, and would proceed to prove that this may be effected by laws, since the obstacles to amalgamation arose from pride, and prejudices, which certain laws might remove; being just and pious men, the speculative philanthropists never would approve of the application of any other power than the moral influence of laws, to overcome the difficulties which opposed the effect desired by their benevolent feelings, rather than expected by their reason.

The practical philanthropist would say, that the moral influence proposed was not likely to overcome such physical obstacles as opposed the virtuous union of the

African and European races of different sexes ; and that the difficulty to be removed was not lessened by suppressing the consideration of such circumstances as attended it, or by disputing how far feelings, arising from pride or prejudice, may be overcome by laws enacted by legislators at 4,000 miles distance, and whose own previous prejudices may induce them to underrate the power which they rashly undertake to control, whilst their own persons, and their own properties, are perfectly secured against the probable consequences of their ignorance, or their errors.

When merely moral causes are in action, men at 4,000 miles distance, perhaps, may usefully suggest measures to control them ; but when physical causes, like those mentioned, are in action, how are these to be controlled by legislators at a distance? This cannot be easily conceived by those who practically observe how the sympathies of human nature, and the principles of association, influence the actions and the happiness of mankind. Can the English legislator effect more than the American legislator of New England upon this point? Can persons at 3,000 miles distance, ill informed as to physical facts influencing the question, act with more wisdom and effect, than persons equally intelligent, on the spot, and having the best means to investigate all facts influencing the question?

The desire to legislate, under such circumstances, where such feelings or prejudices are in force, would appear to proceed only from that irregular kind of zeal, which, in the intensity of its action, defeats its own purposes, by overlooking the real weakness of its own power, and neglecting the consideration of the effect of the ordinary motives, which govern the conduct of men.

To that kind of zeal I cannot apply any harsh epithet, for under motives the most pure, I have personally felt its influence, before I adopted the mode of judging for myself, *by carefully observing facts and results, and reasoning from them for the discovery of principles.*

As your lordship knows what my more early opinions were, these observations from me are the more necessary ; for when the discovery of truth for purposes so important is the object in view, I should be undeserving of your lordship's protection if I adhered to erroneous opinions, founded on reasoning, when I depended on the good character of others, instead of accurately observing facts for myself.

It is for this reason I have deemed it necessary to point out obstacles, which I once overlooked, and to confess that my opinions, notwithstanding all the pains I have taken to gain information, are of no value or importance, unless so far as they may appear to be fair logical inferences, drawn from facts, frequently recurring, and manifestly showing the operation of cause and effect.

It is hoped these considerations will induce your lordship to pardon the extreme dryness of the details into which I have been obliged to enter, in order to support the probability of my opinion being just, when it bears on any point which has been a matter of dispute.

Because without these tedious details the truth of principles cannot be shown, and even when a general principle has been established, it becomes necessary to notice other facts, which would appear to modify the extent of its general application.

For instance, in the very principle which I have been discussing, something like an exception may be seen, by the accurate observer of facts, in the degree of another class of sympathies and affections, often seen to exist between the white master and the negro slave, or servant.

But this affection on one side always appears in the character of protection, and condescending kindness. It very rarely assumes that character of love and affection which equalizes the parties under its influence, by the creation of mutual love on the basis of equality. Nor do I believe that any plan has succeeded in removing the physical evils enumerated, as regards the amalgamation of the African and European races, to any extent, into one harmonious community in the torrid zone ; or in establishing any thing like that kind of connection and mutual dependence, arising from employment and wages, which is seen to subsist in England between the capitalist and the labourer.

The most recent attempt has been made in the republic of Columbia, where a very small portion of the population consists of negro slaves, amidst a much more numerous race of men, who differed from the African race in all the enumerated physical peculiarities much less than those descendants of Englishmen, who are capitalists in the West Indies.

The Columbian republic, in the preamble to the law of congress abolishing slavery, stated: "That following the eternal principles of reason, justice and sound policy, a republican government, really just and philanthropic, cannot exist unless it endeavours to alleviate, in all classes of the state, degraded and suffering humanity;"—and following these principles, the law of 19th July 1821 proceeds to abolish slavery. What effect republican institutions may have in Colombia, where there are only few negro slaves, and where the physical peculiarities of the inhabitants are not so extremely different, as in our colonies, or in the United States of America, time alone can show. I have to state, with reference to the law of 19th July 1821, that, from my personal observations when in that part of the world, previous to the publication of the law, and from inquiries since it has been in operation, as to the result on productive industry, I am induced to believe, that when *steady* labour in agriculture has been the object to be obtained for reasonable wages in the lowlands of the torrid zone, that certain physical evils have affected the success of the measures there, as elsewhere, under similar circumstances, as to climate, density of population, &c.

In perusing "Observaciones sobre la ley de Manumision del soberano Congresso de Colombia," printed and published at Bagota in 1822, a year after the decree for the abolition of slavery, it is stated in page 35, as to the effect of some of the physical circumstances which I have enumerated, in speaking of the negroes, that—

"No vigilance on the part of government can remove the natural sloth of such a number of lazy beings, nor repress the excesses which will follow their being left to themselves. If one wolf alarms all the shepherds of a district, what will 90,000 do?"

"Don't let us deceive ourselves, the *blacks never can be amalgamated with the whites*; they will always be hostile to each other, as opposed in interests as in colour; their rivalry will be in proportion to the different shades of complexion: for this reason the negro Toussaint was opposed to the mulatto Rigaud, Christophe to Petion, and all of them to Le Clerc." *

I am well aware that it is easy to attribute such language to prejudice, because reasons of a moral nature can be assigned as producing *part* of the effect noticed.

That moral causes may be assigned for a portion of the effect noticed, is readily admitted; but what I contend for is, that there are also *physical* as well as *moral* causes in action to produce the effect; and I only refer to the author quoted, because his work was printed and published at Bagota, in 1822, after the law of Colombia had been issued for the abolition of slavery; and which law he thinks a just measure, at the same time that he states the evils resulting from certain physical causes.

Although the author elsewhere approves of the emancipation of the negro slaves in Colombia, yet his proposed mode of destroying the effects of those physical differences, which separate the negro race from the whites, appears so shocking to morality and humanity, that I cannot venture to give it in any other language than his own, as found in page 37 of his work, where he says:—"7.º trate enfin de éteindre le color negro, confinando à las minas y demas establecimientos, los vagos, y las mugeres ociosas de las grandes sociedades, que mantienen la *venus vaga en ellas*, con detrimento de las buenas costumbres, de la salud pública, de la poblacion y con perjuicio de los padres de familia en sus hijos y domesticos." †

I think

* "No alcanzaria la vigilancia del gobierno à sacudir la desidia genial de un número tan prodigioso de indolentes, ni à reprimir los excesos consiguientes à su abandono. Un lobo alarma à todos los pastores de la comarca, noventa mil que harian? No hay que engañarnos, el negro nunca se amalgamarà con el blanco; siempre será su enemigo: son tan opuestos, como estos dos colores entre sí: su rivalidad está en razon de la variedad de sus tintes: era preciso que el negro Todosantos fuese contrario del mulato Rigaud, Cristoval de Petion, y todos juntos de Leclerc."

† Instead of translating into English a proposal so abhorrent to human nature, that it happily appears impracticable, I shall give the results of a proceeding somewhat similar, on the authority of an English lady, in a letter published in 1794, but dated 13th May 1791, from Sierra Leone:—

"I never did, and God grant I never may again," says Mrs. Falconbridge, "witness so much misery as I was forced to be a spectator of here. Among the outcasts were seven
" of

I think it may be fairly inferred, that the physical difference between the negro and the white races, must be felt in Colombia as an evil much greater than it appears to be considered in England, (where it is scarcely ever mentioned,) when such a remedy is proposed to overcome it.

If it should be said, that the opinions as to the industry of the free negroes in Colombia are merely those of an individual of Colombia in 1822, I would observe, that he refers to facts of a physical nature, which must either be true or not, as to the steady industry of the free negroes in Columbia. It is certain that his facts may be true in the low grounds, and not correct in the high lands, because elevation above the sea has all the effects of a northern climate; but, in that case, the same physical laws of nature prevail, as regards *steady* industry, which I have elsewhere submitted for consideration. Nor am I ignorant that it has been said that there are many instances of free negroes working industriously in Colombia. I have indeed seen many free negroes and Indians who cultivated ground, and sometimes hired themselves for short periods of time; but I must honestly confess that I never should have applied the term industry to labour like their's, limiting itself to such moderate exertions, judging, from the result of a year's labour, that the exertion given by an ordinary English labourer would have accomplished the same in a month. It is also of importance to notice, in alleged cases of steady labour, the elevation and temperature as well as the density of the population of the part of Columbia, or Mexico, where it is said to have occurred: for in some places the free labourer may be found occasionally working for wages, where the temperature is mild, or approaching that of Europe.

But so recently as the 28th of April 1825, in the same city of Bogota, a law was passed to relieve the *decayed state of agriculture* (to which, in 1822, the same individual also had referred), and the preamble is as follows:—

“ The Senate and Chamber of Representatives of the Republic of Colombia, assembled in Congress, having examined the communication of the 14th instant, and considering that the decayed state of agriculture in the republic arises from the exhaustion of the properties of the citizens, in consequence of the effects of the long war they have sustained, and of other physical causes which have operated in some departments; and considering, likewise, that it is the duty of Congress to remove all obstacles to the advancement of the public wealth, have thought fit to decree, &c. &c.” The means adopted to remove these obstacles are the loan of money to the agriculturists. Here it will be seen that certain “physical causes” were in operation in “some departments,” which, as well as the evils of war, diminished the results of agricultural labour; and that one of the means by which these *physical* obstacles were proposed to be removed, was the application

“ of our country-women, decrepid with disease, and so disguised with filth and dirt, that I should never have supposed they were born white; add to this, almost naked from head to foot; in short, their appearance was such as I think would extort compassion from the most callous heart; but I declare they seemed insensible to shame, or the wretchedness of their situation themselves; I begged they would get washed, and gave them what cloaths I could conveniently spare; Falconbridge had a hut appropriated as a hospital where they were kept separate from the other settlers, and by his attention and care they recovered in a few weeks.”

“ I always supposed these people had been transported as convicts, but some conversation I lately had with one of the women has partly undeceived me:—she said the women were mostly of that description of persons who walk the streets of London, and support themselves by the earnings of prostitution; that men were employed to collect and conduct them to Wapping, where they were intoxicated with liquor, then inveigled on board of ship, and married to black men whom they had never seen before; that the morning after she was married, she really did not remember a syllable of what had happened over night, and when informed, was obliged to inquire *who was her husband!* After this to the time of their sailing, they were amused and buoyed up by a prodigality of fair promises, and great expectations which awaited them in the country they were going to, ‘ Thus,’ in her own words, “ to the disgrace of my mother country, upwards of 100 unfortunate women were seduced from England, to practise their iniquities *more brutishly* in this horrid country.”—Two voyages to Sierra Leone, during the years 1791, 1792, 1793, page 64.

It is not intended by the above extract to assert, on the authority of such persons, that the facts are correctly related, but the passage gives a clear idea of the measure recommended for Colombia, and the effect of such an amalgamation of white women and black men in Sierra Leone, during the period mentioned.

application of another physical cause, by the advance of capital to the agricultural labourer.

Physical causes, (whatever they may have been in Colombia), appear to have produced some effect on the result of agricultural industry; it cannot, therefore, appear unreasonable for me to consider some physical causes as having produced, and may be expected to produce, some effects injurious in their consequences to the production of wealth in the torrid zone by free labour, thus affecting the liberated Africans, and colonists dependent on the prosperity of agriculture, in some of the West India colonies wherein the liberated Africans at present reside, although the physical effects referred to by the government of Colombia, may be different from those assigned by me. I merely wish the fact to be admitted, that there are some *physical causes* in the torrid zone which are not felt in England with the same force, operating on the results of voluntary industry in agriculture.

In the public speeches, reports, &c. made on this subject, which I have seen, these *physical facts* appear to me to have been suppressed, apparently as unworthy of notice, whereas they appear to me to exercise an influence so powerful on voluntary industry, that no progress can practically be made in overcoming them, until their force has been fairly ascertained, instead of being concealed.

Until, therefore, the government institute proper inquiries as to the efficiency of those causes, *on the spot where they are in action*, nothing but error and delusion, in my humble opinion, can arise from any legislative measures founded in ignorance of the power of these circumstances. Such has been the case hitherto, and I see no reason to doubt that, under similar circumstances, the same disappointment will follow the adoption of measures framed by persons who are either ignorant of the effect of physical causes, or who, as practical legislators, underrate their power.

Buonaparte entertained a singular idea as to the mode by which one of these physical evils, to which I have already adverted, might be overcome: and Buonaparte, when in power, was not a person likely to fancy these to be *imaginary difficulties*, which drew from him an opinion that they were real obstacles, requiring such a remedy as he has proposed.

In his memoirs, lately published, he has recorded his opinion respecting the physical obstacle arising from the difference of colour, form and features of the African, as compared with those of the European race.

“The question of the freedom of the blacks,” says Buonaparte, “is very difficult and very complicated. It has been effected both in Africa and Asia; *but it was by means of polygamy*, the blacks and whites making part of the same family. The chief of the family having white, black and coloured wives, the white and mulatto children, being brethren, are raised in the same cradle, are called by the same name, and eat at the same table; would it then be impossible to authorize polygamy in our islands, restricting the number of wives to two, one white and one black?”*

The plan suggested by Buonaparte gives a strong idea of the force of the physical obstacle, which, in his opinion, required a remedy of whose practicability it would be useless to inquire. Those who expect that moral causes will practically remove physical obstacles of this kind, are generally too virtuous to consider in the real light either of *moral or lawful* causes, such measures as those suggested by Buonaparte for the French colonies, or those proposed for Colombia, where the descendants of Spaniards or southern Europeans, possess the greatest political power.

I turn therefore again to the United States of America, whose extent of territory

* “La question sur la liberté des noirs est une question fort compliquée et fort difficile. En Afrique et en Asie, elle a été résolue, *mais elle a été par la polygamie*. Les blancs et les noirs font partie d’une même famille. Le chef de famille ayant des femmes blanches, noires, et de couleur, les enfans blancs et mulâtres sont frères, sont élevés dans le même berceau, ont le même nom et la même table. Serait il donc impossible d’autoriser la polygamie dans nos îles, en restreignant le nombre de femmes à deux, une blanche et une noire.” *Memoires pour servir à l’Histoire de France sous Napoleon, écrits à S^{te} Helene, sous la dictée de l’Empereur. Tome 1^{er} page 207.*

admits of a great variety of climate, although in no part of it, is the effect of climate so great as in the lowlands of the torrid zone, wherein our West India possession are situated.

My attention was drawn to the northern sections of the United States, in consequence of the emancipation of the slaves having been effected there for some time past, and as it was alleged in 1823, with advantage both to the whites and the blacks, in a moral and in a pecuniary point of view, particularly in New York; and it was in October of the same year 1823, that in the very city of New York I became acquainted with several benevolent and pious individuals, who had associated for the purpose of providing an asylum, in some other country than New York, for these very free blacks, who had been emancipated in the United States, and in the state of New York itself, with so much *alleged advantage to themselves, and the whites.*

At that time the views of the members of the New York Colonization Society, were, to remove the free blacks from the United States to some settlement on the coast of Africa.

The first Report of the New York Colonization Society, read on the 29th October 1823, will enable your lordship to understand the real facts of the case, as to the condition of the free blacks, even in those states where slavery has been abolished.

Without going too far back, I would solicit your lordship's attention to the expression of the public feeling of the free negroes themselves, as contained in a letter from a person of that class, addressed to the secretary of the colonization society of the United States; it is dated 13th July 1818, from *Lamott*, in the *Illinois Territory*:

"I am a free man of colour," says the writer, named Abraham Camp, "have a family, and a large connection of free people of colour, residing on the Wabash, who are willing to leave America, whenever the way shall be opened. We love this country and its liberties, if we could share an equal right in them; but our freedom is partial, *and we have no hope that it will ever be otherwise here*; therefore we would rather be gone, though we should suffer hunger and nakedness for years."

In New York, Philadelphia, and other places, I met with some blacks and coloured free citizens, remarkable for their intelligence and good conduct, but who were at the same time deeply sensible of the degradation in which they were held, for a physical difference in colour, features, &c. which they could not in any manner help or remove. This injustice was obvious, but how was it to be remedied? The laws indeed had made them free, but the laws could not overcome physical obstacles to the creation of those sympathies necessary for the harmonious union of the blacks with their white fellow citizens. The blacks, though free, as a body of men in the community, were unhappy, and for that reason most men considered their emigration from the United States as a wise measure, but only from the necessity of the case.

Some of the most intelligent citizens of the United States called my attention to another physical circumstance, which I had also observed in the West Indies; viz. that the white race of men were unequal to the labours of agriculture during summer, in certain low tide lands of the southern states of the Union, whilst in point of fact, from whatever cause, the free negroes could not be induced voluntarily to labour in agriculture, under those inconveniencies arising from climate, &c. for such wages as the average profits on stock to the capitalist would allow. In those states where the climate was colder, the case was different. To depend for the aid of free labour in agriculture for wages in the low tide lands of the south, was there equivalent to the transfer of the capital from the present white proprietor, to the free black labourer, in the opinion of the capitalists.

It was admitted, that in the northern parts of the United States, the power of coercing labour was now unnecessary, to render land productive to the owner or the state, when the proprietor himself could personally cultivate it, or hire others to do it, for wages approaching to the cost of subsisting the labourer; but the difficulty was in disposing of the poor negroe when emancipated, in a country, where the whites and blacks cannot be amalgamated.

In such cases it was also admitted that the state-government could advantageously interfere in abolishing slavery, but that the general government allowed each state-government to judge of its own local interests in such matters, as the comparative advantages of cultivating the soil by free or slave labour, &c.

Under these circumstances, the white capitalists being the legislators, their laws were

were peculiarly framed to protect the interests of the capitalists, even in a republic, where the interest of the labouring people formed, *in words*, the principle of the national government.

By these remarks, it is intended to point out the practical effects, which circumstances of a physical nature had in producing those anomalous circumstances respecting the labour of the African race, in the different states of a country forming one nation, and differing from each other, less in their general laws, than in the climate of different parts of the same extensive republic. In some parts I found the white race had emancipated the African, because, in a state of slavery, his labour did not produce as much wealth as he consumed; and having emancipated him, the poor African alone in that country could never obtain a real equality with a white man, although the laws had done every thing to accomplish it. Yet the white citizens of these eastern states were most anxious to see England emancipate her slaves in the West Indies, by which their commerce would be greatly promoted, at the expense of that of England.

In another part of the same country I found the white race maintaining, that without the labour of the African as a slave, their capital in land would be unproductive; and that the poor African when emancipated amongst them, was virtually expelled from that community, where his labour, as a slave, had been considered of the greatest value.

After having carefully observed such apparent incongruities amongst the same people, and a people so intelligent as the inhabitants of the United States of America, I thought myself justified in the inference, that some powerful causes must be in action, and that those of a physical nature had not been overcome by mere legal enactments.

It is for your lordship to consider whether I have correctly stated facts, frequently recurring, and whether such facts operate on each other as cause and effect. Whether I have drawn a right inference or not, is altogether unimportant, as your lordship's superior judgment will draw your own.

In this important matter it may be proper to show how the philanthropic individuals who wished to remove the free blacks from these evils, considered the matter. I shall therefore submit the remarks of some intelligent white American citizens, who come before the public, as having studied the best means of promoting the welfare of the free negroes of the United States.

In the first report of the New York Colonization Society, speaking of the negroes, it is said: "By public and common consent of all, *north as well as south*, we hold them in degradation, and the freedom we give a few, gives them no release from being despised and treated with contempt."

The members of this society are no friends to slavery, but they find the effect of physical circumstances on public opinion to be such, that at the same time they urge the emancipation of slaves from moral motives, they urge their removal from among the white citizens of the United States, from political considerations.

"Let us not," says the report, "leave it to our unhappy bondsmen to wrest from us their liberty at the point of the bayonet; let us nobly give it to them, so that the boon will be worth accepting. *This we cannot do but by colonization.*"

Such was the language of a society of pious and benevolent persons in the city of New York, in the year 1823.

Again, speaking of the *free negroes*, they say; "One striking evidence of the injury of this population to our country, is seen in the fact, that our prisons are filled with coloured culprits. Hodgson in his letter to Say observes; 'Travellers in America find the prisons in the slave states filled with slaves (as I did almost universally).' The prisons of this city" (New York) "exhibit the fact of six blacks to one white, in proportion to the white and black population of the city; and the state prison, the proportion of eleven to one white, in proportion to the population of the state; Bridewell contains sixty-six whites, and thirty-eight blacks; the state prison contains 455 whites and 151 blacks: more than a fourth are blacks."

I personally verified these statements by visiting the prisons; and through the politeness of one of the most enlightened men in America, Governor De Wit Clinton, who on one occasion accompanied me, I received a list of the criminals in the
chief

chief prison of New York, stating the colour, the nations, and the crime of the different individuals. From such data, and the population returns of the city and the state, I was enabled to ascertain the correctness of the facts produced.

Unfortunately these facts were not confined to the slave-holding-states.

Slavery has been abolished about forty years in Connecticut, yet in the Newgate prison of that state, in April 1823, the prisoners were 110; nearly one third were blacks, whilst the number of the blacks constituted only about one thirty-third part of the population of the state.

In Connecticut common schools for all classes of citizens are universally established, supported by a school fund, which in 1821 amounted to 1,700,000 dollars, aided by 12,000 dollars from the public taxes, so that a common schoolmaster is maintained in every town of the state.

Yet under all these circumstances some causes were in operation, that produced such a state of crime among the free blacks, as when compared with the same number of whites, is represented by the ratio of eleven to one, amidst a community wherein there exists, in my opinion, as great a portion of virtue, and industry, as is to be found among the same number of persons in England, or in any other part of Europe which I have visited.

If these facts should be true, my lord, and I pledge my honour as a British officer that I have taken every pains to ascertain the truth, I trust I shall not be reproached for my hesitating to join in the recommendation for the liberated Africans to be left as free persons amidst a West India society, without any other restraint than laws, which appeared to me, *not even to have been framed with reference to such a class of persons.* It also appeared to me, that some circumstances, and these of a physical nature, are actually less favourable, in the West Indies, to the *steady* industry of the liberated African, than in the northern states of the American republic; yet even in these states, benevolent societies were formed to assist the free blacks to leave a country, which at the same time was receiving, with gladness, the white emigrant from any other country. And these intelligent and benevolent individuals were on the spot, and could judge from facts, observed by themselves, and not depend on the mere *opinions* of others, as persons in England are generally obliged to do.

In South Carolina, indeed, an association of whites had been formed for objects somewhat different, but not affording any view more favourable of the situation of the free blacks: for the first resolution was in these words:

“ That we view with deep concern the non-enforcement of the laws enacted in relation to free persons of colour, and the laxity which prevails generally in the police of the state and city (of Charleston) as regards our black population; an evil which threatens the most serious results to the peace and prosperity of South Carolina.”

Since my return to England from the United States, a different direction has been given to the place of emigration for the free negroes of America. An asylum has been offered them in Hayti, and several pious and enlightened individuals, whom I personally knew, have gladly seized the occasion to induce the free blacks to leave the United States, and settle in the new republic of Hayti. One of these pious and benevolent persons, who was known to me in New York, in a recent publication of his, states, that he had written to President Boyer, of Hayti, in favour of this emigration; and in speaking of the free blacks in New York, where he lives, he says, “ There are many whites who truly lament their unhappy lot, mourn over their wrongs, and would gladly do any thing to redress them; but they find that such is their degradation, and public opinion towards the coloured people, that it is next to impossible to elevate them in moral character, and to benefit them in this country. *The abolition laws passed in this state, and others, have only tended to diminish their numbers and their means of support, without giving them any real advantage in their moral or civil condition.*”

Such is the opinion of Mr. Dewey, a most determined enemy to slavery, and one of the most active members of the colonization society; and my own observations confirmed its justice. The president of Hayti, in answer to this letter, expresses his gratitude to Mr. Dewey for promoting the removal to Hayti of the free blacks in the

United

United States, "where," says President Boyer, "far from enjoying the rights of freemen, they have only an existence precarious, and full of humiliation."

Second Part of
MAJOR MOODY'S
REPORT.

This doubtless is true; but in the Haytian constitution, which President Boyer administered, the 38th article is as follows:

"No white man, of any nation, shall put his feet on this territory as a master or proprietor."

Perhaps this law itself may afford matter for consideration, as showing how the black and white races of men regard the rights of each other, when each is enabled to exercise that physical power, which numbers give, when men of different races had, for a time, lived on unequal terms in the same community. It seems that each party, when in power, acts as if it was mutually thought the two races could not exist together, in the same community, with equal political powers, from the operation of some powerful causes, which do not appear to have been felt in England in former ages, when her inhabitants were composed of freemen and slaves; or when national distinctions, among people living in the same country, formed a political barrier between Britons and Romans, or Saxons and Normans.

On the application made by Mr. Dewey to President Boyer, the latter benevolently felt for the situation of the unfortunate people of his own race in the United States; and, as might be expected from a person of his intelligent mind, wrote to Mr. Loring Dewey on the 30th April 1824, in answer to certain inquiries made by the latter. The president stated: "The government of the republic will aid in defraying part of the expenses of the voyage of those who cannot bear them, provided the colonization society will do the rest. The government will give fertile lands to those who wish to cultivate them; will advance to them nourishment, tools and other things of indispensable necessity, until they shall be sufficiently established to do without this assistance."

In answer to another inquiry, President Boyer states: "All those, I repeat it, who will come shall be received, no matter what may be their number, provided they submit themselves to the laws of the state, which are essentially liberal and protecting, and to the rules of the police which tend to repress vagrancy, to maintain good order, and to confirm the tranquillity of all. There is no price to stipulate, as respects the land, since the government will give it gratis, in fee simple, to those who will cultivate it. The emigrants will be distributed in the most advantageous manner possible, and those who may desire it, shall be placed in the neighbourhood of each other."

"They shall not be meddled with in their domestic habits, nor in their religious belief, provided they do not seek to make proselytes, or trouble those who profess another faith than their own."

A circular letter from President Boyer, of a prior period, will show the desire he had to receive emigrants of the African race, to settle in Hayti as agriculturists.

The document is as follows:

"CIRCULAR.

"Port-au-Prince, 24th December, 1823.

"Jean Pierre Boyer, President of Hayti, to the Commandants of the Districts:

"Desirous to increase in the country the number of agriculturists, and thus augment its population, I have decided, my dear general, that emigrants of colour to Hayti, who may wish to establish themselves in the mountains or vallies, to cultivate with their own hands the public lands, shall be authorized to cultivate the same for their own profit. These lands, after payment of the taxes established by the authority of the place, shall be ceded in fee simple to those who open them and enhance their value, dividing them into suitable plantations for the produce of coffee and other productions which may yield a revenue to the state. You are therefore charged, so far as your authority extends, to settle the people of colour who may arrive, or who may wish to disembark and establish themselves in the district which you command, and to send me a list of the names of all such persons, and a description of the land given them.

“ It is understood, that this measure is not to change that prescribed by my circular of 2d December 1822, *in favour of the persons who, anterior to the 1st of last January, should be established* WITHOUT TITLE upon the state lands.
(signed) “ Boyer.”

In furtherance of those views, President Boyer, on the 25th May 1824, gave instructions to citizen J. Granville to proceed from Hayti to the United States, to arrange for the emigration of the free blacks from that republic.

These instructions abound in proofs of the practical wisdom and good sense of President Boyer; and I have reason to believe, that citizen Granville performed his mission with ability, and good judgment.

The 6th, 7th and 8th articles of the instruction, which more particularly relate to the class of emigrants contemplated in the circular quoted, will on perusal, I trust, confirm the character given of the whole.

These articles are as follow :

“ Article VI.”

“ To regulate better the interests of the emigrants, it will be proper to let them know in detail, what the government of the republic is disposed to do, to assure their future well being, and that of their children, on the sole condition of their being good and *industrious* citizens; you are authorized, in concert with the agents of the different societies, and before civil authority, to make arrangements with heads of families or other emigrants *who can write twelve people able to work, and also to stipulate that the government will give them a portion of land sufficient to employ twelve persons, and on which may be raised coffee, cotton, maize, peas, and other vegetables and provisions; and after they have well improved the said quantity of land, which will not be less than 36 acres in extent, or 12 carreaux* (the carreau being 100 paces square, and the pace three feet and a half French), *government will give a perpetual title to the said land to these twelve people, their heirs and assigns.*”*

“ Article VII.”

“ Those of the emigrants who prefer applying themselves individually to the culture of the earth, *either by renting lands already improved, which they will till, or by working in the field to share the produce with the proprietor, must also engage themselves by a legal act, that on arriving at Hayti they will make the above-mentioned arrangements, and this they must do before the judges of the peace, so that on their arrival here, they will be obliged to apply themselves to agriculture, and not be liable to become vagrants.*”

“ Article VIII.”

“ To all those, and *those only*, who will engage themselves, as it is prescribed according to the 6th article, you are authorized, always acting in concert with the different societies, to contract, that the expense of their passage and maintenance during the voyage, shall be paid on their arrival at Hayti, by the government, *which will give them also the means of subsistence during four months, after their landing and settlement on the ground they are to cultivate, which will be long enough for them to procure by their labour and settlement, the means of supporting themselves.*

“ *Nothing will be required of them for what may have been paid for their passage and subsistence, which is a donation made to them by the Republic.*”

I would beg leave to draw your lordship's attention to the fact, that in enumerating the staple exportable articles of tropical production which the American emigrant might cultivate, President Boyer confines himself to *coffee* and *cotton*, these being the articles to which also I had recommended that the attention of the liberated

* “ As, according to a law of Hayti, a person cannot hold less than five carreaux of land, the quantity of land given to the twelve persons will, as circumstances shall determine, exceed twelve carreaux.” “ This note is made by Citizen Granville.”

Africans should be directed in their agricultural industry, because these articles do not require the same degree of *steady* labour which is necessary in cultivating ginger, indigo and sugar; and from admitting an irregular kind of labour, without an *entire* loss of the crop, the cultivation of the articles, pointed out by the President Boyer, afforded to the emigrants those lengthened intervals of repose, so delightful to labouring persons in that climate, who enjoy freedom, and need not work but when they please, without suffering the evils of want from indolence.

The president of Hayti appears to have foreseen, that the free American blacks would not, in the lowlands of the torrid zone, engage in kinds of agriculture which required *steady* and *continuous though moderate exertion throughout the year*. And although he had endeavoured to encourage the cultivation of sugar in Hayti, by affixing high duties on its importation, yet it appears from his own proclamation of 20th March 1823, that he had failed in getting the Haytians to apply themselves to a cultivation which required *steady* labour, notwithstanding the fact that sugar in Hayti was as dear as it was in New York, on the authority of Mr. Dewey and the Americans who went to Hayti.

As I consider every fact respecting labour to be valuable, wherein cause and effect are clearly seen in instances frequently recurring, I trust I shall not trespass on your lordship's attention if I offer a few remarks on this point.

The president of Hayti found it necessary to prohibit the introduction of sugar and rum into Hayti by heavy duties, in order to encourage the free citizens of Hayti to cultivate an article which had been produced, and exported to France alone, formerly from only one part of Hayti, to such an amount as *annually* to *exceed half the whole sum* which President Boyer agreed to pay to France as an indemnity to the owners of the soil, building, and machinery, employed in *all kinds of cultivation*; and which, even very lately, had been exported to England from that part of the island under the dominion of Christophe, who, being a negroe, could exercise a greater power of coercion over his own race when free, than could be done by either a white, or a mulatto, like President Boyer.

The cultivation and exportation of this article under Christophe, up to his death, therefore showed that by his rural code, he, like Toussaint,* had been able to accomplish the object of producing sugar by free labour, but, judging from the results, in a much smaller degree than had taken place before.

The proclamation of President Boyer, dated 20th March 1823, showing that sugar was clandestinely imported into Hayti, clearly proves that it might *then* have been profitably cultivated, as it had been a few years before by Christophe; because, from the very circumstances alleged by President Boyer, an efficient demand must have existed for sugar and rum in Hayti itself, and that they were able to pay for it by giving other articles, cultivated with less profit, but which, requiring only irregular industry, was more suitable to their state of social civilization.

During so short a period of time, some great change indeed must have taken place in the rural code of Hayti, and in the voluntary industry of the agricultural population; otherwise, in a country which, thirty years ago, actually did produce sugar equal to the supply of the half of Europe, it could never have been deemed necessary to provide against its clandestine importation from colonies, where the article was produced by the labour of slaves, whose *steady* labour was coerced.

This fact brings me at once to a principle which influences steady labour in the lowlands of the torrid zone, among a people in a backward state of knowledge and civilization, and where land of great fertility is unoccupied, or considered of little value, or where the means of subsistence, from the bounty of Providence, is obtained by a little labour, occasionally applied at irregular intervals.

I need not refer to the encomiums passed on Christophe, whilst he was alive and in power, by very sincere friends to the African race in England, because I only require it to be believed that he had the means of knowing and observing under

* In the Appendix (A. B. and C.) extracts are given from the laws relative to agricultural labour, enacted by Toussaint and Christophe, as well as those established in Guadaloupe, for *free* negroes by General Desfourneaux, who had served in St. Domingo with Toussaint.

what circumstances it was necessary to use measures of coercion, to stimulate industrious exertions in the climate where he and the negroes then lived ; and that he *practically* effected the production of sugar so as to enable him to export it, whilst President Boyer, under perhaps a more mild, more just, and more tolerant rural code, is obliged to guard against the fraudulent importation of the same kind of wealth, which Christophe was enabled to export with profit, or it would not have been exported at all, in any considerable quantity.

The seventh article of President Boyer's instructions to citizen Granville, shows how he expected to obtain a certain degree of agricultural industry, equal to the cultivation of articles, not requiring that *steady* labour, which is necessary to cultivate the sugar cane. President Boyer states what he expects from the free black emigrants of the United States ; viz. " Those of the emigrants who prefer applying themselves individually to the culture of the earth, either by renting lands already improved, which they will till, or by working in the field, to share the produce with the proprietor, *must also engage themselves by a legal act, that, on arriving at Hayti, they will make the above-mentioned arrangements, and this they must do before judges of the peace, so that on their arrival here, they will be obliged to apply themselves to agriculture, and not be liable to become vagrants.*"

In Hayti, even at present, under the judicious government of President Boyer, we find the free and intelligent American blacks *receiving land for nothing, having their expenses paid, and the produce of the land to be for their own advantage, OBLIGED, BY A "LEGAL ACT," to apply themselves to a kind of labour which is manifestly and clearly intended to better their condition.*

Why should a free man be thus *obliged to act* in a manner, which the most ignorant person might discover was a duty incumbent on him, and that the result would be for his advantage ?

The legal act and its penalties, after such a grant of land, would appear pre-eminently absurd in such a country as England, where population presses on the means of subsistence. In Hayti, however, a person so prudent, and sensible as President Boyer appears to be, deemed it necessary to impose the obligation referred to, and every page of the subsequent history of that emigration showed the wisdom of the president's act, which imposed on the intelligent free black emigrants from the United States, that obligation, in order that they might not " be liable to become vagrants," as it is strongly, but correctly expressed by President Boyer.

Your Lordship may observe, in the instructions of the president, that only certain modes of rewarding the labour of the free American black, are mentioned ; viz. *renting lands already improved,—working in the field, to share the produce with the proprietor,—or, by being proprietors of land, to cultivate on their own account, without either rent or purchase, having land from the free gift of the government.*

The ordinary mode of rewarding the labourer by the payment of wages, as in England or the East Indies, (where the countries are fully peopled) is never once mentioned or alluded to by President Boyer, who may be fairly supposed to understand the situation of the country which he governs.

Yet in England eminent persons, who influence public opinion on subjects relative to the means of stimulating the *steady* industry of free Africans in cultivating the soil in the torrid zone, are apparently so ill informed, as to expect that such wages as the capitalists can afford to give, will be found an adequate stimulus to enforce steady industry in that climate, and under such a ratio as is generally found there, between population and the wealth able to reward them.

The error of these eminent persons consists in reasoning from analogies between countries, and people placed under circumstances entirely different ; or from assuming that an efficiency exists in moral instruction, which alone will overcome physical obstacles.

In the present constitution of Hayti, as administered by President Boyer, in " Titre 3, sur l'Etat Politique des Citoyens," I find under the 47th act, that the rights of citizenship are suspended as regards domestics working for wages (" par l'état de domestique à gages,") in that very republican country, where a person ignorant

ignorant of the effect of physical causes, would naturally conclude, that it would be most unjust to deprive a man of his right of citizenship, because he preferred one mode of subsisting himself to another which the government wished to encourage.

These considerations therefore will, I hope, shield me from any reproach for the expression of my opinion, of the very great difficulty, if not impossibility, for persons sitting in England satisfactorily to devise plans for the government of the steady labour of men in the torrid zone, under circumstances, between which and those of England, there are so little analogy.

Were I obliged, however, to submit regulations for the government of the *steady* labour of men under such circumstances, after respectfully stating my belief, that no man, or body of men, in England, possessed knowledge to provide for the different circumstances of each colony, I would proceed to the task by carefully studying the rural code of Hayti from the time of Toussaint to the time of President Boyer, as I have done; and the result is, the thorough conviction, that in the torrid zone, where population bears a small proportion to the wealth which a fertile soil is capable of producing by irregular industry, that social civilization can only make a very slow progress, if any, among men in a backward state of knowledge, until agricultural labour is *legally* imposed on those able to work, as a duty; but if such a law in that climate should require the *steady* exertion of even moderate labour equal to six hours daily exertion, for example, it would not be in the power of *any white legislators* to secure the obedience of *free blacks* to such a law, except by actual force or coercion.

It is for this reason that I would wish to direct the labour of the liberated Africans to the production of objects, which can be profitably raised by them with the least degree of steady labour; and which admits of long intervals of indolence and repose, in which, for a long time they must be indulged, only gradually introducing measures, which will farther stimulate the exertion of regular and steady labour.

To show, in other instances, similar facts frequently recurring, operating like cause and effect, I hope your lordship will pardon my prolonging my remarks on the emigration of the free blacks from the United States, as given by the pious and humane individual, who was most instrumental in inducing the people to go, and the president of Hayti to receive them. Although I should not place any confidence in the mere opinion of Mr. Dewey, or of any other person, on this subject, yet when he states facts or results observed by himself, his piety and character entitle him to the greatest attention.

Mr. Dewey thus expresses his motives for visiting Hayti in his letters recently published in New York: "To aid in delivering our beloved country from the accumulated misery and crime in which it is so deeply involved by slavery, and to do something towards rescuing the numerous victims of this calamity from the cruel oppression under which they are now suffering, was the object which I desired and hoped to promote by my visit to Hayti."

In speaking of the condition of the emigrants he says, "The emigrants on their arrival in Hayti landed either at Port au Prince, Cape Haytien, Port Platt, Samana, or St. Domingo. The whole number is more than 6,000: of these, more than 4,000 landed at Port au Prince. In all the places where they landed, except at Port au Prince, they were immediately placed on the land promised them by the government, and received as large a tract as they could cultivate, with the assurance of more, should it be found that any could cultivate more; the rule which the government adopts, being to give each one as much land as he can and will cultivate, and a title to it as soon as it is put into a productive state. I found the four months rations were abundant, and given them by the government in a liberal manner. At Cape Haytien some complaint prevailed that they did not get their full amount of rations; but it was imputed to the under officers. Yet on inquiring of the emigrants, not one knew what amount of rations each should receive a day, nor had any one carried their complaint to the commandant of the place to have the evil rectified. The land and rations given were both good, and I felt in every place that never before had emigrants been furnished with so great advantages for commencing their settlement in a newly adopted country; and as yet, I have seen or learned of no sufficient reason to change my opinion.

“ I found the emigrants in a country distinguished above all others for its delicious climate and fertile soil, under the care of a government most generously disposed to promote their welfare, and among a people who at first certainly gave them a welcome far more cordial and kind than they could have expected. Every where have I seen the testimonies of a surprising kindness shown to the emigrants by the people. Money and handsome apparel were given to many of them, and all who arrived at an early stage of the emigration were received with unbounded hospitality. To such an extent was this feeling carried in Port au Prince, that General Ingenac told me that at first he could without any difficulty or expense, have quartered 20,000 emigrants in that city, (and I had abundant confirmation of his declaration), but now he added, I could not twenty. It is true that many did not receive such kindness, and some were compelled to meet with considerable hardship on their landing, but they arrived after the first emigrants had, by their bad conduct and filthiness abused and disgusted their benefactors. (The Haytiens of all classes are distinguished for cleanliness). I often had occasion to remark here ‘one wicked man destroys much good,’ both in reference to the emigrants and the Haytiens. Many worthy emigrants have been compelled to suffer much by the bad conduct of a few; and the selfish and fraudulent conduct of some of the Haytiens has brought reproach and suspicion upon the government, and upon some of the most generous of men. The noble spirited Granville has suffered more from this source than millions of money would induce him voluntarily to suffer again.

