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## II.

## S L A V E T R A D E.

(In continuation of the Paper No. 462, ordered to be printed 12 June 1827.)

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RETURN to an Address of The Honourable House of Commons,  
dated 12th March 1827;—for

COPY of any further REPORTS made to His Majesty's Government by *Thomas Moody*, Esq. and *John Dougan*, Esq. or either of them, or by any other Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the Slaves, condemned to the Crown, in the different Colonies belonging to His Majesty, under the Acts abolishing the Slave Trade.

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## CAPTURED NEGROES AT TORTOLA.

Mr. *Dougan's* further Report,—and  
Major *Moody's* Remarks thereon.

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Colonial Department,  
Downing-street, 11th July 1828. }

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Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,  
12 July 1828.

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## SLAVE TRADE: PAPERS RELATING TO

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR G. MURRAY, G. C. B.  
PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR AND COLONIES.

23, Bolton-street, 7th July 1828.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to refer you to the Parliamentary Paper, N° 462, which was ordered to be printed by the House of Commons on the 12th June 1827, in the last page of which it was promised that the continuation of these Papers would be presented this Session.

The former Parliamentary Paper, N° 462, contained three Documents; the other Papers therein alluded to, and now transmitted, are—

N° IV.—With an explanatory Paper, marked N° 4, by the late Mr. Dougan.

N° V.—And

N° VI.—With the special Case of the African Apprentice, Adeline Ejogo, marked N° 5, by the late Mr. Dougan.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

(signed) *Thomas Moody,*  
late Commissioner for inquiring into the  
State of Captured Negroes.

N<sup>o</sup> IV.*Mr. Dougan.**Major Moody's Remarks in  
Explanation.*

REMARKS on the Testimony of Mr. Crabbe, Mr. Isaacs, and others.

MY Colleague in vol. 2, p. 60, says, "I fear I have been very tedious in showing that the labour of the African apprentices, as free people, is not valued." To prove this, he attempts in the first instance to show the miserable situation in which the Africans were at the time of condemnation; which obliged the collector to extend the period of apprenticeship to fourteen years: That the higher *classes* of society at Tortola declined taking any of them; and that they fell into the hands of masters and mistresses as poor as themselves.

could not show that the facts had been incorrectly stated; for the letter of the collector, the Minutes of the 19th November 1822, the number of negroes offered to be given up, &c. could not be, and have not been, denied. Mr. Dougan therefore, to serve his views, is pleased to misrepresent Major Moody's argument. For this purpose, he confines himself to such other facts as appear the best to suit his purpose; and represents Major Moody as saying, with respect to the captured negroes being taken as apprentices, "that the higher *classes* of Tortola declined taking ANY of them." This assertion is not to be found in Major Moody's Reports, and apparently has been thus made without regard to *truth* or *fairness*, merely to be contrasted with Mr. Dougan's proofs, that SOME of the higher classes had in the first instance applied for apprentices, and had subsequently kept them: a fact in no degree invalidating Major Moody's assertion, "that the labour of the African apprentices, *as free persons*, is not much valued in Tortola, by the masters who are now under no obligations to *hire* them." Mr. Dougan's position would have been proved, if the liberated Africans, "*as free persons*," had been found to be working *steadily* for such wages as the capitalist could afford to give. This proof Mr. Dougan has not given, and could not give; for it is well known at this moment, that the Treasury of Great Britain, whether wisely or not, now supports captured negroes in a country, where any man able to work, and inclined to work moderately, and as *steadily* as an English labourer does, during the year, may not only support himself, but save money by agricultural labour.

A discussion on the spot to this effect would have brought the question to an issue. Major Moody contends that this may be done, if the free negro will give his moderate exertion as *steadily* as an English labourer is obliged to do in return for wages, such as the capitalist in Tortola, as in England, can afford to give.

Mr. Dougan avoids the facts on which the question turns, and directs the attention of Lord Bathurst to other matters; for example, he shows that, at the first apprenticing of the captured negroes, two poor black men could not get apprentices; but it appears that they obtained them afterwards. This circumstance, or that of some capitalists in the first instance applying for apprentices, does not disprove Major Moody's assertion, being applicable to a later period when the investigation really was made, and when the value of the labour had been ascertained by experience; and it was with relation to this later period that the Commissioners were called upon to report.

Even in the early period, Major Moody showed that soon after the apprenticing of these persons, the masters of 537 captured negroes were ready to give up the whole, or any part, to the Crown, but that only 17 were accepted. The indentures secured the services of these captured negroes, as apprentices, to the masters, and therefore the surrender of any, was entirely voluntary on the part of the masters. For the selection, a board of officers was appointed; after which the late Lieutenant-general Sir James Leith ordered some to be taken for the service, and they were readily given up by their masters. This fact affords a strong proof of the low estimation of the value of such labourers at first by the masters, *even after a short trial*; but they were obliged by their indentures to keep them, whether the labour of the people

was

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*Major Moody's Remarks.*

was valuable or not, unless the collector should release them. This circumstance Mr. Dougan carefully suppresses in all his statements as to that class of society, whose wealth enabled them to hire servants from their own funds. Those masters *without funds*, who never would have had a servant, if these apprentices had not been given to them, Mr. Dougan contrives to confound with the richer masters; whereas an important distinction exists,—the richer master could afford to hire the captured negroes at the termination of their apprenticeships, when they became altogether “free persons,” and thus prevent their “being chargeable or dangerous to the community of which they form part,” as specifically required by the Act of Parliament. The poor masters, on the contrary, who, having no funds, never had a hired servant, were not likely to be better able to hire the apprentices at the end of their indentures; and hence the Treasury of Great Britain may have to support such liberated servants, or leave them to support themselves by pilfering or other irregular modes of living, making them dangerous to the community of which they form a part.

All these consequences appeared to Major Moody to proceed from the want of local information in those who framed the Order in Council; and as Mr. Dougan was appointed under the recommendation of those persons who had originated the measure, Mr. Dougan endeavours to suppress all these considerations, which would expose the judgment of his friends. Major Moody does not deny that many improper things were done on the part of some of the white, and also some of the black masters of these poor apprentices; but he contends that the system itself, adopted in England for the government of such a class of persons, was wrong, and not calculated to effect the object in view. The proceedings of the honourable and reverend society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, form a strong contrast to the proceedings of the *soi-disant* friends of the African race; the former, without any expense, have done much good, and yet never have been spoken of; the good done by the latter has cost many thousand pounds, and it is still a matter for dispute, and the subject of daily controversy, whether good really has been done to Africa by them.

The personal charges brought against Major Moody by Mr. Dougan, refer to Daniel Johnston, a free black man, not signing a letter, from the fear that Major Moody's intimacy with Dr. Ross would induce the latter to make Daniel Johnstone pay a debt he owed to his physician; and that Jeanet Heyligar, a free coloured woman, would not appear at the Custom-house to take her affidavit to the death of some captured negroes, from the great dread with which Major Moody inspired her.

Major Moody, in answer to these charges, has to observe, that Daniel Johnston's letter, and that of Thomas William Audain, have no connection whatever with the subject; they prove that at first apprentices were refused to them, but afterwards were given; and the only inference is, that if the labour of the apprentices had been valuable to the rich, the poor men would not have had them, which confirms rather than confutes Major Moody's assertion. The personal matter therefore refers to Mr. Dougan's allegation respecting the fear, which certain persons entertained of Major Moody, as explanatory of the reasons, which induced Mr. Dougan privately to collect evidence unknown to his colleague, or the Secretary of the commission, and which never was recorded as evidence, nor seen by any person, who could have cross-examined the witnesses, so as to have obtained the truth; in this case no evidence is given, that Daniel Johnston had alleged what is imputed to him. It solely depends on the posthumous papers of Mr. Dougan. The cause assigned for D. Johnston's dread of Major Moody is truly ridiculous. Major Moody when in ill health consulted Dr. Ross, a physician; Daniel Johnston owed that physician a bill, and if he signed a letter that had no manner of connection with either Major Moody or Dr. Ross, the latter would make Daniel Johnston pay his bill. No human being connected with the commission knew one word of all this correspondence in 1822, and four years afterwards it is produced by Mr. Dougan's friends to show that D. Johnston was afraid of Major Moody. It will appear from the Schedules, page 222, &c. however, that Daniel Johnston did appear before Major Moody, and gave his evidence according to his own belief, and that neither Dr. Ross nor Major Moody ever troubled him; and why they should have troubled him, if ever so much inclined, for the letter which Mr. Dougan has given, Major Moody is utterly at a loss to conceive. Major Moody has only to add his belief that Daniel Johnston himself is a very worthy man in his way as a tailor, though in poor circumstances.

Respecting Jeannette Heyligar, the other person who is said to have been afraid of Major Moody, (although he solemnly declares he never spoke to her, nor to his knowledge ever saw her in his life,) he has to observe, that this is the person mentioned by the late Lieutenant-general Sir James Leith, as having had, without any title, certain captured negroes in her service, as mentioned in the letter of Sir James to Earl Bathurst, dated Antigua, 21st November 1815, when he says, “The other two men, “Bristol and London, lived in the service of a coloured woman, named Jeannette “Heyliger, still as slaves; they were hired out as labourers, and their wages contributed to support the woman who held them in bondage.” It is fair to state, that many things in that letter, written after Sir James had suddenly left Tortola, on the escape of Buonaparte from Elba, contained very imperfect statements of the real

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real facts, as was afterwards proved (for neither Bristol nor London were slaves), and which the enlightened individual was the first to acknowledge. Of those persons who felt aggrieved, on extracts from the letter of Sir James being sent as circulars to the West Indies, Mr. Dougan was one. Certain captured negroes had been placed under Mr. Dougan's care, and some of them had been erroneously represented to Sir James as being unaccounted for. Mr. Bridgewater, the Collector of the Customs at Dominica, had been at Tortola, and forwarded to the Custom-house in England, the affidavit of the oldest officer in the Custom-house at Tortola, stating on oath that Mr. Dougan himself, had never been able satisfactorily to account for some of the negroes, captured on board the Nancy, &c. The inference was, that the negroes had not been fairly dealt by.

Now, however Mr. Dougan and Major Moody may have differed in opinion on some points, Major Moody believed his colleague incapable of the act which might have been imputed to him, by the same mode of inferential reasoning, which Mr. Dougan was constantly endeavouring to get recorded against other persons, provided their skins were white. This affidavit relative to Mr. Dougan had been taken, and transmitted to England, long prior to his appointment as Commissioner, or to his discussions with Major Moody, who unfortunately, on one occasion, adduced the mere fact of the document being in their own office, to show that certain inferences could not always safely be drawn, as showing the truth in such cases, because Major Moody himself believed Mr. Dougan to be innocent.

The result of this appeal was different from Major Moody's expectations, for it irritated his colleague to such a degree, that Major Moody found it prudent, for the sake of quietness, to leave all investigations as to the deaths of the negroes captured in the Nancy and Amedie to Mr. Dougan himself. Now when Mr. Dougan was prize-agent in Tortola, he had placed several of these captured negroes with his clerk Mr. Macinrot, and Mr. Macinrot had transferred his claim over the services of some of them, to this Jeanette Heyligar, who was his kept mistress, and hence those persons came under her charge, to which Sir James Leith had alluded. *Vide* also Tortola Schedules, page 49, &c.

Respecting those captured negroes, of whom it had been sworn by Mr. Grigg, that Mr. Dougan could not give any satisfactory account, Mr. Dougan obtained the affidavit of a black woman named Amelia Dougan, who had once been his slave, that they had died, but she did not know their sexes or names. Mr. Dougan did not produce Amelia Dougan before the collector, or Major Moody, to take this affidavit, and answer any other questions. And Major Moody having no reason to suspect his colleague of unkind conduct to the poor negroes, did not press any inquiry beyond what Mr. Dougan himself thought proper to produce, although had the case been his own, Major Moody would have had a full examination of Mr. Grigg, who was in daily attendance on the commission, at the Custom-house. The same feeling was not entertained by the collector and Major Moody respecting Jeanette Heyligar, as it was a case with which Mr. Dougan was only very remotely connected, and therefore she was requested by the collector to attend, as every body else (whether white or black) had been, when information was required from them. And this person alone refused to attend on such official summons, and for which Mr. Dougan is pleased to apologize, by assigning the determination of Jeanette Heyligar, that "she would not go before Major Moody, and give her reasons." This alleged fear of Major Moody however need not have prevented her going to the Collector of the Customs, and giving her affidavit as others had done, in answer to such questions as he might have put to her, relative to the death of the persons formerly in her service. In page 41 of the Schedules, it will be seen that Hull declared that Plymouth, a captured negroe not mentioned by Sir James Leith, had died "when living with Jeannette Morton," another name for Jeannette Heyligar. In page 48 of the same Schedules, on the affidavit of Jeannette Heyligar, the same Plymouth is said to have died in the service of George Patnelli, esq. This Mr. Patnelli and Mr. Dougan had long been rival agents in Tortola, and certainly did not speak well of each other. Scarcely had the commission been opened in Tortola, before an anonymous letter was received respecting Mr. Patnelli, as mentioned in page 65 of Major Moody's first Report, and on Mr. Dougan's retiring from the commission, the letter disappeared from the archives of the office, to which no person had access but Mr. Dougan, Major Moody and the Secretary. The two last declared they had not withdrawn it, and when Mr. Dougan returned, he did not consider the letter of any consequence, when the charge it contained was found to be false. Yet in the case of a negroe, originally recorded as being indented to Mr. Patnelli, but the death of the negroe certified to have taken place in the barracks, Mr. Dougan *privately* procured the declaration of Francis Welch, a free coloured man, to state his belief, that no person belonging to this Mr. Patnelli had died in barracks; *vide* his Report, page 47. The inference here is, as in the case of Mr. Dougan himself, that the negroe had not been fairly dealt with by Mr. Patnelli. Frances Welch therefore, and Jeannette Heyligar were sent for to explain these points. Jeannette Heyligar would not come; and it appears by Mr. Dougan's posthumous papers, that to him she had assigned her dread of Major Moody, as the cause of her non-appearance; and in another part

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part of these papers, some such apprehension is attributed by Mr. Dougan to Welch. But it happened, that Welch actually did come so often to Major Moody, when Mr. Dougan could not attend, that Welch got tired, and complained of the time lost. In page 124 of the Schedules, the said Welch had appeared with his apprentice before the Commissioners, and in page 147 he appeared to give an affidavit. Therefore Major Moody had no cause whatever to find fault with Welch. But Mr. Dougan found out from Welch, that he had informed Major Moody of the statement privately made to Mr. Dougan about Mr. Patnelli's negroe, and Mr. Dougan was told that such modes of examination were irregular, inasmuch as an official examination ought to have taken place, and a regular affidavit have been recorded. From that moment, Mr. Dougan, as in the case of the Methodist missionaries, never would meet F. Welch *face to face with Major Moody*, which induced the latter to mention the complaint of Welch to Mr. Dougan, but neither in the style, nor temper of rudeness imputed to Major Moody by his colleague on the occasion.

It therefore is no proof that Major Moody really was rude to persons, who never offended him, because Mr. Dougan is pleased to assign the dread which these persons were alleged to entertain of Major Moody as their reason for not appearing before either the Commission, or the Collector of the Customs, to certify or take affidavits as to deaths. Had Mr. Dougan attended with Welch, a proof would have been afforded that the kind of inference which was so unjust in Mr. Dougan's own case, was equally unjust against a person whom he did not treat with that impartiality, which Major Moody thought due to every one, whether white or black.

Major Moody has to apologize for an explanation of facts so long, so tedious, and so entirely personal; and hopes he will be pardoned for inserting a letter from the chief of the Methodist missionaries to him, referred to in page 82 of his first Report, as it will prove how his character was estimated by these gentlemen; and the copy of an affidavit taken by Welch himself on the subject alluded to, will prove that he actually had gone before Major Moody directly contrary to assertion in these posthumous papers.

(Copy.)

" My dear Sir,

" I send enclosed the result of much care, patience and inquiry on the subject you did me the honour to lay before me, for to obtain all necessary information relative thereto. I can say from my heart, I wished not only to serve but also to meet your anxious desire. Whether I have done so or not, I can trust you without fear of being censured.

" I have, &c.

" To Major Moody,  
&c. &c. &c.

" Wm. Gilgrass.

" P. S. Writing in great haste to serve you, Sir, in time, caused me to blot, &c."

The following is the copy of Francis Welch's affidavit, extracted from the Commissioners book, intitled, " Affidavits and Declarations," page 68, 69, in the handwriting of the clerk, Mr. Nibbs, of Tortola, and witnessed by Mr. Barrow, secretary to the commission.

" Virgin Islands, Tortola, 25th July 1823.

" Before Thomas Moody, Esq. one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said Island, and Commissioner for inquiring into the state of captured Negroes :

" Personally appeared Francis Welch, free coloured man, and stated, that he was hired by Mr. Ingram, the late collector, to see after the feeding of Africans, captured in the Venus, Manulla, Candelario and Atrevido; that sometimes he received his orders from Mr. Kirwan, and sometimes from Mr. Ingram; and that Mr. Kirwan had the general charge of the Africans at that time. When the Africans were called in to be examined, by order of the late Captain-general Sir James Leith, Mr. Patnelli sent in some Africans, but the names or numbers of whom the declarant does not recollect. One woman whom he recollects as being a yellow-skinned woman was selected and given up to the military service, and went with the men taken to be soldiers. He does not know how many other of Mr. Patnelli's people were thus selected, nor does he remember the name of the yellow-skinned woman. That he does perfectly remember that some of the Africans given out to masters and mistresses were afterwards returned to the barracks, where the other Africans intended for the service were kept, and that some of the Africans so returned died at the barracks, but he does not now recollect the names of the Africans, or the masters or mistresses who sent them. That he does not recollect the dates when these people died, or when they were sent to the barracks, but it was during the period that the barracks were hired for the Africans. He remembers that some sick Africans and a crazy girl staid in the barracks a few days after the barracks were given up, but does not know how many days. From the  
" superintendence

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"superintendence exercised, he believes it impossible that any person could be secreted or clandestinely taken away from the barracks without his knowledge, as he counted them twice a day at least, and none were ever missed without his soon discovering it. Some did run away, but they were soon found out and brought back to the barracks.

his

"Francis x Welch.  
mark.

