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SLAVES:

BERBICE AND DEMERARA.

RETURN to an Address of The Honourable House of Commons,
dated 6th March 1828;—for

THE MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

Taken before His MAJESTY'S Privy Council, in the
matter of the *Berbice* and *Demerara* Manumission
Order in Council.

Council Office,
7th March 1828. }

C. C. Greville.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
18 April 1828.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

Taken before His MAJESTY'S most Honourable Privy Council, at the Council Office, Whitehall, in the matter of The *Demerara* and *Berbice* MANUMISSION ORDER in COUNCIL; on the 19th, 20th, and 21st November, 1827.

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ON DEMERARA AND BERBICE MANUMISSION.

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AT A MEETING of His MAJESTY'S most Honourable Privy Council, Council Office, Whitehall, in the matter of the *Demerara and Berbice Manumission Order in Council*;

Monday, 19th November 1827.

MR. *Adam* and Mr. *Hibbert* appeared in support of the Memorial and Petition of the London Proprietors and Mortgagees. The Demerara and Berbice Manumission Order in Council.

Mr. Serjeant *Bosanquet* and Mr. *Denman* appeared in support of the Petition of the Agent of *Berbice*.

The Minutes of the last Meeting of the Council were read.

Mr. Hugh Hyndman sworn.

Examined by *Mr. Adam*.

HAVE you resided in the West Indies in the course of your life?—Yes.

How many years?—Seventeen or eighteen years altogether.

In what colony have you resided?—Principally in Demerara.

Have you ever resided in Berbice also?—No.

How long have you resided in Demerara?—I think, about fifteen years.

Are you the proprietor of an estate and slaves in Demerara?—A part proprietor of estates and slaves.

While you resided in Demerara, were you the representative or agent of any persons who were proprietors of estates and slaves?—Yes.

What number of slaves had you under your control and management while you resided there?—I suppose as many as fourteen or fifteen hundred at one time.

Are you acquainted with the situation of other estates in the colony of Demerara, besides those with which you were personally concerned?—Yes.

Are you intimately acquainted with any of them, or only superficially?—I have been so acquainted as to spend days on a great many estates.

And those you have had the personal management of?—Yes.

Does your experience enable you to form any idea as to the effect of those compensation clauses in the Berbice Order upon the owners of estates and plantations in Berbice?—I think so.

That there may be no mistake, I will call your attention to the Order to which I refer; I mean the Berbice Order in Council, No. 32, which states in substance, that the appraisal of the value of a slave is to be made, not only in regard to the physical strength of the slave and his mental acquirements, but also with reference to the absolute value of such slave to his owner, and the loss which such owner would sustain by the loss of the services of such slave; that is the Order to which your attention is directed; would that operate prejudicially, in your opinion?—I should think there are some cases in which that Order, as I understand it, that clause, would provide a sufficient compensation.

Are you aware that that Order also requires, as a condition upon which the slave is to be emancipated, that the protector of slaves should be satisfied that he had honestly and faithfully conducted himself for five years?—Yes, I understand that.

And that he had not been convicted of larceny, or suffered corporal punishment under the sentence of any court of justice?—That I understand also.

Have the goodness, with reference to your answer, that in some cases you think it would be a sufficient compensation, to state what those cases are?—I think in the

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Mr. H. Hyndman. case of an individual Negro domestic, unconnected with any property, that sufficient compensation would be provided by the appraisement of his value.

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Why do you think that in the case of a domestic unconnected slave those provisions would be sufficient?—Because no property would be affected by the removal of that slave from his master.

Do you understand that this would afford a sufficient indemnity to the master for the loss he would sustain by the removal of his domestic unconnected slave?—I do think so, because he could procure another.

With respect to the slaves employed in the cultivation of a sugar estate, would those provisions afford indemnity to the owners of such slaves?—I should think not, in every case.

Would they in any case?—They might, perhaps, in the case of unconnected slaves; in the case of domestic slaves.

What do you mean by an unconnected slave?—I mean a slave who is not attached to a family.

How does the circumstance of a slave being attached to a family affect the consideration; will you explain that to their Lordships?—In the case of a slave being manumitted, I suppose the course of proceeding under this clause of compulsory manumission would be to manumit an individual slave; the master would endeavour, I presume, to replace him by the purchase of another; but according to the present laws and usages of the colonies the master will be unable, in almost every case, to purchase an individual slave: it is not usual to separate families.

By the law can an individual purchase a slave, if by that purchase he separates him from his family?—I do not know that that is prohibited by law, but I know it is quite contrary to usage.

Did you ever know an instance, in your experience, of an individual slave being purchased and removed from his family?—Never; I do not recollect that I have.

Whether that is the effect of the law or the practice you do not say?—I cannot undertake to say; I perceive, however, in that Barbice Order, that there is a clause which forbids a Negro to be taken in execution separately from his family.

In your opinion does that circumstance prevent those Orders from operating as an indemnity to the owner of a slave who would be manumitted?—In the great majority of cases I think it would.

Are you of opinion, that in the event of a master being compelled to go to the market to purchase a slave in the place of a manumitted slave, he would be able to find such slave?—A great deal depends upon the qualities of the slave manumitted; I dare say there are many cases in which he would find it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to replace the slave manumitted.

In what cases do you think it so difficult, if not impossible?—The cases of Negroes of superior qualities; Negroes who may be particularly clever in the department they are employed in, and Negroes who by their character and influence upon the estate they belong to may be of immense service to their masters, more than another individual of the same description could possibly be; the value of a Negro on an estate depends in a great measure on the knowledge that the rest of the people have of him, and his influence and authority over them; and it also depends in some measure upon the opinion his master may have of him, the confidence that is placed in him.

Are some descriptions of slaves of more importance in the cultivation of a sugar estate than others?—Undoubtedly.

What are those people who are of superior importance?—The tradesmen of all descriptions.

What do you mean by the tradesmen?—Blacksmiths, coopers and carpenters, boilers, engineers, boatmen, and the principal field Negroes; also those who are capable of taking the direction in the field.

Are those persons of more value, in your opinion, to the owner of the estate on which they have been employed, than any other Negro of the same description would

would be who would be purchased in the market?—It is rather difficult to answer that question. In some cases I have no doubt a Negro would be more valuable on an estate he has been brought up on than another Negro who can be purchased; but when I say that, I mean in many instances that would be the case.

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Supposing the case of one of those Negroes of a superior description being emancipated, are you of opinion that the owner could supply himself with another in the market, by taking into the market the sum received as the appraised price?—I think that would very seldom be the case.

Are the sales of slaves in Demerara of daily or frequent occurrence?—No, not now.

When they are sold, are they sold individually, or are they sold in gangs?—Generally, a good many exposed to sale together; whenever a sale takes place, it is mostly the whole people of the estate which happens for some reason or other to be given up; it is generally the whole people of the estate who are offered for sale, and they are always divided into their families, a man and his family, and their relatives, whoever they may be

Do I understand you to say, that when an estate is broken up, and the Negroes are brought to sale, they are all brought to sale in one lot or in different lots?—Generally sold in lots; there may be unconnected individuals sold, such as I have described, but in general they are sold in families.

Where a man does belong to a family, have you ever known an instance of his having been sold separately from his family?—I do not recollect any instance.

Have you within your own experience known many instances of sales?—Yes, a good many.

Do you think, that in the case of an emancipated slave, such as that referred to, the owner who had to replace his loss would find a substitute?—I have said that in some cases I think he might, but I think, generally, he could not.

Would those cases, in your experience, be very few?—I think that those cases would be numerous in which he could not supply the place of such slave.

Suppose a slave to be manumitted by his master under this clause, what would become of the family of such slave?—They must be left in the charge of the master.

Do you mean that the master would have to maintain the family of the slave after he had removed himself by procuring his liberation?—Certainly.

Do you find in these provisions any fund set aside for the maintenance of that family?—None; and that is one of the great objections, one of the great hardships to the master, I should think.

Suppose a slave was to be emancipated, and that the master should be able to find an unconnected individual to supply his place for the appraised price, would not even that be a very serious loss and inconvenience to the owner, from his having to maintain the family of the emancipated slave?—It would with some; but the loss would be still greater if he had to replace his loss by a slave who had a family, for then he would have to maintain two families instead of one.

In the case put, a master would have to maintain one family, which the Negro had to maintain himself?—The master had to maintain the family, but the master had the benefit of the services of that Negro. If that Negro was emancipated, he would most probably have one with another family; then he would have two families to maintain, with only one labourer.

Does that operate upon your mind to satisfy you that this Order in Council would provide no compensation to the master?—I think that is a material objection to that clause.

Suppose the case of a female child emancipated by its parents, how could that female child be replaced by its owner?—It could not be replaced at all, I imagine.

Why?—Because a child cannot be purchased separately; the money obtained for the child cannot be laid out for another child; the mother must be purchased, and probably some more children.

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In order to illustrate this, what is the ordinary selling price of a female child; can you form any opinion?—It is extremely difficult; I have never seen a female child sold separately; the price is but nominal.

If a female child was to be emancipated, according to the provisions of this Order in Council, would the owner receive any thing more than the appraised price of that female child?—I really cannot tell what the meaning of the Order may be in that respect; but I suppose not.

If the owner received the value of the female child, what fund would he have to purchase another?—None, unless from his own funds.

The emancipated slave would provide no part of the money for the purchase of that child to be substituted?—I think not; because the money would only be equal to the value of the slave to be purchased, and the remainder of the family must be purchased.

In order to do justice and afford compensation to the owners of estates, would it be necessary to appraise any part of the sunk capital upon the estate, as forming part of the price which the emancipated slave was to pay for his freedom?—Undoubtedly. I think that all the capital vested in the estate, whether called sunk capital or not, would be affected by the removal of a slave from it, especially the removal of a good and efficient one.

Explain to their Lordships how that would operate, and why you think it would be necessary to include any portion of the value of the estate or sunk capital. Could the owner receive the value of his slave, unless he at the same time received the proportionate parts of the value of his estate; is the slave so connected with the estate as to render it necessary, in point of justice, that both should be appraised and paid for together?—Yes; but even if they were both appraised together, I do not perceive how any just principle of compensation could be come at in that way. I think, as far as I am able to judge, the only true compensation which can be made to an owner for the removal of a slave, would be the purchasing another of the same description and of equal value in his stead, and giving to the owner the same command of labour he had before, under all the same circumstances. I have already said that I do not think that can be done, because the owner is obliged to manumit the individual, and to the best of my knowledge it is not possible for him to replace him by the purchase of an individual, except in a very few cases.

Suppose it was possible in process of time to find such a slave, do you think it at all probable he could be found on the spot at once?—No, it is not in the least likely that he could be found on the spot at once; some period of time must elapse, and some inconvenience, and probably loss, would occur during the time that the owner was employed in looking out for the substitute.

Will you explain how that loss might occur whilst the owner was looking out for a substitute, in reference to the management of a sugar estate?—I think it is very obvious that he is deprived of the labour in the mean time, either of the original man or his substitute.

Is the manufacture of sugar going on all the year long?—Not all the year; but either the culture or the manufacture is going on throughout the year.

Does it require the constant and unremitting attendance of the whole force, in order to make the estate productive?—Certainly it does.

What would be the effect, then, of removing for a time one of those persons whose labour is essential to the estate?—If it be but an individual removed, the effect would be little more than the price of his labour; but if many were removed, the operations of the estate might be stopped altogether, and the labour of all the rest of the people affected.

Are all slaves on a sugar plantation productive or effective slaves?—Oh no.

What proportion of the slaves on the estate are effective labourers?—It is generally estimated in those colonies, that about one third of the whole number are able and efficient people.

Of what class and description are the remaining two thirds?—They are children and old people, and probably some few sickly people; not strong, not able to work with the generality of the slaves.

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Those two thirds are rather sources of loss to the owner than of profit?—Not all; some of them are old people not able to do any more work, from whom no more service can be expected; some of them are young children, and capable of no service at present, nor for a long time; some of them are growing children; and some of them are invalided people of little use.

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But generally speaking, one third of the number is the whole of the effective labourers?—Yes.

What would then be the effect on the estate of that one third being emancipated?—That the estate would produce nothing; that it would be of no value whatever.

If one third of the number were to procure their freedom, the estate would cease to be productive?—Yes; if the effective third were taken away, it would not only be not productive, but it would be a charge upon the owners.

Of the produce of the West India estate, what is the profit to the owner, as distinct from the charges and expenses upon the estate?—I cannot precisely state that; it varies on every property.

Is there not any average your experience enables you to state as that proportion that is really paid into the pocket of the owner?—I do not know; perhaps half of a third of it; I do not think that more than a third of it can be taken as profit; I cannot undertake to answer that positively.

Is there any rule or presumption in the trade as to that portion of the productive labour which comes into the pocket of the owner?—No, I do not think there is; that must depend on circumstances; I should think, perhaps, a third.

What would be the effect of one third of the effective labourers being removed from the estate?—The consequence would be to destroy the profit upon the capital invested.

Would it then be worth the while of the owner to carry on his estate if a third or the slaves were removed?—I am inclined to think not; that, however, depends upon the magnitude of the estate in some degree; a very large concern, a very large population, would bear more to be removed than a very small population.

Taking the average size of the estates in Demerara or Berbice, will you state your opinion, suppose one third of the productive labour of a common-sized estate was removed, could the owner then cultivate it to any advantage?—I should think, in most cases not; in small estates.

Is it possible, in the management and cultivation of a West India estate, to reduce the quantity of land that is to be cultivated, so as to bring it within a reduced power of labour?—Yes; the quantity of land in cultivation must be suited to the abilities of the population of course.

Suppose one fourth of the effective population removed, could the owner of the estate reduce the size of his cultivation and the amount of his capital, so as to apply it to the amount of labour?—To a certain point he could; he would arrive at last at a point at which he could not keep up any cultivation; because in Demerara and Berbice there is a portion of labour which must be performed, whether the demand be large or small. There are lots of land that are protected from the sea and river and interior waters by dams which surround them altogether; and they are also drained by drains that extend along all those dams, and through the lots, to carry off the water. They are also intersected by canals for the purpose of communicating with the cultivated lands; and every lot has also a public road through it, which is maintained at the expense of the estate.

How is the produce conveyed from the plantation to the place of embarkation?—By boats. But I was going to observe, a considerable quantity of labour is bestowed upon those works, which I have been endeavouring to describe; and in order to keep up those works, a certain proportion is necessary. When the population of the estate is reduced to that point to be just sufficient for maintaining those works, it is evident it can bear no further reduction; then the owner can cultivate no land at all, if he is not able to keep up those necessary defences.

Those defences must be equally kept up, whether the produce of the estate is great or small?—Yes, so I have said.

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Could he reduce his expenditure on his dams and his fences and his roads, on account of having a smaller number of effective slaves to work upon his estate?—No.

Would he have to pay the same amount of expenditure than on a smaller amount of profit?—Yes, undoubtedly.

Could the West India owner reduce his capital, and reduce the amount of his cultivation, in proportion as the amount of productive labourers was lessened?—He could reduce his population no lower than the point I have described; he must have the number of people necessary for those works before he can keep up any cultivation at all; and with respect to his buildings and machinery, it is evident that they cannot be reduced without a very great loss; there is a steam engine, to begin with, to be erected on the estate, of a certain power; if that cannot be employed it is waste, it is useless.

Or he must get another?—Yes, at the loss of the one he has got already, and the enormous expense of taking one away and replacing it by another.

Does the same observation apply to other articles of machinery as well as to the steam engine?—Yes, his houses; they cannot be reduced without an immense loss.

Could he adapt the amount of his expenditure to the amount of his productive labour, or having erected houses and buildings of a particular size, must they remain there?—I conceive they must remain, and be kept up; if they are destroyed the loss must be immense, if they are reduced to suit his decreased population.

You were asked some time ago, with reference to the sunk capital on an estate, in order to afford adequate and complete compensation to the owner, are you of opinion that when a slave is emancipated any proportion of the sunk capital must be included in the price?—I should think there ought.

Why do you think there ought?—I should first of all say that it appears to me to be so difficult as to be almost impossible to ascertain what amount of that fixed capital should be attached to each particular slave.

Are you of opinion that some proportion of that fixed capital shall be attached to each slave?—I think, to give an equitable value, it should.

Are the estate and the slaves so connected together as to make it one *corpus*, if I may so say?—Yes; the estate and the slave are so connected together as to make it a whole.

If the removal of a slave from an estate was to have the effect of throwing that estate out of cultivation, must not the price, to constitute a compensation, bear a proportion to the value of the estate?—I can conceive no proportion of the value of the estate to be added to the negro that would constitute a compensation; I cannot ascertain what that proportion is to be.

Why are you not able to ascertain what that proportion is to be?—Because it is impossible for me to tell what the effect will be of the removal of a negro.

The removal of one third of the effective labourers would be, you say, to deprive the owner of all profit?—Yes, I conceive so; the effect would always be increasing from the least number removed to the greatest; there would be less proportionate injury done by the removal of the first effective Negro than by the removal of the second, I think.

Supposing the meaning of this Order in Council is, that the slaves are to be estimated according to their value to the estate, do you think there would be any inducement to the slaves to reduce the value they are of to themselves?—I should apprehend that might be a consequence of that compulsory manumission.

Suppose the price of a slave to depend upon his utility, could he in any manner lessen his utility so as to lessen his price?—Yes, I think he could.

Explain how he might set to work to attain that?—If he was so disposed, he could withhold his services in a great measure; he could at least conceal his skill and abilities.

How could he conceal his skill and abilities, if his master was already aware that he possessed them?—He could not, perhaps, prevent his master from knowing that he

he possessed those abilities and this skill ; but it would certainly be very difficult, if not impossible, to make him put them forth. I do not understand how that could be done.

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Can you explain, by any example, how that might be made to operate upon an estate?—I really cannot immediately call to mind.

Does the utility of a slave to his master depend on the energetic use of the powers he has?—In a great measure.

Do you think a slave might conduct himself so as to escape punishment, and yet withhold a great deal of that service he might perform?—Yes ; I think a slave might so conduct himself as to escape punishment, and yet withhold a great deal of his service ; he might not put forth all his abilities.

If the slave knew that the price of his freedom was to depend upon the usefulness of his exertion, do you think, from your knowledge of the Negro, that he would endeavour to conceal his skill and abilities?—I think not in every case ; but I think he would in some cases.

Do you think he would in most cases?—I would not exactly say so.

What are the cases in which you think he would not?—The cases in which I think he would not, are the cases of those Negroes who I look upon to be of a better description ; whether I am right or wrong in that I cannot say. I think some Negroes would not do that, others I think would.

Those who would not, you think, would be of the better class?—Yes ; evidently better disposed people.

What would be the effect of a slave diminishing his exertions on a plantation?—A loss to the master.

I presume the produce would be lessened?—Of course.

Would the appraised value be less, when he came to be appraised by the arbitrator?—I think it would ; the very evidence of the disposition would make his value less, when he came to be appraised.

If the slave was to be appraised according to his value to his master, would there be any difference in the price put upon him, according to the quality of the soil upon which he was employed?—Yes ; a slave will be more valuable to his master if he is upon a valuable estate than he would be upon an estate which is unproductive and less valuable.

Would a slave upon a sugar estate be of more value to his master than a slave on a cotton or a coffee estate?—Sometimes he would ; the case has been the reverse.

Speaking generally, without referring to extraordinary cases, how would that be?—Speaking of the present time, he would be more valuable upon a sugar estate.

During the course of your experience, how would that have been?—I have known times when the labour produced more on a coffee estate than a sugar estate.

Speaking generally, from your experience, has the labour of a slave been of more value on a sugar, or a cotton, or a coffee estate?—Putting the question in that way, I should say it would be more valuable on a sugar estate.

Would the effect of that be, that the slave would have to find a large price for his manumission?—If he was to be purchased with relation to the loss his master would suffer from his removal, he would ; but the absolute value of the slave would be the same.

Can sufficient and adequate compensation be given to the owner, unless the slave is appraised with reference to the estate on which he is employed?—I should think not ; but I have already said, that I am not able to understand what principal of compensation can be adopted, even taking the value of the slave with reference to the property, so as to come at the loss the master is to sustain by the removal of a slave ; the difficulty with me is so great, that I confess I am not able to understand a mode of appraisement that would be quite fair and equitable.

Is the result of that opinion you have given, that in your judgment this Order in Council cannot be carried into effect if the foundation of the Order in Council be, that

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that compensation shall be given to the master ; that you cannot state any mode by which that compensation can be ascertained ; can you state any mode in which the Order in Council can be carried into execution ?—I should think there would be great difficulty, if not impossibility, in carrying it into execution, with an equitable consideration of all parties. I do not see how it is possible for any appraiser to value a slave removed from an estate, with reference to the loss the estate is to suffer by his removal.

In order to do justice, do you think it is necessary reference should be had to that ?—I think so ; for if all the Negroes are removed, and they cannot be replaced by others of the same description, the estate is destroyed.

Suppose the case of a Negro prepared with a certain sum as the price of his freedom, and that that sum should be less than the price appraised, and that he is returned, therefore, to the estate ; would any injury occur to the master from this unsuccessful attempt ?—Yes, I think so.

Explain, if you please, how that is ?—I think the effect of disappointment upon the Negro would be prejudicial to his master and to himself both ; to himself first, and then to his master ; in consequence he would be after that a discontented person, not very likely to give a cheerful or willing service.

From your experience of the habits of the Negro population, can you state whether the services of a person who comes in a contented state of mind are superior to those who come in a discontented state ?—Yes ; but I can only state that as a general observation ; I do not recollect any Negro to have been disappointed in his endeavour to get freedom.

Suppose a Negro to have been discontented from other causes ; do you know the services of the Negro to be less valuable ?—Oh yes ; for he is always avoiding his work, and losing time in making complaints.

Do you conceive that would take place in the case of a slave failing in procuring his freedom ?—The effect would be very different on different slaves ; there are some that that would render sulky and disobedient, and perhaps altogether intractable ; there are some that would be perhaps low-spirited, and of course unable to do their duty as they did it before ; there are others again on whom perhaps it would make but a small impression.

Taking the whole case together, in your judgment would any serious injury accrue to the master from having his slave returned ?—A serious injury, as far as regards the services of that particular slave or slaves.

Suppose the appraised value put on a Negro on a sugar estate should be greater than that put on a Negro of equal value placed on a cotton estate, do you think that would have any effect on the mind of the Negro placed on the sugar estate ?—Yes ; I think that would produce a great deal of dissatisfaction on different minds.

Explain in what way ?—The Negro would conceive it to be injustice, in my opinion, that he should be obliged to pay more for his manumission than his neighbour, who is perhaps, in his opinion, worth more money ; his acquaintance, if he is acquainted with the tradesman of an adjoining estate, he knows that that man, who is equal to himself in his own opinion, obtains his freedom for a small sum, when he cannot ; he would consider that an injustice.

Do you think you can explain, to the satisfaction of a Negro's mind, that it is founded on equitable principles ?—I do not know ; I dare say there are some Negroes who might be made to comprehend the principle on which it depended, but I do not think any reasoning would satisfy a Negro that that is justice.

Would that have the effect of rendering that Negro less valuable to his master, in your opinion ?—Yes, I think it would ; the impression upon the mind of the Negro would be unfavourable, and such as would be calculated to excite a discontent, which I have already said would be prejudicial.

Do you think that the effect of this Order would be to produce any feeling of a diversity of interest between the master and the slaves, which does not exist at present ?—Yes, I am afraid it might.

Will you explain in what way that might be ?—In the first place, with respect to the slave, if it is made known to him that he is to obtain his manumission at the appraised

appraised value, without any reference to his master's wishes or desires upon the subject, it occurs to me that the first object with him, that is, with every Negro in search of freedom, would be to endeavour to reduce the price he had to pay for it, and of course he would be under a strong temptation to withhold those services which at present render him valuable to his master; as far as regards the Negro he is therefore set in opposition to his master's interest. And on the other hand, if the master conceives that he is to be injured by the removal of this slave from his service, he would probably endeavour, in self defence, to prevent that slave from acquiring the money that would be necessary to purchase his freedom; at any rate his master would not be willing to give him all the facilities which he now does for the acquisition of money.

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Do you think the introduction of this measure would tend to make the master less attentive to the comforts and happiness of his slave, from a due regard to his interest, than he is at present?—I do not think so at all; but I think the master might be induced, in some cases, to withhold those facilities for making money.

In what way does a slave make money for his own use?—By the sale of vegetables, poultry, and pigs; generally where there is a stock raised, various articles of vegetables, and all sorts of poultry, which he conveys to market for sale; there is a large town in Demerara which affords a large market; those articles are frequently conveyed by the boats and people belonging to their masters, going to the town. The facility given by a master now, is the possession of land for the purpose of raising those articles. The Negro, independently of that land, is supplied by the master with all necessaries, food, clothing, medical attendance, and all that is necessary for his subsistence and support; but besides that, he is generally allowed the possession of some land for his own purposes; out of this possession he makes money for himself, which he disposes of as he pleases.

Could the master withdraw from the slave any of the facilities which you have just stated, by which he makes this money?—I suppose he could; for I understand that the master, having provided the slave with all necessaries, is not bound by law to do any thing more, as far as I know.

Supposing this alteration to take place in the law, and that the slave should have the legal right of acquiring his freedom by paying an appraised price, would that, in your opinion, affect the value of the West India property, either to sell, or as a subject on which money can be raised?—Yes, I think it would.

Do you think it would to any material extent?—I cannot undertake to say; but I think the first effect would be to stop the sale altogether, to prevent the making of sales of that property.

Do I understand you to say, that people would be indisposed to embark their capital on land and slaves that were held by such a tenure?—I should think so; I think there would be an objection to it.

Do you think the same would take place in respect to those capitalists who are in the habit of making loans on West India property, that they would be deterred?—I think some of them would.

Do you know whether such instances have already occurred?—I cannot undertake to state any particular instance.

In your experience, have you ever known a sugar estate broken up, or has it not always been sold together?—I cannot call to mind any instance of a sugar estate having been broken up; I believe I do remember one instance of a sugar estate, but it was one in which the population was so reduced as to compel the proprietor to give it up.

In your experience of seventeen years you have known but one instance, and that under those particular circumstances?—I can call to my mind only that one case.

Generally speaking, are not sugar estates sold as a whole in the market?—Generally they are.

If that be so, could a slave, taken off a sugar estate by the effect of this emancipation clause, be usefully replaced by a slave off a coffee or a cotton estate; would he know any thing of the cultivation or manufacture of the sugar cane?—He would know nothing of that; but there are a great many employments on a sugar estate into which a good Negro from a coffee or cotton estate could be introduced.

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Are there not some who could not be introduced ; for instance, suppose a boiler to be emancipated, could any slave got off a cotton or coffee estate fill his place?—Not for a long time.

In what time?—It would depend upon his abilities ; but before he could be a boiler I think years must elapse.

In the case of a boiler being emancipated, unless you could get a boiler from another sugar estate, there would be no means, for years, of filling up his place?—There would certainly be a great difficulty, inasmuch as the boilers from sugar estates are never sold but with the estate.

Does any man on a sugar estate rear more boilers than he actually wants for the carrying on his concerns ; are there any in reserve?—No ; but there are many persons employed as boilers at the same time ; the principal boilers have the direction of the others. When a man is first introduced to be a boiler, he begins in a subordinate capacity, and he comes on by degrees ; and perhaps in the course of a year a man who first of all was introduced into a boiling-house as a stranger, might arrive at the very top ; he may become, in the course of years the head boiler : much depends on his skill, and his assiduity and his talent.

Suppose the head boiler of a sugar estate were emancipated, could he be replaced but by the head boiler of another sugar estate?—He cannot be exactly replaced ; but the way in which he is replaced in such a case is, that his place is supplied by the boiler who is next best to him on the same estate.

Did you ever know an instance of a boiler of the second rate being exposed in the market independently of the estate to which he was attached ; did you ever know of any tradesman of a sugar estate exposed to sale, except along with the estate?—I cannot recollect a case of the kind.

Are not the tradesmen on a sugar estate those who would be able in the first place to purchase their freedom, from their superior skill, their means of realizing money?—It is possible they might be among the first among the tradesmen.

Cross-examined by Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet.

Do I understand you, that if a slave of any description were manumitted, and the owner was able to procure a substitute in all respects the same as the slave manumitted, he would sustain no pecuniary injury?—Yes, I have said so, with a limitation respecting the connection of the slave.

If, for instance, an unconnected slave were manumitted, and an unconnected slave were bought in his place, in all respects the same as the one manumitted, would any pecuniary injury be sustained by the owner in that case?—I should say not, if the slave supplied is in all respects equal to the slave taken away.

Supposing a slave connected with a family to obtain his own emancipation under the compulsory clause, and an unconnected slave were supplied in his place, would the owner in that case sustain any injury ; a single man without a family in the place of a man having a family, the slave being capable of performing the same labour, and bringing no additional burthen upon the estate?—That would altogether depend upon the price that was paid for the slave.

Supposing the price given was such as to enable him to obtain another slave of precisely the same qualities, would any pecuniary injury be sustained?—I cannot conceive any pecuniary injury would be sustained, supposing the Negro manumitted, and his family, were set at a fair valuation.

The question does not at present refer to the valuation ; but if the valuation whatever it was, enabled the owner to procure another slave of the same qualities, would any injury be sustained?—I cannot answer that question, without first of all asking, whether you mean that the whole of the money paid for the manumitted Negro and his family should be necessarily invested in the purchase of the single Negro, to replace them?

I was putting the question which was put by my learned friend, as to the difficulty of a Negro belonging to a family being emancipated under the compulsory clause, leaving his family a burthen upon the estate ; if a Negro is purchased (be the price whatever it be that is given) capable of the same labour as
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the Negro emancipated, and bringing no family with him, will the owner of the estate in that case sustain any pecuniary injury?—I cannot point out any.

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Would not the demand for an unconnected Negro raise the value in the market of an unconnected Negro; would it not raise the market price?—I doubt whether the market price would rise under the impression of this Order; I have great doubt whether it would.