“ A brief statement of the facts which transpired immediately on the arrival of the first emigrants will account for a great portion of the dissatisfaction which has prevailed in the region of Port au Prince. The first emigrants on landing were immediately received into the houses and at the tables of even the most respectable of the inhabitants, many of whom expressed disappointment when they found they could obtain none to partake of their kindness. The emigrants were then told that after having rested from their voyage three days, carts and horses would be furnished to take them to the land provided for them by the government. Before the three days had expired the emigrants expressed a wish to remain in their good quarters a week longer, which was granted. Before the expiration of the week, having learnt that the government lands were thirty or forty miles from the city, many of them who wished to live in the city, or had been urged by fair and imposing offers to go on to the lands of individuals, began to complain. They supposed, they said, that they had come to a land of liberty where they could live in the city or in the country as they chose, and objected to being placed on the lands of the government; and this, notwithstanding their express engagement was to go on to this land, or give the government security for the expense of their passage, the president, from whom I had this account, which has been confirmed by many emigrants, said he would not have them complain that they had not their liberty, and that he therefore gave orders to his officers to let the emigrants do as they should please, and at the same time to supply them with their rations, without requiring repayment, even should they sit down in the city and eat them up in idleness, (as many did). The consequence was, that few went on to their own land; many, in taking lands on shares, fell into the hands of men who used them harshly, or did not fulfil the agreements with them; many remained in idleness in the city, and sickened; many, by making hasty contracts without consulting their friends, were separated from them; all threw themselves off from the care of the government by not accepting the government lands, and involved those who arrived after them in the same difficulties. Many of the members of the Philanthropic Society encouraged the emigrants to settle on the lands of individuals, and cultivate them on shares, as these lands would be stocked by their owners, and most of the emigrants were destitute of the means of purchasing stock. Some doubtless, advocated this course from real conviction of its utility and from good will to the emigrants, but more did it from selfishness. They wished to get their own lands cultivated, and as the government gave the emigrants their rations without requiring repayment under any circumstances, it gave proprietors an opportunity to get their labour for four months without any costs. Many of the emigrants were thus imposed upon.

“ When speaking to the president of the evils of this course, he expressed his regrets and acknowledged that it would have been better to have put the
 “ emigrants

“ emigrants on their own land, *notwithstanding their complaints*. But the government then did not know how many of this people by their situation while in our country had been rendered incapable of managing for themselves, and how much they needed the care of guardians.

“ Although these and other circumstances damped the ardour of some of the emigrants and rendered them dissatisfied with their situation, yet I have uniformly found the industrious and the most respectable, and such as were fitted to be cultivators of the soil, contented with their condition and prospects, and convinced that great advantages were put within their reach. By far the greater part of the emigrants I saw, were satisfied with their change of country, and many were so much pleased, that they would not return on any consideration, and have said they never felt at home before, *that they have never felt what it was to be in a country where their colour was not despised*. But these were such as went out expecting to meet difficulties, expecting to labour and not to live in the city; and they are so numerous and pursuing their course with so much enterprize, that I feel there is more reason for surprize at the industry and contentment which they exhibit, than at the dissatisfaction which has brought back 200, and will perhaps bring back a few more. The number who are dissatisfied must certainly be considered small when we reflect *how large a portion of the emigrants went from our cities, how many of them had been servants, how many of them knew nothing of agriculture*, and how many of them went out with no intention to remain, but merely because they could go for nothing, at a season when they could get little employment in this country. Under these circumstances, no one acquainted with human nature, will be disappointed at the return of these emigrants.—Certainly the principal men of Hayti are not disappointed nor discouraged, but are still ready to bear the greatest part of the burthen of emigration, and to an unlimited extent, as the president assured me that his government would set no limits to the number of the emigrants. ‘The whole slave and free coloured population in the United States may come this year,’ he said, ‘if they please.’

“ The conclusion then is, that while the conduct of the Philanthropic Society at Port au Prince cannot be approved in encouraging the emigrants to take the lands of individuals in preference to those of the government, and *while the mistake of government, founded in its liberality in giving rations to all, whether they took the government lands or not, encouraged the indolent to indulge in idleness and to become vagrants in the streets of the city*, yet the greater part of the evils which the emigrants have suffered, *have arisen from their own bad conduct or imprudent contracts, and from their foolish wish to stay in or near the city*; and after all, these evils are so small and so overbalanced by the *advantages offered to the industrious*, that there is no reason to relinquish the hopes anticipated from this emigration; nor should any coloured person, who wishes to be a man among men, to provide well for his family, and to leave them an inheritance, not of ignorance and infamy, as he must in this country, but of property and honour, suffer himself to be discouraged, or to relinquish his expectations from Hayti. The richest and most profitable tropical productions can be raised in as great abundance as in any part of the world; and the lands are so valuable, *that could the whites purchase them*, the government would soon have none to sell. Every where the emigrants have established their meetings for protestant worship, not only without interruption, but with the assurance of protection, and there appears to be no obstacle presented either by the government or the people, in the way of establishing and supporting institutions of education and religion to any extent which the emigrants may desire. My candid conviction, therefore, is, that the condition of our coloured population is much improved by their removal to Hayti. *They are removed from the deadly influence of a most pernicious and unreasonable prejudice, which here is a blight upon their virtues and talents, to a country where they are called to perform the actions, and bear the responsibilities of men, and where they can enjoy the advantages of all the institutions that elevate the human character*.

“ It cannot be denied that there are many things in Hayti to be deplored, much in the policy of its government that is a bar to improvement, particularly its disposition to manage all its concerns with few hands. Nor can it be denied that the emigrants must be subject to a bad influence from the established religion, and
 “ that

“ that they must suffer many inconveniences from the difference of language and of customs ; yet with all these drawbacks there is an evident advancement in their condition by their change. *The single consideration that they are delivered from a degradation which no virtue or excellence of character can separate from their colour, is enough to give the strong affirmative to the question—“ shall they emigrate ?”*”

Mr. Dewey afterwards published a most interesting letter from one of the American black emigrants ; and which he thus introduces to the reader's notice.

“ To show what might have been the condition of all the emigrants, *had they gone out with the design of tilling the soil, and had immediately taken the land offered them by the President, and commenced its culture,* the following letter, being a copy of one sent by an emigrant to his former mistress, at Philadelphia, is presented. This man I saw, his land, and the abundance he already had growing ; and I know of no good reason why all the emigrants might not have been in as good a situation. *Yet I saw many who had equal advantages almost destitute, having neglected to improve them.*”

“ Pleasance, (Hayti) February 27th, 1825.

“ Respected Madam,

“ I take this opportunity to inform you of my safe arrival, and all my family, in reasonable health. We were four weeks and one day on the water, landed at Cape Haytien, and arrived here in two weeks after ; and four days after that we were taken out and shown a large tract of land, and told to choose our lot where we pleased. *We find the land very fertile, and will produce crops with very little labour. We are informed that the land will produce good crops for the space of twenty years without manure.* I have got planted, corn, beans, pumpkins, turnips, beats, cucumbers, cabbage, potatoes, sweet and Irish, onions, oats, flax, now ready to pull, four feet long ; banana, yams, manyoke, tiyo, coffee, 500 trees (found growing on the land) sugar-cane, tobacco, rice, cotton, pine-apple, figs and grapes, besides oranges, lemons and limes. My corn is in the silk, and beans ripe, and the *second crop up*, and others in all stages of growth. Irish turnips I have had long since, and shall have potatoes in two or three weeks. I cover the ground with different kind of vegetables, and shall have as much corn as if there were no beans or potatoes, and as many beans or potatoes, as if there were no corn, and much more of each kind than I could get from the same quantity of land in America. *I can have four crops of corn a year, and beans are ripe in seven weeks.* Besides, there are on the land a great many fruit trees of different kinds now full of green fruit. We find here all kinds of poultry, hogs, sheep, goats, horses, asses, mules, cattle of a good kind, and *they all get their food without our labour.* I find the people very kind, and the government has fully kept its promise to us. I am very well satisfied, and feel thankful for it, and that a kind Providence has opened this door to us.

“ We want schools and ministers, and we hope to have them before long. We have meeting every Sabbath in perfect quiet ; not molested by the natives, who are more like brethren, according to their understanding of our ways. We find some difficulty in not understanding their language, but we are learning it. *The climate is very favourable ; something like September, only the nights are not so cool ; and we are told the summer is not much hotter here.* We have abundance of good water, and fine mill-seats.

“ I am, with respect, Madam,

“ Your grateful humble servant,

“ AARON BLADON.”

“ This man arrived the 16th of November preceding, *making it but three months, at the date of his letter, since he commenced the cultivation of his plantation.* His land was overgrown with brush and small trees when he received it. At the time I visited him he had two lots, besides a large garden. One of these lots, containing the productions he mentions, *embraced two or three acres of land ;* the other, which is still larger, was not wholly cleared, and but a small part planted. *His two boys and his wife were at labour with him.* It was with great pleasure I walked over his fields, saw the rich fruits of his industry which he mentions, and congratulated him on his prospects. My only regret was, that all the emigrants had not done likewise.”

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I have quoted the remarks of Mr. Dewey on the preceding letter, because they confirm certain facts stated in the letter itself; *and it is facts, not opinions, which are deserving of your lordship's consideration.*

The actual facts as to the state of agriculture in Hayti in 1824 and 1825, according to Mr. Dewey, were these :

“ The productions of the island, which are cultivated for exportation, are cotton, tobacco, cocoa, and coffee. *Coffee is the staple article.* Tobacco, to a very considerable amount, and of a very excellent quality, is cultivated in the vicinity of Santiago, and exported at Port Platt. A principal part is taken to Cuba, and there resold as Havanna. Cocoa is cultivated principally in the south and west part of the island, but not in great quantities. Cotton grows to some extent in the vicinity of Port-au-Prince and of St. Mark's, and in larger quantities at Gonaives. The amount exported, however, is small, *and the culture is so much neglected, that only a small part of that which grows is gathered.* Sugar, which *was formerly one of the principal articles of export from this island, is not now made in sufficient quantities for home consumption.* This article, as well as rum and molasses, bears a higher price than in the United States, as the importation of them is prohibited. Rice is cultivated, but not in sufficient quantities for home consumption : it was at one time imported from the United States, but is now excluded by a new regulation of the tariff. *Indigo was formerly cultivated, and the vats are still remaining in many places, but the culture is now wholly neglected.* The great article which is raised for exportation is coffee, and this in far less quantities than formerly. The quantity of fruit raised for exportation is small, *and the cultivation has been so much neglected, that the quality is said now to be inferior to that of the fruits of other islands.* Indian corn is raised in all parts, but in small quantities, and only for the purpose of feeding poultry and cattle. *Its price, I found, was every where high; say from fifty cents to a dollar the bushel.* Sweet potatoes, turnips, onions, beans, melons, and all kinds of vegetables found in our kitchen gardens, are cultivated to some extent, but in all their markets bear a high price compared with that of the same article in the United States. The plantain is the principal article of food for the great mass of the people. *It is easily cultivated, and the quantity of nourishment which can be derived from an acre, when planted with the vegetable, is surprisingly great.** At the same time, the price which it bears makes the yearly value of an acre from one to two thousand dollars.”

If the present state of agriculture in Hayti, be compared with what it *now is* in the lowlands of Colombia, or Sierra Leone; and with what *it was* in Cayenne, and Guadaloupe, at a period when the agricultural industry was performed by free negroes, the wisdom of the president of Hayti, with respect to the imposition of obligations on the free blacks emigrating from the United States to Hayti, respecting their agricultural labour, will justify my recommendation of measures, which will enforce the habits of *steady* agricultural industry by degrees upon the liberated Africans; and prevent the constant tendency of their relapsing in the habits of indolence, and consequent barbarism.

I trust I have even already produced considerations sufficient to shelter me from any reproach for stating, that the extraordinary neglect, in actually preventing the liberated Africans from obtaining habits of steady agricultural industry, affords one more proof of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of satisfactorily regulating such matters by acts of parliament, or orders in council, framed in England by benevolent, and even intelligent persons, otherwise practically ill informed, respecting the action of physical or local circumstances, which must ever greatly influence any mode which may be adopted for controlling labour, among people in a backward state of knowledge and civilization.

The errors which have been committed evidently spring from an imperfect exercise of the judgment, rather than from any intentional design to defeat their own object,—declared to be the civilization of the Africans; an object deserving of the highest praise, even from those who may conscientiously differ in opinion, as to the best mode of accomplishing it.

* “ Humbolt says an acre of plantains will yield as much nourishment as twenty-five acres of wheat.”

It would only lead to disputes, were I to unfold what appears to me to be the causes of the errors into which these benevolent men fell, and instead of convincing them, I should only expose myself to the mortification of again having my motives misrepresented, instead of my reasons being shown to be fallacious, by men whose talents and virtues I respect, at the same time that I feel it my duty fearlessly to state the truth, that those who may wish to investigate this subject, may be enabled to discover the error and delusion which have hitherto prevailed.

That I may avoid cases which have been the subject of misrepresentation, I shall endeavour, from the reasoning of a truly pious and benevolent American, (Mr. Dewey), respectfully to illustrate the mode in which it has appeared to me that men of different nations have fallen into a train of reasoning, which to a certain extent is perfectly just; and error only begins when moral causes, which really do produce part of the effects described, are left to be considered as producing the whole; and the inference from such a mode of examining facts is, that if the obstacles assigned by those pious and zealous persons, as the only impeding causes to social civilization, were removed, *all kinds* of opposing obstacles would be removed; thus attributing to one cause, or set of causes, too great a power in the accomplishment of the effect specified.

“ The mode of culture which cruel slavery every where imposes upon its victims,” says Mr. Dewey, “ increases the burden of agricultural labour, and this burden still continues to be felt in Hayti, although the slavery which at first occasioned it is abolished. Slaves have no interest in the preservation of the tools they use for labour. Hence it becomes necessary to put into their hands only a few tools, and those of a coarse and very strong structure.”

So attentive an observer as Mr. Dewey, found in Hayti, “ that ploughs are scarcely known, and wheels very little used for transporting burdens, &c.” and, “ that throughout the island the women perform the principal part of the labour in the field and in the house. The markets are thronged with females, and the sight is constantly presented in the roads leading to the market-towns, of women, sometimes driving their asses, mules, horses or cattle loaded with coffee or other produce, and sometimes carrying the load on their own heads. And often not only the poor beast is loaded down to the full extent of his strength, but its driver, a poor female, shares the same lot, and is compelled not only to manage the beast, but to carry an additional load on her own head. I was often moved with pity for their lot, although I rejoiced that the burden was now voluntary; and admired the spirit of women who could so readily perform the work of the men, that the men may be employed in the defence and preservation of their liberties.”

The causes here assigned by Mr. Dewey for the effects, which he witnessed, may be to a certain extent true; but the questions for consideration are, was slavery, as stated, the *sole* cause? and *how far has emancipation from coerced labour modified the effects*, which he describes as having witnessed in Hayti in the year 1825?

Slavery, as it is seen in the West Indies, is daily assigned as the sole cause, why imperfect implements for the lessening of human labour is seen there. Those who do not think for themselves, believe the fact, which may be true, as well as the cause assigned for the fact, and yet the cause assigned may be only true in a small degree. Were the cause assigned, to be removed, in such a case, the evil may still be found to exist. And it is in this manner that error and misrepresentation are propagated, and disappointments are so frequently experienced, in not seeing the results expected from measures recommended by men who had erred in assigning a greater power to certain causes, than they really had in the production of effects, although these effects were known to be true.

That Mr. Dewey, and pious persons like him, do state the facts which he observed correctly, I am quite convinced, but when he, and those who reason in his manner, assign causes as solely producing the effect, it is then that error glides into their statements; and when practical philanthropists wish to avail themselves of their observations, disappointment is the result, from the omission of all mention of other causes which, perhaps, may have been more powerful in their action than the moral causes, which alone have been assigned as sufficient to produce the effect.

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Any person who has travelled among people in a backward state of knowledge and social civilization, people who never experienced what slavery was, must have observed, as I have done, that the burden of agricultural labour is generally imposed on the females, by the arbitrary power exercised over them by the males.

A practical philanthropist, however, will not consider that to be the best mode of releasing the females from such laborious duties, which consists in freeing the males from the duty of sharing the toil. He probably would think it better to defer the period of emancipation until both sexes had advanced farther in civilization, so that the question would then turn as to the best mode of accomplishing this object, under all the circumstances of the case.

Whilst an examination into the actual population of Hayti, and the real number of the males actually withdrawn from agricultural pursuits for those of military service, at the time Mr. Dewey made his observations, would show that though the cause assigned by him might have some effect, that in point of fact a more powerful influence would probably be found in the action of causes springing from a different source than that assigned by him as the chief cause; and whilst these other powerful causes are left in action, little practical good is effected by the removal of a minor influence. To effect practical good, therefore, the legislator ought to search after the most influential causes, and which he must demand to have proved by the operation of cause and effect in cases frequently recurring, so that he can clearly see the connection himself, and not depend on the opinion or inference of any observer whatsoever.

The observations made by Mr. Dewey respecting the imperfect means used in Hayti to diminish manual labour, are important, as are the records of all physical facts on the subject of free and slave labour; but his opinion, or those of any other person, as to the cause thereof, is of much less consequence, unless such opinion be shown in frequently recurring instances to operate as cause and effect. For example, Mr. Dewey assigns the former state of slavery as the cause why the Haytiens, though now free, use imperfect implements to diminish human labour.

It may be admitted that slavery did contribute to produce part of the effect; but the circumstance of the effect continuing after slavery, as the cause, had ceased, according to the evidence of Mr. Dewey himself, would induce a practical philanthropist to inquire if there were not other causes in action, as powerful perhaps in producing the effect described, as the former state of slavery, from which the people of Hayti had been delivered for upwards of twenty years.

The very first step of the unbiased practical philanthropist in this inquiry would show him, that during slavery in Hayti there was vastly more machinery and mechanical means used to supersede the necessity of human labour in the production of wealth from agriculture, than is now used in the time of freedom.

It is true, if instead of reasoning from facts occurring in Hayti, we should reason from analogies drawn from the present and former state of industry in England, the conclusion would be very different. In reasoning from such analogy, we should indeed discover, that when slavery existed in England, the means for diminishing the labour of man were imperfect in comparison with what they are now, when slavery does not exist; but the conclusion that slavery was the *sole* cause, even in England, would not therefore be true; still less would it be so in Hayti, where so many other causes of a physical nature are in greater action than they were in England. Disappointments in practice will always be experienced, when strong opinions are formed, as inferences drawn from imperfect analogies, or from assumed principles; instead of reasoning from facts when referring to physical circumstances.

The evidence of any man against the truth of principles so formed is now, by certain benevolent persons, immediately considered as unworthy of belief, in a matter where, from the very nature of the evidence, he must have been locally acquainted with facts; and this circumstance again is adduced as affording other grounds for rejecting such evidence, either from the evidence being *interested*; or by assuming his moral principles and regard for truth to be deteriorated by the position in which he was placed, where alone he could the better observe the facts in question. In this manner is all opposing evidence as to facts, as well as opinions, got rid of, and only such evidence admitted as accord with principles formed as, I believe, on the *exceptions* to facts generally recurring, though supported by *isolated* facts often imperfectly stated.

To apply these observations to the particular case selected, it is necessary to mention that when the slave trade existed, it might be possible that human labour in some particular case, was more cheap than that of animals or machinery, and the slave being worn out, could be profitably replaced by another man, and it may have been possible to find beings acting on such motives, under the influence of self interest, ill understood.

In such cases ignorance and cruelty might not be able to discover any adequate motive for using machinery to supersede human labour, because it was *apparently* the most cheap; in these cases, however, it would be necessary to prove, to what extent such assumed facts were true; and how far self interest, in such cases, was really governed by the action of the same principle *well understood*, when the agents acted upon, were human beings associated together, and even bound together by the ties and sympathies of a common misfortune, so that one person suffering, his fellow slaves would generally suffer with him, which is not the case, where animal labour is overworked. Cruelty or undue severity, therefore, whenever occurring, almost uniformly defeats its own object in the attainment of great gain from the labour of *men*, whatever may be the fact in the labour of *animals*, which do not feel the same sympathy for each other that men do.

In addition to these considerations it would be necessary to inquire, if the use of machinery to supersede labour, did not really *imply the possession of capital to purchase the machinery*, and consequently, that *want of wealth may have been the chief cause of imperfect machinery, instead of slavery*; as it actually now is in Hayti, although it appears to have escaped Mr. Dewey's observation, and led him practically to assign a very *minor* cause for an effect, as if it were the *sole*, or at least the *most influential* cause. Since the abolition of the slave trade, human labour not being now able to be commanded in the West Indies, on the principle of supply and demand, it appears certain that a modification must have taken place respecting the truth of the principle assumed by Mr. Dewey, as a general rule: for the self interest of men urging them to produce wealth at the least cost of production, will generally induce them also to supersede the more expensive labour, and use that which is the cheapest. In proportion, therefore, as the labour of slaves become valuable, so will be found the desire of masters to supersede that labour by the introduction of animal power, or that of machinery, consisting among other things of more perfect instruments of agriculture, &c. This desire will be limited solely by the wealth of the master enabling him to increase his profits on stock, by purchasing the new power which he wishes to use, or by the suggestions of prudence respecting the employment of new capital, where the value of the whole may be, in his opinion, deteriorated by measures over which he has no controul.

I am induced confidently thus to state the operation of the principle, from my personal knowledge as an officer of engineers, whose duty it was to use the most economical power in the production of effects on military works under my direction, as well as from my being an active member of agricultural societies in colonies where slavery existed, and where the means of superseding human labour, by cheaper instruments, formed an important and constant object of inquiry. The truth is, the application of improved instruments of machinery to supersede human labour in agriculture, depends much on physical causes, or local circumstances, of which, as I have so often said, it is very difficult to form a correct judgment at a distance, or even by a superficial observer on the spot; for example, the plough, which appears to be scarcely known in Hayti, a free country, is extensively used in Antigua, and Barbados, where slavery exists, and where all the agricultural labour of the plantations is carried on by slaves, the males generally doing the heaviest work; carts and waggons (also little used in Hayti,) are in universal use in Barbados, &c.

In Guiana, on the other hand, I personally gave a fair experiment to the use of the plough, and the same instrument which was valuable in Antigua and Barbados in superseding human labour, I found of very limited use, at that time, in a country where the soil was so fertile, that the crop of canes once properly planted by the hoe, did not require replanting for several years. In coffee and cocoa cultivation the plough was still more useless, as well as in all cases where the means necessary for the drainage of the land affected the utility of the machine.

But if a superficial observer were to conclude that more human labour was therefore employed in producing sugar in Guiana than in Barbados, he would fall into
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an error, the reverse being the fact. I have ascertained, under circumstances deemed of an average nature, in good soils in Barbados and Guiana, that the same quantity of sugar which in Barbadoes required 460 days slave labour, aided with the plough to cultivate and manufacture, only required 206 days slave labour in Guiana without the plough. The extreme difference of the quantities of slave labour, arising from the soil in one country not requiring manure, the greater efficiency and regularity of steam power, and other machinery, such as the advantages of having water-borne, carriage, &c.; yet in Guiana, as in Hayti, ploughs and carts are scarcely known.

In Guiana, however, machinery is employed, as I believe, rather according to the *wealth* and judgment of the proprietor, who consulting his self interest, endeavours to supersede labour as a dearer power in the production of sugar than machinery; and in the same manner he would prefer free labour if he could obtain it: that being impossible, we find him using that of animals and machinery in aid of slave labour with such effect, as with less than half the quantity of slave labour employed in Barbados, the same purpose is accomplished as to the quantity of sugar produced. It is, however, impossible for Barbados to obtain the same results, from the operation of physical causes, slaves therefore are dearer in Guiana than in Barbados, because the land is more fertile, as well as because machinery is more productive of wealth. The same thing is observed in foreign as in English colonies. It may therefore be safely affirmed, that the self interest of individuals will *generally* induce them to supersede the labour of slaves, or any other dear labour, by introducing the power of machinery, when cheaper and suited to local circumstances; and that the limits to this effect will be found most frequently to consist *in the want of capital*, rather than in a reckless cruelty of disposition alleged to be engendered by slavery.

Doubtless many evils have their origin in this unfortunate state of society; but I have either observed superficially, or have reasoned erroneously, in a matter where I have no interest, if the proposition be not true, which maintains, that the labour of negroe slaves tends to produce national wealth more than the labour of free negroes in the torrid zone, in any country where a white and a black population exist in a low ratio, as regards the number of the labouring people in proportion to the natural means of such a country to produce wealth by moderate human exertions. And under such circumstances the white race can only profitably employ their capital in agriculture, requiring steady application, where slavery is permitted.

Having noticed the effects of machinery, &c. in aiding slave labour in the creation of wealth in Guiana, if we turn to the portion of labour employed in producing sugar among the free peasantry of Bengal, and observe the state of their implements of husbandry, we shall be struck with the superior efficiency of the means used to save human labour in the slave colonies of Guiana or Barbados, in comparison with those of Bengal, where the labourer is said to be free.

The data for calculation may not be accurate, and I have no personal knowledge of the East Indies; but assuming the data to be correct which are given by the residents, (in the official papers lately laid before the East India Company relative to sugar), the portion of human labour employed in making the same quantity of sugar, which occupied 206 days labour of slaves in Guiana, would be upwards of 1,200 day's labour of the free man in Bengal, from the inferiority of soil, instruments and machinery, requiring a greater portion of human labour as a mechanical power to produce a mechanical effect, which in Guiana is accomplished by British capital in the form of machinery, &c. Yet in Guiana the labourers, as slaves, are generally well fed; whilst density of population, and the institution of caste in India, as I learn, oblige the Hindoos to work for such a moderate allowance, either in food or money, as the slave in Guiana, or Barbados, would regard as a proof, that he was neglected by his owner.

The letter of Aaron Bladon, the American free black emigrant, proves the fertility of his piece of land in Hayti, *although it appears to have been previously abandoned*, as the government had given it to the new settler, and *no person was allowed to be displaced for that purpose, yet it had coffee trees then upon it*.

It is impossible to read that letter, and not be convinced to what an extent wealth might be created in Hayti, if the inhabitants, who were able, only worked four hours in a day, even if we had never known the extent of the wealth actually produced in that island formerly.

If, therefore, even a small portion of the people, able to work, actually had produced any thing like the same results as Aaron Bladon appears to have done, *in only three months of this cool season*, it is impossible not to perceive, that machines or instruments, capable of superseding human labour, would have been purchased, and imported into Hayti, or would have been invented and made there; and that a person so enlightened and intelligent as President Boyer must have discovered this.

If slavery opposed no obstacle to the introduction of such implements, and machinery into Guiana, or Barbados, it certainly could oppose no obstacle to their introduction into Hayti, where for many years slavery had ceased to exist. Your lordship will now clearly perceive, that the opinion of Mr. Dewey as to the influence of slavery in preventing the introduction of suitable instruments and machinery to lessen human labour, must have had a very slight power in producing the effect which he had observed, and correctly described.

His description of the effect being a matter of fact, was very important; but his opinion of the cause thereof, although perhaps true to a certain extent, might turn the superficial observer from further inquiry as to the operation of *other causes*, and thus by unintentionally concealing the operation of *other more influential causes of the evil*, render a practical and efficient remedy more difficult to be obtained.

In England I have frequently met with enlightened men, who were under a delusion on this subject, merely from satisfying themselves with one cause as being adequate to produce an effect, to which the cause only contributed in a small degree: thus affording another proof of what little value is the opinion of any man on this subject, unless at the same time facts are produced in detail, so that a judgment may be found, how far the opinion given, is a just inference from these facts.

The records of your lordship's office can prove, that for a long time prior to my being employed as a commissioner, I had devoted my attention to the best means of promoting the social civilization of Africa, and augmenting the welfare and happiness of people in a backward state of knowledge, among whom, having lived much, I had possessed some advantages in observing the motives which govern their conduct. As an officer of engineers it was also my duty, in different places and under different circumstances, to direct and control the labour of free men, and of slaves by task work, and by ordinary day labour, as well as contract work.

Reflecting upon all the observations which I have made in different countries, and carefully comparing them together, I am led to believe, there can be no considerable progress made in social civilization among the African, or any other race of men, unless measures be adopted, (at the same time that the people receive moral instruction,) to make them produce wealth for their own use. It is desirable, when possible, that this wealth should be created at first by agricultural labour:

1st. Because by it are secured the common ordinary means of subsistence, the comfort of which presents a speedy and valuable reward to the most ignorant person, in return for any pain which he may have suffered in the labour bestowed on the soil.

2d. It is a species of labour requiring comparatively little skill, and is therefore soon acquired by the most ignorant person; whilst it is a species of labour that will ever be in demand in any country where the land is only moderately fertile.

3d. It affords the easiest means of extending the exertions of the ignorant labourer from that limited, and rude kind of industry, which produces only for his own consumption, to that more extended, and more valuable kind of industry, employed in the production of articles having an exchangeable value in Great Britain; *without which not only will the progress of social civilization be greatly retarded, but also the labour of the Africans will never be able to repay to the parent state the enormous sums expended in forwarding that civilization.*

4th. The toil of agricultural labour, the cares which it imposes, and the rewards which it brings, are all calculated to produce that sedate tranquillity of mind, which, when combined with religious instruction or moral civilization, is best calculated to subdue those turbulent passions, which in a savage breast, impede the progress of his improvement as a member of civilized society. It cannot be necessary to add other reasons, which equally depend upon the consideration, that without labour, properly enforced, there will be no creation of wealth; and without we th, combined with
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moral instruction, there will be little progress in social civilization, as contradistinguished from that moral improvement in the happiness of mankind, which looks only to a future state of existence. Social civilization may be found where much moral improvement is scarcely to be observed; but the intense and earnest object of all my inquiries respecting the liberated Africans has been to enforce the necessity, that their moral improvements should ever accompany their progressive social civilization. When therefore, I so earnestly press the necessity of coerced labour, for the personal advantage of the labourer himself, it is because the result of all my observations, proves that uncivilized man, under some kind of coercion, is more adapted to receive the impressions leading to such moral improvement, as our church contemplates, than if the uncivilized man were under very slight, or no restraints, as to his labour.

I have seen, it is true, among the former Spanish missions in South America, what was considered by the missionaries as moral improvement, but in which it appeared to me, (the missionaries having acted *chiefly* on the imagination,) the judgment and the reason had too little influence; yet the people decidedly had made some progress in social civilization; but it was very little, considering the zeal and time expended in producing the effect.

I have also seen, in the West Indies and in North America, the effect of moral improvement accomplished by different sects of Protestants, whose missionaries were by no means deficient in zeal, and, so far as I ever personally observed, I have had no reason to doubt their discretion.

The beneficial results in such cases appeared to me to have been produced by an improved state of feelings, acting upon the hopes of the uneducated negroe respecting a future state of happiness, which, by subduing turbulent passions, might perhaps prepare him to perceive the advantages which in this world would attend his increased exertions for his own benefit. In short, the uncivilized man was only prepared for the statesman to act upon, as the marble dug from the quarry is placed in the hands of the sculptor, but which will still remain a mere block of marble, as regards the arts of civilized life, till the tools of the workman bring out the lineaments of the human form. To accomplish this object, the rude chisel and the hammer of constraint are at first employed, by which means the block is so much the sooner prepared to exhibit the features of humanity, produced by the fine tools, and the taste of a Phidias. To have begun to work on the rude block with these fine tools would have needlessly increased the expense, and delayed the execution of the object which we desired to accomplish.

I am well aware that the Roman Catholic missionaries may deny that they operated *chiefly* on the imaginations, and that the Protestant missionaries may deny that they worked *chiefly* on the feelings of their respective converts; and it is certainly very possible I may have formed a wrong opinion on these points, where the influential causes were entirely of a *moral* nature, and must therefore be more open to dispute, than when causes of a *physical* nature are under consideration.

Nor do I ever wish obstinately to defend any opinion of my own, when drawn merely from causes, where the connexion between them and the effect produced is not more clear than in this case. Good was done by the instruction given, and it would be very idle to dispute about the mode, in which the causes acted.

The observations of Mr. Dewey, as to the imperfection of the implements and machinery in Hayti, used in the production of wealth, are of the greatest importance, *for it is in supplying such deficiencies, and in giving a useful direction to the labour of the liberated Africans, whilst we enforce its application for their own benefit, that the white race of men can best promote the happiness of the individuals mentioned, and enable them to forward the social civilization of their own countrymen in Africa.*

The effect of improved implements and machinery in promoting social civilization, has either not been sufficiently considered, or the mode of giving them efficiency may have failed from the prevailing theories as to the principles which stimulate labour in certain climates, and under certain circumstances. Those views which appear to me most in conformity with the facts which I have observed, are ably given by the Earl of Lauderdale, in his "Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Public Wealth." His lordship says: "The first, the universal, and the most ardent desire of man is to procure what merely constitutes food; the next is," most

“ most undoubtedly, to guard himself from the inclemency of the season. These desires he seems to possess in common with all other animals; *and they are perhaps the only feelings, in relation to wealth, that nature directly implants;* for, on examination, we shall see reason to think all farther desires with regard to wealth (which are peculiar to the human species) *arise from the circumstance of the possession of wealth, which man alone of all animals, seems to have the faculty of increasing BY HIS OWN EXERTION.*”

In a warm climate, with an abundance of fertile soil unoccupied, or of little value, it is in vain to hope for much progress in social civilization *until the uncivilized man is coerced to increase wealth for his own use “ by his own exertion :”* for as the president of Hayti justly observes, “ L’ambition n’agit guère les esprits sur un sol où l’homme qui travaille une demi-heure par jour, obtient sa subsistance pendant une semaine.”

The man who displayed the greatest influence over his countrymen, in overcoming the baneful effect of soil and climate on steady labour, as stated by President Boyer, was Toussaint. It is probable that he would have advanced the negroes of that island far in civilization, had he lived, as his colour gave him a power to enforce *steady* industry among the free negroes, which no *white* or *mulatto* chief can ever have among a people in their state of society.

It is a most important object of inquiry to trace the result of the laws and regulations of Toussaint and Christophe (both blacks) for enforcing steady industry, and to compare similar results with the more mild measures of the present enlightened president of Hayti, who is of a different colour.

In those colonial productions, which require the application of *steady* industry, a great falling off is discovered under the present regulations of President Boyer, as compared with the time of Toussaint and Christophe, whilst an increase is seen in the production of articles affording less profit on stock, or reward for *steady* labour, but yet admitting of some profit on stock, or reward for such *irregular* and *occasional* exertions of labour, as the free Haytians are inclined to use; and which species of industry can *now* be more profitably exerted in Hayti than in a new country, from the previous slave labour, which had been employed on the soil, enabling such irregular labourers to benefit thereby, as well as from the abundance of valuable natural growing timber, such as logwood, mahogany, and lignum vitæ, which were not planted by the hand of man, and where the harvest of a century will wait without injury, until the indolent arm of uncivilized man may feel disposed to devote an hour with an axe to appropriate to himself the bounty of Providence.

Under the government of President Boyer we find this kind of production increased, and we shall probably soon find it giving way to cotton, which is stated to be growing almost wild by Mr. Dewey; whilst the export of sugar and indigo, requiring *steady* labour, has *disappeared*, and even the production of coffee, *the present grand staple article, is greatly diminished, with reference to periods previous to the insurrection, whilst the population is alleged to be increasing.*

The regulations of Toussaint and Christophe for enforcing steady industry, are well known, having been publicly promulgated and printed, and are given in the Appendix, A. and C.

Feeling a great interest about the measures adopted by Toussaint, as they applied to persons more nearly in the situation of the liberated Africans, in point of social civilization, I inquired of many Haytians as to the result, and I had very full details from the American consul of the French part of St. Domingo, during the period of Toussaint’s government, and who spoke of him as he really was—a man with very superior powers of mind.

I also obtained a copy of the manuscript history of the period, written by M. Peries, the treasurer of St. Domingo, appointed from France during the time to which I allude; but as these and similar authorities are not accessible to every one, I shall refer to the history of Lieutenant General the Baron Pamphile de Lacroix, which has been quoted as good authority, by Thomas Clarkson, esq. one of the most unwearied and sincere friends of the Africans. Buonaparte also, has honoured the work with a detailed review, and points out where the Baron had erred, from not having had access to official documents which had not been made public :

public. It is not my intention to refer to any of these points, but merely to matters, which the Baron had every means of knowing when he was in St. Domingo himself.

He thus speaks of the agricultural inspectors of Toussaint :

“ His two favourites were his generals of division, Moyse and Dessalines ; he had appointed them inspectors general of cultivation in the limits of their military districts.

“ These chiefs, naturally passionate, were capricious, and difficult of access ; general Dessalines in particular had a savage and forbidding air. It was rare that some of the overseers were not beaten with a stick by him, when he inspected the work done on a plantation.

“ If an overseer attributed the neglect of the cultivation to the obstinate idleness of the labourers in general, General Dessalines ordered lots to be drawn for one of them to be hanged ; but if a labourer was specially pointed out to him, as a stickler for rights (raisonneur,) or a sluggard, the general, cruel in his passion, caused him to be burned alive, and forced the whole of the labourers of the plantation to witness the agonies of his victim. One may conceive, that by means so barbarous, ten new citizens, alleged to be free, threatened with the inspection of General Dessalines, did more work, and cultivated better, than thirty slaves had done formerly.

“ Toussaint L'Ouverture, who never acted but by calculation, wishing to show what could be produced from cultivation, had made General Dessalines a farmer, that is to say, proprietor of thirty-two sugar plantations, each of which, in the hands of this ferocious, and avaricious man, produced to him at least 100,000 francs yearly income.

“ In spite of their immense revenues, the generals and the chiefs of St. Domingo having to provide magnificent houses and furniture, and to render the fixed capital again productive, found themselves hampered, and still wanted two or three years of possession to be the richest persons in the world.

“ Whether General Moyse was less barbarous than General Dessalines, or whether the blacks of the north were less submissive, cultivation did not flourish as it did in the west ; Toussaint L'Ouverture often reproached General Moyse with this circumstance ; the latter, frank and open, like a young man, gave vent to his feeling of discontent.

“ *Whatever my old uncle may do,*” said he, “ *I cannot consent to be the hangman of persons of my own colour ; it is always in the name of the interests of the mother country that he scolds me, but these interests are the interests of the whites, and I will never like the whites until they have restored to me the eye that I lost in battle with them.*

“ These complaints came to Toussaint L'Ouverture at the moment when he learned that a company of merchants had offered to General Moyse 20,000 piastres a month for the management of plantations that he possessed in the north. Toussaint L'Ouverture displeased at seeing one of his inspectors of cultivation disposed to get rid of the duties from which he could accumulate such great profits, expressed to him, on this occasion, displeasure in threatening terms. General Moyse, presumptuous in his good fortune, could not believe that a chief, who was attached to him by relationship, and by colour, ever would sacrifice him to political circumstances, neither altered the measures, nor the manners which his uncle had blamed.

“ Unfortunately for General Moyse, sometime after, when Toussaint L'Ouverture was at Port-au-Prince, the blacks in the department of the north, who preferred licentiousness to industry, wished to resume their ancient customs.

“ Several gangs of labourers in the plains of Limbé, cut the throats of their overseers, and those whites whom they could catch. This unexpected insurrection extended to the gates of the city of the Cape, and three hundred whites lost their lives ; but as the revolt had not been long previously arranged, and as it was caused more by a dislike to the labour of cultivation, than the uneasiness occasioned by

“ the rumours of peace, though this insurrection was easily subdued by the ascendancy and authority of Toussaint L'Ouverture, at his approach, and at the sound of his voice, the insurgents terrified returned to their labours. They declared that they had been excited to revolt, by being told that in future they were to be the slaves of the whites, and that they were assured that Generals Dessalines and Christophe had consented to it, but that General Moyses had opposed himself thereto.

“ Toussaint L'Ouverture, who was a stranger to this event, foresaw the just distrust that it might give against his colour, at a time when peace was about to restore to the mother country new means of force and power. He did not hesitate in receiving the accusations which declared his nephew as the chief of an insurrectionary movement, of which General Moyses was very capable, from his hatred to the whites, *but which insurrection, in truth, only arose from the spirit of revolt against labour.* General Moyses was delivered to a military commission, and shot, as guilty of negligence in the exercise of his duty.”

The preceding extract shows the degree of coercion which was found necessary by Toussaint to enforce steady labour, but which I should never recommend to be applied to the same extent to the liberated Africans. It must, however, tend to prove that *some* degree of coercion is necessary.

The extract shows also, how rapidly in Hayti the property of the whites was transferred to the blacks, and how insecure the lives of the whites became, *when, three hundred were sacrificed even to a false report.* In short it explains why, when the races are on equal terms, they cannot happily exist together as capitalists and labourers, or as a free black peasantry and white landlords, under the present circumstances of the West Indies.

The history of the labour and industry of Hayti is also most interesting, in showing the effect of the successive change of property from the hands of the whites to those of the blacks, as influencing the nature of the foreign commercial relations of Hayti. These with European states, from whence the finer manufactured articles could be produced at the least cost of production, rapidly diminishing, and their relations with such countries as the United States of America, where the commoner productions of the soil, and power looms, are afforded at the least cost of production, rapidly increasing up to a certain point, and then remaining nearly stationary, or at least not increasing in proportion to the alleged increase of population. In the United States, indeed, it is well understood how advantageous that change will be to them, which deprives the white West India capitalists of their wealth, and distributes it more equally among the black labourers as free men; and the change is looked for with great anxiety, by the northern merchants particularly.

The sagacity of Toussaint, of Christophe, and of President Boyer, discovered that it was difficult to induce free negroes to labour voluntarily and steadily in order to create national wealth, even to a small extent. The two former being negroes, had more power over men of their own colour and race; Christophe perished from the arbitrary use of it. This consideration, and President Boyer being of a different colour from the negroes, obliges him to enforce the same object with more moderation. This principle, and the prudent exercise of it, is shown by his wisdom in stipulating with the agricultural free black and coloured emigrants from America, that they should enter into engagements respecting their industrious exertions, even for their own benefit. He did not depend alone on the principle, that the desire of bettering his condition will, under the circumstances of Hayti, induce the free and intelligent agricultural labourer, even from the United States of America, to give a liberal portion of his time to the creation of wealth, even for his own advantage.

Aaron Bladon, as I learned from a respectable black clergyman, who had visited him in Hayti, was settled in conformity with these regulations, and on a piece of *elevated ground*, where the climate was favourable for his exertions; the result is seen in his letter; whilst respecting a great many of the other emigrants I have the most positive information, tending to prove the wisdom of president Boyer's regulations, by showing the consequences attending the neglect thereof.

In speaking upon the state of the free blacks of the United States, and the result of their partial emigration to Hayti, it may, perhaps, be thought, that I have only produced the authority of obscure persons for the circumstances stated, as to the opinion entertained in America respecting the policy of removing the free black population

population from among the whites; and it is true, there are those who, approving of the separate location of the blacks, yet disapprove of Africa or Hayti as the place of colonization.

It is unnecessary for me to give any opinion which course of policy is best for a foreign nation to pursue.