"Witness, J. Barrow.

"On the 1st of August, the aforesaid Francis Welch stated that the regulations for the inspection of the Africans were, to have a certain number of people under him in the different wards or rooms, and these people were called Bombas; and when any person was missed, they reported to him, and that Antonio, one of the Bombas, spoke the African and the English language, and is perfectly convinced that no Africans were clandestinely removed or stolen whilst he was employed.

his

"Francis x Welch.  
mark.

"Declared before me, this 1st of August 1823.

(signed) "Thos. Moody, Comr."

It would appear therefore from the above document, that Francis Welch had taken two affidavits before Major Moody, in a voluntary manner, after the period, which Mr. Dougan is pleased to say, that the said Welch would not again go before Major Moody. It is very painful to Major Moody thus to point out the loose manner in which Mr. Dougan sometimes made assertions, when the object was to misrepresent the truth, so as to enable the anti-colonists to injure Major Moody's character, by repeating his assertions, in periodical works designed to influence public opinion in Great Britain.

The real facts of the case are, that of four large cargoes of Africans liberated at Tortola, two of them were very sickly, and I fear much neglected; but all those that were in tolerable health were eagerly sought after by *the principal planters of the island*,—President Hetherington, the honourable George Martin, the honourable Isaac Pickering, George Patnelli, John Lettsom, and others, who obtained the pick or choice of them, after certain numbers had been selected for military purposes. This will appear by Papers ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, 19th February 1821, p. 60, which will clearly show the names of the original holders of African apprentices.

To show that this monopoly or preference was in the first instance given to the planters, and to those who paid certain fees, as they were termed, I have annexed a letter from Thomas W. Audain, a respectable carpenter, who applied for an apprentice, and was refused\*; as also of Daniel Johnson, a tailor,

\* "J. Dougan, Esq. Road Town,  
Tortola.

"Tortola, 6th December 1822.

"Sir,

"In answer to your inquiries, whether I applied for any liberated Africans, of the cargoes of the ships *Manuella*, *Venus*, *Atrivado* and *Candelario*, brought into this port, and to know the result of my application; and that I should also state



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tailor, who applied for two or three young boys to teach them his trade\*.  
He

state the trade I proposed to teach them, and whether at that time I was in a situation which enabled me to employ the apprentices in the capacity of my trade; I beg leave to answer, that I sent in to Francis Ingram, esq. collector, a sealed note, as early as any one else, for two apprentices, stating my profession, a carpenter, who referred me to Henry Kirwan, clerk to the said Francis Ingram. I received for answer from him the first day, that Mr. George Martin, and the President Richard Hetherington, were to have the first choice of as many as they wanted. I again waited, but could get none; at which time different other gentlemen and sugar planters were taking them by ten and twelve each. I was sometime after offered a very meagre and sickly boy, which I refused taking.

"I am, Sir, your very obedient  
"and humble servant,  
(signed) "Tho<sup>s</sup> W. Audain."

\* "Sir,

"IN answer to your inquiries whether I applied for any liberated captured Africans of the cargoes of the ships *Manuella*, *Venus*, *Atrevido* and *Candelaria*, brought into this port, and to know the result of my application; and that I should also state the trade or craft I proposed to teach them, and whether at that time I was in a situation which enabled me to employ the apprentices in the capacity of my trade.

"I beg leave to answer, that I applied to Henry Kerwan, clerk to Francis Ingram, esq. for two or three young boys, to teach my profession, a taylor, which cargo I do not recollect. I received for answer from him, that I could not get one until certain gentlemen had got, as they were to have the preference of choice, at the same time Mr. Peter Bluck Arrindell, a sugar planter, was then selecting seven or eight boys. Mr. Jonathan Harragin, manager of a sugar estate, who was present, said to me, "Pay your money and take one." Finding I could get no boys, I took three girls, which were in a dying state with itch, bad bellies, and flux.

"I have since returned them, now three women, with an increase of three children, to the Commissioners, and am happy to say they have shown their gratitude in my present sick situation."

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He was refused on the ground of certain gentlemen being first entitled to a preference of choice. He received three sickly females some time after, which he had since produced to the Commissioners in a good state of health, and with an increase of a child each.

This account was sent me by Johnson in a letter, to which he had not affixed his name. On my requiring him to do so, he replied, "All is true which I have written, but I dare not sign it, for Major Moody will, I know, be displeased with it; and his influence over Dr. Ross is such, that the Doctor will then come upon me for what I owe him in my last illness." He then declined signing the letter, but handed it to me as it was written, and as I now give it.

Indeed this powerful dread of my colleague operated in several instances to my knowledge, so as to preclude useful and necessary information. My colleague has complained of Jennett Heyligar, a free woman of colour, who offered to give her testimony before me in her own house, but she would not go before my colleague, and gave her reasons.

My colleague in proceeding to show the little estimation in which the African apprentices were held, mentions, that almost one of the first acts of the Commissioners was to answer a letter (*b*) of the executors of President Hetherington, who wished to give up all the apprentices of the deceased, which was done. Truly, my Lord, this is an unfair representation of the case; great part of an important truth is kept out of your Lordship's view. Mr. Charles Robinson, the present Collector at Demerara, son-in-law of the deceased President Hetherington, and Mr. Isaacs, the executors, produced these persons, in clean decent attire, and delivered them up to the Collector. But not one word is said, that these executors, for two years after the decease of the President, kept the whole of the apprentices on his sugar estates, where they must have been then found useful, but I have just ground for supposing that had these prudent executors themselves produced these apprentices (as they ought to have done) before the Commissioners who were then sitting to examine into the situation of the apprentices, it would have been discovered that these African apprentices, if not during the time of the executors, had been previously improperly dealt with; and even under the executors themselves they had not been employed as domestics, but as field negroes.

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(*b*) That nothing may be kept back necessary to explain the case, the letter itself from the executors is given herewith:

" Sir, " Tortola, 16th May 1822.

" THE late Richard Hetherington, esq. for whom we are executors under his will, having died in possession of the sixteen under-mentioned African apprentices, whose indentures to him having in course determined by his decease, we do accordingly hereby give up and return the same to you. The indentures appear to have been either lost or destroyed in the hurricane."

(signed) " W. G. Crabbe, }  
" W. R. Isaacs, } Executors.  
" Charles Robinson, }

Addressed,

" Geo. Beare, Esq.  
" Collector of the Customs, Tortola."

These words appear to be plain enough, but the collector wished to know from Mr. Dougan and Major Moody, if he was bound to receive the apprentices—*vide* their letter on the subject at the end of this remark. The people had been retained only until the heir had arrived in the colony, which, (as Mr. Dougan says it is kept out of sight,) was a recent occurrence. For as the persons so given up must have been indented to some person, Mr. Charles Robinson himself, or either of the other executors, might have obtained their services on the death of Mr. Hetherington, and yet they did not require their services. They were given up in good

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good health, except one, and their appearance bespoke the food and care which had been bestowed upon them. This was in May 1822. It was not till October 1822, that Mr. Dougan returned with a new form of indenture, that the mode of examination referred to by him was adopted, and in all special cases, there were no limits of time. Nothing therefore can be more absurd than the reason which Mr. Dougan wishes to assign for the executors giving up the apprentices in May 1822. Mr. Crabbe never had taken an apprentice; Mr. Isaacs gave up the only one he had. These gentlemen lived in Tortola. Mr. Robinson's apprentices actually were in Demerary, where he lived! so that he could not have given them up, had he even wished it. But there is no analogy between such a colony as Demerary and Tortola. Mr. Robinson, as a householder in the chief town of Demerary, was very differently situated as to his demand for servants, compared with persons in a similar rank in an island like Tortola. There really is no analogy between the cases on which Mr. Dougan reasons. If all he said, however, were true, yet the position of Major Moody is not shaken, under the different circumstances of the two cases. It was not the fault of the executors that the apprentices were not immediately examined, as it altogether depended on the Commissioners. Indeed some were examined a few days after they were given up. It is perfectly inconceivable how Mr. Dougan's memory has failed him, and how he misrepresents facts to suit his views. He notices it as inconsistent in Mr. Robinson, the collector of the customs in Demerary, in not giving up in Tortola four out of nine apprentices whom he had at that time in Demerary, because as a co-executor with Mr. Crabbe and Mr. Isaacs he wished to give up sixteen apprentices, indented to the late Mr. Hetherington. The consistency, or inconsistency of Mr. Robinson has nothing to do with the alleged erroneous opinion of Major Moody, for the fact was, that Eliza Nuago and her three children, (apprenticed to Mr. Robinson,) the eldest three years of age, making indeed four persons, *were not in Tortola at the time* when Mr. Hetherington's apprentices were given up. Eliza was examined under the new form of schedule, which Mr. Dougan brought out from England on his return in October 1822, when Mr. Robinson was not then in the island, and it is then stated that no person appeared in the character of master; indeed it is said in the Remarks, page 111, that she was there by permission of her master, but that all her fellow-servants were in Demerary. Had Mr. Robinson offered to give up a female apprentice with three children, the eldest only three years of age, and the youngest two months, after having been bound by an indenture to support them, what would Mr. Dougan have said? It so happened, however, that these four persons out of nine, were not in Tortola at the time to which he refers, and consequently could not be given up, as Mr. Dougan well knew from the Schedules. In the Demerary Returns will be seen the value which Mr. Robinson put upon the services of the people, and which will afford some data to reason from, as regards that colony, provided statistical details are given to see the whole of the relations between capital and labour. But still it would not necessarily follow that these data would apply to Tortola.

If the collector of Tortola hesitated to take back the sixteen apprentices, until he had the Commissioners sanction, founded on the death of one party to the indentures, why should any other collector take from Mr. Robinson, or any other person, nine apprentices, for whom he had signed indentures to maintain, and teach them, &c.? All this jarring machinery among reluctant parties formed one of the objections to the system adopted by Government in such communities as Tortola, where free negroes were not found willing to work moderately, and steadily in those occupations, where a demand for their labour existed, but where the amount of wages was limited by physical causes, and a competition, which the capitalist could not control.

Before Mr. Dougan had the means of ascertaining the views of his party, and before they had nominated him as secretary to the intended Tropical Free Labour Company, he sometimes obtained a glimpse of the truth upon this subject. On one occasion, he caused the following record to be entered on the Minutes of the Commission, in these words:—" Mr. Dougan begs to lodge a paper, marked Z, of which " the following is a copy :

" Half a Bit Reward.

" Run away, about three weeks ago, an African called and known by the name of " Oronoque; the above reward will be given to any person who will apprehend the " said African apprentice, and bring him to the subscriber, or lodge him in the com- " mon gaol.

" *Fras. R. Fisher.*"

" Mr. Dougan has every reason to believe the paper marked Z. to be an " original paper, signed by Mr. Fisher. He understood it was stuck up at the " Marshal's office, where advertisements are posted, there being no press at " Tortola. Mr. Dougan proposes this paper should be handed to the collector, and " as it appears to Mr. Dougan, to *shew the little estimation in which Mr. Fisher holds " the services of his apprentice Oronoque, or desire to recover him*, by his offer of " about 2 d. sterling for bringing back the apprentice to his services, that the collec- " tor be desired to call upon Mr. Fisher to produce Oronoque, and in case he does " not do so in a reasonable time that the collector should use every exertion to find " out

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“ out where Oronoque is, and when found, that the Commissioners should recommend that the apprentice should be removed from Mr. Fisher.” This was perfectly proper.

It will appear from the Tortola Schedules, that Major Moody ultimately discovered that Oronoque had been inveigled on board a Spanish shallop by a Spanish free coloured woman, and taken from Tortola to Porto Rico, with some others, where they were sold as slaves; and this transaction took place at the time when Mr. Dougan and Major Moody were zealously employed in Tortola, the free coloured woman living within thirty yards of Mr. Dougan's residence.

It is somewhat singular that Oronoque was given up to the collector by Mr. Isaacs, the gentleman of property referred to by Mr. Dougan, and was apprenticed to Fisher, a person of very little property. Oronoque was given up in a healthy condition by Mr. Isaacs, and his qualifications were stated to be that of “ a smart attendant,” but that he was in the habit of running away. This evidence was given before both Mr. Dougan and Major Moody. Other cases, also referring to persons given up, and afterwards being inveigled away to foreign colonies and sold as slaves, might be quoted, if time permitted, and where black men of good characters were the masters, and who themselves occasionally worked with their apprentices. In page 170 of the Schedules is the case of Matilda Hacket, a free black woman, relative to an apprentice who had come from the same country as her mistress, and which usually forms a strong bond of union.

The African apprentice Phillis stated to Major Moody, that she had been ill treated by her former master, then dead, so that it could not be farther inquired into. The mistress found the apprentice in want and misery, and was kind to her, for which the apprentice also was grateful, but a change having taken place in the character of the apprentice, and the mistress never having signed any indenture, she declined keeping the apprentice any longer. The subsequent history of Phillis is very painful. The mistress deemed it necessary to state that she, as a free woman, worked harder than she had done as a slave, she having been a favourite domestic.

The following is the letter referred to at the beginning of this remark, which was written by Mr. Dougan and Major Moody on the subject of giving up the apprentices of the late Mr. Hetherington to Government. It was among the first of the letters written by the Commissioners after their arrival in Tortola.

“ Sir,

“ Tortola, 20th May 1822.

“ We have had the honour to receive your letter of the 17th instant, wherein you mention the case of the executors to the will of the late Mr. Hetherington, and that it is your opinion the executors have a right to give up the Africans apprenticed to him; and you state that if we think differently on the subject, that you would wish us to communicate our opinion, and the grounds on which we form it. We have the honour, in answer thereto, to inform you, that our instructions do not bear on the case, and therefore we can give no official opinion thereon.

(signed)

“ *Tho<sup>s</sup> Moody,*  
“ *John Dougan.*”

“ To Geo. Beare, Esq.  
Collector of the Customs.”

Mr. Robinson, one of the executors of Mr. Hetherington, was Collector of the Customs in another colony, and had only been a few days in Tortola, prior to the application to the collector to give up the apprentices, who had been indented to Mr. Hetherington deceased, and which fact is a sufficient answer to the insinuations of Mr. Dougan against the deceased, whilst it also explains why the apprentices were not sooner given up, as others had been. As the Commissioners who went to Demerary have given in their Report relative to Mr. Robinson's apprentices, Major Moody is saved any farther trouble in replying to Mr. Dougan's speculations on that subject, farther than submitting for consideration that Mr. Robinson, as a collector, having signed indentures to keep and take care of certain African apprentices, could not release himself from the obligation legally imposed on him with his own consent; but that the case was different, where Mr. Hetherington, the subscribing party, was dead, as the obligations on his part ceased of necessity. Mr. Dougan represents Mr. Robinson as a resident in Tortola, when he took the African apprentices, although he knew perfectly well, that at the time Mr. Robinson was filling an appointment in the Custom-house in a different island. Mr. Dougan's particular friend Mr. Forbes living at Nevis had at the same time some of these Africans, as is distinctly specified in the Tortola Schedules.

Major Moody's statements as to the low estimation in which the labour of the Africans was held, when free, by the capitalists in Tortola, has been since confirmed by the fact, that on the termination of their apprenticeships the collector of Tortola, and the same officer in different colonies, have been obliged to support many of them, who are perfectly able to work, at the expense of the Treasury of Great Britain, or other public funds.

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These Africans so given up to the Collector were apprenticed to other persons, many to slaves of the deceased lately liberated. Some were produced for examination before the Commissioners, by masters who held them only a few weeks previously, and it was agreed, except in special cases, not to enter into past grievances; the whole period of their former apprenticeship of seven or eight years was not inquired into, but merely as to a short period of a fortnight or a month, during which they had commenced a servitude with a new master or mistress.

Nearly the like circumstance took place with the apprentices of Mr. Pickering, except that there was no formal surrender of them. It must appear singular that Mr. Robinson, whom my colleague does not mention by name, but merely as an executor of President Hetherington, should, as an executor, have so ill an opinion of these apprenticed Africans as to wish to get rid of them the moment after the arrival of the Commissioners, and yet Mr. Charles Robinson, in his own capacity, still held in his name nine of these indented apprentices four of whom were at Tortola, and five at Demerara, and apparently from the examination of Eliza, (vol. 1. p. 110,) the apprentices were satisfied with their master, and their master with them.

I should therefore suppose a rich individual like Mr. Robinson would, when leaving Tortola as he did, have given up his apprentices on the fair ground of quitting the island, but particularly so, had they proved as undeserving as my colleague insinuates generally of the African apprentices.

But your Lordship finds that Mr. Robinson, evidently at much expense, took the whole with him to a distant colony.

The truth is obvious; the Africans employed as field negroes, were treated as that class of people are; they learned nothing but to perform acts of field drudgery; and incurred penalties and punishments attendant on such an employment.