Suppose a Negro such as I have described, being a member of a family, is taken away from a sugar plantation, leaving his family behind him, would it not be an object with the owner of that sugar plantation to endeavour to replace that Negro, to have the same labour performed upon the estate as before?—Yes.

In doing that, must he not give such price as would enable him to procure it?—Of course.

Then will not that tend to raise the price of any particular sort or description of Negroes that is thus in demand?—Under the impression of this Order, I do not conceive that the price of Negroes can rise, even under the circumstances described.

If the most valuable Negro in ten or a dozen instances, on the estate, be emancipated under the compulsory clause, do you mean to say, that the market price of Negroes of that description, or rather of unconnected Negroes, would not rise in the market?—I really do not think that it would rise.

If such a price were given to the owner of an estate as enabled him to replace the labour taken away, he would sustain no pecuniary injury?—I think not, if his labour is replaced.

If the price given to him was such as enabled him to replace that labour, not by another slave, but by free labour to the same extent, would he then sustain any pecuniary injury?—No, I do not see that he would.

Do not the Negroes upon a sugar plantation consist of very different descriptions?—Yes.

Some superior and some inferior?—Yes.

For instance; the foreman, the superintendent, and the boiler require more intelligence and ability than the field Negroes?—Yes; some of the field Negroes require good talent and ability also.

Have you not found in your experience, that the free persons of colour are disposed to work for wages in the superior situations in the sugar colonies?—I have known some free persons of colour work as tradesmen, carpenters particularly; but I have known very few of those persons to work on the estates; I have generally known them work about the towns.

As wheelwrights and carpenters, and persons employed in carrying on a great part of the business of the estate?—Yes, carpenters principally.

Do they not also, for wages, work in other situations on the estate itself; in superior situations?—Very seldom.

Have you known them do that sometimes?—I have seen them sometimes, but not for a permanence; merely for jobs, I think.

Do they work on sugar plantations?—Not to my knowledge; at least not more than occasionally once in a way.

Do you know what inducements have been held out to them, and have been refused?—I do not know what inducements have been held out to them, and refused.

What are the descriptions of persons of whom the free persons of colour, those who are emancipated, in your experience principally consist; are they not mostly domestic slaves?—A good many are domestic slaves, and a good many tradesmen of different sorts, such as carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, and, in short, the ordinary tradesmen.

Are there in your experience any considerable number of what you call field Negroes among the emancipated persons at present?—No, I do not think there are many.

Then the persons you speak of, who have not been disposed to take to work on the sugar plantations, are those who have not been brought up to that species of labour?—A great many have been brought up on the plantations.

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The question refers to field Negroes?—There are cases where slaves who have become domestic have been employed in field labour; but the cases are not numerous.

They have been made free after they became domestic slaves?—Yes.

Would you expect, in England, or any part of the world, that a person who had been for some years engaged as a domestic would, unless he was driven by urgent necessity, take to field labour, to the business of an agricultural labourer?—No, I would not.

Have you lived in Berbice or Demerara?—In Demerara; I have been in Berbice, but never resided there.

You have described the means that the Negro has of obtaining property; as far as your experience goes, do the common field Negroes at present possess any amount of property, any number of them?—In the aggregate they do.

What may be the amount that an industrious field Negro may possess?—I cannot state, for those are not points on which Negroes are communicative; but I have sometimes had occasion to ascertain, and particularly in one case where I had to remove a gang from one situation to another, I found that they had almost all money; they had all some money.

What is the average price of a field Negro at present?—I should suppose a good stout man at present, according to the latest intelligence I have had from these colonies, might be worth perhaps nearly 200*l.*, something less than 200*l.*

Do you mean that they sell for that?—Yes; I cannot exactly say that a particular Negro sold for that sum.

I am asking you what the average price at present is of a field Negro in the market?—The latest intelligence I had upon that subject stated that as the price.

What was your own experience when there?—I should say the average when I was there was about 100*l.* all over, and I think that a valuable field Negro would be worth double.

(*By a Lord.*)—Do you mean sterling or currency?—Sterling.

(*Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet.*)—Do you think there are any number of field Negroes possessed of a sum of money bearing any considerable proportion to that price; 10*l.* or 20*l.*?—Yes, I dare say there are many possess 10*l.* or 20*l.* or upwards; some a good deal more.

You say you have not known any number of field Negroes who have been emancipated?—I think I have known some, but not many.

Have you known any who have hitherto been able to purchase their manumission from their own labour?—I cannot call to my mind any case of a field Negro purchasing his manumission, but I have heard of field Negroes having sufficient money for the purpose.

Have you heard that in such a way as to credit it?—I have heard it in such a way that I firmly believe it to be the case.

What number of them? Do you consider that a common case?—I do not consider it common; I speak of a case which has occurred.

What length of time do you think it would take before the field Negroes could accumulate by their own labour a sufficient sum of money to purchase their freedom, in such a manner as to make any considerable diminution in the number of Negroes now employed on the sugar plantations in that colony?—That is a question which I cannot answer with any degree of certainty; I think it would take a long time.

What length of time can you conjecture?—If the Negroes were to set about collecting their money, if they were to cease the expenditure of money on those things they are now accustomed to buy, if instead of laying out their money they were to commence hoarding it for this purpose, I should think in a few years a good many of them would be able to purchase their freedom.

What do you call a few years—twenty?—Less than that.

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What number of field Negroes do you think it probable would obtain their freedom under this clause, by their own labour, in twenty years?—I really cannot undertake to answer that question.

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Is it possible to conjecture?—A great many, I think, would in twenty years.

Is it possible now, at this period, to ascertain what resources might be found for supplying the labour of the persons who should thus be emancipated, supposing they cannot be replaced by the purchase of slaves?—I really do not know of any resource at present.

Is it possible now to anticipate what means would or would not be resorted to or found for the purpose of replacing that labour?—It is impossible for me to point out a resource.

Is it possible for you to lay down, at this moment, any principle, according to your judgment, by which the difficulty is to be met, which you say will arise, when those slaves cannot be replaced; if that time should arrive, you cannot now, you say, suggest any principle of compensation by which that is to be estimated?—I cannot.

You have no definite principle of compensation to propose upon that subject?—Certainly I am not prepared to propose any definite principle of compensation.

You have stated that the working part of a gang of Negroes is about one third?—I think so; I mean to say the proportion of really efficient people.

If that one third was removed the estate would be unproductive?—Certainly.

Is it to be supposed that the one third, consisting of the operative part, would be removed all at once?—No.

Are not the families of all the different persons on the estate growing up and replacing those that are removed from time to time?—Yes, occasionally.

You say the effective part of a gang is one third; are not the children worked?—Grown children do a little work, but it is of that nature it would be perfectly useless without the work of the principal people.

At what age do they begin to work?—I cannot exactly say, perhaps ten or eleven.

Do they not work earlier than that?—I have seldom seen them on the sugar estates; I am not aware that a child under that age could do any thing to be essentially useful. On coffee estates they sometimes do a little work in moving about the coffee while it is drying, but I think they must be of that age before they could be of any use there.

The women are worked as well as the men?—Yes, they are.

You have said that there is a succession upon an estate of the persons employed in the different occupations upon that estate?—Some of them; the boilers are almost entirely by succession.

Supposing a boiler happens to die, in what manner is his situation replaced?—I have already said that he is replaced by the next best boiler.

If the second happens to die he is replaced by the third?—Yes.

In the ordinary case there is a succession; one replaces another?—Yes.

If the best boiler on the estate should be emancipated under this clause, and the owner of the estate should receive his full value, and replace him, as he would do if he had died, by the next in succession, would the owner of the estate be any loser in that case?—He would be no loser, as far as regards the individual man; but he might be a great loser by being left with this man's family.

He would be that by his death, would not he; or if the man fell down by accident and broke his leg?—Yes; but the case would be very different if he was removed by death; his family would soon make new connections when entirely separated from him.

If the value of this man is paid to the owner, and he buys an inferior slave, and puts the difference in his pocket, will he in that case sustain any pecuniary injury?—He may not in every case; there are some cases, as I stated, in which the com-

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pensation that is paid may be in my judgment sufficient; there are other cases, arising out of the connections of the people, where compensation of that kind would not be sufficient.

Are you to be understood, that in your opinion it is impracticable to carry into effect the compulsory clause at all?—I do not go to that extent; but all I say is, that having had some experience in these matters, I am not able to point out the mode of appraisement that would be equitable and satisfactory; if it was equitable to the proprietor, in my opinion it would be inoperative as far as regards the slave; it would place the cost of the price beyond the sum that he could raise.

Do you mean to say that the effect of the compulsory clause would be to raise the price of the slave?—I do not mean to say that.

You were understood to say that the effect of it would be to raise the price of the slave to a greater amount than he could afford to pay?—Provided such consideration as I should think equitable, on the principle of appraisement, were resorted to.

Are you prepared to state what that principle is?—That the loss to the plantation from which the slave is removed should be ascertained, if possible, and added to the market price of the slave; the absolute price.

What is the absolute price?—The market price of the slave, I suppose, would be what, if he was taken by his master and removed from the estate he belonged to, he would sell for.

The price that he would sell for to another person having a sugar plantation, and equally desirous of possessing such a slave as the man who parted with him?—I cannot say that, for I do not understand how the purchaser could know the value of a slave so well as the master; the purchaser would buy him on description, he would form some judgment of the man's strength, he would be told of his qualifications, he would be told that he was a tradesman of this or of that description, or a worker in this or that line, and on the strength of that he would purchase the man; but that value, according to my notion, might be much less in many cases than the value of that slave to the master upon the plantation he would be removed to.

Generally speaking, in the purchase and sale of all things does not the buyer ascertain the value of the thing he purchases, as well as the seller the value of that he parts with?—Yes.

The measure of that is the price which the persons coming together agree to?—Yes.

You say there is a difference in the value of a slave on a coffee plantation and a sugar plantation?—Yes; I have said that, generally speaking, a slave may be considered more valuable on a sugar estate; but I have also said that that is not always the case.

Suppose the case that there are two plantations adjoining one another, the one a sugar plantation, and the other a coffee plantation, the one being better adapted to one, and the other better adapted to the other, and that there is an able-bodied man on the coffee plantation, and a man who would to the sugar planter be worth 200*l.* is working on the coffee plantation, would not that man be equally worth 200*l.*, though working on the coffee plantation?—Yes, I suppose he would.

If he was worth but a hundred pounds on the coffee plantation, would not the coffee planter be willing to part with that man if the sugar planter would give 200*l.*?—No; he might be so circumstanced that he could not sell that man without destroying the rest of the property vested in that estate.

If his neighbour would give him 200*l.* for that slave, would any appraiser value him at 100*l.* because he was working on a coffee plantation?—No, I should think not.

If a slave is worth 200*l.* to a sugar planter, and a coffee planter has an estate adjoining, would that slave, though on a coffee plantation, be worth 200*l.*?—Yes.

That he could be sold for?—Yes.

Then where is the difference in value between a slave working on one field or another?—The value of the slave to the estate will increase according to the diminution of the population.

At present we are speaking of the population being to a certain amount; I am only asking whether there is any difference in value between the slave working on one farm and the same slave working on another?—The appraised value or the market price is the same.

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A horse, for instance, is of the same value, whether working on one farm or another. Do they not employ the children in weeding at a very early age?—I do not think they can employ them in weeding till ten or eleven.

Do they not work them as early as five?—I never saw them weeding so early as that.

You have told my learned friend that you think the operation of this compulsory manumission might be, in certain circumstances, to produce disappointment in the mind of the slave?—Yes.

And that in consequence of the disappointment he would be less likely to perform his duty well; but do not you think that his hope of being able to obtain his freedom is as likely to produce a good effect as the disappointment a bad one?—Yes, if the Negro has set his mind upon it, if it is a purpose he has proposed to himself, and is anxious about, as long as he entertains the hope of accomplishment, the disappointment will not operate.

Will not the object of accumulating a sum of money for the purpose of obtaining emancipation, operate not only in inducing the Negro to be industrious while he is working for himself, but in giving him those habits of industry that will during that time at least make him a better servant to his master?—I really cannot say that it will affect his service to his master beneficially.

Will it not have the effect of giving him habits of industry?—Yes; but those habits of industry he may as well acquire without having this particular object in view; at present the Negroes make a great deal of money by their industry, which they spend according to their wishes.

Generally speaking, are those Negroes who are in the habit of accumulating something for their own benefit by their own industry the best or the worst slaves upon the estate of the master?—I think they are best.

Those who are idle for themselves are likely to be idle for the master, and those who are industrious for themselves are likely to be industrious for their masters?—Undoubtedly; I would say that the best people are those most likely to make money.

Have you turned your attention to the proportion of births and deaths among the slave population in Demarara?—I am not, perhaps, able to give any precise answer upon that subject at present.

In your judgment, among the Creole slaves, do the deaths exceed the births?—In my judgment and experience, I should say that among the Creole slaves the births exceed the deaths.

How is it among the free coloured population?—I think it almost impossible to answer that question, for there is such a mixture between the free people and the others.

Have you any doubt that the free people increase much more rapidly than the slaves?—I should really think that in point of fact they do not increase more rapidly.

You have not turned your particular attention to that?—No, I have not.

Re-examined by *Mr. Adam.*

My learned friend has asked you, whether, if an unconnected slave was put in the place of an emancipated slave, the two being equal of course in all respects, any injury would result to the master; could such an unconnected slave be found in Demerara, to be purchased for a price?—I have said that in my opinion it is hardly possible.

Supposing it should be possible, would there not be a difference in the value of the family of the emancipated slave?—I conceive there would.

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Is that family, not superintended by the father, left to take its chance among the other slaves on the plantation?—Certainly.

Would it not be a great loss to the owner of that family to deprive them of their parent?—Yes, I think that would be injurious to the people themselves, and to their masters.

Would they become less diligent and less attentive to their duties, and so less valuable?—Yes; I think they would become less satisfied, and probably low spirited, in consequence of their separation from their friends.

Do you think it is just the same thing to the owner of a plantation, to have a family of slaves, with an individual altogether unconnected with them, or to have a family of slaves superintended by their own father?—Undoubtedly there is a great difference between the father of a family and another; no stranger can be introduced into the estate in the same situation.

You have been asked whether you think the demand for unconnected Negroes would not increase the market price; would not the uncertainty of the tenure, the chance that the individual might emancipate himself the next year, depress the price?—From such a consideration I have said that I think the price would not advance, though the labour of unconnected slaves was required.

If the price of an unconnected slave was enhanced, would it not render the attainment of that slave more difficult to the owner of the estate?—I suppose not; I do not suppose that would effect it, because it goes upon the supposition that he is to have the advanced price for the manumitted slave.

You were asked whether you have ever known of an instance of a free Negro labouring on a sugar plantation; you were understood to say, very rarely;—I did not understand the question.

Did you ever know an instance of a free labourer working in the fields on a sugar plantation for hire?—No.

Have you known instances of tradesmen, emancipated, working in town for hire?—Yes, and occasionally on estates, now and then, very rarely.

Did you ever know a tradesman continue to work on a sugar estate continuously, so as to make his labour efficient for the purposes of a sugar estate?—No, I have never known an instance.

You have known them do occasional jobs, but not continuous work?—Just so.

Is it necessary that the labour should be applied steadily, and without interruption, to render it profitable on a sugar estate?—Certainly.

You have been asked whether you have known of any inducement being offered to free labourers to labour on a sugar estate in the field?—I did not understand that question.

Can you state to my Lords what inducement would be sufficient to induce a free Negro to labour continuously in the field on a sugar plantation?—I cannot.

Do you believe that the profit of a plantation is such as to enable the owner to offer to a free Negro such a rate of hire as would induce him?—I think the wages required would be more than the owner could afford to pay. I can form no idea of what would induce them to work.

You have said you have known free Negroes labour in the town?—I have known them work at trades.

Have you known them work steadily at trades in a town, from the beginning to the end of the week?—Some few; there is a great difference in that respect.

Is not the price of sustenance and clothes and lodging much higher in a town than in the country; does not the sort of provision a person lives on in a town require a larger expense?—Of course it is more difficult to be obtained, but I do not think there is any great difference in their mode of living.

Do you think that any inducement could be held out, which would make the free labourers labour in the field for hire?—It is quite a matter of opinion; but I can conceive no inducement that a plantation could afford to pay.

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Do you think any thing short of absolute necessity would make a free Negro labour in a sugar plantation ; if he could get food and clothes, do you think he would consent to labour in a sugar plantation?—Not continuously.

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In your judgment, could a Negro get food and sustenance without labouring continuously, in Demerara?—Yes, I think he could ; many of them do, in fact.

Many of them do live without continuous labour?—Yes.

What rate of labour, in the course of a week, would be necessary to enable a man to support himself ; one or two days in the week, or what number?—Perhaps two days.

In your opinion the labour of two days would afford the means of providing such articles as the free Negro would require?—I think so.

You have been asked whether you can state any principle of compensation ; you say, none that is satisfactory to your own mind?—Certainly I cannot.

Would this Order in Council not be injurious to the planters and to the owners of estates, if it was to introduce compulsory manumission, and not to afford an undoubted mode of compensation ? If the question of compensation is left doubtful, and compulsory manumission is introduced, must not that be injurious to the planters and owners of estates?—I think so ; either by manumitting his slave without sufficient compensation, or by disappointing the slave in his expectation of freedom.

If it is doubtful whether the modes of compensation pointed out will answer that purpose, might not compulsory manumission be prejudicial to the owners of estates in Demerara?—I should think so, because it renders the value of his estate uncertain.

With respect to the number of slaves who are effective labourers upon the estate, you think that one third in your time was about the average number?—I think so.

You have been asked whether the young did not grow up so as to become productive labourers ; you were not asked whether the middle-aged did not grow old?—Yes, they do, certainly.

Then do not those who are effective cease to become so in the same lapse of time?—Yes. I suppose in the present state of the population that will be nearly equal.

You have said that the way in which a boiler, if he was to die, would be supplied on an estate, would be by the master taking the next on the estate ; is not that a considerable loss to the master?—It is some loss, certainly ; but there is no remedy.

Is it a misfortune to the owner of a West India estate to have his first hand die?—Undoubtedly.

If you cannot supply the best hand for money, but must have the second best, would it be sufficient to give him a compensation for a second-rate boiler, when he cannot supply him for the money?—There the difficulty recurs, as to the manner of appraisement.

If the difficulty of appraisement is such as to make this measure inoperative, would any injury accrue to the owner of the estate from the effect the holding this out to the slaves would have upon their minds?—Yes, that I have already said.

And you conceive that if this measure is inoperative, and cannot be carried into effect, it will still be prejudicial to the owner?—Yes, if it is not carried into effect, on that account I conceive it will be mischievous, by its effect on the minds of the people.

Does any owner of a plantation in Demerara raise more than one set of tradesmen upon his estate ; if an estate requires the constant attendance of two carpenters and two labourers, and two blacksmiths, does any man raise three?—No, he does not raise three ; occasionally, especially of coopers and carpenters, they put boys to those trades.

They put boys to learn?—Yes.

However it may be in the case of the boilers, has he the means of supplying a carpenter and cooper, and so on?—Sometimes he has, sometimes he has not.

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As a Demerara estate is for the most part conducted, has he the means of supplying the loss of a tradesman from the estate itself?—An ordinary tradesman may be supplied from the estate itself sometimes; sometimes a tradesman of that ability is lost that he cannot be supplied.

I wish to put the cases of common occurrence?—It often happens, I may say, generally happens, that they have the means in the estate of supplying, in the case of a carpenter, for instance.

You were asked whether the hope of emancipation will not make a man more valuable to his master; does the slave get any more for himself by working harder for his master?—No.

How long is a slave employed for his master in the course of the four-and-twenty hours?—It is different; I should say, generally about ten hours.

How many hours, generally speaking, does he labour for himself?—I cannot undertake to answer that question with any precision; sometimes an hour and a half, occasionally, very differently on different days; I cannot state the average.

Without stating it particularly, do you think the habits of industry that the slave would gain by working the period of time he does for himself would teach him to be industrious, if he did not learn the same habits by working for his master; could a man learn habits of industry from the short period he employs for his own benefit, if he does not learn them during the long period he works for his master?—No, in my opinion his habit must be acquired from his master's work.

If the ten hours for his master does not teach him, will the one hour and a half for himself teach him that?—I should think not.

Examined by the Lords.

Do you recollect the dispatch written by Lord Bathurst on the 25th of February 1826?—I have read the dispatch, but I do not recollect the particulars of it.

You have stated in your evidence, that in the case of a slave who had a family, if that slave demanded his own manumission, the family would be left to be a burthen on the master; are you not aware that in that dispatch it is stated, that no uniform valuation of slaves was contemplated, but on the contrary each case was left to stand upon its own merits; are you aware that such instructions were given for the administration of the manumission clauses?—I have read the dispatch, but I am not aware of that.

Supposing that a slave having a family was to demand his manumission, are you not aware that the appraisement would be governed not only by the means which the price would give of enabling the master to procure another slave, but also by the detriment which in that particular instance the master would receive from being encumbered with the family of the manumitted slave?—I certainly did not conceive that was included in the circumstances to be taken under consideration in an appraisement; and if that consideration is to be taken in, then in my opinion the appraisement will reach a point to render it completely inoperative as regards the slave.

Supposing for the sake of argument, that (no matter from what source proceeding) a fund existed, which might be applied to for the purpose of supplying the difference between that price which a slave might fairly procure by his own industrious earnings, according to the particular class of slaves to which he belonged, and that extent of detriment which the appraisers might, on their oath, represent that the masters received from the circumstance of the family being left on the master's hands, and that the master received that difference of price, would there in that case, be any prejudice received by the master?—No, I think I have said not; that no prejudice would be received by the master if he was remunerated for the slave, taking in all the considerations which I thought requisite to adjust the appraisement.

Have you not said that, in your opinion, no data could be afforded by which the appraiser could make a calculation of the loss sustained by the master?—I do not conceive of any data on which I could go to make a just appraisement between the

the slave and the master; but I do not mean to say that could not be done, for men of greater abilities than myself might be able to perceive it.

Mr. H. Hyndman.

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Taking the particular instance of a slave demanding his manumission under these clauses, who is encumbered by a family, do you mean to say, that the detriment received by the master cannot be appreciated in value?—I think that circumstance might be appreciated in value.

You admit as a principle, that if data could be afforded under which the master received an equitable compensation in money, much of the objection to these manumission clauses would be removed?—I think much would be removed if data could be afforded to enable the appraiser to come to a just valuation.

You have stated that there are certain persons on an estate, such as superintendents and the higher class of slaves, who are most likely to obtain the price of their manumission?—I do not say most likely, I would say likely.

Though in your opinion no slave working as a mere field slave will be disposed to encounter such work under the temptation of any wages the planter could afford to give; do you think, in the case of this superior class of slaves, there is reason to suppose they will not for wages undertake such duties as they now undertake as slaves?—I think they would undertake those duties occasionally; but I think there is a doubt of their continuing at them so steadily as to enable the planter to depend upon their labour, which must be the case, otherwise his business cannot be carried on.

The question applies itself to superintendents, and not those actually employed in the manipulation of sugar?—So I understand it.

Do you think, under circumstances of apprenticeship, those parties would not undertake to execute those duties, under which supposition of apprenticeship they would involve penal consequences if they were neglected?—That is a question entirely new to me. On the first view of it I would say, that I think it probable they would work, but I cannot pretend to say that I understand the subject well; it is quite new to me.

Would you be prepared to admit, that if free labourers could be found to execute the purposes now performed by slaves, so that no greater expense was incurred by the planter in the shape of wages than is now incurred under the slave system, the appellants in that case would have no pretence for compensation?—Supposing free labour could be obtained in the way stated, I should think no injury would be sustained.

Then you would admit, as the necessary consequence, that it is precisely in proportion to the fact, as it will turn out, of the substitution of free labour, that the injury will be sustained by the proprietor?—Ultimately, that will determine the question; but in the meantime opinion determines the question, so as to produce a prejudice.

You admit that if the planter could be paid equitably for his loss, he would sustain no injury?—Certainly.

Then putting all compensation in money out of the case, would not the degree of loss to the planter be governed by the means of substitution, which experience might show he had of free labour for slave labour?—Yes, certainly.

Are you aware of this passage in Lord Bathurst's dispatch; "If, then, as many contend, and as will probably in some places turn out to be the case, the slaves who have purchased their freedom shall voluntarily work either for their own master or some other, a system of free labour will be gradually introduced, which, although it may not at first operate to reduce the price, will prevent any great increase in successive valuations?"—Yes.

Supposing it were to turn out that that particular class of slaves would work as free labourers, do you not admit that the price to be paid to the master should be less than if it was to turn out that they would not?—Yes, I think it should; for a way would appear in which the master might supply the place of his manumitted slave.

Then if the master could supply the place of his manumitted slave, partly by receiving a sum of money, and partly by the services of another person, a less price would necessarily be to be given?—Yes, certainly.

Mr. H. Hyndman.

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Are you aware that it is stated in that dispatch to which reference has been made, "If in the process of time it should be unfortunately found that the slaves thus manumitted altogether abandon their owners, and refuse to work as free persons, the owner not having the means, by reason of the Abolition Act, to supply the loss of his slaves, and not being able to engage any free labourer for his sugar plantations, the price which must then be assigned to the loss of each slave must have a direct reference to that state in which the plantation will be placed by the progressive reduction of the means of cultivating it?"—I do not recollect that paragraph.

Do you not conceive that if that instruction were realized, it meets that part of the case?—I consider the difficulty is to realize that instruction; a difficulty I have stated over and over again, that I am not able to perceive the data on which we could proceed to realize that instruction,

Do you think that it is possible to suppose that a case will arise at any early period, in which that can be put to the test; or do you think that in the manner in which those clauses will be applied, there would not be an opportunity of substituting equivalent slaves?—I should think, in the first instance, there will; what time may elapse before the inconvenience is felt, I cannot possibly undertake to say; but in the first instances my impression is that the manumitted slave could be replaced.

Are you aware that Lord Bathurst, in his instructions, states, that it will be necessary for a certificate of good conduct and industry to be obtained from the protector of slaves, before the slave can demand to be placed under the operation of these clauses of manumission?—Yes, I understand that.

Consequently, as the protector of slaves in Berbice cannot by possibility have any knowledge himself of the claims of slaves to receive that certificate, inasmuch as he has had no opportunity of obtaining that knowledge, having been but lately appointed, does it not necessarily follow, that those certificates cannot be procured unless the master assists in giving the slave that character?—Yes; but by the Order it does not appear that the master is at all called upon to do so.

Do you suppose that the protector of slaves would feel himself justified, or that, in the ordinary course of the execution of his duty, he could grant that certificate, without knowing whether he was justified or not?—I do not think he could undertake to grant certificates for any considerable part of the population.

Precisely in the proportion in which he could not, does not that put a bar on the rapid operation of this Order, inasmuch as until this system is established of ascertaining the data in an equitable manner, those certificates would not be forthcoming in great numbers, except in cases too small to require commentary?—I have never viewed that part of the Order in that light; I had rather supposed that the protector of slaves would consider it imperative upon him to grant a certificate according to the best information he was able to obtain of the character of the slave proposed to be manumitted.

From what source do you conceive it possible he can obtain the information necessary, except from the master?—He could not derive any satisfactory knowledge of the character of the slave except from the master.

Do not you consider that circumstance therefore to retard, in conjunction with other causes already alluded to, that period when any number of slaves would present themselves for their freedom, so as to go beyond the point when equivalent substitution could be accomplished?—I have never viewed it in that light. I have never before viewed that part of the Order in that light. I had supposed it would be imperative upon the protector to inform himself in the best manner he could, satisfactory to himself, of the character of the slave, and on such information as he might acquire, satisfying his own mind, to grant that certificate.

Do you not admit that if his mind was satisfied, if the price paid would be sufficient to reimburse the proprietor, that is, to procure him a similar slave, he would receive no injury?—Yes, I have said, that if all circumstances are taken into consideration, and the master receives an equivalent, he would not.

Do you think that this process would be very rapid?—No, I do not.

Do you not think that the final effect you contemplate from these compulsory clauses, that at last it would be necessary to estimate the detriment sustained by the master from the abstraction of a slave who could not be replaced, would be speedy? do you not think that period of necessity must be comparatively distant?—It must be protracted for an indefinite time, depending upon circumstances, which I am not able to explain.

Mr. H. Hyndman.

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Do you not think that the circumstances of the slave population, and the operation of this Order itself, will furnish data to enable the appraisers, who then may feel it necessary to resort to that mode of assessing the injury done to the property in the particular instance by the withdrawal of the slave, to do it with effect; that infinitely more data could be afforded than can be now afforded for the purpose?—It is very probable that experience will afford data.

Is it not your opinion, that though it may be now absolutely impossible to estimate the loss a proprietor would sustain by the forcible abstraction of a slave from an estate, supposing he could not replace him in any way, yet that at that future period which thus will naturally arrive, very sufficient data may be afforded to enable them to make that appraisal?—I am not able to understand how any sufficient data can be found for going into that appraisal. I am not able to comprehend it. I have said that I think experience will probably afford some data, and improve the means of making an appraisal of that kind; but I am not able to comprehend how that will operate, or how that datum is to be obtained. I have an idea that experience will improve the means of procuring such data.

You have stated that you think the higher class of slaves, and domestic slaves, and certain mechanics, may, perhaps, be found to execute as free labourers the duties which they had previously executed as slaves, if not without apprenticeship, at least, perhaps, supposing apprenticeship to be introduced, and to be made the terms of manumission?—Yes.

Are you not prepared to admit, that the degree to which such a manumission should be regulated, would be precisely one of those points of data which would affect the judgment of future appraisers?—Yes, that would be one of those points.

You have stated that you are of opinion that a very unfavourable impression would be produced in the mind of a slave, if manumission were to escape from him, as it were, in consequence of the price rising upon him; supposing that he were permitted by law to effect his own manumission at a certain price, and supposing, for the sake of the argument, that the planter received from any other source the difference, upon the appraisal principle, between that price and the price which the appraisers would award to him with reference to the injury received by him from the abstraction of his slave; do you think, under such a supposed state of circumstances, the same feeling of dissatisfaction would exist in the mind of the slave?—Certainly I do not; I think the admission of such a principle would be a material improvement working different ways.