Without therefore bringing into view the opinions of the respective writers as to the *place of emigration*, I beg leave to submit certain observations, made by persons of the highest intellectual character in the United States, tending to show that some system of colonization or emigration was in that republic deemed necessary.

For example, it is well known that the North American Review is considered as a fair and liberal organ of the opinions of Americans on public subjects; and in it, so late as January 1824, the following opinion is given from Boston, the cradle of American liberty, and where slavery has long been abolished by law.

“No dream can be more wild, than that of emancipating slaves,” says the reviewer, “*who are still to remain among us free*; we unhesitatingly express it as our belief, and we speak from some experience, that the free people of colour, as a class in the slave-holding-states, are a greater nuisance to society, more comfortable, tempted to more vices, and actually less qualified to enjoy existence, than the slaves themselves. In such a state of things, manumission is no blessing to the slave, while it is an evil of a most serious kind to the whites.

“This we deem an important consideration, because it brings the subject of emancipation to a single point. We suppose it is the cherished hope of every true patriot, as well as of every benevolent man, that the day will come, when the scourge of slavery shall no longer be felt in the land, when the rod of chastisement shall be withdrawn, and all voices shall join in the song of freedom. There is one possible way, and only one, in which this event can be accomplished, or even approximated. *It is by colonization, and by this alone*, that the mischief of slavery, and, what is more to be dreaded than slavery, the living pestilence of a free black population, can be lessened.” These remarks proceed from a person detesting slavery as a state, and eulogising the efforts of humanity to abolish it.

If this opinion should be considered merely as an expression of the prejudice of an unknown periodical writer, I am not anxious to support the mere opinion of any person, but I think it cannot escape observation, that it is not probable that a writer in the eastern states of America, possessing the talents and liberal opinions manifested in the article, would make the assertions which he has done, unless he was aware that public opinion in the very state where the negroes have been emancipated *were prepared to believe him*, inasmuch as his readers had the proof daily before their eyes.

I submit it to your lordship to show merely what that public opinion is among persons connected with the literature of the United States, respecting slavery in a country where races of men so very different are concerned, by which slavery appears *in a worse and more unmanageable form, than if the masters and slaves were of the same race*.

Such peculiarity not being duly weighed in England, where its effects cannot be seen, the mere opinions of disinterested persons in the United States, are produced *solely because they are so widely different from public opinion in England, where men have not the opportunity of personally observing facts, as they have even in the non-slave holding states of America*.

In no part of the world, out of the United States, is the character of General Harper better known as an enlightened statesman than in England. I would only, however, use his authority to confirm a fact observed by myself in the United States.

“In reflecting,” says he, “on the utility of a plan for colonizing the free people of colour, with whom our country abounds, it is natural that we should be first struck by its tendency to confer a benefit on ourselves, by ridding us of a population for the most part idle and useless, and too often vicious and mischievous. These persons are condemned to a state of hopeless inferiority and degradation, by their colour; which is an indelible mark of their origin and former condition, and establishes an impassable barrier between them and the whites. This barrier

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Second Part of
MAJOR MOODY'S
REPORT,

“ is closed for ever by our habits and our feelings, which perhaps it would be more
“ correct to call our prejudices, and which, whether feelings or prejudices, or a
“ mixture of both, make us recoil with horror from the idea of an intimate union
“ with the free blacks, and preclude the possibility of such a state of equality,
“ between them and us, as alone could make us one people. Whatever justice,
“ humanity, and kindness we may feel towards them, we cannot help considering
“ them, and treating them as our inferiors; nor can they help viewing themselves
“ in the same light, however hard and unjust they may be inclined to consider such
“ a state of things.

“ Be their industry ever so great, and their conduct ever so correct, whatever
“ property they may acquire, or whatever respect we may feel for their characters,
“ *we never could consent, and they never could hope, to see the two races placed*
“ *on a footing of perfect equality with each other*; to see the free blacks or their
“ descendants, visit in our houses, form part of our circle of acquaintance, marry
“ into our families, or participate in public honours and employments. This is strictly
“ true of every part of our country, even those parts where slavery has long ceased
“ to exist, and is held in abhorrence.”

If this statement correctly describes the fact, as I believe it does, it is necessary to add, that the persons quoted do not offer any apology for such a state of society; on the contrary, every term of reproach is used towards such a state of things, but which, from the difference of colour, &c. between the parties, cannot be remedied *but by the emigration of the poor blacks.*

And if in New England the whites and blacks cannot be amalgamated, your lordship must perceive how the difficulty will be increased in creating, by any legal enactments, those sympathies which would unite the free blacks and the whites living together as happy and contented subjects of the same king, when that event is shown to be hopeless, under more favourable circumstances, in a democratic republic, abounding, however, with men distinguished for wisdom and piety.

General Harper justly considered the obstacles to this union, as arising from the *habits and feelings of the whites in the United States*; and it is equally true of the whites in the West Indies.

The question is, can legal enactments, either in America or in the West Indies, overcome those laws of our nature which regulate the virtuous union of the sexes, between races so perfectly unlike each other, in form, colour, smell, &c. those physical peculiarities in mankind, which exercise so great a power in the creation of those sympathies which produce love and affection, *without a similarity in which it is difficult to conceive that there ever can be a harmonious amalgamation of the two races?* In fulfilling my desire to present such physical facts as I may have personally observed, in order to furnish some considerations to enable your lordship the better to judge of any project proposed to overcome such physical causes as are found to be in operation, and impeding our wishes to increase the happiness and welfare of the liberated Africans, in a backward state of knowledge and civilization in the torrid zone, I would also beg leave to submit the result of my personal observations, and inquiries, on the state of certain free negroes in the interior of that part of Guiana which now belongs to the King of the Netherlands.

Previous to the restoration of some of those colonies in the West Indies, which had been captured from the different European powers, I was selected, as an officer of engineers, to visit Surinam, in order to draw up a military report on the colony, and on the system of attack and defence proper for it, under the circumstances in which it was then placed; as well as to report how far its interior defence was endangered by the vicinity of several thousands of free negroes, who, for upwards of a century, had been settled on the frontiers, by virtue of a treaty of peace made with them as an independent power, and by which a small tribute in goods was paid them yearly.

I accordingly visited Surinam, and completed the service I was ordered to perform. The situation of these independent free negroes is the only part of that duty which concerns this Report.

From the difficulty of collecting an accurate census of people in their state of society, it was not easy to ascertain their real numbers, which at one time had been estimated as high as 60,000; but from all the information which I could ascertain

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on the spot, I was convinced there never was assembled together so great a number. And from every account, obtained from those villages of free negroes where the colonists had residents, I learned that from the deaths, chiefly among the children, their numbers did not increase, although the decrease was small.

Hartsinck, charter and request master of the Dutch Admiralty, who had access to all the orders and notulas of the colonial governments, and who is considered to be the most correct historian of these colonies, gives the following account of the origin of these free negroes, maroons, or bush negroes, as they are indifferently called :

“ The maroon negroes of Saramaca had their origin in some English runaway negroe slaves, who afterwards settled themselves on the banks of the rivers Surinam, Saramaca, and Copename, in that part of the country which was covered with trees, and there formed a kind of commonwealth, from the time (1667) when the English had the government of the country. Some of them in Para had made an entrenched camp, under a Coramantee negroe named Jermes, from whence they annoyed and disturbed the neighbouring plantations. They were afterwards augmented by those slaves who fled into the forests on the invasion of Cassard, in 1712; and finally, by new runaways from time to time from our own plantations, but particularly from those of the Jews: hence it is, that they use corrupt Portuguese words, with the broken English, which is their common language. Some are called creoles, descended from the first maroons; and they are the most virtuous, who, having been born in the forests, have never seen the whites. These are distinguished from the saltwater negroes, who are runaways, born in Africa, from whence they were brought to our colonies * ”

That part of the extract, which states that a greater number of negroes had run away from the Jews than from the other colonists, as inferred from the Portuguese words mingled with the corrupt English, called “ talkee, talkee,” spoken by the maroons, was strongly denied by some intelligent Jews, with whom I conversed in Surinam, and who offered to prove, from their records, the truth of their assertions. At the time, it appeared to me unnecessary to investigate the facts, but I deem it right to mention the circumstance.

I found that at different times, which are very accurately detailed by Hartsinck, that misunderstandings had arisen between these maroons and the colonists; but that since the termination of Colonel Fourgeaud's war with them, which began about 1772, (of which a history has been given by Captain Stedman,) no serious disturbance had taken place, except the desertion of a few men from one of our black regiments, stationed at an out-post in Surinam, and who were received and protected by the maroons. In other respects I found them an indolent, quiet people, not likely to disturb the interior tranquillity of the colony, beyond whose boundaries they lived. This opinion, at first, was considered to be so little consonant to probability, and the principles of a wise, and prudent policy, that I was ordered to give my reasons in detail. It may be necessary *now*, as it was *then*, for me to apologize for the *non-military* character of these reasons, which influenced my judgment in giving the opinion, which I was then called upon to support.

1st. I observed, from the serious disputes which had arisen among the maroons themselves, on account of the chiefs having many wives, and the fatal consequences that had resulted on some occasions, the young men, among the maroons, acknowledged, that the conduct of the chiefs had become much better in respect of not

* “ De Saramecaansche negers marons zyn oorspronkelyk van de ten tyde (1667) der Engelsche weggeloopene neger-slaaven, en hebben, langs de rivieren van Suriname, Sarameca en Copename, boven in de Boschachtige Landstreeken zich nedergezet, en aldaar een soort van Gemeenebest opgerecht: eenigen derzelve hadden reeds moed genoeg toen de Engelschen nog in de bezitting van deeze colonie waren, van zich in Para te verschanssen, onder een Operhoofd Jermes genaamd, zynde een Cormantyn-neger; van daar de bygelegene plantagiën ontrustende. Vervolgens zyn zy versterkt door drie geenen welke ly de landing van Cassard (in 1712) in het bosch gevluucht zyn, en zich by dezelve gevoegd hebben; en eindelyk, van tyd tot tyd, door nieuwe wegloopers van onze plantagiën, vooral van de Jooden: waar door zy nog een gebrooke Portugeesch onder hun Neger-Engelsche taal voegen. Sommige die men Creoolen noemt, zyn van de eerste herkomstig, en de deugdzaamste; welke in het bosch gebooren en nooit blanken gezien hadden. Dezelve onderscheiden zich van de zoutwater-negers, dewelken wegloopers zyn, die in Africa gebooren, en van daar naar onze colonien zyn overgebracht.” Hartsinck's Beschryving van Guiana, 2^{de} Deel, pages 755, 756.

interfering with the wives of others, and that every body now could have his wife. Formerly, the irruptions of the maroons appeared to me to have been mostly stimulated by the same motive which caused the rape of the Sabines, when a similar association of men founded Rome: for in this commonwealth of Guiana some men have arisen with the characters of Romulus and Remus; but I could not learn that a Numa ever had been formed, or at least had ever possessed any considerable influence, even among these men, devoted to the quiet, indolent enjoyment of life, *when not disturbed by the ambition, or the lust of their chiefs.*

2d. I observed that they had adopted the system of sometimes domesticating wild animals, and rearing those already domesticated for food; that instead of always boucaning their meats, like the Indians, they now often used salt when they could get it; and finally, that instead of depending on the forests for fruits, or cultivating roots, which were soon reaped, and could easily be concealed, they had generally adopted the banana and plantain as a food, which requires about twelve months to produce its fruits, and the tree obtains a considerable height.

These circumstances indicated, that the society were beginning to assume settled habits, and that the people had begun to attach themselves to certain localities, on which they depended for subsistence, and which were of that nature that could not be concealed, if they meditated a war. Among such a people, their destruction, by surprise, has arisen from the crowing of a cock in their camp, whose position was always carefully concealed, that none but its inmates might discover their retreat.

3d. I understand that a competent officer would always accompany the tribute, if the maroons themselves did not receive it from the governor himself. In either case the good faith of its delivery was secured.

4th. I ascertained that there had been no increased union between the maroons and the charaibes, the most powerful tribe of Indians; and that even in those villages of the ackawiahs, most dependent on the maroons, no Indian woman, at that time, was known to have left the tribe to live with a negroe husband.* Such being the state of affairs between two bordering people, in a backward state of knowledge and civilization, the power of an umpire was left in the hands of the governor, who was a man likely to use it with discretion.

It would be inconvenient to add the other reasons which influenced my opinion, because the statement of them would merely add to that length, and tediousness, which

* Mr. Brougham, in his "Colonial Policy," vol. ii. pages 181 & 182, says, "The operation of the cordon must, in one quarter at least, tend to prevent all communication with the Indian nations; and there is reason to believe that the maroons have found no difficulty, of late years, in uniting themselves with the natives by marriage." Mr. Brougham does not give any authority for the statement as to one part of the cordon preventing the communication between the colonists and the Indians. Having derived much information from Mr. Brougham's able work, I inquired on the spot into every matter whereon he had given an opinion; in this case, the fact was not as he had apprehended it would have been. The part of the extract in italics is also directly opposed to the information I received from all parties, maroons, Indians and colonists: Mr. Brougham quotes his authority however, for the statement as to the *intermarriages* of the maroons with the natives.

When Mr. Brougham follows the authority of such authors as M. Malouet, reliance may generally be placed on his statements, but when he refers to such a work as the "Voyage à la Guiane" as his authority, as in the above case, it is necessary to state, that the work was compiled in Paris in the sixth year of the republic, from the papers of a captain of a French privateer, by an editor who does not appear to have been himself in Guiana. The words to which I presume Mr. Brougham refers, are these: "On compte 26,000 de ces negres marrons; ils peuvent devenir encore plus nombreux; cars ils ont presque tous des femmes, et au defaut des negresses *les Indiennes ne les rebutent point.*" Whether such authority justified the statement as to "the maroons uniting themselves with the natives by marriage," is not worth inquiring, as I can only assure your lordship that I have stated correctly what I ascertained on the spot, many years after Mr. Brougham had published his able and valuable work. The compiler of the "Voyage à la Guiane," was obviously very sanguine respecting the emancipation of the slaves in Surinam, for in the page preceding that containing the extract quoted, he says, "Dans la persuasion où nous sommes que l'esclavage ne peut manquer d'être aboli dans les colonies Bataves, nous regardons *deja;*" (1797.) "comme passés, les maux inouis des negres de Surinam. Mais cette mesure ne saurait être prise avec trop de ménagement." It is needless to add, that the negro slaves in Surinam have not yet been emancipated, although the writer regarded it as a thing that must have already taken place at the time when he was writing his book; and indeed

which must characterise this report. But whether the reasons assigned by me, were correct or not, the ultimate fact was, that the policy recommended by them was acted upon, *and no injury at least resulted therefrom*. An independent nation of free negroes in the torrid zone, will only be formidable in proportion to their barbarism; as they advance in comfort, and settle themselves, the desire of enjoying repose, will be infinitely more powerful than any other motive, which will stimulate them to any enterprise, that might be injurious to the colonies of European powers. The only danger likely to arise, will spring from the irregular ambition of military chiefs.

I am not ignorant that there are enlightened individuals who entertain opinions very different from those I have submitted, but all opinions, unaccompanied by the facts on which they are founded, are only calculated to delude and mislead, for if they should be correct, it must be by accident.

With this introduction, I shall here, as in other cases, prefer giving my confirmation of the statements made by others, to giving my own; because the statements of other persons, made several years ago, could not be made merely to suit any particular, or peculiar views, which I may be supposed to entertain.

M. Malouet visited Surinam in 1777, and had excellent means of obtaining information; his capacity for using these advantages may be inferred, from the duties which he afterwards filled as minister of Marine and Colonies in France. For me to give any opinion after such a person would appear like presumption, did I not know that your lordship's sole wish is to ascertain the real truth on all points, from those *who can speak from personal observation, as to the matters of fact*.

"The settlement of the free negroes at Surinam," says M. Malouet, "is commonly known.

"During my travels in that colony the chiefs of these negroes came to visit me; their object was to obtain my intercession with the Dutch government respecting the execution of certain articles in the treaty of peace made between them. I availed myself of the facilities which this circumstance afforded, to acquire the most detailed information respecting their situation, manners, trade, cultivation, and mode of government; in their villages the means of exercising our mechanical arts are not wanting; as they have amongst them workmen of all these trades, who, like the rest, had run away from the Dutch plantations, and now had become free, by virtue of a treaty of peace, made with arms in their hands.

"They ought also to have had the greatest interest in keeping up, at least, that kind of industry necessary for the defence and the increase of their strength. One would have thought that they would have desired to have had within themselves the means of making arms, and repairing those which they are obliged to provide for, by means of exchange; and that having experienced the comforts and enjoyments of luxury, so valuable in the eyes of the Europeans, the hope of obtaining them would be a stimulus to their labour; *but repose and indolence have become in their social state their sole desire. Their cultivation, confined to that only necessary to supply immediate wants, exposes them to frightful dearths;*

indeed, I was told by the Dutch Governor Frederici, that a Colonel Maléfant had been sent by the French republic to effect their emancipation. I trust, therefore, that the information collected by me, is as much entitled to credit as that of the anonymous captain of a French privateer, although he might have been at Surinam as well as myself. On the same dubious authority, Mr. Brougham stated the slave population of Surinam to be 90,000 in 1789. The best account of Surinam, at that period, is to be found in that given by the learned Jew, mentioned by M. Malouet. In a letter to Counsellor Dohm, of Berlin, in page 38 of the second part, the population, in some detail, is given, and is stated as being 55,000, of whom 3,356 were whites. In 1812 the total population, of all colours, was about 57,000. This note is merely given to defend the accuracy of my military report, wherein I had differed from Mr. Brougham's opinions; but it is not intended to impugn the general accuracy of Mr. Brougham's able view of the colonial policy of European powers, when he follows authorities who actually were acquainted with the subjects on which they had written. His suspicion of West India authorities, however, has frequently led him to adopt the statements of authors whose minds were under a different bias. The agricultural industry of the Indians of Guiana, working for a fathom of cloth per month as wages, is a pure fable of the compiler of the papers of the captain of the privateer, as I was assured by those who had been thirty years living in Cayenne. The Indians, like the free negroes, may *occasionally* work for the capitalist, but their labour never can be depended upon in that climate, and under their present circumstances, as to density of population, &c.

"*hunting*

Second Part of
MAJOR MOODY'S
REPORT.

“ *hunting and fishing are their only resource.* Constantly refusing religious missionaries, and all opportunities of having relations with the whites, they have preferred securing for themselves arms and a few utensils, by constituting themselves the gaolers of their former slave comrades, whom they seize and return to the Dutch, when the runaways come to demand an asylum, or when they are surprized in the forests.

“ Their police, consists as in Africa, in the absolute authority of a chief, whom the people destroy or depose, when they are displeased with him. Settled at thirty leagues from that part inhabited by the Dutch, they do not wish for any closer association, nor any commerce, nor any labour, nor any manners, nor customs, than those of their native land ; and they continue in acting in the same manner, with the most persevering obstinacy.*”

Such is the report which M. Malouet gave of what he had observed in 1777. It was upwards of thirty years after this period, that I made my observations, with powers of mind far less equal to the duty. But in all cases I trust I have acted on the plain principle of a British soldier, in doing my best to ascertain the real facts of any case, on which I was required to give a judgment or an opinion.

During the period of thirty years, the advance of these people in social civilization appeared to me to have been very little ; as it had also been, under very different circumstances, for many years preceding. One important step had been made, in their receiving missionaries from the Moravians. I understood some had been converted to the feelings of christianity, *but none as yet to the habits of steady labour.* The Moravians however, (who ought never to be spoken of without the highest praise), in other places have generally been as successful as any other sect in the West Indies, although their merits in any respect are too little known in Great Britain.

I also found that a certain degree of *occasional* industry had taken place among the maroons. Some of their young men had devoted a few days in the year to cutting down trees which nature had planted. From such *occasional* labour they were enabled to procure finery for a favourite female, a better gun, or a new axe. Those who have seen little of human nature in a backward state of knowledge and civilization, may treat such statements with disdain, but considering them as elements of social civilization, they ought to be regarded with the greatest interest. I also found that their objection to communications with the whites had been overcome ; certain plantations had been appointed for their resting places on their journey to Parimaribo for the sale of the productions of their industry, and one of their own people was allowed to reside in the town, as their protector, and to see that the treaty was faithfully observed. These I consider as most important points gained. *In the torrid zone important steps in social civilization are counted by ages, rather than by years, in the early period of the history of nations.* To point out more

* “ On connoît l'établissement de nègres libres à Surinam. Lors de mon voyage dans cette colonie, leurs chefs vinrent me visiter ; ils vouloient réclamer mon intercession auprès du gouvernement Hollandais, pour l'exécution de quelques articles de leur traité ; et je profitai de toutes les facilités que cette circonstance me procurait, pour m'informer dans le plus grand détail de leur situation, de leurs mœurs, commerce, culture et police. Ils ne manquent d'aucun des moyens d'exercer dans leurs villages nos arts mécaniques ; ils ont, parmi eux, des ouvriers de toutes les professions, échappés comme les autres des ateliers Hollandais, et devenus libres par un traité fait les armes à la main. Ils auroient même le plus grand intérêt à conserver au moins l'espèce d'industrie nécessaire à leur defense et à l'accroissement de leurs forces. On croiroit qu'ils ont dû desirer se mettre en état de se forger des armes, ou de réparer celles dont ils se pourvoient pas des échanges, et qu'ayant tous connu les commodités, les jouissances de luxe, si précieuses aux Européens, l'espoir d'y parvenir seroit pour eux un motif de travail ; mais le repos, l'oisiveté, sont devenus, dans leur état social, leur unique passion. Leur culture, bornée à l'absolu nécessaire, les expose à d'affreuses disettes : la chasse et la pêche sont alors leur seule ressource. Repoussant constamment les missions religieuses, et toute occasion de relation avec les blancs, ils ont préféré, pour s'assurer des armes et quelques ustensiles, de se constituer, par un traité, gardes et geoliers de leurs camarades esclaves, qu'ils arrêtent et revendent aux Hollandais, quand les déserteurs viennent leur demander asile, ou qu'ils les surprennent dans les bois. Leur police consiste, comme en Afrique, dans l'autorité absolue d'un chef, que la multitude fait périr ou dépose quand elle en est mécontente. Etablis à trente lieues des quartiers habités par les Hollandais, ils ne veulent ni rapprochement, ni commerce, ni d'autre travail, ni d'autres mœurs et coutumes que celles de leur pays natal ; et ils se maintiennent dans ces principes avec la plus persévérante obstination.”

fully this important consideration, *it may be proper to look at an interesting portion of our own subjects, in a backward state of civilization, the Indians of Guiana, the bordering tribes of these free negroes.* The four free tribes of Indians called warows, arrawauks, ackawiahs, and charaibs, never have been slaves. No master ever has claimed their labour, or opposed their civilization; nor has any Las Casas arisen to plead their claims as men, and subjects of Great Britain, for our encouragement of them to receive moral instructions, and the habits of civilized life. These free Indians, having the most fertile land in the world, have made no greater advances in social civilization than the persecuted maroons; yet the Indians have never experienced slavery, or persecution, for one day, from the whites; but on the contrary they have received annual presents from the colonial governments of Holland, France and England, each of whom have courted their friendship, in case of insubordination, or rebellion among the slaves.

Mankind ought not then to persevere in shutting their eyes to the physical causes of the backward state of knowledge and social civilization of the human race, whether black or yellow, in the torrid zone. They ought not in such cases to look upon any class of men merely *in statu quo*, but *in statu generali*, if they wish to discover practical and general remedies for the removal of general evils. He who would turn the inquirer from such general investigations, can scarcely be considered as a practical philanthropist respecting the human race of mankind, in a backward state of knowledge and civilization.

Believing as I do, that all the different races of mankind, under the modifications of their respective local positions, are capable of filling the duties of civilized society, and by that means increasing the sphere of their own intellectual happiness and enjoyments, the principles which I have to offer having special reference to those physical and local causes, to which I have so often alluded, can only be very general; and, in my own opinion, ought not to supersede the necessity of obtaining farther local information, respecting such practical means, as may be most likely to promote the social civilization of men placed under the influence of certain local causes, which vary in every country, either as to their nature, or as to their intensity of action. Where the Almighty has made a difference between the races of men, with reference to their physical frame, and their capacity to endure labour, in different climates, my profound veneration for the goodness and the wisdom of the Deity, makes me hesitate in recommending measures, (although patronised by amiable men,) whose efficiency altogether depends on the fact, that those natural causes which I have submitted for consideration, *have little or no influence; or that the truth of those statements which I have submitted, can be impeached;* in either case, my judgment may have misled me; but as a man of a plain understanding, I can only judge of things as they really appear to me, and not as I might wish them to be.

The inhabitants of Surinam consist of three different races of men, of whom the whites, as capitalists, own portions of fertile land, buildings, and machinery employed in producing much wealth, a great part of which ultimately is invested in the parent state; whilst the labourers employed in the colony to produce this wealth, are chiefly of a different race of men, and who are slaves coerced to perform that work. There are also, both within the colony and on its borders, a great number of the same race of men as these slaves, but who are altogether free; the Indians form a third race. The negroe and Indian races are still in a backward state of civilization, in a country abounding in unoccupied land of the first degree of fertility, where the woods abound with game and the rivers with fish, without game laws to restrict any individual from deriving his subsistence from these resources, and where, if game laws were enacted, they could not be enforced.

If in this foreign colony it was proposed, from motives of justice and expediency, to declare these three races of men to be on an equal footing as to political privileges, after a due course of preparation on the part of those slaves who are now in a backward state of knowledge and civilization, an important question for consideration might be, to ascertain the *probable* result on the *white*, or *most civilized* race, so far as reason and facts, well ascertained, can enable us to judge. The first point would be to inquire why the *free* Indians and negroe races are still in a backward state of knowledge and civilization, at the end of upwards of a century, or at least their advances are only perceptible to a very careful inquirer. Were I to be asked what portion of these classes was the most advanced in civilization, I should say that the *negro slave was more advanced than the independent maroon negro, or the Indian;*

but

but that the slave was far behind those free coloured persons, who not only had been educated, but who also possessed property, generally however in slaves, and therefore, in every respect, were to be classed as white capitalists; where this was not the case, they could only be classed with the more intelligent slaves. If this statement be true, an important consideration presents itself: the independent negroes, as maroons, were for many years hunted, and persecuted by the whites; common danger induced the maroons to associate, and select leaders from among themselves. The Indians for ages had arrived at this point of civilization, as well as that of procuring their subsistence, partly by cultivating the ground, and partly by the arts of the hunter. The free Indian tribes had been cherished, protected and rewarded by the whites; and yet under systems of treatment directly opposite, the maroon negroe, at the end of upwards of a hundred years, and the Indian at the termination of ages, had both arrived at the same low point of social civilization, and yet neither of them had passed it.

The negroe slave, coerced to labour when he would not voluntarily have undertaken it, is found to have at least equalled, but in my judgment to have excelled, the maroons and the Indians, in the practice and knowledge of those arts which make a man useful to himself and those with whom he associates. The advances in social civilization, however, appeared to me small, in comparison with the free negroe, or coloured persons, who had obtained property, and had received some education.

We now arrive at the discovery of cases, where freedom without productive industry, did not forward social civilization; and that coerced productive industry, when not for the labourer's own benefit, only promoted that civilization very slowly, and to a very limited extent: but in the case of the free coloured and black people, owning slaves, we see the effect of wealth and instruction in rapidly advancing social civilization. A new inquiry is then opened: By whom was this instruction given, and how was the wealth created, which so rapidly led this portion of the Indian and free negroe race to an advance in civilization? The instruction obviously had its origin among the white race, and why its application was so limited towards the negro and Indian races, will be developed in other parts of this inquiry.

I have shown, in an early part of this Report, the motives which influenced the white race to settle in countries of the torrid zone, whose climate was unfavourable to their constitutions, and where they could not personally labour to create wealth, by the cultivation of the soil, &c. The negroe race were employed for this purpose, as slaves to the whites.

From the scarcity of well educated white females, the grosser passions of human nature, aided by fear or avarice, produced an illicit union between the sexes of the white, Indian and negro races, in which the finer sympathies, which lead to a virtuous union of the sexes, had little part, at first, whatever form the union might afterwards assume, from the affection felt for their common progeny. This progeny became the heirs to wealth not created by their own industry, and when consisting of slaves, their wealth followed the same laws, with regard to its subsequent augmentation or diminution, which regulated the wealth created by the white race.

Among labourers, or servants of the negroe race in slavery, some were better or more industrious than the generality of persons in their condition, and from gratitude for faithful services, or from a desire to reward great exertions, in order to encourage others to follow the example, slaves from time to time also were freed by their masters. The skill they had acquired, or the good characters which they had obtained, operated in their favour, by increasing the productiveness of their own labour for their own benefit. Such persons, when their skill or character gave a high value to their exertions, endeavoured to become the owners of slaves, by whose labour they also increased wealth, as the whites did, and entered on the same line of improvement in social civilization, as to the accumulation of wealth by slave labour, as has been already noticed.

Whenever the labour of the emancipated slave, or free negroe, was unconnected with slave labour, working for him, or where he was unable to obtain a portion of the wealth created by slave labour, in consequence of *only easy* personal exertions on his part, he is almost invariably found recoiling from the pain of steady labour in the sun, by working his own ground, or that of another, to any extent beyond that of obtaining mere subsistence, and a low scale of comforts. It has been suggested that the freeman does not work in the field, from the degradation incident to a labour performed by slaves. Yet as a tailor, shoemaker, &c. he is frequently found working
with

with slaves, as well as in other trades, where coercion is used to enforce the industry of a lazy slave; and if the free negroe cultivated his own ground, it is certain he would be his own master, as the Indians, and maroons are.

The social civilization of mankind in a backward state of knowledge does not appear to advance in its progress, unless wealth, having exchangeable value, at the same time, is created and accumulated by some degree of *steady* industry. We are thus brought to another landing place in the inquiry.

It appears, that of the various kinds of productive industry in the West India colonies, that of agriculture commonly affords the *most certain* and *constant* reward to the labourer, and consequently is, in general, the most sure mode of creating wealth, having exchangeable value; but, unfortunately, being performed under a tropical sun, it is attended with more pain than other pursuits in which there is only an *occasional* demand for labour, although that *occasional* labour, *when wanted*, is highly rewarded.

When the black man therefore is, as a free agent, left entirely to himself, he is found to avoid the kind of labour which affords the most *steady* and *general* employment, in order to employ himself only *occasionally* in other pursuits; and this he is enabled to do from the low rate of subsistence, valued either in money or period of time, for which the necessary exertion is required to obtain it, leaving long intervals of time which is generally spent in indolence, a habit directly opposed to the creation of wealth, and the progress of social civilization among the labouring classes of mankind. Whilst the white race of men, after melancholy experience, has been found unable to encounter the steady labour of agriculture, in such colonies as Surinam, from some physical defect in their constitution, if they do not obtain their subsistence as capitalists, *or in those trades less exposed to the action of the sun*, they cannot subsist at all. The black and Indian races, whose constitutions are most adapted for agricultural labour, however recoil from it, beyond that moderate degree of exertion necessary to procure their subsistence. If then the supply should exceed the demand for labour, in those other branches of industry in which the white race *can* work, as the white man cannot personally work in agriculture, it is obvious he must perish, or *fall back* in civilization, so far as that his means of obtaining wealth and comfort being diminished, he must become less useful to himself and the society in which he may live. By placing the three races on an equal footing on the principles of justice and expediency, it appears to me, therefore, as is seen in the West Indies, that those persons of the northern European race, depending on their personal industry for subsistence, and the ordinary scale of comforts, must generally retrograde in social civilization, comfort and happiness, unless that they can obtain wealth to purchase slaves. In conformity with these views, whether right or wrong, the government of the Netherlands are found to be acting, as regards the policy of different degrees of political freedom being distributed among the different races of men, the greatest degree being given to the white capitalists of their own nation. Supposing, however, that they had acted otherwise, and freed all the community, it may be interesting to inquire, what would have been the probable effect thereof upon the *white capitalist*, as the owner of certain lands, and the means of rendering the soil productive. The white capitalist, and his white family, cannot cultivate the soil in Surinam as in North America, England, or the Netherlands; he must therefore hire men of the Indian race, or those maroons of the negroe race, who, as well as their ancestors, have been free for upwards of a hundred years, or those of the negroe race who may have been gradually emancipated, as they exhibited habits of industry, and acquired knowledge. It cannot be expected that the sun will shine less hot on the head of the last class of negroes, than it does on the maroons and the Indians, although we may assume, that the former habits of slaves, when gradually freed, will make those persons feel the pain of steady industry in a less degree, from their previous habits; but it is not sufficient that they should encounter the pain of labour in the sun more cheerfully, they must also be able to resist more firmly the seducing pleasure afforded by repose in the shade—the very enjoyment which their former state of slavery prevented their obtaining—the enjoyment sought for, and prized by all around them. By what motive then are these men to be withdrawn from the enjoyment of that pleasure of repose, which has a value so much higher in the torrid zone than in Europe? Any man may convince himself that this enjoyment of repose is a high pleasure, by honestly examining his own inclination for any laborious exertion in the open air, when the sun in Europe radiates a heat measured

by 80 degrees of the thermometer, compared with his inclinations when the heat is at a much lower temperature.

I have heard intelligent people, who have superficially examined this important question, confidently ascribe a power to money, in the form of wages, being adequate to overcome the obstacle.

In speaking of the inducements and regulations held forth by President Boyer to the free North American negroes about to emigrate to Hayti, I drew your lordship's attention to the circumstance, that money wages were never once mentioned as an inducement by the enlightened President of Hayti. I will here farther endeavour to show how inadequate any wages would be to produce the effect, with reference to the welfare of the *white capitalist*.

Wages, whose effects are so powerful in England, are the result of a certain state of civilization, and a certain ratio between the working population, and the wealth which can employ them profitably. The very *status* of the society to which the question refers, in the West Indies, when well considered, implies that neither the necessary progress in civilization had been obtained, nor that the necessary ratio existed between the working population and the capital to employ it.

Surinam, like our own colonies in Guiana, is a rich alluvial soil of the highest degree of fertility, intersected by large rivers and smaller streams, navigable for large ships and every species of river craft. It is only on the banks of some of these rivers that the land is partially settled—immense tracts of the finest land are unoccupied and unappropriated. The common food of the people is the plantain, whose extraordinary productiveness with reference to the space it occupies, and the labour required for its production, is well known. As a food in Surinam, it performs the same functions as wheat does in England. All classes, rich and poor, consume it as bread.

I will take the estimate of President Boyer of Hayti, respecting the time necessary for a labourer in that country to work, in order to obtain his subsistence; because I know in Surinam it would be correct to say, with President Boyer, that the labour of half an hour a day will obtain the subsistence of the labourer for a week. In such a country, where there is abundance of unoccupied land of the first degree of fertility, the man, who by half an hour's daily labour can support himself, is not likely to be driven by necessity to seek for employment, *as the labourer in general is obliged to do in England*.

In Surinam the *white capitalists*, when all the races of men there should be free, would have to go to the free negroe labourer *to persuade him to work for hire*. This apparently trifling difference between Surinam and England, as regards the fact *from which party the offer is to come*, leads to important results.

When the labourer asks for employment in England, the employer calculates what he can afford to give, which being ascertained, if one labourer should refuse it, the density of population soon produces another candidate.

In Surinam the *white capitalist* might indeed also calculate what he could afford to give as wages, and in doing so, he must be guided by the exchangeable value of the crop which his land and machinery would produce. Of the objects for which his crop is to be exchanged, under the present state of social civilization, very few are produced on the spot. The objects which he requires for daily use are produced in other countries more densely peopled, having more capital and skilled labour; in short, they are produced in North America or in Europe, and in these countries the value of his crop would depend upon what was the cost of producing, in other places, the same kind of productions which he had to offer; in the neighbouring territories of Cayenne or Brazil, for instance, where slave labour being employed, its amount would be the mere expense of subsistence, and the risk incident to that kind of labour.

These considerations fix the value of the crop of the Surinam land-owner to a certain sum, and according to that sum *only* could he afford to give wages to the free negroe labourer. Should the subsistence of labourers be as easily obtained at Cayenne, as in Hayti or Surinam, as is the fact, so small a portion of time as half an hour's labour in the day, is the fair value in exchange for one day's subsistence of the labourer; if the period of time, however, should be doubled to cover risks, the Surinam planter in order to raise produce at any moderate rate of profit on his stock, consisting of land and machinery, or as a reward for his own risk and superintendence,

ence, must obtain the labour of an Indian, or a free negroe for at least eight hours in the day, for which the free negroe or Indian labourer must be content to receive the value of one hour's labour, the equivalent for subsistence, &c. when expressed in the period of time which will produce it, in a country where the means of obtaining food are so easy, because the bounties of Providence can be appropriated to the support of man, without controul, and by a small degree of occasional exertion.

The seven hours extra labour obtained by the white capitalist, or land-owner, cannot be employed in raising articles of subsistence for local consumption, because there is no local demand for them beyond the wants of the labourer and his family; and therefore the time of the labourer must be employed in the production of articles for which there is a foreign demand; and in so doing, these seven hours exertion, which is to be received for the wages paid, will, *from the competition of slave and cheap labour*, only produce moderate profits on his stock of land and machinery.

But as regards the Indian or free negro labourer, it appears to me impossible to suppose that any *previous habits* of labour, or any degree of moral instruction, could ever have the effect of inducing any free negroe or Indian to work eight hours in a day *for another man*, in return for *ordinary wages*, in a country where the labourer could more easily obtain the same value in subsistence, by working for himself only half an hour (or twice, thrice, or four times that period), on unoccupied ground which he could appropriate to himself, and which no power in the colony could prevent; for if they should attempt it, he would only have to remove a few miles farther, when he would be out of the government.

If the Surinam land-owner should offer the highest reward, that is to say, wages equal to eight hours labour, which would be an equivalent expression for giving eight days subsistence in return for one day's labour, then it appears to me, that the white land-owner on such terms, must cease to raise a staple produce for a foreign market, where competitors produced the same article for sale, raised by slave or cheap labour, as in Cayenne or Brazil; for in such a case, as he could not obtain any profit on his stock, that part of it consisting of machinery would be annually deteriorated, and rendered less efficient in the production of wealth, having exchangeable value, so that the ruin of the white capitalist would rapidly follow, and oblige him to leave the soil to the black labourers, *as was the case in every colony, where the experiment has been tried*; for this is not an imaginary case, it has actually occurred, and I possess many details, as to the varied manner in which the same unvaried result was produced in Cayenne and Guadaloupe, &c. in which last colony I resided at different periods, and had every means of obtaining the most correct information, in consequence of any official duties.

Under other modifications the same result was seen in Hayti, from whence the white capitalists fled to prevent their throats being cut, in the manner shown in the extract from Lieutenant General de la Croix's recent history of the revolution of St. Domingo.

The portions of time employed in labour, which may have a value in exchange with one day's subsistence, vary in different colonies, and in proportion as the quantity of time, employed in labour to obtain ordinary subsistence, in any colony may be great, by so much does the slave labourer generally receive a greater portion of the wealth created by his own labour, when employed on the land of another person. But a greater proportion of the result of labour, on a poor soil, may be less than a smaller proportion of the result of labour on a rich soil, and particularly if aided by machinery. If the proportion of the results of labour should not be a sufficient inducement to the free labourer to give as many hours daily labour to the capitalist, as may be necessary to enable the latter to realize a moderate profit on his stock of land and machinery, ruin must result to every *white* capitalist, as he could not by his own labour and that of his family, make his own land and machinery productive; he is entirely at the mercy of the free negroe or Indian labourer. Nor does the Guiana capitalist, when he can produce with slave labour the same *quantity* of sugar by 206 days labour, which requires 406 days in Barbados, or 1,200 days in Bengal, gain on his capital in proportion to the number of days of slave labour employed by him. The profits on stock are influenced by the more expensive nature of his machinery, the dearer value of his slave labour, as regards Barbados; and as regards Bengal, in the more expensive subsistence of the slave labourer when compared with the wages of the Hindoo at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per day; to these may be added the inferior *quality*

of the sugar raised from the lands of Guiana, which are newly cultivated, and the money value of the sugar being regulated by *quality* as well as *quantity*.

In such cases, it is frequently said by those who have superficially examined this difficult question, that the Surinam planter need only change the article of his production to escape inevitable ruin, and that he may still subsist as a capitalist, by having his land cultivated by a free black peasantry, consisting of his former slaves. It would be very desirable to have this opinion examined with great care, for it at once, if true, would enable us to provide for the liberated Africans.

It appears to me, however, that if the planter should raise *any article* for sale which is produced in other countries where labour is cheaper, *cæteris paribus*, the same results must follow as already shown, when the same articles are presented for sale under a free competition.

The peculiar productions of the torrid zone are also raised in the East Indies, where the labour is from 1 *d.* to 2 *d.* a day; with these countries the Surinam planter might compete, from the profits on stock arising from that part of his capital employed in machinery, (the imperfection of which in India is notorious), when he could keep wages low; but when the negroe labourer is free, the rate of wages will not depend on the ordinary profits on stock to the capitalist, but on the wants of the labourer, who can supply them all by a few hours irregular exertion; whatever therefore is added by the capitalist to induce the free negroe labourer to work for wages, must be withdrawn from the profits on stock, and to such an extent as to render it the extreme of folly to expend any additional capital in a concern where the wealth coming to the share of the capitalist would soon be less than the portion of wealth expended by him in the production of the wealth to be shared between him and the free labourer in such a country as Surinam. And this reasoning shows why productions requiring the aid of much capital in machinery soon ceased in Guadaloupe and Cayenne, whilst for a while they were kept up in Haiti by the arbitrary regulations of Toussaint and Christophe, *who made free negroes work for black capitalists*.

The Surinam capitalist could only produce food for interior consumption, but as his land could not produce much more than other land equally good and unoccupied, when the subsistence of a labourer could be obtained by an hour's exertion of the day, such food must be of very little value; added to which, as every body would be able to produce equal to their own consumption, the demand for the food produced must then be found in other countries, where the same competition would be met with, whose force I have already shown.