It was prudent at least to pass these persons through the medium of *other masters*, before they came to the Commissioners, *and such was the case*. Now, with regard to Mr. Robinson himself, conscious, no doubt, of having performed his duty towards his own apprentices, he has no apprehension from the inquiries of the Commissioners, and still retains  
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Mr. Robinson was collector in St. Thomas, then in St. Lucia, afterwards in Grenada, and finally in Demerary, but *never* in Tortola, as Mr. Dougan's Report would imply.

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all his apprentices, and evidently finds them serviceable, for having had a previous knowledge of their character, had they been undeserving they would have been left behind at Tortola.

Your Lordship cannot have a more conclusive proof of the fallacy of my colleague's Report, as to the industry of African apprentices, than this very case of Mr. Robinson: there was no difference in the apprentices, for they were taken out of the identical cargoes. Those of President Hetherington are made to appear not worth having, but all Mr. Robinson's are carefully retained at some extra expense.

In regard to Dr. Donavon (vol. 2, p. 60.) (c) and Mr. Belisario, my colleague, says he frequently entreated both these gentlemen to receive more apprentices, and they both *positively refused*.

tola that these gentlemen had managed their apprentices with great prudence and humanity.

Mr. Dougan, however, thinks that the refusal of these gentlemen to have more apprentices, and particularly of Dr. Donovan, was no proof that he held the labour of the liberated Africans in low estimation. Dr. Donovan lived upon a sugar plantation; his income altogether depended upon the labour of his slaves applied to the soil. He had some African apprentices, whom he employed as domestics, and in fishing, and whom he feeds by allowing them to cultivate a patch of ground, like the slaves on the estate. The persons so employed are well spoken of by the free coloured man who produced them, *as Dr. Donovan did not himself attend*. When Major Moody entreated Dr. Donovan to receive some of the apprentices, the latter declined, on the ground that the labour of those he had were of little or no value to him. They were useful at times, but cost him more than their labour; however, as he was bound by the indentures he would take care of those he had, but would not take any more. The business respecting the signing of the indenture is entirely misrepresented by Mr. Dougan, who says, "It certainly was not an opportune or favourable moment for my colleague to do what he said he did, 'entreat Dr. Donovan to take more apprentices,' when he knew his strong objection to sign an indenture in the new form; and which he would be necessitated to do, if he took more apprentices." This is so expressed as to convey the meaning, that it was when the fact of Dr. Donovan's refusal to sign the indenture was known, that Major Moody urged Dr. Donovan to take more apprentices. Mr. Dougan knew that the statement here made by him was directly contrary to the fact. In page 141 of the Schedule it will appear, that Mr. James Skerritt, the free coloured man, who had produced the other apprentices of Dr. Donovan, also produced Martin Udgino, who was in possession of Dr. Donovan, but for whom no indenture was signed, and it is accordingly returned "imperfect." This took place when Mr. Dougan was in England, as the heading of the Schedule shows that the examination was taken before only "one" of the Commissioners. When Mr. Dougan returned from England, all the indentures were examined by him, Major Moody and the Collector, many months after the examinations of the Africans, and the conversation which Major Moody had had with Dr. Donovan. It was at this final examination of the indentures that the indenture in question was still found to be "imperfect," and that the Collector gave the reason assigned by Major Moody in his Report for the omission. Mr. Dougan inserted only part thereof; but even this is quite sufficient to show that Major Moody had urged Dr. Donovan to take more apprentices, when he was empowered to do so as sole Commissioner, and that Dr. Donovan had refused to sign the new indenture after the return of Mr. Dougan, when the Collector was directed to adopt the new form; and that it was to the Collector that Dr. Donovan made the declaration on which Mr. Dougan comments. Were time allowed, Major Moody could soon settle this point by a reference to Dr. Donovan; but as this is denied, Major Moody is at this moment only enabled to offer from Dr. Donovan himself a testimony not intended for the present question, yet showing his idea of the probability of free negroes cultivating land for wages. Mr. Dougan had asserted that Hull, having built himself a house, declined going to Trinidad; Hull himself declared that he had *no house*. A few days before Major Moody left Tortola, he passed the ground referred to by Hull, and could not discover either house or *cultivation*, as it was the latter point that

The fallacy of all this inferential reasoning is shown by the Report of other Commissioners on Demerara, already laid before Parliament.

(c) Mr. Dougan fairly quotes Major Moody's words in page 60, to show that he had entreated Dr. Donovan and Mr. Belisario to receive more apprentices; and both Mr. Dougan and Major Moody agreed when in Tor-

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that Major Moody wished to examine. It was however suggested to him that he might have been mistaken in the place, although its having been mentioned at the Tower West End sufficiently indicated it. Major Moody therefore wrote to Tortola to different persons to ascertain the fact, and Dr. Donovan writing to another person, who transmitted the original to Major Moody, says, "Hull, formerly apprenticed to Mr. Dix, has *no fixed place of residence*. Sometimes he is to be found at Little Carrot Bay, where he has a wife; at other times about the West End and Sandy Point; *he never owned a house or cultivated a ground*, &c. &c.—I have remarked that the African apprentices have a great aversion to agriculture, nor do I believe there are to be found any free negroes in this island who cultivate land for wages." This letter of Dr. Donovan is dated 30th December 1826. It has been already stated that it was not Dr. Donovan himself but a free coloured man who spoke as to the apprentices; and the accounts given were never shown to or seen by Dr. Donovan.

The reference made by Mr. Dougan to certain anonymous charges against the late Mr. Martin, who had died long before Mr. Dougan and Major Moody visited Tortola, requires no further notice than as showing the animus of Mr. Dougan to criminate white persons who had no means of defending themselves: these charges were obtained too in a manner which Mr. Dougan himself seems ashamed to avow, for they are anonymous, and never were examined into, or even produced to the Commission, when in Tortola, although they did receive anonymous communications, whilst Mr. Dougan was with the Commission.

The case of the Rev. Mr. Chadderton, referred to by Mr. Dougan, was simply this: Major Moody was desirous to collect accurate statistical details of the colonies which he visited, and solicited Mr. Dougan's assistance. The Reverend Mr. Chadderton, as the rector, was one of the persons to whom he applied, and the papers received were shown to Mr. Dougan, who certainly differed from the rector in the account which the latter gave of the industry of the free black and coloured people. Mr. Dougan however could give no reason for disbelieving the statements of the rector; and Major Moody did not farther apply to the rector on the subject of the African apprentices, merely for the reasons stated in his Reports, and which had been made known to Mr. Dougan. None of the papers privately procured by Mr. Dougan were ever shown to Major Moody.

The proof of the low estimation in which the free labour of the liberated Africans in such a colony as Tortola is held, is indeed so manifest as to require no farther illustration, were it not an obvious part of Mr. Dougan's plan to leave this and other questions in that imperfect state, as to the detail of facts, by which his party would afterwards be best enabled to draw their own inferences, in order to refer every unfavourable result between the blacks and whites to the mere prejudices of the latter. As an honest Commissioner, Major Moody deemed it his duty to go a step farther to show the *real* truth, viz. that, together with some prejudices there were many physical causes in action producing these unfavourable results; and that the operation of these local and physical causes had been altogether overlooked by the party who patronized Mr. Dougan. Whenever, therefore, Major Moody proposed inquiries, which would bring forth the whole truth, he was resisted by Mr. Dougan urging the necessity of adhering to the *form* of the Schedules, and finally by refusing to join in the inquiry. The facts which would have been produced by such a mode of investigation, would have tended to establish principles to ascertain whether, in the West Indies, the whites and blacks could live together on equal terms as capitalists and labourers do in England, or not; and if not, whether any and what system should be adopted for the special government of the liberated Africans. This in a great measure turned upon the probability of the liberated Africans working for such wages as the capitalists could afford to give. In Tortola, there were not many capitalists, and few persons able to investigate all the principles bearing on the connexion between capital and labour, but it might be possible to ascertain what opinion such capitalists entertained of the value of the free labour of the liberated Africans, when released from the coercion which a state of apprenticeship imposed. Major Moody did not depend altogether on the opinion of the persons to whom he put questions officially, for he also collected certain statistical facts, all proving the same thing. One important object which he wished could not be accomplished, viz. after having had evidence from blacks and whites as to the character for industry of their apprentices, the Commissioners ought personally to have visited the spots, on which certain kinds of labour could be judged of by the results to be seen with their own eyes. For it was as clear to Major Moody as the sun at noon day, that many of the persons who in the office gave testimony to the industry of their apprentices, and their willingness to hire them when free, never would or could show the actual proofs of industry, or perform their promise to employ them when free, and pay them wages. In support of this opinion, the state of those people who had no masters or mistresses furnished a decisive proof; and the expense since incurred by the Treasury for those now in that situation, since the examination, tends to confirm the same opinion.

Mr. Dougan having defeated the project for establishing such a system of joint investigation, proceeded to examine *privately* certain coloured persons to favour his

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his views, in some of which he was discovered; as in the case of Jean Charles Degagé, on which the witness instantly disappeared from Tortola; and the usual cause is assigned, the fear of Major Moody. The free black and coloured persons having apprentices, were equally worked upon, and some of his letters with them are now seeing the light. Major Moody is now aware of his colleague's intrigues to get the truth misrepresented to serve his party, by getting facts stated in such an imperfect manner, as would enable persons in England to reason analogically where no analogy existed, and by sophistry impose on the Government from its want of local information on the subject of labour in the West Indies among two different races of men. On this subject indeed, Mr. Dougan was very ignorant; but he was an acute and intelligent man, and immediately saw the effect of any inquiry on those dogmas, in which there is every reason to say he conscientiously believed.

I shall not pretend to say that Dr. Donavon did not positively refuse to receive more apprentices; but I will avow that Dr. Donavon did not by this measure mean to indicate, that he considered that the labour of the African apprentices was of little value generally, as my colleague insinuated. He could not with propriety do so after the testimony given of his Africans on his behalf. I will give a few extracts of the character given of Dr. Donavon's apprentices:—

“ Vol. 1. p. 62. Gregory, or Ross, aged 19, is a hardy boy; employed in fishing, now and then as domestic; very good character; healthy.

“ Howell Ohanuma, aged 20, smart boy, employed in fishing; cultivates his own ground in potatoes and cassada; very good character; in good health.

“ P. 64. Cuny, aged 20, a very active fine boy; good boatman and fisherman; cultivates half an acre of ground; very good character.

“ 154. Olivia Oniculo, 27 years, a good washer; a very good character; employed as a washer.

“ 238. Valeneour, 19 years, good fisherman and boatman; a very good character; in healthy condition.

“ 264. Cleopatra Moquo, aged 21, excellent washer and cook; a very good character; in healthy condition.”

Can any master of six European apprentices speak more favourably of all his apprentices than Mr. Donavon has done of his six apprentices, not only of their characters, but of their usefulness in their several situations of boatmen, fishermen, cultivators of the soil, excellent washers and cook; and these people are all young and healthy: yet would my colleague have your Lordship to conclude, as he does, that Dr. Donavon wished to give up the services of those apprentices he had, rather than sign an indenture for one of them in a new form.

Dr. Donavon did certainly object to the new form, as imposing restrictions on



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on him which he did not think himself liable to under an old form; and on that account only refused to sign the indenture. It was certainly not an opportune or favourable moment for my colleague to do, what he said he did, "entreat Dr. Donavon to take more apprentices," *when he knew his strong objection to sign an indenture in the new form, and which he would be necessitated to do if he took more apprentices.*

Even the old form of indenture was considered as binding the masters of these apprentices too rigidly. A singular instance occurred to the honourable G. Martin, a sugar planter, who had been indulged by the Collector of the Customs with his choice of Africans. He took them on the 16th August 1814, and on the 10th October following, he surrendered the whole up to the Collector, keeping them only a few weeks. These people were young and docile. Your Lordship will not conclude, as my colleague does, that on trial Mr. Martin found that these persons would be of little service to him, and thus gave them up: but the fact was, as I heard from a respectable gentleman, who was present with him on the occasion that one of these apprentices had committed some offence, which Mr. Martin deemed proper to correct; he ordered (in presence of the gentleman) the African to receive six lashes of the cartwhip. Mr. Martin was told, that by that mode of punishment he rendered himself liable under the indenture to a penalty. "Then, (said Mr. Martin) I will give up the whole of the Africans to-morrow morning," and he did so. He further added, "I would cartwhip my —— (naming a relation) if I thought she deserved it."

It is furthest from my mind, by mentioning this circumstance, to say that Dr. Donavon refused to sign a new transfer of indenture from the same motive which Mr. Martin considered an improper restraint, but to state that Dr. Donavon felt there were certain penalties in the new form of indenture, which he would not submit to, and therefore he took no more apprentices.

Had he thought, as Major Moody suggests he did, there would have been little doubt that my active colleague would have added his testimony to that of several other inhabitants; but probably concluding, as he did in the case of the Rev. Mr. Chaterton, knowing Dr. Donavon's opinion *to be adverse to these*

Major Moody only asked the opinion of wealthy persons, who having few or no slaves, would be those most likely to hire the Africans when free. Dr. Donavon had many slaves, and several apprentices, but had not hired any free African.

Mr. Dougan.

*these people*, it was a point of delicacy not to ask him for one.

To be sure Dr. Donovan must have been (according to the view of my colleague) at the expense of unsaying what he had directed to be said for him before the Commissioners, as regarded his own Africans.

But why waste your Lordship's time to refute these reiterated attempts of my colleague, to show the slender value of the services of these people, and the little estimation they are held in, or why should I go on (in the present state of my health, when I write in a sick bed) to refute the numberless impositions of a similar kind, given with such minuteness.

One fact must stand uncontroverted, that is, if the characters given by the masters and mistresses of the apprentices be generally and faithfully recorded by the Commissioners, then His Majesty's Government has an opportunity of judging by this record; (*d*) taken before the prejudices of the master had been excited to advance feelings towards their apprentices, by the charges they subsequently brought against their masters.

tions, and misrepresentations concerning his Reports; which are here referred to merely to show how satisfactorily Mr. Dougan had acted to forward the views of his party in stating facts only in a particular manner, so as to enable his party to draw their own inferences in those publications, by which they have in so many instances deluded the public.

Of those persons who had been masters of their own time, working free from any other control than the present laws of the colony, Mr. Dougan does not now say one word, although he was detected in the endeavour to misrepresent matters concerning the industry of that class, as shown in Major Moody's first Report. It was from the case of these persons, and from an extended experience with the industry and motives to exertion of that class, that Major Moody ventured to suggest the necessity of some principle of coercion being applied to these people for their own benefit, and advancement in civilization; for if some such principle be not applied, (judging from all prior experience relative to people in their state of society and civilization,) their industry would be so desultory and irregular, that it would be of little value to themselves, and of still less to the capitalist who otherwise might have hired them, or to the nation who sincerely wished to improve their condition. If practical means could be suggested to overcome this difficulty, and afford a greater prospect of success than those measures which the friends of Mr. Dougan had succeeded in getting Government to adopt, doubtless a great good would be accomplished. This Major Moody endeavoured to effect in his inquiries, which were however impeded when the aid of his colleague was necessary, as the latter seldom appeared to have any other object in view than that of criminating others, and attributing to them that failure of success, which appeared to be only the result of a bad system, founded on the want of local and practical information. As these captured negroes could not always remain in the situation of apprentices, the main object of Major Moody was to inquire what system should be adopted for their government on the termination of their present state of coerced servitude. Mr. Dougan avoids all notice of the industry of those negroes who had been liberated from this state of coercion, but endeavours to establish it as a principle, that if the character given of those captured negroes who were still apprentices, *and still under coercion*, should be favourable, that it would be right to draw the inference, that their industry, *when free from coercion*, may be fairly expected. Major Moody would be truly glad if he could convince himself that such would be the case in general; but the facts which he had an opportunity of examining in various parts of the world, as well as in Tortola, tend to prove that what may take place in a dense population highly civilized, will not

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Dr. Donovan did not appear himself with his apprentices, and never directed any person what to say. He left the apprentices to speak for themselves.

(*d*) The remarks made by Mr. Dougan on this occasion, upon the characters for industry given to the African apprentices by their masters and mistresses, as shown in the schedules, are referred to by the Edinburgh Reviewer, to whom they appear to have been submitted: on another occasion Major Moody will point out the false asser-

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take place in a thin population of Europeans and Africans, with easy means of subsistence, and in a backward state of civilization in the low lands of the torrid zone.

Major Moody has therefore only to point out the defects of Mr. Dougan's statement of the facts of the case, which lead to a wrong inference. To illustrate, by one case, a variety of similar occurrences which happened to Major Moody in Tortola, he mentioned, in page 77 of his first Report, the case of Daniel, an apprentice, who, at one time, had the highest character for honesty and industry from his master, and the apprentice declared he had a good master, and so the matter stands in the schedules, page 244. In a few months the conduct of the apprentice showed that he had not deserved the character given of him; and the master could assign no other reason for having given that character than his unwillingness to speak ill of his apprentice, as the Commissioners would not like it. It is from characters so collected that Mr. Dougan makes his statements, from which inferences have been drawn, that have subsequently been shown to be erroneous by facts, and indeed by the sums paid by the Treasury through the collectors.