Are you of opinion, from your knowledge of the Negro character, and of the population in Demerara and Berbice, that it might be found impossible, in practice, to allow the field slave, executing the more severe character of field duties, which are made necessary by the cultivation of sugar, to bind himself to an apprenticeship, in which he should submit to coercion short of the coercion necessarily supplied under the slave system, and which should require on the part of that slave a payment of money, in the first instance, to place him in that intermediate state; do you think that it is improbable that a field slave might be placed in that situation, and yet execute work for his masters, such as is necessary in sugar cultivation?—I will not undertake to say what the disposition of the slaves might be to enter into such a state; but if they did do so, I think that the effect would be favourable; I think that if they could be engaged in such a state, they would work, and be industrious; that they would apply themselves to work if they had freedom ultimately in view.

You would admit that in such case the receipt of much less money might induce a planter voluntarily to consent to his slave being translated from the one state to the other, than might induce him to consent to a manumission of that slave if it were absolute?—Yes, I think it might.

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Do you not think the experiment of that intermediate state would furnish data with respect to the appraisement, to which reference might be made, when the period will arrive when no equivalent slave can be substituted?—Yes; but if that new state of things were introduced, I should suppose that such a thing as absolute manumission, as an immediate transmission from slavery to freedom, would hardly take place at all.

If the master received an equivalent compensation in money, it would be a matter of indifference to him, provided it was *bonâ fide* an equivalent?—Yes, provided he gets an equivalent, it is a matter of indifference to him. I think it probable that many masters would favour such a state of things as has been described, and do all they could to promote it.

Do you think there would be any any practical difficulty, under such a state of things, to the establishing a slave court, which would take cognizance of any breach, on the part of the master or the slave, of those future regulations entered into between the master and the slave?—That is a question which I do not feel competent to enter into; I should suppose such a court might be constituted.

The Order in Council is thus explained by Lord Bathurst's Dispatch:—"If in the process of time it should be unfortunately found that the slaves thus manumitted abandon their owners, and refuse to work as free persons, the owner not having the means, by reason of the Abolition Act, to supply the loss of his slaves, and not being able to engage any free labourer for his sugar plantations, the price which must then be assigned to the loss of each slave must have a direct reference to that state in which the plantation will be placed by the progressive reduction of the means of cultivating it; under such circumstances the price assigned may soon far exceed any possible means of a slave to purchase his own freedom; and that will be the period when, if individual benevolence be found insufficient, the State will be called upon to interfere, not by depriving the owner of any part of the estimated value of the slave, but by making up the deficiency between what the slave may be enabled to earn by habits of industry, and what the owner will be estimated to lose by being deprived of the labour of his slave." Are you to be understood to have admitted that this state of things cannot be in reason contemplated at an early period?—No, I do not quite admit that, that it may not; for I have said already, one of the considerations to be taken in making this valuation is, how that can be ascertained in a money price; that is to say, the incumbrance arising from a slave's family; I understand that to be admitted to be a consideration that should be taken in in a valuation; if it is to be taken in at any time, it must be taken in at the very first appraisement that comes; and I think an appraisement admitting that consideration would be now too high to fall within the means of the slave; and, consequently, if he is to be assisted in obtaining his freedom, he must be assisted immediately.

There is this passage, "No uniform valuation is contemplated; on the contrary, under these Regulations, each case is left to stand upon its own merits." The question put to you supposes, that if there was a positive detriment in any case to the planter from the manumitted slave having left a family, the appraisers would take it into their consideration?—If they take in that supposed circumstance, then the necessity for assisting the slave will arise on the first manumission which takes place.

Supposing, for the sake of argument, that particular objection were obviated, namely, the effect on the slave, are you not then prepared to admit that the next objection, namely, the difficulty of finding data on which an appraisement can be founded, would be a difficulty which could not in practice operate for any considerable length of time?—Not for some time. It would be as difficult to make a just appraisement at the first as it would be at a subsequent period: the injury done to the whole property by the removal of one of the people of any consequence or importance would be very small in the first instance; taking his proportion of that, it would be but small in the beginning; an appraiser would undertake to put a value upon that, to suppose it as something.

You would admit, that if an equivalent slave were substituted, or an inferior slave with the difference of the money price, there would be no injury?—I admit that, with some qualifications, such as the family left.

From your experience, and with reference to the whole context of this examination, are you not prepared to admit that it would be a considerable time first?—I am quite at a loss to assign any time; but I think it must be a considerable time.

Are you of opinion, or not, that during that necessary lapse of time, which may be considerable of necessity, data will be afforded, under the several considerations which have been alluded to, and under many others which are equally palpable, which will remedy that which appears to be the main objection on your part to the whole, which is the impossibility of finding data for appraisement?—I have said already, that experience will no doubt improve the means of finding data for appraisements; I think it will be a long time before that is done effectually, so as to enable men to fix a value which will be just towards both parties.

Mr. H. Hyndman.

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Is it a fact that steam is now employed in Berbice in substitution of labour formerly executed by slaves?—No steam is employed as far as I know, only for mills for grinding and breaking canes, which was formerly done by wind or cattle.

Do you mean to say, that the practical effect on a sugar estate, in consequence of the introduction of steam, is not to supersede manual labour that was formerly employed?—I do not think that it supersedes manual labour; it economizes labour; but the work done by steam was formerly done by wind or water, or by cattle.

In the case of water, have they not to wait for the tide?—Yes; and with the wind they have to wait for the weather.

Is not the effect of that to economize labour?—Yes.

You consider steam as having produced an economy of labour?—Yes.

If this argument had been carried on at the time when steam was first applied in this manner, could any person have estimated in what manner it would or would not have economized labour?—No.

Then do you not necessarily admit that it is impossible to state what will occur during the interval which must elapse?—Undoubtedly; I have no disposition to deny that.

You are understood to admit, that if there is an equivalent substitution of slaves no injury is sustained by the master?—Yes.

You are understood to admit, that if an inferior slave is introduced, and the money representing that difference paid, in that case no injury need be sustained by the master?—I really cannot undertake to admit that, or deny it; it is so complicated a consideration, that I am not prepared to answer it.

Is it the common principle of succession in all estates, that if a principal slave dies, a slave already upon the estate succeeds to the functions that man executed?—In many branches; in one or two branches that is the case.

In that case, would not the practical course be for a man to replenish his slaves by purchasing an inferior slave, which would put his number at par, and at the same time, although at the moment the value of his slaves might be deteriorated, as they improved that value might be restored?—It would be restored by degrees.

If he received a pecuniary compensation, which might measure that period during which the abstract value of his slaves might not be complete, would it not be the same?—I do not mean to deny that he may receive compensation; I only say that I cannot conceive how it is to be done in such a case as that, how the injury a man is to sustain during that time is to be compensated in money; I admit it is possible to do it.

You admit that the extreme case, of no substitute being able to be procured, when it will be necessary to measure the injury done to the planter by the loss affecting the estate in consequence of that circumstance, is distant?—Yes.

And you admit, of necessity, that improved data will be afforded during the time which must elapse?—Yes, certainly.

Is it the practice in the colony of Demerara, for a master to employ his slaves in task-work, instead of working them during the whole period of the twelve hours?—Such a practice has been of late years introduced on many estates. I have not been in the colony for two or three years, but I understand it is now becoming pretty general. I have known it, however, several years ago introduced, to allot a certain proportion of labour that is considered to be a reasonable day's work to a slave, to be performed as he thinks proper, at his own time.

Mr. H. Hyndman. In point of practice, do the slaves usually perform this service within considerably less time than they used to perform the same labour?—I thank they always do perform it in less.

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How do they employ the spare time which they gain by those means?—In doing work of various sorts for themselves; sometimes in their own pleasure; but sometimes in employing themselves for the purpose of making money.

Does the master ever offer them wages to employ those surplus hours in his service?—I do not think I have known any case where wages have been offered for them to perform those offices, but it may be because the practice is of recent introduction that no habits have arisen upon it.

Do you think it probable they would accept fair wages for the employment of that surplus time?—I cannot say that I think it probable they would make any permanent engagement of the kind, but I think it probable that they would occasionally accept of wages for jobs at those hours.

What work do they do for themselves, if they are not working for their masters, at those times?—They go into the grounds which are given to them; they have, each family, an allotment of ground, which they cultivate for their own purposes; if they happen to be working in the neighbourhood of those grounds, they go and do what may be necessary, in attending to the articles necessary for themselves,—weeding and cultivating that ground, and sometimes gathering the crop and taking it home.

A slave who by means of task-work has a great portion of the day at his disposal, more than the other slaves have, is able, probably, to acquire property?—Yes; having leisure of that sort will increase his means of acquiring property.

Have you found by experience that they in general become more easy in their circumstances?—I have said that my experience of this system has not been long enough to enable me to form an opinion upon this subject, but I should think there can be no doubt of that.

[The Witness withdrew.]

Tuesday, 20th November 1827.

Mr. Colin Macrae sworn.

Examined by *Mr. Hibbert*.

Mr. C. Macrae.

ARE you acquainted with the colonies of Demerara and Berbice?—Intimately.

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How long have you resided in Demerara?—It is now two-and-thirty years since I first went over to the colony. I have been frequently absent from it since, but never two years at a time upon the whole. I dare say I have been five-and-twenty years permanently resident there.

When did you last leave it?—I left it last June twelvemonth, June 1826.

Are you the owner of estates in Berbice?—Not in Berbice. I have been the owner of estates in Berbice, and am at present part owner of two in Demerara.

What number of Negroes have you ever had under your care at one time?—I have been agent for several estates at different periods. At one time I have had as many as three thousand Negroes under my charge.

Have you had for any considerable time as large a number as a thousand Negroes under your care and superintendance?—During the time I was acting agent for estates generally, I had from a thousand to three thousand.

Of the Negroes that are on a West India estate, what number are what you would call productive labourers?—If you mean cultivators, it varies from one-third to one-half. Some estates have more effective field people, according to the number of their children; those who have more children have generally a less number of labourers effective. The general proportion in Demerara of field cultivators is from one-third to one-half.

Of those, there were some of much greater value to their masters than others?—No doubt, for two reasons: some may be more valuable for physical strength; and there may be others who are not, but, from their moral character, have a great influence on the rest. Heads of families, though they may be invalids as labourers, they may be invaluable to the estate.

Mr. C. Macrae.

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Does it often happen that a Negro, on account of his moral character, is of great value to his master?—Of inestimable value sometimes.

Does that often happen?—Yes. An estate may be called a small community, in which there are characters of all descriptions, good and bad, intermixed; of course the moral characters will be a great check on the evil-doers, and of inestimable value to their master on that account, beyond their mere physical labour.

Suppose a Negro were to be withdrawn from his master, and a money price given to the master in his stead, are you able to state whether the master would be always able to find a substitute?—No, he never could depend upon getting a substitute; it would be a matter of accident.

How so; are sales not frequent?—Sales of plantation Negroes are very rare; if any such characters are offered for sale, there are so many purchasers in the market, that a very few could be supplied.

Do you mean to say that he could always find a Negro with sufficient bodily strength, but not always a Negro of exactly the character that he wanted?—It is doubtful. It is a mere matter of chance meeting with a Negro at all, and particularly a Negro of such a moral character as the one he was deprived of.

If the master could not find either any Negro at all, or such a one as he wanted, what would be the consequence to the estate?—The consequence to the estate would be, if he could not keep up his force, he must abandon it, and the whole estate would be destroyed as a concern of profit.

Suppose it should happen in crop time that a Negro such as you describe was withdrawn, would it be much injury to the estate?—If he was an engineer, a head boiler, or a leading man, it would be attended with very injurious effects; the loss of a simple field man of course would not be attended with so much inconvenience. The loss of the principal boiler or head man might cripple the whole concern.

Can you state whether the planters are in the habit of having more of those capital Negroes in their employ than are actually necessary to carry on the work?—Never. On a well-regulated estate all the branches of it are proportioned; he will have so many carpenters, so many masons, and so many coopers, as are necessary, according to the size of the estate. No man keeps a superfluous number of mechanics at all.

Suppose the principal boiler or the principal carpenter was removed, would the next best workman answer the same use?—That is a matter of accident; every man has not the same talent: the second in command may be superior to the first, and *vice versa*: but it is not very often that any of them have talent to be the leader and first of the plantation; they may have twenty carpenters, and not one that is capable of directing the rest.

Do you conceive that those persons, those capital Negroes, would be the most likely to purchase their freedom?—There are two descriptions of people that would be the first in getting their freedom; a few good meritorious characters, the leading men, would be amongst the first; and the next, the blackguards and fellows who would acquire wealth by any means to effect their emancipation, and they would be the most numerous class.

Is it competent to the planter of a West India estate to reduce the capital he lays out on the state, according as his hands are reduced?—Not without very great loss. When a planter settles an estate, he lays it out on a certain scale, according to his means; if he lays it out to employ five hundred, and half of those are taken away, the whole capital laid out on the estate is deteriorated, and so in proportion, whatever number of the Negroes are withdrawn, the scale is reduced; there will be so much capital sunk, which will be unproductive.

Have you read the Order and Clauses for compulsory manumission?—I have, with great attention.

Mr. C. Macrae.

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If we are to understand that Order as meaning that the market price of an able-bodied Negro is to be the compensation which is given, do you think that will be an equivalent to the master?—In the cases of the moral characters, as I mentioned, the best Negroes, no price can be a compensation; and in the case of the vagabonds, sometimes they would be very glad to get rid of them.

If a single Negro was emancipated, supposing he was a field Negro, or a vagabond, as you have described, could the master, at all times, depend upon finding another unconnected Negro in his place?—He cannot, the sales are so rare.

Do you think the master of the estate would receive any mischief if the family of the emancipated Negro was left on his estate?—Most assuredly; he would be burthened with the support of them, and they might turn out worthless, in consequence of the want of protection of the father.

Suppose a child was emancipated, could the master often find another child to purchase, without purchasing the parents also?—No, I do not think he could, except in an extraordinary case; there might be an orphan; but no man would sell a child for mere pecuniary considerations.

Have the goodness to attend to the terms of these Orders, that the appraisers are to value, not only with reference to the physical strength of the slave proposed to be manumitted, and his mental acquirements, but also in reference to the absolute value of such slave to his or her owner, and the loss such owner would sustain by the loss of the services of such slave. Do you think that the appraisers would have any means whatever of ascertaining the mental acquirements of the slave, his absolute value to his owner, or the loss which the owner would sustain by the loss of the services of the slave?—I think it would be hardly possible for any appraiser to put a just value on the moral character of a Negro.

Could the appraisers put any value upon the loss the master would sustain?—I do not think he could possibly put any just value upon the loss the master would sustain by losing such a person.

Must not the appraiser depend entirely upon the evidence the master would give?—I do not think the master could himself estimate it entirely.

Do you conceive, if those considerations are to be the ground of the valuation by the appraiser, that this Order would be operative?—I think not, in justice.

Supposing the Order to be inoperative, is it likely to excite any feeling of discontent among the Negroes?—There is no doubt it would produce in the greatest degree excitement and discontent, as most would be ambitious to avail themselves of the power of purchasing their freedom, and scruple at no means to attain it.

Looking to your experience of the Negro character, what would be the effect of discontent upon his work?—Most assuredly he would not work so much when he was discontented as when he was in good will; he would avail himself of every opportunity to make his master dissatisfied with him, in order to induce his master to part with him.

Do not Negroes, when any subject occurs to make them dissatisfied, frequently take the sulks, as they are called?—They do sometimes, but they often take an opposite turn of mind, and become wicked.

Have you resided in the neighbourhood of Essequibo?—I have.

While you were residing in Essequibo, had you any opportunity of observing the disposition of free Negroes to work?—Yes, many.

State what your observations were?—There are a great number of free people settled on the banks of the Essequibo River; many have been emancipated, and many were born free, of various colours, from black to copper.

Are there a large number of free Negroes there?—Of Negroes and Mulattoes, and all descriptions, four or five hundred in that community; I have had an opportunity of visiting in the capacity of militia duty.

Have you known them work steadily in a field for wages?—They never worked, except in their own gardens, and that for provisions to eat.

If they were willing to work, are there planters and others there ready to find them wages for work?—Plenty; if not as field labourers, they could be very advantageously

advantageously employed in cutting wood for staves and hoops, and for fire-wood ; but they only bring down as much as will purchase, in exchange, that which they require.

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How much labour a week will supply a free Negro with the means of living ?—Any man in Demerara can raise as much vegetable food as he can consume, by a half a day in a week.

Cross-examined by *Mr. Denman.*

You state that sales of plantations and Negroes are very frequent, and the purchasers numerous ?—I said not frequent, but the purchasers are very numerous.

Of course the market price is very high ?—Yes.

You say that the taking away the engineer, the leading men, and persons of that description, might, in the time of crop, be very injurious to the works then going on ?—The loss of the engineer will cause a total cessation of work, as there may not be another on the estate capable of doing that duty, as there is seldom more than one engineer employed for that purpose.

Are the engineers generally slaves ?—Always on estates there are white engineers, who come round occasionally to examine the machinery, if any accident happens beyond the capacity of the Negroes to remedy ; the engineers are slaves generally.

They possess a certain degree of knowledge and ingenuity ?—They are always chosen as the most expert and the most ingenious on the estate, when they are first put to that business, which they learn under the direction of white engineers in the first instance.

Supposing an engineer was to work out his own freedom, have you any doubt that that person, with his capacity, would be likely to hire himself out at wages afterwards ?—He would work just as long as it was necessary for him to get eating and drinking and clothing, but beyond that he would not be inclined to work.

That is your opinion ?—That is my opinion of the natives of all tropical climates, and Negroes particularly, that they will only work sufficient for their daily food.

Of the natives of all climates ?—Of that country in particular.

Do you mean to say that it is absolutely necessary to apply direct compulsion to a slave to make him work ?—There must be compulsion of one kind or the other, to induce him to work any thing beyond what may be necessary for bare subsistence, his greatest luxury being idleness and indolence, which he values more than any thing that labour can procure.

Have you ever known, for example, an engineer in a state of manumission ?—No ; but I have known free-born men who have become engineers ; they are born in a state of freedom ; I have never known an emancipated slave an engineer.

Are those persons ever employed for wages ?—They are employed as foremen to work for the white engineers, generally, which they will do for a spirt, for a job, but never permanently.

Do you mean that they have no desire for accumulation at all ?—Yes ; but their desire of accumulation is not so great as their desire for indolence ; their highest luxury is to idle about ; it may be the effect of climate rendering them indolent ; it is not confined to the Negro alone—it is the case with all persons in that climate ; thus free coloured people are exactly of the same habits and disposition as regard labour.

Are you of opinion that a person who has been working out his own freedom during a course of years is likely to throw aside all the habits of industry as soon as he has obtained it ?—Yes, I am ; I know a most remarkable instance of it ; I could name two or three most valuable men as slaves, who became perfectly dissolute characters after being emancipated ; I could instance several by name, if that were wished.

Have those persons had families ?—Yes ; one of them, in particular, was the head carpenter on an estate belonging to the late Governor Merlins, who was a most
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invaluable man, and to whom he gave his freedom, with his whole family; he went and settled in George Town, where in a very few years he lost the little property he had, and became a pauper, and is now in the colonial hospital; he was when I left.

Did that person work out his freedom?—No; it was given him by his master, in reward for extraordinary good conduct.

Have you ever known any examples of an opposite nature?—I cannot at this moment recollect any; I have known several to the effect I have stated.

Is it your opinion that the gift of freedom is productive of mischief and injury to the slave?—Physically considered, I think it is; I think that they have more comfort as slaves than they provide for themselves as freemen; that is my opinion, from the long experience of their character.

Have you observed whether the free blacks increase or decrease in number?—I rather think that they increase in number for two reasons; I think that they increase both by natural increase, and the number that are daily emancipated.

The question refers to the natural increase; do the slaves increase or otherwise?—The slaves increase on the estates where there is a due proportion of females; but it is our misfortune in Demerara that very few estates have a sufficient number of females; during the importation of Negroes they were much more anxious to get males to do the hard labour of taking in new lands; consequently few estates have an equal number of the sexes; but where they become equalized by natural increase, they will undoubtedly increase in population.

That is more will be born?—Yes, there may, after the sexes become equal.

Does not the population in fact decrease?—At this moment it does, and will for some time to come, until the sexes become equal, and the Africans die off; the Creole women are far better mothers, and take far greater pains in raising their children; as well as the numbers becoming equal that will operate.

Can you state the proportion between men and women?—In the colony generally, I forget the last register, but I think the proportion of females was not more than one-third.

You do not think that the death of the slaves is at all to be attributed to the severity of the labour?—By no means; there is not a Negro in Demerara who labours half so hard as a coal-heaver or a miner in England.

We do not find that the coal-heavers or the miners have so great an abhorrence of labour in England?—Because the climate is different.

Then what analogy is there between a coal-heaver and a miner in this climate, and a slave in those climes, where all mankind abhor labour?—They can raise with half a day in a week as much food as they require, which a man here works twelve hours in the day to obtain; it is not from choice that the people of this country labour, it is from necessity; our people have not the same necessity.

Then it is only because the stimulus is greater?—There is no stimulus which could be applied in that country which will induce a man to labour beyond that necessary for his support.

And that in consequence of the climate?—The necessary effect of the climate leads to indolence; no doubt it must be attributed to that.

Then you say that the next best hand would be prepared in case of the best being sold, but that whether he would perform the work is matter of accident?—Yes; suppose my Lord Wellington were to die, we should not be able to obtain so good a Commander-in-Chief, but the next best would be taken.

You say that the master would have to support the family of a slave who might be sold off and have a family; have slaves families in general?—The disparity of the sexes has prevented families being numerous, but there are many, and especially among the head people.

Then the greater number of slaves are unconnected, are they?—On those estates where there are not a sufficient number of females; but they have generally connections, family connections, and children; they have brothers and relations, though they may not be actually fathers of families.

Is the Negro attached to his wife and children?—To his children very much, and sometimes to his wife; but as polygamy has been always their habit in their country, the conjugal affection is not so strong as we would wish it to be; but they are very fond of their children.

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Perhaps that would depend upon the degree in which marriage is encouraged?—They would think it the greatest evil which could be imposed upon them; many of them.

How may you know that?—Because they are so addicted to polygamy.

How do you know that if they were properly educated for marriage, they would not prefer one wife?—No doubt education would beget moral habits; but I am talking of their present condition.

Upon whom does their education depend?—Upon the master in the first instance; if they were instructed upon the estates, if they had the benefit of education, that would make a difference; but a good deal may be effected without absolutely learning to read or to write.

Have you formed any estimate of the proportion of field slaves that would be able to purchase their freedom?—No; I cannot form any idea of the number.

Do you think you know one who has sufficient earnings, or sufficient accumulation of any sort, to be able to purchase his own manumission?—I dare say there are several that could in less than twelve months, but I cannot offer that as a general answer; as far as my own experience and my own belief go, I have several on my own estate who would be capable of paying it, if they wished, perhaps in a few years.

Have you formed any estimate of the proportion?—No, I have not.

Several; may be three or four?—Of my own gang, which is about a couple of hundred, there may be half a dozen who would be able to purchase it in the course of a few years.

Out of about two hundred?—Yes, about two hundred and thirty perhaps.

What is the average price you put upon their freedom, when you think there are six who could purchase it?—From 100*l.* to 200*l.*; there are some who are not worth 50*l.*

The six you mention you consider as good men?—Yes.

You think there are as many as six now, who could in the course of a few years afford to give that price for their freedom?—I think it is possible.

(*By a Lord.*)—Do you mean six out of your effective gang, or six out of the whole number?—Six out of the whole number.

What are the effective persons in that whole number?—Including the mechanics and the field people together, the whole who are at work would be about one-half the number; the other half consists of children and domestics, and nurses.

Supposing there were half a dozen, what is the proportion of field slaves?—The proportion of field slaves would be less.

How many field slaves have you?—Of my present gang of two hundred and thirty, I may have about ninety in the field.

How many drivers and how many superintendents?—There are two drivers, a male and female driver; they are divided into two gangs; there is a man's gang of the ablest men, and the women's gang and the weaker men; and there is a driver to each of them; the man's gang is generally from fifty to sixty, and the female gang forty to fifty.

After all, is there any distinction between the duties of the remaining part of that gang?—No, except in work; the men are employed exclusively in the hardest work; the weak men, not capable of doing the men's work, are sent with the women.

(*Mr. Denman.*)—Are the men who you think would be likely to purchase their freedom, amongst the drivers?—Yes; the drivers would be amongst the first certainly; they have more opportunities of accumulating property than the field people: and those who have families would be the next.

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Do you think there is any one of them among them who is not a driver or a superintendent, who would be able to purchase their freedom in the course of a few years?—Yes, I have in my eye one or two.

Is there one or two?—It is a matter of opinion; perhaps it would be two; I may be mistaken.

You know what I mean?—I mean to say there might be two.

Do you believe that as a fact, that there are two who would in the course of a year be capable of purchasing their freedom?—Yes, I believe it is a fact there would be two, exclusive of the drivers, who might be able to purchase their freedom. On the occasion of calling in the currency, two years ago, one of my people produced about twenty joes, or nearly 40*l.* sterling, of that base coin.

Is it 30*l.* or 40*l.*?—Not quite forty; at par of exchange about 36*l.*

When the currency was called in, you had an opportunity of estimating the condition of them all?—Yes.

How many of them produced any thing like that amount?—All of them less or more; but that was the largest.

They were all accumulating something?—Yes; they had all accumulated something, which was exchanged for the coin sent out by Government.

Do you suppose they had laid by that money for the purpose of purchasing their freedom?—No; they had laid it by for the purpose of purchasing finery and luxuries; and there is another great luxury they have, in having great funerals, on which occasion there is always a feast.

What may the feast at a Negro slave's funeral cost?—If he is a first-rate man, it would take the whole twenty joes this man had.

What have you known them lay out at one time for finery?—I have known them give four or five pounds for a handsome gown for their wives.

This money was earned in the over-hours they had?—Yes; in rearing poultry and vegetables and pigs.

Do you mean now to persist in stating to their Lordships, that nothing but immediate want will induce a man to work in a tropical climate?—Yes; that is my firm conviction, generally speaking.

With reference to the support of a family of an emancipated slave, if that family was a burthen to the owner, the price of it would be very low?—That depends upon their quality.

If they are a burthen?—If they are a burthen they would be glad to get rid of them for nothing; but they might be a burthen that would be supportable, if they had young children who were likely to increase in value. A man's family may consist of old and decrepid as well as young persons; he would be at the expense of supporting the young.

The slave who emancipated himself would not be likely to have his father living as a part of his family?—Very often; a young able man would often have his family and parents living on the estate.

In regard to the maintenance of the old, what would be the difference as to the burthen upon the owner, whether the son had emancipated himself or not?—Because the son would assist the parent in all his domestic work; in keeping his house in order, in rearing his pigs, or keeping his garden in order; they would bring in something to the general stock of the family. An estate is a small community; every family has its own immediate circle, and little property and enjoyments.

Are the sons generally speaking, attentive and kind to their fathers?—They are, if they are good characters in other respects; but there are exceptions, of course.

The old men being a burthen, and able to do very little work, would be a very cheap article to purchase?—Yes. I never knew them to be disposed of; we consider it a duty incumbent upon us to take care of them; the law does not allow us to neglect them.

Suppose

Suppose the son were to manumit himself, would you think it likely he would manumit his father?—I think he would rather leave him where he was; if he was on a good estate, he would do better there than he could elsewhere.

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How would it be as to his wife;—He would be desirous to free his wife.

And if she was a burthen he might have her cheap?—If he was a young man, she would be young too, and would not be of that description.

With reference to children; I suppose they are purchased at a low price?—They are seldom offered for sale.

If they were, their value is not high?—They would be valued according to their ages.

Therefore the emancipated father might get them at a small price to belong to his free family?—If they were appraised in the usual way; but the effect of this law might render the valuation different to what it is now.

I wish to recur to your own estate and to the property you know. You mention that there are ninety, and that you have in your eye one or two who might possibly manumit themselves in the course of a few years; are you prepared to say that the loss of that one or those two would be really a very serious inconvenience for the estate?—Yes, it would; not so much for their mere labour, but for their being exemplary characters.

For their mere labour it would not be so much?—Not so much; but as to their character it would be inestimable, I could replace, very probably, a mere labourer, but I might never be able to meet with a character having the same influence by his example amongst my people.

Then is it the moral character which you think it is the most important in the slave?—Yes, it is impossible to estimate it; nobody can know the ramifications of the influence of such a man among the people.

I take for granted you have no other mode of compensation to suggest in place of that which appears upon this Order?—I cannot point out any mode in which the value of such a man could be estimated; mere physical power or mechanical talent could be easily estimated.

While a man is labouring at extra hours to effect his own manumission, do you not conceive he is more likely to be a valuable slave; will not it improve his moral character?—No, I do not think it would; in many cases it would not produce that effect; it would lead him into a number of scrapes, neglecting his master's duty to attend to his own interests.

The fact of a slave being disposed to employ his vacant time industriously, with the hope of manumission, will not, in your opinion, make a man a valuable slave?—That very circumstance would, I think, lead him into scrapes, neglecting his master's interests.

What scrapes do you refer to?—Neglecting his work.

What opportunity has a field slave to attend to his own work and neglect his master's?—We send them off to the field to work, and sometimes they come late, and absent themselves half a day; they say that they are sick, at the same time they might be attending to their own work.

Would it not be easy to ascertain whether a slave was working for himself or not, at the time he staid away?—Very often they evade detection. I have known instances, without such an inducement, where they have absconded from their work.

Have you known them work for themselves?—Yes, I have known them go to attend to their fowls, or shell their corn, or works of that kind.

Would attending their fowls or shelling their corn often take them half a day from the work of the field?—They might work the whole day if they chose to loiter about it; they might go and plant corn, or do fifty jobs for themselves.