The white capitalist therefore, when justice and expediency shall have placed the three races upon an equal political footing, must be ruined inevitably, and as he is unable himself to cultivate the ground, he must perish, or retrograde in social civilization, so far as depends on his being useful to himself or the parent state, who had profitably supplied those wants which he might have had in an advanced state of civilization, and to an extent depending on the quantity of wealth produced and exported by him for the purposes of barter or consumption in the parent state.

The capitalist, when producing little or no wealth, having exchangeable value, must needs be less able to satisfy his wants, now consisting of objects which can be cheaper supplied from new countries. There a fertile soil and common power machinery can produce coarse articles of native growth cheaper than in older countries; for, although the skilled labour of men may be cheaper in old than in new countries, from the greater density of population, with reference to the extent of soil of great fertility, yet, when that skilled labour is employed in the manufactory of articles whose raw material is produced in new countries, the application of power looms, and similar machinery, supersedes so much human labour, that the *present* wages of labour form a smaller part of the elements of the cost of production. It is thus that new countries, like the United States, are enabled to undersell such countries as Great Britain in many articles produced in the manner stated: this may be practically illustrated in the change effected in the trade of Hayti since the French white capitalists were destroyed or expelled, and their wealth has passed into the hands of the blacks.

These observations refer to some future and expected state of social civilization, which may arise among certain classes of a community, even after habits of industry have been formed by coercion, under such physical or moral circumstances as, without

without coercion, would have produced only such a small degree of irregular exertion as the stimulus of providing subsistence, and a low state of comforts, has ever been seen to give among men in the lowlands of the torrid zone, from the earliest records of history to the present day, as far as my inquiries and observations have extended; and I should be truly glad to find that I have been mistaken, either in the statements of my facts, or in the inferences which I draw from them.

In making a remark, involving pretensions to research, it would be unmanly and unfair if I did not afford some specimen of the manner in which I have conducted these researches, by reference to circumstances, by which any other person may be enabled to form an opinion for himself on the subject, without placing any confidence in those opinions, which I may have submitted, as having been formed from the personal observation of facts by myself, and which may have been very imperfectly made by me, from the presumed prejudices, or the ignorance of the observer.

If my object has been the investigation of the truth, and if I am conscious that my mind is not under any prejudices on the subject, I ought to have no hesitation in stating the circumstances, which may have led me to abandon opinions which I once entertained, and which have induced me honestly to consider it my duty respectfully to submit, for your lordship's consideration, the various matters which I have done. I do not shrink from any inquiry, nor am I intimidated by the fear of any reproaches, or imputations on my character as a faithful and honest narrator of the truth, by those who may conscientiously think very differently from me on the matters in question. They have a right to entertain their opinions, and I have a right to entertain those which I have been induced to form, after as careful and as patient an examination of the subject, among the people themselves, as has been undertaken by any other man with whom I have conversed, either in England or elsewhere.

I have ever regarded with sincere respect the pure benevolence of the character of Mr. Wilberforce, and for many years I not only ardently approved of his grand and sublime object, the civilization of Africa, but I also sincerely approved of the mode, then deemed to be the best calculated to obtain an object so great.

After much reflection, extensive inquiries, and careful personal observation, I still as ardently approve of the grand and sublime object of civilizing Africa, which good men must desire; but I am obliged, most reluctantly, to confess, that the more I have lately reflected concerning the principles on which social civilization can be best promoted among men in a backward state of knowledge, with reference to all the circumstances of the case, the more I am convinced that some erroneous opinions have been formed, which it is probable would not have been formed, by many eminently pious persons, if, with their superior talents, they had had the advantages of *personal* observation, respecting the operation of the real principles, which actually govern the industry of mankind, under different circumstances as to climate,* fertility of soil, and ratio between the number of working people and the wealth of the country able to reward them. But on the other hand, as, with superior advantages of observation, I may have formed erroneous opinions, from a
weak

* Dr. Robertson, who brought the power of a strong mind to the consideration of the effects of causes operating on a portion of mankind in the torrid zone, thus speaks of the effect of climate on men like the liberated Africans:—

“ In contemplating the inhabitants of a country so widely extended as America, great
“ attention should be paid to the diversity of climates under which they are placed. The
“ influence of this I have pointed out with respect to several important particulars which
“ have been the object of research; but even where it has not been mentioned, it ought
“ not to be overlooked. The provinces of America are of such different temperament, that
“ this alone is sufficient to constitute a distinction between their inhabitants. In every
“ part of the earth where man exists, *the power of climate operates, with decisive influence,*
“ *upon his condition and character. In those countries which approach near to the extremes of*
“ *heat or cold, this influence is so conspicuous as to strike every eye.* Whether we consider
“ man merely as an animal, or as being endowed with rational powers which fit him for
“ activity and speculation, we shall find that he has uniformly attained the greatest per-
“ fection of which his nature is capable, in the temperate regions of the globe. There his
“ constitution is most vigorous, his organs most acute, and his form most beautiful. There,
“ too, he possesses a superior extent of capacity, greater fertility of imagination, more
“ enterprising

weak judgment, I deem it fair and proper not to press my opinions on your lordship as deserving of much weight, for, as I have perhaps too often said in this Report, any mere opinions of mine, or those of any other persons, are not worthy of one moment's consideration by your lordship, except such opinions are accompanied with the facts on which they are founded, clearly showing the operation of cause and effect in frequently recurring instances.

The benevolent Mr. Wilberforce in 1788 had applied to Dr. Robertson; the historian of America, "for any intelligence respecting the institution of the Jesuits in Paraguay, which it has long struck me," says the amiable writer, "might prove a most useful subject of investigation to any one who would form a plan for the civilization of Africa."

This consideration induced me to examine how these good and pious missionaries had overcome those difficulties, which, in visiting some Spanish missions in the torrid zone, I found were ever considered as the grand obstacles to any considerable progress in social civilization; viz. the difficulty of inspiring the Indians, or any persons in their situation, with habits of moderate and steady industry, without using coercion, in a country where the ordinary wants of life could be obtained by that irregular kind of labour, which at uncertain periods, admitting of long intervals of repose, allowed the labourer to appropriate to his use those productions of the earth or sea, the raising of which required very little exertion from man.

In all my travels, and in all my inquiries, I have never been able to find that social civilization had proceeded beyond a very small advance, where wealth has not been created and accumulated for the use of the labourer himself, combined with moral instruction.

No fact appears to be more certain than that wealth cannot be created without labour; and that the power of labour to create wealth, *cæteris paribus*, depends on the intensity, and the skill with which steady exertion is employed.

To communicate any considerable degree of skill to a labourer appears to require the operation of time, as well as some progress being made in civilization by the labourer, who may require instructions in any work beyond the application of mere brute force on matter.

The practical philanthropist who can keep his judgment unbiassed by the censure, or applause of superficial observers, however high their station, will, on consulting his reason, most probably find, that the *first step* leading to satisfactory results in promoting the social civilization of people in a backward state of knowledge, will consist in *obtaining an increase, more or less, in the steady labour of the uncivilized man, although the kind of exertion should be only that brute force of which the most ignorant are capable, if in health.*

To obtain without coercion an object so apparently easy to the superficial observer, or speculative philanthropist, is, in practice, found to be most difficult, when opposed by physical obstacles, arising from climate, fertility of soil, and those other causes which have been so often stated in this Report.

Even when the great object has been so far accomplished, that two hours steady daily exertion may have been obtained, under circumstances where half the period

"enterprising courage, and a sensibility of heart which gives birth to desires, not only ardent, but persevering. In this favourite situation he has displayed the utmost efforts of his genius, in literature, in policy, in commerce, in war, and in all the arts which improve or embellish life.

"*This powerful operation of climate is felt most sensibly by rude nations, and produces greater effects than in societies more improved. The talents of civilized men are continually exerted in rendering their own condition more comfortable; and by their ingenuity and inventions, they can, in a great measure, supply the defects and guard against the inconveniences of any climate. But the improvident savage is affected by every circumstance peculiar to his situation. He takes no precaution either to mitigate or to improve it. Like a plant, or an animal, he is formed by the climate under which he is placed, and feels the full force of its influence.*"—Dr. Robertson's History of America, vol. ii. page 239.

Whatever theoretical writers may say to the contrary, I can only solemnly declare, that I found in practice, as an officer of engineers, that climate had a decided influence on the steady exertion of the labour of men, civilized or uncivilized, in the torrid zone.

was necessary, at irregular intervals, to procure subsistence, so little can the acquirement of habits of *steady* industry be depended upon in the earlier stages of social civilization, that on the removal of the stimulating power, *whatever it may be*, we find the progress of civilization stopped, until a new power be brought into action.

In the history of mankind we find that a certain *degree* of intensity of exertion to obtain subsistence, arising from the desire to support life, is influenced as to its greater or less intensity by climate and local circumstances. The degree of exertion to obtain mere subsistence must always be given, because the stimulus of self preservation is always in action; but such degrees of exertion only become connected with social civilization, when the wants of men induce them to give a degree of intensity and regularity to their exertions, by which they obtain something more for their subsistence than the mere preservation of life required; it is therefore towards this extra portion of exertion, beyond that required merely to preserve life, that the practical philanthropist must *chiefly* look.

It is on this subject that men of the most pure benevolence, will be found to form the most opposite opinions, because they must ever reason *from their own peculiar views and means of collecting facts, upon which they have to form their judgment.*

Create in men desires, and there can be no doubt but that they will work, when able, to obtain the means of gratifying them. This is a very sensible observation, and very easily expressed.

If the practical philanthropist should respectfully ask how these new desires are to be created, among men in a backward state of knowledge and civilization, in warm climates, *where repose is one of the most strong desires of men*, he will not fail to receive from the most amiable, and otherwise intelligent persons, answers, proving the profound ignorance which prevails on the subject, arising from the positive misrepresentation of the facts which bear on the subject. In other respects the recommendation *supposes that to be discovered* for which we are in *search*.

Every man has his own ideas of happiness, and these are chiefly influenced by the moral and physical causes which surround him.

Most men, however savage, will *desire* some objects beyond those merely necessary to preserve their lives, but the great difficulty is to induce them to work steadily, that they, *at all times*, may obtain what they may desire in exchange for that which their *steady* labour will produce. If the savage man cannot be brought to labour *steadily*, capital and machinery very rarely can be applied profitably to diminish his labour, because without *steady* and *certain* industry on one side there can not be positive assurance of adequate profit on stock arising to the other; and until capital finds an interest in the social civilization of mankind, plans, the most benevolent and pious, as hitherto, will make very little progress, and will soon reach *that point*, when physical obstacles will require the power of coercion to overcome them, where density of population exists in a low degree with reference to land, &c. in the torrid zone.

When living among men in a backward state of civilization, I often found them ready to give very intense *present* exertions to obtain what they eagerly desired, and equally ready to *promise* the most intense *future* exertions for the same purpose; but no reliance could be placed on their performance, if they first obtained the object desired.

It never occurred in any case, and I tried many, that the present intensity of exertion was so much objected to, as the restraint imposed on their liberty, by requiring from them only a moderate portion of industry *regularly*, and for a stated time, particularly if that time was long, for a year or two for example. I never found it so difficult to overcome their objections to different kinds of labour, as I found it impossible to conquer their reluctance to the restraint of stated periods *for regular exertion for any considerable period.*

I cannot therefore devise any mode of enabling the uncivilized man to obtain what he may desire, until we regulate the mode in which his exertion is to be controuled for that purpose.

If the period and time of exertion be left to the uncivilized man himself, in a warm climate, *ages must roll past, as they have done under similar circumstances, and the progress of social civilization will still be slow.* If the intensity of labour be regulated, and coercion used to accomplish an observance thereof, wealth will be created by the labour of the liberated negro, and such labour being for his own benefit,

benefit, the coercion, if prudently administered, will lose some of the harshness of its features by the benefits it confers on the individual; it is, however, quite certain that the individual himself would object to the proposed coercion of his labour, even for his own benefit.

Whether the pleasures to be procured by wealth thus created by the labour of the African himself, will in time be found a stimulus sufficiently strong to overcome the desire to enjoy repose, (a desire directly opposed to steady exertion and the creation of wealth), is altogether a practical problem, yet to be solved by an experiment; but in all cases where such an event may arise, it is obvious that coercion, when not necessary, need not be enforced; and its possible application even to the individuals so situated, may easily be altogether removed, when, in the first instance, the individual himself, and the nation only, have any interest in the result of the labour to be coerced.

In cases where population may press upon the means of subsistence, as in England any other coercion would obviously be unnecessary, than that of the necessity to obtain subsistence—a power which is daily in action, and imperiously requiring that degree of *steady* labour which the uncivilized man is so reluctant to encounter, in order to obtain objects which *we* think will promote his happiness, but the truth of which fact *he* has a great difficulty in comprehending. He in practice is found to annex the idea of slavery to *steady* regular labour, as it is seen in England, and the eastern states of North America.

In an old journal kept during one of my visits to the interior of Guiana, when employed by government to report on the resources thereof, I find a circumstance, noted by me fifteen years ago, which, being in some measure an example, may give a clearer idea of what I mean to convey, than is done by a mere abstract proposition, or an assertion; of course I do not mean to infer that the proposition is true in general from one example, (nor did the fact, at the time, convey to my mind the impression which it now does), but I mean to state, that the example given I afterwards found to be *generally* true in other cases of a like nature.

“ The Indian captain, a half blood, had by some mistake directed the coreal, with provisions, to meet us at a different place than that where we were now encamped. Less than an hour had put us under the comfortable shelter of troely leaves, for the night: our hammocks were slung, a fire lighted, and my clothes drying; yet the want of a pot boiling still appeared to me to be felt as an inconvenience, even by the Indians. As they, however, bore their want with so much indifference, so far as not speaking went, I felt quite ashamed of having said so much about Jan’s negligence and want of foresight.

“ That I might leave no unfriendly impressions on his night’s reflections, as the rain still kept falling, I begged him to come and talk with me; and I endeavoured to turn the conversation on such matters as I thought would be most interesting to him; unluckily however, I overshot my mark, inasmuch as in some occasional observations I had endeavoured to prove to him that the white people not only had more enjoyments, but really often worked less to obtain them, than the Indians did to obtain inferior pleasures.

“ Somehow or other Jan connected these remarks with my hungry stomach; and this consideration, I conceive, induced him to address me, to the following effect, which a good deal astonished me, as the Indians are not much addicted to talking, and still less to any thing like satire.

“ I understand you, Sir, perfectly well,” said Jan; “ most of the beks (white people) talk as you; but if all you say stand in the book, why does M. G.* live in Mibiri? He don’t work, he is a book-man; he has plenty of books. The post-holder cannot talk book-like Mr. G.

* This gentleman had adopted the religious doctrines of Swedenborg, and had retired from the civilized world. He was considered as being well read in classical and biblical literature, and made many singular observations on the habits of the Indians of Guiana; part of these were embodied in my Report to your lordship many years ago, respecting the resources of the interior of Demerara.

† This person lived in a large punt, with suitable accommodations for sleeping, eating, &c. and working at his trade. His punt establishment consisted solely of females, as the Indians told me, with circumstances that induced me to reprehend that part of his conduct. I don’t recollect his name, but I think he was a Swiss, and owned a place called Ithaca on the Essequibo river.

“ You called the clock man †, of whom I told you to-day, a brute; but the Indians think him a clever man for that for which you abused him; and that for which you praised him the Indians think him a fool.

“ Sir, he must be very clever that can build a house to live in; that can walk on the water up to the falls, catch fish and sleep at the same time; and added he, laughing immoderately, he excells all the Indians, and all the beks, by keeping five wives, and letting no man get at them; he keeps them quiet too; they catch fish, work the ground, and do every thing for him. For this you call him a brute; and you praise him because he could make things to tell the hours. Sir, I can tell better than him, how many hours distance it is from such place to such a place. He is a great fool who gives his money for a watch, when he has the sun, moon, and stars to tell him every thing, he wants for nothing. The clock-man, however, sells good heads for arrows, and good fish-hooks; but he sells them very dear. The Indians would be very glad to work a little, not too much, to learn to build houses on the water, which will walk and catch fish, whilst the Indian can sleep, and which enables him to keep five wives, make good arrows and fish-hooks; but they are not such fools as to work to make watches, which are only prettꝝ for the Panicotties to put in their noses.

“ Sir, you are now soft; you are going to sleep; it is true we have not had a pot to boil; I am very sorry for it; it shall not be the case any more.

“ You talk book; as soon as we landed, and found no pot to boil, every body offered you what they had to eat; nobody cared for himself, You refused every body, and you wished for the boiling pot. You think white men are more happy than the Indians. But nobody here but yourself cared for the boiling pot; we can do without it for one, two, three nights; we tie our bellies tight, and drink a little water till we find a good tree. You miss the boiling pot only one night, and you make too much talk about it. You thought white man's pywarie (rum) made me forget the pot; just now, you say that white man's pywarie is better than the Indian's pywarie, because the white man knows the book. I know that white man's pywarie is better than ours; but the pleasure of drinking pywarie is not altogether in the goodness of the liquor, or the pictures on the calabash; it is in the pleasure of drinking it in peace and in repose, with friends around you, and nothing to do but swing in the hammock. The white man's pywarie, and white glass, give less pleasure to the tired man who cannot devote a few days to the pleasure of drinking with his friends. Too much work spoils pleasure. Book-men don't work much themselves with their own hands, they make negroes and poor beks (whites) work for them; they make Indians work for them. We have no objections to hunt for them, or cut down trees, now and then, not too much; to be always cutting down trees would never do; there would be no pleasure then. Poor white men are always working or walking about; never allowed to sit in their hammocks; poor slaves always working too, more than white men. Why should the Indians work like the poor whites, or the negroes. The great white men don't work at all; the free negroes work very little; then why should the Indians work more than they do?

“ It may appear very easy to answer the arguments of Jan, which were approved of by all the rest; but I have to confess, that I failed in making them comprehend how greater pleasures could be obtained by labour, than the pleasure of swinging in hammocks; excepting that in certain arts, and these not many, they were inclined to yield some respect to the superior judgment of book-men*.

“ I need not observe, that whilst travelling with my Indian friends, I shall never again show too much anxiety about having a pot boiling for supper; and I shall show a greater sense of their honest-hearted kindness, in offering me their plain fare, under circumstances which give a value to the kindness, which those can ill understand who have not been in a situation to feel all its force. It is not three days since I felt the comforts of a mess-room table, and the society of my intelligent brother officers; yet in so short a space of time, I find myself transported

* I learned from a friend who had perused my journal, that it is possible I may have mistaken the word “book,” for “bek,” meaning a white man; or “bok,” meaning an inhabitant: this is possible, I merely took the dialogue down as I remembered it next morning, and our conversation being in a corrupt jargon of Dutch and English, I may easily have made the mistake.

“ amidst the manners of distant ages. Though I already love these kind-hearted
“ savage children of the forest, they are not the men described by Rousseau and
“ Shakespeare; nor am I surprised that the friend of Paoli should have been disap-
“ pointed at not finding amongst them worshippers of the same goddess of liberty
“ whom Gentilli* adored. The poor Indians have no other notions of the cap of
“ liberty, than as better enabling them to take a longer and a sounder sleep, with
“ more comfort to themselves.

It will, perhaps, be more satisfactory to learn how uncivilized men have lately been observed by other persons than myself, as to their ideas of *steady* industry.

In 1822 a Report was made to the secretary of war of the United States on Indian affairs, by that most excellent man the Reverend Dr. Morse, whose merits had induced the government of America, as well as some missionary societies, to engage him to visit the Indians in that part of the continent of America, and specially to report the result of his visits.

From a copy of that Report, given to me by Mr. S. E. Morse, the pious son of Dr. Morse, I am enabled to furnish the following extract from a letter of G. C. Silby, esq. dated, Fort Osage, 1st October 1820, which perhaps may be satisfactory, as coming from a channel who could have no possible communication with me. He says :

“ I proceed to answer your 4th query. The main dependence of each and
“ every of the tribes I have mentioned, for clothing and subsistence, is hunting.
“ They would all class alike in respect of their pursuits; therefore, one general
“ remark will suffice for all.

“ They raise annually small crops of corn, beans, and pumpkins, these they
“ cultivate entirely with the hoe, in the simplest manner. Their crops are usually
“ planted in April, and receive one dressing before they leave their villages for the
“ summer hunt, in May. About the first week in August they return to their
“ villages to gather their crops, which have been left unhoed and unfenced all the
“ season.

“ Each family, if lucky, can save from ten to twenty bags of corn and beans, of
“ a bushel and a half each; besides a quantity of dried pumpkins. On this they
“ feast, with the dried meat saved in the summer, till September, when what
“ remains is *cached*, and they set out on the fall hunt, from which they return
“ about Christmas. From that time, till some time in February or March, as the
“ season happens to be mild or severe, they stay pretty much in their villages,
“ making only short hunting excursions occasionally, and during that time they
“ consume the greater part of their *cashes*. In February or March the spring
“ hunt commences; first the bear, and then the beaver hunt. This they pursue
“ till planting time, when they again return to their village, pitch their crops,
“ and in May set out for the summer hunt, taking with them their residue,
“ if any, of their corn, &c. This is the circle of an Osage life, here and there
“ indented with war and trading expeditions; and thus it has been, with very
“ little variation, these twelve years past. The game is very sensibly diminish-
“ ing in the country, which these tribes inhabit; but has not yet become scarce.
“ Its gradual diminution seems to have had no other effect on the Indians, than to
“ make them more expert and industrious hunters, and better warriors. They
“ also acquire more skill in traffic, become more and more prone to practise fraud
“ and deception in their commerce; are more and more dependent upon the
“ Traders, and consequently more and more debased and degraded.

“ I ought to have stated that these people derive a portion of their subsistence
“ regularly from the wild fruits their country abounds with. Walnuts, hazlenuts,
“ pacons, acorns, grapes, plums, papaws, parsimmons, hog potatoes, and several
“ other very nutritious roots; all of these they gather and preserve with care, and
“ possess the art of preparing many of them so that they are really good eating.
“ I have feasted daintily on the preparation of acorns (from the small white oak,) and
“ Buffalo grease. I had the advantage, however, of a good appetite, well whetted
“ by nearly two days abstinence from food. The acorns and fat agreed with me,

* This Corsican gentleman, an enthusiast for liberty, went to live among the Indians. It is possible he might have experienced less disappointment had he gone among the Indians of a cold climate, but in Guiana he found nothing but indolence and sloth.

“ however,

“ however, and convinced me that a man may very well subsist on it, if he can
 “ get nothing better. This dish is considered as the last resort, next to acorns
 “ alone. From these facts you will not be surprised to learn, that the arts of
 “ civilization have made but little progress, as yet, among the Indian nations in
 “ this quarter, *knowing as you do, the natural propensity of the Indian to live*
 “ *without toil, upon the bounties of wild nature, rather than to submit to what he*
 “ *considers the degradation of labour, in order to procure sustenance.* So long
 “ as the facilities I have enumerated exist, so long will exist the propensity to rely
 “ chiefly on them. This is nature. Art assumes the reins when nature gives
 “ them up, and we cling to nature as long as we can. So long as her exuberant
 “ bosom affords us sustenance, there we tenderly repose, free and untrammelled.
 “ On the failure of that resource we are are obliged to resort to art for support.
 “ The whole history of man shows that art never gets the ascendancy of nature,
 “ without a desperate struggle, in which the object of contention is most piteously
 “ mangled, and often destroyed, and a compromise is always obliged to be effected;
 “ which compromise, if I understand the subject, is the very thing we call *civiliza-*
 “ *tion*, in reference to the Indian nations; an object we are all aiming at, and what
 “ I feel as anxious as any one to effect.

“ I have often noticed Indians observing, with much apparent interest, the effects
 “ of our agricultural skill, our fine gardens, abundant crops, and our numerous
 “ comforts and conveniencies. A very sensible Osage, the Big Soldier, who had
 “ twice been at Washington, once said to me, when I was urging the subject of
 “ civilization on him; ‘ I see and admire your manner of living, your good
 “ ‘ warm houses, your extensive fields of corn, your gardens, your cows, oxen,
 “ ‘ work-houses; waggons, and a thousand machines, that I know not the use of.
 “ ‘ I see that you are able to clothe yourselves, even from weeds and grass. In
 “ ‘ short you can do almost what you choose. You whites possess the power of
 “ ‘ subduing almost every animal to your use. You are surrounded by slaves.
 “ ‘ Every thing about you is in chains, and you are slaves yourselves. I fear if
 “ ‘ I should exchange my pursuits for yours, I too should become a slave. Talk
 “ ‘ to my sons, perhaps they may be persuaded to adopt your fashions, or at least
 “ ‘ to recommend them to their sons; but for myself, I was born free, was raised
 “ ‘ free, and wish to die free.’ It was in vain to combat the good man’s opinions
 “ with argument. ‘ I am perfectly content,’ he added, ‘ with my condition. The
 “ ‘ forests and rivers supply all the calls of nature in plenty, and there is no lack
 “ ‘ of white people to purchase the surplus products of our industry.’ This is the
 “ language that is held by the Indians in this quarter generally. *Like all people*
 “ *in a state of ignorance, they are bigotted, and obstinately adhere to their old*
 “ *customs and habits.*”

From these statements of actual observations it is deserving of remark, how the
 free man, *when placed in certain circumstances*, regards *steady* labour; and how it
 is disliked by the Indians of North and South America, although there is a great
 difference between the extent of exertion given by the North American Indians
 to obtain food, in comparison with the extent of exertion given by the Indian of
 the torrid zone for the same purpose.

As the benevolent Mr. Wilberforce had directed his attention to the mode in
 which the Jesuits in Paraguay had succeeded in inducing the Indians to labour in
 that moderate climate; I shall submit an extract, to prove that coercion was deemed
 necessary, in the first instance at least, to stimulate the Indians to habits of industry,
 on the authority of Charlevoix, himself a missionary of that religious order, and who
 undertook to refute the evil reports at that time propagated against the Jesuits.

Charlevoix says:—“ Several persons imagine, that, in this republic, there is no
 “ private property; but that, every week, each family receives the necessary food;
 “ and, from time to time, the other necessary articles for their subsistence. Some
 “ such regulation might possibly have existed, when those Indians, but newly
 “ united, were not in a capacity to procure themselves by their labours a certain and
 “ regular supply of the necessaries of life, nor well established in places of sufficient
 “ security. But, in process of time, and especially, since they have been no longer
 “ exposed to the danger of being obliged to remove from place to place, there has
 “ been assigned to every family a piece of land, sufficient, if properly cultivated,
 “ to supply it with the necessaries of life; *for, as to superfluities, they are, as*
 “ *yet, strangers to them.* And, considering their natural disposition, and the
 “ manner in which they are brought up, there is all the reason in the world to hope
 “ they

“ they will ever continue so. The missionaries, indeed, know the full amount of what their lands produce. It is the same thing in regard to their commerce, which cannot be carried on but under the eyes of those who are most concerned carefully to inspect it.”

It would seem from this, that the Jesuits, at first, did not consider that all the wealth created by the labour of the Indians should be placed under their own disposal, for which, perhaps, good reasons might be given; though it is a principle so liable to abuse, that I should not feel myself justified in recommending it, but if I did, it would certainly be, as in Paraguay, that the controul and responsibility should be vested in the missionaries: among a rude people, those under the care of the church, among all nations, have been most honestly dealt with.

The following extract, showing that coercion was resorted to by the Jesuits, renders further quotation unnecessary, because where coercion is allowed there are no doubts as to the power of creating wealth by the labour of people, even in a backward state of knowledge, in a fertile soil; and when wealth is created, and distributed among the labourers, civilization certainly must advance, under the direction of ordinary prudence and judgment.

“ In spite of this police,” says the father, “ and all these measures taken to prevent any one wanting the necessaries of life, the missionaries find it a very difficult task to make all things answer; this is owing to three failings in their neophytes, which they have not as yet been able to correct, namely, *their little foresight, their laziness, and their want of economy*, in consequence of which, they often come short of seed for their lands. On this occasion there is an absolute necessity for assisting them, but then they are obliged to return, after harvest, a quantity of grain equal to that lent them to procure it. As to other provisions, if the missionaries did not keep a very watchful eye over them, they would, in a little time, not have a morsel to eat. This is likewise owing to so insatiable an appetite, that a few moments after they have stuffed their bellies they are ready for a new meal; nay, the missionaries, at first, could not so much as leave to their discretion the bullocks employed in agriculture, *lest, through laziness, they should leave them unyoked when their work was over, and even tear them to pieces and devour them, as it has often happened, when their being hungry was all the excuse that could be got out of them.*”

“ This has obliged the missionaries to appoint overseers, who visit every place exactly, to see if the Indians mind their business and keep their cattle in good order, *and have a power to punish them when they find them in fault, which seldom happens at present*; besides, when it does, they readily confess their guilt, and submit to the sentence pronounced on them. All their faults are the faults of children, and indeed, they continue children, in many respects, all their lives; but then it is with all the good qualities peculiar to that age. In spite, however, of all the precautions we have been speaking of, the missionaries often find it necessary to have recourse to other expedients, to enable several families to hold out to the end of the year; no beggary being tolerated in this republic, for fear of introducing theft and encouraging laziness. The surest method hitherto found out to correct this last failing, is to condemn the delinquent to cultivate the reserved lands, of which we have spoken, and which are called *God's possession or inheritance*; but then as such workmen are not to be depended upon, care is taken to associate with them others of known diligence. *The fathers of families are likewise obliged to send their children there very early, in order to form and enure them to labour. Every child's task is adjusted to his strength, and there is no pardon for those who do not perform it.*”

“ *One of the greatest advantages derived from this police is, that it keeps every one employed.*”

Among the missionaries of Paraguay, as in the instructions of President Boyer, relative to the emigration of the free negroes of America into Hayti, your lordship will observe no reference is made to wages in money, as a means of overcoming that reluctance to *steady* labour in agriculture which is met with among free people in the West Indies; and should your lordship pursue this subject, perhaps you will discover that such *steady* industry can only be *uniformly depended upon, in return for wages* when population is so dense as to press on the means of subsistence, combined with the general prevalence of a strong moral feeling arising from religious instruction, addressed rather to the reason and judgment than to the imagination or the feelings of the labouring classes. In such cases, and when agricultural

agricultural labour is accompanied with little toil, wealth is easily accumulated, which, when secured by a good government, the natural desire of men to better their condition may then, and then only, generally become a strong stimulus to labour; its force being modified in proportion as the causes mentioned are more or less in action, particularly in the torrid zone, where repose is a luxury of the highest kind, and sought for as the reward for labour itself. When the desire of bettering the condition, and the desire to enjoy repose, equal each other in power, the principle of bettering the condition has no effect as a stimulus to productive industry, and ceases to be generally true, in proportion as the physical causes which I have endeavoured to develop, have more or less power.

I do not, however, mean to estimate as nothing the action of moral causes, but I do mean to say, that they are overrated when men look to them *alone*, as being adequate to *overcome obstacles of a physical nature*; and this has been the real reason why so much disappointment has prevailed in the results of benevolent attempts to promote the happiness and welfare of uncivilized men in Africa, and in other parts of the torrid zone, where population existed in a low ratio with respect to fertile land, means of subsistence, &c.

Instead of looking at the most influential causes of the disappointments which have been experienced, the vanity of poor human nature has endeavoured to screen the judgment of the contrivers of those schemes from any imputation of blame, and has dexterously succeeded in imputing the cause of disappointment to the agents employed, the conduct of some persons who were disliked, or other circumstances of minor influence; and, when inquiries as to the real causes of failures are investigated with biased minds, inadequate reasons are deemed sufficient to explain the causes of disappointment. It is thus that all considerations of the plan itself, being founded in error, were passed over. The proofs of this are very numerous, but all terminating in disputes, rather difficult to settle, when more causes than one are in action. I have endeavoured as much as possible to avoid occasion for these disputes, by submitting only such physical causes as are most capable of being observed, though they have been almost uniformly suppressed; as the dispute will then be reduced almost to the inquiry, whether or not such causes of a physical nature had a great influence in impeding the civilization of the Africans; and whether such physical obstacles can be overcome by the operation of moral causes alone.

Persons firmly convinced in their own minds of the truth and the efficacy of a few favourite opinions, have succeeded in attributing the whole cause of failure in attempts to civilize persons like the liberated Africans, to circumstances which might indeed contribute to the failure experienced, but only in comparatively a subordinate degree; physical obstacles remained in action. Error is a probable result, when the mind became thus satisfied of the power of causes founded merely on speculative opinions, instead of being deduced from historical facts, clearly established, and showing the operation of cause and effect in cases frequently recurring. When this mode of reasoning is not followed sound conclusions become the result of chance merely; but as error is more likely to be the result, we almost uniformly have met with disappointment.

Most of the facts and cases which I have hitherto submitted have been observed in other countries than Tortola, and under circumstances which could not have been influenced by any opinions entertained by me as to the best mode of providing for the liberated Africans, and employing them in promoting the social civilization of their countrymen in Africa.

Before I state the inferences of a practical nature which seem to me to arise from what will be submitted in this Report, I hope to be pardoned for an apparent deviation from my rule, in submitting some observations relative to Tortola itself, even though they may be supposed to have been collected less with the view of showing the real facts of the case, than with the view of rendering plausible certain speculative opinions, which some men may contend do not accord with the observation of facts in England. As I feel perfectly conscious, that I was not influenced by any motives but those of stating facts as accurately as I was able, I fear no imputations on my character; and as to my opinions, I shall not think them worth defending, if they do not seem to be fair inferences from real facts observed, not only by myself, but by other persons worthy of credence; nor shall any fear of those reproaches which some societies in England have poured on men, who believe that they speak the truth in matters where party spirit prevails, induce me to shrink from the discharge of my duty as a Commissioner, in the honest and faithful

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faithful expression of my opinion, although it may oppose the prevailing theories of eminent men in England, remote from the means of personal observation, as to the facility of securing the steady industry of negroes in a backward state of civilization in the West Indies, by giving them, (*as it is very easy to say*), habits of industry, and then releasing them from all restraint, except such as the laws impose on free men. What is thus assumed to be so easily done, I maintain to be so difficult as to be almost impossible, in the present ratio between the population and wealth, &c. in the West Indies; and I also maintain that persons in England being imperfectly acquainted with facts, as well as those in the West Indies, who have had no experience in the control of labour, are to a certain degree less able to form a sound opinion on the subject.

I have, perhaps, sufficiently shown that it never was the intention of the West India legislators to stimulate the industry of such inhabitants as the liberated Africans; if the laws, then, never had such an object in view, it is not reasonable to expect such an effect from them in their present state: if it should be said that the laws could be altered in that respect, certainly this is true; but who are to be the legislators on points which relate to the means of enforcing labour as a duty among people in a backward state of knowledge? I should unhesitatingly state that no legislators sitting in England are at present equal to perform such a task, *merely from their ignorance*, and the difficulty which must attend any attempt at 4,000 miles distance to obtain a correct knowledge of important facts, on which the wisdom and efficiency of such regulations would depend; instead of facts they would be able to collect only opinions, which the result might prove, as in other cases, to be utterly worthless to the practical philanthropist.

If men, so far acquainted with the practical operations of labour and the circumstances stimulating it, as to possess the means of detecting the difference between a mere opinion, and the correct statement of a physical fact, which can be seen, examined, or measured in person, were to visit the colonies, then clear results or facts might be obtained, from which principles might be formed, and which the legislators of any country might then apply, provided the facts or results were truly and fairly ascertained.

After reading the schedules of examinations of the liberated negroes, it will perhaps appear, that the people have not, during their apprenticeships, even generally acquired the habits of *steady* industry, which will prevent their relapse into habits of indolence, when the present coercion of a master is removed by the termination of their apprenticeships. If then they have not generally acquired the habits of *steady* industry under coercion, and if the laws of the colonies have not been prepared to stimulate that industry when free from coercion, it seems fair to infer, that no power is now in action, from which we can hope for the gratification of our laudable, reasonable, and as I hope to show, *practical* wishes, if *proper* means be used to obtain them.

Instead of disputing whose fault it was, that habits of industry have not been communicated to the liberated negroes, it may be more interesting to inquire how, *under the circumstances of the West Indies, these habits of voluntary and uncoerced industry would have acted, even had they been formed by regulations more adapted to obtain that end, than those were which are to be found in the orders in council on that subject.*

The act for the abolition of the slave trade, provided for the liberated Africans not becoming burdensome to the colony in which they may be apprenticed; yet the order in council, and form of indenture, prevented these people from being employed in the only way they would be certain of not interfering with the industry of the other poor white, black, and coloured inhabitants; this, certainly, was an inauspicious beginning.

I shall, however, assume that this error had not been committed, but that all the liberated Africans had been duly instructed, well treated, and perfectly free and able to work for wages, and perform the duties of African agricultural apprentices in a country, where English agricultural parish apprentices could not till the soil, in any mode which required much exposure to the action of the sun in the torrid zone.

Mr. Brougham has justly said: "Voluntary labour for hire, that exertion which we denominate industry, however simple it may appear to us who are accustomed to it, is nevertheless a refinement wholly unknown among the savage tribes of Africa. All travellers agree in this statement of the fact."

I hope

I hope I may be pardoned for presuming to support the truth of an assertion which never has been doubted (perhaps because it cannot be confuted) by a reference to President Boyer having omitted all mention of wages in money to the free black agricultural emigrants from the United States, as a mode in which their labour would be rewarded. And among the Jesuits of Paraguay, it does not appear to me, that these able men endeavoured to obtain the formation of habits of steady industry, by holding out the encouragement of wages in money, when they attempted to improve the condition of a people in a low state of civilization.

The efficiency of any plan for the formation of such habits of steady industry as will induce men, like the liberated Africans, to work regularly for hire, being the result of a certain uniform progress in civilization, must be examined with reference to a general association of men, rather than to a few individuals, forming only a small part of the society wherein they live.

The Historian of America* justly observes:—"Men thus satisfied with their condition, are far from any inclination to relinquish their own habits, or to adopt those of civilized life. The transition is too violent to be suddenly made. Even where endeavours have been used to wean a savage from his own customs, and to render the accommodations of polished society familiar to him; even where he has been allowed to taste of those pleasures, and has been honoured with those distinctions, which are the chief objects of our desire, he droops and languishes under the restraint of laws and forms, he seizes the first opportunity of breaking loose from them, and returns with transport to the forest or the wild, where he can enjoy a careless and uncontrolled freedom."

I have personally known Indians who had been taken to Europe, on returning to their tribes, soon abandoning the habits of *steady* industry, to which I understood, from themselves, they had conformed when in Europe. And negroe servants are daily seen leaving England, as free men, to perform their duty as domestic slaves to the same masters, in the West Indies.

The free Indians have always been found to relapse to their former state of indolence and irregular industry, immediately as they returned to their native tribes, and became exposed to the action of those physical causes which were not felt in Europe, and where they are apparently little understood.

The question, then, must be examined, as to the state of civilization of the community at large, in which the liberated Africans may now live; and how the production of wealth by hired labour, is influenced by the circumstances in which the country may be placed. Such an examination relative to Tortola, will exhibit features somewhat different from the examinations, which I have already submitted, respecting Hayti, Surinam, &c.

Being ignorant of any other person having given information relative to Tortola, on the points which will influence the results, I can only refer to my own personal observations, at the two different periods at which I visited Tortola. The first period was in 1815, when I was employed on the staff of the late Lieutenant General Sir James Leith, who at that time was captain general of all the Leeward Islands. Being the only staff officer with him at Tortola, I had the best means of becoming well acquainted with the statistics of the island. My next visit was as a commissioner in 1822 and 1823. The result of my inquiries, just previous to my leaving the island, was compared with those made by a careful observer of statistical facts, Dr. Stobo, and the tables containing these researches, at different times are given in the Appendix (marked E.(1.), E.(2.), E.(3.), E.(4.), E.(5.), some of which are from official documents laid before parliament lately, and others, as (F.) were collected when I was employed on the staff.

The number of labourers in a state of slavery in Tortola, must inevitably influence the rate of wages which the liberated Africans could obtain, as well as affect the demand for their labour.

The expense of subsistence, and the interest on the value of slaves, with an allowance for the risk incident to such a kind of capital, form, therefore, the chief elements of the price of wages in Tortola. The slave is provided with vegetable food by land being allowed to him, and time to cultivate it; also, in Tortola, the slaves are allowed to raise and sell different kinds of stock, and, in my former

* Robertson's History of America, vol. 2, page 238,

Report, I mentioned the number of horses, cattle, goats, pigs, &c., which the slaves actually possessed as their own property. The liberated African, William Ali, in page 30 of the schedules, states he did occasionally, in 1823, subsist on 3*d.* sterling a day in Tortola. In page 145 of the schedules, on the authority of a gentleman from the neighbouring Spanish island of Porto Rico, it appears that the expense of feeding a slave in that island was also about 3*d.* a day in 1823. In page 7 of Mr. Dougan's Report, the wages of a field negroe, or common agricultural labourer, from 1811 to 1814, is stated to have been 3*s.* a day, in the case of Portsmouth; but as the price is supposed to be in currency, the amount in sterling is 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem. In a note to the same page, Mr. Dougan quotes evidence, which he says was given to him, showing that the wages of certain hired apprenticed Africans was at least 2*s.* 6*d.* sterling per diem, in the Danish island of St. Thomas. According, then, to the researches of my intelligent colleague, the daily wages of such common labourers as the African apprentices, in 1814, and perhaps later, were 1*s.* 6*d.* in Tortola, and 2*s.* 6*d.* in a neighbouring Danish colony. I only refer to these statements of my colleague, because the higher the wages are, with reference to the ordinary cost of subsistence, by so much the more difficult must it be to induce people in a backward state of knowledge and civilization to work *steadily* for wages, paid by a capitalist, when a small degree of *irregular* industry will obtain subsistence.

I shall, however, submit my own inquiries on this subject, and if the result should be less favourable to my argument, it may serve, in some measure, to prove that my love of truth and patience in research are superior to the contemptible feeling of a desire to support opinions not founded on facts, in a matter so important as this is, when the fate of millions of British capital, and thousands of human creatures may be influenced by acting on erroneous principles.