In page 70 of Major Moody's first Report, he also had stated, that many of the masters and mistresses being in indigent circumstances, totally unable to hire free servants, but very willing to take apprentices under the name of domestics, or any other, and afterwards, from the power thus given them over the apprentices, to derive some small profit from their labour, which they would not have been able to do, if the power of a master over an apprentice had not been given to them. Whatever might be the fate of the apprentices at the termination of the indentures, these persons, when speaking of apprentices called domestics, cooks, &c. described them in terms altogether calculated to deceive; for however well the apprentices might have performed the functions of a cook, or domestic, &c. to a person nearly as poor as themselves, yet these qualifications, as has been proved, would not procure them employment in families able to reward them when free from control. Indeed even Hull and George Hughes, as a cooper and carpenter, had worked industriously under coercion and obtained high wages; but when free from control, they were both found, like Jem the cook, and others, all living in comparative want, by fishing and cutting fire-wood and grass for sale. In one occupation interfering with the reward for labour of the poor whites and free coloured people, and in the other with the value of the privileges granted to slaves on estates. Whereas if these people had been placed on land under the judicious control of some practical planter appointed by the Crown, there can be no reasonable doubt that before fourteen years had expired, all the captured negroes in Tortola might have been in much better circumstances as agriculturists, than they are now in occupations for which there is no effective demand in the colony; for although a cooper or carpenter, when employed, may get high wages, yet the employment is uncertain, leaving much idle time to form bad habits, whilst that of agriculture is certain and continuous during the year, and at the end of it leaving the industrious cultivator richer than such mechanics as they are, when only partially employed, or the poor African domestic or cook, whom nobody will employ steadily for wages, merely from there being no effective demand for such kind of labour. Mr. Dougan therefore carefully omits all allusion to the situation in life of the masters and mistresses who have given these characters for industry to the apprentices, the greater part of whom never could be expected to support the apprentices after their power over them was withdrawn, so as to improve their condition when free from the coercion incident to the state of apprenticeship. Even the Edinburgh Review seems to prepare the public for some objection founded on the previous preparation of persons examined by Mr. Dougan. But the reviewer is desirous to turn away the attention of the public from the possibility of Mr. Dougan influencing the evidence of the masters. Now it is precisely with some of these free black and coloured masters that Mr. Dougan himself produces proof that he was in correspondence, and in due time some curious details of the manoeuvres resorted to for influencing evidence amongst that class of people may perhaps be given. But at present, the defects of the statement may be discovered by any one who will take the trouble to examine the Schedules, with the necessary local knowledge of the condition of the parties, the greatest number being poor persons, who would be unable to hire the Africans when free. Even some of the cases produced by Mr. Dougan himself disprove the inferences which he draws.

The first is that of Mr. Grigg, who certainly was a worthy man, though not worth a farthing in the world when his debts were paid; the little he had made as an acting searcher and waiter in the Custom-house, enabled him to try some experiments with free labour upon his fine little island in the North Sound, where he had about 250 acres of better land than the average quality. Having no slaves, he endeavoured to induce certain free negroes and captured Africans to cultivate the land upon shares on the most liberal terms. Major Moody visited it, and saw a little cotton and provisions planted, but Mr. Grigg never recovered the sum he had expended in clearing about five acres at the most, and therefore he finally abandoned it. Had the same plan been tried under a judicious system of coercion, so as to secure steady labour, and that the plants might not suffer from neglect, Major Moody was inclined to think favourably of the attempt. A more kind or benevolent person to the Africans did

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did not exist than Mr. Grigg, whom they all regarded as a father; indeed he was familiarly called "Tata Grigg" by all the Africans. Mr. Dougan omits to mention that the apprentice of whom Mr. Grigg speaks, is "a domestic," to a worthy person who could never afford to pay him wages, and therefore he says truly, that such a person as John Oroa could not get employment to support himself by his labour in that capacity in such a country as Tortola. Words could not more strongly point out the want of local information by those who drew up the orders in council in placing the poor Africans in such situations in Tortola. Had Mr. Dougan referred also to page 30 of the Schedules, he would have found the same benevolent Mr. Grigg (for he really was so) thus speaking to Mr. Dougan himself, respecting an African whom Mr. Dougan himself also had placed under the care of the late President Turnbull. Mr. Grigg says of this African, named William (now perfectly free), who had been with a ship carpenter, and was for a while with Mr. Dougan himself as a cook, that "had he (William) been industrious, he could very well have "clothed himself." When it is considered how little clothing is necessary, and how cheap the ordinary materials for such persons are, an idea may be formed of the degree and extent of the industry, or steady labour which William was inclined to give, when free from coercion, for the purpose of bettering his condition. In a poor country, a greater degree of exertion, and that more steadily applied, must be given to obtain the same degree of comfort, than in a rich one; but the information in the Schedules does not supply the facts required to show how far *necessity* would operate upon the liberated apprentices in obliging them to be steadily industrious in the ordinary meaning of the term, when free from control, like William and the other liberated captured negroes in his situation. These persons decidedly are not industrious, and yet Mr. Dougan wishes it to be inferred, that other persons, when placed in the same situation, will be industrious, directly contrary to the facts on record.

It would be impossible, for want of time, to point out in all the cases which Mr. Dougan has adduced, how important considerations have been suppressed by him, but an inspection of the schedules will show them.

It is seen that when the African apprentices have been brought up under poor persons to occupations for whose labour there is no demand, that the opinion of the master generally is, that the country is "too poor," which it obviously was, to employ persons in the occupations of those mentioned in the schedules; but if they had been brought up under the control of Government in agricultural industry, it was manifest, from the quantity of good land unoccupied, that they could have raised not only food for themselves but for others, and could have had constant employment all the year round, if they could have been induced to work.

The other cases adduced by Mr. Dougan would, when examined in detail, be equally against him. He next quotes Mr. Isaacs as speaking of Richard Oroa as being very industrious *under the coercion of an apprenticeship*. But he suppresses the fact, that the mistress of Oroa was at the same moment giving up this apprentice to the collector, and declining his farther services: and Mr. Isaacs shows why; viz. that there was no demand for that kind of work which Richard Oroa could perform; "that most of the housekeepers in the island having an oversupply of *domestics*, "does not think the boy would be *hired for wages* if at liberty." The poor boy was therefore re-apprenticed to a poor free black woman. This exactly proves what Major Moody had asserted to show the inevitable bad consequences of the system adopted towards these poor Africans in the mode of apprenticing them by the orders of council in such a colony as Tortola, instead of Government directing their labour, and giving them agricultural habits. To notice all the points which Mr. Dougan suppresses would be impossible for Major Moody, under the circumstances in which he is limited for space.

Mr. Dougan is pleased to assume that there were only two or three instances where the characters given by masters and mistresses did not give the real statement of facts which would enable Lord Bathurst to judge of the degree of industry which might be expected from the apprentices when free, because if there had been more, Major Moody would have noticed them. This does not follow: Major Moody had only to show cause why he could not sign or approve of Mr. Dougan's Report, and the cases adduced by him were merely to show how imperfect the documents were by one or two instances in detail. To have added all the cases would have filled a volume larger than that given in, when illustrated with Mr. Dougan's intrigues to mislead Lord Bathurst by his mode of getting people to give evidence, and suppressing facts.

Major Moody in this case still limits himself to a few cases, submitted here, and show from these cases of Mr. Lloyd and Miss Aber Robsot, adduced by Mr. Dougan, that the fair inferences precisely confirm Major Moody's views. Mr. Lloyd speaks of a "house-boy" with some mechanical attainments, yet these qualifications would not assure him wages from the capitalist in Tortola. Had his qualifications been greater, or been in some kind of occupation, for whose labour there had been a demand in Tortola, the answer would doubtless have been different; for in page 84 of the Schedules, after Mr. Grigg had made a similar statement respecting John Oroa, which Mr. Dougan has quoted him as saying on another occasion, the examination

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of Peter Akaon immediately follows thus : Peter was "employed as a sailor," and was the best house-servant ever employed by Mr. Lloyd, who is the same person quoted by Mr. Dougan. What opinion does Mr. Lloyd then give? He says even in Tortola that Peter "most unquestionably would be able to support himself;" and why? "*he knows so many things.*" It therefore depended on the acquired qualifications of the individual, combined with the demand for the exercise of these qualifications, and these considerations appear to have been lost sight of, with reference to the mass of apprentices; so that although a few Peter Akaons may be found, whose masters would be able and willing to pay them wages when free, the mass of the apprentices when liberated will not be so situated, but will require the aid of the British Treasury; whereas they might have been, and may be so placed, as to give them agricultural habits under the control of Government, when their future support, free from danger or charge, may be with more probability depended upon.

The next case quoted by Mr. Dougan is that of Jeanette, apprenticed to Miss Aber Robsot, a free black woman, on Salt Island: *vide Schedules, page 310.* Jeanette, an African, cultivates the ground of a creole free negro (her mistress), as well as the ground of the apprentice herself: she washes for her mistress, and she is allowed to gather salt for her own account; in short, all that the mistress gives the apprentice is fish. Yet Miss Aber Robsot, herself a free negress, certainly gave it as her opinion, that Jeanette could not be able to support herself if liberated from the power exercised over her as an apprentice by Aber Robsot herself. The facts quoted strongly show the opinion of Aber Robsot, herself a free black, as to the probability of the apprentice *voluntarily continuing* to cultivate the ground, if free from coercion; but if Jeanette when free were to go to any owner of uncultivated land in Tortola, or even settle herself as Jem and others did upon land without any rent, is it not clear that the same labour which cultivated the ground of Aber Robsot, and that of the apprentice herself, would be able still to cultivate the same extent, feed herself, and buy clothes and fish? Doubtless Jeanette could do this in Tortola or in Africa; but the question is, will she do it *when free from coercion*? Aber Robsot thinks not. But Mr. Dougan does not say who this person is, and that being herself a poor free negress, she certainly could not pay her apprentice wages; and she may believe, as doubtless she did, that the apprentice worked more under coercion than she would afterwards do as a free person, and therefore as such she might have a difficulty in supporting herself. This, however, is merely the opinion of one poor free negress as to the probable state of another. It seemed desirable therefore to have the opinion of persons having capital, who could hire those persons for whose labour there was a demand; and Major Moody thought it right to obtain some opinions from this class, which are given in the schedules merely as those of persons in respectable situations in life. Major Moody therefore contends that all the facts produced by Mr. Dougan, *when fairly stated*, confirm Major Moody's inference respecting the low value in which the labour of the liberated negroes, *as free persons*, is held in Tortola.

Mr. Dougan is pleased to state, that persons holding high situations in the Council, Assembly, Customs and the Bar, agree in assigning the poverty of the country as the only cause why the Africans, when free, cannot support themselves. This certainly is a bold assertion after the opinion of these people themselves, expressed in their petition to Earl Bathurst, being given by Mr. Dougan in page 32 of his own Report, where they say—"That your petitioners view with anxiety and apprehension the period "fast approaching when their (the apprentices) indentures will expire, and the "community be inundated and oppressed by a species of population already too "numerous in the present state of the colony." Words cannot more clearly express that the wants of the colony were for a class of population who would work the uncultivated lands, which only require the hand of man to raise crops, and enable taxes to be levied to defray the expenses of the Government. The increase of a population consisting chiefly of tradesmen for whose labours there was little or no demand; nor for domestics, cooks, washerwomen and drudges, who did not much add to the wealth of the colony, certainly was an addition to their numbers not considered as advantageous by the colonists, who already had as many of each kind as they could afford to employ. The introduction of Chinese labourers would not be valuable to Ireland, particularly if the Chinese would not work themselves, or were prevented by orders in council from working, at the only occupations in which the capitalists of Ireland could afford them steady employment. To increase the domestics, washerwomen and house drudges therefore amidst a people where those able to pay for such services had as many as they wanted, certainly was ill calculated to improve the resources of the colony. For notwithstanding the increase of the free population of late, yet upwards of one-fifth of the land cultivated has been thrown out of cultivation, solely for want of labourers. The people having capital go on to state—"Could they indulge a reasonable hope that these persons (the Africans) at the "expiration of their indentures, would apply themselves to agricultural purposes, "less cause would exist to regret their introduction, but experience warrants an "opposite conclusion."

Mr. Dougan estimates 234 apprentices as having characters which would be considered good; Major Moody cannot, in the Schedules referred to, discover more than

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than 180 cases, collected under all the defects to which he alluded in his Report, and which would modify the testimony received as to the greatest part of those 180, having masters and mistresses who were in a state of poverty. Mr. Dougan, however, is altogether silent as to the pecuniary means of the masters and mistresses on which the future employment of these persons for wages would depend, when their indentures had expired. In those cases in the Schedules where the captured negroes were free from the control incident to a state of apprenticeship, they were found to be unemployed by capitalists for wages; and yet Mr. Dougan wishes it to be inferred that the apprentices, of whom good characters were given by masters and mistresses, too poor to hire them, would, when free from their present constraint, be as industrious as at present, and be certain to obtain employment. Mr. Dougan here assumes that some change is to take place, when all the facts on which the assumption rests, lead to a contrary inference. The point has been determined since the Commissioners began their respective Reports: most of those apprentices now free from control, finding no person to employ them in the only occupation in which they will work, are now dependent on the allowance contributed by the public funds for their support; whilst the usual reward given for the labour of the poor whites and free people of colour previously in the island, has been deteriorated, by the introduction of a class of persons too numerous for the demand in the peculiar occupations to which Government had restricted their employment. To have given a clear idea of the state of the apprentices, as to their characters, Mr. Dougan should have shown what means of rewarding them, as free labourers, their present masters possessed, when it would be seen that upwards of half were poor black and coloured free people, besides the poor whites, often in as miserable circumstances as the former. Indeed, some who were drawing relief from the parish, had African apprentices, as Mr. Dougan himself has correctly stated, whilst the richer inhabitants would not employ them, even without the payment of wages.

To facilitate this view, I have, to the best of my judgment, selected the names of the apprentices who have favourable characters given by their masters and mistresses; others of a mixed nature, and such as appear undeserving, with pages of reference to the printed papers: this is marked Appendix.

The following is a general recapitulation of the characters of the persons who compose the four cargoes of Africans from the *Manuella*, *Venus*, *Candelario* and *Atrivedo*.

	Males.	Females.
Deserving characters - - -	86	148
Those whose characters were un- known - - - - -	1	-
Doubtful and uncertain characters	18	19
Undeserving and bad characters -	16	3
Total - - -	121	170

I have endeavoured, to the best of my judgment, to class these Africans, as to their moral character given by their masters and mistresses, under three heads: Fair and deserving characters; Doubtful and uncertain; and Undeserving and bad characters. The result of a general classification, under these heads, is, that of 291 African apprentices examined by the Commissioners from these four cargoes, 234 of them have fair and deserving characters given them by their masters and mistresses; 37 are of doubtful and uncertain characters; and 19 appear to be bad and undeserving. About four or five of them are weak

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and sickly, but nearly the whole of them are healthy young persons, from 15 to 30 years of age.

These are the people, my Lord, who are stated by a few individuals of the island, to be indolent and turbulent, and *likely with their progeny to be a burthen to the country* (meaning Tortola) for support, and whom my colleague, from a wrong conclusion drawn by him on the refusal of Dr. Donavon, to take more apprentices, says (p. 60) "appear to prove that the labour of the African apprentices was considered as of *little value* generally; although it is certain there are a *few industrious* individuals among them, as in all classes of men are found more enterprising and ambitious than the rest of those around them."

Instead of a few industrious being among them, as stated by my colleague, let the original testimony given of the apprentices by their masters and mistresses be inquired into; and out of 234 fair and deserving characters, your Lordship will find industry and honesty to be *generally* prevailing among them: and it may be further observed, that from the sparing hand with which some of the masters and mistresses have done justice to their apprentices, what they have said, must produce the greater conviction that the characters bestowed were not flattering ones.

But these masters and mistresses say more, and it is this to which I solicit your Lordship's attention.

Mr. Grigg, of whom my colleague speaks so favourably, says of John Oroa (p. 84) 19 years old; "he is an active good boy; good oarsman; occasionally employed as a porter; is a good and industrious character."

But what does Mr. Grigg say as to his capability of supporting himself? This: "Would be able to *support himself*, but the country is so poor, he would scarcely get an opportunity."

P. 106. Hester Onaiachi: the apprentice of the Honourable William Gordon, the King's Counsel. Master says, "She is a very good washer-woman; very capable of *supporting herself*; but in *Tortola* there is not a field for doing so."

The Honourable W. R. Isaacs, member of Council, says of his apprentice, (p. 108) Isabella; she is a good domestic, and washer: but observes, no person brought up merely as domestics, could support themselves *in Tortola*, as those

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those persons who would be able to hire them, have servants of their own, and more than they want.

Nuago, or Eliza, when asked if she were to be fed for twelve months, and three acres of ground given her by Government, with a small house, for which she was to pay some rent, she could then provide for herself; replied she could not stand here at Tortola; but upon its being explained that Trinidad was the place meant; she thinks she could take care of herself there. This woman had a knowledge of house business, and could work at her needle.

The Honourable William Gordon thus speaks of Jem Ingram, aged 24, (p. 135,) "He is an honest, industrious, well-behaved man, in good health; his chief talent appears to be that of a groom, but he is handy about the house." Master thinks he could not get employment, for *want of persons in Tortola who can afford to pay wages.*

I know this man Jem particularly well; he lived within ten yards of my residence, and is one of the most deserving and industrious of the Africans at Tortola; and I may say the same of his wife Hester.

Mr. Grigg, the searcher of the Customs, says (p. 137) of Edward Unquo, 27 years of age, that he is a good oarsman, and employed as porter, boatman, and fisherman; well-disposed person, attentive, industrious, and healthy. Mr. Grigg adds, he would be able to support himself, but *the country is so poor he would scarcely get an opportunity.*

The Honourable Mr. Isaacs, Member of Council, says of Richard Orro, a lad of 16, (p. 242) that, "he is very active about the house, and a good cotton ginner; very good character, and well disposed." Mr. Isaacs, says, that most of the housekeepers in the island, having an over supply of domestics, does not think the boy would be *hired for wages*, if at liberty.