If they went to plant corn, would that not be very easily ascertained?—No, not easily, for sometimes the grounds are surrounded by woods, and it is not very easy to see them.

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Would they not be looked after if the work suffered from their absence?—Frequently the Negroes in the fields cannot be seen; the canes are very high; and they may absent themselves for half a day without being detected or missed.

Would not the driver find out where they were absenting themselves improperly?—He might if he looked about him.

What is he there for?—To look after them; but he may sometimes connive at the absence of Negroes, bargaining with them to do part of the work for the driver and part for themselves; I have known instances of that.

Is it or not your opinion, that a Negro labouring at extra hours for the purpose of purchasing his own freedom, would or would not in general be a better or more valuable man?—To his owner I think he would be a less valuable man.

Is that for any other reason than that he might probably be endeavouring to evade his duty and to cheat his master?—No; another reason is, that his feeling would be discontented; he would be anxious to get relieved from his situation; and that would create a discontent in his mind, from the anxiety of obtaining his object.

Why should the hope of freedom create discontent in his mind?—Because many of them attach a great deal more consequence to it than they will probably find it is worth.

They do attach great consequence to it?—Yes, they do, many of them; I have known others who would not accept of the offer to quit their situations.

You think that the prospect of manumission is in itself an evil?—I do think so; it should be done to-day and at once, or not agitated.

You think that holding it out to the slave as the reward to his progressive industry during a course of years, is very mischievous?—He would not conceive it as a reward to be obliged to pay for it; he would consider it a reward if it was given him gratis by his master; some few would, but others would not accept it, as I said before. We have had many cases of masters giving slaves their freedom, as rewards of merit and good conduct; not long ago, when the last protector went out, two hundred advertised at one session of court.

A master does often give his slave his freedom?—Yes, he does.

The master considers it as a boon?—The master considers it as a reward of merit to the Negro capable of maintaining himself. I have myself emancipated two, one of whom applied to me to take him back within the last two years.

You have emancipated two?—Yes, I have.

Is that in the whole time you have been there; the whole twenty-five years?—Yes.

Two is the extreme number you have emancipated?—Yes; many may have not done so much.

That is within the last two years that you were applied to to take one back?—Yes.

When was it you emancipated them?—I emancipated the first, so far back as the year 1812, and I emancipated the other two years ago.

Were they domestic slaves or field slaves?—Domestic slaves. One of them was my personal attendant, and had been with me in this country, and had been with me in America; by profession a valet; the other I had taught to be a tailor.

He wished to come back and be a slave?—Yes, not to be a slave, but to live with me; for being once free, he never could be made a slave again; I would not have him.

He wished you to give him wages?—Yes; but he had acquired bad habits, and he was not so valuable to me then as he had been; he had a family and connections on my estate; he comes occasionally to see me; but I would not take him into my service.

His family remain slaves?—Yes, they do; his wife and two children.

He comes to see them, you say?—Yes, he does.

I wanted to balance the discontent and disappointment against the hope of freedom; you think the hope of freedom is in itself an evil?—Yes; because it keeps them in a state of agitation and anxiety and discontent; they are very susceptible of any excitement of that kind; they are seldom aware of the consequences.

You say that a Negro is frequently inestimable, from the excellence of his moral character?—No, that was not my exact expression; from the influence of his example and moral character upon the rest, he is inestimable to his master, exclusive of his talent.

Why cannot a purchaser form some estimate of his character?—A stranger upon the estate cannot be acquainted with the ramifications and effect of such a man's influence amongst the rest of the Negroes; none but his master, or those immediately residing upon the property.

Does it happen generally that Negroes sold in execution are unconnected or otherwise?—Sometimes the one and sometimes the other.

Most generally?—Most generally they are unconnected; those sold by executions are generally belonging to men who have only a few mechanics, and such people, and they are seized upon for debt; those sold on plantations are all sold in large lots in families.

Re-examined by *Mr. Hibbert.*

If a planter could purchase a single slave, if a slave had connections, would he be likely to do it; would he find him as valuable a labourer when he left his connections as when he worked with them?—Certainly not; no man would buy a discontented slave; there are two parties to a bargain; the owner would not sell such a man, as the purchaser would be very loth to buy him; I would not myself.

Then in point of fact the master never does separate a slave from his connections, if he can help it?—Certainly not; it is neither his inclination nor his interest to do it.

You have said that you consider compulsion of some kind necessary in order to excite labour on the part of the Negro?—Certainly I do.

What do you mean by compulsion; do you mean corporeal punishment, or do you mean only that he must have wants, and a desire to gratify them?—Either one or both; any stimulus, whether absolute want or a fear of punishment: in a state of freedom it would be the fear of want which would be the stimulus, and in a state of slavery the fear of punishment; because his master provides his food; he has no care for that.

An emancipated slave might satisfy all his wants by half a day's labour in the course of a week?—As much vegetable food as he could consume by half a day's labour in a week.

Might he satisfy all the wants which an emancipated slave is in the habit of gratifying?—Yes, without absolute labour. I do not call raising poultry labour; he may be sitting in his house; he feeds his chickens standing at his door. I mean working, by which I mean planting or raising food. Raising pigs or poultry is an amusement, a recreation; he enjoys that with his pipe in his mouth.

You have said that you think the gift of freedom is an evil; are you speaking to the present condition of the Negroes, or their condition at that time?—I speak of their present condition, and their present state of intellectual improvement.

You were twenty seven years at Demerara?—It is two-and-thirty years since I went to it.

And you left it a year ago?—Yes; but I have been frequently absent from time to time.

Can you perceive any perceptible difference in the education and civilization of the Negroes during that time, two-and-thirty years?—A very great deal in their civilization, but not a great deal as to education, in the literal sense of school education; but as to their civilization and moral improvement, very great improvement, especially within the last twenty years, since the cessation of the slave trade.

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You say that you think a free Negro would not work continuously in the field?—Not for any thing I ever saw; they conceive it an indignity, as well as a harrassing task.

You say that he does work at extra hours for himself; what is the nature of the work in which he is employed during those extra hours?—In raising a few vegetables, or raising poultry and stock; collecting vegetables to feed his pigs; preparing food for his chickens: it cannot be called actual labour.

There are not the same hardships attending that kind of work as field labour?—No; because he lays it down when he pleases, and takes it up when he pleases.

You say, amongst your own field Negroes there are three or four who could within a few years acquire their freedom?—Yes.

Then amongst your ninety field Negroes there are three or four who might within a few years acquire their freedom?—Yes, that is my opinion.

Do you know any reason why that should not be the case with other planters?—No reason whatever; I dare say it is the case very generally.

If there are three or four who might acquire their own freedom, how many are there who you think might purchase the freedom of a child?—Twice as many more, certainly.

If the Negroes, finding they could not emancipate themselves, should emancipate their children, would that be a serious injury to the planters of Demerara and Berbice?—A most serious injury, the greatest which can befall them.

Would it not be almost as great an injury as the emancipating themselves?—Probably in many instances greater, because a child may be more valuable than the parent; the parent may be superannuated and old.

I speak of a child of eight or ten years old; what would be the price of a child of eight or ten years old?—We value them in the colony at about 10*l.* a year, until they get up to be of age.

What would be the cost of a child?—One year 10*l.*, and two years 20*l.*, and so on, according to their age, adding 10*l.* for every year till they be come of age, so that at manhood he would be worth, if an able man, 200*l.*

Then at ten years of age he would be worth 100*l.*?—Yes, if he was a healthy child.

Do you find any thing in this Berbice Order to prevent a Negro emancipating his child the first year he is born?—Nothing by law; and we should be compelled by law to give them their freedom.

Examined by the Lords.

You state that you find nothing in this Order to prevent the Negro emancipating his child the first year in which he is born?—As far as I read the Order.

You refer to the Berbice Order?—I am not speaking to the Berbice Order, but the Order proposed in Demerara.

It states that no slave shall be entitled to purchase the freedom of himself or herself, unless there is a certificate of good conduct for the period of five years?—I do not refer to the Berbice Order; I have never seen that.

You have stated, in the beginning of your evidence, that there were so many purchasers in the market, that supposing there was a great demand for field slaves, those field slaves could not be supplied?—Yes.

Do you admit that the effect of such increased demand would be to raise the price of field slaves?—Most assuredly it would.

Then you would be prepared to argue, that if that price were raised it would produce an inconvenient effect in the mind of the slave, and so far be attended with inconvenience, if in consequence of the rise of price he found he could not accomplish his manumission for the same price as he expected?—It would become more difficult every year, if the system was continued, to obtain his manumission.

If the price of the slave rose upon him, do not you necessarily admit that his manumission would be longer protracted?—Most probably it would; he would have more funds to raise.

Putting

Putting out of sight any effect on the mind of the slave, the planter could not complain of his manumission, for it could not take place?—Yes; it would keep him anxious.

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If that anxiety were removed from his mind, there could be no evil to the planter?—Certainly not.

If you were understood rightly, the tendency of your evidence has been to show, that it is your opinion, that supposing, for the sake of argument, any conceivable sum of money were to be applied by any person or any party, as a fund to assist the slave in the purchase of his freedom; for example, suppose a maximum to be struck at which the slave would have a right to demand it if he had conformed to the regulations, it would be impossible for the appraisers under these manumission clauses ever to estimate the real value of the slave to his master?—That is my opinion.

Then, as an inference from that opinion, unless there was a wholesale purchase of all the slaves in Berbice at once, there is no alternative between that wholesale purchase and the continuance of slavery?—I am not prepared to suggest any alternative.

You have stated that the civilization of the slaves had increased within the last twenty years?—Most materially.

Are you of opinion that such civilization has made them more or less valuable to their masters?—More valuable.

Do you admit that those meliorating clauses of the Order in Council which the appellants, through their counsel, have stated to be satisfactory to the planters in Berbice, except these manumitting clauses—those clauses so stated to be satisfactory will tend to further that civilization?—They will do nothing more than that which is already in progress.

Do you not conceive they will carry it much more steadily into effect than if they were omitted?—I do not think they will do more than is already done; they will not promote in a more rapid degree the civilization of the Negroes than it was already. In truth, the ceremony of marriage, if that could be enforced, would be very desirable; but the Negroes generally are repugnant to it, polygamy being very much against the interests of the master.

You have stated that the worst part of a gang of slaves would attempt to obtain their manumission by rendering themselves less valuable to their masters?—Yes, I have no doubt they would.

In what manner is a slave to acquire the property with which he is to procure his manumission?—If he is an industrious Negro he would acquire it by raising stock or vegetables; if he is a mechanic, by making little articles of furniture, or working in his trade.

Is it in the power of his master to prevent his employing himself in that way?—Most assuredly; for it is all an indulgence now, which might be denied to them at the will of the master.

You state that the tendency of the compulsory manumission clauses is to make the slave idle?—Yes, in some respects.

Cannot the master punish that immediately, by preventing his having the means of manumitting himself?—Yes.

You still think that though the slave is convinced that any want of industry may prevent his master affording him the opportunity of making money, he will be idle?—He may be idle as it regards his master's work, but he may be industrious as it respects himself.

If he was idle below his former average on his master's work, might not his master deprive him of the means of working for himself?—So he would.

Would he not have the means of estimating that?—He would prevent his having the means of so employing himself, in order to retard his means of raising money.

You suppose that the slave would be returned to the gang, but still continue idle?—Yes; but he may take to drinking, or become vicious; and may thwart his master, and do wrong work.

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It is clear he cannot become idle with a view to his manumission then?—It is with a view to making himself worthless; his master would be glad to part with him.

How do you reconcile that with the effect of the Berbice Order?—I have never read it.

There is a distinct clause in the Berbice Order, rendering it necessary that a certificate of industry should be produced in order to justify the slave in demanding his manumission?—I do not understand by whom that is to be given.

It is to be given by the protector of slaves?—It is impossible that the protector can be a competent judge.

What is to prevent a variety of instructions to put the protector in a condition of being a competent judge?—Because he is not permanently on the estate to see the industry of the slave.

Do you mean to state that it is impossible so to provide by instruction, that the protector shall have the means of ascertaining that?—I do maintain that it is impossible for the protector to know the character of the slaves, so as to be able to give them a certificate which he can justify.

Would he not be bound to take the opinion of the master?—Then it is the master who gives the certificate, and not the protector.

The protector is sworn to do his duty?—I maintain that it is morally impossible that he can do it justly; he cannot know the characters of many of the Negroes.

A Negro claims his manumission of the protector, and the master protests against this manumission being granted, inasmuch as the slave has been idle instead of being industrious; you say it is impossible for the protector to obtain a knowledge whether he is entitled to it?—I say the master is the best judge.

Would not the protector in such a case have the means of more or less ascertaining the fact?—He might do it in general terms, but he could not estimate it.

Could he ascertain the fact of the slave having been industrious, or the contrary, during those five years?—Yes, if he examined all the white people on the estate, and all the people who lived on the estate.

Cannot you conceive there may be annual returns from the estate, signed by the master, in which he may pronounce on the relative industry or activity of the slave?—If he knew what would be the effect, he might report it differently; probably he would be more scrupulous about giving a character; and there is no standard by which the industry is to be valued, except his opinion.

If the master could show to the protector of slaves that the slave had diminished his average work from what he did before, without any defalcation of health, and from the object of rendering himself of less value, still you say it would be impossible for the protector to arrive at that conclusion which is necessary?—Yes, that is my opinion; it is not only the work that the man turns out, but the manner of doing the work; his general conduct.

The words are “honestly and faithfully?”—The master only can judge of that. How can the protector judge whether it is honestly and faithfully done?

He might apply to the master for his opinion?—Yes, it is sufficient to say that it is not honestly and faithfully done, and yet the protector might not be aware of the precise circumstances. Unless the master was disposed to give a favourable character to the slave, many faults might be found in him, and might be all justified.

You state that very great inconvenience would arise from taking away a Negro in crop time?—Yes.

Do you think there would be the slightest difficulty in providing that the Negro should give notice before he claimed his emancipation, so as to prevent its happening at an inconvenient time?—That might be done, certainly.

You say it would be extremely detrimental to the planter to allow a slave to purchase the freedom of a child?—Children generally.

Do you think it is beyond the power of human calculation, what is the detriment to the estate by purchasing a child for money?—Not absolutely beyond calculation, but very difficult in calculation. That would deteriorate estate in the first progress; for if the children are bought up, the estate must be destroyed in time; it is only by a succession of children that we are to go on.

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In the case of a mortgaged estate in Demerara, on the death of the boiler, what course is taken by the planter to repair the loss?—He promotes the next best to the occupation.

His working slaves are then less in number?—Yes.

What does he do then?—If he has the means, he repairs the loss; if not, he submits to it.

He is not called upon by the mortgagee to replace him?—No; the mortgagee has the disadvantage of decrease, and the advantage of increase.

When you state that the slave will not labour, I understand you state that, not as matter of blame, but that from the circumstances of the colony in which he lives, it is not to be supposed that, having the means of procuring the articles he desires, he would go further?—I think it is the same in the lower classes of the free people. We have two classes of the coloured people, those who are educated, and those who are not; they have all a great aversion to labour, and field labour particularly.

Do you not state that on the grounds of the effects of the climate, and so on?—Yes; and their natural disposition in consequence.

What length of time do you think would elapse before any change in the circumstances of the colony of Demerara and Berbice, arising from any causes, would bring about a state of things, in which it would be for the interest of the planters to manumit their slaves?—I do not know of any case in which it would be their interest to manumit them; I do not think that such a state of things ever can arise, for I do not think that they can ever substitute free labour for slavery.

You do not think, that any multiplication of the population would ever produce a state of things in which slaves in that country would work from the same motives as other labourers do?—If population pressed upon the means of subsistence; but that is not a case that will arise in Demerara for some centuries; the extent of the country is so great, and it is unpopulous.

Your opinion amounts to this, that natural circumstances will make no change for centuries, which will make it the interest of the planters to manumit slaves, for the purpose of having free labour?—I do not see a prospect of it for centuries.

You admit, that if it were possible to suppose free labour would be substituted for slave labour, without greater expense to the planter in paying wages than is now involved in the slave system, there would be no pretence for compensation?—Certainly, if that could be substituted.

Your alternative is between the continuance of things as they are with respect to slavery, or the lapse of centuries, at which time, by possibility, the population may be so numerous as to make the introduction of free labour safe?—Yes.

And also you are of opinion, that it is impossible, by means of appraisement, to estimate the value of some slaves, and that it would be quite impossible to estimate the sum of injury received by the planter, provided no slave whatever can be substituted?—Short of the whole value of his property.

[The Witness withdrew.]

Mr. Alexander M'Donnell, sworn.

Examined by *Mr. Adam.*

ARE you acquainted with the Colonies of Demerara and Berbice.—I am.

Have you ever resided there?—I resided for upwards of five years in Demerara.

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How long ago?—I returned from the colony in 1824, I think.

Mr. A. M'Donnell. For the five years preceding 1824?—Yes.

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Were you there at the time of the insurrection?—I was.

Were you employed in any capacity after the insurrection?—A committee of leading inhabitants of the colony was appointed for the transaction of certain public business, and I acted as their secretary.

Did that committee comprise the great mass of the property—of the representatives of the property of the colony of Demerara?—It certainly did, if you include the representatives of property.

Had you other opportunities, while you were resident, of becoming acquainted with the state and condition of the Negro population in the colony?—In that situation I endeavoured to avail myself as well as I could of the means of ascertaining the state of the Negro, as I did the state of cultivation.

Have you a competent knowledge on that subject?—I think I have, as far as my experience enabled me to ascertain it.

Have you seen the Orders which have been passed by the Governor in Council of Berbice?—I have.

By that it is stated, that on the appraisalment of the slave the appraisers are to take into consideration the physical strength and mental acquirements, and absolute value of the slave to the owner, the loss the owner would sustain by the loss of his services?—I have seen it.

Together with the restriction that the slave is not to be entitled to his freedom unless he has conducted himself honestly and faithfully for the period of five years then next preceding such application for manumission, or in case he shall have been convicted of larceny, or punished by a court of justice?—I have seen that.

Have you heard the examination of the other gentleman?—I have.

Founding your answer upon your own experience, have you formed any opinion whether those clauses of compensation would afford sufficient indemnity to the owners of plantations, and guard against the effects of compulsory manumission?—I should like to know first, whether I understand that Order correctly; according to my interpretation it means, that to the personal value of the slave there shall be added such a proportion of the sunk capital of the estate as would be rendered unproductive on the loss of the slave's services.

Upon that supposition, does this clause afford the means of indemnity to the master?—I think, on a sugar estate, it would be impossible to carry it into effect; and that in making the attempt to carry it into effect the master would suffer a considerable loss.

Why do you think it would be impossible on a sugar estate?—I will illustrate the case by supposing an estate of two hundred Negroes; the value of the Negroes may be taken at 20,000*l.*, the value of the sunk capital at 20,000*l.*

(By a Lord.)—Do you reckon in that the value of the land?—Yes; the proprietor of that estate, in raising his produce, has to compete with the Brazilian and the Cuba sugar grower; he can only do so by means of improved machinery, and a well-arranged division of labour; if a number of hands are abstracted from the estate, it will prevent him from availing himself of that well-arranged division of labour; his profit will consequently be gone, and cultivation will then positively stop. When I consider the occupations upon a sugar estate, I think that the abstraction of twenty men, it may be more or may be less, out of the two hundred, would positively put it out of the power of the proprietor to avail himself of the division of labour I have alluded to; his profit would be gone, and the cultivation would stop. According, then, to the strict interpretation of the Berbice Order, as I read it, I conceive that the whole of the sunk capital must be paid for by those twenty men, in one proportion or another; the first two or three applying for their freedom might have comparatively a small sum to pay, contrasted with the rest; but sooner or later it must rise to eight, twelve, sixteen hundred pounds, and upwards; which, in my opinion, it is quite impossible a slave could ever acquire by honesty and industry.

(Mr. Adam.)—That would be the effect, in your opinion, if twenty hands were abstracted from a gang of two hundred?—Such is my opinion.

What

What would be the effect in the first instance, of the abstraction of the first or the second or the third hand; would it be injurious to the planter?—It would be almost impossible to estimate the exact loss; I cannot conceive how any appraiser could estimate the amount of the sunk capital that would be rendered unproductive by the abstraction of two or three efficient men.

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Why do you think that the abstraction of twenty men would put an end to all profitable cultivation of the estate?—Because it is not possible for the proprietor then to avail himself of the division of labour that I have described.

Why do you fix on the number of twenty?—I take twenty as a number sufficient to stop the cultivation.

Why do you think that twenty is a number sufficient?—In the first place, on a sugar estate, from the local circumstances there is a number of men necessary for the drainage, for keeping up dams and canals; now sixty-six being a third of the efficient gang, might be perfectly equal to that, forty-six would not, and if the forty-six were not equal to do the labour, they would be of no use whatever.

Your opinion is, that it would require the continued labour of a gang of two hundred to cultivate an estate with profit?—Yes; if you take away the means of dividing the labour and availing themselves of the improved machinery, such is the competition with the Brazils and Cuba, that the profit would certainly go.

The number of sixty-six is about the proportion that would produce that effect?—I take that, according to the usual estimation, at one-third.

Is a third about the estimate, in the West Indies, for the productiveness of the gang?—For the West Indies in general I think it is, but from my knowledge of Demerara I think it would be rather more than one third.

You say that the price would amount to six or twelve hundred pounds?—Yes, progressively.

How do you arrive at those sums?—If my view be a correct one, that abstracting twenty men entirely takes away the profit, the buildings and the sunk capital on the estate would be of no use when the profit is gone; 20,000*l.* must be distributed then over twenty men; the first would get away by paying a small portion of that, two or three hundred pounds, perhaps; the next would have to pay five or six; the next seven or eight, as the pinch would come on the proprietor on the different parts of the cultivation.

Why do you suppose that 20,000*l.* the sunk capital, is a fair sum to put as the means of employing a gang of 200 Negroes?—It is founded on what I have generally understood to be about the average of sunk capital on a sugar estate of that strength; the expenses of clearing the land and making it ready for cultivation necessarily form a part.

Supposing any of those slaves to be emancipated, would not the master have the means of supplying their place by procuring other slaves?—I think not.

Why could not he purchase slaves in the market?—In the first place, the master is obliged to free an individual, an able man; probably connected with that man there may be a family of five persons, two of whom may be of little use; the master wishes merely to have an able man in place of the one that is freed; he goes into the market, and he cannot get an able man, he must buy a family; in time the able man contained in that family will be himself desirous of procuring his freedom, and able to do it; the consequence will be, the proprietor would have two useless or comparatively useless families on his hand, without an efficient labourer in them; and if that process was repeated two or three times, I consider the maintenance of those inefficient hands would absorb all his profit.

Do you mean to say, that from your experience the master cannot buy a single, and as it is called an unconnected slave in the market, to supply the place of the slave that is emancipated?—I think he would not; there is a very small number of slaves to be sold in the market who have no family ties. I do not think there are many men of that kind to be procured in the colony; from my knowledge of it, I should suppose very few.

Is the sale of slaves in Demerara a circumstance of daily occurrence, or is it a rare and unusual circumstance?—It is, I think, rather of rare occurrence;

detached

Mr. A. M'Donnell. detached slaves sometimes are sold, but any extensive sale is certainly of very rare occurrence.

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Are detached slaves frequently to be had in the market of Demerara?—Some of those detached slaves are not for the purposes of cultivation.

The question refers to a detached slave able to supply the place of a slave on a sugar plantation?—Very rarely.

Are you of opinion that a substitute could be found by a master, immediately on the emancipation of his slave?—I think not.

Suppose he should not be able to replace him immediately, what would be the consequence to the master?—The consequence must be that his cultivation would gradually become superseded; and when it reaches that point that he is perfectly unable to produce sugar to sell at the price of sugar from other quarters, he must abandon cultivation altogether.

Could not the owner, when he found his gang diminished in number, reduce the extent of his buildings and his manufactures, so as to suit his business to the gang that he had to perform it?—No, he could not; he obviously could not reduce his buildings; and to carry on the culture of his estate there is a certain number of hands indispensably necessary; he must have a certain number for his boiling-house, a certain number to attend the mill; and if a certain number of hands are taken away, the cultivation positively stops, that is to say, the profit stops.

In the manufacture of sugar are there any particular steps that require the united exertions of several persons at one time?—I think boiling sugar requires a number of hands.

How many?—On a sugar estate of two hundred, I am not exactly competent to speak as to the mere process of carrying on the manufacture, but I should think ten are indispensably necessary.

Suppose one or two of those ten are taken away, do you mean to say that would deprive the owner of the service of the remaining nine?—I think that would put him to such inconvenience, it will absorb his profit; and when it absorbed his profit, that would stop the cultivation.

You say there are certain processes which require the labour of several individuals; supposing one abstracted, will the effect be that the others who would be employed in that process are thrown out of work too?—They are unequal to the carrying it on; there are some processes which require five men; if one is taken away, the whole is stopped.

The taking away one slave tends to throw others out of employ?—It does so, because it takes away the profit.

Does not it also prevent their doing the actual work, in the case you put, of there being a necessity for five persons to execute one part of the process?—It would; but in my opinion it would be impossible to say what number of persons abstracted would stop the work. I can form an opinion when the profit would stop.

Having stated what you have as to the chance of your being enabled to replace the emancipated man by a substitute, would the giving a sum of money, according to the judgment of the arbitrator, be any compensation to him?—It is possible to compensate any loss, supposing the sum is large enough.

Supposing that no slave is to be found in the market, how can he supply his place?—I conceive there is no loss so great that it cannot be compensated by a sum of money.

A hundred thousand pounds may compensate for the loss of an estate in Demerara, but how would the giving the owner a sum of money operate as an indemnity to him?—I do not mean that that would be an indemnity unless that sum of money is large enough.

Or unless it could be converted into a slave?—Or unless it could be converted into a slave.

Am I to understand you to say, that, generally speaking, that conversion into slaves could not take place?—I think not.

Suppose

Suppose an attempt at compulsory manumission was to be made, and to fail; in your opinion, would the attempt be injurious to the owners of the property in Demerara? —I think it would be a very great loss to the proprietor of a sugar estate; the slaves would find the law promulgated, stating that they can procure their freedom; when they apply for it, they would be disappointed, and would consequently become very discontented, and they would depreciate their services to their master; they would become more discontented, I should think, from seeing domestic slaves procure their freedom under the operation of the law.

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Are you of opinion that domestic slaves would be likely to procure their freedom under the operation of this law?—I cannot precisely say that they would be likely to procure their freedom; it would be in their power to do so.

Suppose a slave to have raised a sum of money, which in his opinion ought to have purchased his freedom; but that the appraiser should hold that insufficient, and that he should be returned to his plantation; would that circumstance operate to the prejudice of the owner?—Undoubtedly it would; he is worth 5*s.* a day before the appraisalment, he would make himself worth only 4*s.* afterwards.

Why so?—Because he would say, the less I have to pay for my freedom the less my earnings to my master; I make myself worth less that he may get rid of me.

Could a man who had once shown himself able to do that for his master, make himself less valuable afterwards?—It is difficult to describe the exact mode a slave might take to depreciate his services; but if he was a slave that was valuable, from pliancy of disposition, accommodation to his master's will, and being generally useful, I think he could suppress those very easily, without any risk of detection, and consequently become a much less valuable man than he was before.

Could he do so, and yet at the same time be able to obtain a certificate from the protector that he had honestly and faithfully conducted himself for five years preceding his application?—I think he could; I do not think the protector could refuse; but even if he did refuse, the proprietor would for one loss substitute another.

How do you mean that he would substitute one loss for another?—Because that slave must know, that it is within his power, by lessening his services, to tire his master, and to make it his master's interest to get rid of him at a small sum.

Supposing the head of a family, a single man, to be removed from the plantation by purchasing his own freedom, would that operate injuriously to the owner if the family of the emancipated man was left behind?—Undoubtedly.

In what way?—He loses first a beneficial hand.

The question supposes that he is to receive a compensation in money equivalent to replacing the slave?—The burthen of maintaining that family is perpetual.

Would that be considerable?—Certainly, according to the supply of food and sustenance that the masters are accustomed to give to their slaves.

Ought the appraiser to include in the price he puts on the emancipated slave the expense of maintaining his family after he is made free?—Suppose I were an appraiser called upon to adhere to the Letter of Ordinance; I should say there is a clear right to include the maintenance of the family, the same as the sunk capital in the buildings.

If the appraiser should not include in his estimate a sum equal to the maintenance of the family, would his manumission be then injurious to the estate?—Certainly, in my opinion, it would.

I believe at present you are Secretary to the Committee of West India Merchants in London?—I am.

How long have you been in that situation?—Shortly after I returned from Demerara, about the end of 1824.

That is your present occupation?—That is my present occupation.

Can you state either from that, or from your general knowledge of the subject, whether the promulgation of this Order has had any effect in lessening the disposition of capitalists to advance money on West India property?—I should not exactly say that it has in this instance exclusively, because many persons have different views respecting West India matters; but according to my impression, and what I can learn

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learn from the different capitalists with whom I am more or less connected, I consider there is a very great depreciation in the value of property in consequence of the proceedings relating to the colonies; and I should place this Ordinance, or this compulsory manumission, as by far the most prominent circumstance.

Do you state that from personal communication with capitalists?—I do.

Do you know whether the sales of West India property have been affected by this Order in any respect?—The sales of estates, taken as a whole, have certainly suffered a very great depreciation.

Has that effect been produced in a very great degree by the promulgation of this Order?—It has been produced by the proceedings relating to West India property generally; but I should place this compulsory manumission as by far the most prominent of those circumstances.

Do you suppose, from the communication which you have had with many monied men, that if there were a certainty that compulsory manumission were not to be made part of the law, there would be a greater disposition than there is now to advance money on West India property?—I think there would.

From your experience in the West Indies, are you of opinion that the labour of manumitted slaves can be replaced by the labour of free Negroes?—I am not; and I think it unreasonable to expect it.

Why do you think it could not?—I think, from what I have observed of the labour of free Negroes in Demerara or Essequibo, who have not been brought up to any trade, they are very idle.