It is always with real pain that I refer to any variance between the statements of my intelligent colleague and myself; but as I had no means of personally investigating the facts which induced him to give such a high money value to the wages of a few of the captured Africans, I think it most fair to him to state the result of his researches, although I only reason on my own, with which he also was probably unacquainted. Had I reasoned on the data furnished by him, it would have been more in favour of my argument, but I am only desirous patiently to investigate what is the truth, according to my view of the matter.

In page 56 of the schedules will be found the assertion of a liberated African, named Jem, stating that he can cut two bundles of wood and one bundle of grass in a day, between the time after eating his breakfast and four o'clock in the afternoon, and for which he gets food and a little rum and tobacco, whose money value he says is 1*s.* 1½*d.* sterling. If the data be taken according to the schedules, the proportion of time representing equivalent terms, between the subsistence of William and the wages of Jem, in their cases would be obtained in this manner: if Jem worked nine hours a day to obtain 1*s.* 1½*d.*, whilst 3*d.* was the expense of the subsistence of William, both being able men, the sum of 3*d.* would be an equivalent term for about two hours labour, as regards these two persons, here supposed to be equal, because William was as strong and able to work as Jem was; indeed my colleague thought that William was able to take care of himself, but that Jem was not; yet it is Jem who appears to have applied the greatest intensity of exertion to a very ordinary kind of labour, and obtained thereby the greatest reward. If, however, the calculation should be made with reference to the wages of Portsmouth, as stated in my colleague's Report, page 7, the portion of time representing that necessary to obtain mere subsistence would be still less than two hours.

In page 332 of the schedules, a female, named Cottrine, stated that by working, what she considered hard, in cutting wood, she could earn two dollars a week, which would be higher than the wages earned by Jem, but rather less than the wages stated by my colleague to have been earned by Portsmouth. In the case of George Hughes, page 328 of the schedules, it appears that he, as a slave, had paid his master, at one time, two dollars a week for permission to hire himself out when in St. Cruz: but, although a good carpenter, now, when George is a free man in Tortola, he no longer works *steadily*, alleging he cannot get any person to employ him, and therefore he follows the *irregular* labour of occasionally catching fish, fiddling at dances, cutting wood, &c., the surplus of fish and wood, after providing for himself, he sells. In the article of fish, he sometimes sells from eight to ten dog's worth, equal to from 6*d.* to 7½*d.* sterling, and which is understood to be
for

for one day, but that only *occasionally*, for he was in rags and poverty, being without a house, living in that of a female slave, with whom he cohabited.

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In page 7 of my colleague's Report, Hull, in 1814, worked for 8 s. 3 d. currency, or 4 s. 1½ d. sterling per diem, when under coercion. In 1823, in good health, and in the same country, he was in extreme poverty, and without even a house of his own, when free from all coercion on his industry. From page 40 of the schedules it appears that he also now lived by occasionally cutting firewood and catching fish, though he had been taught the trade of a cooper, and, consequently, pains of some kind must have been taken to give him and George, who was a carpenter, habits of industry, the force of which, when free from coercion, is clearly seen in the case of these men and others in the West Indies. They had both been very industrious under coercion, and, therefore, naturally would have led to the hope that they would be still more industrious as free men: and such probably would have been the case, particularly with George, had he remained in Scotland, but in Tortola he followed the impulse of those physical and moral causes which acted on him as a free man, and which were very different from those which would have stimulated him to *steady labour* in Scotland, had he remained there, and kept in a good state of health.

In the Appendix to the first part of my Report, printed last year, page 152, a certain number of industrious slaves are represented as annually making 2 l. 9 s. 2 d. sterling each, by their own labour and for their own use. Supposing these slaves should work one day and a half in every week for their own advantage, the sum mentioned would afford about 7½ d. per diem for the days on which each slave worked on his own account. I feel assured that very few negroes in Tortola worked seventy-eight days on their own grounds. The value of each day which a man did work, therefore, is certain of being more, and cannot be less than 7¼ d. sterling, which is much less than what Jem and Cottrine made by cutting wood, grass, &c., but it is the same that George Hughes says, he sometimes made by catching and selling fish, after *supplying* himself.

In the Appendix D. (1.) D. (2.) I have also given the receipt and outlay of two sugar plantations in Tortola for 1822; one was in chancery, and the charges are those furnished by the receiver of the estate at the average of the current prices; the other was furnished by the proprietor from his accounts. The form in which the statements are drawn up, is nearly that which was furnished by myself, because I found similarity of form, and average prices of articles for the whole year, necessary, in the numerous statistical details which I collected in the different counties which I visited, with the view of acquiring precise ideas as to the operation of those causes which influenced the production, distribution and consumption of wealth in each, as well as to ascertain how far the causes in action tended to benefit the inhabitants of Great Britain and the Colonies, a subject which had long occupied my attention.

In the two statements given in Appendix D. (1.) & D. (2.) relative to sugar plantations in Tortola, I have selected those affording different rates of profit in sugar cultivation; and I have reasoned upon that affording the higher profit of the two. In one, D. (1.) it will be seen that thirty-eight first gang or able bodied negro labourers, supposing them each to work 287 days in the year for their master, (the other working days being assumed to be allowed to the slaves themselves,) produced a crop whose value, after deducting the current cost of production, but without reckoning interest of capital, was estimated at 248 l. 18 s. 3 d. sterling. The official appraised value was 10,676 l. so that the profit on stock was less than two-and-a-half per cent. Supposing such profit of 248 l. 18 s. 3 d. sterling not to have been in part produced by the other slaves, the land, and machinery of the capitalist, but solely by the labour of the thirty-eight first gang or able bodied workers, during 287 days on which they worked, it will appear they only produced about 6 l. 15 s. each per annum; if they worked a greater number of days, though the rate per annum would be the same, the daily rate would be less, and therefore more in favour of my argument: whereas in less than one fourth of that time, because the slaves could not have more than seventy-eight days for themselves, they produced about 2 l. 9 s. 8 d. each for themselves. These sums added together give 9 l. 4 s. 8 d. as the annual wealth created by the slave in Tortola for his own use and that of his proprietor, of which rather more than one fourth belonged to the
slave

slave himself. The rate of profit is much higher in Barbados, of which I have given a specimen in a very well managed estate, Appendix D. (3.)

Now it appeared that Cottrine, a free female even, by working what she considered hard in the *irregular* industry of cutting for sale in a Danish colony, firewood, on ground which cost her nothing to cultivate, could, *when she worked*, gain two dollars, or 8 s. 4 d a week. If instead of working *irregularly*, she had worked *steadily*, during the year, she would have earned 21 l. 13 s. 4 d. Jem also occupied himself in *irregular* labour, and gained about 1 s. per diem by cutting firewood and grass, on ground not costing him any thing; even his garden was obtained on the same terms, and if a rent had been demanded he would not have paid it, nor in that country, except in a few particular spots, could any *rent* be obtained for land. Wherever much unoccupied land exists, and where there are few men to cultivate it, land has little value, because the value of its wild brushwood and grass would not pay for the expense of watching it against depredators, who could carry it off by night as well as by day. Even cotton cannot be so profitably cultivated in the island of Tortola as in the smaller keys or islands, from the facilities afforded in more populous districts, for one man to rob the cotton fields of another *at night*, and then prepare it for sale as the crop of his own few trees. In the small keys the population being less numerous, the property of each person is better known, and if a robbery be committed the thief is sooner discovered. The principles which regulate the rent of land in such colonies, therefore, does not depend so much upon its fertility, as upon its position, if in cotton, affording the proprietor the means of guarding against being plundered.

If Jem, however, instead of working only now and then, had worked *steadily*, it appears he could have gained 15 l. 13 s. per annum, at the rate of wages given in as the money value of those he did receive. It is quite certain he never did work for such wages *steadily* during a year, for he also was in rags and poverty, and had no house of his own; and even Cottrine, when a severe misfortune befel her, had not a penny to support herself, and depended on charity.

But I have shown that the sugar planter himself obtaining 287 days labour on the very cheapest terms, could not have afforded to give more than about 9 l. per annum for labourers, and therefore that he never could hope to induce any liberated African to work *steadily* for such wages, when the liberated African could obtain from 15 l. to 21 l. per annum by the *irregular* labour of occasionally cutting firewood, grass, or catching fish, &c. chiefly for the supply of a foreign colony, and which mode of employment left the liberated Africans the choice of working only when they felt inclined, as the trees and grass grew, and fishes lived, whether the Africans laboured or not. But the cultivation of the soil by the planter, with a capital, could not thus be carried on, by such occasional and irregular application of labour.

This is the most favourable view of the case; for the fact is, the sugar planter on the *very best soils* in Tortola, could only afford to give 9 l. per annum, but in soils of average fertility, he could only afford 6 l. 15 s. per annum to the labourer, even if the planter gave up *all profits on his stock, consisting of land, buildings and machinery.* If the liberated negroe would not labour *steadily* for 9 l. per annum, it is clear he would be less likely to work for 6 l. 15 s. per annum; but if he did not work for less than that sum, the planter in Tortola could obtain no profit on stock, and consequently could have no motive for employing any person to work for such wages. The white race being unable to work, must in this, as in all similar cases, perish, or abandon the country and their property to the blacks, who can work, but who, as I have shown, are not likely to make use of more voluntary steady exertion than will afford the means of subsistence in the lowlands of the torrid zone, where the pleasure of repose forms so great an ingredient in the happiness of mankind, whether whites or blacks, or Indians.

It is not, however, on climate alone, although a powerful cause, that the principles depend by which labour is stimulated in a different manner in the torrid zone from what it was in Europe, even when slave labour was employed. The feudal baron employed his villeins or slaves in cultivating food, or articles requiring the use of little capital, and all kinds of the produce raised had an exchangeable value in his neighbourhood, and often were hospitably consumed on the spot where they were produced.

In those ages when little capital in machinery was used in the work of production, the labour of man and cattle, with a few rude implements, performed every thing, and the excess of food produced, however small, afforded a profit on stock to the feudal slave owner, who had embarked so little capital in the work of production. In the torrid zone, the sugar and cotton produced depends, under the disadvantage of competition, on another country for a market; and in preparing these articles, the Tortola capitalist is obliged to use machinery more or less expensive, as he can afford, or the kind of cultivation may require; and the hilly and stony nature of the soil prevents his using machinery of which other countries avail themselves, but of which he cannot, from local causes, even if he had capital; so that, with a richer soil than Barbados, the Tortola planter is obliged to employ more human labour in producing the same quantity of sugar; hence the cause of the low rate of profit on stock in Tortola compared with Barbados; whilst in the raising of mere food, it is true the Tortola planter employs little capital, but then the demand is so limited, that he can find no sale for such articles, and he leaves that little profit to his slaves, whom, from his poverty, he cannot reward in any other manner. The free Africans having entered upon the supply of some of these articles formerly furnished by the slaves, naturally have interfered with their gains, and have doubtless, to a certain degree, lessened them, causing that enmity which is seen between them and the poor slaves.

It was easy for the feudal slave-owner in England to commute the personal labour of the slave for the portion of *food*, or other produce, which the villein *regardant* could obtain from the soil; because we see, from the history of the period, that wages and the expense of subsistence for labourers nearly equalled each. Even without the aid of capital, in a climate where *steady* labour was less painful than in a hot one, the slightest degree of extra exertion of the villein regardant, turned the scale of interest in favour of his holding the ground he cultivated, upon the tenure of paying part of the produce of his own voluntary labour, instead of giving his own personal exertions, under the influence of coercion.

Under these circumstances, as the wants and comforts of social civilization were extended, and as knowledge enabled men to supersede the necessity of their own labour by using machinery, in the same degree did the coerced labour of the villein *en gros* become less necessary, since all the object of gain could be obtained more easily by requiring a *material production* from the labourer, instead of his personal exertions; and such would be the case in Tortola even, if fresh fish, grass and firewood could be profitably exported to Great Britain: the same thing would result if any article could be produced not requiring *steady* industry; grapes, for example, which when once planted do not require to be annually renewed. But on this supposition, or the production of silk, oil, &c. it would require first to be ascertained if the climate and soil would be favourable to these productions; and here again the present poverty of the white proprietors of the soil, and the want of credit, would oblige them to depend on government for the loan of the capital necessary to enable them to try, by experiments, whether favourable results would arise from this change of cultivation, or by any other measure of a like nature, which would enable the planter to receive the results of the labour of the slave on the soil to be allotted to him, instead of coercing the personal labour of his slave in producing with the conjoint aid of expensive machinery an article which is now raised so much cheaper, in colonies more favourably situated, and having labour cheaper, by carrying on the slave trade, at the same time that they have also all the advantages of improved machinery, from their being better able to purchase such means of increasing production.

The difficulty consists in finding what kind of cultivation, and what intensity of labour, the slave, working *irregularly*, will voluntarily give to obtain a small compensation, over and above his subsistence, to pay his master in return for the use of his ground. In the feudal times of England there was no difficulty of this kind, when the labour of the slave became of little value, as it is in Tortola. This depreciation of the value of the labour of the slave in Tortola, working *steadily*, must have a great influence on the value of the labour of the liberated Africans, working *irregularly*, and yet obtaining subsistence, whilst, even if they were induced to work steadily, they could not obtain any great portion of wealth for their own use, and consequently never can hope to obtain those enjoyments of social civilization, the use of which in time it is hoped, might induce them voluntarily to persevere

severe in habits of steady industry in that climate, and, in their state of population, to obtain those comforts which, when enjoyed in a moral manner, constitutes the state of moral and social civilization. Whatever may be the result elsewhere, the prospects of success in Tortola are not encouraging, at present, for we see on the average profits on stock, that the owners of the slaves of the two sugar plantations in Tortola made less than one and a half per cent on their joint capitals; therefore, although their ruin may be near, yet the liberated Africans succeeding to the cultivation of the same productions, cannot hope for even that low profit on raising articles for sale in the parent state. Under such circumstances the first impression is, surprise that the capitalists should persist in holding such property; and it appears probable that they cannot continue to hold it, when circumstances shall arise which, by diminishing the efficiency of the labour now coerced, or by increasing the cost of production, shall render it impossible for the white capitalist to continue the cultivation of sugar or cotton on soil situated like that of Tortola. The white capitalist must then sink into ruin, whilst he is seen at present to exist upon profits on stock so very little, because as yet he produces more than he consumes, and as yet he is enabled to raise an article which has a value in the parent state. Indigo and ginger could be produced by the outlay of less capital than sugar, but both these articles require *steady* industry, which the free negroes will not give: they do raise a little cotton, which requires the outlay of little capital, and does not require so much steady labour as sugar, but the quantity of cotton raised is very little indeed; they, perhaps, would raise more coffee and cocoa, but the soil will not produce these trees, as a profitable kind of cultivation.

The white landlord in Tortola is not able, as in England, when the land will no longer yield wheat at the market price, to turn his soil to the production of some other article requiring less expense than wheat. The capital of the English landlord may still afford him profit on stock, though not in the cultivation of wheat. Whatever the land in England can produce beyond what the expense of producing it may be, affords a profit, because the produce of the land finds a market in England itself, where density of population, and subdivision of labour, gives an immediate exchangeable value to the productions of the different classes of labourers: in short a very advanced stage of moral and social civilization characterize the community; but that civilization was the slow growth of centuries. Some men however are seen, who vainly hope to produce the same state in a few years in Tortola, without considering the force of those physical circumstances which oppose the success of their wishes.

The considerations which I have submitted, are necessary to understand how the liberated Africans are likely to be placed, when they will be found as competitors with whites, with slaves, and free creole blacks, in gaining their subsistence by the only kind of industry on which all must then depend, viz. in cultivating provisions, and in appropriating the bounteous productions of nature in the sea and woods to their use, in which the liberated Africans, as yet, have had a free right to partake; for it does not appear that any one ever paid a farthing of rent for the land he occupied or used for cutting wood, grass, &c. Then will come these violent contentions and struggles among men of different races, in a country even now too poor to support a regular police,* and the liberated Africans, being the least numerous, will probably be obliged to run away from Tortola to the foreign colonies, where their freedom may not be more respected than in other cases, where some of them have been sold into that state of slavery from which Great Britain had redeemed them at a very great expense. Indeed I learn, that already the

* As there was a police act for Tortola, it may require some explanation to understand why an efficient police will not be continued: in slave colonies the master establishes his own police for his own slaves, but the laws alone can establish a police for free persons like the liberated African and creole free negroes. The country is now too poor, *i. e.* so little wealth having exchangeable value is now created in the colony, that they cannot support an efficient police establishment, as is shown in the Appendix, F. (3). Yet this colony does not cost the parent state one farthing for its military defence or civil government. It has expended from its own funds 65,578 *l.* for its own protection, and paid 134,078 *l.* sterling to the crown, in four and a half per cent duty alone; but the relative value of the colony, in this respect, is evidently decreasing, (Appendix, E. (2.)), notwithstanding the very great increase of free black and coloured inhabitants which has taken place in that colony.

greatest number of the liberated Africans, as they are enabled to get away, immediately leave Tortola, and go to the foreign colonies, where more wealth being created than in Tortola, the Africans stand a better chance of getting a share, by such industry as they may feel inclined to exercise *occasionally*.

The proprietor of slaves in Tortola, however, from the want of commercial demand for other articles, cannot easily change his cultivation of sugar notwithstanding its low profits on stock, in order to employ the labour of his slaves in the cultivation of provisions merely, or the cutting of firewood, grass, and catching fish, &c.

The production of such articles as those last mentioned employs only an unskilled kind of labour, requiring little or no capital beyond a hatchet, cutlass, a fish-hook or a net. It is, strictly speaking, that kind of appropriative industry, in which man does little but gather the bounties of nature, whenever it may suit his indolence to put forth his hand for the purpose; it is however the kind of industry natural to man, in a certain degree of social civilization, and where population exists in a low degree, with reference to this natural kind of wealth which can be so easily appropriated. We see this in one form in Hayti, in another among the free negroes at Surinam, and in a third in Tortola; but it still is the same principle in action. In the lowlands of the torrid zone, *steady* labour in the sun is a great toil to be endured from the operation of a physical cause: repose in the shade is one of the greatest pleasures from the operation of the same causes. If the pleasure to be obtained by the reward paid to labour be not greater, than the pleasure enjoyed in repose, any *steady* voluntary exertion cannot fairly be expected; at least no act of parliament, or order in council, that I have seen, offers any inducement to make the liberated African adopt the choice, which, under similar circumstances, is said to have been made by Hercules; and even for this historical fact, we have only the authority of a beautiful apologue, but which is not more beautiful than many elegant addresses to the feelings, which I have read on the same subject, causing me often to doubt whether or not my reason had been misled, by some imperfection, on my part, in using the means of observation which had been within my power.

If the planters of Tortola were to employ their slaves generally on such kinds of appropriative industry as cutting firewood, grass, and catching fish, they would immediately overstock the market in the colony, where there would be more producers than consumers of articles, which could not be exported, with profit, to the parent state. Even the demand of foreign colonies would be very trifling, as we see from page 337 of the schedules, that Tortola itself imported some articles of food, such as plantains, corn, hogs and turkeys, from Porto Rico, a Spanish island; consequently Porto Rico in such articles could supply the Danish island of St. Thomas on cheaper terms than could be done by Tortola; inasmuch as when the productions of Tortola are to find a market abroad, the profit on stock must depend on the cost of production compared with the price; and as labour is the greatest element of value in the price of these articles exported from Tortola, the expense of labour among competitors is the most important object of inquiry. In the West Indies, where slavery exists, the expense is calculated chiefly by the cost of subsisting the slave labourer, to which is added the interest on his own cost, and risk attendant on that kind of property; and in all of these respects the neighbouring foreign islands have great advantages over the British island of Tortola.

Data on these points indeed vary in British islands, as well as in many other local circumstances, affecting the profit on stock. In Barbados for example, the cultivation of sugar is more profitable than in Tortola, from the facilities afforded for manuring its soil; so that in one of the oldest settled islands in the West Indies for many years past the crops have rather increased than decreased; yet fifty years ago the soil of Guiana was transported as a manure to Barbados, on the authority of Dr. Bancroft, who stated to me more particulars of the fact than is given by Dr. Robertson in his History of America, vol. 2, page 366. In Tortola, an island more recently settled and cultivated, and where the natural soil in many parts is richer than in Barbados, we find the crops regularly decreasing. The cane land in many parts on the sides of hills, consists of dry walls of stone in a kind of series of small terraces, on each of which the cane is planted; it is obvious neither plough nor carts in such a locality can ease the labour of man to any great degree, and hence the greater number of days labour, or intensity of human exertion required to produce a given quantity of sugar in Tortola than in other colonies, where the localities admit of means

means, not only to increase the fertility of the soil with less labour, but also to collect the produce of that labour with a less degree of human exertion. In both cases steady and regular exertion, however moderate, is necessary, and *that steady exertion*, man whether white or black in certain circumstances, and in certain degrees of civilization, will not generally give; and specifically it has never yet been given by the free negroe in Tortola, although numbers of negroes have been emancipated there by benevolent individuals many years ago, for I have seen children of the third generation; yet these persons seemed to me to be moral quiet people, and their progress in moral civilization had reached the point, when physical obstacles opposed the further progress in social civilization, under all the circumstances which surrounded them.

I have shown in Tortola that production and consumption have approached that point, where the expense of the latter nearly equalled that of the former. If an unfavourable season or hurricane should arrive in a fertile soil, annually producing a much greater portion of wealth than was employed in its production, the evil would be restored by mere accumulation, and diminished comforts for a few subsequent seasons; but in soils where the industry of man must be aided by machinery and capital in advance during a bad year, the circumstances that destroy credit, whatever they may be, also destroy production, by withholding from the efforts of labourers the means necessary to give due efficiency to their exertions. Although the whole of the West Indies have suffered deeply from causes which have diminished commercial credit, the old English colonies like Tortola, have suffered most; indeed Tortola rapidly approaches that period when in her case it will be realized, that her productions will have a less exchangeable value in Europe than the amount of European capital which is now invested in production; although Tortola and other colonies have returned to England many times the full value of any British capital that ever had been invested in it, together with most ample profits on stock, as may be inferred from the value of the imports into the parent state so much exceeding the exports to Tortola. But as such a state of things cannot continue long, and as every year may throw some portion of land out of cultivation in Tortola, I draw from it another argument for the removal of the liberated Africans; unless on the ruin of the white race, who cannot labour, government should feel it proper to try some experiment in such a colony to change the cultivation, by supplying the necessary capital which now cannot come from any other source, on account of the causes which have destroyed private or commercial credit, whilst the act for the abolition of the slave trade confines the Tortola capitalist and his slaves to a soil which cannot be profitably cultivated, and at the same time prevents their removal to other regions more fertile; so that after a period which may not be remote, as regards Tortola, the scene will be closed, and the doom fixed of the English race of men in that island.

Mr. Reynold's of Porto Rico, in page 145 of the schedules, declared positively, respecting the support of a healthy man about nineteen years of age in Porto Rico, "that according to his knowledge of the expense of supporting a person in his (Thomas Acquabia's) situation, it would not exceed 3*d.* a day, including "clothes."

If therefore any planter in Tortola should wish to hire the liberated Africans to raise produce having exchangeable value in Europe, the planter in order to obtain a moderate profit on his stock, consisting of land, machinery, and his own services, could not afford to give much more wages than the expenses of subsistence, at which the neighbouring Spaniard procured the labour used by himself to cultivate *a more fertile soil*, and from which he raised similar articles for sale in foreign countries. Even in Demarara, an English colony for example, only 206 days slave labour aided by superior machinery, and greater fertility of soil, produced as much sugar as required 653 days labour in Tortola. The quantum of wages therefore is effectually limited in Tortola from foreign and British competition in the production of articles having exchangeable value in Europe.

The rate of profit, so far as it is regulated by the cost of production, *when other things are equal, must be greatest when labour and subsistence are cheapest.* In the neighbouring island of Porto Rico the subsistence of a slave was about 3*d.* sterling a day, which must govern the rate of profit of Tortola, on the production of articles sent by the two islands to the *neighbouring foreign colony*; and the articles sent to England must be regulated by similar circumstances respecting
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Demarara, having a fertile soil, so that to afford any profit on stock to the planter in Tortola, it must follow that the wages of steady labour generally, must be as low as in any other British West India colony; indeed wages here have approached perhaps nearer to that point when the labour of the slave is of the least value to the master, than in any of the other West India islands, except Anguilla, and perhaps the Bahamas, where the climate is better; yet in Tortola we have not seen the liberated Africans give their labour *steadily* for any wages, under the action of such stimulus to habits of industry, as could effect this object under the actual state of the colony; on the contrary here, as elsewhere, they are found following the general rule, as to the neglect of *steady* labour; we find them working, perhaps, a little more than in a very fertile country, in order to obtain subsistence, and a moderate scale of comforts, which when obtained, the physical causes of climate, density of population, &c. &c. come into action, which make repose in the shade a greater pleasure than the enjoyment of such extra comforts, as require the sacrifice of repose to obtain them. When, therefore, circumstances shall make the rate of wages still less in Tortola, it is not reasonable, whilst subsistence can be so easily procured, that the habits of industry will be increased, while the wages are diminished. My examination of this subject confirms the inference drawn by Mr. Brougham, when he says: "But the most indolent of men if pushed into activity for the advantage of others, will naturally continue their exertions *at least for a time*, when they are themselves to reap the fruits of the additional toil; and the voluntary labour for their own profit, during the little interval of liberty may become tolerable, by forming a contrast to the unrepaid and compulsory fatigues in which by far the greatest part of their lives are spent."

In confirmation of this, we find the liberated Africans, when masters of their own time during every day in the week, at the end of the year in no respect more wealthy, or more comfortably settled, or more civilized than the ordinary class of industrious slaves who have only a few days in the year allowed to them to labour for themselves, nor do the poor whites who cannot work appear to *greater* advantage.

The slave pushed into activity, and by coercion made to labour for the benefit of others, continues that exertion "*at least for a time*" in working for his own benefit. The liberated African under no coercion, but working for his own benefit during the whole year, contrives to produce only the same results, and sometimes less, as to the creation of wealth by labour, which the slave had accomplished for himself in the few days allowed him for that purpose. The sole difference is, that the liberated African during the year has enjoyed for a much longer period the luxury of repose in a warm climate. Up to a certain point, circumstances urged both of these classes of persons to exert their voluntary labour, but no acquired habits of industry induced either of them to continue that voluntary exertion for any considerable time after the subsistence, and moderate comforts, had been obtained, with the view of creating and accumulating wealth, to better their own condition and those of their families. Whenever the free negro became enabled to purchase a slave, his accumulation of wealth by slave labour followed the general law, as regards whites.

To expect voluntary, steady, continuous, and moderate industry in the lowlands of the torrid zone, such as is seen in England, to follow from merely a certain training to industry, appears to me contrary to that historical experience from which we can derive real practical views of the principles which operate on human nature, in showing those causes which influence the steady industry of mankind in a backward state of knowledge and civilization, and placed under such circumstances as I have so often mentioned.

Habits of industry doubtless are of great effect in England, by rendering labour easy to the workman, in a climate where toil is attended with less pain, from physical causes; and because the toil of labour is diminished by the facility acquired in executing it, and which, perhaps, can only be obtained by habits of industry.

But in the torrid zone, where steady labour in the sun is painful from the physical influence of heat, time cannot altogether remove the pain felt, though it prepares the bodies of some men to endure it; no dexterity in the use of tools can diminish the heat of the sun's rays, and at the end of forty years, as at the end of four months, the pleasure of repose in the shade is found to be most powerful in diminishing the voluntary steady industry of free men in the low lands of the torrid zone, where population bears a low ratio to wealth, &c.

In Tortola we see that the black man, or even the black woman, who can obtain an axe to cut firewood, has the means of obtaining subsistence by an irregular kind of labour, which will allow the greater part of their time to be spent in the enjoyment of repose.

In Tortola fresh fish is so abundant as to sell in the town market for $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound; whilst turtle, and American salt fish equally cost $6d.$ per pound, forming one fifth part of the price of the same quantity of salt butter from Ireland; sweet potatoes sell in the market for three farthings the pound, and plantains, the bread of the continent of tropical South America, at $1\frac{1}{4}d.$ the pound; in this, the very poorest of the British West India islands, except Anguilla, the abundance of fresh fish and firewood tend to impede the civilization of the liberated Africans: because wealth beyond a limited degree, cannot be created by the production of articles, for which when there is no demand, the motive to produce them ceases. Hence we see how idle it is to hope, that the slave-holder, who cannot profitably raise articles having an exchangeable value in Europe, will be able profitably to change his cultivation, and raise articles for which he has no demand in the colony.

The practical philanthropist can experience no difficulty in understanding, that the formation of habits of industry must needs precede any progress in social civilization; but this information does not help him to a knowledge of the practical facts, showing how these habits have been formed among men in a backward state of knowledge and civilization, in communities formed like our West India colonies, with respect to population, wealth, means of subsistence, &c.

We have the history of the world from the earliest authentic records, to afford us some information. Men also are now alive who have had experience in the business, in giving habits of industry to men in a backward state of knowledge and civilization; and there are others, like myself, who have observed the results, and for many years have directed the labour of such men, under all the different degrees of civilization to be expected among labouring men.

It appears to me impossible to make any rapid or reasonable progress in promoting the permanent happiness and civilization of a people in a backward state of knowledge in the torrid zone, without coercing their labour for their own benefit in all cases where population bears a low ratio to the extent of a country having fertile land unoccupied, or where the means of subsistence can be obtained by a much smaller period of exertion, than is represented by the working days in the year.

I have carefully perused all the acts of parliament and orders in council on this point, up to the order in council of the 19th July 1825, and they all appear to me ill calculated to obtain the end which I presume they were intended to accomplish.

In the last order in council, the first regulation in it not only adheres to the old plan of apprenticeship, which has so decidedly failed, but as regards new indentures, the last order in council prescribes an adherence "as nearly as the circumstances will admit," to such and the same form as is prescribed or adopted in, under, or by virtue of any order or orders in council heretofore made for, or in relation to the apprenticing of any persons as aforesaid, in any of His Majesty's said colonies or plantations.

The defects of such a system I have endeavoured to explain in this, and in the first part of my Report. I also observe that the power of the person to whom the apprentice is to be indented, is to be regulated by the laws of England, respecting the relation of master and apprentice. I cannot understand how this can practically and usefully be enforced in countries where the apprentice laws of England are not in force, and where there is no analogy between people like the captured negroes and the apprentices of England, who may be bound to learn trades in a climate and amidst a people in a state of civilization so very different from that of the Africans, as has been already well observed by the law officers of the crown.

Nothing but disappointment and expense are likely to arise from the continuation of such regulations. Men are not so pliant and ductile, when in an uncivilized state in the strength of manhood, as children in England are, at the ages when they are usually indented; nor are men in an uncivilized state so capable of improvement in civilization as children in England, who from their infancy have been under the restraints of a civilized life. We are liable to error when we act as if we believed that man
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in an uncivilized state has a strong sense of his defects, and is so conscious of the necessity for his improvement, that he will voluntarily adopt all our plans for that purpose, or that he will readily submit to those restraints, which are easily imposed on a child, or young person in England, when indented as an apprentice.

I have elsewhere endeavoured to show, that even previous habits of industry have only a weak effect in securing continuous and *steady* voluntarily labour among such men as the liberated Africans in Tortola, under the circumstances in which that island is placed.

I shall now proceed to consider the effect of christian instruction, which I have ever regarded as the basis of the best means for civilizing mankind, although I am well aware that India, China, Egypt, Greece and Rome attained certain higher or lower degrees of social civilization without its influence.

Perhaps any system of religion will have a good effect, provided it has the power to enforce obligations with respect to rules of conduct, and cause private property to be respected. But it is precisely in these respects that Christianity acts with a power so great and beneficent, in addition to advantages of a spiritual kind.

It would, perhaps, in this age of the world, be assuming too much to suppose that such a being as man could overcome the physical obstacles to the social civilization and improvement of *his* fellow creatures, which I have shown to be in action in the torrid zone, by any other means *than natural causes*.

The steady labour of man himself, creating wealth for his own use, is the natural power most calculated to overcome the obstacles opposed to our wishes.

There are different modes of obtaining the steady labour of man; it may be obtained by a coercion arising from a state of slavery, or by the institution of caste, or from the necessity to obtain subsistence. One of these varieties of coercion operates by the application of brute force, inflicting a degree of pain, the dread of which induces man to encounter the lesser pain of steady labour.

The institution of caste, by degrading the labourer in his own eyes, ends in all the evils of slavery, as to the mode of enforcing steady labour, if necessity alone, in long settled countries like India, should not effect the purpose. Caste being the result of religious belief, cannot be changed, but by influencing the religious belief of an entire people. The stimulus of necessity as inducing men to labour, can scarcely be called voluntary industry, where the labourer has no choice between it, and starvation; yet the law of necessity is justly looked upon with more complacency than either of the others, because hope constantly inspires the human breast with the belief that the urgent motive of necessity may one day be lessened; and because it is generally accompanied by that density of population, which tends to increase the intellectual powers of mankind in devising plans to diminish the pressure of evils which act generally on a community.

The liberated African is not practically placed in any one of these three positions, and yet he is influenced by some of the evils of each.

The value of the labour of slaves, subsisted at a small expense, governs the reward of the African apprentice, when he works for a master; whilst his employer has not that interest in his efficiency for labour, and his good state of health, which is felt for the slave, who, in all cases, is more likely to remain the property of the master.

The colour, form and feature of the liberated Africans being so different from the whites, acts as effectually in preventing a virtuous union between the sexes of the two races, as if the institution of castes had been enacted by law. The necessity of labouring to obtain subsistence imposes on free negroes in the West Indies, who have no capital, a certain number of days exertion in the year to obtain that subsistence; which being considerably less than the number of working days in the year, a great portion of their time is spent in enjoying the pleasures of repose. In proportion as the liberated Africans became competitors in irregular modes of industry with the free creoles and the slaves, the value of such productions became less, from an increased supply without an increased demand; therefore even the slaves join the poor whites, and the creole free negroes, in hating the poor Africans when free; because the exertion of the liberated Africans to obtain subsistence has lessened the efficiency of the exertions of the other classes, by making such part of the produce of their labour as they sold less valuable, or by obliging them to work a greater number of days in the year, at the sacrifice of so much time, withdrawn from their repose.

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In a country so poor as Tortola, religious instruction alone can practically reach such passions as are thus brought into action, or can in any degree lessen their power.

And as neither the institution of slavery nor caste can be recommended, we can only seize upon that kind of coercion which arises from necessity to obtain subsistence, or any thing else which may be desirable, as increased comforts, &c. &c.

But these comforts cannot be obtained unless by wealth, and wealth can only be obtained by steady labour; to enforce which we must use persuasion, accompanied by a degree of coercion, which will be so far different from that of the slave, that in every case the liberated African must be able to perceive, that his own advantage, and increased comfort, is the object to be obtained by the coercion to which he may be exposed.

No man will use harsh or troublesome means of coercion, when the object can be accomplished by those of a more mild, and more easy nature, and where the person entrusted with the power of coercion, will have no interest in the brutal or rigorous exercise of it. If under such a treatment as that last mentioned, a proper effect should not be produced, then after an inquiry founded on impartial justice, in the opinion of persons of the same class as the labourer, measures more harsh must be adopted, from the necessity of the case, always preferring confinement and low diet to corporal punishment.

But the mind of the liberated African must be so far enlightened, as to perceive when a case of necessity may arise for this coercion, either in his own person, or in that of a comrade; and this can only be accomplished by religious instruction, tending, among other objects, ultimately to enable themselves to arrange their respective capacities for active exertion into a plan, or system of conduct, with reference to their christian duties, instead of leaving such a plan to custom and chance.

For this purpose the power of conscience must be awakened in the human breast; a sentinel that sleeps not, when the laws of man are found to slumber on their guard.

I am well aware how easy it is to recommend the adoption of such measures as will apparently produce the effects intended, as in the case of habits of industry; but I am equally well aware of the difficulty in carrying them into practical effect.

On fully considering the question, I am induced, along with other means, strongly to recommend religious instruction, from the success which I have observed to result from it in subduing the force of those passions which lead to violence, dishonesty, falsehood, drunkenness, &c. among uncivilized men; but I must also honestly add, that it has not fallen to my lot among such men, to observe the same powerful effects in inducing them to encounter physical obstacles to the formation of habits of steady industry, in those kinds of labour which required a reasonable degree of *steady* personal exertion under a tropical sun.

This circumstance, however, does not damp my hopes, that such a stimulus as religious instruction may, with other means, contribute to induce the liberated African in time voluntarily to endure the pain caused by those physical obstacles to the exercise of steady labour, which at present he cannot be made to encounter, without that degree of coercion which destroys the character of free agency.

That man, indeed, must be very unfit to controul the labour of others, who would resort to coercive measures of brute force, until the moral influence of rewards and persuasions had failed. On the other hand, those pious men err who hope to promote the moral improvement of mankind in a backward state of knowledge and civilization, if they do not, at the same time, use adequate means to improve the social civilization of such men as the liberated Africans; and this can only be accomplished by habits of steady industry, and labour employed in the creation of wealth.

In discussing points relative to the operation of moral and physical causes, I feel the propriety of not needlessly quoting the sacred volume; but for a practical illustration, I may be pardoned for referring to the first miracle performed by the Saviour of mankind, when, at a marriage feast, he promoted the cheerful hilarity of the guests by increasing their social enjoyments, even in the use of a wine of a superior quality.

It will, I believe, ever be found necessary to ensure success, that the social enjoyments of mankind, particularly in their uncivilized state, should be increased, to induce them to contribute to their own social improvement. This can only be done by means of the labour of man himself properly directed; and therefore, he must be *made to labour steadily*, when ordinary rewards and persuasion fail to procure voluntary exertion; here religion, it is to be hoped, will greatly assist, by subduing those passions which lead to vicious and intemperate excesses; it is by this means that religion also aids in forming those habits which may tend to accumulate wealth, from which productive capital arises; from this capital being properly employed, the degree of painful exertion encountered by men in labour is diminished by the use of machinery, whilst the labour of man himself is made more efficient in the production of wealth, contributing to social enjoyments by the more intelligent use of those natural agents which have been placed under the power of man by the Deity, who also has given him reason to direct him how to use them. Hence I draw the inference that it is necessary to give religious knowledge to the liberated African, in order to subdue the power of certain passions; and whilst his weak reasoning powers are cultivated, he must at the same time be *obliged* to endure the pain of moderate *steady* industry, by sacrificing his natural love of indolence, for which he will be rewarded by enjoying the results of his own labour, until such time as he can be safely trusted to the free, and unfettered exercise of all his physical and cultivated moral powers.

In tracing the operation of causes producing effects in improving the social civilization of mankind in the torrid zone, or regions bordering thereon, the mind is struck by certain historical facts; for example, on the discovery of a new world in America, those nations were found to have made the greatest progress in social civilization wherein a part of the inhabitants were coerced to labour. Respecting Peru, we learn: "But, though the institutions of the Incas were so framed as to strengthen the bonds of affection among their subjects, there was great inequality in their condition. The distinction of ranks was fully established in Peru. A great body of the inhabitants, under the denomination of *Yanaconas*, were held in a state of servitude. Their garb and houses were of a form different from those of freemen. Like the *Tamenes* of Mexico, they were employed in carrying burdens, and in performing every other work of drudgery." Robertson's History of America, vol. 3, p. 339.

Of Mexico it is said, "The distinction of ranks established in the Mexican empire is the next circumstance that merits attention. In surveying the savage tribes of America, we observed, that consciousness of equality, and impatience of subordination, are sentiments natural to man in the infancy of civil life. During peace, the authority of a superior is hardly felt among them, and even in war it is but little acknowledged. Strangers to the idea of property, the difference in condition, resulting from the inequality of it is unknown. Birth or titles confer no pre-eminence; it is only by personal merit and accomplishments that distinction can be acquired. The form of society was very different among the Mexicans. The great body of the people was in a most humiliating state. A considerable number, known by the name of *Mayeques*, nearly resembling in condition those peasants who, under various denominations, were considered, during the prevalence of the feudal system, as instruments of labour attached to the soil. The *Mayeques* could not change their place of residence without permission of the superior on whom they depended. They were conveyed, together with the lands on which they were settled, from one proprietor to another, and were bound to cultivate the ground, and to perform several kinds of servile work. Others were reduced to the lowest form of subjection, that of domestic servitude, and felt the utmost rigour of that wretched state. Their condition was held to be so vile, and their lives deemed to be of so little value, that a person who killed one of these slaves was not subjected to any punishment." Robertson's History of America, vol. 3, p. 287.

In some of the former Spanish provinces of America, I found the greatest difference between the progress of social civilization in the cooler regions of the higher lands, and the sultry plains of the lowlands of the torrid zone, yet these were all subject to the same laws; in all of them the same system of religious instruction prevailed; and at that time it appeared to me to be addressed more to the imagination than the reason, but as it still was the same kind of instruction, I could not find in

it alone, the cause of that difference observed between the progress made in the social civilization of mankind in these different localities and climates, where certain physical obstacles of greater or less power decidedly were in action, as well as defective civil institutions; indeed the last causes were, like the system of religious instruction, common to all the localities, though each exhibited different intensities of exertion, as generally performed by the voluntary free labourer: the inhabitants of the low and hot districts being the most indolent.

In another part of this new world, in a climate favourable for the personal labour of the descendants of Englishmen, it also appeared to me, that social civilization, virtue, and knowledge, were not merely firmly planted, but at this moment are spreading far and wide their branches, extending even to Asia, the birth place of christianity. Yet among these men, the descendants of Englishmen, we see climate and local circumstances receiving their due consideration, by those practical statesmen, who are most anxious to promote the liberty and happiness of mankind, and the welfare of their own country.