Charles Lloyd, esq., King's Counsel, in p. 254, gives the following account of Isaac Haccoona, aged 18: "Employed as a seaman; has learned a little of the trade of a cooper and boat-builder; can cook, and is a good house-boy, perfectly trustworthy, honest and industrious." Mr. Lloyd adds, that Isaac "is perfectly able to support himself, but not in Tortola."

Miss Aber Robsott, (in p. 310) says of Jennett, 22 years of age, a healthy young woman, that she washes very well,

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well, and is a good working negro; *she feeds herself* by the produce of the ground allowed to herself, which she cultivates in potatoes and peas; her mistress gives her fish; she clothes herself from the produce of *her labour*; her employment is to cultivate *the ground of her mistress*, and *her own*, and to wash for the family; she appears to be an industrious girl, but dislikes the residence on the quay.

Here your Lordship will find an industrious, healthy, good-working young woman, of 22 years of age, who cultivates her mistress's ground, and that which is allotted to herself; washes also for the family, and feeds and clothes herself.

What was the mistress's answer to my colleague, (who took the examination) when asked if Jennett would be able to provide for herself at the expiration of her apprenticeship? The reply of Miss Aber Robsott, was, "she does not think she (meaning Jennett) would be able to support herself."

The foregoing extracts from the examinations, will show your Lordship the true ground on which these persons, holding high situations in the Council, Assembly, Customs, and the Bar, draw a conclusion that the Africans would not be able to support themselves, namely, that the country in which they have the misfortune to reside is poor; and not the assumed ground my colleague asserts, in p. 60, that, "the labour of the African apprentices, as a free people, is not much valued;" although, he says, "I wish this to be considered as *a fact, only generally speaking*; because I think that *a few exceptions may exist* sufficient to prove it not to be *universally true*."

Here, my Lord, I beseech you, (passing over every other remark which I have made) to read the characters as given by the masters and mistresses of the whole of these African apprentices as I have classed them in the Appendix, with the pages of reference to the printed details; and then decide between my colleague and myself, whether he is correct in stating as "*a fact generally speaking*, with only a few exceptions, that the labour of the African apprentices, as free people, is not much valued."

And yet what serious denunciation does not my colleague invoke on himself, if his facts should prove otherwise than true; see p. 76, in which he says,  
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" for my own part I am free to confess that my judgment may err in drawing a correct inference ; but, as I have already stated, if I err in the statement of a fact to your Lordship, I should deserve the highest possible disgrace, for it must be with an intention to deceive."

Your Lordship will observe that my colleague, in pages 77 and 78, has introduced some remarks as to Daniel Onabon (p. 224.) and Penelope Whan, (p. 230.) both of whom had fair characters given them by their master ; but it appears, that since the examination of these apprentices, Daniel had beat his wife with a stick, and that Penelope Whan, the apprentice of my colleague's friend, Mr. D. Fraser, who stated her (see p. 230.) to be a remarkably well-behaved and well-conducted person, and that " he thought she would be able to gain a livelihood any where," was charged some years since with whipping a slave afflicted with the yaws for committing a theft upon her, in consequence of which punishment the slave died ; the fact was, that this boy had stolen Penelope's money, she whipped the boy with tamarind switches (but not with severity) to make him tell what he had done with the rest of the money, part of which he had given up. The boy being ill of the yaws, died ; afterwards Penelope was tried, and imprisoned for six months.

These are the two instances which my colleague quotes, after a lapse of two or three years, to show that the characters given by the masters and mistresses of the apprentices, were not correct ; even that of Mr. D. Fraser, who has no great partiality for the African apprentices.

Had there been any other instances, the details of my colleague would have afforded them.

It was my intention to have made full explanatory remarks on the testimony of the following persons residing at Tortola ; Mr. King the father, and his son ; Mr. John Gibbs, Treasurer ; Mr. George Crabb ; Mr. Roger Isaacs ; John Carruthers, and John Stobo ; but I find myself obliged to curtail them, and only mention a few. (e)

Major Moody has already stated, that had he given all the details, the Report would have been doubled in size for no useful purpose, as those given were sufficient for Major Moody's object.

(e) Mr. Dougan here proceeds to examine certain opinions given by the more rich inhabitants of Tortola, who would be the most likely to employ workmen and labourers, or domestics of various occupations, when the African apprentices should have served out their time. Whatever may be the opinions of these persons, it is obvious that they are the only class who would be able to employ the apprentices as free people, and therefore, as already stated, it seemed to be desirable to know their sentiments. Major Moody therefore officially addressed certain queries to that class

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class of persons in the island ; and all, except one gentleman, returned answers as given in the schedules.

On the correctness of the individual facts or observations of these persons Mr. Dougan makes certain comments. For instance, in the case of Mr. King, it appears that a boy, who, living with him at the age of thirteen, was a thief, was, (when living with Mr. Wilson, a poor white man, who had not another domestic,) a very good servant at the age of seventeen. But during the melancholy state of Wilson's mind from derangement, which was not known at the time of examination, it afterwards became necessary to remove the apprentice. The fact brought forward by Mr. Dougan does not therefore disprove any fact stated upon the authority of Mr. King. The insinuation that the boy might have been under-fed by Mr. King, and therefore have stolen food, shows the animus of Mr. Dougan's mind better than any thing that could be brought by any other person to prove its bias.

Mr. Dougan is then pleased to quote Mr. King's words, and attempts to alter the meaning of them, by suppressing, as usual, part of the sentence. Mr. King says of these persons, when free from the coercion of apprenticeship, "I do not think they would be able to support themselves, as they have not been brought up to cultivate the soil;"—and he continues to say, what Mr. Dougan suppresses—"nor do I think they would be inclined to do so, unless they would be compelled by some authoritative mode;" which clearly shows Mr. King's meaning to be the very reverse of that to which Mr. Dougan would twist it. Mr. King then, even according to Mr. Dougan, shows that there was no steady demand in Tortola for the labour of porters, mechanics, or house servants: but these were the occupations to which the Orders of Council, in connection with the form of indenture, had confined the apprentices, by forbidding their employment in agriculture in all colonies, without the slightest reference to the peculiar local circumstances of each. For the plans which might have been well adapted to the Cape of Good Hope may not answer for Tortola, merely from the different local peculiarities of the two countries as to labour; thus confirming Major Moody's Report.

Mr. Dougan has been pleased to assume, that if the plan of his friends had not been adopted, there was no alternative, but making slaves of the apprentices. Major Moody denies this, and contends, that these people could have been employed for their own benefit, under the control of Government, in a better manner than the plan adopted; and that the captured negroes might now have been more advanced in knowledge, wealth, and social civilization, had their labour been placed under a judicious system of control and coercion, in agricultural pursuits, for their own benefit.

Against Mr. Richard King, jun. Mr. Dougan can say nothing, except that "he is the only son of Mr. Richard King, who possesses many slaves;" that he is a very young man, and having no African apprentices of his own, he could only judge of them from the two who had been in the service of his father.

In page 82 of Major Moody's Report, Mr. King is stated to have been a person well known and esteemed by Mr. Dougan, and which is not denied by him. Mr. Dougan therefore really knew that Mr. King had a large family, though he had only one son, and that his slaves were household people. That although the son was young when he came to Tortola, yet having been there twenty years in 1823, and the African apprentices having only been landed in the latter end of 1814, ample opportunity was given for observation to a person filling the situation of secretary of the island, and seeing the liberated Africans daily in the streets of the town where he lived. Yet does Mr. Dougan's tone of mind induce him to state to Earl Bathurst, that the secretary of the colony must have solely formed his judgment upon the conduct of only *two* apprentices, who had once been in the service of his (Mr. King's) father. Now these gentlemen both speak as to facts which they had seen with their own eyes. Major Moody had seen the same things, and it is scarcely possible to believe that Mr. Dougan did not see them. He does not indeed deny the truth of the facts, but implies that no attention ought to be paid to the inferences or opinions founded on the facts, for certain reasons which have been given, and which do appear to be so inconclusive, that it would be idle to controvert them.

Mr. Gibbs's evidence is met by distinct denial on the part of Mr. Dougan, of his having witnessed the dancing and fighting which Mr. Gibbs says occurred before his door. Mr. Dougan passing it twice a day, and during the hours alluded to, never witnessed the circumstances. This is negative evidence against that of a witness with better opportunities of observation, who states positively what he saw. Major Moody himself has often separated parties fighting in the streets; and in page 129 of his first Report has distinctly stated, "of this feeling" (fighting and quarrelling) "my colleague could not be altogether ignorant, not only from the preceding evidence given to us both, but from the frequent battles and quarrels in the streets of which he may have been occasionally a witness. Indeed one of the apprentices, Buonaparte, who lost an eye in a fight with a negro of the island, told me he was indebted to my colleague being near at the time, that matters were not worse." And as Mr. Dougan has neither denied the facts nor inferences as to the quarrels and fights which frequently took place, it would seem that his negative evidence

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evidence on this occasion, is little calculated to shake the truth of Mr. Gibbs's statement as to a positive fact seen by himself.

Doubtless the free people of Tortola have been from time to time quitting it; as they rarely cultivate the soil, and the reward for such labour as they would be inclined to give in other occupations has been deteriorated by the introduction of a class of labourers, like the African apprentices, who, on cheaper terms, were employed in these occupations, in the same manner as Irish labourers in England are found to work for less wages than the English labourer, leading some times to quarrels amongst them.

The explanation of what Mr. Gibbs means by the circumstances of the colony inducing the free black and coloured people to emigrate to foreign colonies, confirms, in the strongest manner, the views of Major Moody as to the impolicy of placing the African apprentices in those occupations only, by which formerly the poor white and coloured people had obtained a living, from the exercise of that degree of exertion which they were willing to give voluntarily. When the circumstances of the island obliged them to give a greater degree of exertion, many preferred retiring to foreign colonies, where they could live by less labour, or have a higher reward for that which they chose to give, than they could obtain in certain occupations in Tortola, where the supply of that peculiar kind of labour exceeded the demand, in consequence of the Orders in Council, &c.

Respecting Mr. Isaacs, it appears on Mr. Dougan's showing, that the only apprentice he ever had was given up by him on her preferring a complaint which was unfounded. The same person, when placed with a free coloured woman, received a very good character, as indeed was generally the case with those persons who never otherwise would have had a servant.

It is perfectly true that Mr. Isaacs may have formed a wrong opinion; but it does not appear fair to say, that because he gave a true account of the apprentices of his sister, his statement was not true respecting the other apprentices whom he had observed. And on reference to the Schedules it will be found that his sister gave up to the Collector all her apprentices as soon as she could, which strongly confirms the opinion that Major Moody had formed of the low value in which the labour of these people was held in Tortola.

Mr. Dougan says, that "Mr. Crabbe could not, in his official capacity, mention any charge of a serious nature against the Africans, excepting one." Referred to in the Schedules, p. 72.

This is a most extraordinary assertion on the part of Mr. Dougan, for the question never was asked of Mr. Crabbe, nor is there the slightest allusion to such a question ever having been put to him, in the pages of the Schedules quoted by Mr. Dougan. Yet upon such loose assertions of his own, he gravely infers, "It is fair to conclude that Mr. Crabbe's observations on their general character is not official, and that he may have mistaken their character, as he never possessed an African apprentice." From which it would appear that a person of Mr. Crabbe's high situation in the colony, and respectable character, could not form an opinion of the general character of a portion of the inhabitants of the same town where he lived, because none of that class lived in his service!! At any rate it proves that he was not likely to hire the free Africans and pay wages.

Dr. Stobo is accused of mental reservation for saying, "I have no African apprentices in my employment as indented servants." The proof of this by Mr. Dougan is, that Dr. Stobo had had two apprentices, one of whom had died, and the other was in Scotland. How this fact confutes the assertion at the time, when Dr. Stobo gave his evidence, it is impossible to conceive. But Dr. Stobo is said to be the manager of the estate of Mr. Patnelli, his father-in-law. Dr. Stobo certainly was not the manager on his father-in-law's estate, when he gave that paper; whether he ever was since, Major Moody has now no means of knowing. Whatever may be the case hereafter, it also appears that Dr. Stobo had no slaves when he gave his answers.

Mr. Dougan, as in the case of Mr. Richard King, jun. states, that the opportunities for observation possessed by Dr. Stobo were confined to the apprentices of Mr. Patnelli and Miss Patnelli, whose characters of the individuals do not justify the general character given by Dr. Stobo. As Major Moody cannot discover by what process of reasoning Mr. Dougan arrives at his conclusion, any remark thereon is useless, for it is impossible to conceive why Dr. Stobo could not see other apprentices than those to whom Mr. Dougan confines him.

An inference is drawn from the examination of Bristol and Louisa; that Sunday was the only day allotted to them, to feed and clothe themselves. Had such been the fact, it would have been very wrong in Major Moody and Mr. Dougan to have omitted all reference to it, more particularly in the case of Mr. Patnelli, against whom anonymous evidence had been sent into the office, but which was afterwards abstracted therefrom. On turning to p. 126 of the Schedules, it appears that instead of clothes, Mr. Patnelli allowed Bristol one and a half acre of ground, and permission to keep a cow on his estate; and that Bristol did keep a cow belonging to another person,

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person, and had the calf for his own use for keeping her; and that he also had a sow and two fowls; was baptized and admitted into the Methodist Society.

To suppose that such a person would not have complained of being obliged to work his ground on a Sunday, when he stated his other complaints, is too improbable a supposition; yet no such complaint was made when the man was examined both by Mr. Dougan and Major Moody, as appears by the Schedules.

In the case of Louisa, in the very page of the Schedules referred to, these words are to be found: "Her master readily acceded to it," *i. e.* her having Saturday, "saying he would give her Saturday; and farther, he would give her as much land " as she could work for herself and child, and permission to keep stock for the " support of herself and child."

Now as there are different modes of feeding negro servants, a short explanation is necessary to understand the nature of the favour which Louisa solicited, and which was granted by her master. One mode is, to give food as a ration to the servant; in which case, if the servant be a domestic, as Louisa was, all the week is devoted to domestic duties, as in England. Another mode is adopted with the generality of negro servants who are not employed as domestics. They receive also some small allowance, but chiefly depend on the cultivation of their own ground or garden, which the master gives them, and which he allows them the half of Saturday to cultivate.

From the circumstance of Mr. Patnelli offering (in the Schedules, page 116) to give Louisa "as much land as she could work," it is manifest that formerly she had not been fed in that manner, and her request now was to have the whole of Saturday, and a ground to work for her own use, which was immediately agreed to.

In whatsoever manner Louisa had previously been fed, the Schedules prove that it had agreed with her, for she was in good health at the time of examination.

Yet it is from the evidence contained in the Schedules as to Bristol and Louisa, that Mr. Dougan infers that Mr. Patnelli, "neither allowed his apprentices clothes " nor food;" yet both of them appeared before Major Moody and Mr. Dougan in good health, as is recorded in the Schedules; Louisa neither complaining of want of food or clothes, and Bristol only complaining of want of clothes, on which Mr. Patnelli showed the allowance which he made to Bristol to enable him to obtain clothes, *viz.* one and a half acre of land, permission to keep a cow, hog, goat and fowls; and Bristol himself acknowledged that he had, at the time of examination, a sow and two fowls, and he was keeping the cow of another person, for which he was to have the calf for his own benefit.

The other inferences appear to be equally unfounded; for Mr. Dougan without doubt would have established the facts against Mr. Patnelli if he could have done so, from the feelings between them.

It would be tedious to examine in the same detail Mr. Dougan's observations as to the apprentices of two coloured females of the name of Patnelli, who were the daughters of Mr. Dougan's rival when he lived in Tortola as a merchant and nava. agent; for it appears absurd to suppose that Dr. Stobo had not much more extensive means of judging of the general character of the liberated Africans, than those few persons to whom Mr. Dougan would mainly confine his personal observation.

It must again be stated, that Major Moody deemed it of importance to know the *opinions* of the richer persons holding high situations in the colony, because it would be this class of persons, and not the very poor masters and mistresses of the apprentices, who would be able to hire them for wages, at the termination of their apprenticeship. The opinion of Dr. Stobo indeed, and of every other person, might have been founded on erroneous principles, yet as such persons as these would be best enabled to hire the liberated Africans, their opinions become of importance, at least so far as they tend to show the little chance that existed of employment being found for these Africans, and the consequences that might result therefrom. On this view of the case, Major Moody is unable to discover any remark of Mr. Dougan.

Respecting "any opinion or statement of such a person as Dr. Stobo being " thrown aside altogether as unworthy Lord Bathurst's attention," Major Moody has only to quote the manner in which the "*Statements*" of Dr. Stobo were introduced to the notice of the Under-secretary of State by Mr. Gannon (one of the Commissioners who succeeded Mr. Dougan and Major Moody), whose "*opinions*" on other subjects connected with the apprentices, were nearly the same as those of Mr. Dougan, if a judgment can be formed from his separate Report laid before Parliament.