Have you ever known any instance of a free Negro employed in a sugar plantation labouring in the field?—Never.

Have you ever known a tradesman employed in a sugar plantation, a free Negro?—I think I have heard of free men being employed as tradesmen.

Perhaps you have never known an instance?—No, not within my own knowledge.

Can you state whether the numbers of the Negro population in Demerara or Berbice are diminishing or increasing?—They are diminishing, from the Africans dying of old age.

How does the African dying of old age produce that effect?—Shortly after the capture of the colony, and previous to the abolition of the slave trade, the colonies presented great facilities, great prospects for the profitable cultivation of sugar, and consequently able and efficient men were imported from Africa, and the numbers of the sexes are unequal.

At the time of that importation of able-bodied men for the purpose of raising sugar, was not there an importation of females?—No, there were more males imported than females, in order for the planters to avail themselves of a profit at as early a period as they could.

Has the consequence of that been to make the number of females less than that of males?—Yes, according to the last census it is stated 8,600 less females than of males, according to my recollection.

From what you say, it must have been more than twenty years ago that the large importation of men took place?—Yes, the abolition took place in 1807.

Was it on the first conquest of the colony, or the conquest of the colony after the peace of Amiens, that this took place?—I cannot state that precisely; I should think after the peace of Amiens.

Have you attended to the state of the black population in Demerara while you were there?—Yes, I have.

Can you state, of your own knowledge, that those Negroes who were imported at the time you mentioned are now, from age, dying off?—Yes, they are dying from old age.

Can you tell me, from your own knowledge, any instance of free labour in any other country in the West Indies besides Demerara?—I published some few years ago

ago statements on the subject, and have naturally endeavoured to make inquiries as to facts. I saw a gentleman from St. Domingo—

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[It was suggested to the Counsel, that this was not the best mode of obtaining information as to a Return made to the Colonial Office, to which he stated his question to relate.]

Cross-examined by *Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet.*

Is your knowledge with respect to the agriculture of Demerara and the habits of Negroes acquired from a residence on a sugar plantation, or from living among those who have been concerned in them?—It is merely from paying visits to proprietors.

You have never yourself had the management of a sugar plantation?—Never.

Or been connected in business with a sugar plantation on your own account?—Never.

You have not been in the habit, or had the opportunity, of conversing with the Negroes, so as to acquire a personal knowledge of their habits?—At the time I acted as secretary to the committee I did make many inquiries of them.

Which committee?—In Demerara.

That was in town, probably?—No, I have spoken to the Negroes on different plantations.

You say you have been there only on visits for a few days at a time?—For a few days at a time.

You think this Order cannot be carried into effect?—Not on a sugar estate.

Does not that opinion proceed upon this supposition, that the quantity of the labour of the persons emancipated will be necessarily abstracted from the estate?—Yes.

Supposing that labour could be replaced, either by an equivalent slave in each case, or by free labour, would the owner then sustain any injury?—I think not.

In the case of any particular slave obtaining his emancipation at the price another could be substituted for, that value must depend upon the particular circumstances of the colony?—Yes, that must depend upon the circumstances of the colony.

Whether there is a market at which a slave of that description could be obtained?—Yes, it depends upon the circumstances of the colony.

Do you know, of your own personal knowledge, any number of instances of slaves employed in field labour being emancipated?—No, I do not.

I need hardly ask whether you can form any judgment whether, if they were emancipated, they would or not be willing to work at the same description of labour to which they had been bred up?—I think they would not work.

Do you find that the free coloured people in Demerara, for instance, do or do not follow the occupations to which they had been accustomed, previous to attaining their emancipation?—The free coloured people work so many days in the week, according to the state of their wants.

Do you find that those who have been employed as slaves in mechanical employments, after they are emancipated, continue to pursue the same occupations for wages which they had pursued while they were employed as slaves?—They do to a certain extent; they purchase, like all other labourers, to satisfy their wants, which are trifling to them.

You find that they employ themselves in such a way as to obtain more than what is immediately sufficient for the support of life?—Is the meaning that they accumulate money?

That they live better, or that they accumulate money?—The mode of living varies among the free coloured people very much. I do not think that they accumulate money.

Is there not a considerable portion of industry among them?—Some work two days in the week; some three; and some four. During that time they can supply all their wants.

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Do you find that the field Negroes, in addition to their labours in the field, employ a portion of their spare time for the accumulation of money?—Yes, they raise vegetables, and poultry, and pigs.

They employ a portion of their spare time for that purpose?—Yes, and in that kind of employment, for there is not any labour required.

Do they not cultivate the ground?—That is very little, the fecundity of the land is such.

Do they not employ themselves sufficiently to accumulate property?—Some of the best people, I should apprehend, do.

By the best people do you mean the better sort; the field Negroes, or the better sort; the drivers for instance?—I mean the better sort of them.

The better sort of the common field negroes?—Yes.

Do you think that any considerable number of them have accumulated property to the amount of twenty or thirty pounds?—I could hardly form an opinion upon that; for I think that the Negroes are not very apt to let that be known. They are afraid of their companions knowing it; nor do I think that any persons residing in the colony could learn it, for the Negroes do not make known the money they accumulate.

Is it not possible to form some opinion from the time that they are known to devote to labour in their extra hours, and the manner in which they employ themselves?—I think the best Negroes on a sugar cultivation, as far as my own experience would lead me to form an opinion, rather spend what they earn. They have a very high state of wants, and I think they spend the money in place of accumulating it.

You think that the Negroes have a high state of wants; does that operate as a stimulus then to their exertion?—When I say a high state of wants, I mean that it ought to be considered that clothing and lodging are very easily satisfied; and, that consequently, if they spent almost any money in clothing or lodging, I would consider that, comparatively speaking, a high state of artificial want.

If that sort of artificial want operates as a stimulus of industry while they are in a state of slavery, have you reason to think that artificial wants would less operate upon them when free?—Certainly not. Supposing the artificial wants of the slaves to become equal to those of London mechanics, I think they would have to labour more days in the week for the purpose of satisfying them.

You think that that artificial want would operate to that extent?—Yes, certainly, so far as it went.

Do you consider that any considerable number of the field Negroes would be in a situation within a limited number of years, we will say within a dozen years, to purchase their own freedom?—Supposing the law to pass, I do; because I think a very great excitement would take place in the colony. I think they have never yet applied for their freedom, because they have not thought of it; it has not occurred to them; but I think if an excitement takes place, and a law is promulgated, stating that they have it in their power to purchase their freedom, they would avail themselves of it to a great extent.

How much do you think a field Negro could realize by his labour in the course of a year?—It depends upon his master. At present, if a Negro wishes to acquire money, he tries to ingratiate himself with his master, to make himself as useful as possible, and his master is disposed to give him some indulgence in consequence; and I think by the sale of vegetables and poultry they have the means of acquiring money.

The question refers to the amount. How much do you think a Negro, who is employed the usual number of hours on a sugar plantation, and is allowed to employ his extra hours to his own benefit, can accumulate in the course of a year?—I am not competent to answer that question; but I can say, that the supply of the market with vegetables, poultry and pigs, and articles of that kind, is almost entirely in the hands of the Negro population.

How much do you think he could realize?—It depends upon his master; if the slave makes himself useful to his master, the master will give him indulgences, and he will realize a considerable sum.

If you think that the slaves on an estate would be desirous of purchasing their freedom, what sum do you think each of them, who was industrious, could accumulate in the course of a year, he being employed the usual time on the master's estate?—Does the question mean at the present time? He certainly could acquire a very considerable sum, I think.

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Will you state what you consider a very considerable sum—do you mean 20*l.* or 10*l.*?—More than twenty, supposing the market of provisions to continue in the hands of the Negroes.

If all the Negroes, or the generality of them, were equally desirous of obtaining their freedom, and were to employ themselves in this way, they could not all require the same sum, as there would be competition among them?—Certainly not; the only mode of estimating that would be by taking the supply of vegetables and other articles to the whole market, and dividing it among them.

Taking a sugar plantation of two hundred Negroes, such as you have mentioned, and supposing the Negroes upon the estate to be such as you have described, in the habit of spending their earnings now, in what you call their artificial wants; what proportion of those Negroes do you think, in the course of twenty years, could obtain their freedom by their own industry?—Supposing the legislature not to meet the physical difficulty which obstructs the procuring of free labour, supposing the legislature to take no measure with respect to the free blacks, do you mean?

I am supposing the Order to stand as it does now?—Without the legislature doing any thing with respect to the free blacks, that no legislative acts apply to them?

The question is a simple question. If the master who is bound to emancipate a slave upon a valuation being made of what he is worth to his master?—It would undoubtedly be a long time if no measures were taken with the free blacks.

(*By a Lord.*)—What do you mean by the legislature taking measures with respect to the free blacks?—Preventing the free blacks living in a state of vagrancy, which is the great obstruction to procuring free labour at present.

(*Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet.*)—You have stated, that if an able-bodied Negro, who was at the head of a family, was emancipated upon his price being paid according to his value to his master, the master would sustain an injury in consequence of the family being left on his hands?—I think so.

Do you mean to say that the family so left on his hands would be injurious to him, would be a burthen?—It would depend in a great degree upon the state of the family; if they were infirm or old it would be a burthen.

According to the state of that family, that family might be a burthen or a benefit?—I could not exactly say a benefit; according to the state of that family, he might procure some services.

In no case you would suppose it a benefit, but in some a burthen?—Yes; an able and efficient man being taken away from the family.

The father of the family being taken in the prime of life, and emancipated and his price paid, and his wife and children remaining, and if you please, a mother remaining, would that family be a burthen or a benefit?—I cannot see that it would be any thing else but a burthen.

If a slave was allowed to emancipate himself on paying his own value, and he was to take his own family with him for nothing, would the owner be a loser in that case?—That is, supposing that all the persons in the family are infirm and unable to work; if they were infirm and unable to work, that would be a benefit.

Taking the family together, they must be either a burthen, or a benefit, or a neutral?—They must be an advantage or a burthen.

Supposing them to be an advantage to the master, and the slave is emancipated on paying the whole of his own value, how is the master injured by the family remaining? Because the abstraction of the efficient man will prevent his availing himself of the division of labour, and deprive him of his profit.

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That is supposed to be compensated by the price; but the reference is to the taking away the head of the family, and leaving the family to be a burthen to the master; if that family is a burthen to the master, what injury would it be to the master if the man, having paid his own price, takes that family with him?—If it is a burthen to the master, of course it would be a benefit that they should be removed.

And if they are a benefit to the master, it would be a benefit that they should remain?—Certainly.

Your observation proceeds on the assumption, that when a certain number of slaves shall have been taken away, what you call the sunken capital will be absolutely destroyed?—Useless.

In that you include the land?—Yes, I include the land, so far as it is appropriated for sugar cultivation.

But the land still remaining, will it not be useful for other purposes, though less profitable?—There is such great abundance of fertile land in the colonies of Demerara and Berbice, that I should think for other purposes they never can be at a loss for procuring it.

Is land to be had for nothing in Demerara?—It is for little or nothing.

And contiguous to the principal places?—Contiguous to the principal places; the principal expense is clearing it.

In the case of a sugar plantation which has been already cleared, if it so happened that the planter was unable to carry on his sugar business, would it be better for him to give away his land to somebody else, or would he expect a price for it?—Supposing the cultivation to be positively abandoned?

Supposing the cultivation of the land to be stopped, do you mean that his land would be worth nothing to him?—Considering the circumstances of the colony, I could not exactly say whether it would be worth nothing or not; but certainly it would be worth very little.

It would be depreciated, no doubt?—It would be worth very little.

If a sugar planter is paid to the full value of the labour of the slave subtracted, as long as he can find a substitute for that slave, either by a slave or by free labour, will he be injured then?—I think he would. I would wish to state the reasons why I think so. In my opinion a slave purchasing his freedom would be anxious to give as small a sum of money as he could; I cannot conceive any mode which he can take to accomplish his object so well as by depreciating his usefulness to his master. When a master has known a slave for a long time, he knows what the slave can do; and when the slave is attempting to depreciate his services, the master can recur to a former period, and point out that at such and such a time the slave was able to do that which he now wishes to be considered unable to do; but if a stranger or a new slave is purchased or is obtained by a master, he has no such check to the full exercise of his systematic plan of depreciation. I conceive, therefore, a slave in possession or in use is of much greater value than a slave in the market; though in the general estimation of the community the value of both might be considered the same.

My question was, supposing he received the full value?—If he receives the full value he will not be injured.

When the value of a slave is to be estimated for the purpose of his emancipation, will it not be the interest of the master who is to have notice to bring forward all the circumstances tending to show his value on the one side, and the slave to bring forward all those circumstances tending to depreciate his value?—Certainly.

And if a tribunal is established for the purpose of investigating that circumstance, is not an estimate of the value of the slave a circumstance as capable of being ascertained as almost any other matter of value?—I think not; I cannot conceive how appraisers could estimate that.

Will not the information which is furnished by those who have lived with him for years, and have superintended him on the one side, and those who have worked with him on the other, afford those, whose business it is to examine and to estimate, criteria

criteria by which they can judge of that man's labour?—I really think not. Supposing a prime man upon any plantation, upon whom the owner attaches a very high value, to be brought forward, he might appear a man of very little physical strength, and yet that same man, from his moral and his mental qualities, and from his influence over the rest of the gang, might be worth a very large sum of money.

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Are not all those circumstances capable of being established by evidence?—I do not think they are known to any person but the proprietor.

Would not the proprietor himself, and his drivers, and those who had superintended and worked with the slave, be able to give information upon the subject?—They would.

And on the other hand, would not they be capable of being opposed by such persons as the slave himself might bring forward to oppose their testimony?—Yes.

What then is there to prevent a just estimate being made of the value of a slave, any more than of any other article?—I cannot conceive that moral and mental qualities can be estimated in a sum of money in the way I have described; but even if they were estimated, the proprietor would substitute one loss for another, because that slave must know that by depreciating his services to a certain extent, the master would be glad to get rid of him on his own terms.

How will that affect the question on the examination before arbitrators, or before any other tribunal which is established for the purpose of examining as to what the person's antecedent conduct has been for a length of time, so as to estimate what he is capable of doing?—Even if they were estimated the proprietor would suffer loss. Suppose a slave worth 300*l.* sterling, bringing to his master 5*s.* a day; that slave applies for his freedom, with 250*l.*; the master's description of his services prevails with the appraisers, he does not procure his freedom; the master still suffers loss, because that slave on going back will make himself worth only 4*s.* a day, or so much less, that he will make it the object of the master to get rid of him at 250*l.* or less, which, in my opinion, there is no possibility of preventing.

Do you think that the hope of obtaining his freedom, which must operate upon his mind during the whole time he has been accumulating the 250*l.*, would or would not produce any beneficial effect on the character of a slave for industry?—It would operate differently on different slaves.

Would that hope, or would it not, tend to give him industrious habits?—I think not; a slave working for his freedom has a direct object before him, that he may apply whatever accumulations of money he may acquire; when he has attained that object, the incentive or the stimulus is gone. I am not acquainted with any mode of spending the money that the slave would afterwards have, that would compensate in his mind for the irksomeness of labour.

Re-examined by *Mr. Adam.*

You have stated to my learned friend, that your means of getting acquainted with the character of the Negro population had been upon visits on various estates for three or four days?—Yes.

During all that time, had you it in view to make yourself acquainted with the condition of the slave population in Demerara?—Undoubtedly I had; and perhaps it was from my information of the slave population that I was appointed secretary to the inhabitants in a case of great emergency.

Was it in consequence of your having a more than ordinary degree of information with regard to the slave population, that you were made secretary to that committee which was appointed on the close of the insurrection in Demerara?—I think it was.

Your object was to make yourself as well acquainted with the condition of the slave population as your means would enable you to do?—It was.

Did you apply yourself diligently to that purpose?—I applied myself diligently to fill my situation to my own satisfaction.

Mr. A. M'Donnell. Did you receive the approbation of your fellow colonists in the discharge of your duty in that situation?—I was sent home to this country with all the important papers on the subject.

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You have been asked, whether the loss to the owner of the slave would not depend upon whether he could supply himself by going in to the market to procure a substitute; do you think that any owner of a first-rate slave could, by going into the market, supply himself with a substitute for that first-rate slave?—I think not.

Could he, at any rate, at the market price of slaves?—I think not, because I think the market price a very improper guide in that case.

Why is that an improper means for informing the judgment of the appraiser?—With regard to the purchasers in general, they must know that a slave, after the passing of the law, will be himself sooner or later desirous of purchasing his freedom; the purchaser must know that under those circumstances his interest in him must be temporary and precarious; I think, therefore, that when the title and tenure of the property is so much altered, persons would not give so much for a slave as when they would have an absolute title.

Have you any other reason for thinking that the market price would not be a fair criterion for the value of a slave attached to a particular estate, and who has been long in the employ of a particular master?—I have already stated that a slave whom a proprietor has known for a long time is much more valuable to him than a slave of equal capabilities, according to the general estimation of the community.

Have you known a particular slave acquire and exercise a very salutary influence on the rest of the slaves on an estate?—Yes, I have, on two or three estates in particular. I have had conversations with proprietors, and have seen the proprietor point to a slave, and say, that man is worth a very large sum of money; according to my ideas, another person might give a very small sum for that man; that arose from the influence that that man might have with the gang, and from his mental and moral qualities.

Could the vacancy that the emancipation of that slave would form on a plantation be supplied by any slave bought in the market place?—Certainly not.

You have been asked by my learned friend, whether the negro population do not work at their leisure hours, so as obtain profits for themselves?—It is not working.

Is that which is done by him in his leisure hours labour, or is it done without bodily exertion?—I do not call it labour; it is a kind of foresight, in a person taking care of his stock.

Is that any thing like the labour required for raising sugar in the field?—Certainly not in the least.

Does it necessarily follow, that because a man will cultivate his garden and raise poultry, he will labour in a sugar field if he is free?—Certainly not.

Does the cultivation of sugar require steady and severe labour?—It requires steady labour, but I do not know that it is severe.

Are the wants of free Negroes in the country easily supplied?—Of those who reside in the country, very easily supplied.

What number of days do you conceive it would take to supply their wants?—I think, twelve hours in ten days; in fact they live on wild animals and vegetables,—provisions that rise spontaneously.

Can you conceive any stimulus operating on the mind of a free Negro which would induce him to go through that labour necessary to raise sugar?—Supposing an almost impossible case, that their artificial wants were raised to be equal to those of London mechanics, they might labour two or three days; but with that time they would satisfy any wants, however artificial, that they are likely to find.

Would those two or three days be employed in severe labour, or labour to be compared to that of a sugar plantation?—It would not be steady or continuous.

Would it be of the same sort?—They would go to their work when they pleased and leave it when they pleased.

Would the sort of labour necessary to raise that you are alluding to, be sufficient to raise sugar?—No; for on a sugar plantation the work must not only be done, but there must be a certainty that it shall be done at a particular time.

You were asked, with reference to the value of land in Demerara, is not by much the larger portion of the value attached to a plantation in Demerara, independently of the slaves, dependent on the machinery and the buildings, and the other things which are erected upon it, and not the land?—Undoubtedly.

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You have been asked whether, if a slave's family were a burthen, it would be of any loss to the owner that the slave should emancipate his family; you answered, no?—No; not if they were a burthen.

Suppose a slave were to emancipate himself, and to refuse to take the burthen of his family, what would be the effect of that?—The proprietor would then be burthened with the wife and family.

Do you think it very improbable that a slave would endeavour to emancipate himself, and leave his family to receive their food, medicine, and so on, of their master?—I think that an able man procuring his freedom would allow his family to remain on the plantation, and to be provided with medical attendance, and those other articles of comfort and clothing which the proprietor by law is obliged to give them.

Must it be made obligatory upon the slave, then, to redeem his family as well as himself, to meet the case supposed by my learned friend?—I think so.

You have said you cannot conceive the means by which the arbitrator is to arrive at a fair estimate of the moral qualities of the slave?—I think not; I think they are only known to the proprietor, the moral and mental, I should say.

In the case you have put, of a slave depreciating the value of his own services, are you of opinion that might be so done as that the master could not state it as an act of positive dishonesty on the part of his slave?—I think so. I should like to state a case. Suppose a young lad, or a young man, that that owner wished to teach a trade; that young man would be informed, indeed he would find out of himself, that if he was a dexterous or clever workman he would have to wait double the time than if he was a bad one; he would take care, then, not to learn this trade, in order that he could obtain his object more easily.

Could he, at the time when he was refusing to improve the qualities which you have described, employ his leisure time in rearing his pigs and his poultry with equal benefit to himself as if he had made himself useful to his master?—Certainly.

It has been supposed that the protector is to inquire, first of all, by calling the master before him, and inquiring into the conduct of the slave, and by calling such evidence as the slave chooses to produce; in your opinion, would that enable the protector of slaves to arrive at a sound conclusion?—I think not; I do not see how he is to estimate the mental qualities.

What would be the object of the slave in the evidence he gave; to increase the value of his qualities, or depreciate them?—I think the slave would endeavour to depreciate his qualities, and that it would be a maxim of his to acquire as favourable a character with the protector as he could, perhaps by a plan of dissimulation.

If, when the master should come before the protector of slaves to state circumstances to the discredit of the slave, the slave also was to produce evidence to show the insufficiency of his qualities as a slave, would the consequences of that be to lower the price that the appraiser was to put upon him; if the master was to be examined, to show that the slave had ceased to be a good workman, and the slave was to show that he was not an able or a good workman, would the effect of that be to lower or raise the price the protector was to put upon him?—If the slave succeeded in showing that he was not a good workman, the effect would be to lower his price. I conceive the master, in every point of view, is in a dilemma, and he must accede to whatever sum the slave has made up his mind to pay; if he refuses, he substitutes one loss for another; he gets less earnings from the slave.

Suppose a slave was called before the appraiser, for the purpose of ascertaining the price to be paid for his freedom, and that he was to produce evidence, in the way supposed, to depreciate his qualities; when he reported that among the other slaves on the plantation, what in your judgment would be the effect on the interest of the owner?—Undoubtedly it would be very bad; they would say, the worthless fellow who neglects his master's interest gets free easily, and those who consult their master's interest have to pay a very large sum of money.

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Examined by the Lords.

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Did you hear the evidence of the last witness, who stated that in his opinion it would require the lapse of centuries before natural causes would lead to such a state of things, in Demerara and Berbice, as to make manumission *invito Domino* safe to the planters?—I heard that stated.

Do you concur in that opinion?—Provided the legislature takes no steps with respect to the free blacks, I conceive it would take a very long time.

When you say, provided the legislature takes no steps with respect to free blacks, be good enough to mention more in detail to what steps you allude?—In the first place, I consider the great physical difficulty that prevents black men from labouring in Demerara and Berbice, arises from the fecundity of the land, and the great facilities of procuring vegetable provisions; I conceive that steps ought to be taken to prevent the injurious effects, I may say, of idleness that arise among the free blacks, in consequence of this great facility of living.

Explain what steps you would propose?—I propose a vagrant law.

Of what kind?—Appropriating the land, and saying to each freeman, you have no right to settle and live here on vegetables, fish, and wild animals; this land is property; it is appropriated; if you live here, you must pay a weekly rent.

Then, as you are of opinion that such a measure as you recommend might be attended with very great advantage, for the purpose of accelerating the period when free labour might be forthcoming, do you not admit that is one of the circumstances which is within the reach of amendment from legislation, and which may materially alter the effects which may result to the planter?—I do not understand that question.

Supposing the effect of a law of that kind was to be to improve the condition of free blacks, and to make them more industrious from necessity; would not that have a tendency to accelerate the period when free labour would be forthcoming?—I think it would; and that the proprietors would be the first to find it out, and then receive the benefit of it.

You recollect the Resolutions of the House of Commons?—I do.

The first is,—“That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for ameliorating the condition of the Slave Population in His Majesty’s Colonies.” Second,—“That through a determined and persevering, but at the same time judicious and temperate enforcement of such measures, this House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the Slave Population, such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of His Majesty’s subjects.” Third,—“That this House is anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose, at the earliest period that shall be compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property.” If, then, the operation of the manumission clauses, no matter how regulated or modified, is insufficient to secure a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property; do you not admit that there is no alternative between maintaining a state of slavery, without the introduction of these manumission clauses, until the period shall arrive at which free labour would be forthcoming, or to purchase at once the property of the Demerara proprietors?—I must say that I do not understand the question.

The Resolutions say,—“That they look forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the Slave Population, such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of His Majesty’s subjects.” They alluded, no doubt, to such measures as would prepare those persons for becoming free men; and it appears from these clauses, “That this House is anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose at the earliest period that shall be compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property.” Upon these data, supposing manumission by the mode of those clauses amended and modified, be impossible; what alternative is there between maintaining slavery for centuries, and compensating the planters by sudden purchase?—I have stated

stated distinctly, that a fair opportunity of procuring free labour has never yet been attempted by the legislature; and until the attempt is made, I do not conceive that it necessarily follows that slavery is not to terminate in those colonies for centuries; my own opinion is, that if a vagrant law be passed for the free blacks, the interest of the proprietors in time might lead them to terminate slavery.

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Perfectly admitting that legislation with respect to the free blacks might very materially accelerate this period, at what earliest period do you conceive it might arrive, under the present circumstances of the extent of fertile soil in Demerara?—If all the land was appropriated, and free blacks were prevented from settling in any place without paying a rental, I conceive that the time might be comparatively short; I could not state it exactly.

Are you to be understood, that it is your opinion that the slave when free would work at sugar cultivation for wages as now it is performed, or how will the payment of rent for that of which he is a free proprietor contribute to produce that particular result, namely, working for hire in sugar plantations?—Because then there would be no contrast, as at present, between a free black living in idleness, and another black labouring industriously; a man would then choose whether he would labour, in order to pay his rent, or whether he would hire himself to a sugar planter.

Am I not justified in supposing evidence has been brought before this Committee that the slave will never be disposed to execute the continuous and necessary work of sugar cultivation, unless the necessity of subsistence presses upon him, as by analogy to the lower class of people in this country?—It is in order that subsistence may press upon him that I propose the vagrant law.

With millions of acres of fertile land, how many years will elapse before the occupation of this land will produce the effect which you anticipate, and which it is allowed may be anticipated at some period?—Even if there are millions of acres, it does not prevent the land being appropriated, and making it difficult for any freeman to acquire his subsistence.

You would have a difficulty in stating to the Committee any opinion as to the period, under any circumstances?—I have, and I should like to state the reason: there is a course of moral instruction, and a variety of measures of the nature of ameliorating the condition of the slaves, now in progress; when a slave is made a different being to what he is now, it is very possible many means may arise which I cannot possibly contemplate, which would certainly facilitate his becoming an industrious man in a state of freedom.

Supposing that any accommodation of price that was necessary to reimburse the masters upon a fair and equitable principle of compensation was to be afforded from any fund, independently of the earnings of the slave, do you think that circumstance would facilitate the operation of these clauses?—It would remove one of the great objections.

You have stated it to be your opinion that equivalent slaves cannot be bought?—I have.

Do you think that under the operation of these manumission clauses, regulated as they are, and regulated as they might be, with regard to certificates of industry, and various other points which have been alluded to, the operation of these clauses would be so rapid as to make it probable that the period might be early when equivalent slaves will not be to be bought?—I do not think it would be rapid; and I think telling the slaves that they had a right to purchase their freedom, and not putting it in their power, is one of the worst features of the Ordinance.

Supposing a maximum was struck for the price of a slave, and he were told, that whenever he acquired that, under certain circumstances he would be entitled to his freedom, would there be a feeling in his mind of a disposition to be industrious?—That would remove some great objections; but I am not prepared to say what its general effect might be.

Do you not admit that it is probable that the period where no substitution can be made, and when by the terms of Lord Bathurst's dispatch the owner is not in a condition to supply the loss of his slave, and is not able to engage any free labourer for his sugar plantations, and when the price which must then be assigned to the loss of each slave must have a direct reference to that state in which the plantation will

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will be placed by the progressive reduction of the means of cultivating it, is comparatively distant?—I think it comparatively distant; but in the meantime the proprietor will be suffering very great loss.

Do you admit that the loss you contemplate could be supplied by money?—Money! from what quarter? it might be supplied by the nation, certainly not by the slaves.

The witness who preceded you asserted, that it would be impossible to appraise the progressive loss of the master, so as to secure him a principle of compensation, even in the earliest stages of the law?—I should wish to say as to that, that any plan that puts the interest of the master in direct opposition to the interest of the slave, I consider a plan of appraisement completely impossible to do justice.

Do you think, that if the slave knew that his own industry was in the first instance necessary to justify his taking advantage of this law, and secondly, that he knew he could obtain his manumission at any time by the appropriation of a certain sum; that under those two conditions he would be placed in that state of variance with the master to which you refer as being objectionable?—It would be necessary to know what that sum is; if that sum be great, it might be for the interest of the slave to depress his value below that sum.

The question supposes such sum were fairly within the average capability of an industrious slave to procure?—There is still a remedy in that case given to the slave, to depress his value below that average.

You think, therefore, that it is impossible, under any circumstances of the application of money, except at the wholesale prices of purchase, to prevent that consequence, namely, that of deterioration in the slave himself, with a view to his obtaining his emancipation on easier terms?—I should not like to pronounce any thing impossible; but so far as I am capable of judging, I cannot imagine a case, where the master is put in opposition to his slave, that an equitable plan of appraisement or compensation can be pointed out.

Supposing that it were to be enacted that the prædial slave, the sugar slave, critically so called, should obtain by money acquired by himself an intermediate state between slavery and freedom; do you think, from your experience and knowledge, such a state would be practicable to put in action?—I could not pronounce an opinion until I saw the whole plan before me.

In the beginning of your evidence you illustrated your views upon this subject by reference to an estate of two hundred slaves, from which twenty slaves were supposed to be abstracted, and you argued that the injury sustained by the estate, with reference to those slaves, would deteriorate the value of the whole; you are aware that it might be perfectly safe to admit that that could not be done now, yet do you believe that before the time arrives in which a real case exists it might be perfectly easy to do it?—I do not like to pronounce any thing impossible, but I cannot see how that ever could be done.