In those parts of the torrid zone in Asia, where moderate steady labour is found as a characteristic of social civilization, a pure system of religion appears to have little influence in the formation of steady habits of industry. Doubtless the first causes were that kind of coercion which arises from slavery, or the institution of caste, both of which have the effect of separating the enjoyment of wealth from the painful exertion necessary to create it. But were these causes of steady labour less in action than they are, we find in those countries where most steady industry is found, as for example in China and Hindoostan, that population exists in a degree so great, with relation to the wealth which employs them, that the stimulus of necessity to obtain subsistence is in such powerful action as to enforce the same duration of industry which is seen in England. On the authority of Mr. Bayley, late judge and chief magistrate in Burdwan in the government of Bengal, we have in the Asiatic Researches a statistical paper, from which it appears, that 600 persons on an average inhabit each square mile, which far exceeds the population of England, whose wealth also is much greater, *cæteris paribus*, than in Bengal.

Those districts of Africa which were nearest to the birth place of the arts of social civilization, have remained stationery for centuries in all those acquirements which distinguish man as a human and intellectual being. Nor have we authentic accounts of the arts of Egypt having ascended the Nile, *far into the torrid zone*, nor those of Carthage making any very great impression on the black races of men who inhabited districts adjoining the southern part of that republic. Even in those cases which have been presented to us, during a period of time reckoned by thousands of years, the progress of civilization in the torrid zone appears to have been stationery; whilst the very country in which we live has passed through all the stages of moral and social civilization.

The religion of Christ, and social civilization, were established in northern Africa by the zeal of the earlier missionaries of christianity, yet it failed in permanently establishing itself in the torrid zone, as history sufficiently proves.

I am well aware many moral causes can be assigned for such effects, as must be obvious to all who reflect. But were there not also some *physical* causes in action at the same time? and do we not even observe in America, Asia, and Africa, similar physical causes in action, where the same effect is seen as to steady labour? whilst of the moral causes which may be assigned for the effect seen in one place, I have not been able to perceive the operation of the same causes, where the same effect on steady labour was produced in other places, under circumstances nearly equal in other respects. Therefore in cases where physical causes are seen to be always in action, and the moral causes frequently modified, I deem it just reasoning to conclude, that the physical causes which influenced steady labour in the torrid zone are amongst the most uniform and most powerful in their effect, although as far as I can learn, they appear hitherto to have received very little consideration, from those most desirous to promote the social civilization and moral improvement of Africa.

As long as a subject so important is thus imperfectly investigated, it is impossible to prevent disappointment in the success of plans for promoting the welfare and civilization of a people in a backward state of knowledge in the torrid zone.

The natural consequence of imperfect investigations as to the force of disturbing causes, must needs be, that error and delusion, which even the better feelings of our nature, (when reason is not allowed to be heard), enable us and induce us to propagate among a community at a great distance from the places where alone the facts can be observed; for with the mass of mankind, the want of accurate information does not always prevent the formation of strong opinions, more especially in matters where they can trust to the opinions of others, without incurring the risk of any loss to themselves from the consequences of error.

It is only under a state of circumstances like these, that the unfortunate Africans never have been treated like the other inhabitants of this world. At one time their capacity to endure labour in the agriculture of the torrid zone led to the coercion of their labour to increase the wealth of others under the sanction of the British government. Perhaps to avoid such consequences, they are now considered as influenced by motives, which in no period of the world ever did influence any considerable body of human beings to promote their own social civilization, and moral improvement in the torrid zone, and in a community where population bears a low ratio to the wealth and the means by which subsistence can be procured.

It would be utterly impossible for me to come to any useful conclusion, if I adopted any system for the liberated Africans, in opposition to my own experience and observations, with a view to please any person.

It was necessary for me to consider the various modes which had been taken to influence steady habits of industry, and the result thereof in those countries where the liberated Africans now are. The opinions of eminent persons holding opposite sentiments, bearing directly upon my own plan, have obliged me to accumulate observations or facts to justify my own inferences, in order that your lordship may from them select such as may appear best calculated to influence the adoption of practical measures, but which in my own judgment can only be done satisfactorily on the spot, where the liberated Africans are to be settled, wherever that place may be.

As to the place where they ought to be located, as I have always preferred the expression of my own opinions in the words of others, merely to show that I was not singular in my opinion, I shall on this occasion use the words of Prince Talleyrand, a person whose judgment and tact of placing men in their right places to accomplish a given purpose, few men will dispute, whatever they may think of the object to be obtained.

“ There is a further truth,” says he, “ which we should not endeavour to conceal. The question, so injudiciously agitated, respecting the liberty of the negroes, whatever may be the remedy which wisdom may bring for the evils which have been the result of it, will introduce sooner or later a new system in the cultivation of the colonial products. It is politic to be beforehand with these great changes: and the first idea which offers itself to the mind, that which brings with it the greatest number of favourable suppositions, appears to be, to attempt this cultivation in those very places where the cultivator is born”—in Africa.

Your lordship is aware that the late Lieut.-General Sir James Leith felt a great interest respecting the future welfare of these liberated Africans, and that he did not approve of the system adopted by the orders in council with regard to them.

Foreseeing all the evils that have arisen from the system, he was anxious to provide for them in an island where their *steady* industry could be enforced for their own advantage, and where their industry would not come into local competition with the *irregular* industry of slaves, whites, or free coloured people, unless free persons of any colour should wish to settle in the island where slavery was not to be permitted, unless a regulated servitude for a fixed term of years may be so called.

Of this island, as your lordship knows, I was sent to take possession, and I was farther directed to survey certain harbours, and report on the resources thereof, with the special object in view of settling the Africans thereon.

This idea of a separate island for the settlement of the liberated Africans was founded on those enlarged and benevolent views which distinguished the character
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of the mind of a man under whom it was my happiness and delight to serve, before even I was honoured with his particular favour and confidence. The difficulty felt was in the creation of a due degree of sympathy between different portions of a community, differing from each other in national origin, degrees of social civilization, and above all, in those physical qualities in colour, form, feature and peculiar smell from the body, which it is in vain to deny or conceal the fact, have a decided influence in preventing the virtuous union of the sexes of the different races of men, and by that means amalgamating the whole into one social community. This can never be hoped for between the whites and the blacks in the West Indies, unless the destruction or annihilation of the whites as in Haiti may hereafter be considered as a proof that they have been amalgamated. Lust and avarice certainly will help the amalgamation ; but were these causes even such as statesmen could approve, their efficiency would be very small with reference to the large mass of slaves, and would chiefly act by creating another race as difficult to manage, as has been experienced in the eastern states of North America. How many generations of men must disappear from the earth before such a measure can be accomplished? In such projects nature is too strong for man, and the weaker race must perish in the struggle.

As the island fixed upon by the late Lieut.-General Sir James Leith was claimed by foreign powers, I need not farther notice its peculiar fitness for the object intended.

After many years reflection, my subsequent observations tend to confirm me in the opinion, that an island not too large, on the coast of Africa, would be the most favourable locality, if that island selected by the late Lieut.-General Sir James Leith cannot be obtained, to try the experiment upon, previous to its adoption on a large scale, to promote the social civilization and moral improvement of Africa.

With what success the extension of *steady* industry has been employed, in increasing the productive powers of the soil in the torrid zone of Africa, under the British government, it would be useless to inquire, since the official imports and exports show the result ; but this does not diminish my hopes of future success, if an island could be occupied whose soil and climate should be favourable to the constitutions of those Africans who had resided some time in the West Indies.

It would be on an island that density of population, with reference to fertility of the soil, or other natural resources, could be the soonest established in a favourable ratio, and, in time, thus render any other coercion unnecessary, than that which may arise from the stimulus of necessity to obtain subsistence, and the desire to better their condition, influencing a people living under good laws, and receiving religious instruction and knowledge, teaching them in what manner they can most profitably employ their respective physical or intellectual powers in promoting their own happiness.

When such a community has been formed in Africa, the enterprising part of it will, as occasions offer, carry their knowledge and acquirements among their less civilized countrymen on the continent, and recommend among the native chiefs that system of promoting civilization, whose effects they themselves, or their children, may witness by visiting such a British colony, and having, their children brought up to habits of skilled labour, as well as religious instruction.

If it should be thought that all these effects can be, or already are provided on the continent of Africa, I would submit that on a continent where the inhabitants living on a small portion of it are in a backward state of knowledge, that the difficulty of enforcing habits of *steady* industry even for their own benefit, will be greatly increased from the facility afforded to the labourer of withdrawing from the community where a restraint is to be put on his labour, of which he has never been seen to approve, at least in the first instance. The situation of an island, and particularly a small one, renders it more difficult for any of the inhabitants clandestinely to withdraw themselves in the first stage of their civilization, before their weak reasoning powers have enabled them to perceive the advantages which will ultimately arise to them.

A poor liberated African cannot at first comprehend all the advantages which a code of laws like those of England gives him ; he can understand perfectly the advantages

advantages of having abundance of good food and fine clothes, but he cannot so easily be made to comprehend the advantage arising to himself by sacrificing the pleasure of repose to obtain these physical comforts to which he had not been habituated: he may be induced to give a small degree of occasional exertion to obtain these foreign pleasures, but from such irregular industry little or no good can arise, and civilization must stop soon, unless *steady* exertion be given, on the results of which the capitalist can safely reckon, for a return of the value of the wealth, which he may have been induced to provide for the consumption of the African. After many years experience in the direction and control of the labour of mankind in different climates, I hesitate not in denying absolutely that any power of persuasion will induce the liberated African or Indian to labour *steadily* in the sun in the lowlands of the torrid zone, as an English labourer does in England, *in return for any wages, which his labour could afford to the agricultural capitalist at present*, when the *natural* or *habitual* rate of wages in the West Indies cannot command *that degree of steady exertion*, without which the portion of capital, dependant on human labour, must become *unproductive*.

The liberated African therefore must be *forced* to experience the advantages resulting from the enjoyment of the wealth to be created *by his own labour*; for if the laws which regulate labour of this kind in England should not be modified when applied to the African labourer, to suit the different situations of the labourer, the climate, and the state of civilization in which he may be placed, then I confess no good would be likely to arise from any plan which may be recommended for regulating the labour of the liberated Africans, and consequently it would be a matter of little consequence where they may be placed.

The laws of England certainly do not coerce any man to labour *steadily*, but leave him to support himself by any other mode less painful, provided it be not injurious to his fellow subjects. It has been my endeavour to show, that although the laws of England did not coerce this degree of *steady industry*, yet that physical as well as moral circumstances are in action, which did produce the effect of coercion to steady labour, as certainly, and perhaps more efficiently than any law that could be enacted for that purpose: for the effect of these causes, operating during a series of ages, has been the formation of those *general habits* which have rendered greater comforts necessary to the English, and American labourer, than are enjoyed by the same class in other countries; and the stimulus to obtain a greater share of these comforts, produces greater voluntary exertion steadily continued, in consequence of which, the capitalist is enabled to pay them that high rate of wages, which the habits of the labourers both demand and deserve. But in a different state of society, and in the torrid zone, if we wish to hasten the progress of social civilization, we must adopt some means *legally*, in the first instance, to enforce the habits of *steady industry*. For this purpose we must be satisfied to direct the attention of the labourer, as we see in Hayti, to the production of articles, where if we fail in obtaining *steady* industry, yet a less regular application will still produce some wealth to reward the labourer; whereas we should discourage him, and impose a harder task upon ourselves, if *at first* we insisted upon the voluntary production of such articles as sugar, indigo, ginger, &c. which require a considerable portion of *steady* labour at certain periods *frequently recurring*; and thus by endeavouring to destroy too abruptly the enjoyment of that indolence and repose, which forms an essential part of the physical enjoyment of mankind in the torrid zone, we defeat our ultimate object, by rendering our control more obnoxious to the habits and feelings of the free African, than if we allowed him at first a greater degree of indolence at certain intervals.

By degrees as wealth is produced and consumed in enjoyments, by the labourer himself, increased population from the addition of new settlers of liberated Africans, and their descendants, in a small colony, will render increased exertions necessary to obtain the augmented degree of enjoyments; but unless a direction be given to that kind of industry so that its results may have an exchangeable value abroad, heartburnings and discontent may arise even among colonists of the same race and colour, as we have seen at Tortola.

With reference to such facts and many others, it would therefore be necessary in the first establishment of these liberated Africans, to settle them, with due regard to equality

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equality in the numbers of the two sexes, as nearly as local circumstances will admit, on the tried plan approved of by the "Benevolent Society," established at the Hague in 1818, and carried into practical effect by General Van den Bosch, at Frederick's oord, and other places in the Netherlands. The state of these agricultural colonies are publicly given by the "Benevolent Society," in periodical works expressly devoted to the object.

The actual practical results of the plan, and the successive improvements adopted, are therefore easily to be ascertained: I have studied them carefully, and with such alterations as difference of climate, state of civilization, and the kind of labour may require, in adapting the same principles to the control of the labour of liberated Africans in the torrid zone, I must honestly confess, that I should prefer the principle of a plan which *has been tried and has succeeded*, to the trial of any other plans which may be formed merely from a consideration of facts, and in the opinion of the authors offering only a fair *chance* of success. In short, I prefer the adaptation of the Dutch system to the case of the Africans, even to the plans and details for controlling the labour and promoting the improvement of the captured Africans, which I had the honour to submit for the consideration of the late Lieutenant-General Sir James Leith in 1815, and which was brought under the consideration of his royal highness the commander in chief, as well as the plans for the same object, by different means, which I had the honour to submit to your lordship in 1818, at which time I was ignorant of the plans of the Dutch Benevolent Society.

To one article only would I recommend a greater attention to be given than appears to be the case in the Dutch agricultural colonies; I mean that elementary and religious instruction should be considered as more important objects, because, in the management of uncivilized man by people of a different race from himself, it is essentially necessary to have some strong *moral* power over his mind, for which purpose a principle must be brought into action within the uncivilized man himself, so as to be constantly operating in subduing the force of those human passions, which in that state of society may produce destructive effects, in proportion to the physical strength and mental ignorance of the persons whose labour is to be directed, at the same time that their minds are to be enlightened. What an accurate observer has said of the "evils of popular ignorance" even in England, is especially true of the persons whose improvement I have for many years been desirous to effect:

"Not only, therefore, is there an entire preclusion from their minds of the faintest hint of a monition, that they should live for the grand final object pointed to by religion, but also, for the most part, of all consideration of the attainment of a reputable condition and character in life. The creature endowed with faculties for 'large discourse looking before and after,' capable of so much design, respectability, and happiness, even in its present short stage, and entering on an endless career, is seen in the abasement of snatching, as its utmost reach of purpose, at the low amusements and vices of each passing day; and cursing its privations and tasks, and often also the sharers of those privations, and the exactors of those tasks."

I lived for some years in the neighbourhood of one of the plantations belonging to Mr. Steele of Barbados, who died in 1797, after I had settled in his neighbourhood. I became, however, acquainted with the copyhold system, which he adopted upon the Kendal estate.

Great misrepresentations have been published as to the profitable result of Mr. Steele's system, upon that particular estate on which he tried it; but I am favourably inclined to the adoption of many of his regulations in the proposed agricultural colonies for free negroe labourers, which I should recommend to be formed for the *first reception, and instruction of the adult liberated Africans.*

Their labour must be directed with great regard to method and regularity, as well as intelligence, and the capital lent to them to enable them to increase the productive powers of the soil, must be considered by all concerned as a debt to be returned to the British nation, as was adopted in Paraguay by the Jesuits.

The labour of the children must also be usefully employed, when not occupied in the hours of attendance at school, or during necessary relaxation, as was also adopted
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in Paraguay; for to succeed in enforcing habits of *steady* industry, education from infancy should be directed to that object, particularly when opposed by climate, scattered population, &c.

For such children as may be more distinguished by their talents of any useful kind, another general establishment for the island or colony might be formed on the plan of the agricultural school of industry established by M. Fallenberg at Hofwyl in Switzerland, of which we have detailed accounts in German, French and English.

In such an establishment the sons of native chiefs might also be educated, thus forming them to *habits of skilled labour and steady industry*; and giving them more clear ideas of the advantages of knowledge and social civilization in increasing the comfort and happiness of mankind, whilst we should be assimilating their tastes and habits to those of England.

When children or adults have conducted themselves well in these agricultural colonies under coercion, every encouragement ought to be held out to them to settle themselves either as cultivators, or mechanics, for their own benefit entirely, or as servants, either on wages, when possible, or on the metayer system of receiving a portion of the results of their own labour at the end of the year for their own use and enjoyment. In such engagements it would be important that those kinds of cultivation, or mechanical occupation, should be preferred, which would permit the individual so placed, to cultivate his ground, or execute his mechanical service by what is called task work, by the day, week, month or year.

When individuals may have shown, by their conduct, that they could be safely depended upon as men who would labour with moderate steadiness for a year, they ought to be proclaimed with some solemnity, as having become a class of privileged subjects, eligible to fill certain duties, and capable themselves of having servants or youths to learn trades placed under them, and their children made eligible for the highest school of instruction, and themselves qualified to hold certain parochial or district offices, and to become landed proprietors or renters of those lots, which might become vacant in the agricultural colonies.

But should any of these persons afterwards relapse into that state of indolence, which physical circumstances will have a tendency to cause, then the individual must again be put under the same training as that to which he was at first exposed. But the fact of his having relapsed into habits of indolence, is to be decided by men of his own colour only, who have themselves accumulated some wealth by their own steady industry in the same country. The leading object being to stimulate steady industry by certain privileges and honours among the people, as well as by the comforts individually arising to the industrious black colonist, and at the same time prevent the abuse of power by the white race, who at first may be employed in forming such an establishment.

When the African slaves were emancipated in the French colonies, it was found necessary by severe laws to oblige each person to attach himself to some domicile. *Vide* Appendix (A.) pages 90, 91.; (B.) page 95.; (C.) 97, 100.

To effect this was found to be a very difficult task, but without it nothing can be done in the formation of habits of steady industry.

It would therefore be important that every free black colonist, after being duly trained to habits of steady industry, should be permitted to fix upon his own domicile, and be obliged not to quit it without communicating his intention to some adequate authority.

In the first settlement it would be particularly desirable to prevent the injurious action of causes connected with the want of sympathy between the black and white races of men. For this reason intelligent free black persons from the West India islands should be, as much as possible, selected to fill all the duties of superintendants connected with labour; whilst the departments of instruction or control might be generally confided to the whites, both on account of their probable higher attainments, and that the lower class of blacks might look up to them as protectors in cases of complaint against men of their own colour.

As the improvement of the rising generation would probably be more indebted to the mother, from her being more constantly with the children than a father obliged to

to labour steadily, it is of greater importance that the young females should be carefully instructed and taught than even the young males.

It might be easy to extend such general remarks as these, but it appears to me unnecessary. The principle to be adopted is, that during the backward state of knowledge and civilization of the liberated Africans, it is necessary to act towards them, in such a manner, that, if, after due encouragement and persuasion, the people do not voluntarily exercise *steady* industry in such kinds of labour as may be most suitable for the soil and climate, *the power of coercing their labour by personal or other punishment must be vested in the chief superintendant, after a proper trial and conviction of the offender, by persons in his own situation in life*, as was adopted by Mr. Steele of Barbados.

If this essential principle be admitted, then the minute details must be left to persons on the spot, to be faithfully reported to your lordship in such detail, and in such forms as will enable your lordship to see from the results what progress is really making in enforcing habits of steady industry. Without such detailed returns showing results, there will ever be a permanent stimulus to negligence on the part of the superintendants, from the natural effects of the climate, and the services to be performed.

Nothing can more strongly prove this fact, than the profound ignorance which in England generally prevails as to the neglect of steady industry by the liberated Africans. As long as persons connected with the labour of these poor people have merely to give opinions, or make assertions, delusion will ever be the consequence; but when returns are regularly to be transmitted, and accounts kept, as in the Dutch agricultural colonies, and on Mr. Steele's plan, showing in detail how results have been produced, then will your lordship have those statements of facts, showing the operation of cause and effect in cases frequently recurring, which will enable you, from time to time, to modify any regulations on the subject of controlling labour, which must needs be very imperfect, when formed any where but on the spot; for even in that case circumstances will constantly arise requiring the modification of any system of regulations.

If after all the disappointment and misrepresentations which I have witnessed as to the result of plans, doubtless at the time, well considered by able and amiable men, who thought themselves equal to the task, I should farther press details upon your lordship's consideration, I should act contrary to what I think is my duty; for any plan until it has been tried must be in some measure a matter of opinion, and under this impression I have felt myself obliged to show, in a manner which must have been very tedious, the facts, circumstances, and various considerations, which have induced me to form the opinions submitted for your lordship's information.

Of those liberated Africans whom I consulted as to their desire to return to Africa, and to be settled at Sierra Leone, (whose condition I explained to them as well as I was able), not one expressed a wish to go there voluntarily; not that it appeared to me that they had, or could have, any objections against that particular place, but to use a very common expression, "they had now learned the custom of Tortola and St. Thomas (a Danish colony), and therefore they did not wish to go where they would have to learn new customs." If they were told, however, it was the King's wish for them to go to Africa, and that His Majesty would still take care of them, I think their objections would not continue long, except on the part of those who may have been married to slaves, or free black, or coloured people in the island of Tortola. These are chiefly female liberated Africans, of whom about ten are married to slaves; but although none are married to the other free black and coloured people, yet some of the females live with such persons as their kept mistresses, and such persons would also prefer remaining in Tortola. It would, perhaps, be unnecessarily harsh to separate even the latter persons from their keepers; but certainly where the marriage ceremony has been performed, no consideration of expediency ought to authorize the separation of the parties, as nothing ought to be done, which in any manner might lessen the sacredness of the marriage bond of union.

Whoever may be left in Tortola, at the termination of their apprenticeships, the collector of the customs ought annually to send home returns, showing in what kind of industry the liberated Africans were employed, and the probable annual results thereof,

thereof, to be corrected by the legislative council of the colony, in order to secure faithful returns of facts for your lordship's information, in the same manner as the accounts of the collectors for expenses incurred for the Africans, are referred to the council for their report or approval.

If these returns are fairly made out, your lordship will be enabled annually to see, in different colonies, all those causes which are in action, influencing the comfort, happiness and progressive improvement of the liberated Africans; or otherwise, as the case may be. But it is only by minute details that correct opinions can be formed on matters, where so many motives exist to influence the correct statement of facts; and when general assertions, or mere opinions, by whomsoever given respecting the industry of the liberated Africans, must always be considered as referring to some facts, and these being the result of mechanical labour, may be easily and precisely stated: for such statements alone can clearly prove, that the opinions given, *whatever they may be*, are really founded on facts frequently recurring, and not on speculative analogies with reference to the people of other countries, wherein the physical and moral causes which influence steady industry may be very different in their nature even, or in their intensity, from the causes under whose action the liberated Africans are placed.

After the most anxious and careful consideration of all the facts which I was enabled to collect or observe, as a commissioner, as an officer of engineers, or as a traveller, I can only conclude, by reporting to your lordship my sincere belief, that the disappointments which have been experienced, and the unfavourable result, after so liberal an expenditure of the public money on account of the captured negroes, have arisen chiefly from public measures, which obviously were well intended, but which have failed, from being founded on erroneous opinions as to the proper mode of overcoming those obstacles of a physical nature which operate on mankind, placed as the liberated Africans are, in impeding their progress in social civilization and moral improvement, with advantage to themselves, their fellow colonists, and the parent state.

I have been induced to point out, more particularly, the operation of physical obstacles, because they appear to me to have been overlooked, when the operation of causes altogether of a moral nature were expected to have had the effect of removing them; which, however much to be desired, ought not reasonably to have been expected, when so opposed. When proper measures shall have been taken to remove those obstacles of a physical nature which have been submitted, I entertain no doubt of the great and mighty power of moral instruction in promoting civilization and habits of steady industry among the Africans, although that part of their country, in the torrid zone, has remained in barbarism, and heathen ignorance, from the earliest records of authentic history, in consequence of the operation of physical as well as moral causes.

I have now to state the train of reasoning which has led me to conclusions submitted for consideration. I have perceived the benefits of social civilization chiefly among nations, where wealth has been abundantly created, legally distributed, and in general profitably consumed, by the reproduction of a still greater portion of wealth. In this process, as connected with an advance in social civilization, I have also observed that the *regular* and *skilled* labour of man mainly contributes, by aiding the productive powers of nature; and by giving to *motion* the property of *steadiness* and *regularity*, as a mechanical power. The sluggish brook and the mountain torrent, by skill and steady labour, are so regulated as to afford an equal degree of mechanical power, steadily applied to the work of production. Winds of different degrees of force are compelled by civilized man to produce the same effect. The mighty power of steam is first produced, and then regulated by man, so as to give a steady and equal motion. Animals, also, according to their powers of motion and strength, are subdued by man, and converted to the object of producing wealth, or contributing to his enjoyment, by the steady exertion of their mechanical powers. Finally, one man yields his strength and power of motion to the control of another man, by whom human mechanical power is made in various ways to contribute to the production of wealth and enjoyment, in proportion generally as it is applied with *steadiness* and *skill*. This last property is one peculiar to the mechanical power of motion in man, the child of reason: but *steadiness* of exertion, the offspring of habit, is fully as important, with respect to the mass of labourers, and is perhaps the parent of skilled industry, by its power of producing wealth, which

Second Part of
MAJOR MOODY'S
REPORT.

is uniformly followed by knowledge. It is here, that it appears to me, error and delusion have diminished the power of Government to promote the civilization and moral improvement of the liberated Africans.

If in this year 1825, I was possessor of a quantity of wheat and wool, with suitable machinery to convert these articles into bread and cloth, by the aid of human labour, I should, in England, find no difficulty in obtaining labourers to assist me, in return for such wages as would defray the expense of their habitual wants, consisting of a high scale of subsistence and comforts; to obtain which, having no other resource, they are obliged to yield the control of their labour to me, on such terms, that although their *steady* industry is voluntary, yet I am enabled to save a reasonable profit on my stock of machinery, &c. so as to induce me to continue these labourers in my employment, even at the high rate of wages necessary to afford them the enjoyment of their habitual wants. But if I had had my wheat, wool, and machinery on the banks of the Thames, at a period so remote, that Englishmen were few in numbers, compared with the extent and fertility of the soil, whilst their habitual wants were satisfied chiefly by acorns for food, and skins for clothing, however secure property might be, the easy acquirement of a low scale of subsistence, and comforts, would have impeded my obtaining that degree of *steady* exertion from their labour, so as to afford me any profit on stock, or desire to employ such labourers; for, however low might be the natural or habitual rate of wages of men fed on acorns, and clothed with skins, yet as their exertions would neither be *steady* nor *skilful*, with reference to my machinery, it would be more profitable for me to give much *higher wages* to the Englishmen of 1825, whose habits had been formed to a high scale of comfort amidst a dense population.

The African apprentices are under circumstances still more unfavourable, from the operation of physical causes, and therefore, when their labour is connected with the machinery, or capital of other persons, there is little reason to believe, that, in general, they will work *steadily* for wages, such as the capitalist can afford to give; until the habitual wants of the African, during the revolution of time, or increased density of population, and instruction shall have accustomed him to habits of steady industry. Density of population at present can only be created artificially, by placing many liberated Africans on a small island, and accustoming them, as I have recommended, to habits of steady industry.

The annexed Regulations of Toussaint, Desfourneaux, and Christophe, as well as those of President Boyer, intended for people in circumstances similar to those of the liberated Africans, appear to prove practically, that some such measures are necessary, as those which I have submitted as the result of my own personal observation, and experience, in the control of human labour in different climates, and under various circumstances.

THOMAS MOODY,
B^t Major Roy. Engineers.

A P P E N D I X.

Appendix (A.)

“ Toussaint L’Ouverture, General in Chief of the Army of St. DOMINGO, to all the Civil
“ and Military Officers of the Island.

“ Citizens,

“ AFTER putting an end to the war in the south, our first duty has been to return thanks
“ to the Almighty, which we have done with a zeal becoming so great a blessing. Now,
“ citizens, it is necessary to consecrate all our moments to the prosperity of St. Domingo,
“ to the public tranquillity, and consequently to the welfare of our fellow citizens.

“ But to attain this end in an effectual manner, all the civil and military officers must
“ make it their business, every one in their respective departments, to perform the duties of
“ their offices with devotion and attachment to the public welfare.

“ You will easily conceive, citizens, that agriculture is the support of government; since
“ it is the foundation of commerce and wealth, the source of arts and industry, it keeps
“ every body employed, as being the mechanism of all trades; and from the moment that
“ every individual becomes useful, it creates public tranquillity; disturbances disappear,
“ together with idleness, by which they are commonly generated, and every one peaceably
“ enjoys the fruits of his industry.

“ Officers, civil and military, this is what you must aim at; such is the plan to be
“ adopted, which I prescribe to you; and I declare, in the most peremptory manner, that
“ it shall be enforced. My country demands this salutary step; I am bound to it by my
“ office, and the security of our liberties demands it imperiously.

“ But in order to secure our liberties, which are indispensable to our happiness, every
“ individual must be usefully employed, so as to contribute to the public good, and the
“ general tranquillity.

“ Considering that the soldier, who has sacred duties to perform, as being the safeguard
“ of the people, and in perpetual activity, to execute the orders of his chief, either for
“ maintaining interior tranquillity, or for fighting abroad the enemies of the country, is
“ strictly subordinate to his superior officers; and as it is of great importance that over-
“ seers, drivers and field negroes, who in like manner have their superiors, should conduct
“ themselves as officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers, in whatever may concern
“ them.

“ Considering that, when an officer, a non-commissioned officer, or a soldier, deviates
“ from his duty, he is delivered over to a court-martial, to be tried and punished according
“ to the laws of the republic, for in military service no rank is to be favoured when guilty;
“ the overseers, drivers and field negroes, as subject to constant labour, and equally subor-
“ dinate to their superiors, shall be punished in like manner, in case of failure in their
“ respective duties.

“ Whereas a soldier cannot leave his company, his battalion or half brigade, and enter
“ into another, without the severest punishment, unless provided with a permission in due
“ form from his chief; *field negroes are forbidden to quit their respective plantations without
“ a lawful permission: this is by no means attended to, since they change their place of labour
“ as they please, go to and fro, and pay not the least attention to agriculture, though the only
“ means of furnishing sustenance to the military, their protectors; they even conceal themselves
“ in towns, in villages and mountains, where, allured by the enemies of good order, they live by
“ plunder, and in a state of open hostility to society.*

“ Whereas, since the revolution, labourers of both sexes, then too young to be employed in the
“ field, refuse to go to it now under pretext of freedom, spend their time in wandering about, and
“ give a bad example to the other cultivators; while, on the other hand, the generals, officers,
“ non-commissioned officers and soldiers, are in a state of constant activity to maintain
“ the sacred rights of the people:

“ And whereas, my proclamation of the 25th Brumaire, of the 7th year, to the people of
“ St. Domingo, was calculated to establish an uniform system of *incessant and laborious
“ industry*; at the same time, that it required from all the citizens indiscriminately the co-
“ operation of cultivators, soldiers and civil powers, as necessary for the restoration of
“ St. Domingo; it being therefore my determination that the above-mentioned procla-
“ mation should be carried into full effect, and that the abuses now in practice amongst
“ the labourers should be at an end, from the publication of this present regulation, I do
“ most peremptorily order as follows:—

“ Art. 1. All overseers, drivers, and field negroes, are bound to observe, with exactness,
“ submission, and obedience, their duty in the same manner as soldiers.

“ Art. 2.

Appendix,
(A.)

Appendix,
(A.)

“ Art. 2. All overseers, drivers, and field labourers, who will not perform with assiduity the duties required of them, shall be arrested and punished as severely as soldiers deviating from their duty : after which punishment, if the offender be an overseer, he shall be enlisted in one of the regiments of the army of St. Domingo : if a driver, he shall be dismissed from his employment, and placed among the field negroes, without ever being permitted to act as a driver again : and, if a common labourer, he shall be punished with the same severity as a private soldier, according to his guilt.

“ Art. 3. All field labourers, men and women, now in a state of idleness, living in towns, villages, and on other plantations than those to which they belong, with an intention to evade work, even those of both sexes, who have not been employed in field labour since the revolution, *are required to return immediately to their respective plantations*, if, in the course of eight days, from the promulgation of this present regulation, they shall not produce sufficient proof, to the commanding officers, in the places of their residence, of their having some useful occupation or means of livelihood : but it is to be understood, that being a servant, is not to be considered as an useful occupation ; in consequence whereof, those amongst the labourers who have quitted their plantations in order to hire themselves, shall return thereto, under the personal responsibility of those with whom they live in that capacity. By the terms, ‘ an useful occupation,’ is meant, what enables a man to pay a contribution to the state.

“ Art. 4. This measure, indispensable to the public welfare, positively prescribes to all those of either sex that are not labourers, to produce the proofs of their having an occupation or profession sufficient to gain their livelihood, and that they can afford to pay a contribution to the republic ; otherwise, and in default thereof, all those who shall be found in contravention hereto, shall be instantly arrested, and if they are found guilty, they shall be drafted into one of the regiments of the army ; if not, they shall be sent to the field and compelled to work. This measure, which is strictly enforced, will put a stop to the idle habit of wandering about, since it will oblige every one to be usefully employed.

“ Art. 5. Parents are earnestly entreated to attend to their duty towards their children, which is, to make them good citizens ; for that purpose they must instruct them in good morals, in the christian religion, and the fear of God ; above all, exclusive of this education, they must be brought up in some specific business or profession, to enable them, not only to earn their living, but also to contribute to the expenses of the government.

“ Art. 6. All persons residing in towns and villages, who shall harbour labourers of either sex, all proprietors or tenants, who shall suffer on their plantations labourers belonging to other estates, without immediately making it known to the commandant of the district, or other military officers in the places of their residence, shall pay a fine of 2, 3 or 400 livres, according to the abilities of the delinquent ; in case of repetition of the offence, they shall pay three times as much : if the fine cannot be levied for want of effects, the offender shall be imprisoned for a month, and, in case of repetition, for three months.

“ Art. 7. The overseers and drivers of every plantation shall make it their business to inform the commanding officer of the district, in regard to the conduct of the labourers under their management ; as well as of those who shall absent themselves from their plantations without a pass : and of those who, residing on the estates, shall refuse to work. They shall be forced to go to the labour of the field, and if they prove obstinate, they shall be arrested and carried before the military commandant, in order to suffer the punishment above prescribed, according to the exigence of the case.

“ The military commandants who shall not inform the commandants of districts, and these the generals under whose orders they act, shall be severely punished, at the discretion of the said generals.

“ Art. 8. The generals commanding the departments shall henceforth be answerable to me for any neglect in the cultivation of their districts ; and if, when going through the several parishes and departments, I shall perceive any marks of negligence, I shall proceed against those who have tolerated it.

“ Art. 9. I forbid all military men whatsoever, under the responsibility of the commanding officers, to suffer any women to remain in the barracks, those excepted that are married to soldiers, as well as those who carry victuals to men confined to their quarters, but these shall not be allowed to remain any time ; plantation women are totally excluded. The commanding officers shall answer for the execution of this article.

“ Art. 10. The commandants of the towns, or the officers in the villages, shall not suffer the labourers or field-negroes to spend the decades in town ; they shall also take care that they do not conceal themselves. Such officers as shall not punctually attend to this order, shall be punished with six days confinement for the first time, a month for the second, and shall be cashiered for the third offence. They shall give information to the commandant of the district, of such labourers as are found in the towns during the decades, and of the persons at whose houses they were taken up, that the said persons may be condemned to pay the fine imposed by Article 6 of this present regulation. The plantation people, who in such cases may be brought before the commandant of the

“ district,

“ district, shall be sent back to their plantations after receiving the punishment, as above
 “ directed by Article 2, with a strong recommendation to the commanding officer of their
 “ quarter, that a watchful eye may be kept on them for the future.

Appendix,
 (A.)

“ Art. 11. All the municipal administrations of St. Domingo are requested to take the
 “ wisest measures, together with the commandants of towns and of the districts, to inform
 “ themselves whether those who call themselves domestics really are so, observing that
 “ plantation negroes cannot be domestics; any person keeping them in that quality will
 “ be liable to pay the above-mentioned fine, as well as those who shall detain labourers of
 “ either sex for any kind of employment.

“ Art. 12. All commissaries of government in the municipalities will make it their duty
 “ to inform me of all the abuses respecting the execution of this regulation, and to give
 “ advice of the same to the generals of department.

“ Art. 13. I command all the generals of department, generals, and other principal
 “ officers in the districts, to attend to the execution of this regulation, for which they shall
 “ be personally responsible; and I flatter myself that their zeal, in assisting me to restore
 “ the public prosperity, will not be momentary; convinced as they must be that liberty
 “ cannot exist without industry.

“ This present regulation shall be printed, read, published and posted up wherever it is
 “ necessary, even on plantations; so that no one may pretend ignorance thereof. It shall
 “ likewise be sent to all the civil and military authorities, together with my proclamation
 “ of the 25th Brumaire above mentioned, which for that purpose shall be reprinted, so that
 “ every one may conform strictly to the duties required of him.

“ Given at head quarters, Port Republican, Vendemiaire 20th, ninth year of the French
 “ Republic, one and indivisible,

“ (Signed) *Toussaint L'Ouverture,*
 General in Chief.”

Appendix (B.)

EXTRACT from a Report made to the Minister of the Marine and the Colonies of the
 French Republic by Citizen Desfourneaux, General of Division, upon his Mission, as
 Agent of the Government at GUADALOUPE, some time after the Slaves had been
 emancipated by the Government of France.

Appendix,
 (B.)

“ J'ai retardé l'organisation de la colonie, et laissé tous les employés à leur poste, parce
 “ que je voulais, en la parcourant, en connaître tous les élémens, afin de ne point me
 “ tromper sur le choix des fonctionnaires. En faisant ma tournée, je trouvai partout la
 “ plus profonde misère, toutes les habitations ruinées sous le régime des séquestres, toutes
 “ les femmes propriétaires réduites au plus profond dénueement, sans pain, et meme sans
 “ haillons pour couvrir leurs enfans; plusieurs étaient secourues et alimentées par des
 “ citoyennes respectables des villes; d'autres existaient de ce que quelques femmes noires
 “ qui leur étaient attachées, leur procuraient; on avait poussé la barbarie jusqu'à leur re-
 “ fuser un logement sur les habitations qui leur appartenaient.

“ Partout je donnai des secours; mais le position difficile de la colonie m'empêcha de
 “ suivre l'impulsion de mon cœur, et de faire ce que la justice m'ordonnait.

“ Les manufactures tombaient en ruine; les ateliers étaient abandonnés par les cultiva-
 “ teurs, qui s'enrôlaient sur les corsaires, pour courir contre les neutres et les Anglais, et
 “ qui, pris par ces derniers, étaient souvent vendus, et jamais relâchés.

“ Les villes étaient encombrées de cultivateurs fainéans; par tout le vol et le brigandage
 “ se succédaient et restaient impunis.

“ Je fis proclamer, d'après mes instructions, la Constitution de l'an III.; j'appliquai aux
 “ voleurs la loi de répression sur les brigandages; j'annonçai partout que les délits
 “ seraient sévèrement réprimés.

“ Un soldat de la garnison du port de la Liberté, ayant frappé son capitaine sous les
 “ armes, fut mis en jugement et fusillé; un cultivateur livré aux tribunaux, pour avoir
 “ assassiné le gérant de l'habitation Danot, de sept coups de couteau, fut condamné à mort.
 “ J'ordonnai que tous les cultivateurs qui avoisinaient l'habitation assisteraient à son exe-
 “ cution; tous y furent conduits par les chefs d'atelier. Ces deux exemples justes, mais
 “ terribles, donnèrent la tranquillité à la Guadeloupe. Avec de la justice et une extrême
 “ fermeté, on réussit toujours dans les colonies.

“ J'ai senti que, pour rappeler la Guadeloupe à son ancienne prospérité, je devais porter
 “ tous mes moyens du côté de la culture.

“ Je fixai, par un arrêté, le domicile respectif sur les habitations; j'ordonnai à tous les
 “ cultivateurs des deux sexes de retourner sur les manufactures où ils avaient pris naissance;
 “ je n'autorisai à rester dans les villes que les citoyens de toutes les couleurs qui avaient
 “ un état ou une condition qui pouvaient les faire vivre; je donnai l'ordre d'arrêter dans
 “ toute la colonie les cultivateurs rencontrés sans 'laissez-passer' des gérens ou propriétaires,
 “ ainsi que les habitans voyageurs sans passe-ports.

Appendix,
(B.)

“ Un grand nombre de cultivateurs s'étaient retirés dans les bois de la Gouyave, où ils étaient voleurs ou marrons : je fis marcher contre eux la force armée qui détruisit les cases qu'ils avaient bâties, et les réintégra dans les habitations qu'ils avaient abandonnées. Mes mesures obtenaient le plus grand succès, lorsque des bruits perfides et mensongers annonçant que les Russes avaient envahi une partie du territoire de la république, firent recommencer la divagation, commettre beaucoup de vols dans les villes et de brigandages sur les routes. Je fis alors publier une amende de trois mille trois cents livres contre tout individu qui recèlerait un cultivateur, dont la moitié applicable à tout militaire qui l'arrêterait.

“ Un grenadier ayant arrêté et conduit chez le commandant de la place un divagant, reçut sur-le-champ seize cent cinquante livres. Les militaires encouragés par cette promptre récompense, arrêterent tous ceux qui se cachaient dans les bourgs et dans les villes : tous les cultivateurs répandus dans la colonie rentrèrent par l'effet de cette mesure, et de la lettre suivante que j'écrivis à tous les délégués des communes.”

“ L'Agent particulier du Directoire exécutif de la République Française à la GUADALOUPE et Dépendances, aux Commissaires du Directoire exécutif dans les Cantons du Département de la GUADALOUPE et Dépendances.

“ Je ne puis vous dissimuler, citoyens, tout le mécontentement et toute l'indignation que j'éprouve, en m'apercevant que, depuis quinze jours environ, la divagation des cultivateurs recommence, et que les mesures prises pour la réprimer et la prévenir de mon arrivée à la Guadeloupe, sont déjà devenues presque inutiles, malgré les succès marqués qu'elles avaient obtenus, puisque le nombre des divagants rentrés était porté à dix mille.

“ Je dois sevir contre la négligence avec laquelle mes arrêtés, à cet égard, sont exécutés, et vous avertir que les peines les plus graves seront prononcées contre quiconque sera coupable de cette négligence.