Mr. Gannon's letter to the Under-secretary of State is dated Antigua, 14th February 1824, enclosing the statistical statement relative to Tortola, of which Dr. Stobo had given him a copy, as he had also done to Major Moody, who had carefully verified it, and annexed it, with some amendments, to his Second Report. Of Dr. Stobo's statistical statement, Mr. Gannon thus speaks: "No. 1 is a statistical table of the " Virgin Islands for two periods, 1815 and 1823. This I received from a physician " of the Island of Tortola, a man of abilities, *perfectly conversant with the local " circumstances of these islands.*"

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Now it may be truly said, that the mere opinions of Dr. Stobo, Mr. Dougan, Mr. Gannon or Major Moody, are really of no value, except in relation to the facts fully and fairly stated, without suppressing the "local circumstances," which influence the question under consideration. But surely the statements of "a man of abilities, perfectly conversant with the local circumstances of these Islands," cannot fairly be said to be "unworthy of Lord Bathurst's attention," as Mr. Dougan appears to have said in his posthumous papers.

Farther explanation, however, is necessary to show the motive which Mr. Dougan's friends had to decry the truth of Dr. Stobo's statements regarding Tortola.

So far back as the year 1823, the Society for the mitigation and gradual abolition of Slavery, had, on the authority of Mr. Dougan, published certain statements relative to some free negroes in Tortola, who had been emancipated several years ago, and now had children of the third generation, with two schools in their village, settled on the land left to them when emancipated by their proprietor, a benevolent quaker named Nottingham.

Of these people, the Society alluded to had published to the world, that in nearly fifty years they had "increased from 25 to 43," and that they "consumed more of British produce and manufactures in a year, and promoted the traffic of Tortola itself more than three times the number of slaves would do." It is true, such an assertion was unsupported by the statement of any fact to justify it. As to the increase of their numbers, and "their having intermarried with each other," as asserted by the Society, Miss Dougan, in page 3 of the Parliamentary Paper, No. 462 of last Session, says that her father afterwards found his statement to a similar effect to be a mistake. Prior to the discovery of this mistake, however, Dr. Stobo had transmitted his details, showing that they had *not intermarried* with each other, and when fairly calculated, that they had *not increased*. He showed also, in detail, of what their wealth consisted, thus disproving the inference of the Anti-Slavery Society. Major Moody's statement of their property, taken by himself on the spot, and given in by the people themselves, confirmed Dr. Stobo's statement.

It happened, however, that the statement of Dr. Stobo, to which Mr. Dougan objects more specifically, was given by him to the Commission after Messrs. Bowles and Gannon had relieved Major Moody. Whilst they remained in Tortola, Major Moody readily gave them any assistance in his power also.

In Dr. Stobo's answer there is a reference to the Nottinghams; and one of the Commissioners who relieved Mr. Dougan and Major Moody determined to visit the place, where these people lived, which being agreed to by the other, they did visit the settlement at Longlook, in company with Dr. Stobo, who had just given in the statement now criticised by Mr. Dougan. Major Moody could not accompany them, as he had wished, not being able to obtain a horse. It is not necessary to refer to Mr. Gannon's opinion on his return, because it is possible his own words might not be correctly repeated; but Mr. Bowles, the other Commissioner, deemed it his duty to write to the Under Secretary of State, under date the 30th August 1823, in these words:—"Permit me to say a few words respecting a free settlement in the Island of Tortola (named Longlook), on which I know our predecessors had the honour to report. Surveying the same land, and the same inhabitants, they arrived at opposite conclusions. The testimony, therefore, of an unprejudiced individual, who had an opportunity of personal observation, may not be unacceptable. There were about a dozen wretched hovels; they seemed to possess a few cows. I expressed my surprise at not seeing more cattle and poultry." "Oh! they steal here like fun," was the answer. "I agree with Major Moody as to the actual condition of these persons."

Although Major Moody readily admits that both Mr. Gannon and Mr. Bowles were very uninformed as to local circumstances on which the full and fair statement of facts depended; yet the effect of a bias on the mind of Mr. Dougan in the statement of facts seems to have been very apparent, when Mr. Bowles could discover it, and felt himself bound in honour to state it in the case of the Nottinghams. It is fair to say, that Mr. Bowles, on his arrival in the West Indies, appeared to be convinced of the superior value of free over slave labour, even in the West Indies; and he lent Major Moody a pamphlet of Mr. Adam Hodgson to prove it.

It will appear, however, from these remarks, who that person was, who was endeavouring to deceive Earl Bathurst, and the public by "statements" undeserving of attention.

After what has been stated, it is difficult to understand that passage in Mr. Dougan's posthumous Report, which says, "in one house of the Nottinghams I saw furniture and domestic utensils, that could have yielded nearly that amount (33*l.* 15*s.*) besides the clothing contained in several trunks." Had Mr. Dougan only mentioned the house, or its owner, any further dispute could not have long remained. Unfortunately, however, his mode of stating facts on this point was to suppress these important considerations, which connected the fact with the

*inference.*

Mr. Dougan.

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inference. The two best houses in the village, being about equal to the houses of the more trusty slaves upon an estate, were put up, one by Jasper Rapsot, a free coloured man and a boatbuilder, and the other by Jeffry Pickering, a slave and smith on the next estate. These houses were doubtless better furnished than the rest, but the *average* of the whole was given, and some had no houses of their own. From the imperfect manner in which Mr. Dougan gives the facts on which he forms his opinions, it is quite impossible to say more than offer other opinions.

One case, however, is more plausible. Why should the pigs and goats of free people be estimated at 2s. less than those of slaves? As to the *number* of each possessed by these different classes of persons there is no dispute.

On reference to the Tortola Schedules, page 126, referred to by Mr. Dougan in these papers, it appears that Bristol had the privilege of keeping on his master's estates a hog, goat, fowls and even a cow. It also appears that such persons residing on estates kept the goats, pigs, &c. of other negroes, chiefly those living in town, and fattened them for a part of the value of the animal when sold. Hence, in calculating the amount of property *actually possessed* by persons residing in town, it seemed fair to estimate the value of their live stock at somewhat less than that of the slaves on estates, which being better fed and taken care of, was of course more valuable in the market; and therefore the animals belonging to the free people, who in proportion to their numbers with the slaves more generally resided in town, were deemed to be worth on an average 2s. each less than the pigs and goats of the latter.

This custom is so common in Tortola, and must have been so well known to Mr. Dougan, that it is difficult to conceive how his weak state of health even, could have made him forget it, and expose his remark to the inference, that it could not have been written by him, but by some person utterly ignorant of those "local circumstances."

Mr. King, senior, said in reply to the interrogatories of my colleague, that he had two apprentices; one was a complete washer, and promised to do well; she was sole washer to his family, but she became idle and indifferent about her washing.

He was so dissatisfied that he gave up the apprentice.

The boy, he says, was a great thief, and he applied to the Collector, who bound him to a carpenter to teach him that trade.

I beg leave to state, that this boy's name was Sampson, and that he was examined by the Commissioners: see page 122. At that time he was only 17 years of age, and had been transferred by Mr. King four years before, in 1818, so that when Mr. King parted with the boy he was about 13 years of age.

Mr. Robert Wilson, a carpenter of the Road Town, to whom the apprentice was transferred, had him for four years, and gives this character of the boy:—  
"A very good boy, very attentive, has been four years at the carpenter's trade, and very handy."

Apprentice says, "he has a good master." This boy, whom Mr. King designates as a thief at 13 years of age, is now among our "Fair and deserving characters," and deservedly so. It is to be regretted that the nature of the theft had not been mentioned; if it were stealing victuals, as Mr. Maclean's apprentices had a propensity to, great allowance should be made.

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2dly. Mr. King states, that he has had every opportunity to observe their conduct as to industry, which is very uncertain.

3dly. He says, they would not be able to support themselves, as they have not been brought up to cultivate the soil. Mr. King evidently means, maintain themselves *at Tortola*; for he adds, "the trade of the island is so contracted, that they could not get a livelihood as porters, mechanics, or house servants."

Mr. Richard King, junior, is a very young man, and although he owns no slaves himself, or had any African apprentices, yet he is the only son of Mr. Richard King, senior, who possesses many slaves.

To the 2d interrogatory, he says, he has been an inhabitant of the Virgin Islands, on an average, about twenty years; but he omits to say, that during a part of that time he was so young as not to be able to form a correct judgment: he also says, that he has had an opportunity of observing the conduct of the Africans generally, and believes them to be a lazy, ill-disposed set, much inclined to drink. As Mr. King, junior, had no apprentices of his own, we may conclude that he judged of the whole African apprentices from the two which his father had.

1st. Mr. John Gibbs says he never had any African apprentices, but owns seventeen slaves.

2dly. Mr. Gibbs says, many of the females possess steady and persevering industry, and exert themselves in earning their living as washerwomen and house drudges, &c. *more than their daily wants require.*

The males, with some few exceptions, are by no means so industrious; their exertions seldom extending beyond what may be necessary to obtain the means of satisfying their immediate wants. They will not, if left to themselves, remain at hard labour, be it ever so profitable, many days together.

But the Treasurer adds, "I have had a peculiar opportunity of observing the conduct of the African apprentices, in consequence of living in that part of the town where they commonly muster to lounge, to seek occasional employment as porters, boatmen, &c. to talk, dance, and fight."

I passed the Treasurer's office at Sandy Bay, twice a-day, for a considerable time, and must aver, that I never



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|

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witnessed any dancing and fighting : as a lounge, Mr. Gibbs's own shop, for the retail of spirituous liquors, undoubtedly drew the attention of any African who wished for a dram before he went to work.

To the 3d interrogatory, Mr. Gibbs says, under the *present circumstances of these islands*, that the Africans would, with some few exceptions, be both unable and unwilling to support themselves by honest means ; and he adds, that a considerable portion of the free people of colour who *formerly lived by their industry*, have already emigrated to foreign islands *to seek a living*.

Mr. Gibbs evidently points out the circumstances of the island as the main prevention of these Africans supporting themselves at Tortola ; for he says, a considerable portion of industrious free coloured people of that island have sought for a living in foreign colonies. How should it then be otherwise with the African apprentices ? and how is it actually the case with a great portion of the white inhabitants ?

4thly. Mr. Gibbs gives an opinion, that the Africans and free people of colour will not amalgamate together, on account of the *contempt* that the latter hold for the former. If Mr. Gibbs had used the word jealousy, instead of contempt, I should have agreed with him on this point.

W. R. Isaacs, a Member of the Council and puisne Judge, owner of twenty slaves, answers to the 1st interrogatory, that he had one African apprentice, and that she did not conduct herself to his satisfaction, and that he was glad of an opportunity to get rid of her.

Mr. Isaacs has omitted to add, that he held this apprentice, I think, for seven years, until her examination was taken by the Commissioners, to whom she made a complaint ; which not being proved to their satisfaction, the charge, as in one or two other instances, was removed from the minutes. This appears to be the true case why Mr. Isaacs parted with his female apprentice.

Her subsequent mistress states, (p. 100,) Terentin to be a civil, sedate woman, and that she had little knowledge of washing, or of the duties of a domestic servant.

From the examination taken by my colleague, (p. 85) it appears that William Ohagolo was transferred 23d August 1822, from John King, of St. Thomas, to William R. Isaacs, Esq.

This

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This man was a very good house servant, and is highly spoken of by his former master.

2dly. Mr. Isaacs says, "I have but few opportunities to observe the general character and conduct of the African apprentices; but *from such as I have had*, some of them seem to conduct themselves as well as could be expected; but in general they appear to be a disorderly set of people, possessing many evil propensities."

I think it would be desirable to hear what Mr. Isaacs has actually said of his brother's apprentices, for whom he acted as executor, (p. 242.) He says of Richard, aged 16, "that he is very active about the house, and a good cotton ginner, a very good character, and well disposed."

Joseph, aged 15, Mr. Isaacs says, has some knowledge as a domestic, is a good fisherman and boatman; and Mr. Isaacs "was informed by his mistress, that he is a very good boy."

Rebecca, (p. 270.) aged 18, Mr. W. R. Isaacs says, "she is a washer, accustomed to the business of the house; very well disposed."

By the testimony thus afforded to the Commissioners by Mr. W. R. Isaacs, when he produced before them the apprentices of his late brother, (Mr. R. G. Isaacs, to whom he was executor,) and spoke highly as to their characters and industry; I think he is not warranted, particularly as he says he has had but few opportunities to observe their general character and conduct to make this remark: "In general they appear to be a disorderly set of people, possessing many evil propensities; and that "he does not think they are inclined to agricultural labour, or that their industry, if they were free from all interference, would be steady, and continued to any employment.

To the 3d interrogatory, Mr. Isaacs says, that in the present situation of *Tortola* he is confident they would not be able, even if they were more industrious than they appear to be, to obtain by their labour any thing like what would give a comfortable maintenance in this island. He then describes the nature of the soil at *Tortola*, and the severe spells of dry weather.

To the 4th interrogatory, Mr. Isaacs observes, that the free blacks would not admit the Africans into their society, and that the slave population entertain

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a great degree of jealousy and ill will towards these apprentices.

W. G. Crabb, the partner in trade of Mr. Isaacs, Chief Justice, Master and Examiner in Chancery, and Member of Council.

To the 1st interrogatory, he says, "I have not now, nor have I ever had, any African apprentice in my employment as an indented servant. I own thirty slaves."

To the 2d interrogatory, Mr. Crabb says, he has had frequent opportunities to observe the general character and conduct of the apprentices.

Mr. Crabb could not, in his official capacity, mention any charge of a serious nature against the Africans, excepting one, the case of Isaac (vol. 1, p. 72) who was thrust into prison by Mr. Maclean the searcher and waiter, for certain mysterious words of God's punishment, and was, after a confinement of four months, discharged without any trial whatever. It is therefore fair to conclude, that Mr. Crabb's observation on their general character is not official, and that he may have mistaken their character, as it appears he never possessed an African apprentice.

Dr. John Stobo, Member of Council and Justice of the Peace.

I am at a loss how to make any observations on the most extraordinary answers given by Dr. Stobo to these queries, and the deposition taken before him of Jim (p. 59) and other information given by him.

Dr. Stobo says to the 1st interrogatory; I have no African apprentices in my employment, as indented servants: *I own no slaves.*

Here is a little mental reservation; Dr. Stobo had two African apprentices indented to him, one of whom died, and the other is in Scotland.

And Dr. Stobo, as manager of the estate of his father-in-law, Mr. George Patnelli, to whose only daughter he is married, has under his employment several African apprentices. *He owns no slaves*, but he looks to a period when some hundreds of slaves, the property of his father, will be his.

To the 2d interrogatory, he says, I have frequent *opportunity* of observing the general character of the African apprentices, indented in these islands, and in general they are *indolent, dirty, greedy*, much given to *thieving*; *quarrelsome* and *vindictive*.

Among

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Among the frequent opportunities of observing the characters of the apprentices, Dr. Stobo must certainly include those on the estate of his father-in-law, of which the Doctor was the manager. Those also of the Miss Patnelli's, natural daughters of Mr. Patnelli; they are six persons altogether, three males, and three females; five of them have excellent characters given them by their masters and mistresses, and one man, Rodney, alone, is put among doubtful characters, and it appears he made a complaint against his master.

The following is the account given by Mr. George Patnelli himself, of these people whom Dr. Stobo saw daily.

P. 126. Bristol, 20 years, in good health. Mr. Patnelli says, "he comes on very well as a cooper; his character in general is very good; believes him *very honest*. Mr. Patnelli says, that in consequence of the privilege, he allows the apprentice  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acre of land, and permission to keep a cow; *does not give him regular clothes*, as it is more than sufficient to buy coarse clothes; and also the privilege of keeping a hog, goat and fowls.

The apprentice, Bristol, says, "he has nothing to say, only he does not get clothes; begs that master would give him some old clothes. The apprentice says he has a sow and two fowls; has the privilege to keep a cow belonging to another person; the calf was his for the keep, and sold for his own benefit, and by himself."

P. 164. Violet Izonias, 28 years. "She is a pretty good washer, comes on very well; *she is as fine a soul as any in the world, quiet and honest*."

P. 166. Louisa Odumaqua, 23 years, in good health. Mr. Patnelli says, she is coming on very well as a washer, but not attentive as he could wish to the washing, or else she would be a perfect good washer by this time; her character in general is a pretty good girl, only she is a little insolent; *is honest*." The apprentice says, "she is very well satisfied, only requested master if he would be so good *as to allow her a little time* to do something *for herself and child*; she says she wishes for *Saturday* in the week, so as to go to chapel on Sunday." Her master readily agreed to this; and further, he would give her as much land as she could *work for herself and child*, and permission to keep stock, FOR THE SUPPORT OF HERSELF AND CHILD.

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*Mr. Dougan.*

*Major Moody's Remarks.*

P. 192. Paris Okaka, 18 years, in good health. Miss Mary Patnelli, a free woman of colour, says, "he pulls a good oar, and can row in a boat; he is a very fine boy, *honest* and industrious."

P. 224. Louise or Glass, 20 years, in good health. Miss Amelia Patnelli, free coloured woman, says, "the apprentice is a baker, and knows the business, a good girl, *honest and industrious*."

The apprentice complained, that "mistress does not allow her *Sunday*: does not ill treat her, and she wishes to be allowed Sunday to meet her class in society." Mistress agreed that she should be allowed to go to church or chapel.

P. 124. Rodney Onykese, 19 years. Here is one apprentice, with none of the best of characters, and his name will be found in the list of doubtful and uncertain characters. Mr. Patnelli says, "he is no great things as a carpenter; can plain, and nail a board, and mend barrels; his character is none of the best; not industrious; cultivates no ground on the estate, where he might have as much as he wishes, with the privilege of keeping a cow, hog and goat.