Do you not admit yourself, supposing laws were made to regulate free blacks and other causes, they would tend more or less to encourage free labour; and do not you admit that it is the degree, *plus* or *minus*, of that free labour that governs the question of compensation; consequently, may not that circumstance alone, when the time arrives, be the means of regulating the assessment with reference to the injury?—My opinion is, that if proper regulations be introduced with respect to the free blacks, the proprietors of slaves would find it to their interest to procure free labourers wherever they could, and that consequently, having no objection to manumission, that law would not be required.

Is not that admitting that this law, if passed, would be innoxious, inasmuch as it would be inoperative?—No, it is not innoxious; because it teaches the slave that whenever he has any thing to desire, the master is not the source he is to apply to for it; it puts the two interests in hostile opposition, as I should say, to each other.

Would you admit there is any analogy between the colonies of Trinidad and Demerara, to justify any facts bearing upon this point in the one colony being produced with a view of supplying an analogy?—There is sugar cultivation in both; so far, therefore, there may be an analogy.

You

You think, therefore, that even under the circumstances of a maximum being fixed for the slave, under the circumstances of a certificate of industry being obtained in the fairest manner in which it can be possible to obtain it, as the means of allowing the slave to manumit himself, this, with an intermediate state, would still leave that one grievance unremedied, namely, the separation of the interests of the master from the slave?—It occurs to me so at present; but I should like to see all those plans ripened and detailed, before I could consider myself competent to give an opinion; unless I am acquainted with all the circumstances, and with the whole nature of the plan, I could not form an opinion of any kind that would be worth stating.

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You do not go to the length of saying, that you consider it impossible to suggest any plan which will combine the equitable interest of the planter with the operation of the manumission clauses *invito Domino*?—I do not like to say that any thing was impossible; but I would adhere to my former answer, that any plan which sets the two interests in opposition to each other, I could not, from all my experience in the colony, consider an equitable plan of appraisement by which compensation could be pointed out.

In your opinion is it possible to conciliate those two interests under any conceivable system?—Under that word possible a great latitude may be given; I should not like to say.

Other witnesses have said it is impossible in their opinion?—I think I have already answered those points by saying that I cannot conceive a case.

Were not all those consequences, as growing out of the Trinidad Order, to be anticipated at the period when that Order was laid upon the table of Parliament?—They were certainly to be anticipated; but I do not think at that period the subject was so well understood as it is now.

Do you think that it would materially benefit those clauses, if the protector of slaves were to appear on the part of the slave in any conceivable dispute, the master appearing on his own part, and both referring to a common referee, rather than delegating to the protector any special power?—I do not see how it would be an improvement. My opinion is, that if a slave has positively made up his mind to procure his freedom upon payment of a certain sum of money, there is nothing to prevent him, no mode of guarding that by certificate, for he has only to depreciate his service to such a degree that the master will be glad to get rid of him at the slave's own nomination of price.

Is the necessary consequence from that, that there is no mode of satisfying that clause of the resolutions which provides for the equitable consideration of the interests of private property, except by waiting for that course of events which may produce entirely a state of things in which it will be for the interests of the planter to manumit his slaves?—I conceive that the resolutions of Parliament went merely to prepare the slaves by moral and religious instruction, for a participation in civil rights and privileges; and that until they were prepared and made different beings from what they are now, it was not required to allude to emancipation.

Are you of opinion that any degree of improvement, of religious instruction, of moral instruction, of education and improved management, or any combination of conceivable causes, when brought into their full effect, would induce slaves, when made free, to work for such wages as the Demerara proprietors can afford to give, without their complaining of loss of property, without great increase of population?—Certainly not; but I think the appropriation of the land and a strict vagrant law, can in a great measure supply those incentives to labour and industry which arise from a dense population.

Unless you forbid a black to settle on land, or put him to a rent which will oblige him to pay an enormous sum, how is it possible to put him into a condition in which he would be tempted by wages to work?—You can only tempt them to work by making the condition of the labourer on a sugar estate as agreeable as living on land and paying rent for it, or by high rent, of course.

Do you think, unless you put a rent which is neither more nor less than a prohibition of occupation, a slave will be induced voluntarily to work for such wages for the planter as will deprive the planter of a fair claim to equitable compensation?—I consider the measure prospectively, and I do not think that an absolute prohibition

Mr. A. M'Donnell. of a man's settling on land is required to induce him to labour on a sugar plantation. After the lapse of some years, a labourer so situated might be induced to work on a sugar plantation, but not at present.

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Might not a free black, whose rent was raised upon him in consequence of the appropriation of land, immediately escape into the adjoining country, where he would not be exposed to the same demand for occupation?—No; I think the native Indians that surround Demerara and Berbice would prevent that from happening.

Supposing, then, that this plan of appropriation and a vagrant law were to be established in the most desirable manner, do you think that it would be impracticable for the appraiser to give a *bonâ fide* equivalent to the planter, until the period should arrive when the question can be tried as to the propensity to work as free?—I think I have already answered that, that I cannot conceive at present any plan of appraisement that does not put the two interests of master and slave in opposition.

Any appraisement that does not give the master a substantive power to consent or not to the slave's manumission, is, in your opinion, one that will not work?—At present I think not; I do not like to pronounce it positively impossible; but the impression upon my mind is, that it cannot work at present.

Can you inform the Committee what influence the principle of compulsory manumission has upon the value of West India estates?—I conceive that the tone to West India estates is given in a great degree by the capitalists and mercantile houses in this country; if they do not make advances or give accommodations to proprietors, I think the depreciation would be very great; that depends in a great degree on opinion.

You have stated that a depreciation has already taken place, in consequence of the apprehension of this law among other interference of the legislature; can you state to what extent it has taken place?—I could not put a per-centage upon it; on large estates, or estates taken as a whole, the depreciation would be considerable.

Do you think it has been, or would be?—I think it has been. I saw some documents transmitted from the West Indies, where 80,000*l.* I think, had been offered for a plantation in 1821 or 1822, I am not sure which; that same property was put up for sale a short time ago, and there was no actual bidder higher than 30,000*l.*

What reason have you for knowing that you have stated in chief, that one of the principal causes of the depreciation of West India property is the apprehension of this compulsory clause of manumission?—Because I have heard many proprietors say, that the different measures of amelioration rather tended to the benefit of the proprietors and the slaves also; this particular law alters the title in the property, it makes it temporary; and no capitalist ever wishes to invest money in a falling concern.

Would the death, by an epidemic disease, of a certain number of slaves on a plantation, have as bad an effect on the proprietor of slaves as the emancipation of an equal number?—I should think not.

Why not?—The one would be considered a visitation of Providence, and the families in which deaths took place would not repine at what was occasioned by Providence; but if a separation takes place from emancipation, and persons left their families, going to reside at any distance, I think there would be great dissatisfaction.

You have said that the emancipation of twenty effective slaves, on a plantation containing two hundred, would so cripple the operations of the plantation as to make it of no value?—It takes away the profit of the cultivator, because he has to compete with the Brazilian and Cuba sugar growers, and is obliged, in the sale of his article, to sell at the same price that the sugar sells in those markets; and he would not carry on his cultivation where the annual contingent expenses are more than the returns.

Would not the same degree of impediment to cultivation take place from the death of the same slaves?—Undoubtedly, if it was among the same class of persons, the efficient hands.

Do you mean to say that the whole stock of the remaining one hundred and eighty slaves would be of no value at all?—No; I do not think that the cases are parallel. *Mr. A. M'Donnell.*

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You have said that the effect of the manumission of twenty slaves, out of a gang of two hundred, might be to render the estate of no value?—I have said so.

Would the remainder of those slaves be of no value?—The slaves, though greatly reduced, would be of some value; but in the latter case, supposing a number of the efficient people had been taken off by death, other persons would purchase the remainder, though they were comparatively of less value from the loss of the efficient hands, and might be unable to carry on the cultivation.

Will you answer whether the remaining stock of that estate would be of no value?—Certainly they would be of some value to other purchasers.

Is the land of no value at all?—The land would be of some little value.

And the buildings upon it?—The buildings might be of value, provided that a purchaser could be found of the slaves, fully equal to carry on the cultivation of that estate.

The question does not suppose that new slaves were to be purchased to replace those who have been emancipated, but whether without that purchase, without replacing them, the remaining stock would be of no value?—It would not be equal to working that estate.

Would it be of no value at all?—It would be of value if the slaves were brought into the market.

Would the land be worth nothing in the market?—The land would fetch little or nothing, provided the people were removed from it.

Although there are buildings upon it?—Although there were buildings upon it. One of two things must happen, either that it must be abandoned altogether, or that slaves from another quarter must be brought and settled there; if they are brought and settled there, the plantation will undoubtedly be of value.

Practically, supposing twenty slaves upon the estate, and the best of them to be taken off by emancipation, out of a stock of two hundred, would nobody buy the remaining property?—Supposing there to be no mode of supplying their loss, certainly not, because the contingent expense of cultivating that estate would be more than the returns.

Nobody would purchase for any price?—For any price for sugar cultivation.

Or for any other cultivation?—A completely different process must take place in another cultivation; and I think a proprietor would do better to take other land for his purpose.

Would it be impossible to employ the slaves remaining on the estates for some other purpose?—So far as their efficient strength went, undoubtedly they could be employed on other plantations, if removed.

On the same plantation?—Not if the efficient hands are taken away, that are necessary to bring the proprietor some profit.

The question refers to the abstraction of twenty from an estate of two hundred, which might have sixty or seventy efficient hands; supposing twenty out of the two hundred taken away, would the remainder be of no value?—They are of no value on that estate; if brought into the market for sale, they would sell for some value.

Is not that value, whatever it may be, to be taken into the account, in ascertaining the loss of the planter, according to your own reasoning?—Undoubtedly; I stated that the abstraction of the twenty men would take away the whole profit.

You state that it would be necessary to apportion the whole value of the estate upon the first twenty slaves extracted, because their abstraction would destroy the value of the whole property; do you stick to that answer?—As, of course, the remaining slaves brought into the market would still sell for something, certainly that amount, whatever it might be, ought to be taken out of the value of the entire capital.

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Would they not sell for something very considerable, to be employed on other estates?—When it is considered that, out of the one hundred and eighty, there will be a much smaller proportion of efficient people than usual, I think there must be a very great depreciation in the price they would sell for.

Would not the remaining forty or fifty of the ablest slaves be worth as much in proportion as the twenty who were lost?—It would be merely in reference to the estate on which they were placed.

For general sale?—If they were sold to individuals, it would be merely for their personal value, taken without any thing with reference to the sunk capital on the estate.

Would they not be worth as much as any other slaves of equal qualities brought into the market?—They undoubtedly would; but they could not be brought into the market to be sold by themselves, for their families must go with them.

Would not their families be worth something?—Unquestionably they would.

In the Demerara paper there is an advertisement for a task gang to hoe thirty acres of land; is it a common practice to hire gangs for that purpose?—It was, I think, common some time ago.

Are they now to be obtained?—I think they are to be obtained; but the practice is at the same time less frequent.

Are those gangs belonging to a person who has any estate of his own, or are they held as independent property, without land?—They are held as independent property, without land.

Is the number of such independent properties in slaves not attached to estates, considerable?—I should think not, and I should think rapidly decreasing.

Is not that species of property, so far as it exists, a remedy for the loss which the planter might sustain by the taking some of his slaves off his hands by emancipation?—Partly it is a remedy; but undoubtedly those task gangs would not be equal to all the sugar cultivation in the colony, if a number of those slaves were abstracted from each estate.

Are not the task gangs in the colony of Demerara in full employ now?—I consider that the works and buildings throughout the colony are upon a scale more than sufficient for the number of hands that there are to cultivate them; that, consequently, the abstraction of any number of people must, more or less, pinch some particular employment.

You consider that the compulsory manumission clauses, under any modifications, are extremely difficult, and not likely to be made satisfactory?—I do think so.

Can you suggest to the Committee any mode in substitution, for its legislation, which shall avoid both of those two alternatives; the one of purchasing out at once the interest of the planter, the other of waiting for that natural period when free labour will make the experiment safe and advantageous?—I am not competent to answer that question. In my own opinion, I think the effects of the moral and religious instruction should first have operated before any plan is attempted for emancipation.

In those task gangs are there any boilers or tradesmen, or are they not merely field labourers?—There are no boilers or tradesmen among them, to my knowledge; they are merely field labourers, so far as I recollect.

[The Witness withdrew.]

Mr. Andrew Colville sworn.

Mr. A. Colville.

Examined by *Mr. Hibbert.*

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YOU are a merchant and mortgagee of West India property generally?—I am.

Has your attention been directed to this Order of the Governor and Council of Berbice?—It has.

What effect do you think the clauses in that Order, respecting compulsory manumission, will have on West India property, in depreciating the value?—I think it must have necessarily a very great effect in depreciating the value.

Should you yourself at present be less disposed to make advances on West India property, in consideration of the terms of that Order?—Certainly; if the Berbice Ordinance should be made law, I should not be disposed, under almost any temptation of profit, to invest capital in that colony.

Are the clauses in that Order which enable a slave to purchase his freedom without the consent of his master, those which would make you unwilling to make those advances?—That is the principal part.

Cross-examined by *Mr. Denman.*

Are you aware that there is a proviso in the Order, that the slave is to prove that the money he advances for the price of his freedom is the fruit of his own honest earnings?—Yes, I am.

And that he is to have a certificate of his conduct?—Yes.

And notwithstanding that, you are of opinion that this manumitting clause would be very injurious in its effect?—Yes.

Why do you think so?—I think, in the first place, the title to the possession of the Negro, or to the right of his labour, is altogether changed by the proposed law; and I should not think that the security upon those Negroes was of equal effect as a security upon the same parcel of Negroes would be under the existing law; that is one reason.

Will you state any other?—The other reason is, the effect that would be produced upon the income of the estates by the operation of this new Ordinance. I can only look at the law as an operative law, as a law to come into effect by the Negroes, in considerable numbers, acquiring their freedom. If the law is not to be operative, it is contrary to all the usual principles to pass a law which is not expected to have an effect. I can only view its operation upon property, taking for granted that it is to have the effect of a number of Negroes acquiring their freedom. Under that supposition, I should think the income of the estates would be very much endangered, and that there would be a gradual grinding down of the profits of the plantations, looked upon as a whole; and, consequently, that some or other of those plantations must be broken up in the effect of the new law; that they must be broken up, to the ruin of the proprietors, and, consequently, to the injury and risk of the creditors of the proprietors.

You object to the principle of compulsory manumission itself?—Certainly; I think it will injure the property.

You have no other mode of carrying it into effect to propose?—I certainly do not come here prepared to suggest any new law upon the subject.

The slaves being entitled to compel their own manumission, might not certain consequences follow that might be beneficial to the estate; would it not encourage the breeding and good treatment of the slaves?—I do not see how the right of slaves to insist on their manumission, purchasing their own freedom, holds out an encouragement to the master to do that.

Supposing a master knows that every particular individual, under certain circumstances, may compel him to part with him, does it not become the interest of the master to take care that the slave population is well kept up?—Not more so than at present, and for this reason, that at present, and ever since the abolition of the

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slave trade, the only mode the master has of maintaining the labouring population of his estate is by taking every precaution in his power that that population should be an increasing population. By the Berbice Ordinance, a Negro may purchase not only his own freedom, but he may purchase the freedom of his children, or his brother or sister. If the fashion, if I may use that expression, were to be adopted, that the Negroes should abandon the mode of obtaining their own freedom, from the cost of it, and to turn their attention to the purchasing the freedom of their children, the slave population must die out. A child must always be at a less price than a full grown man.

A child of fifteen, or even of ten, might be of more value than a full grown man of sixty?—I do not call a youth of fifteen a child; I spoke of the possibility of the parent Negro purchasing the freedom of his child at six months.

I ask whether the possibility of being deprived of a part of the slave population would not give an additional motive to a master to take care of his people who remained?—I think not; he cannot have a stronger inducement than he has at present.

Would it not be possible to relieve the slave by substituting the cattle and plough?—That is done; the use of the plough is now common in the West Indies.

Is it universal?—It is not universal, for it is not adapted to all situations.

Has it not become common since the abolition of the slave trade, and because slaves were not so easily procured?—It has come more into practice; but it was in practice before the abolition of the slave trade.

Have you been in Berbice?—No, I have not.

Have you ever been in a plantation?—No; I never was in the colonies.

Re-examined by *Mr. Hibbert.*

With respect to the use of the plough, is it not found very difficult to keep up a breed of horses necessary to use the plough?—Ploughing, in the West Indies, is generally done by cattle; and the use of the plough upon estates depends upon the capability of the estate to maintain an extra number of cattle for that purpose; and likewise, the use of the plough, in many colonies, depends upon the nature of the land. Some of the land cultivated in canes is very steep and hilly; and if, therefore, it is broken up completely by ploughing, it is liable to be washed away by tropical rains. These reasons have been given to me by persons living in the colonies.

Examined by the Lords.

Have you compared the Berbice Ordinance, as it was passed, with the Trinidad Order?—No, I have not generally compared them.

Do you not know that the Berbice Ordinance is more favourable to the presumed interest of the owners than the Trinidad Order?—I believe it is.

When you state that a depreciation ensued in consequence of the alarm of compulsory manumission, you are aware that from March 1824 it has been announced to the Parliament, that the Trinidad Order was to be the law of the land at Demerara and Berbice?—I do not call that to mind.

Are you aware that it was announced in March 1824, that the Government, for satisfying the object of the Resolutions unanimously entered into in 1823, had decided to introduce, as the law of Demerara and Berbice, the Trinidad Order?—I am aware of that generally, from the dispatches from the Colonial Office.

Does the depreciation date from that early period?—I think there has been a depreciation, dated rather from the first discussion of this question generally, as affecting the title and right of the proprietors in their estates; that it was evidently proposed to interfere in that title in some way or other; that we knew could not tend to benefit us greatly, and might tend greatly to our injury. The effect of that was an indisposition, on the part of all those who were not already engaged in the colonies, and whose property was not engaged in the colonies, to vest capital in the colonies.

In

In the Berbice Ordinance there is this clause :—“ And the said appraisers, being first duly sworn before the said president to make a fair and impartial appraisement, not only with reference to the physical strength of the slave proposed to be manumitted, and his or her mental acquirements, but also with reference to the absolute value of such slave to his or her owner, and the loss which such owner would sustain by the loss of the services of such slave.” With reference to that clause, when you speak of the loss that would be produced to the planter by the purchase of children, are you not aware that, under the terms of that clause, the interest the planter had in the child, with reference to the succession to his estate, would form a part of the principle of appraisement?—It ought to form a part of the principle of appraisement; but I cannot look to that Ordinance being carried into effect in such a way as to compensate the proprietor for the total extinction of his labourers.

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Has not the Trinidad Order been always been considered by the body of West India proprietors as injurious to them?—Certainly; the right given by that Order to the slave to purchase his freedom compulsorily, to compel his master to give him his freedom at a price, has been always considered injurious to the property, as affecting the right and title which was previously held by the proprietors.

If that Order was assented to, at any time, by any portion of West India merchants and planters, do you not know that those persons have since changed their opinions?—I am not aware that any formal consent of any considerable body of planters and merchants was given to the principle of the measure; and certainly almost every person, indeed I may say every person that I have conversed with upon the subject, is now of opinion, that it would be extremely injurious to the proprietors.

Are you aware that, in May 1823, the House of Commons adopted certain Resolutions?—Yes.

Are you aware that, in March 1824, Mr. Canning announced as the intention of the Government, in pursuance of those Resolutions, and for the express purpose of satisfying those conditions, that the Government had decided to introduce the compulsory manumission clauses into the colonies of Trinidad, Saint Lucia, Demerara, Berbice, Cape, and Mauritius; and from that hour to this, with the exception of a slight observation from one Member of Parliament, not one word of reclamation has ever been made in that House upon the subject?—I am aware of a declaration made by Mr. Canning as to the then intentions and opinion of Government upon the subject.

Mr. Canning having laid the Order of Trinidad on the table of the House that evening?—I can by no means admit that the expressed conditions of any existing administration can be held to compromise the rights and properties of any part of the subjects; and as to any opposition to be given to such an intention, it is impossible for the parties whose properties are likely to be affected by the carrying that intention into effect, to frame or shape their opposition to that, until the measure is substantially embodied in a tangible shape; therefore I do not admit that it is of much importance what degree of opposition was expressed to that intention at the time.

You are aware that papers had been laid upon the table of Parliament, informing the public that the compulsory manumission clauses were sent over from Trinidad to this country, and that the Trinidad Order, precisely as it is now in force in Berbice, with exceptions which are considered to be more or less favourable to the planters, has been the law of Trinidad from that day, and that, notwithstanding it was in as tangible a shape as it could be placed by human possibility, yet to this day no reclamation has ever been made against it in the House of Commons?—I am not aware of the precise nature of the law of Trinidad, not having any connection with that colony.

Are you aware that in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, where the right of compulsory manumission has always existed in a slave, the security of property is supposed to be less than in the English colonies?—I do not think that the degree of security under the Spanish and Portuguese laws of those colonies admits of any very accurate comparison with those under the British laws; but the condition of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies under this law of compulsory manumission, which

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which I believe to be a matter more of practice than of positive law, is very different from the situation of the British colonies. In the Spanish and Portuguese colonies an unlimited slave trade is carried on; and if one slave is abstracted, another can be replaced at a very small cost.

[The Witness withdrew.]

Mr. George Hibbert sworn.Examined by *Mr. Adam.**Mr. G. Hibbert.*

I BELIEVE you are a West India merchant and mortgagee?—I am.

Has your attention been called to the Ordinance of Berbice?—It has.

Are you aware of the contents of it?—I am.

Have you attended to those clauses which profess to afford compensation for the compulsory manumission of slaves?—I have.

In your opinion, would those clauses affect the value of West India property or West India securities?—I am of opinion that they have already affected the value of that market, and that they are calculated to do so in a progressive manner.

Have you yourself been less disposed to make an advance on property in Demerara and Berbice in consequence of the passing of this Ordinance?—Yes, most certainly, or in any colony where such Ordinance did pass.

Cross-examined by *Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet.*

You say, that, in your judgment, these clauses have already affected the value of West India property?—In my judgment, they have; I know instances.

Did not the depreciation of West India property commence at a period considerably antecedent to that of these clauses being in agitation?—It certainly did.

Has it been going on for a considerable number of years?—It has been going on progressively with the disposition shown here to interfere, by British legislation, with property legally acquired and possessed there.

Was not that depreciation progressive at the time when these compulsory clauses were first spoken of?—It was in progress.

Do you not think, that the uncertainty in which property stood, with reference to what the ultimate situation of that property might be, as likely to affect the value of that property as any particular measure?—I should always distinguish those measures which directly apply or have relation to the property of the planter in his slaves, from any other measure whatever affecting the general property; because, in my mind, the value of the estate, the land and the buildings, and every thing, in fact, is almost entirely done away, if you loosen the property which the possessor has in his slaves, if you do not hold that firm.

Is not the uncertainty in which the state of property is, at a particular time, with reference to its ultimate situation, one of the causes which most affects its value?—Not uncertainty merely, but apprehension of injury.

Do you not find that people are more unwilling either to purchase property or to advance money upon it, when they do not know what the state of that property is, than if they knew the precise state of it, though some measure which is injurious may have actually passed?—I conceive, whatever the evil or uncertainty, that the positive conviction in my mind that injury was to ensue, would have a more powerful effect than uncertainty.

Uncertainty has a great effect upon property?—Certainly it has.

Re-examined by *Mr. Adam.*

Uncertainty, if one of the results, is loss?—Yes.

Not if for one of the results is gain?—No, that was not the question as I understood it.

You say you have known instances to which persons have been indisposed to make advances,

advances, in consequence of the operation of this Demerara Ordinance?—If I was asked to quote particular instances, and to bring proofs of those particular instances, I must say I am not prepared; I came here by chance, and did not expect to be called upon: but I have a perfect conviction in my own mind, that since the discussion of this particular Ordinance of compulsory emancipation, and absolutely in proportion as it has been attempted to be defended and explained, the apprehensions of those who have money to advance have increased, and their disinclination to advance money has increased.

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[The Witness withdrew.]

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(*Mr. Adam.*)—I propose next to call Major Moody; I understand that he is very reluctant to give evidence, holding a situation in an office under Government, but I feel that his evidence is important.

(*Lord Bexley.*)—I do not see why his holding an office under Government should render any one unwilling to call him, or him unwilling to be examined; our only desire is to elicit the truth. It may be as well, before you call your witness, that I should state what is the course of proceeding which it is proposed to adopt. It appears to the council, Mr. Adam, that as soon as you have closed your evidence, Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet should consider whether he intends to confine himself to commenting upon that evidence, in which case no further proceeding will be necessary, or whether he will think it necessary to call any evidence in support of the Berbice Ordinance. If Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet and Mr. Denman, in their discretion, think that advisable, and wish to have any time allowed to them for preparing that, we should be ready to adjourn for the number of days that may be necessary for them to obtain that evidence from any quarters from which they think they can procure it. The Colonial Office would be willing to afford any assistance in their power; but there may be in other quarters gentlemen found ready to attend and give evidence, who may not be at present in attendance; in that case we shall be ready to adjourn as soon as your evidence closes.

(*Mr. Adam.*)—My Lord, if there are to be any comments on the evidence, which I did not understand to be allowed to us, I apprehend they must first of all proceed by Mr. Hibbert observing on the evidence submitted on the part of the petitioners.

(*Lord Bexley.*)—We shall be happy to hear Mr. Hibbert.

(*Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet.*)—Certainly, my Lords, I did not anticipate it as any part of my duty, that I was to make any comments upon the evidence which has been offered; I have not addressed my attention to that.

(*Lord Bexley.*)—Did you not propose to open your own case?

(*Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet.*)—No, I did not understand that I was to open my case at all. I understood that I was here only for the purpose of examining witnesses.

(*Mr. Adam.*)—So did I, certainly, my Lord.

(*Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet.*)—If I am called upon to make observations, I shall be under the necessity of requesting of your Lordships a little time to consider of the evidence, before I address your Lordships.

(*Mr. Wilmot Horton.*)—You are prepared to call a witness or witnesses now?—

(*Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet.*)—Yes, I believe we are; but if I am to address your Lordships, it would be desirable the evidence should be taken together after that.

(*Mr. Wilmot Horton.*)—It should be perfectly understood that we shall be ready to receive evidence from any quarter whatever, as it is so desirable truth should be elicited; if any person has any thing to say, if possible he should be obtained as a witness; it is so extremely desirable this investigation should put an end to all doubts upon the subject.

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(*Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet.*)—I rather understood from my learned friend, Mr. Adam, that the proceeding would be confined to the examination of witnesses; in that case neither my learned friend nor I proposed to comment upon the evidence.

(*Lord Bexley.*)—I think it may be right we should consider this again.

(*Mr. Denman.*)—We are not furnished with any witnesses at present, and we have no proposition to support.

(*Mr. Wilmot Horton.*)—It has been stated in evidence that great practical difficulties will present themselves in the execution of the manumission clauses; consequently, if witnesses can be produced to prove that those difficulties have been in any degree exaggerated, those witnesses should be produced on the other side. I understand there are gentlemen who are prepared to come forward to give evidence in favour of the practical working of those manumission clauses; that evidence may not differ from the evidence already given on the principles of the question, but it will go to prove the practicability of its execution. To that extent witnesses are already prepared; but there may be others who will be disposed to come forward to support these compulsory manumission clauses on more general grounds. I have made every sort of effort to induce witnesses to come forward upon this point, and I can find none. The object being to elicit the truth, Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet and Mr. Denman will have an opportunity, if they can, of supplying any witnesses to do so. I have certainly failed in my own application.

(*Lord Bexley.*)—It will be desirable that the counsel should withdraw for a moment, that the Council may consider whether this course of proceeding should be pursued, or not.

[The counsel and parties withdrew.]

[After a short time they were called in again.]

(*Lord Bexley.*)—Since you retired, gentlemen, the Council have referred to the petition of the agent for Berbice, of which I will read the prayer. “Your petitioner therefore most humbly prays that Your Majesty may be graciously pleased to permit your petitioner, as such agent as aforesaid, to appear by counsel before the said Committee of Your Majesty’s Privy Council, when the said evidence shall be produced,”—that is, the evidence against the Ordinance: “and by himself and his counsel to put such questions to the witnesses, and offer such evidence and suggestions as he may be advised, touching the matters contained in the said Ordinance.” Under these words, the Council consider that the agent for Berbice has a right, not only to produce witnesses and give evidence, but to offer, through his counsel, any suggestions which he may think fit, with respect to the Ordinance, either with the respect to the simply confirming it, or the modifying it in any manner. As it is obvious, from the course the proceeding has taken, and from the evidence given, that the principle of compulsory manumission has been in fact the point at issue, we think it is extremely desirable that the case should be fully heard,—that the principle of compulsory manumission, with its practicability, its application, and its difficulties, should be fully brought under His Majesty’s consideration; and for that purpose, as Mr. Adam, when he opened the case on the part of the petitioners, was not aware that it would be defended by counsel, we think it may be advisable that the evidence given on behalf of the petitioners shall be summed up by the gentleman assisting him, and then that Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet and Mr. Denman should have such time as they think fit to open the case on the other side, with a full understanding that they are not confined to the words of this Ordinance, but that they may suggest any other mode, within the general limits of the instructions from Lord Bathurst’s Office, and including a reference to the Trinidad Order or the Demerara proceedings, in which they may think that the question of compulsory manumission is fairly brought under the consideration of the Council, its practical effects and its difficulties.

(*Mr. Adam.*)—Under this new state of things, if I may be permitted to say so, I hope your Lordships will give Mr. Hibbert time till the evidence is printed. He is not in the least prepared at the present moment, not expecting to be permitted to make any observations on the evidence given.

(*Lord Bexley.*)—Certainly; whatever time is necessary will be afforded to both sides.

(*Mr.*

(*Mr. Adam.*)—And as your Lordships have rather exceeded that which we understood to be the object of this inquiry, if we should desire to have an opportunity afforded to us of producing further evidence, I trust your Lordships will permit that.