“ Auriez-vous oublié l'engagement sacré que vous avez pris de co-opérer avec moi au bonheur et au rétablissement de la colonie, en faisant exécuter les mesures qui me sont dictées par de tels motifs, en me secondant de tous vos moyens? Je vous ai donné ma confiance ; mais sachez quel la loi saura venger l'abus que vous pourrez en faire, et vous rappeler la responsabilité qui pèse sur vous.

“ Une dernière fois je vous préviens que vous devez faire exécuter mes arrêtés, que vous êtes responsables des événements qui peuvent résulter du défaut de leur exécution.

“ Vous voudrez bien, aussitôt la présente reçue, faire afficher dans chaque canton le tableau des divagants, faire publier qu'il leur est accordé le terme de dix jours pour rentrer, et, passé ce délai, ils seront arrêtés, traduits devant un conseil de guerre, et punis de mort, conformément à la loi du 29 Nivôse, an VI. contenant des dispositions pénales pour la répression des vols et des attentats sur les grandes routes, et le rétablissement de la sûreté publique.

“ Vous m'accuserez réception de la présente, et vous vous conformerez strictement à son contenu.

“ Port Liberté, ce 16 Pluviôse,
“ An. VII. de la République Française. }

“ (Signé) Desfourneaux.”

“ Après avoir assuré la police intérieure de la colonie, je m'occupai du sort des cultivateurs, de cette classe réduite à la misère la plus profonde, en proie au désespoir et aux maladies.

“ Je fis la proclamation suivante :

“ Proclamation de l'Agent particulier du Directoire exécutif à la GUADALOUPE et Dépendances, aux Citoyens de toutes les couleurs.

“ Citoyens,

“ Occupé sans cesse de l'objet important d'organiser les colonies, il n'est point échappé à mes observations, que des vices nombreux introduits dans l'administration générale, ont donné lieu à l'anéantissement de la culture, à la destruction et au dépérissement des habitations, au découragement des cultivateurs, à leur divagation, et à la ruine presque générale des propriétés.

“ Des hommes ci-devant réduits à l'esclavage, rendus à la liberté par les lois justes de la République, ont appris qu'ils étaient libres, sans être instruits de leurs devoirs envers la société, sans qu'on leur fit connaître par quels moyens ils pourraient se procurer l'existence, et quels fruits ils recueilleraient de leurs travaux et de leurs peines.

“ Privés des secours qu'ils recevaient autrefois, ils ont inutilement fait entendre leurs plaintes, et attendu l'effet des promesses qui, jusqu'à ce moment, n'ont pas été suivies de l'exécution ; ils ont déserté de la culture et des campagnes. Il est inutile de retracer ici les maux qui en ont résulté.

“ Quelques propriétaires, guidés, sans doute, par des principes de justice et d'humanité, mieux éclairés d'ailleurs sur leur véritables intérêts, ont su, par leur conduite envers les cultivateurs, en accordant une rétribution à leurs travaux, échapper à la misère, tirer

“ un

“ un parti avantageux de leurs propriétés, et les maintenir en bon état; il est temps de ce
“ rendre à l'évidence qu'offre leur conduite.

“ Des opinions erronées et affligeantes pour les propriétaires ont circulé: elles doivent
“ être à jamais détruites. Les cultivateurs ne sont point propriétaires; mais ils doivent
“ fertiliser les campagnes, ils doivent être payés de leurs travaux: ces principes qui sont de
“ tous les temps, tiennent leur place parmi ceux inaltérables de notre constitution.

“ D'après cet exposé, l'agent particulier du directoire exécutif,

“ Considérant qu'il est urgent, et de toute justice, de statuer sur le sort des cultivateurs
“ de cette colonie, de l'île de Marie-Galante et de la Desirade, de Saint Martin, et de
“ Saint Eustache, et de leur allouer un traitement qui, en augmentant à raison de leur intel-
“ ligence et de leur activité au travail, offre le double avantage d'améliorer constamment
“ le sort des cultivateurs et la situation des propriétaires, arrêt ce qui suit:

“ Art. I^{er}. Tous citoyens cultivateurs, ouvriers et autres, attachés à l'exploitation des
“ habitations et de leurs manufactures, seront salariés suivant leur employ.

“ II. Le salaire sera le quart des revenus à partager entre eux, après qu'il aura été fait
“ sur la masse générale les prélèvements nécessaires pour le paiement des traitemens des
“ délégués, séquestres, gérans et chirurgiens attachés aux communes pour le service des
“ cultivateurs, lesquels traitemens seront fixés par un arrêté particulier aussitôt que les
“ délégués auront adressé à l'agent l'état approximatif des revenus de chaque commune.

“ III. Il sera payé sur le quart revenant au cultivateurs, ouvriers et autres attachés
“ à l'exploitation des habitations et de leurs manufactures, les frais de futailles, sacs, balles
“ et autres objets nécessaires au transport de denrées composant le dit quart, à l'exception
“ néanmoins des cabrouets et mulets: les avances seront faites par la République et les
“ propriétaires, qui en seront remboursés sur-le-champ. La part des sirops sera délivrée
“ en nature aux cultivateurs à fur et mesure qu'ils seront fabriqués.

“ IV. Ces prélèvements et remboursements étant faits, le quart liquide desdits revenus
“ sera partagé dans les proportions suivantes; savoir, une part pour chaque cultivateur,
“ ouvrier ou employé, depuis quinze jusqu'à cinquante ans; trois parts pour le premier
“ chef d'atelier de chaque habitation; deux parts pour le second chef d'atelier;
“ deux parts pour le chef d'atelier de chaque habitation ordinaire; deux parts pour chaque
“ chef raffineur; une demi part aux enfans depuis dix jusqu'à quinze ans; une part pour
“ chaque citoyen employé à l'hôpital de chaque habitation, choisi, à cet effet, par le délégué
“ et le chirurgien, sur la présentation du séquestre, du propriétaire ou du gérant. La Re-
“ publique fixera une indemnité pour ses ouvriers, qui sera le même pour les ouvriers des
“ habitations particulières.

“ V. Les cultivateurs conserveront leur jardins; mais ils ne pourront être augmentés
“ sans la permission des délégués, qui seront tenus de demander l'approbation de l'agent
“ du directoire, en déduisant les motifs.

“ VI. Le quart des revenus à délivrer n'est point sur la denrées déjà fabriquées et
“ récoltées, mais sur toutes celles à recolter et à fabriquer, à commencer du I^{er} Ventôse
“ prochain.

“ VII. Un délégué, un officier municipal, le juge de paix dans chaque commune, et
“ l'atelier de chaque habitation, ou des citoyens choisis par lui, assisteront à livraison du
“ quart; et pour que le partage soit juste, ils se feront remettre des déclarations sincères
“ des séquestres, propriétaires ou gérans, avec les pièces à l'appui; ils pourront se faire
“ représenter son livre d'ordre, qui devra être timbré et paraphé.

“ VIII. Ce partage étant opéré, les denrées appartenant aux cultivateurs seront ren-
“ fermées dans un magasin particulier, et vendues de suite au cours de la place; l'argent
“ en sera réparti sans délai, conformément aux dispositions de l'article IV.

“ IX. Le tableau de répartition seront faits doubles par les séquestres, propriétaires, ou
“ gérans, et seront présentés à la vérification des délégués, qui en retiendront un double,
“ et remettront l'autre signé d'eux.

“ X. Les propriétaires auront soin des vieillards et infirmes reconnus par les officiers
“ de santé être incapables de travailler, et ils ne pourront prétendre à aucune part dans le
“ quart des revenus.

“ XI. Les cultivateurs ne pourront prétendre au partage du quart des revenus, à compter
“ du jour où ils quitteront le travail, pour cause de maladie ou autrement, jusqu'à celui où
“ ils le reprendront, et cette portion à défalquer retournera à la masse des cultivateurs.

“ XII. Les femmes grosses auront cinq décades avant et après leurs couches, et ne
“ seront point privées de la portion de leurs revenus pendant ce temps.

“ XIII. Pour encourager les soins des femmes proposées au accouchemens, il leur sera
“ faite une gratification, supportée par la République, et fixée par les délégués, par chaque
“ accouchement.

“ XIV. Le traitement des domestiques est fixé; savoir, depuis quinze jusqu'à cinquante
“ cinq ans, dix huit livres, argent des colonies; et depuis dix jusqu'à quinze ans, à neuf
“ livres par mois.

“ XV. Les

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“ XV. Les délégués, de concert avec les séquestres, propriétaires ou gérans, détermineront la quantité de terres à planter en vivres, sur lesquelles on prélevera ce qui sera nécessaire à l'entretien des hôpitaux et à la nourriture des vieillards, infirmes ou enfans ; les cultivateurs auront le quart dans le reste.

“ XVI. Immédiatement après la publication du present arrêté, il sera planté en manioc pour la République ; savoir, un carré de terre dans les grandes habitations, et un demi carré dans les petites. Les délégués et chacun des séquestres, propriétaires ou gérans, sont responsables de l'exécution de cette mesure, et le manioc qui sera recolté sera mis ou tenu à la disposition de l'ordonnateur.

“ XVII. En cas de grandes sécheresses, d'ouragans, ou d'autres événemens de force majeure, qui détruiraient les vivres, les délégués, juges de paix, ainsi que les séquestres, dresseront des états des vivres qui deviendront alors nécessaires aux cultivateurs, et la République viendra de suite à leurs secours.

“ XVIII. Comme la recolte ne se fait que tous les ans dans les caféteries et cottoneries, et que les cultivateurs ne peuvent entrer de suite en jouissance comme ceux des sucreries, la République, ou une société de bienfaisance, ou les propriétaires, leur feront des avances, qui seront constatées par les délégués, les juges de paix, les séquestres, propriétaires ou gérans, et qui seront remboursées sur le premier produit de leur part.

“ XIX. Si la récolte des cafés pressait, et si l'atelier de l'habitation, se trouvait insuffisant pour la faire en entier, le propriétaire, avec l'agrément des autorités, et en présence de l'atelier, prendra, s'il en a besoin, dans les premiers cafés récoltés, un ou plusieurs barils, qu'il vendra pour se procurer l'argent, afin de payer l'augmentation des bras nécessaires à la confection de la recolte ; les frais extraordinaires pour cette confection seront prélevés sur la masse avant les partages.

“ XX. Il sera tenu, aux frais de la République, dans chaque commune, suivant son étendue et le besoin reconnu et constaté, la quantité d' hôpitaux nécessaire pour soigner le malades des habitations séquestrées et appartenant à la République.

“ Chaque propriétaire d'habitation sera obligé de tenir, à ses frais, un hôpital sur son habitation ; mais cependant ceux dont les propriétés se trouveront avoir souffert des événemens, au point de prouver l'impossibilité réelle et le manque de moyens nécessaires pour former et maintenir cet établissement, ce qui sera constaté par les délégués, alors ces propriétaires auront la faculté de faire traiter les malades dans les hôpitaux de République.

“ L'inspecteur du service de santé fera délivrer de la pharmacie de la République, d'après la demande des officiers de santé des communes, tous les médicamens dont ils auront besoin.

“ XXI. Les guildiveries étant considérées comme tenant aux manufactures agronomiques, les ouvriers qui y seront attachés, jouiront, comme les cultivateurs des plantations, d'une part égale, d'après leur classe différente, déterminée selon l'article IV.

“ Cette part sera payée aux ouvriers de ces guildiveries sur le pied de la plus forte part du plus riche atelier de la commune. Ils recevront en outre, pour les indemniser de ce qu'ils n'ont pas de jardin, une ration ordinaire par jour.

“ XXII. Lorsque les relations avec les neutres seront rétablies, le commerce revivé, et les propriétaires dans le cas de payer en numéraire, il pourra être pris des mesures ultérieures qui alloueront aux cultivateurs une paye en numéraire, qu'ils recevront tous les mois, et qui sera proportionnée au quart de la quantité des denrées qu'ils auront fabriquées ou recueillies ; mes ces mesures ne pourront avoir lieu qu'en vertu d'un arrêté de l'agent du directoire exécutif.

“ XXIII.—Il sera incessamment fait et publié un règlement de police de culture, qui conformément à la loi, tracera les obligations respectives et réciproques des propriétaires et des cultivateurs.

“ Il est ordonné à tous les délégués municipalités et autres fonctionnaires publiques, de faire lire, publier, afficher et enregistrer par-tout où besoin sera, la présente proclamation, et de tenir strictement la main à son exécution.

“ Fait au Port Liberté, en la maison nationale, le 22 Pluviôse, an 7 de la République Française, une et indivisible.

“ (Signé) *Desfourneaux,*

“ Par l'agent particulière du directoire exécutif.

“ Le secretaire général, (Signé) *Deschamps.*”

General Desfourneaux having served in St. Domingo, and possessing the confidence of Santhonax, hoped to carry into effect at Guadaloupe similar measures which Toussaint also tried to accomplish in St. Domingo. As a white person, however, he never had the same power over the negroes which Toussaint had ; so that the same plan which had succeeded in St. Domingo, entirely failed in Guadaloupe. It is justly observed by General Boyer, respecting the preceding regulations, “ Une pareil accord ne pouvant d'ailleurs subsister entre des blancs peu nombreux, et un multitude des noirs qui auroit couvert sa haine pour le travail, par des murmures sur la répartition des produits, il était impossible de calculer
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“ les conséquences qui pouvaient en résulter.” The arrête was published on 22 Pluviôse an 7, (10 February 1799,) and on the 3d of October following, the general himself was seized by the military and civil powers of the colony, and sent to France. On the 20th May 1802, after torrents of blood had been shed, the arrête, just recited, and all others of a similar tendency, were abolished, and the former system of slavery was again established in Guadeloupe.

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EXTRACTS from “ Code Henry,” for the regulation of Agriculture in that part of HAITI which was governed by Christophe.

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“ LOI CONCERNANT LA CULTURE.”

“ Titre Premier.”

“ Des Obligations réciproques des Propriétaires, Fermiers et Agriculteurs.”

“ Chapitre Premier.”

“ Des Devoirs des Propriétaires et Fermiers.”

“ Art. 1^{er}. LES propriétaires et fermiers des terres sont tenus d’agir envers les agriculteurs en bons pères de famille, obligation qu’il est de leur intérêt de remplir dans toute son étendue.

“ La ferme volonté du roi étant, qu’en cas de mauvais traitemens de la part des propriétaires et fermiers envers les agriculteurs, le lieutenant du roi, commandant la paroisse, soit tenu d’accueillir les plaintes qui lui auront été portées par les agriculteurs; les griefs, bien constatés et dûment reconnu par le dit lieutenant de roi, il les soumettra au général commandant l’arrondissement, et celui-ci en instruira le conseil privé du roi, qui statuera sur la plainte portée par les agriculteurs, et prononcera, s’il y a lieu, la peine à infliger aux propriétaires et fermiers.

“ 2. Dans le cas où la plainte portée au lieutenant de roi, par l’agriculteur, n’aurait point été accueillie par ledit lieutenant de roi, l’agriculteur qui a à se plaindre, est autorisé de s’adresser directement au général commandant l’arrondissement; et dans le cas où celui-ci ne lui rendrait pas la justice qu’il en doit obtenir, il s’adressera au général commandant la division, et delà au conseil privé.

“ 3. Nul propriétaire ou fermier ne pourra renvoyer un agriculteur de son habitation, pour cause de maladie ou d’infirmité, ce dernier devant y demeurer comme étant sa résidence.

“ 4. Il sera établi un hôpital sur chaque habitation, où les agriculteurs malades seront traités et médicamentés aux frais et depens des propriétaires et fermiers, qui seront tenus, à cet effet, de s’abonner avec un officier de santé, qui visitera les habitations deux fois par semaine.

“ Il sera en outre établi, dans les jardins de l’habitation, dans un lieu propice et éloigné des établissemens, un autre hôpital, destiné à traiter les maladies contagieuses.

“ Indépendamment de l’officier de santé, il y aura une hospitalière et une accoucheuse sur chaque habitation, pour veiller et soigner les malades.

“ 5. Les officiers de santé seront tenus de se conformer aux réglemens de sa Majesté, faits ou à faire, concernant leur profession.

“ 6. Les propriétaires et fermiers sont tenus de porter de secours, de fournir des alimens aux vieillards et infirmes de leurs habitations, qui sont hors d’état de leur être d’aucune utilité, et de les soigner et médicamenter.

“ 7. Inhibitions et très expresses défenses sont faites aux propriétaires et fermiers des terres, de détourner les agriculteurs des habitations de propriétés et des fermes, où il sont attachés, pour les employer sur une autre habitation ou à un autre genre de culture, pour quelque raison que ce soit et sous quelque prétexte que ce puisse être, sans en obtenir la permission du conseil privé du roi; ce qui ne pourra avoir lieu qu’autant qu’il aura été constaté que la terre qu’ils veulent abandonner, pour s’établir ailleurs, est usé, et n’est point susceptible de production.

“ 8. Les propriétaires et fermiers présens sur leurs habitations, et à leur défaut leurs fondés de pouvoirs, qui seront atteints et convaincus d’avoir soufferts ou soutirés les militaires de l’armée, sans leur avoir fait exhiber leur permis en bonne forme, et qui dans le délai de vingt-quatre heures n’en auraient pas fait la déclaration au lieutenant de roi, seront punis suivant l’article 12 de la deuxième section de la loi pénale militaire, concernant la désertion à l’intérieur.

“ 9. Les propriétaires et fermiers sont tenus de fournir et renouveler les outils aratoires de leurs habitations, lorsqu’il sera nécessaire; ces outils seront livrés aux gérans; qui en seront responsables envers les propriétaires et fermiers.

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“ 10. Les agriculteurs auront leurs places à vivres sur les habitations, elles seront réparties équitablement par le propriétaire ou fermier, en présence des autorités, entre chaque famille, en égard à la qualité et à la quantité de terre qu'il conviendra d'accorder.

“ 11. Dans le cas d'incendie sur une habitation sucrerie ou autre, les agriculteurs voisins seront tenus d'apporter de suite toute l'assistance possible, pour arrêter les progrès de l'incendie ; et les propriétaires et fermiers fourniront également, autant que possible, leurs mobiliers, pour aider l'habitant incendié de pouvoir rouler ses cannes, dans le plus court délai, sans aucune rétribution.

“ 12. Nul propriétaire, fermier ou gérant ne pourra passer le feu dans ses pièces de cannes, ni faire un bois neuf avoisinant les plantations limitrophes, sans prévenir le propriétaire, fermier ou gérant de l'habitation que leur est voisine, et sans observer les distances pour empêcher la communication du feu, sous peine de dommages et intérêts envers la partie lésée.

“ 13. Les propriétaires ou fermiers auront la faculté de faire garder leur chevaux des selle et de voitures, concurrement avec les autres animaux servans à la manufacture de l'habitation ; mais quand ils auront détourné de l'atelier un ou plusieurs gardiens, pour les affecter particulièrement à la garde de leurs chevaux, soit à la longe ou à l'écurie, ces gardiens n'auront point part à la repartition du quart afférant aux agriculteurs ; ils seront payés par lesdits propriétaires et fermiers.

“ 14. Le trop grand nombre d'animaux, sur les habitations cultivées, étant nuisible à leur entretien et à la culture, par leurs ravages, il ne sera conservé, dans la savanne close, que les animaux nécessaires aux travaux, à l'exploitation des denrées et autres besoins de l'habitation. Les autres animaux, tant ceux des propriétaires ou fermiers, que ceux des agriculteurs, seront mis sur une savanne particulière, que les propriétaires ou fermiers seront tenus de se procurer pour leurs propres animaux et ceux des agriculteurs.

“ 15. Il sera pourvu, par les propriétaires, fermiers ou gérans des habitations, au nombre des gardiens nécessaires pour surveiller les animaux des agriculteurs. Ces gardiens auront part à la repartition du quart afférant aux agriculteurs.”

CHAPITRE IInd.

“ Des Obligations des Agriculteurs et de la Police des Ateliers.

“ 16. La loi ayant imposé aux propriétaires et fermiers des terres des devoirs tout paternels envers les agriculteurs, exige aussi des devoirs réciproques de la part des agriculteurs envers les propriétaires et fermiers.

“ 17. *La loi punit l'homme oisif et vagabond ; tout individu devant se rendre utile à la société.*

“ Indépendamment des personnes comprises dans l'art. 19 ci-après, seront considérés comme vagabonds, les agriculteurs des deux sexes qui sortis ou sortiront des habitations où ils ont choisi leur demeure habituelle, pour aller se réfugier, sans cause valable, sur une autre habitation, dans les bourgs, villes ou dans autre endroit, dont la résidence leur est interdite par la loi ; par conséquent ceux d'entre eux qui se trouveront sous le coup du présent article, seront punis conformément à l'art. 113, titre viii.

“ 18. Le mariage des agriculteurs sera essentiellement encouragé et protégé, étant la source des bonnes mœurs.

“ Les agriculteurs laborieux qui auront le plus d'enfans bien élevés et éduqués, provenans de leur union légitime, seront distingués par le gouvernement, et obtiendront des encouragemens.

“ 19. La mendicité est sévèrement prohibée ; tous gens oisifs, mendiens, femmes de mauvaises vies et mœurs, tous divagans dans les villes, bourgs et grands chemins, seront arrêtés par la police, pour être renvoyés sur leurs habitations ; ceux qui ne sont attachés à aucune habitation, seront envoyés sur l'habitation ou la manufacture qui leur sera désignée par les autorités supérieurs.

“ Les gouverneurs, les lieutenans de roi, commandans des places et de police, tierdront sévèrement la main à la pleine et entière exécution du présent article ; et tous les bons et fidèles sujets de sa Majesté sont invités à dénoncer aux autorités les individus mentionnés ci-dessus.

“ 20. Tout gérant ou conducteur convaincu d'avoir négligé la culture de l'habitation qui lui est confiée, d'avoir détourné à son profit le travail des agriculteurs, soit en les employant à la pêche ou à la chasse, soit en les destinant à faire des places pour leur compte particulier et autres, ou qui aurait exercé des mauvais traitemens envers les agriculteurs, en faisant un coupable abus de son autorité, sera puni selon l'art. 114. titre viii.

“ 21. Les abus provenans directement du fait des gérans, quant il sera évidemment prouvé que les propriétaires et fermiers n'y ont eu aucune part, ne pourront, dans aucun cas, préjudicier aux intérêts des propriétaires ou fermiers absens de leurs habitations. Si
“ ces

“ ces abus sont réellement du fait des propriétaires ou fermiers, les autorités se conformeront, selon la gravité du cas, aux dispositions des articles de la loi concernant les abus provenans du fait des propriétaires et fermiers envers les agriculteurs.

“ 22. Les heures du travail des agriculteurs sont irrévocablement fixées ainsi qu'il suit :

“ Le matin, dès la pointe du jour, les travaux commenceront, et dureront sans interruption jusqu'à huit heures ; l'espace d'une heure sera consacré au déjeuner des agriculteurs, qui aura lieu dans l'endroit même où ils sont occupés ; à neuf heures, ils reprendront leurs travaux jusqu'à midi, alors deux heures de repos leur seront accordées ; à deux heures précises, ils reprendront leurs travaux, pour ne les abandonner qu'à la nuit fermante.

“ 23. Les femmes enceintes ou nourrices ne sont point assujetties aux règles ci-dessus établies.

“ 24. Tous les soirs, les propriétaires, fermiers ou gérans, sont tenus de faire faire la prière aux agriculteurs, et les inviteront d'assister, les dimanches et fêtes, aux prières publiques, dans leur paroisse.

“ 25. Les propriétaires, fermiers, gérans et conducteurs des habitations, sont tenus de veiller à ce que les places à vivres distribuées aux agriculteurs, soient toujours bien entretenues ; dans le cas contraire, ils obligeront les agriculteurs de le faire dans leurs heures.

“ 26. Les agriculteurs ne pourront s'absenter de leurs habitations les jours de travail, sans se munir d'un permis du lieutenant de roi du lieu, que le gérant ou conducteur doit leur procurer.

“ 27. Toutes les fois qu'il existera un désordre ou un mouvement séditieux sur une habitation, les propriétaires, fermiers, gérans ou conducteurs, sont tenus de faire un appel au voisinage, pour s'assurer des perturbateurs, qui étant arrêtés, en donneront de suite avis au lieutenant du roi du lieu ou commandant de la police, qui se transportera dans l'endroit pour recevoir les dits perturbateurs du repos public, les faire incarcérer, et ensuite en rendre compte à qui de droit, en deduisant les motifs de leur arrestation.

“ 28. Toutes les fois que le lieutenant de roi d'une paroisse et le commandant de la police seront requis soit par les autorités civiles ou administratives, soit par les propriétaires, fermiers ou gérans, de se transporter sur une habitation pour prévenir le désordre, s'ils ne remplissent exactement leur devoir, en employant tous les moyens qui sont en leur pouvoir, pour le réprimer ; ils seront personnellement responsables des funestes conséquences qui en résulteraient.

“ TITRE II.

“ Des Grandes Cultures.

“ 29. Les propriétaires et fermiers des habitations sucreries, sont tenus de faire les bâtimens et moulins nécessaires à la fabrication du sucre, de tenir les équipages en bon état, et de faire les bassins et purgeries, pour ne pas perdre le sirop qui decoule des boucauts.

“ 30. Ils sont tenus également de fournir le mobilier et ustensiles servans à l'exploitation des habitations.

“ 31. Les propriétaires, fermiers, gérans et conducteurs des habitations sucreries, prendront les précautions pour effectuer les plantations de cannes de la manière convenable.

“ 32. Les propriétaires ou fermiers, et à leur défaut les gérans, sont tenus de faire manufacturer le sucre avec les soins et les précautions nécessaires, pour le rendre d'une qualité supérieure ; à cet effet, ils auront l'attention de le faire bien lessiver et écumer, et avant que le sucre soit bon à délivrer, il faudra qu'il ait été purgé de son sirop, pendant l'espace de trois mois. Les boucauts seront marqués du nom du propriétaire ou du fermier de l'habitation, et de celui de la paroisse, pour qu'on puisse s'assurer, au besoin, du véritable lieu d'où provient le sucre.

“ 33. Les propriétaires ou fermiers des habitations caféyères, sont tenus de faire de bonnes cases à loger le café, et les glacis servans à le sécher ; ils feront faire les moulins à piler et à vaner, et fourniront avec soin les sacs, les ébichets et les autres ustensiles nécessaires à la fabrication de cette denrée. Ils sont également tenus de fournir les outils aratoires, ainsi qu'il est prescrit par l'article 9, du titre I^{er}.

“ 34. Les propriétaires, fermiers, gérans et conducteurs des habitations caféyères, auront soin de faire tailler les cafters convenablement, de relever, receper et d'entretenir les vieux arbres, de donner à propos le nombre de sarclaisons nécessaire, et de faire de nouvelles plantations sur les terrains dont les bois ont déjà été abattus ; mais ils ne feront des bois neufs, que lorsqu'ils pourront les planter et les entretenir, sans négliger la culture des anciennes plantations.

“ 35. La loi concernant l'affermage des biens du royaume ayant limité au tiers des bois debout existans, la quantité que chaque fermier d'habitation a le droit d'abattre pour faire des plantations en denrées ; les fermiers sont tenus, sous la peine portée par la dite loi, de ne point abattre une plus grande quantité de bois debout que celle autorisée

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“ par cette loi ; et ils auront toujours l'attention de ne point découvrir les sommets des montagnes et de conserver intacte, une quantité suffisante de bois debout, pour offrir les matériaux utiles aux établissemens des habitations ; les propriétaires sont assujettis aux mêmes obligations et par conséquent aux mêmes peines en cas de contravention.

“ 36. Les propriétaires, fermiers, gérans et conducteurs sont tenus d'apporter à la préparation du café, les précautions propres à le rendre d'une qualité supérieure ; à cet effet, ils s'appliqueront à le faire soigner sur le glaciis, à veiller à ce qu'il ne soit pas trop pourri ou échauffé ; et quand il est sec, ils auront la précaution de le faire serrer pour ne pas l'exposer aux intempéries de l'air ; enfin dans les derniers préparations, ils veilleront à ce qu'il soit bien nettoyé et trié, en le dépouillant des pailles, roches et autres ordores qui s'y mêlent ordinairement, afin de le délivrer beau et marchand.

“ 37. *Il est expressément défendu aux propriétaires et fermiers des habitations caféyères, de faire faire le transport des denrées, soit dans les bourgs des paroisses, soit dans les embarcadères, sur la tête des agriculteurs ; les dits propriétaires et fermiers étant tenus de fournir les animaux nécessaires aux transports des denrées provenant de leurs habitations.*

“ 38. Les propriétaires et fermiers des habitations cotonneries, devront faire les bâtimens propices à loger le coton et à le manufacturer, établir le nombre de moulins à passer, et fournir les ustensiles et outils nécessaires, ainsi qu'il est prescrit par l'article 9.

“ 39. Ils employeront les procédés convenables pour préparer et nettoyer le coton proprement, avant de le faire emballer. Les balles seront faites de bonne toile, devant contenir au moins trois cent livres de coton, et seront marquées du nom du propriétaire ou fermier d'habitation et de celui de la paroisse où elles ont été fabriquées.

“ 40. Les propriétaires et fermiers des indigoteries seront tenus de faire et d'entretenir les établissemens nécessaires pour la prospérité de ces manufactures ; et ils auront la précaution, par mesure de salubrité, de les établir aussi éloigné que faire se pourra des logemens ; ils devront également fournir les outils aratoires, ustensiles et autres objets mobiliers indispensables à la fabrique de l'indigo.

“ 41. Ils sont également tenus de ne faire la livraison de leur indigo, que quand il aura atteint le degré de préparation qui le rend beau et marchand ; les sacs, caisses ou barils, contenant l'indigo, seront marqués du nom du propriétaire ou fermier, et de celui de la paroisse d'où il provient.

“ 42. Les propriétaires ou fermiers des cacaoyères, sont tenus de faire les bâtimens utiles à cette manufacture, et fournir les outils et ustensiles qui y sont nécessaires.

“ 43. Les propriétaires, fermiers, gérans et conducteurs des dites habitations, sont tenus d'appréter le cacao avec soin, et de n'en faire la livraison qu'après qu'il aura acquis le degré de sécheresse convenable.

“ 44. Tous propriétaires, fermiers, gérans ou conducteurs des habitations ou manufactures, devront se conformer strictement à ce qui leur est prescrit par ce titre et par le premier, à peine d'encourir les condamnations portées au Titre VII des Delits et des Peines.

“ 45. *Les lieutenans de roi des paroisses, officiers de police, les propriétaires, fermiers, gérans et conducteurs, sont tenus de faire activer la culture des habitations, et de la pousser au plus haut degré de prospérité.*”

Articles referred to in the preceding Extracts.

“ TITRE VIII.

“ Des Delits et des Peines.

“ Article 105. *Tout agriculteur qui s'absentera de son habitation sans être nanti d'un permis de son gérant, visé par le lieutenant de roi de la paroisse, sera condamné à un gourdin d'amende, et du double en cas de recidive.*

“ 113. Tout agriculteur pris en vagabondage et ceux qui se trouveront sous le coup de l'article 17 du titre I^{er}., seront traduits par devant le lieutenant de roi commandant, qui les emploiera aux travaux du roi pendant un mois, de double en cas de recidive ; *et pour la troisième fois, ils seront conduits par devant l'autorité supérieure, qui prononcera sur leur sort, comme incorrigibles.*

“ 114. Tout gérant et conducteur pris sous le coup de l'article 20, du titre I^{er}. concernant les abus provenans du fait des gérans et conducteurs, seront cassé de leurs fonctions, et condamnés à un emprisonnement, qui ne pourra être moindre d'un mois, ni excéder trois mois, selon la gravité du cas.

“ 115. Tout gérant qui, dans le délai d'un mois après la publication de la présent loi, ne se serait point conformé aux dispositions de l'art 4, du titre I^{er}., relatives aux hôpitaux, sera puni d'une détention de deux mois aux barrières neuves, à moins qu'il ne prouve qu'il en a été empêché par le propriétaire ou le fermier ; dans ce cas, la peine sera infligée à celui qui aura occasionné le retardement.

“ 116. Tout

“ 116. Tout propriétaire, fermier, gérant, et particulièrement les conducteurs qui aurait soufferts ou soutirés des autres habitations, des agriculteurs des deux sexes, ou leurs enfans, en leur donnant un asile sur leurs habitations, seront condamnés à cinquante gourdes d’amende.

“ 117. Les vieillards et infirmes des habitations qui seront incapables par leur état de se procurer l’existence, seront soignés, médicamentés et alimentés, à la charge des propriétaires et fermiers; à défaut par eux de le faire, le lieutenant de roi dénoncera ces abus au conseil privé du roi.

“ 118. Tout propriétaire ou fermier qui n’aura point fourni les ustensiles et outils aratoires aux agriculteurs de son habitation, y sera contraint par voie de rigueur, et en outre condamné à une amende proportionnée à la valeur des outils qu’il n’aurait point fournis.

“ 119. Tout propriétaire et fermier qui auront négligés de faire les bâtimens et de fournir les objets mobiliers nécessaires à l’exploitation et à l’activité des travaux des manufactures, ainsi qu’il est prescrit par la loi, y seront contraints par voie de rigueur, sur dénonciation qui en sera faite par le lieutenant de roi, aux intendans, et ceux-ci au ministre des finances et de l’intérieur.

“ 120. Tout propriétaire, fermier, gérant et conducteur, qui n’auront pas fabriqués les denrées avec les soins et les précautions exigés par la loi, seront condamnés à vingt-cinq gourdes d’amende; et dans le cas où la denrée aurait été fabriquée avec des intentions frauduleuses, les contrevenans seront poursuivis criminellement comme voleurs, et la denrée prise en fraude, confisquée au profit du roi; un quart sera affecté aux dénonciateurs.”

The regulations of Christophe were in some cases much more favourable to the labourer than those established by General Desfourneaux in Guadaloupe, by the 2d article of which, the labourer was to receive one fourth of the revenue, after the expenses of the estate had been paid; but Christophe allowed the labourers one fourth of the gross produce, (“ le quart des revenus brut, qu’ils auront manufacturés sur les habitations;”) and, being himself a negro, he was able for some time to carry his regulations into effect. The insurrection against him, and his death, put an end to the mode of coerced labour which he had established for the benefit of the negroes themselves: but there are many regulations established by Christophe, which could be usefully applied to the regulation of the industry of the liberated Africans.

Appendix, D. (1.)

ESTIMATE of the Produce and Expenses of a Sugar Estate in TORTOLA, showing the Rates of Profit on Stock.

Appendix,
D. (1.)*Description of the Situation of the Estate, Soil, &c.*

It is situated in the s.w. division of the Island of Tortola, bounded by the sea, and about nine miles from Town. The variety of the soil on this Estate is so great, that it is difficult to give an accurate description of it, the greater part however is light brown and black loam, rather rocky, and hilly.

ESTIMATED VALUE:

			£.	s.	d.		
89 Negroes per appraised value	-	-	at £. 100	-	8,900	-	-
135 Acres in land for canes	-	-	35	-	4,725	-	-
55 Ditto in negro grounds and gardens	-	-	15	-	825	-	-
267 Ditto in pasture, and uncultivated	-	-	6	-	1,602	-	-
3 Steers	-	-	22	-	66	-	-
1 Horse	-	-	—	-	41	5	-
21 Mules	-	-	33	-	693	-	-
Buildings and utensils	-	-	—	-	4,500	-	-

Total Tortola Currency - - £. 21,352 5 -

At 200 per cent Exchange, total Sterling - - £. 10,676 2 6

Rate of Profit on Stock about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum.

N. B.—I place great confidence in the accuracy of these data given by the receiver appointed by the Court of Chancery to take charge of the plantation. The accounts therefore would be publicly examined. The sums given are designedly intended to be average rates.

Appendix, D. (1.)—continued.

GENERAL VIEW of the Sugar Plantation in TORTOLA, called _____, in the Year 1823.

CULTIVATION AND PRODUCTION.	Acres.	PRODUCE :			PRICE of each Article in Currency.	AMOUNT in Currency.	
		SUGAR Hhds. of 1,500 lbs.	RUM.				
			Pun.	Galls.			
Plant canes - - - - -	15	80	40	4,400	Sugar per hhd. £. 24 - Rum per gall. 2 s. 3 d.	£. s. d.	
Ratoons - - - - -	120					1,920 - -	
Negro grounds and gardens - - -	55					495 - -	
Pasture and uncultivated - - -	267						
	457	80	40	4,400	Gross Produce - £.	2,415 - -	
CONSUMPTION AND EXPENSE:							
1st Gang negroes - - - - -	38	} Rations.			Rations per week allowed according to ages, &c. to slaves, in addition to the produce of their grounds and gardens:— Corn meal from two to three quarts; herrings, six; valued under the charge for food issued.		
2d - - Ditto - - - - -	29						
3d - - Ditto - - - - -	16						
Infants - - - - -	6						
	89	1	1	110	- Valued at - £.	36 7 6	
FOOD ISSUED:							
Salt - - - - -	£. 3 6 -	} Computed Average Annual Cost in Currency.					
3 barrels pork } for Christmas	24 15 -						
5 barrels flour } allowances	20 12 6						
25 ditto herrings - - -	103 2 6						
20 puncheons corn meal - - -	264 - -						
Sundry for sick - - - - -	- - - - -					415 16 -	
Clothing - - - - -	- - - - -					50 - -	
Doctor's charges - - - - -	- - - - -					100 - -	
Manager's salary - - - - -	- - - - -					50 - -	
Receiver's ditto - - - - -	- - - - -					250 - -	
Colonial and 4 ½ per cent tax - - -	- - - - -					175 - -	
Deal, lumber, for cane spouts and heading - - -	- - - - -					155 - -	
Staves and wood hoops - - - - -	- - - - -					120 - -	
Lamp oil and temper lime - - - - -	- - - - -					180 - -	
Hoes, bills and nails - - - - -	- - - - -					35 - -	
Iron hoops and rivets - - - - -	- - - - -					75 - -	
Workmen's account and repairs of build-ings - - - - -	- - - - -					25 - -	
Decrease of stock - - - - -	- - - - -					100 - -	
Miscellaneous charges - - - - -	- - - - -					100 - -	
						50 - -	
Total Expenditure - - - - -						£.	1,917 3 6
Net Revenue in Currency - - - - -						£.	497 16 6
Exchange at 200 per cent, Net Revenue in Sterling - - - - -						£.	248 18 3

Appendix, D. (2.)

Estimate of the Produce and Expenses of a Sugar Estate in TORTOLA, showing the Rates of Profit on Stock.

Appendix,
D. (2.)

Description of the Situation of the Estate, Soil, &c,

Situated within a mile of the Road Town, bounded by the harbour; lowland soil, stiff, with gravel; mountain land, light clay bottom.

APPRAISED VALUE:		Currency.
90 Negroes, valued at	- - - - -	£. 9,000
60 Acres best land for canes	- - - - - £. 30	1,800
173 D ^o - inferior	- - - - - 10	1,730
25 Cattle (working)	- - - - - 10	250
Steers	- - - - -	—
Calves	- - - - -	—
6 Horses	- - - - - 10	60
14 Mules	- - - - - 33	462
Buildings and utensils	- - - - -	4,000
Total Tortola Currency		17,302
At 200 per cent, total Sterling		£. 8,651

Rate of profit on Stock very little exceeding half per cent per annum.

N. B.—I do not place the same confidence in the data here afforded, although I am not able to point out any particular error: but I had not time, personally, to examine the books, and the proprietor of the estate was answerable to no person, if he either under-rated his crop, or over-rated his expenses; besides which, the slaves did not appear to have been under an intelligent control, for no white overseer appears to have been employed.

Appendix,
D. (2.)

GENERAL VIEW OF A SUGAR

CULTIVATION:		PRODUCE:			
		Sugar Hhds. of 1,500 lbs.	Rum. Gallons.	Molasses. Gallons.	Indian Corn. Bushels.
Plant canes - - - - -	} 60	{ 30	1,650		
Ratoons, and nursery - - - - -					
Indian corn - - - - -					
Sweet potatoes - - - - -					
Yams - - - - -					
Eddoes - - - - -					
Pumpkins and ochroes - - - - -					
Bonaviste and pigeon peas - - - - -					
Negroe gardens - - - - -	50				
Artificial grasses, pasture and uncultivated	123				
	233	30	1,650		
CONSUMPTION AND EXPENSE:					
1st Gang negroes - - - - -	30	} Rations per annum.			
2d - - Ditto - - - - -	} 40				
3d - - Ditto - - - - -					
Play gang - - - - -	} 20				
Infants - - - - -					
	90	1	100		
FOOD ISSUED:					
Salt fish and salt - - - - - £. 10 - -	} 24 15 6				
Pork, 3 barrels - - - - -					
Flour, 3 ditto - - - - - 12 7 6					
Herrings and corn meal - - - - - 240 18 -					
Sundry for sick - - - - -					
Clothing - - - - -					
Doctors charges - - - - -					
Salaries - - - - -					
Colonial and 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent tax - - - - -					
White servants, and vegetables - - - - -					
Deal, lumber, and staves - - - - -					
Workmen's accounts - - - - -					
Hoops and temper lime - - - - -					
Repair of buildings - - - - -					
Miscellaneous charges, hoes, bills, oil, lamps, &c. -					

managed by the proprietor, with the aid of his
no white person employed on a salary.

PLANTATION IN TORTOLA.

Appendix,
D. (2.)

PRODUCE:					PRICE of each Article in Currency.	AMOUNT in Currency.
Sweet Potatoes.	Yams.	Eddoes.	Pumkins and Ochroes.	Bonaviste and Pigeon Peas.		
lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Bushels.		£. s. d.
-	-	-	-	-	Sugar, per hhd. £. 24 -	720 - -
-	-	-	-	-	Rum, per gal. 2/3 -	185 12 6
-	-	-	-	-	per bushel.	
-	-	-	-	-	per 100 lbs.	
-	-	-	-	-	per - d°	
-	-	-	-	-	per - d°	
-	-	-	-	-	per - d°	
-	-	-	-	-	per bushel.	
					Gross Produce - - £.	905 12 6
					Sundries allowed to slaves, in addition to the produce of their grounds, amounting per annum to - - -	35 5 -
					- - - - -	288 - 6
					- - - - -	12 - -
					- - - - -	148 10 -
					- - - - -	50 - -
head slaves.					- - - - -	120 - -
					- - - - -	55 - -
					- - - - -	5 - -
					- - - - -	10 - -
					- - - - -	30 - -
					- - - - -	50 - -
					Total Expenditure - - -	803 15 6
					Net Revenue - - - - -	101 17 -
					Currency - - - - - £.	905 12 6

Exchange at 200 per cent, Net Revenue in Sterling - - - £. 50 18 6.