The apprentice complained that his master had not given him clothes, neglected him when sick, and employed him in the noon-time allotted for dinner, and that his master had struck him with a brick, which had injured him. Mr. Patnelli said, he threw a piece of brick, which struck the apprentice on the breast, it could not have done him any injury; that since March he has not done any thing for him, though he appears stout and healthy.

Here we find the nearest relations of Dr. Stobo, the masters and mistresses of six apprentices, denying in five instances out of six the general character given to their apprentices, that they were either indolent, dirty, greedy, thieving, quarrelsome, or vindictive. Compare these charges with the characters given to the Commissioners by Mr. Patnelli and his daughters: the apprentices are all industrious, very good characters, quiet and *honest, one of them as fine a soul as any in the world*.

One only has not the best of characters, and yet he is accused only of *indolence*, and wanting industry. All Dr. Stobo's charges therefore are totally inapplicable to these people; for four of the severest of them are disproved, and two only remain, that of their being *dirty* and *greedy*.

Supposing

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Supposing this to be the case, did not he know that his father-in-law neither allowed his apprentices *clothes* or *food*; and of this they complained in the mildest terms; Bristol begging for a few of *master's old clothes*, and Louisa requesting master for a little time to do something for herself and child, and *wishing for Saturday* in the week, so as to go to chapel on Sunday. It is pretty evident from this, that Sunday only was allotted to these apprentices to feed and clothe themselves.

Should these persons so situated have appeared to Dr. Stobo as dirty and greedy, he could not be long at a loss to what cause to attribute their hunger or want of cleanliness.

Your Lordship must conclude that the opinion or statement of such a person as Dr. Stobo may be thrown aside altogether, as unworthy your attention, and how much I was justified in not calling upon individuals in the island, placed in a similar situation as that of Dr. Stobo.

To the 3d interrogatory, Dr. Stobo says, that the body of the African apprentices would not be qualified to support themselves, if freed from the control of their present employers. *In fact*, it is chiefly the *poorer* classes who *accept* the services of the African apprentices, the others, considering their labour, even after seven years service, as not an equivalent to their support in food and clothing.

Many solicited me to take them, but I have declined doing so, for the reasons given.

If Dr. Stobo considers his father, Mr. Patnelli, and himself, not among the *poorer classes* at Tortola, then the *fact*, as he terms it, is not the case. (*See* pages 256 and 258.) He held two apprentices, Charles Ubogosono, aged 18, after living with Dr. Stobo, at Tortola, some years, from the 22d February 1815, his master took him to Scotland, and on the 2d June 1818, the African was apprenticed (I presume by Dr. Stobo) to Mr. Cooke, of Glasgow, for seven years longer.

The Doctor's other apprentice was Henry Wassemba; he has made an affidavit of the death of this man.

I need not say that Dr. Stobo could not be ignorant that his father originally had at least one dozen of these apprentices. This *fact*, then, of Dr. Stobo's cannot be substantiated without placing his father-in-law, one of the few rich

*Mr. Dougan.**Major Moody's Remarks.*

men in the island, among the poorer classes of society.

I am sorry to say, with equal facility could the opinions maintained by this person be refuted, as regards the free people of colour. He has produced (vol. 1, p. 350,) an estimate made by him of the property of sixty-two persons manumitted; he has also affixed, in vol. 2, p. 152, or App. E. "Visible property possessed by Slaves," making the whole to amount to 15,032*l.* He has estimated the value of the furniture and utensils of the slaves and free people at the same rate, 15*s.* each, making the furniture and utensils of sixty-two free persons to amount to only 33*l.* 15*s.*

In one house of the Nottinghams I saw furniture and domestic utensils that could have yielded nearly that amount, besides the clothing contained in several trunks.

It is truly ridiculous to see how this person will cheat your understanding if he can; and I am surprised that the acuteness of my colleague would permit him to expose himself in the manner he has done. The goats of slaves he values at *ten* shillings each, those of free persons at *eight* shillings only; the pigs of the slaves he values at *ten*, but those of free people only at *eight*.

In valuing the furniture and utensils of the slaves in 1823, at 15*s.* each, the value is carried out at 4,968*l.* This calculation is made on 6,624 slaves, a considerably larger number than the Slave Returns give.

Return known to Major Moody is that of 1822, when the number of slaves was 6,478, which is 126 less than the number for 1823. The error in calculation, therefore, would be less than 100*l.*; but as Mr. Dougan gives no authority for saying that there were not 6,624 slaves in Tortola in 1823, it by no means follows that Dr. Stobo is wrong.

The boats and fishing tackle of the sixty-two Africans he values at 38*l.* One boat alone of the Nottinghams was worth more money than what he has stated the value of all their boats and fishing tackle, and they had three of them which I saw; and from my long experience of shipping and boats, I think my estimation may be safely taken; and that the three sailing and decked boats of the Nottinghams could not have cost less than 100*l.* sterling, and were then worth about 80*l.* sterling, or 160*l.* currency.

the Custom-house in the name of any of the Nottinghams.

I need go no farther to show what little dependence can be placed on this mockery of statistical returns. With the aid

The next remark of Mr. Dougan objects to the number of slaves being reckoned at 6,624 in 1823, as being "a considerably larger number than the Slave Returns give." Mr. Dougan does not specify what this "considerably larger number" is, nor whether he means the Slave Returns for the same year, 1823. The only Parliamentary

Mr. Dougan objects to the estimate of 38*l.* as the value of the boats and fishing-tackle of the manumitted persons mentioned by Dr. Stobo in the paper given in to the Commission after Major Moody had been relieved. If Mr. Dougan had mentioned what boats he alluded to as belonging to the Nottinghams, he could have been answered. For if he should mean the boats owned by persons who are not Nottinghams, it is obvious how he fell into the error. The person who wrote these papers of Mr. Dougan must obviously have understood him as asserting that the boats did belong to the Nottinghams; but this the owners of the boats positively denied, and none of them were registered at

These explanations will be sufficient to show whether Dr. Stobo or Mr. Dougan was best informed as to the local statistics of Tortola;

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aid of Mr. Colquhoun's book, and that of a few general outlines of my colleague, with a little manufacturing, these productions are deceitfully held out to His Majesty's Government, to delude their judgment, not as regards this petty island alone, but as data, from which general conclusions may be drawn as to the wealth and happiness of slaves, and misery and want of a free man when left unrestrained by a free master.

John Carruthers, Member of Assembly. My colleague observes, that I expressed great kindness for Mr. Carruthers; and that that gentleman, Mr. Crabb, and Mr. Isaacs were all respectable persons, and in my employ at different periods whilst I resided at Tortola.

I trust that I have given Mr. Carruthers substantial proofs of my desire to promote his interest; but, with this regard towards him, I must confess I should not look to him for information, devoid of prejudice, which a residence of thirty years has impressed on his mind.

But Mr. Carruthers says, many of the females are very industrious; the males, with some exceptions, not so industrious: he adds, they are *much addicted to stealing*. Mr. Carruthers cannot, of his own knowledge, say this; he has probably adopted the opinion of other persons, as I perceive he has adopted the precise phraseology of Mr. Gibbs's reply to 3d interrogatory. Mr. Gibbs says, "the situation of the free people of colour who remain, is *by no means enviable*."

ruthers "cannot of his own knowledge say this." Why not? The reason assigned is deserving of remark. Mr. Dougan says, he (Mr. Carruthers) has PROBABLY adopted the opinion of other persons, as he perceives he has adopted the precise phraseology of Mr. Gibbs's reply to the 3d interrogatory.

Mr. Carruthers says, in answer to the 3d interrogatory, "the situation of a great many free coloured people in these islands, situated as they would be, *is by no means enviable*."

"The situation of a great many free coloured people in these islands, situated as they would be, *is by no means enviable*."

This is a style of phraseology totally unnatural to a plain, hard-working man, whom I have known many years; it looks not as coming from his hands, but prepared in a particular manufactory.

Where the facts are few and well ascertained, it may not be objectionable that petitions to the Legislature from different parts of the country, should be echoed

*Major Moody's Remarks.*

Tortola; a matter of some importance, as upon the facts relative thereto depended the chance of the liberated Africans finding profitable employment when free from their indentures, if they should be inclined to work steadily for wages.

Mr. Carruthers is the next person towards whom Mr. Dougan directs his observations. It was only because he had no apprentices, but was possessed of some property and owner of only four slaves, and as Mr. Dougan had lived in his house, as his guest, when in Tortola, that Major Moody thought him a person likely to give some information from which he might form an opinion whether he would be a likely person to hire any of the apprentices when liberated from their indentures.

Mr. Carruthers' evidence was decidedly favourable to the industry of the female Africans under the coercion of apprenticeship; and he justly observes that there were also some industrious males. It is true they are described as being "addicted to stealing." But what was the language held to Mr. Bowles at Longlook among the Nottinghams, who had the advantages of religious instruction to a certain extent, and two schools in the village? Why, that "they steal here like fun," implying that theft was very common. And every person who has travelled among people in a backward state of civilization, knows that theft is a common vice among them. Yet Mr. Dougan boldly says, that Mr. Carruthers "cannot of his own knowledge say this." Why not? The reason assigned is deserving of remark. Mr. Dougan says, he (Mr. Carruthers) has PROBABLY adopted the opinion of other persons, as he perceives he has adopted the precise phraseology of Mr. Gibbs's reply to the 3d interrogatory.

It appears that both Mr. Gibbs and Mr. Carruthers in their answers to one of the questions submitted, use the following words: Mr. Gibbs says, "The situation of those (*i. e.* a considerable proportion of the free people of colour) "who remain, is by no means enviable." Mr. Carruthers says, "The situation of a great many free coloured people in these islands, situated as

Mr. Dougan contends that these words of Mr. Carruthers, given in his own handwriting, are "totally unnatural to a plain hard-working man, whom he had known for many years; it looks not as coming from his hands, but prepared in a particular manufactory."

Major Moody cannot comprehend why Mr. Carruthers should have given an erroneous opinion as to the custom of stealing being prevalent among the apprenticed Africans, because he uses nearly the same terms in speaking



Mr. Dougan.

echoed in similar terms; but when *special* interrogations are put to ascertain from various individuals a knowledge of a great variety of points; when we see such a *fac simile* as I have quoted, we must conclude there has been some management in the getting up of the piece.

and prepare those, over whom he had any influence, to give their testimony to suit his views. Mr. Dougan, however, fearing the objection that may be made to the petitions to Parliament got up by his friends on West India subjects, specially refers to that case, as sanctioning the method which he unjustly insinuates was adopted in the case of his friend Mr. Carruthers.

My colleague remarks, in vol. 2, p. 82, that all the persons he applied to for the purpose of answering a series of questions, complied with his request, except Mr. French, who, he said, assigned no reasons for withholding his opinions in answer to my inquiries, but being of a timid character, I suppose that he did not like to give any evidence which might give displeasure to some of his friends, and of whom my colleague was one.

I pray your Lordship to observe, however my colleague bears *in mind this refusal*, and endeavours to cause *serious pain to a most worthy character*, I must refer to vol. 2, p. 111.

answered them, his answers would have been sent with the others for the information of Lord Bathurst. Major Moody neither felt, nor could feel, any ill will towards Mr. French, for Major Moody had no legal authority to oblige Mr. French to answer his queries.

My colleague in his comments on Appendix F. vol. 2, p. 36, containing a list of ninety-nine slaves manumitted from 1818 to 1822, introduces this unworthy remark, evidently in revenge for the refusal of Mr. French to afford his testimony, and he does it too in the most *insidious way*, appearing to lament the *exposure* he was about to make, but attributing it to the carelessness of his colleague, in introducing the subject.

In Appendix F. p. 36, Anne, a mulatto, aged 29, is stated to have belonged to M. D. French; and the remark is, "this woman, by an exchange of a negro to her master, was manumitted by Mr. French."

"many of them for their freedom. This affords evident proof of industry *previous and subsequent to their becoming free.*" Mr. Dougan then in page 36 has a column headed "Freed by purchase," and designates by name twenty-two out of twenty-four of the persons he had alluded to. Major Moody then showed, in page 110 of his first Report, how Mr. Dougan's facts had been imperfectly stated, by the suppression of important circumstances, but which, when stated, altogether confuted the inference of Mr. Dougan as to the "evident proof of industry previous and subsequent to these people becoming free;" for in the case of Anne, for example, who was noticed in the order in which she was placed, Major Moody knew it was not for her industry that she was manumitted; and as Mr. French himself had obviously wished not to have his name associated with the Commission, Major Moody forbore

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speaking of the condition of the free coloured people of Tortola that are used by Mr. Gibbes. But if it be meant to insinuate that Major Moody, or any person for him, either directly or indirectly dictated the answers to the interrogatories put, he denies the truth of the insinuation in the most solemn manner, and upon his honour. He is, however, not surprised at Mr. Dougan's insinuations, as it was Mr. Dougan's own custom to intrigue

Had Major Moody either dictated answers or influenced the opinions of those to whom he addressed interrogatories, how comes it that *only one* of Mr. Dougan's friends declined to answer them. Many of these gentlemen were on the most intimate terms with Mr. Dougan, but were only slightly known to Major Moody, and Mr. Carruthers was one of those.

Mr. Dougan is pleased to assign an unworthy motive for his observations in the case of Mr. French, a wealthy and respectable public officer in Tortola, who has always discharged with zeal any public duty required by him. He certainly declined to answer the interrogatories sent to him. If he had answered them, his answers would have been sent with the others for the information of Lord Bathurst.

It is painful to Major Moody to justify himself against the insinuation that he desired unnecessarily to explain circumstances relative to Mr. French's manumission of Anne, a free coloured woman.

In page 33 of Mr. Dougan's Report, he refers to a list of ninety-nine slaves, to be found in page 36 of the same Report; and respecting *twenty-four* of these persons, Mr. Dougan says, that the manumission was "obtained by purchase. In one instance the slave paid 330*l.* for his liberation; other large prices have been paid by "previous and subsequent to their becoming free." Mr. Dougan then in page 36 has a column headed "Freed by purchase," and designates by name twenty-two out of twenty-four of the persons he had alluded to. Major Moody then showed, in page 110 of his first Report, how Mr. Dougan's facts had been imperfectly stated, by the suppression of important circumstances, but which, when stated, altogether confuted the inference of Mr. Dougan as to the "evident proof of industry previous and subsequent to these people becoming free;" for in the case of Anne, for example, who was noticed in the order in which she was placed, Major Moody knew it was not for her industry that she was manumitted; and as Mr. French himself had obviously wished not to have his name associated with the Commission, Major Moody forbore

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to state the real reasons, as Mr. French was a man of family. If Major Moody had admitted, contrary to the fact, that Anne had been manumitted for her industry, he would have deceived Lord Bathurst; he had therefore no alternative, but to deny the assumption of Mr. Dougan as to the industry of the female, however painful it might be to others. Indeed Mr. Dougan himself, in page 37 of his Report, says that Anne was manumitted in consequence of Mr. French giving another slave for her to her master. Why was this done? Major Moody will not say more on this subject; but he trusts that what he has said will be sufficient to repel the injurious imputation attempted to be fastened upon him, for having detected the attempt made to deceive Lord Bathurst.

His Majesty's Government will scarcely credit the version, which, from these data only, my colleague has given to the transaction. It will at least show that no persons in the humble ranks of society would like to encounter the animosity of my colleague. My colleague's version is:—

“ The next female is a mulatto named  
 “ Anne, aged 29. I am in this case  
 “ at a loss how to correct errors into  
 “ which my colleague has fallen, be-  
 “ cause the statement of the truth as to  
 “ the matters which he has submitted,  
 “ must *needs inflict pain*. Mr. Mark  
 “ Dyer French, who manumitted Anne,  
 “ by declining to answer the questions  
 “ I had submitted to him, showed *his*  
 “ *reluctance at having* his name brought  
 “ forward. *Suffice it to say*, that he is  
 “ *a married man*, with an *amiable*  
 “ *family*, and that *the services* rendered  
 “ by Anne *were not of that kind* to  
 “ afford the proof of industry which my  
 “ colleague is anxious to establish. I  
 “ hope your Lordship will pardon my  
 “ not *further* continuing to prove *how*  
 “ *careless* my colleague has been in his  
 “ Report to your Lordship, not only in  
 “ the statement of facts, but drawing  
 “ inferences from those which he does  
 “ state in his own way.”

Then follows a deceptious piece of irony, allowing to me an *intelligent mind*, except where *it is biassed*.

I can solemnly assure your Lordship, that my colleague's statement of *alleged services* rendered by this female to Mr. French, is the first *I ever heard of such a connexion*; be the truth or falsity of it therefore his own, I disclaim any knowledge of it.

But this, I must say scandalous, version of my colleague goes farther; it tells to Great Britain, that this respectable gentleman, holding several high situations under Government, is a married man, with an amiable family; and he adds, “ your Lordship will *pardon* my not *further* continuing to prove how careless my colleague has been in his Report.”

Mr. Dougan.

Major Moody's Remarks.

It is singular that my colleague, who has shown such extreme anxiety that no unfounded reflections, made by the African apprentices against their masters, should go forth to the world, by remaining on our Minutes, and create improper prejudices against the inhabitants of the island, should not have felt some compunction in writing and proclaiming this scandal.

But this will appear still more singular when I transcribe part of my colleague's objections to the form of Schedule (D.) transmitted by your Lordship as a proper form for the examination.

Column 20 of this Schedule was, " If the apprentices have formed any *sort of connexions* at the place where they reside."