Mr. G. Hibbert.

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(*Lord Bexley.*)—Applying to the same points.

(*Mr. Adam.*)—Your Lordship has been pleased to say that the principle of compulsory manumission is now quite open before your Lordships. We understood we were confined to the point of this Ordinance.

(*Lord Bexley.*)—The principle of compulsory manumission, as affecting the property of the West India proprietors—it is to that point we wish to confine ourselves.

(*Mr. Adam.*)—Just so, my Lord. I have one witness in attendance upon your Lordships; perhaps it will be convenient I should call him.

(*Lord Bexley.*)—We are ready to hear any witnesses. We expected you to-day would conclude your evidence.

(*Mr. Adam.*)—So I should, my Lords, on the original view which I had of the case.

(*Lord Bexley.*)—I do not conceive we have enlarged the view; the practical principle of compulsory manumission, as affecting property, was the point in discussion, and I do not think it is the intention of the Council to enlarge that view of the subject.

(*Mr. Adam.*)—I make the reservation only in consequence of your Lordship having stated that the counsel on the other side were not bound to confine themselves to the terms of the Berbice Ordinance, and the effect that would have, by letting them in to present another mode of carrying it into effect; that might present a new view of the subject, one against which I should petition, for aught I know; unless a new view of the subject is presented, I have no wish to take up your Lordships time.

(*Lord Bexley.*)—If a new case should be presented, you will undoubtedly have a right to be heard against that. What I mean is, that the words of the Berbice Order vary from the Trinidad Order and the Demerara Regulations; but their Lordships intend them to confine themselves to that point which has been the subject of the whole discussion, namely, the principle of compulsory manumission by appraisement, as affecting the property of the West India proprietors.

Major Thomas Moody sworn.

Examined by *Mr. Hibbert.*

HAVE you resided in the colony of Berbice?—Yes, I have.

Major T. Moody.

How long have you resided there?—At different periods, I suppose, about seven years, in that and the neighbouring colony of Demerara.

How long is it since you quitted Berbice?—About seven or eight years ago.

While you were there, had you under your management any estates or Negroes?—The last time, when on half pay, I was there, I had the charge, as an attorney, of a very considerable property in Negroes and estates, amounting to about, perhaps, the tenth part of the whole colony, until the proprietors returned to the colony.

Have you heard the examinations of the gentlemen who have preceded you?—Some of them I have heard; some of them I have not.

Did you hear the examination of Mr. Macrae?—No, I did not hear the whole of it; I heard the latter part of it.

Did you hear the examination of Mr. Macdonnell?—I did hear the greatest part of it.

Major T. Moody. Have you read the Berbice Order?—I have.

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Are you prepared to state to their Lordships whether the principle of compensation contained in that Order will or will not afford a remuneration to the master, if a slave be emancipated?—It is rather difficult to understand the words of the Order, and there may be different interpretations put upon it; but in the meaning that I attach to the Order, I say it would not afford compensation to the master as a capitalist.

Supposing the Order to mean, that the master is to receive the market price for the Negro that is emancipated, do you think that will be an adequate compensation to him?—No, I do not.

Will you state why you do not think so?—As I am afraid I must go into some detail, on a subject rather complex, I hope your Lordships will pardon me if I do not do it with as much clearness as I could wish. The word “market price” is, I conceive, another term for the exchangeable value or price of an article offered for sale. There is another kind of value, commonly called value in use: water, which has a great value in use, has often none in exchange; a diamond, on the contrary, may have very little in use, but have a great value in exchange. In Berbice, for example, where there are no springs near the town, and where dry weather frequently renders the water brackish to a considerable distance up the river, this water is frequently sold for a market price; therefore, that which at some times is of no value in exchange, obtains that value from local circumstances. Things having value in use have at most times a value in exchange also, and in goods that value is commensurable; and at such times value in exchange, or market price, may fairly measure the value in use, as in the case of water. But it appears to me very wrong to associate market price of a slave with that of a material substance, like that of water.

Will you state in what you think the value of a slave in use is different from his value in exchange?—That arises from the manner in which slave labour is now conducted. It may have been conducted differently at a former period, when it was easy to replace slaves, and when they were obliged to use newly imported African slaves, who were extremely ignorant, and perhaps not accustomed to steady labour. But the manner in which slave labour was directed by myself, and I should say, in general, by other people in the country, was not merely to address ourselves to the physical exertions of the slave by force alone; for although that might produce a certain degree of physical exertion, it was necessary for the capitalist, as a master, to bring into action many mental qualities in the slave, which are represented in his skill, good-will, &c. all depending on the will of the slave himself, a matter entirely within the breast of the slave, and which force could not reach. After, therefore, a slave has been a long time accustomed to the kindness which a due regard to self-interest had created between him and his master, the slave who found by the favour his mental as well as bodily exertions gained, that he obtained advantages over other slaves (and which the master readily gave to the most deserving), readily rendered those mental and valuable services which could not be compelled by force. The value in use of individual slaves was communicated to the whole property, inasmuch as a better distribution of labour arose with goodwill to the master, and consequent interest in his prosperity; hence there was more skill employed in their labour, and the whole estate afforded a degree of profit comparatively greater than mere brute force ever could obtain. Now this value in use of the slave, which applies to a particular individual, with reference to the master and him, and which had been formed during a series of years, is lost when another person, who has not had this communication with the master, is brought to supply the place of one of whom the master is deprived. Whenever mind and goodwill are concerned, these inestimable acquirements cease to appear in that form which makes them commensurable, as portions of the whole property affected by them; they are incommensurable as portions, differing in this respect from ordinary goods. Water, when wanted, is a commensurable thing, and its value in exchange measures its value in use, as both are sold and bought together. When value in use consists of mind and goodwill, being, as portions of the whole, incommensurable, they cannot possibly be equitably appraised, more particularly they cannot be appraised by persons who can know nothing of their general effect as portions, which can only be guessed at by the proprietor himself.

Are

Are you to be understood to say, that you have found by experience that the moral qualities of a slave will be brought out when working for one master, and will not be brought out if he is working for another?—For a long time they will be dormant, because time and peculiar circumstances are necessary for their development in each case.

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Can you explain, practically, what the reasons are why a slave will not work as well for a new master as he did for the old?—Under the operation of the Berbice Order in Council, the slave, when he understands it, will have to look for an object which to him is desirable, viz. to be master of his own time, and to be free from the control of any other person. He will see, in proportion as he gives his exertions to a master, it does not forward the object which he has in view, of obtaining his own liberty; at least the generality of them will think so; because his new object will be got sooner by applying his will, his time, and his exertions to his own benefit. As regards his master, the slave will now have a direct interest in concealing his mental acquirements and skill. If the market price, or any other circumstance, was to regulate the expense at which he could obtain his freedom by his own exertions, in proportion as that expense rose he would be exposed to greater difficulties. A man in such a situation as I have described, working for himself in the raising of stock and poultry, and fruits and vegetables, and things of that kind, and also in oils, (for I know of persons who have made a great deal of money by selling castor oil), would direct his attention more to his own purpose; and it would be quite a subordinate consideration, any view of his master's interest, for he would now have the means of escaping from his master's service legally, whilst formerly he had no means of escaping from him, *invito Domino*. The slave formerly had, therefore, an object in pleasing his master, to whom he looked for all those means and facilities to obtain any object which he might have desired in his situation, and the master had an interest in making the slave content.

Do I understand you that a slave of the sort of which you have been speaking, has a considerable moral influence over the other slaves?—Undoubtedly, and it is a power which he applies to obtain that makes him valuable in use to his master.

Does it require time to give him that influence over the other slaves?—Yes, a great deal of time; and frequently it will be difficult for a slave to get it. If he comes into a new gang of slaves, opposing the influence of other persons on the estate, who would wish to have this power, but might not have the skill and talents of the man abstracted, in such cases they get quarrelling with each other, and the estate is not carried on in the same pleasant and profitable manner as where persons of the same habitudes and the same temper of mind are together, and have been long used to the power mutually exercised upon each other.

Are you able to say whether the master would be always able to obtain a substitute for a slave who was manumitted?—In some classes of slaves it would be very difficult; I do not conceive an opinion could be formed of it, unless all the circumstances affecting the supply of labour could be taken into consideration. On the first blush of the business, it appears to me very difficult, and in a weak-handed estate almost impossible, in some cases, without a loss to the proprietor, which I could not fairly or satisfactorily appraise.

Would it be difficult to find a substitute for one of the capital slaves you speak of?—Yes; where skill of a particular kind is required, such as a boiler for instance; that duty requires a great deal of tact, and, in fact, practical chemical knowledge, which in a slave can be learned only by experience and time; hence it would be a difficult thing to replace such a person. In the meantime, while the difficulty of replacing him exists, the injury to the master is not an object for accurate calculation, for this reason, a person who is in the habit of boiling the sugar must know the state of ripeness, &c. of the canes, and generally does know the quality of different fields, and will temper the cane-juice with lime accordingly, and resort to various other measures to enable him to boil it and skip it; that is to say, take it off at the time, so as to make it the best merchantable article of its kind; whilst an unwilling, or an inferior boiler, who has not those advantages, must naturally make a less merchantable article; and yet nobody can tell, during the preceding appraisement of the boiler to be abstracted from the estate, in what degree the greater or less value of the sugar exposed for sale will affect the master's profits on the whole concern, and therefore it cannot be appraised; for the injury that will take place is one to occur in future, after the slave's appraisement.

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Would a mere money price for such a slave be a sufficient compensation to the master?—When you say a money price, it would, if you give some sum less than the whole value of the estate; but I cannot comprehend how, on any fair, equitable principles, this money price or sum is to be equitably appraised beforehand.

If it is to be appraised at all, must not that money price comprehend the quantity of land which the master can no longer cultivate, in consequence of losing his slave?—Yes, certainly; but it is difficult, if not impossible, in many cases, beforehand, to know what that quantity of land will be, because we come to another difficulty, which it is impossible in my mind to overcome; and I think, having had as much experience in the control of labour as the people who would be employed to estimate such loss to the master, I would say, on my oath, I cannot appraise that matter. Other people may think they could appraise it, but I would call it only guessing; and, therefore, a very inadequate security to the possessor of such property.

Did you hear the statement made by Mr. M'Donnell yesterday, respecting the working of an estate of two hundred Negroes?—I did.

Can you give any explanation on that subject?—I have a general recollection of his argument; and in consequence of that I made a calculation, which must be so far imperfect, as it was limited to two hundred slaves, whereas the properties that I had the charge of might not have had that exact number; and also that I have made that calculation after a period of seven or eight years having elapsed since I left the colony. I think, however, it will not be far from the truth.

Of those two hundred Negroes, what number, in your opinion, would be effective labourers?—The general evidence has been one-third in these colonies.

Can you state, in round numbers, what you think would be the effective labourers on this estate?—In this case, if it was a third, that would be about sixty-six.

(*By a Lord.*)—Is a third about the proportion which you would judge from your own experience?—No; I would not say a third upon the estates under my charge. The ratio would depend on a variety of circumstances, varying in different estates and in different colonies. I know that there was an immense excess of African and grown people in Demerara. I will take the population of two colonies not very much differing from each other in amount; that of Barbadoes, where the people are chiefly Creoles, and that of Demerara, where a great majority of the people are Africans. The proportion of grown people in one case, that is, in Demerara, compared with the number of grown people in that of Barbadoes, (the population being in Barbadoes about 77,000, and of Demerara about 74,000,) is nearly as follows: in the ages between twenty and thirty years of age the excess is in favour of Barbadoes to the amount of 5,689; and in the still younger ages all the excess is in favour of Barbadoes; but between thirty and forty years of age the excess is in favour of Demerara, to the extent of 7,148; in the ages between forty and fifty the excess in Demerara is 7,310 persons. Now, what the number of working people were upon any estate would depend in a great measure on the number of Creoles on the estate. In that sort of population the proportionate number of working people might be less. When estates were stocked with Africans as labourers, it was the interest of the planters to purchase grown people, whose labour would be the soonest productive of profit to them; few children were imported; consequently in Demerara the proportion of working people on a plantation may be much greater than in Barbadoes; in some cases being one-third, and in some cases more, and in others less, where there are a great number of Creoles. I have not the documents to make a calculation of the properties under my own charge, and it would take a great deal of time to do it accurately for the whole colonies; but, for the purpose of illustration, I think it is not unfair to suppose that one-third would be the average in Demerara.

In your judgment one-third is the number generally effective on an estate?—Yes, but modified by all those circumstances already mentioned.

If out of those sixty-six Negroes then, a certain proportion were withdrawn, could the master go on with the cultivation of his estate?—A certain proportion of the effective slaves, being compulsorily removed from the estate, would prevent his carrying on a profitable cultivation.

What proportion?—I should think less than twenty; I understood Mr. M'Donnell to say twenty; but I should think, from my calculation, the capitalist would cease to

to cultivate with profit if a less number even were withdrawn from a certain part of the effective people.

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I do not ask whether the fixed capital of the estate left would be of any value, but whether the remaining Negroes and the fixed capital could be cultivated to any advantage?—I think they could not be cultivated to any advantage.

You mean that the master must give up the cultivation of that estate?—Certainly; the master must give up the cultivation of that estate in sugar, and I do not know to what else he could profitably turn it.

Then his loss would be the entire loss of the estate, less what his Negroes and his estate would sell for?—Yes, certainly; and that fixed capital in land would sell for very little. My reason for saying it would sell for very little, arises from a peculiar circumstance in Berbice and Demerara, which it may be desirable to explain to your Lordships. I cannot do it better than by reference to the table at which your Lordships sit. The soil of Demerara is lower than the level of high water mark from the sea, and if there were not dams in the front it would be overflowed, and be uninhabitable, and consequently uncultivable; it is necessary therefore, before one acre of ground can be put into cultivation, or made inhabitable, that a dam be thrown up on the front side against the water from the sea, and a dam at the back of it, against the water in the low and alluvial land that is formed all round it; a dam also must be thrown up on each side, to prevent the water that might come in from any neighbouring estate; therefore the whole lot of land, called a plantation, or an estate, is insulated, and surrounded by a bank or dam. Now banks made of earth, as is well known, particularly to persons in my profession, as an engineer officer, are soon deteriorated in a warm climate, where the rains are heavy, and the heat of the sun pulverizes the soil. I have a calculation to show the quantity of days labour that must be expended in taking in ten acres, before one thing is done in what we would call cultivation in England; but it is well understood in Holland. I have taken the average of three estates.

It is not necessary to go through the details?—The general result is, that before a foot of land is put into cultivation, an immense deal of labour must be expended in this kind of work, to make the place habitable; and when a reduction of labour takes place, the reduction of the labour must be from a certain quantity of land producing sugar, the most fertile of which is farthest from the sluice in general. It is necessary, therefore, that a certain and considerable portion of labour, producing no profit but with reference to the occupation and cultivation of the whole of the land, (the best of which is generally aback,) must take place in order for the capitalist even to inhabit the estate, without any profit.

I understand, from your evidence, that more effective hands are required at Demerara than in other colonies?—Yes, with reference to these circumstances; but the great fertility of the soil gives the capitalist a great advantage in the cultivation, as compared with poorer soils.

Are you enabled to state any reasons why the decrease of the population in Berbice has been so much greater than it has been elsewhere?—To the best of my knowledge the decrease in Berbice has not of late been great. I think that a late return rather puts it on the increase.

In Demerara?—In Demerara the decrease has been greater, for very obvious causes.

Will you state those causes?—I have shown that the majority of the people were Africans. The habits of the Africans, on their introduction into the colonies, were not favourable to the propagation of the race, from influence of habits of continence, and want of moral feeling, and consequent promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, which in a more improved state of society will lead to the increase of the population. A great number of these Africans also soon became past the age of child-bearing. A great number of them being imported at that time were advanced in years; and even those imported of late years from other islands were generally adults, and having been accustomed to a dry soil, when placed in an alluvial one, where intermitting fevers are prevalent, would become less effective, and less fit for the procreation of healthy children. The number of persons imported were also mostly males, because they were the most productive labourers. In proportion, however, as time shall equalize the sexes, and as Creoles are born, and the Africans

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Your attention has been very much directed to the subject of free labour?—Being employed by Government in a particular duty, in consequence of an unfortunate difference between my colleague and myself, it was directed to it more especially.

In more colonies than one?—I have been in every colony in the West Indies except Jamaica; I have never been there. The observations made were only those of a person looking to the value of the colonies to the parent state.

Do you think that the African, in his present state of civilization, would be likely to work in the field for wages?—Not such wages as the colonies could afford to give him.

Do you think any system of vagrant laws would induce him to work on a sugar plantation?—It becomes very difficult to say what will be the effect of a thing which has not been tried in the English colonies. It did not answer in those of France.

From your personal experience, do you think any system of vagrant laws would induce a free Negro to work on a sugar plantation?—It is very difficult to determine what is impossible; but if a system of vagrant laws produced that adequate degree of necessity which the free Negro in Berbice is not now under, it might do it; but the formation of a most coercive police for that purpose would be required, and be almost equal to an army. I cannot say what the effect would be; it would depend upon the effect of the police, which in Haiti has not been obtained, to enable their capitalists to compete with other nations less favourably situated as to soil for raising sugar.

The mere circumstance of his being obliged to pay rent for land would not, in your opinion, induce him to undertake steady labour on a sugar plantation?—If there was a great density of population, and he could get subsistence in no other way but from the land, I should suppose he would do it; but if the question is asked of me with reference to Berbice, I would say, decidedly not; because there is not that proportion there, between the population and the means of subsistence, which would have the effect of necessity on the free Negroes, to make them work as many days in the week for hire as would enable the capitalist profitably to raise sugar.

If by working for two days in the week he could get subsistence for the whole week, do you think he would work the other four days?—No, certainly not.

You mean in his present state of civilization?—Yes; that is to say, he will only work relatively to his wants: I understand the question as stating, that his wants would all be supplied by two days labour. He will work to the extent of supplying these wants, which being all relative, consequently beyond that he will not be under the stimulus of any necessity; at least I have never seen them do it, and I have seen them in different states of civilization in the West Indies. I have seen free Negroes accustomed to agriculture, to whom property was left, and whose mode of living was not beyond that of slave persons around them; whereas I have seen slave persons on the estate of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, where they were much superior in comfort and intelligence to the same class of people who had been manumitted, and had land and money given to them to make them comfortable; others who had land, but no money; yet in comforts, intelligence and industry, these free Negroes were inferior to the slaves on the estate of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

(*By a Lord.*)—On what island is that estate you refer to, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts?—In Barbadoes.

(*Mr. Hibbert.*)—When you speak of the system of police, you mean something very like compulsion?—Decided compulsion.

You have seen the Haytian Code, perhaps?—Yes, I have.

Do you mean compulsion similar to that you find in the Haytian Code?—I do not think the Haytian Code would induce the English Negro to work for such wages

as the capitalists can afford to give in a kind of cultivation like that of sugar; and I have the greatest doubts of its making the free people in Hayti work for wages, and enable the capitalists to produce sugar for sale in another country, upon equal terms with that raised by slave labour.

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It must be a compulsion more severe than that you find in the Haytian Code?—Yes, most assuredly, so as to obtain steady but moderate labour for the working days of the year, in making the soil productive, as well as the capital sunk thereon.

In Berbice or Demerara, can you state whether half a day's labour gives a Negro subsistence for the week?—I can state that the food of these persons will consist principally of plantains. On good land a man will cultivate about six acres, and that, when it is planted, will give food to the amount of, as I am enabled to say by the result of my calculations, of about 30,000 pounds weight of plantains. It is altogether impossible for one human stomach to consume the quantity of food he could raise.

How much labour a week must he give to that?—It supposes him to work throughout the whole year. The labour to obtain his mere food comes to a very small sum of exertion; but in other cases, where the land has been in long cultivation of plantains, the land produces less. I should say, if he worked one day in the week, he would have all kinds of subsistence which his habits at present, and the habits of similar persons around him, are likely to require. Two days, perhaps, will be better, as affording a full allowance of time. I should beg to explain, that in doubling it I do not conceive the capitalist can thereby more profitably carry on his plantation cultivation by free labour, for it must be made productive by six days labour in the week, if the capitalist is to enter into competition with other countries in the production of the same article. With the Berbice planter it is impossible that he can get his capital made productive with only two days labour in the week, when he has afterwards to take the article produced into competition in the market with the capitalist of another place, who can raise the same article, and for the same expense of subsistence to his labourer as wages, yet making his capital productive for five days in the week. The time during the year that the capital of the Berbice planter would be idle and unemployed would ruin him.

If it be a fact that task work is now on the increase in Berbice and Demerara, what would be the effect of compulsory manumission in increasing or diminishing that practice?—I should think the general effect would be, that it would enable the slaves, from the mode in which task work was conducted there, to obtain money to purchase their freedom sooner; and inasmuch as the master would not be fairly compensated by any plan I have seen for the loss of the labourer, that kind of labour would be discouraged. It is necessary for me to explain, that task work cannot be always used; it is only in certain occasions that it can be satisfactorily used. No person is more favourable to task work than I am; no person introduced and encouraged it more zealously than I did. As an officer of engineers I also introduced it, when directing the labour of both slaves and free people, and with a view to my own ease, I will honestly say; for when practicable it saves many disputes between the working labourer and the superintendent.

Do you think that task work is very favourable to the comfort of the Negroes?—Decidedly so; and it is the natural result, if not interrupted, by which the master and the slave will carry on their relations, from the comforts and satisfaction which both derive from it.

You think, if this Order should be carried into effect, task work must fall into disuse?—I should think so, in proportion as the master found himself injured by it; and as task work has been now generally introduced, a great deal of ill-will between the master and the slave will be the consequence.

Cross-examined by *Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet.*

With respect to the value of the slave in use, is not the value of the slave in use, to his master, the quantity of labour which that slave produces?—Not merely the quantity of labour which he individually produces, but the quantity of labour he causes in others, to be produced by his skill, and the effect which he has the power of making on others, by his influence in obtaining all these purposes in a cheerful and agreeable manner, instead of constantly applying to the power of coercion, which is retained in the hands of the master.

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Is not, then, the pecuniary value of a slave in use, the quantity of labour which he causes to be produced upon the estate?—Yes; and doing that in a manner agreeable and cheerful to all parties, with willing minds in the rest of the gang. These considerations enter materially into the business of profitably conducting an estate, by doing the work to be done both well and in a cheerful manner.

Do the willingness and the agreeableness constitute a part of the pecuniary value, beyond the labour which is caused to be produced by the slave through himself or others?—All that enters into the labour which is seen in the result of the labour of the whole gang.

Is not the value in use the quantity of labour that is caused to be produced by that slave to his master on the estate?—Yes.

Do I understand you to say, that you think that value is incapable of ascertainment?—The market price decidedly cannot be ascertained.

By market price, you mean the average sales in the market?—Yes, or what it would appear to any persons who have not the knowledge of the slave's value in use to a particular master, or who could have a knowledge of its value only by looking at the sinews, the age, the height, strength, and appearance of the man.

Supposing the persons appointed to value the slave to use all the means in their power, by inquiry and by examination, do you mean to represent that that value is incapable of ascertainment?—In the supposition put by the question, I mean to say, that I can conceive no possible way by which they are to attain it.

Suppose a valuable slave were maimed maliciously by a stranger, and the owner of that slave brought an action for the injury done, in order to recover compensation for the value of that slave, would it be at all an extraordinary question to be ascertained by any tribunal, what the value of that slave was to his master, and what he had lost?—It would be nothing extraordinary at all; it is a question perhaps of ordinary occurrence, and the people must guess; there is no data by which they can form an opinion; and I say, when the private property of individuals is affected in this manner, by a measure which the legislature may have contemplated, that to proceed by guessing at the injury done does not appear to me a practicable or a sound mode of proceeding in matters which regard the rights of private property.

Do I understand you to say, that you conceive the value of a slave that is lost to his master is one of those issues which is incapable of being tried by any human tribunal?—It is not only capable of being tried, but perhaps is tried; but those cases are of contingent and rare occurrence, and therefore a great mass of evil will not be done by such imperfect and rare valuations. That is a very different consideration to one which goes in detail to the general destruction of the whole property of the capitalists having slaves in a colony; the cases are not analogical in the case put.

When a slave is executed for a public offence, is it not at present the constant practice to ascertain the value of that slave in a court of justice, for the purpose of making a compensation to the master?—Yes; he is estimated, and precisely on the same principle, that it is a contingent and rare occurrence. They do not enter into the value respecting the proportion of profit the master has lost; they probably would only look at the value by the appearance of the man. Indeed, I believe the value of the slave, when he is executed, is fixed by law not to exceed a certain sum; I do not know that it is a matter of examination on each occasion, upon the principle assumed to be the case in the question put to me.

Are you enabled to state whether, in the case of the execution of a slave, the value is or is not appraised, or whether it is taken at a certain amount?—To the best of my belief it is fixed by law, and is not to exceed a certain sum.

If a person has a life interest in a slave, is he not at liberty at present, according to the regulations of the colony, to dispose of the whole interest in that slave, making a compensation to the reversioner?—It is very probable that such may be the case; but I do not know of any case that has come under my observation.

Do you not know that that right exists?—I cannot conceive by what table, or upon what data, such a reversionary interest, or such a life annuity, in Berbice, would be computed. In England I could make a calculation by reference to the Northampton, the Carlisle, or the Swedish tables; but this would be a computation into which matters must be introduced forming parts which are not the subject of
computation

computation in appraising the mental value in use of a slave's influence on the labour of himself and others, for his master's benefit.

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Is it not a recognized principle in the West Indies, that if a landholder sells a slave, the reversioner is to be reimbursed by certain means?—That, I conceive, is where he sells at his own discretion; and it does not apply to a sale *invito Domino*.

Is it not a principle, that the landholder is entitled to sell a slave, making a compensation in money to the reversioner?—The two individuals may agree; but I do not know of any mode of ascertaining what the value in use of the slave would be, if they do not agree. I would wish to represent, that I do not consider the supposititious case put to me as analogical to the case of compulsory manumission.

You state a part of the value of a slave in use to arise from the long habits of acquaintance between himself and his owner; do you consider the property in the West Indies as remarkably stationary, or does not it frequently change hands?—It does frequently change hands.

Does not it very frequently change hands, more frequently than property in this country?—I should conceive there is a part of West India property which frequently changes hands; many individuals go out desirous to realize a certain fund, and then return to their native country, and it is then sold, generally the whole of the plantations together.

You observed, that if the slave was entitled *invito Domino* to his emancipation, it would give an interest to the slave to conceal his own power?—Yes, in time it would produce that effect, as the slaves begin to understand it; the effect would not appear until they did understand it. It would appear, from the papers laid before Parliament, that they do not understand it at present.

If a master was fully compensated in money for all the labour which he was able to obtain for his slave by compulsion, do you think he would have any great reason to complain because he was not compensated for certain qualities in the slave that had never been discovered?—A question involving supposition, which is so improbable, I must answer in the affirmative. It is impossible, however, that the master and the slave can be together without his discovering those qualities, when seen in action.

Then, if those qualities were discovered, would they not be considered in the appraisement for compensation?—No; for they are incommensurable as mere parts of a whole; you cannot measure mind and will; you cannot say how much arises from will, and how much from coercion.

Then the value arises from the willingness to work?—And the skill.

Will not the willingness and the skill combined show itself in the labour produced by the slave?—Yes; that would be shown in the general result of the labour of the whole gang.

Then is not that a subject capable of being laid before those who are to appraise the value?—It may be laid before the people who are to appraise the value; but I can conceive of no possible ratio by which mind and matter, so employed, can be separated in an individual, with reference to the whole labour.

Will not the result show itself in the quantity of work produced?—I have stated that it will, in the combined result of the labour of the whole gang.

If the quantity of labour, then, is shown to the appraisers, and the slave is shown to be in as good health and in as good plight as he was at the time when that labour was produced, what difficulty would the appraisers have in making their estimates?—Because the result is not shown in the individual labour of one slave, but the result is shown in the general result of the labour of all the slaves on the property.

Can that take place without its being known to those on the estate?—I cannot conceive how the people on the estate can judge of it otherwise than in the general result. I cannot see how they can apply it to each slave; they can all judge of it in the general result, for the plantation books will show that, but they cannot do it in detail; they cannot set out and make an estimate showing the real value in action of those causes or properties of mind which I have said are not commensurable in detail, but only in the whole.

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Will not the common observation of those who are superintending the work lead them to ascertain whether the effects have been produced, which you are describing as likely to be produced?—I acknowledge they would see that in the general result, but I do not know how they could ascertain a fractional proportion of that to each slave; and if those people have no more information than I possess on the subject, they would be compelled to say, that they could not on their conscience appportion it upon satisfactory data.

Would they not be able to inform the appraiser, whether the slave who is the the subject of estimation is a willing or an unwilling workman?—As to the mere fact of willing or unwilling, how is that to be ascertained in many cases? I will suppose a very common case, which will arise very soon in any country where this is carried into effect, and where I myself know it was, in colonies where people had the privilege of purchasing themselves. I will suppose a person is an apprentice to a mason, a boiler, or such trades. Workman on estates speak of apprentices, because it is very common for the master of a slave on the estate to have young people placed under an older and more experienced person, who is considered as an apprentice, though they are all slaves. This young slave may be taught by his father or uncle; and in proportion to the value which he becomes of to the master, by the developement of those faculties which he possesses, his market price will be raised. This raising of the market price does not enable him to get his own freedom sooner under the Order in Council, but the contrary; because his freedom is frequently derived from money obtained by his labour at those times which the master allows him to work for himself in the raising of stock and provisions, &c.; therefore the young apprentice slave now will naturally hide those capacities which reside in his own breast, and he will direct such energies as he may possess to cultivate for himself, and to raise property, that he may be enabled to purchase his freedom, and that at the least expense, which, if he were a valuable and intelligent man, would be high, but if he be not, it will be low, and therefore he will depreciate his value as much as possible; and it is impossible for any person to say how far that result could be referred to one thing, and how much to another, because the whole relates to the mind of the slave, into which no appraiser can look to obtain satisfactory data for valuation under the clause.