Appendix, D. (3.)

ESTIMATE of the Produce and Expenses

GENERAL VIEW of a Sugar Plantation in the Island of

CULTIVATION :		PRODUCE:					
		Sugar Hhds. of 1,600 lbs.	Rum.	Molasses.	Guinea Corn.	Indian Corn.	
		Acres.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Bushels.	Bushels.	
Plant canes	- - - - -	33	116	5,216	1,600	- - - -	- - - -
Rattoons	- - - - -	33	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
Nursery	- - - - -	6	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
Guinea corn	- - - - -	70	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	1,050	- - - -
Indian corn	- - - - -	20	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	250
Sweet potatoes	- - - - -	20	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
Yams and eddoes	- - - - -	17	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
Pumpkins and ochroes	- - - - -	2	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
Pigeon peas and bonavis	- - - - -	15	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
		216					
Artificial grasses	- - - - -	25					
Negro gardens	- - - - -	9					
Tenants	- - - - -	10					
Pasture and uncultivated	- - - - -	54					
Acres	-	314	116	5,216	1,600	1,050	250
NEGROES CONSUME:		Negroes.					
Men and women	- - - - -	86	Rations.	Per diem : 2 pints Guinea corn, or 2 ½ Indian.			
2d Gang, girls and boys	- - - - -	20		- d° - d° - d°			
3d Gang	- - - - -	18		- d° - 1 ½ Guinea - or 2 pts. Indian.			
Play gang	- - - - -	15		- d° - 1 - d°.			
Infants	- - - - -	11					
Negroes	-	150 use	½	100	1,400	800	- - - -
Family and white servants, with the horses, horned cattle, and stock of every description, &c. consume, except what is used for plants or seed -			½	50	200	250	250
FOOD ISSUED:		£. s. d.					
60 qtls. salt fish, a' 35/ per	- - - - -	105 - - -	}				
3 Barrels pork, a' \$ 22 per	- - - - -	22 10 - -					
60 Bushels salt, a' 5/ per	- - - - -	15 - - -					
Sundries for sick	- - - - -	30 - - -					
Clothing	- - - - -	- - - - -					
Doctor's charges	- - - - -	- - - - -					
Salaries	- - - - -	- - - - -					
Colonial and 4 ½ per cent taxes	- - - - -	- - - - -					
Feeding white servants, besides vegetables, consisting chiefly of pork fed and corned on the estate	- - - - -	- - - - -					
Deal, lumber, and staves	- - - - -	- - - - -					
Workmen's accounts	- - - - -	- - - - -					
Hoops and temper lime	- - - - -	- - - - -					
Repairs of buildings	- - - - -	- - - - -					
Miscellaneous charges	- - - - -	- - - - -					
			1	150	1,600	1,050	250

Appendix, D. (3.)

of a particular Sugar Estate in BARBADOS.

BARBADOS, consisting of 150 Negroes, and 314 Acres; in 1822.

PRODUCE:					PRICE of each Article in Currency of Barbados.	AMOUNT in Barbados Currency.		
Sweet Potatoes.	Yams.	Eddoes.	Punkins and Ochroes.	Bonavis and Pease.		£.	s.	d.
lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Bushels.				
-	-	-	-	-	Sugar, £. 40 per hhd. - - Rum, 2/8 per gallon - - Molasses, 2/ 10/ per bushel - - - 7/6 per - d° - - - 7/6 per cwt. - - - 7/6 per d° - - - 7/6 per d° - - - 12/6 per bushel - - -	4,640	-	-
-	-	-	-	-		695	9	4
-	-	-	-	-		160	-	-
-	-	-	-	-		525	-	-
-	-	-	-	-		93	15	-
120,000	-	-	-	-		450	-	-
-	60,000	50,000	-	-		412	10	-
-	-	-	15,000	-		56	5	-
-	-	-	-	200		125	-	-
-	-	-	-	-				
120,000	60,000	50,000	15,000	200	Gross Revenue - £.	7,157	19	4
					Potatoes and all vegetables served out at the rate of 3 lbs. to a pint Guinea corn, and part given, after being cooked as a dressed meal, with meat or fish, and part given in kind, according to the wishes and character of the slave. The dressed meal is given in addition to the rations.			
67,512	40,000	30,000	12,000	150	- - - - -	1,227	15	$\frac{1}{4}$
52,488	20,000	20,000	3,000	50	About 10,000 lbs. weight of yams and eddoes are used for plants.	654	14	11
-	-	-	-	-	- - - - -	172	10	-
-	-	-	-	-	- - - - -	150	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	- - - - -	80	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	- - - - -	230	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	- - - - -	247	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	- - - - -	50	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	- - - - -	140	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	- - - - -	50	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	- - - - -	50	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	- - - - -	100	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	- - - - -	50	-	-
120,000	60,000	50,000	15,000	200	Total Expenses - £.	3,201	19	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
Net Revenue in Barbados Currency -						3,955	19	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
Exchange at 133 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, Net Revenue in Sterling - £.						2,966	19	6

Appendix,
D. (3.)

Appendix D. (3.)—continued.

Description of the Situation of the Estate, Soil, &c.

The parish lines of St. George, St. Thomas and St. Joseph run through this Estate. It is distant seven miles from Bridge-Town, where the sugar is sent. The soil is a light brown and red loam, and is tolerably free from stones. The sea is about five miles from the nearest point.

150 Negroes	- valued at	- - -	£. 90 each	-	£. 13,500
216 Acres	-	- - -	- 80	-	17,280
98 D ^o	-	- - -	- 50	-	4,900
80 Grown cattle	-	- - -	- 15	-	1,200
16 Steers	-	- - -	- 10	-	160
16 Calves	-	- - -	- 5	-	80
10 Horses	-	- - -	- 60	-	600
Buildings and utensils	-	- - -	-	-	5,000

Total Barbados Currency - £. 42,720

Total Sterling, at 133 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent - £. 32,040

Rate of profit on stock during the price of sugars as quoted in the Estimate, being 37 s. 6d. sterling, per cwt. from its superior quality,—about 9 per cent per annum.

N. B.—The above plantation is very seasonable, produces fine sugar, and affords a fair specimen of the management followed in the Island. The prices are the average rates selected from actual sales. The general profits on stock throughout the Island (where the lands are not so seasonably situated to benefit by the showers of rain) fall short of this, which has been selected to show, in minute detail, the rather peculiar mode adopted in Barbados, for cultivating the ground, and feeding the slaves, when compared with the system adopted in Tortola: yet the two statements require some explanation. In Tortola the slave has land given to him, and American corn flour is purchased cheaper than it can be raised and ground into meal in the Island. The vicinity to a foreign Island gives the slave in Tortola the means of exchanging his stock of poultry, pigs, &c. and the produce of his ground, to advantage, by receiving the productions of the United States, by smuggling, in return. These measures could not be resorted to in Barbados, where the population also is greater, with relation to the extent of good soil, so that the proprietor, by means of his capital, and superior arrangements for the subdivision of labour, is enabled to produce much larger crops from the same space of soil to feed his slaves, than if he left the slaves to cultivate the small space of ground which he could afford to give them to work thereon for themselves. Local peculiarities occur in every Island, influencing the system of each, and which cannot be easily understood in England by persons ignorant of local details, which it is equally tedious to give as they are difficult to understand, as bearing on questions connected with the control of labour, by persons who never have had any experience therein.

I place great confidence in the accuracy of the data here given, from the particulars being furnished by the attorney of the estate, from the plantation books, which had been transmitted to the proprietors residing in England. My own knowledge of the details of a sugar plantation enabled me to point out any error. The superior quality of the produce of this estate justifies the high price. The quantity of provisions are partly computed from the deliveries on the estate. There cannot be an error of 2 per cent above, or below the truth.

Appendix, E. (1.)

STATISTICAL TABLE showing the state of the Productive Industry, Wealth,
Population, &c of TORTOLA, in the years 1815 and 1823.

Appendix, E. (1.)—STATISTICAL TABLE of the BRITISH VIRGIN

NAME of the ISLAND.	Period.	Extent of the Islands.	Canes in cultiva- tion.	Sugar produced.	Rum produced.	Cotton cultivated.	Cotton produced.	Provisions culti- vated.	Pasture Land.	Forest and Brush Wood.	Barren Land.
1.—Anegada - - -	1815	21,200	-	-	-	90	15,600	55	12,000	4,500	3,700
	1823		-	-	-	110	21,000	60	12,200	4,475	3,700
2.—Tortola - - -	1815	13,300	3,125	25,000	112,000	95	15,000	1,100	6,458	1,800	700
	1823		2,400	22,000	98,560	86	13,500	1,170	7,122	1,800	700
3.—Spanish Town - - -	1815	9,500	-	-	-	145	18,300	230	6,500	1,523	1,100
	1823		-	-	-	115	14,000	200	6,560	1,523	1,100
4.—Jos. Van Dykes - - -	1815	3,200	-	-	-	140	21,000	112	1,800	748	400
	1823		-	-	-	110	17,000	120	1,822	748	400
5.—Peter's Island - - -	1815	1,890	-	-	-	125	18,600	75	1,290	155	245
	1823		-	-	-	110	16,300	70	1,310	155	245
6.—Beef Island - - -	1815	1,560	-	-	-	110	22,800	67	980	270	120
	1823		-	-	-	96	20,000	72	989	270	120
7.—Guana Island - - -	1815	1,120	-	-	-	120	25,500	56	750	104	90
	1823		-	-	-	136	27,000	64	726	104	90
8.—Norman's Island - - -	1815	950	-	-	-	58	7,500	22	655	165	50
	1823		-	-	-	60	8,000	23	650	167	50
9.—Cooper's Island - - -	1815	930	-	-	-	25	3,300	32	520	185	168
	1823		-	-	-	30	4,000	40	507	185	168
10.—Great Camanoe - - -	1815	850	-	-	-	35	4,300	15	350	290	160
	1823		-	-	-	50	6,900	40	310	290	160
11.—Ginger Island - - - Abandoned	1815	740	-	-	-	5	600	7	435	198	95
	1823		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	645	95
12.—Great Thatch Island - - -	1815	670	-	-	-	3	350	6	435	120	106
	1823		-	-	-	36	5,400	48	368	112	106
13.—Scrub Island - - -	1815	650	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	575	50
	1823		-	-	-	-	-	-	25	575	50
14.—Salt Island - - -	1815	450	-	-	-	45	3,500	16	160	55	151
	1823		-	-	-	63	2,300	26	132	55	151
15.—Prickley Pear - - -	1815	450	-	-	-	2	300	5	15	375	53
	1823		-	-	-	10	1,200	30	20	356	34
16.—Moskito Island - - -	1815	280	-	-	-	-	-	-	254	25	1
	1823		-	-	-	-	-	5	249	25	1
17.—Little Jos. Van Dykes - - -	1815	222	-	-	-	3	450	7	94	106	12
	1823		-	-	-	5	750	9	90	106	12
18.—Little Thatch Island - - -	1815	130	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	123	7
	1823		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	123	7
Forwarded - - -	1815	58,092	3,125	25,000	112,000	1,001	157,100	1,085	32,721	11,317	7,208
	1823		2,400	22,000	98,560	1,017	157,350	1,977	33,080	11,714	7,189

ISLANDS at two Periods, 1815 in Black Ink, and 1823 in Red.

Salt Ponds.	Salt made.	Horses.	Mules and Asses.	Horned Cattle.	Sheep.	Goats.	Pigs.	Poultry.	Fish caught.	Estimated Annual Value of the preceding Produce.	Estimated Value of Exports of all descriptions.	White Inhabitants.	Free Coloured.	Slaves.
Acres.	Bush.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	lbs.	£.	£.	No.	No.	No.
655	4,200	10	-	65	220	126	54	705	154,336	2,473	1,320	12	14	115
655	4,000	14	-	78	1,100	130	60	800	188,281	2,413	985	22	29	109
22	-	156	631	750	4,325	860	1,650	33,710	365,008	77,955	55,750	296	681	5,765
22	-	174	526	1,720	6,230	2,200	1,340	32,550	338,728	40,043	22,249	326	985	4,845
2	-	31	6	225	1,200	150	167	3,695	269,696	4,989	1,215	102	130	507
2	-	37	3	270	1,500	180	200	5,775	281,376	3,711	625	98	221	435
-	-	12	-	273	624	123	63	2,140	312,368	4,249	1,960	25	32	371
-	-	15	-	320	1,200	150	70	2,550	365,658	3,711	625	34	76	396
-	-	5	-	61	170	43	47	900	98,560	2,103	1,195	23	25	132
-	-	3	-	65	240	56	42	805	88,750	1,317	675	13	32	116
13	130	5	-	22	150	21	17	710	51,744	2,023	1,177	12	-	130
13	120	3	-	30	360	32	16	700	57,574	1,270	625	8	2	148
-	-	2	-	16	145	22	13	620	45,248	1,941	1,297	7	12	105
-	-	2	-	12	280	30	5	930	67,871	1,408	757	5	17	164
-	-	8	-	2	44	12	5	170	24,640	669	426	-	-	34
-	-	3	-	31	205	34	11	205	29,713	570	251	6	-	35
-	-	1	-	3	21	12	31	125	9,072	417	165	-	-	25
-	-	2	-	7	51	18	12	290	17,418	376	116	-	3	45
-	-	-	-	9	8	7	5	95	6,944	357	229	1	6	12
-	-	-	-	10	22	9	3	205	14,984	403	197	6	6	35
-	-	-	-	26	37	3	1	25	1,792	160	30	-	-	5
-	-	-	-	51	143	11	2	20	1,456	261	220	-	-	4
-	-	-	-	38	160	12	3	260	18,928	528	232	3	3	46
23	3,300	-	-	26	12	111	17	155	21,616	743	472	3	12	16
23	2,700	-	-	-	-	340	45	575	80,220	814	392	5	55	49
-	-	-	-	2	3	2	1	15	1,120	54	15	-	-	3
-	-	-	-	4	6	5	2	70	5,226	173	31	3	-	11
-	-	-	-	-	4	2	2	25	1,792	71	26	-	-	5
-	-	-	-	-	6	5	3	50	3,584	74	27	-	3	7
715	7,630	230	637	1,531	7,106	1,505	2,075	43,110	1,363,392	98,465	65,497	481	912	7,229
715	6,820	243	529	2,585	11,360	3,201	1,812	43,765	1,557,717	56,711	27,787	529	1,432	6,437

(continued)

Appendix, E. (1.)—Statistical Table of the British Virgin

NAME of the ISLANDS.	Period.		Extent of the Islands. Acres.	Canes in Cultiva- tion. Acres.	Sugar produced. Cwt.	Rum produced. Gallons.	Cotton cultivat- ed. Acres.	Cotton produced, lbs.	Provisions culti- vated. Acres.	Pasture Land. Acres.	Foreign and Brush Wood. Acres.	Barren Land. Acres.
	1815	1823										
Brought forward - - -	1815	1823	58,092	3,125	25,000	112,000	1,001	157,100	1,805	32,721	11,317	7,208
				2,400	22,000	98,560	1,017	157,350	1,977	33,080	11,714	7,189
19.—Frenchman's Key - - -	1815	1823	125	-	-	-	5	950	17	45	42	16
				-	-	-	-	-	2	65	42	16
20.—Nicker Island - - -	1815	1823	66	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	27	8
				-	-	-	-	-	-	30	27	8
21.—Great Tobago - - - Abandoned	1815	1823	54	-	-	-	2	350	3	7	35	7
				-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47	7
22.—Brick Island - - -	1815	1823	50	-	-	-	1	200	3	11	17	14
				-	-	-	2	300	4	12	14	14
23.—Little Camanoe - - -	1815	1823	35	-	-	-	6	900	13	12	3	1
				-	-	-	6	800	15	10	3	1
24.—Dead Chest - - -	1815	1823	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	29	-	3
				-	-	-	12	1,800	2	15	-	3
25.—Great Dog - - -	1815	1823	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
26.—Little Tobago - - -	1815	1823	23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
27.—Great Seal Dog - - -	1815	1823	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
28.—Eustasia - - -	1815	1823	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
29.—Dog Island - - -	1815	1823	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
30.—Sandy Island - - -	1815	1823	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
31.—Round Rock - - -	1815	1823	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
32.—Little Dog - - -	1815	1823	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
33.—Witch, or Great Pelican Isle - - -	1815	1823	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Forwarded - - -	1815	1823	58,602	3,125	25,000	112,000	1,015	159,500	1,841	32,855	11,441	7,257
				2,400	22,000	98,560	1,037	160,250	2,000	33,212	11,847	7,238

Islands at two Periods, 1815 in Black Ink, and 1823 in Red—(continued.)

Salt Ponds.	Salt made.	Horses.	Asses and Mules.	Horned Cattle.	Sheep.	Goats.	Pigs.	Poultry.	Fish caught.	Estimated annual Value of the preceding Produce.	Estimated Value of Exports of all Descriptions.	White Inhabitants.	Free coloured.	Slaves.
Acres.	Bush.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	lbs.	Sterling:		No.	No.	No.
										£.	£.			
715	7,630	230	637	1,531	7,106	1,505	2,075	43,110	1,363,392	98,465	65,497	481	912	7,229
715	6,820	243	529	2,585	11,360	3,201	1,812	43,765	1,557,717	56,711	27,787	529	1,432	6,437
-	-	-	-	7	12	8	9	290	43,000	372	157	3	21	36
-	-	-	-	3	21	9	13	95	15,616	100	28	1	11	7
1														
-	-	-	-	2	4	2	1	25	1,792	51	20	-	-	5
4	-	-	-	-	16	6	-	30	2,240	48	15	-	3	3
4	-	-	-	-	21	3	-	30	2,240	44	12	-	2	4
-	-	-	-	2	6	4	-	80	5,824	152	57	2	2	12
-	-	-	-	4	10	7	-	105	7,644	107	41	3	3	15
					30	-	-	35	2,500	77	45	-	-	7
720	7,630	230	637	1,542	7,144	1,525	2,085	45,535	1,418,248	99,088	65,746	486	938	7,285
720	6,820	243	529	2,597	11,442	3,225	1,825	44,030	1,585,717	57,139	27,913	532	1,448	6,470

Appendix, E. (1.)—Statistical Table of the British Virgin

NAME of the ISLANDS.	Period.	Extent of the Islands.	Cares in cultivation.	Sugar produced.	Rum produced.	Cotton cultivated.	Cotton produced.	Provisions culti- vated.	Pasture Land.	Forest and Brush Wood.	Barren Land.
		Acres.	Acres.	Cwt.	Galls.	Acres.	lbs.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
Brought forward - -	1815	58,602	3,125	25,000	112,000	1,015	159,500	1,841	32,855	11,441	7,257
	1823		2,400	22,000	98,560	1,037	160,250	2,000	33,212	11,847	7,238
34.—Puppy Island - -	1815	6									
	1823										
35.—Green Island - -	1815	6									
	1823										
36.—Flannegan Island - -	1815	5									
	1823										
37.—Broken Jerusalem - -	1815	5									
	1823										
38.—Marina Island - -	1815	4									
	1823										
39.—Nanny's Island - -	1815	3									
	1823										
40.—Little Green Island - -	1815	3									
	1823										
41.—Whistling Key - -	1815	3									
	1823										
42.—Jos. Van Dyke's Key - -	1815	3									
	1823										
43.—Little Pelican Key - -	1815	3									
	1823										
44.—Seal Dog - -	1815	3									
	1823										
45.—Little Seal Dog - -	1815	2									
	1823										
46.—Wickham's Key - -	1815	2									
	1823										
47.—Paraqueta Island - -	1815	1									
	1823										
48.—Dildo Key - -	1815	1									
	1823										
49.—Bellamy Key - -	1815	1									
	1823										
TOTAL - -	1815	58,653	3,125	25,000	112,000	1,015	159,500	1,841	32,855	11,441	7,257
	1823		2,400	22,000	98,560	1,037	160,250	2,000	33,212	11,847	7,238

Islands, at two Periods; 1815 in Black Ink, and 1823 in Red—(continued.)

Salt Ponds.	Salt made.	Horses.	Asses and Mules.	Horned Cattle.	Sheep.	Goats.	Figs.	Poultry.	Fish caught.	Estimated Annual Value of the preceding Produce.	Estimated Value of Exports of all descriptions.	White Inhabitants.	Free Coloured.	Slaves.
<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Bush.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>lbs.</i>	Sterling.		<i>No.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>No.</i>
										<i>£.</i>	<i>£.</i>			
720	7,630	230	637	1,542	7,144	1,525	2,085	43,535	1,418,248	99,088	65,746	486	938	7,285
720	6,820	243	529	2,597	11,442	3,225	1,825	44,030	1,585,717	57,139	27,913	533	1,448	6,470
720	7,630	230	637	1,542	7,144	1,525	2,085	43,535	1,418,248	99,088	65,746	486	938	7,285
720	5,820	243	529	2,597	11,442	3,225	1,825	44,030	1,585,717	57,139	27,913	533	1,448	6,470

Appendix,
E. (1.)

Appendix, E. (1.)—continued - - - -

POPULATION:									
IN TOWN.									
PERIOD.	Whites.		Free Coloured.		Slaves.		African Apprentices.		
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
1815 - - -	99.	108.	222.	260.	311.	467.	179.	198.	
1823 - - -	123.	129.	239.	269.	270.	400.	88.	127.	
PERIOD.	Whites connected with Trade and Retail Commerce.		Whites connected with Agriculture.		Free coloured connected with Trade and Retail Commerce.		Free coloured, connected with Agriculture.		
1815 - - -	59.		78.		172.		67.		
1823 - - -	64.		83.		241.		78.		
PERIOD.					Slaves on Cotton Plantations.				
1815 - - -					1,725.				
1823 - - -					1,343.				

ESTIMATED VALUE OF PROPERTY

PERIOD.	LANDS.		BUILDINGS.
	Value of Lands under cultivation.	Value of Lands uncultivated.	Value of Buildings, and all kinds of Utensils on Estates.
1815 - - -	£. 63,067.	£. 42,759.	£. 54,000.
1823 - - -	£. 28,188.	£. 31,978.	£. 40,500.

PERIOD.	PUBLIC PROPERTY.	SHIPPING.	MERCHANDIZE.
	Value of Public Property of all descriptions.	Value of Vessels belonging to the Colony.	Value of all kinds of Merchandize.
1815 - - -	£. 6,000.	£. 6,500.	£. 10,500.
1823 - - -	£. 3,750.	£. 4,750.	£. 7,000.

PERIOD.	VESSELS.		IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.
	Number that enter and clear annually.	Tonnage of the Vessels that enter and clear annually.	Value of Imports from all Parts.	Value of Exports to all Parts.
1815 - -	41.	7,106.	£. 31,500.	£. 65,751.
1823 - -	29.	5,743.	£. 13,750.	£. 28,652.

- - - - Appendix, E. (1.)—continued

Appendix,
E. (1).

POPULATION:

IN COUNTRY AND ISLANDS.

Whites.		Free coloured.		Slaves.		African Apprentices.		The Total Population of the Virgin Islands, including African Apprentices, and about 88 Children, belonging to them, in 1823.
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
153.	126.	243.	213.	3,115.	3,392.	72.	85.	
152.	129.	477.	463.	2,800.	3,000.	39.	41.	8,834.

Slaves connected with Trade and Retail Commerce in Town.	Slaves as Domestics in Town.	Slaves employed in Fishing.	Slaves as Domestics in Country.	Slaves on Sugar Estates.
178.	554.	136.	80.	4,569.
159.	464.	124.	122.	4,131.

Slaves solely cultivating Provisions.
53.
96.

IN GENERAL—IN STERLING MONEY.

STOCK.	SLAVES.	TOWN PROPERTY.	PERIOD.
Value of all descriptions of Stock.	Value of Slaves.	Value of Buildings and Furniture in Town.	
£. 36,371.	£. 364,250.	£. 37,500.	- - 1815.
£. 35,865.	£. 323,500.	£. 17,500.	- - 1823.

MONEY.	TOTAL VALUE.
Gold and Silver in Circulation.	Of Property in general.
£. 2,750.	£. 623,698.
£. 2,150.	£. 495,181.

DUTY.	TAXES.	EXPENSE.	
Of Four-and-a-Half per Cent collected.	Colonial annually collected.	Annually incurred by the Colonial Government.	Annually incurred by the Church and Poor.
£. 1,974.	£. 1,550.	£. 1,250.	£. 500.
£. 660.	£. 1,750.	£. 1,237.	£. 600.

THE DATA for the Quantity of Articles produced, are the Averages of
Actual Returns:

- SLAVES - - - - - are estimated as being worth 50 *l.* each.
- SUGAR - - - - - from returns made by the Custom House, and 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent
duty for sugar.
- RUM - - - - - the quantity of rum is computed from the quantity of
sugar made, as the greatest part of the rum is smuggled
into foreign colonies.
- COTTON - - - - - is from the average produce of one acre, at 154 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.
- PROVISIONS - - - - - is from the computed average production of one acre of
land of average fertility.
- SALT - - - - - is from the average quantity in different years, ascer-
tained from the salt collectors and shippers.
- FISH - - - - - is estimated at 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* sterling per lb. in Tortola, and 1 *d.*
sterling per lb. in the other islands: the quantity is
computed.
- HORSES - - - - - valued at 20 *l.* each in 1815, and 10 *l.* in 1823, whose
services are estimated at 15 per cent per annum on their
value; mules and asses are estimated on the same data.
- HORNED CATTLE - - - per head, worth 6 *l.* in 1815, and 5 *l.* in 1823, are consi-
dered as producing a value from 2 *l.* 10s. to 1 *l.* 10s.
each, per annum.
- SHEEP, GOATS, and HOGS - from 10s. to 8s. each.
- POULTRY - - - - - worth 2s. to 1s. 6*d.* each, are estimated as producing the
same sum annually.

Appendix,
E. (2.)

Appendix, E. (2.)

PORT OF TORTOLA.—AN ACCOUNT of Goods paid to the Crown, as being Four-and-a-Half per Cent on the Gross Produce of the Island, from the Year 1816 to 1823, both inclusive.

Years ending 5th January	Sugar paid at Four-and-a-Half per Cent Duty in lbs.	Rum paid at Four and-a-Half per Cent duty in Gallons.	Amount commuted for in Money Sterling.		REMARKS.	
			£. s. d.			
1816	104,799 $\frac{1}{2}$	799 $\frac{3}{4}$	14	15	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	This table is intended to shew the gradual decrease of the productive industry of Tortola. After the hurricane which happened in 1819, the decrease appears to have been peculiarly rapid. It is, however, necessary to state, that after the cession of the Danish Colonies to Denmark, many of the colonists being Englishmen, and residing in England, part of their sugar was smuggled into Tortola, and shipped as British plantation sugar; the free port Act of 46 Geo. 3, c. 72, allowing 5,880,000lbs. of sugar to be considered the annual crop of the island: all above that quantity was to be considered as foreign sugar, and to be shipped as such. Foreign sugar being thus allowed to be introduced, fraudulent methods were soon devised to evade the regulations of the order in council of 8th October 1806, on this point. To avoid objections from these facts it was necessary for me to give, as I have done in a preceding table, the number of acres of land producing canes, the number of slaves employed in the cultivation, and still minuter details relative to a sugar plantation, so that the decrease of productive industry will still be made manifest. Other facts also, as well as the one now exhibited, may be produced to prove the same result. The last line shows that the annual average of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent duty paid on sugar for twenty-five years, from 1776 to 1801, prior to the order in council of 1806, was 175,748 lbs, whereas the annual average from 1816 to 1823, was only 130,627 lbs. which might perhaps include some smuggled sugar; and specifically, during later years, the quantity produced is still less. The quantity of rum examined in the same manner, will prove that a greater quantity is now smuggled from the island than was formerly, or that more is now drank in the colony. Perhaps both circumstances are true, but if less sugar be produced, it follows that less rum is likely to be made: and in the two articles, that less wealth having an exchangeable value in Europe, is now created in Tortola, than was created a few years ago, whilst no other article is produced to make up for the deficiency.
1817	206,097 $\frac{1}{4}$	399 $\frac{3}{4}$	31	3	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1818	166,650 $\frac{3}{4}$	206 $\frac{3}{4}$	59	7	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1819	171,042 $\frac{1}{4}$	51 $\frac{1}{4}$	4	14	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	
1820	143,615 $\frac{1}{4}$	265	22	11	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	
1821	62,021 $\frac{1}{4}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	5	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1822	101,519 $\frac{3}{4}$	735 $\frac{1}{2}$	11	12	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1823	89,275	494 $\frac{1}{4}$	8	15	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Total in eight years	1,045,022 $\frac{1}{2}$	3,019	154	6	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	
Annual average from 1816 to 1823	130,627 $\frac{1}{2}$	377 $\frac{3}{4}$	19	5	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	
Annual average from 1776 to 1801	175,748	2,318	Unknown.			

RETURN showing the Number of Taxable Objects in TORTOLA, and the Amount of Colonial Revenue annually raised thereon, from 1817 to 1822, both inclusive.

YEARS.	POLL-TAX paid on SLAVES.		TAX paid on MILLS.		TAX paid on HOUSES.		TAX paid on HORSES.		TOTAL AMOUNT of TAXES on these four Objects.		REMARKS
	N ^o .	Amount.	N ^o .	Amount.	N ^o .	Amount.	N ^o .	Amount.	£.	s. d.	
1817	6,847	£. 1,412 3 10½	44	£. 36 1 -	180	£. 160 10 -	54	£. 44 11 -	1,653	5 10½	<p>THIS Table shows the number of taxable objects connected with the production of wealth, every one of which have diminished during the last six years, whilst in the Marshal's office there were executions on account of taxes to the amount of 2,490<i>l.</i> 7<i>s.</i> sterling; a sum exceeding the annual expenditure of the government. This circumstance is another fact tending to prove the diminished results of productive industry in Tortola; and that although the number of whites, and free black and coloured people have increased, yet such increase has not in any manner contributed to prevent the gradual diminution in the quantity of wealth annually created by the labour of the working population, whether slave or free; and consequently, that if the liberated Africans should remain in Tortola, they could not have any prospects of having their condition much improved.</p>
1818	6,875	£. 1,934 16 9	43	£. 35 4 6	176	£. 225 8 -	46	£. 37 19 -	2,233	8 3	
1819	6,808	£. 2,337 14 -	43	£. 35 4 6	171	£. 199 7 6	46	£. 46 19 3	2,617	5 3	
1820	6,591	£. 890 16 9	37	£. 30 10 6	111	£. 30 17 7½	24	£. 4 19 -	957	3 10½	
1821	6,350	£. 1,869 10 9	37	£. 30 10 6	152	£. 125 15 7½	43	£. 44 6 10½	2,070	3 9	
1822	6,438	£. 1,327 16 9	37	£. 30 10 6	156	£. 104 8 6	40	£. 33 - -	1,495	15 9	

The state of the revenue arising from taxes imposed to defray the expense of the police in Tortola, affords another fact shewing the gradual decline of the prosperity of the colony. The cotton planters refused to bear any share of the expense of this establishment, as it could not prevent their cotton being stolen at night by the slaves, and sold to the huxters. The free people thus covered the property, as being the produce of their own labour; and it was considered, that the town police never could prevent those proceedings in the country; but as the canes stolen were generally sold in town to be eaten, or shipped to the foreign island of St. Thomas in shallops, it was considered the town police might be useful to the sugar planters. For these reasons fewer slaves were taxed for this purpose than for other objects of administration. The number of slaves taxed for maintaining the police were, in 1820, 4,987;

in 1821, 4,953; and in 1822, 4,836. During these three years the amount of the tax was - - £. 738 16 - *sts.*
Of which was remitted to persons unable to pay the tax - - - - £. 1 15 - *sts.*
Executions were issued against those who were deemed capable, but unwilling to pay - 276 6 -
Indulgences as to time granted to those who were willing, but at the time unable to pay - 53 14 -
331 14 -

So that when I left Tortola, in 1823, there had been collected only - - } £. 407 3 -
or about one half of the revenue for three years; and which appears to be a sum very small, to obtain an object so important, as a good system of police in a West India colony.

In this case, however, as the island could not provide funds for the maintenance of an efficient police, they were obliged to live without the very imperfect one, which necessarily arose from the inability of the colony to support a better system. This fact not only shows the gradual decline of the prosperity of the colony, but it explains the cause of much of the violence committed by one class of persons on another class, in a community where different races of men exist together, having interests directly opposed to each other; and one class able personally to produce wealth by labour in agriculture, whilst the other class, being unable to labour, can only contribute to the production of wealth in agriculture, as capitalists, or as superintendants of the labour of the other class. It does not require the spirit of prophecy to predict the probable fate of the class of inhabitants, who cannot personally cultivate the soil, in such a community.

Appendix E. (4.) - - - - -

RETURN showing the Official and Declared Value of all Goods exported from the United Kingdom to

Appendix,
E. (4.)

Years ending	OFFICIAL VALUE.				TOTAL EXPORTS.
	Foreign and Colonial Merchandize.	British and Irish Produce and Manufacture.			
		Cottons.	Woollens.	Other Articles.	
5th January	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1815 - - -	453	2,677	842	6,930	10,902
1816 - - -	348	31,985	4,503	14,637	51,473
1817 - - -	717	26,010	6,695	20,815	54,237
1818 - - -	554	1,449	2,182	8,293	12,478
1819 - - -	507	3,907	1,254	12,700	18,368
1820 - - -	84	2,980	938	9,363	13,365
1821 - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	102	102
1822 - - -	101	1,611	1,357	4,379	7,448
1823 - - -	51	- - -	52	492	595
Total for 9 } years - } £.	2,815	70,619	17,823	77,711	168,968
Average for } 1 year - } £.	312	7,846	1,980	8,634	18,774

Appendix E. (4.)

TORTOLA, in each year, from that ending 5th January 1815, to that ending 5th January 1823.

Appendix,
E. (4.)

DECLARED VALUE.

Foreign and Colonial Merchandize.	British and Irish Produce and Manufacture.			TOTAL EXPORTS.	Years ending 5th January
	Cottons.	Woollens.	Other Articles.		
£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
453	3,144	1,455	11,673	16,725	- - 1815.
348	29,802	4,503	22,983	57,636	- - 1816.
717	13,185	4,889	28,607	47,398	- - 1817.
554	1,491	1,735	11,623	15,403	- - 1818.
507	2,784	1,727	16,679	21,697	- - 1819.
84	3,299	828	14,115	18,326	- - 1820.
- - -	- - -	- - -	196	196	- - 1821.
101	971	1,058	5,345	7,475	- - 1822.
51	- - -	55	476	582	- - 1823.
2,815	54,676	16,250	111,697	185,438	{ Total for 9 years.
312	6,075	1,805	12,410	20,604	{ Average for 1 year.

Appendix, E. (5).

COMPARATIVE POPULATION of TOBAGO and TORTOLA, accompanied with the comparative Exports from Great Britain to each Island.

Colony.	White Population.	Free Black and Coloured Population, exclusive of African Apprentices.	Slave Population in 1823.	Total Population.	Exports from Great Britain during the year ending 5th January 1824, in Sterling.	Computed Average Annual production of Sugar in Hogsheads.	Remarks.
Tobago - -	583	350	14,074	15,007	£. 46,990	11,296	The authority for the average production of sugar for Tobago is a MS. statistical account of that island by the late Sir Wm. Young. That for Tortola is on my own calculations.
Tortola - -	433	1,448	6,478	8,359	812	1,375	

The preceding tables show the successive decrease of exports from Great Britain to Tortola during late years. When these are compared with the diminished profits on the stock of the capitalists, they tend to illustrate how such diminution of profits acts in lessening the power of the colonists to purchase those kinds of articles whose production profitably rewards the industry of the British manufacturer. The exports for the year ending 5 January 1824, for the islands of Tobago and Tortola, compared with the returns of population here submitted, also show in further detail how the result is produced. The census of whites and free coloured people of Tobago is given on the authority of the governor, Sir William Young, as ordered to be printed by the House of Commons in 1815, and the number of slaves, is given from the Registry Returns ordered to be printed by the House of Commons on the 1st of July 1825. The population of Tortola is given from inquiries made on the spot by myself as to the number of the white, free black and coloured, and slave population. The number of the slaves being from the registry. Considering the population of Tobago only as double that of Tortola, the importance to Great Britain of the greater value of the productive industry of the labouring classes of one colony, compared with the other, arising from the greater productive power of one class of the colonists enabling the whole to purchase more British and Irish manufactured goods, is clearly shown in the following statement, exhibiting the degree in which their respective powers of production are able to purchase articles on which British labour and capital have been employed.

	To Tortola.			To Tobago.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
In "Apparel," Great Britain exported to the value of - -	-	-	-	2,186	-	-
" Cotton manufactures - - - - - ditto - - -	87	-	-	3,286	-	-
" Leather, wrought and unwrought - - ditto - - -	50	-	-	922	-	-
" Hats - - - - - ditto - - -	52	-	-	1,785	-	-
" Woollen manufactures - - - - - ditto - - -	-	-	-	1,390	-	-
" Slops and negro clothing - - - - ditto - - -	-	-	-	2,388	-	-
" Linens, British and Irish " - - - - ditto - - -	52	-	-	2,966	-	-
£.	241	-	-	14,923	-	-

In most of these articles the coarser kinds can *now* be produced cheaper in the United States of America, and other nations on the Continent, than in Great Britain. In proportion as the capitalists of a colony become generally more poor, coarser articles must be used, as well as a less quantity of them. It is proper however, to state, that although the productive industry of Tortola appears to be thus decreasing, yet the inhabitants may get some supplies of these articles from the foreign island of St. Thomas, to an amount equal to the sugar and rum smuggled thither, and the value of the firewood, stock, and fish sent for sale. But as such kind of commerce is the least profitable to Great Britain, it is presumed fair to infer, from the preceding statements compared with other facts, that the diminished profits on stock of the Tortola capitalist must render the place annually less able to improve the condition of the liberated Africans.

To complete the comparison, it may be added, that during the same year ending 5th January 1824, Great Britain exported to Tortola, in all other kinds of British goods except those mentioned, to the amount of only 534*l.*; whilst to Tobago the same class of goods was exported to the amount of 29,084*l.* Of this class of goods, except Irish salted provisions, it is possible the consumption in Tortola was greater than 534*l.*, as some goods might have been entered for St. Thomas, a Danish free port, and afterwards transhipped to Tortola. But after every allowance, the diminished power of Tortola to purchase such goods as Great Britain can raise more profitably than other nations, must be manifest, from a comparison of the population with the diminished result of productive industry, when applied to the cultivation of a soil requiring more labour to cultivate it profitably. A similar result may be shown in the case of Haiti, arising from a diminished intensity of labour and skill applied to the cultivation of a soil still fertile, when compared with its power to purchase foreign productions in 1791 and 1822; and in the new direction given to the objects to be purchased, under the present distribution of its wealth, being more favourable to the United States of America, than to old settled countries like France or England.

Appendix (F.)

Appendix,
(F.)STATEMENT of the Hire per Diem, in Sterling Money, for Artificers and Labourers
as collected from Public Accounts, by Captain *Moody*,

DESCRIPTION.	Demarara.		Berbice.		Barbades.		Trinidad.		Tobago.		Grenada.		St. Vincent.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Carpenters, first class	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ditto - common	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Masons, first class	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ditto - common	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Coopers	4	8	3	-	4	8	-	-	2	3	-	-	-	-
Smiths	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Painters	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sawyers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bricklayers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Labourers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pioneers	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	8	1	5
and	-	-	2	6	1	1½	2	8	1	7½	-	-	-	-
Porters	2	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	1	4½

N. B.—The preceding abstract of the expense of the wages of white, black, and coloured was drawn up by me, at the desire of the Commander of the Forces, and submitted to him, equally efficient system for the execution of all military services, connected with mechanical the French minister of Marine and Colonies, had published, intituled, “Règlement relatif à à Laon, le 1^{er} Août 1814.” In that plan I had proposed also to provide for the captured of instruction, and control, suited to their backward state of civilization. The plan was not

Appendix (F.)

in the WINDWARD and LEEWARD ISLAND Command in the year 1815,
A. D. C. & P. S. to the Commander of the Forces.

Appendix,
(F.)

St. Lucia.	Martinique.	Dominica.	Guadaloupe.	Antigua.	St. Kitts.	St. Martin's.	St. Croix.	St. Thomas.	Average.
<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	5 -
- -	- -	- -	4 8	3 9	2 5	- -	- -	- -	3 7½
- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	5 -
- -	- -	- -	- -	3 9	3 -	- -	- -	- -	3 4½
3 6	- -	3 -	4 6	3 6	2 11	4 -	- -	3 6	3 7
- -	- -	- -	4 8	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	4 10
- -	- -	- -	- -	3 9	- -	- -	- -	- -	3 9
- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
- -	- -	- -	- -	2 -	2 6	- -	- -	- -	2 3
- -	- -	2 3	- -	1 9	- -	- -	2 4	2 1½	- -
2 1	1 9	- -	2 -	- -	1 8	1 11½	- -	- -	1 11½
- -	- -	2 4	- -	1 2	- -	- -	2 3	2 -	- -

workmen and labourers, whether free or slaves, employed by Government in the West Indies, so that its accuracy may be depended upon. The object was to recommend a cheaper, and labour, having reference to a new system of regulations, which about that time M. Malouet, l'emploi, et au service des compagnies d'ouvriers militaires dans les Colonies, &c. approuvé Africans, so as to make their labour useful to themselves, and to Government, under a system approved of, and the old system was continued.

Appendix (G.)

CHART OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS.