Is that which you have been stating, that which you have seen actually to take place, or that which you apprehend will take place if the compulsory clause should pass?—Reasoning from the principles I have seen in the control of labour, they are the inferences I draw from my experience generally, and observations in different countries.

Do you mean to say that you have known instances in which persons have concealed their own good qualities for the purpose of depreciating their own value?—I have seen it in the official correspondence. In my own personal experience, so far as to persons working under me, I have not been in the way of forming a judgment, as the principle of compulsory manumission has been in action in Berbice only since I have left the West Indies.

If a sugar planter has the misfortune by death or accident to lose one of his valuable slaves, as, for instance, a boiler, or one of his carpenters, or among his field slaves a driver; in what way does he endeavour to replace him?—By encouraging the will, the talents, the exertions, and the good qualities of the other slaves belonging to him, he then preferring the most deserving.

If by sudden death or accident a principal slave in a particular department is taken away, what is the step the master takes immediately to replace him?—By endeavouring to instruct the next best workman he has, and by encouraging this young man to make himself fit for the situation.

Whom does he put in the place of this man?—The next best man he can get.

Then I suppose he endeavours to replace the deficiency of number by purchasing a more ordinary slave?—In many cases that would be done; but he would rather, I should suppose, look to the breeding of his people, and endeavour to raise Creoles.

In that case, if he was deprived of one of his best slaves, he would put in his place the person who was next to him in the same department, and either endeavour to supply the deficiency in number by breeding among Creole slaves, or, if he cannot do it among them, by purchasing an ordinary one?—Yes; that is the mode at present. I can see no other mode than one or other of these two.

Supposing

Supposing the value of the slave that he was deprived of to be capable of appraisal; if he received the whole value of that slave, and he purchased an ordinary slave, and put the difference in money in his pocket, would he be a pecuniary loser?—I think he would.

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How so?—Because, although he may receive a sum of money, which would be represented by the difference between the ordinary slave that he received, and the capable, skilful, and intelligent slave he had lost, he cannot employ that money productively upon the rest of his estate: because the rest of his estate, consisting of fixed capital and labour, can be brought into profitable employ only by labour, with a certain degree of skill, which labour, with a certain degree of skill, he is now deprived of; therefore, though a certain sum of money is put into his pocket, he has not the means of employing that productively. The next question would be, whether that money should be his or the mortgagee's, or some other person's, who would immediately enter into dispute with him to whom the money belonged.

If a slave owner and sugar planter is deprived of one of his best slaves, by death for instance, you say the ordinary course is to put in his place the person next in succession?—Yes.

For a time the person so coming in next in succession might, perhaps, not be capable of doing the same labour with equal skill and equal advantage to the one of whom he was deprived?—Just so; thereby causing a great loss to the master; but a loss which cannot be estimated.

My question assumes that that loss can be defined. If the master is compensated for that loss in money, and also receives enough to purchase an ordinary slave to supply the want of number, will he then be a loser?—Assuming the question as stated, which involves what I cannot comprehend, viz. that that which is incommensurable is to be measured, the supposition must be answered in the affirmative.

You have stated that you think that is not capable of appraisal; my question assumes it to be capable of appraisal?—And I answer it under that guard, lest I should be misunderstood.

You have stated that with reference to the instance that was mentioned yesterday, of an estate with two hundred Negroes upon it, the abstraction of less than twenty would prevent the working of that estate as a sugar plantation?—The profitable employment of capital upon that estate; those were the words, I think, which I used.

A person would hardly conceive to cultivate it unless he could make some profit?—Certainly not.

Would not that sugar plantation, at a certain loss, be capable of being reduced in proportion to the number of Negroes left upon it?—I endeavoured to explain, or was endeavouring to explain, the local peculiarities of Berbice, by which a certain quantity of labour must be expended before any attempt could be made upon cultivation; and when that period comes, it would be in vain for a man to keep a certain number of Negroes upon that estate less than would be required for the making the estate habitable, to prevent the effect of bad drainage, and irruptions from the sea. When matters come to this point, the capitalist will be on the verge of ruin, and could not profitably cultivate the estate, because he would not have labour to employ on sugar cultivation; with reference to the consideration that he must raise sugar whose value ultimately is to be measured by the value of the same article raised by other cultivators under more favourable circumstances.

Am I to understand that two hundred Negroes is the least with which any sugar plantation can be cultivated in Demerara?—Certainly not; it may be cultivated with a smaller number.

If a sugar plantation may be cultivated with a smaller number than two hundred, and twenty are withdrawn, how does it happen that it cannot still be cultivated as a sugar plantation, at a certain loss?—Because when you set out on the cultivation of your estate, you drain it, embank it, and dam it, with the reference to the strength you have at the time; and if a man has only fifty Negroes, although he could scarcely cultivate sugar profitably, I should think it is quite possible that he might have a little mill, and a narrow façade, and a small ground; but that could not be done with reference to a much smaller estate than this supposed small one, because he would have the same dams and canals, &c. to keep up. When a capitalist with two hundred Negroes had established

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established himself, his subdivision of labour then would be with reference to that number; on reducing the gang a new subdivision of labour must be to be made; and by analogy, as you cannot reduce certain kinds of labour as you reduce your gang, the same evils would take place. It would not be likely that a man with a small gang would cultivate sugar in Demerara.

Do you mean that a sugar plantation must always remain at the same size?—I say it is impossible it should be reduced without great loss; and it comes to a loss so soon as you cannot cultivate sugar; and yet must keep up your dams, drains, &c. intended for a larger gang.

If that loss is compensated to the owner, cannot he carry on his business on a reduced scale?—Below a certain point he cannot do it to a profit; but the extent will depend on a variety of circumstances.

Is that one of those things which is incapable of being ascertained by appraisement?—It can be ascertained for the whole result very easily; but it is impossible to make any computation on one slave being withdrawn, although the whole result may perhaps be calculated very easily.

The loss of those twenty slaves?—No; the loss of the whole.

Suppose twenty slaves were taken away by the wrongful act of a stranger, or that they died, as was put yesterday, by an epidemic disease, would it be impossible to ascertain the loss sustained by the owner?—The man would be ruined; but I cannot say what the loss in money would be; but upon his own books he would stand as unable to make any profit; by continuing cultivation he would be minus.

How much minus?—The amount would be of very little consequence to him if he could not carry on his cultivation. If he before got a certain profit, and if he gets none now, it may be estimated with reference to a number of years back. It would be easy to calculate it with reference to the whole of the estate, but not with reference to any individual slave on the estate; you must be informed of the relative numbers and various qualities of all on the estate. There are various elements which must enter into the computation, and you obtain a result on the whole.

Can you state within what length of time you think it likely the compulsory clauses will come into operation, so as to produce any immediate effect on the interest of the owners?—The moment that a capitalist loses the services of a Negro whose value in use was greater than the value of the market price to which the slave would be appraised, that moment it would become injurious; it might be not immediately on one estate, and be immediately on another.

Within what period of time do you think it probable that any considerable number of Negroes will be emancipated under this clause?—As a question of probability I cannot give an answer which would be satisfactory to myself, speaking on oath.

Can you give any estimate, for the information of their Lordships, of the number, in population of 77,000 Negroes now in Demerara, likely to be emancipated under this clause?—It would depend much on the judgment that the people themselves form; one class of slaves in Berbice, they are very glad of it; another, say the official reports to the governor, cannot understand it; another reports to the governor that they had nothing to say about it. It is impossible for me to form an opinion on so imperfect data.

Have you any reason to believe its operation would be early?—In some cases I think it would be very early, when the people understand it.

Do you think it would be to any considerable extent?—That would depend on the efforts of the people to free themselves, which I cannot foresee.

How soon do you think a field Negro, who at present possesses nothing, would attain the means of freeing himself?—That would depend upon the price which the purchaser fixed upon him. I have known a Negro make 10*l.* a year and upwards; but that man I consider a very industrious man; others, I have heard, make much beyond that: but 5*l.* I should say was common to the heads of families. It should be observed that the Negroes live in families upon the estates; a man is employing his wife and his children in raising a variety of little articles for sale or his own comfort; such a man, by the aid of all his family working for him, might be able, in a very short time, to obtain wherewithal to purchase his freedom; but a man working solitarily

tarily by himself would take a much longer time ; but if they were to work with this view, it is possible it might be much shorter than I can state to your Lordships on any data I could give.

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But according to your judgment, from your experience of the Negroes, you consider the accumulation of 10%. as a large sum for the year?—For one man ; but if he has the assistance of his family it would be greater in many cases.

You think by the combined efforts of a whole family they might accumulate as much as 18%. perhaps?—If he was bent upon it, and had the means of his market. I have known where a man has done great things. I knew a man who planted ginger (it was not then at its present price), and he made upwards of 30%.

That is an extraordinary case?—Yes, it was.

Supposing the accumulations of a whole family to be applied to the purpose of emancipating the head of the family, leaving all the rest of the family in slavery ; do you think, supposing he started with nothing at present, that he could obtain his freedom in less than eight or ten years?—Yes, I should think he could ; but in the case of his having nothing at present (there is, I believe, scarcely a case of that kind), I should suppose eight or ten years might be the time, after he understood the Order, and was inclined to benefit by it.

Do you think it at all probable that any considerable number of Negroes would obtain their emancipation under this clause in less than that time ; any considerable proportion of the 70,000?—I really cannot say ; but I dare say there would be a considerable proportion when they begin to understand it. I cannot say how long they will be before they understand it, for it appears to me they do not understand it at present, and therefore I cannot give an opinion when I have no data. I trust therefore your Lordships will pardon me for not giving an opinion when I have not data ; if I could satisfactorily form an opinion, I would give not only it, but the data upon which I found it. Whoever gives an opinion, unless he gives the data or reasons on which it is founded, gives nothing.

With respect to the present accumulations of the Negroes, do you think they are in general in the habit of accumulating, or in the habit of spending what they acquire by their extra hours?—I think that they both accumulate and spend. They must accumulate a considerable sum of money, in order to have the means of purchasing what they use. It is impossible to see a Negro funeral or a Negro marriage, or dance, or their feasts, or even their attendance at churches and chapels in the West Indies, without seeing that they must spend considerably, according to their circumstances.

In their present state they have what you call artificial wants?—Certainly, to a certain point ; and I am happy to say that those artificial wants have been, I think, increased within the period of my acquaintance with the West Indies.

Those artificial wants operate as a stimulus to them to exert themselves for the accumulation of property?—Yes, certainly ; and from the motive arising from the enjoyment of these wants being gratified, whatever it may be, arises a certain degree of labour, voluntarily undertaken by the slaves.

I think you say that you do not think that emancipated slaves would work upon a sugar plantation for such wages as the capitalists could afford to give?—Yes, that is my opinion.

But supposing larger wages were given, do you not think that such wages might operate as an inducement to them to work upon such plantation?—In the supposition that the planters will give larger wages than they can afford, I cannot say what would be the result ; for it is a thing never likely to happen, and which no man, I think, could have foreseen.

If the sugar planter received, by way of compensation, a sum of money sufficient to enable him to pay these extra wages, having the same profit that he had before, do you not then think that the emancipated Negroes might be induced to work on the plantation?—No, not steadily, affording such labour on sugar cultivation as the capitalists would require, because the sugar cultivation may be represented as a garden cultivation ; the coffee may be represented as an orchard cultivation ; but in the business of a sugar cultivation there is a constant demand for labour, though less, of course, at one time than another. At the time when much exertion is

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required, such as planting when the seasons are favourable, and taking off the crop when the seasons are unfavourable, then comes the period when you absolutely require and must have a certain degree of exertion, which amounts, perhaps, to the same exertion that is given in the harvest in England, at a time when it is difficult to save the harvest. It is at that time that the free person in sugar cultivation cannot with certainty be induced to work for the capitalist, from the low relative wants which he and those around him have; and those wants now are, and are likely to be for many years, so low as to be gratified by the means of his own exertions, free from control, during two days in the week. What then is to tempt them to give that steady industry which the sugar planter absolutely requires to carry on his business? The case supposes wages will induce the free Negro to do this; but the case supposes that which has never yet been seen in the lowlands of the torrid zone, where the state of population is low, with relation to the capital which could employ the population, and the extent of fertile soil enables an individual to support himself in the easiest manner, without depending on the capitalists for wages. I believe from the first settlement of America till the present day, no case can be found such as is supposed; and therefore, when no case can be found, and with all the pains and care with which I have investigated the subject, I am obliged to come to a conclusion which is contrary to my wishes, I am led to the conclusion that the free Negroes will not work so steadily as the sugar capitalist would require on his estate.

Do you happen to know whether in the island of Java, Batavia for instance, which is in the same degree of south latitude as Demerara is in the north, free persons are employed on sugar plantations?—Yes; but I do not know, nor has it ever been fairly stated, what are the relative wants of the working population, or the ratio of wealth to employ that population, as compared with that of Demerara; nor what are the effects of the institution of caste, or of local government, or of any other power of coercion producing the obligation to labour there for wages; and, above all, we have no fair statement of what is the rate of profit to the capitalist, or what capital is invested in sugar cultivation, under certain alleged circumstances.

Supposing the colony, instead of being contiguous to a large quantity of uncultivated land, was an island of which all the land was already occupied, do you think in such case there would be a probability and hope of free Negroes working on a sugar plantation?—Certainly they would, if you take into consideration that this supposes that the population is to be so dense, and the capital to be in that ratio with its population, that the slave, or the Negro, now free, cannot subsist but by the labour that he is to give to the capitalist under the pressure of necessity, as in England; and for the wages that he gets the capitalists can afford to employ him, and yet get a profit on stock. When such a case arises from density of population, &c. the Negro's instruction, and a variety of circumstances, (and in case of an island, as is put, from whence they cannot escape from the pressure of necessity), I can conceive of no difficulty in the cultivation of sugar by free labour.

Do you happen to know an instance of wages held out as an inducement to those who have been employed as field Negroes to work after they have been emancipated, on the same plantation where they had been before employed?—I have no knowledge from my personal experience, but I have the most perfect knowledge from the documents laid before Parliament, and from facts which I believe to be true.

The question applies to your personal experience; do you happen to know of any considerable number of field Negroes that have been emancipated?—Yes, I do.

Immediately from the field?—Immediately from the field.

Without having been previously for any length of time engaged in domestic employments?—I cannot say that I know a great number; but I knew, when I was in Tortola, three parties of people who had been emancipated, all of whom had been field people, except one or two who had been domestics.

Is that a common thing?—No, it is not. The result of those people's emancipation I investigated, and which is in a public Report of mine, which has been much misrepresented by some persons.

Are not a great part of the emancipated Negroes in the West Indies those who have been employed in domestic occupations?—Yes, I should think so, decidedly; sometimes tradesmen, and those people who have been domestics.

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They have obtained their emancipation from having ingratiated themselves with their employers?—Yes, but in the colony of Demerara there are a considerable number who have obtained their freedom who were field Negroes, belonging to the West India Company, &c. and who now live on the banks of the Essequibo as free Negroes.

They hold land?—Yes. The result is, that they only split a few shingles, which they send for sale, with other things of the kind already alluded to as being raised by slaves for themselves.

Do you not find among those free Negroes who have been employed in domestic occupations, and then emancipated, that they work as artizans?—Yes, but few domestics afterwards work as artizans.

And exhibit considerable industry?—Yes; many of them do; I had many of those who had been brought up to trades under my own direction and care, both in the public works and when I had the charge of other persons property; but there was very little steady personal labour from those persons; it was more occasional work, and in the direction of the labour of others. It was not so much for the labour they exercised themselves, as the skill with which they directed the labour of others on public works, where people were gathered from all quarters. There was a very valuable man in this very colony of Berbice, of the name of Jack, who was under me, as a tradesman of a coffee estate.

They were persons of skill?—Yes; I was always delighted to encourage persons of that class, whenever I had it in my power.

Is not the task work that is imposed upon a slave formed upon an average of that labour which he would perform if he were not tasked?—Yes, I think it is generally rather under, because if the slave was called upon to go to the full extent, I do not think he would give it all the attention which would be required. I know, in the engineer's department, we used to make a calculation of what is done by trench work; and when I had similar work to give to slaves, I never thought of giving them the same quantity as the soldiers in Europe did, and if I had I knew they would not do it well.

If a slave is employed day by day, must there not be opportunities for his relaxation?—Decidedly; and when he works task work he obtains it in the way most agreeable to himself. It is just one of those cases which I was so desirous of encouraging; it brought in his will and his mind, and all those good feelings which made him a good servant, so far as doing his moderate labour cheerfully.

Do you not think that the quantity of labour required from a slave, in the case of task work, is as much as the master can in justice require of him?—I do not know that it is; there are many circumstances which cannot be estimated. In picking of coffee, or in the picking of cotton, it is impossible to make a correct estimate how much to expect of them; so that those who bring home most get a reward, and those least, if idleness be proved, are often punished.

Before you set a task to a slave, do you not endeavour to form some estimate?—Yes; but the manner in which that task is executed is very different; sometimes it is so badly done that nothing but the great facilities, and the great comfort of getting the thing done by task work, would induce the master to submit to it; but when it is well done, it is very comfortable to all parties.

Is not the task allotted to a slave as much as in fair justice the master would be entitled to expect of him?—Certainly, in general.

If a master should be induced, in order to prevent a slave accumulating any money, to prevent his working by task work, and exact a greater portion of it, do you not think that would be a great act of injustice?—I do think that it would.

Re-examined by *Mr. Hibbert.*

Under such circumstances, would a master exact a greater portion of work from the slave, or keep him at work a longer time?—If he wished to prevent a man getting

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getting his liberty, he would not exact a greater quantity of work, but make that man's time be so occupied in doing that quantity of work, that it would be impossible for the man to avail himself of the extra time.

He would prevent the slave doing his own work?—Yes.

You say it is not common to emancipate field Negroes, and that experience has shown, that field Negroes when emancipated will not work; do you believe that if it were shown that they would work, more would be emancipated?—Most decidedly; if they would work for the wages a planter could afford to give, I cannot conceive any man who would not emancipate all he had.

It is the idleness of the field Negroes which induces them not to think of it?—How they come to their conclusions I cannot say, but it is the fact, that they do not work steadily for such wages as could be afforded.

You say if the planter was to receive, in compensation, a sufficient sum of money to enable him to procure a Negro to work for wages, that the planter would not sustain any loss?—If the man would work for wages, and work as well as the man who worked from another cause, he would sustain no loss; but that is a supposititious case, which I cannot think will happen.

In order to give the planter a sufficient sum of money to procure a Negro to work at wages, would it be necessary to fix a sum so large, that this law must become entirely inoperative?—What would make the law inoperative I cannot say; but certainly it must be an enormous sum which would induce a man to work, if it is to compensate him for giving up the pleasure of repose. I can conceive it must be a large sum, though I cannot say how much.

Is it such a sum as you think a Negro could readily obtain?—I think he could not readily obtain it, if it was founded on the real loss the master sustained, being measured by the market price of the slave.

Suppose that this law was to pass, and was nevertheless to be inoperative, do you think the planter would sustain any loss?—Most decidedly; for the master and the gang would be placed in opposition to each other, who are now working, or at least were, when I was there, with tranquillity and happiness. I never had a complaint made of me, to any magistrate, by any slave under my charge, in any situation.

If this law should pass, and be inoperative, will it, or will it not, excite discontent among the Negroes?—Most decidedly it will excite discontent as soon as they begin to understand it.

If they find it is inoperative?—Yes; I do not know how they do understand it now; and if they do not understand it, no discontent may be produced.

You say, if twenty Negroes were abstracted from an estate of two hundred Negroes, the estate could not be cultivated to a profit with the remainder?—Yes; that is, supposing the one third of two hundred to be sixty-six, and that number to represent the effective part, which I can make only as a supposition; then, under these circumstances, I think the abstraction of twenty, or less, will render it impossible to cultivate the sugar estate with profit in Berbice.

When you say that the estate could not be cultivated, you mean that identical estate?—Of course, and particularly with reference to dams and drainage.

The remaining Negroes might be transferred elsewhere?—Certainly.

Would that occasion a considerable loss to the master?—Under the present operation of the Order in Council, it would; because no person would purchase slaves now, of which he has a very different tenure from that which he had before, considered in connection with his other capital; and as the master selling the slave could only get the price others would give, the result must be a great loss to him, from general depreciation of property from an altered tenure.

If the master was obliged to contract the cultivation of his estate, and proceed with the hundred and forty remaining Negroes, would he then sustain a considerable loss?—A very great loss.

Can you inform their Lordships with how small a gang of Negroes it is considered profitable to work any estate?—No, I cannot; but I can inform their Lordships that there is a certain portion of any estate, however small the estate may be, that

must be employed in labour, that is, merely to make the estate habitable, that cannot be considered productive; therefore, when you go beyond that point, there is no profit.

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Does that apply to other places as well as Demerara?—No, I do not think it does to the same extent. I made calculations for Trinidad and Demerara, and different colonies, and it does not apply there to the same extent.

You say that a cultivation with fewer than fifty Negroes would not be productive?—Yes; but I am speaking from uncertain data at present; if the estate consisted of a reef, it would not require so many, perhaps; so that it requires a great deal of modification. And on the subjects upon which I have been examined I feel myself scarcely able to answer some questions here, to which in the colony, with proper opportunities, I could have given much more satisfactory answers; but at this distance it is impossible, in my opinion, to investigate the matter fully. It must be done on the spot.

It occurs, at present, that actions are brought in the courts of law, in order to recover damages for a Negro slave who may have been killed or injured?—I believe it may be so. I confess I never brought or conducted an action of the kind myself; and the case never having occurred to my knowledge, I cannot speak decidedly respecting it.

Supposing that fact to be so, what are the means by which the value of the Negro is ascertained?—I suppose it must be by some idea of appraisement as to his market price, from the appearance of the man. I do not know how they can appraise the man satisfactorily.

Do you conceive such an appraisement in a court of law is very satisfactory to the proprietor?—No; I should conceive it must be mere guess-work.

Will not the planter be very materially injured, if that frequently occurs?—Yes; it will expose his whole property to the judgment of two persons appointed by others, if done as the Berbice Ordinance directs, with only one appointed by himself. I can conceive of no security of private property under such circumstances.

It may happen that the life-interest in a Negro is sold?—It may be so.

Does it not in that case depend upon the person who has the life-interest in the Negro, what price he will take for him?—Certainly; it is a mutual contract between the two.

Did you mean to state to their Lordships, that the owner of a Negro is not himself a judge what the value of him is?—The owner himself must judge with reference to the whole of his gang and capital; but I have a doubt even if the owner of a slave has satisfactory data to form his opinion of the value of an individual in use; but he comes to a guess, and he is likely to be more certain in his guess than those who do not know all the circumstances of the case, that can only be known to him, in many cases. He takes a great number of other circumstances into consideration respecting other slaves; and it is from the whole, and the relation of his value to the whole, he makes his estimate, in which nobody is injured, if he deceives himself in an ideal valuation of one of his own slaves, as other persons then will not buy.

The appraiser must depend entirely on the information he receives from the owner or his servant, to acquire a knowledge of the value of the slave?—If they give the nearest guess they can, I should apprehend that must be their best way of doing it. The master would have a temptation probably to raise it higher than he ought; but I do not know any body else who can know any thing about it in a great many cases.

Examined by the Lords.

You were understood to admit, that if slaves were made free, and would execute a day's labour, there would be no pretext for compensation on the part of the planter?—Certainly not, if they worked steadily, during the year, for such wages as the capitalist could afford to give.

Therefore the difficulty attending the execution of these manumission clauses would be materially effected by the experience, which would show whether slaves would work when emancipated?—I think experience has shown that.

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You think that no combination of circumstances can so far affect the future as to alter, at any period, the elements on which an opinion may be now formed?—No, I do not admit that; for I have said, that if there was a density of population, &c. in a variety of cases which I then stated, the time might arrive when free labour might be brought to cultivate sugar. As I understood the question, the admission I made was with reference to Berbice; and I conceive that involving a case quite impossible, within such a distant period of time that I cannot contemplate it upon any satisfactory data.

With respect to Berbice, you consider that no possible circumstances you can contemplate will ever make it probable that free labour will supersede at all the purposes now executed by slave labour?—No. It must be by a combination of coercion with capital. Whether it is to be called slave labour, I will not say, but there must be coercion amounting to a strong necessity. When density of population, &c. may make coercion unnecessary, I cannot say. And when I was asked a question bearing on the subject of the police arrangement, I answered that I could not conceive what that police would be.

Under that view of the case, if equitable compensation were given to the planter for his property, there would be no injustice done?—If all his property were purchased.

As free labour appears to you out of the question, if equitable compensation was given to the planter for his property, then, as his slaves are abstracted from him, you think no injury would be done?—I have stated, that I think no injury would be done if that thing was possible; but I have also stated, that I could not consider that to be possible.

You mean, that under the working of the manumission clauses it is impossible to give a planter equitable compensation, in your opinion?—Yes; and that therefore the interests of private property would not be attended to.

One of the principles on which you found that, is the principle of the appraiser assessing this moral qualities of a slave; that is to say, his qualities independently of physical qualities, which make him more valuable?—Yes; but then his moral and physical qualities assist one another; and it is in consequence of his moral qualities that the physical qualities become more valuable; they combine not only in the individual, but in the whole gang, in the result; and the difficulty I have, is the separating that which is incommensurable. How can I find a ratio between the parts of that which I cannot measure in parts, but only as a whole? I can measure the whole, but I cannot measure the parts with reference to each other.

You have said, generally speaking, in the mere abstract terms, there is an impossibility of valuing mind, as compared with matter?—Yes, when worked up in the manner I have stated.

Would you admit that the argument is as good in the case of paying for services by means of wages, as it would be for paying for the individual; if there be difficulty in the one, would there not be equal difficulty in the other? If you cannot put a fee simple value on property depending on combinations of mind and matter, can you put an annual value on the services?—You might put an annual value on the services of the whole; you cannot for the individual, with reference to some whole of which he is an indispensable part, without data, and that data I cannot conceive.

If it be impossible to assess the damage that is the value of the slave to his master, it would be equally impossible to pay the master an annuity which would represent that damage?—Certainly.

Do you not admit that the most common thing in the world is, that certain artisans receive wages in proportion to their skill and their capacity of superintending others, and all their various qualities of mind involved in their duties?—Certainly.

In the infancy of cookery, should you suppose it would have been possible to supply data that would make one cook receive 80*l.* a year, while another received 40*l.*?—In the infancy of society, that data could not be formed.

Do you think that there is any practical difficulty in securing valuable services in that department, at a high price, while others are paid at an inferior rate?—When the experience has arisen by which a good cook is actually in existence, you see not only what his mind will be, but you have the result before you; in other words, you taste it; you can appreciate that: but it is not the case in appraising the Negro slave. Indeed, few persons who could afford a cook worth 80*l.* a year would think themselves

themselves fairly treated in his being abstracted, and one worth 40*l.* put in his place, even with the difference in money.

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Supposing it were admitted that at the present day (which no one hesitates to admit in the slightest degree), if you were to take away twenty slaves on an estate, and the remainder were left, on the data now existing it would be perfectly impossible for any appraiser, however ingenious, to assess the compensation to be involved under such subtraction, does it follow at all that at that distant period, when such a state of things shall arise under the operation of these clauses, that precisely the very same character and circumstances which apply in the analogy of cookery would not apply in the analogy of slavery?—I think it is a very difficult thing to reason on this question by analogies, because I can only come to sound opinions by inductions from facts. I think, if I were to examine this supposed analogy of the cook, I could show your Lordships that it does not apply; but without entering fully into the correctness of the analogy it is impossible I can reason upon it.

You are understood to have admitted in evidence that at present there is no difficulty with respect to assessing portions of value, because there will be slaves forthcoming, for a certain time, to replace slaves who may, under the slow process of this order, manumit themselves?—I have stated that there is a great difficulty in assessing, where a valuation of mind enters into it.

You will not object to this as a term, “the appraisers to find an equivalent slave?”—I say they could not do it, from that circumstance connected with mind.

You are of opinion, that supposing the Order simply directed this, and nothing more, that the slave should produce, as in the Militia for instance, as a substitute, a slave, which slave the appraiser should conceive to be an equivalent slave, that would be a compensation?—It would be merely guess-work, and the result an injury, increasing in proportion as the effective gang of the proprietor was decreased, till at last the capitalist would be ruined, although it may be said, We have taken away all your slaves, but we have given you the market price for them.

Your evidence goes to this, that these clauses would fail in the very first instance?—That they would fail in justice, but to a smaller degree.

Your doctrine is, that the appraiser cannot, with any degree of conclusiveness, assess the compensation?—Certainly; only, that when he began to guess with a fund at his back, he might be less liable to injure the proprietor; but it would be a mere guessing business.

Supposing that the market price of sugar, that is, the produce involved in this subject, was affected by any alteration of duty or increase of protection elsewhere, or any conceivable cause, you would not for a moment argue that that was a cause of compensation?—No, certainly not; barring the words “conceivable cause.”

Then the whole results to this, that it is a forcible taking away the machinery by which the planter cultivates his estate?—Yes.

And as the first transaction must be an equivalent slave, or the market price which will command an equivalent slave, you think these manumission clauses are at once inoperative, inasmuch as that may fail?—Yes; I say that the market price does not give the value to the master, and that there is injustice the moment there is a difference between the two terms of market price and value in use.

[The Witness withdrew.]

Mr. Adam stated, that he had closed his evidence, unless, on looking through the Minutes, it should appear that there were any points not satisfactorily proved; in which case he would be prepared to adduce that further evidence on the same day on which Mr. Hibbert was heard, and would sum up the evidence after the same should have been printed.

[The Counsel were directed to withdraw.]

[Adjourned to Friday se’nnight at eleven o’clock.]

SLAVES:
Berbice and Demerara.

Minutes of Evidence

Taken before HIS MAJESTY'S Privy Council,
in the matter of the *Berbice and Demerara*
MANUMISSION ORDER IN COUNCIL:—
November 1827.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
18 April 1828.