The following is my colleague's objection to your Lordship to this column : " It would be proper also, *to define the kind of connexion about which the Commissioners are to inquire, as any sort of connexion is rather indefinite, EMBRACING LOOSE AMOURS.*"

The case of Anne must show an instance in which my colleague has gratuitously sported what he wishes to make out *one of loose amours.*

Who could suppose, after seeing this squeamish refined delicacy of my colleague, that he could have made the remarks and insinuations which he has done, against so highly respectable a gentleman as Mr. French ; and I verily believe, solely on his refusal to afford an accommodating testimony on a particular point.

Your Lordship will see in the proceedings at least three Jack Dougans, two of them not African apprentices, and one of them a *mulatto man*. Lest some future charitable investigator of characters, like my colleague, should draw an inference similar to that which has been done in the case of Anne, I will explain the circumstances attending this *mulatto man*. He was manumitted by me, and by colonial courtesy bears my name ; yet I can safely say, there is not the smallest degree of affinity between us. Jack was a slave, found on board an English slave ship, coming from Africa, I think in 1797 ; she was captured by a French corvette, and afterwards recaptured by His Majesty's ship L'Amiable, Captain Lobb ; the English Guineaman fought the French corvette for a considerable time ; Jack was stationed to cannonade ; he was wounded, but continued

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tinued to fight the gun until his ship struck her colours.

I mentioned this circumstance to Captain Lobb, who proposed the liberation of this man; one-eighth part of his value being the salvage allowed, the frigate was given up by the re-captors, and the underwriters as liberally gave up the remaining seven-eighths; and thus I was enabled to give freedom to Jack Dougan, the mulatto man above mentioned.

I have made some observations as to the information afforded by Dr. Stobo. My colleague, in vol. 2, p. 114, says, "Dr. Stobo, *Member of Council*, (this is a title which my colleague never omits giving to that gentleman, but, strange to say, always, omits in regard to the Honourable Mark D. French, one of the oldest Members of the Council, he is only Mr. French) "had taken great pains in forming a *correct statistical return* respecting Tortola, and which I have annexed, it is marked F. p. 152, vol. 2."

With respect to the *correctness of this Return*, certified by my colleague, I think the remarks which I have made will convince any disinterested person that this statement is quite incorrect.

But there is another Return, signed W. Ross, vol. 2, p. 115, endeavouring also to prove the considerable property which the slaves in Tortola possess.

Far be it from me, my Lord, to say otherwise than that a considerable number of Creole slaves, head persons on the estates, possess some property; but I do say that the great body of the field gang have but very little property. I have already given some details on that head; and although I am truly unwilling to add to my remarks, feeble as I am, and desirous that these explanations should speedily reach your Lordship, yet my colleague has introduced, in page 114, vol. 2, so very extraordinary an observation on *dogs*, (*f*) that by making some communication on the subject, (such as I can most feelingly do,) I may cheer my labour a little by exposing such a ridiculous attempt at imposition.

specifically fifteen plantations by name, so that if any error of consequence had been made, it was open to any person to correct it.

Mr. Dougan does not even attempt to say that the Return is false; but unfortunately there is a column in the Return, at page 115, showing the number of dogs that the slaves on these estates possessed. From this Major Moody inferred that those slaves who kept dogs must have something to give them to live upon; in which case he thought that the negro slave must have some food to spare.

The idea of a negro slave having food to spare to feed a dog seems to have appeared extremely absurd to Mr. Dougan, who gives the following explanation of the business. "The food which these animals eat was what I could not conceive possible  
" for

*Major Moody's Remarks.*

In pages 83 and 106 of Major Moody's first Report, the analysis of information given to the Commission is recorded with the official character of each of the persons, Dr. Stobo being a physician and a Member of Council, is merely described in the same manner that the other gentlemen were. In pages 112. 114. 130. the name is mentioned, without that adjunct which Mr. Dougan is pleased to say is "never omitted."

Major Moody is perfectly willing to abide by the decision of "any disinterested person," that Mr. Dougan has entirely failed in showing the incorrectness of the Return.

(*f*) Major Moody is utterly at a loss to give his explanations in answer to Mr. Dougan's dissertation on dogs.

In page 114 of Major Moody's first Report, he showed how he had obtained in minute detail the amount of property possessed by slaves in Tortola, and mentioned

*Mr. Dougan.**Major Moody's Remarks.*

"for a dog to do," says Mr. Dougan with great gravity; "it was the *excrement of animals*, and acid fruit called the sour sop, which grew wild on the sides of the hills!!!" Mr. Dougan then says, the situation of the dogs in Tortola is *not enviable*; the same words which he objected to the use of by Mr. Carruthers. How the dogs lived on such food, and how they climbed the trees to obtain the fruit, is a matter which Major Moody also cannot "conceive possible," never having heard of, nor seen the circumstances mentioned by Mr. Dougan; he therefore leaves his remark unexplained, further than by stating that he saw many of the dogs belonging to slaves in very good condition.

Mr. Dougan himself, however, assures us that the dogs he saw were only *town dogs*, and not those of the *country*; and Major Moody had distinctly specified the plantations as being in the country where these dogs belonging to slaves were kept. Major Moody has to apologize for offering such remarks, for he really is unable to ascertain whether Mr. Dougan meant what he has stated to be in jest or earnest: if in jest, it was a strange subject and time for the purpose. Major Moody, however, respects the memory of Mr. Dougan too much to believe that he ever would have submitted such observations to Lord Bathurst, if the state of his health had not affected his judgment in some cases.

He says, "Your Lordship will observe I had included the number of *dogs* kept by negro slaves, which is omitted in that of Dr. Stobo. *My reasons for including these animals* arose from the desire to ascertain how far the slave *really had an excess of food*, so as to enable him to *keep such animals*."

Your Lordship is therefore supplied with a list of 107 dogs on 15 sugar estates, contained in the Return of Dr. Ro .

Whoser has been in the West Indies must have observed the great attachment which black people have for dogs of a small mongrel race, whose best quality is that of almost perpetually barking at night.

But of all places in the West Indies, Tortola is more annoyed with those animals than any place I ever was in. Some twenty-five years since they had accumulated to such an excess at Tortola, and were so great a nuisance, that an old friend of mine introduced into the Colonial Legislature a bill, which was termed "The Dog Act," laying a heavy tax on those animals to get rid of the nuisance. The bill, if it passed, I regret to say does not exist at the present day. One of my reasons for quitting the lodgings I first occupied at Tortola was the incessant barking of dogs all the night.

The food which these poor animals eat was what I could not conceive possible for a dog to do; it was the excrement of animals, and an acid fruit called the sour sop, which grew wild on the sides of the hills.

Removed into my new lodgings, I was again annoyed as before; and the first object which attracted my notice was a poor, wretched, starved dog, every bone being visible. I called my landlord, a free black man, the owner of the house, and asked why the dog was not better fed?

Mr. Dougan.

Major Moody's Remarks.

fed? His answer was, "Oh massa, nobody feed dogs; them feed themselves upon fish, guts and sour sops; and I b'lieve some of the fish entrails have poisoned him." The dog got the benefit of the offals of my little establishment, and soon became sleek and quiet. Your Lordship may rely on it, dogs meat was never cried at Tortola since its settlement; and, to adopt the style of phraseology produced by my colleague, "their situation (that of the dogs,) is not enviable."

It is ridiculous to see such a statement, representing the number of dogs kept by slaves as a proof that such slaves have an "excess of food," to enable them to keep those animals.

What has reduced the number of slaves in that island since I have known it, from 9,000 to about 6,000? I fear not an excess of food for man or beast.

Here your Lordship may view a story like this, introduced to prove the excess of comfort in the slaves; and another, equally accurate and veracious, proved, as my colleague says, by the correct statement of Dr. Stobo, that the goat, aye, and the pig of a slave, is worth 2s. more than the goat and pig of a free person of colour: he estimates the first at 10s. and the latter at 8s. only.

But perhaps my mistaken zeal, and that unhappy bias of my mind, which my colleague attributes to me, has caused me to see these matters in an improper light. These dogs I saw were only town dogs, ill bred curs, and not those of the country; and the goats and pigs of the slaves are perhaps of a better breed than those of the free persons; or perhaps that noxious word, *free*, may contaminate every thing connected with it, and diminish its value.

I have felt so much interest in endeavouring to correct mis-statements, as regards the Africans, that I have devoted the greater part of the short time I have to that purpose. A few words I shall add as to personal remarks on my conduct, made by a few persons at Tortola, and by my colleague.

The first charge was made by President Porter, who summoned witnesses, and examined them before three Privy Councils, called by himself to inquire whether I had given cause for the report among the slaves that I had brought a letter from the King for their freedom, and that President Porter would not open it. After these investigations, secretly, without my having the least know-

*Mr. Dougan.**Major Moody's Remarks.*

ledge of these Council meetings, I understood from a member of the Legislature, that it was agreed that the reports were all false, and that no minute of the inquiries should be inserted in the records of the Council. Here I need not make any observation.

My colleague himself introduced into the Minutes of the Commissioners a report of having heard Mr. M'Intosh, a member of the Assembly, mentioning a similar report, but states that he, my colleague, *believed the report was groundless*. He took care, at the same time, to guard me against the least cause for such unfounded reports. This circumstance was made known to your Lordship by me.

The second charge was one brought forward, I may truly say, by my colleague (g), although he wishes to make it appear as coming from Mr. Maclean, the master of the maltreated female apprentices. The alleged charge was, that I had endeavoured to prejudice the mind of Mr. Gilgrass, one of the missionaries, against Mr. Maclean, as not being favourable to methodism.

(g) Mr. Dougan is then pleased to say that a charge was brought against him by Major Moody, in point of fact, although he wished it to appear as coming from Mr. M'Lean, the master of the maltreated female apprentices.

Mr. Dougan then states what he is pleased to designate the charge, but which is not correctly given by him.

The following is Major Moody's report of the matter, as contained in an official letter addressed to the Under Secretary of State, dated 29th June 1822, a copy of which was recorded in the office, and seen and read by Mr. Dougan on his return from England:—

“ On the 26th of June Mr. M'Lean called on me under feelings of great irritation, to demand a public investigation, and stated that he had been treated with great injustice in the following instance.

“ Among the affidavits sent to the Commissioners from Mr. M'Lean, is one No. 4, (E.)\* by a free coloured woman, named Rose Grimes, who acted as a midwife to Kitty, and appears to have lived in the family of Mrs. Lettsom, the mother of Mrs. M'Lean. Rose Grimes is also a leader among the Methodists, and at some religious conference, the senior Methodist missionary, in the discharge of what he considered his duty, spoke to her in such a manner on the subject of the affidavit, as to induce her, after justifying herself, to communicate what had passed to the family. Mr. M'Lean, thinking himself accused of having tampered with a witness, called on Mr. Gilgrass the missionary, who related how the matter of the affidavit had been represented to him, and that he would have spoken to Mr. M'Lean on the subject, but that on the most respectable authority Mr. M'Lean had been represented to him as inimical to the Methodists.”

The prosecution of this business led to the following facts being proved, on the authority of persons now living; and therefore, when this is possible, their own words are used from written documents. It is necessary, however, for Major Moody to declare his unfeigned belief that the Methodist missionaries were altogether ignorant of the mode in which Mr. Dougan contrived to have matters represented to them in this case. How Mr. Dougan could have forgotten the existence of the documents, Major Moody can only explain by reference to Mr. Dougan's weak state of health at the time these posthumous documents are said to have been written by him.

In the Papers ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on the 12th of June 1827, No. 462, at page 32, is the affidavit of Rose Grimes, a free coloured woman, and a leader in the Society of Wesleyan Methodists. The affidavit was given in by Mr. Dougan himself, and is not a copy certified by the Secretary, as all official papers of that kind were. Major Moody declares he did not copy it for Mr. Dougan, and as nobody had access to the documents of the office but the Secretary, Mr. Dougan and Major Moody, it is clear that Mr. Dougan himself must have

\* *Vide Parliamentary Papers, Sess. 1826, N° 462, p. 62.*

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have privately copied the document, previous to his leaving Tortola, on the 14th of June 1822, to return to England.

The first inquiry is, whether the Methodist missionary did reprove Rose Grimes for swearing to the truth of that which was contained in her affidavit, under the impression that Mr. Dougan had disapproved thereof.

As Major Moody, in inquiring into the truth of the complaint preferred by Mr. M'Lean naturally had conversations on the subject with the Methodist missionaries, that he might not misrepresent their words, he wrote thus to Mr. Gilgrass, on the 14th December 1822, and which was recorded in the books of the office and seen by Mr. Dougan; viz.

" Major Moody presents his compliments to the Rev. Mr. Gilgrass, and will thank him to say, on the blank half page opposite, if Major Moody has correctly stated the meaning of Mr. Gilgrass in a matter on which, at different times, they have had some conversation. Mr. Gilgrass, in the discharge of his pastoral duty, had occasion to speak to Rose Grimes, a free coloured woman and a leader, respecting an affidavit which he had understood she had taken relative to some of Mr. M'Lean's African apprentices; and although in the course of his address he had occasion to refer to Mr. Dougan's name, (Mr. Gilgrass having heard that Mr. Dougan had expressed surprise at the affidavit being taken,) yet Mr. Gilgrass had no communication on the subject with Mr. Dougan."

To these Mr. Gilgrass replied as follows, on the opposite half page:

" William Gilgrass, Wesleyan Methodist missionary, returns his compliments to Major Moody, and assures him that he has correctly stated the meaning of Mr. Gilgrass on the matter referred to on the opposite side of the written half space.

(signed) " Wm. Gilgrass."

It is believed to be inconsistent with the religious discipline of the Wesleyan Methodists to give their authorities to strangers for the charges made against persons who fill the place of leaders in their society.

It never therefore could have been known to Major Moody what reproof had been given to Rose Grimes, under the erroneous impression of her having sworn to that which was not true, had she not communicated the facts to Mr. M'Lean, and had not he demanded an investigation thereof.

Mr. Dougan simply declares he had no personal communication with Mr. Gilgrass, a circumstance strictly true, but he had conveyed what he wished to Mr. Gilgrass in a mode which was the least likely to rouse suspicion; and on this subject there are proofs, the existence of which he seems to have forgotten, at the time he sent his posthumous papers to Lord Bathurst. For instance, there is a letter which Mr. Dougan himself had, on another occasion, forwarded to Lord Bathurst from the free coloured man Michael Fraser to Mr. Dougan, explaining some instructions which Mr. Dougan had given about this very person Rose Grimes. Mr. Fraser in his letter, dated 28th November 1822, says to Mr. Dougan, " You requested of me to know if Rose Grimes was a leader in the Methodists society, and what her general character was, as she had made an affidavit, and you wished to know something about her."

Here Mr. Dougan himself proves his private communications with the coloured inhabitants respecting the evidence given by them connected with the Commission. But how came the misrepresentation of the affidavit of Rose Grimes to have been circulated amongst the free black and coloured people in the Methodist society, and even known to the chief missionary himself? How came even Mr. Dougan's opinion thereon to be known?

It was impossible for Major Moody to have directed the charges which were preferred against Mr. Dougan, for Mr. M'Lean first stated them, after the communication made to him by Rose Grimes; and soon afterwards it was well known in the colony that Mr. Dougan had been occupied in private interviews with the free coloured people and the apprentices, endeavouring to influence their testimony before the Commissioners, and which Major Moody offered to prove to Mr. Dougan himself by witnesses, but which Mr. Dougan would not permit. For Major Moody had a clue given to him, which enabled him to ascertain the mode of proceeding adopted by Mr. Dougan in order to get the nature of Rose Grimes's affidavit misrepresented, so as to induce the chief missionary to reprove her. The first step taken by Mr. Dougan was to have it conveyed to the chief missionary that Mr. M'Lean was unfriendly to the Wesleyan Methodists. In a note dated 12th December 1822, Mr. Felous, one of the junior Methodist missionaries, thus wrote to Major Moody:—" Mr. Felous presents his compliments to Major Moody, and states, to the best of his recollection, that Mr. Dougan told Mr. Felous, that Mr. M'Lean did not wish his Africans to be baptized by a certain class of gentlemen."

Now no persons in the colony, performed the rites of baptism, except the three Methodist missionaries, and the rector. Mr. Felous informed the chief missionary of what Mr. Dougan had told him.



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Mr. Dougan then, through certain free black and coloured persons, some of whom were Methodists, circulated his charges against Rose Grimes for the affidavit she had taken; and she being a leader among the Methodists, their system of discipline rendered it certain that this intelligence would reach the chief missionary without any direct communication with Mr. Dougan.

With a view, therefore, to put the missionaries on their guard, and to show Mr. Dougan what mischievous consequences might arise in larger communities from his system of intrigue, Major Moody was anxious to produce witnesses who would confirm, before Mr. Dougan himself and the missionaries, the charges preferred against Mr. Dougan subsequently by Mr. M'Lean, whilst Mr. Dougan, as a member of the Commission, would have every opportunity to disprove the allegations brought against him by his power to cross-examine the witnesses, and to produce others to refute them had he been able.

Mr. Dougan, however, resolutely refused to hear any evidence on the subject, simply alleging he had not authorized the free-coloured person, Mr. Fraser, to make any communications beyond inquiries as to whether Rose Grimes was or was not a leader among the Methodists; a mode of defence which had no relation to the charges preferred, for the free-coloured man, Mr. Fraser, was only one among several other more important witnesses of the same class in society who would have been produced. Mr. Dougan, however, appears to have forgotten even this defence; for, in the posthumous papers, he seems to consider the allegations made against him to have arisen merely from some misapprehension of Mr. Felvus, relative to a conversation between them. The statements of Mr. Dougan and of the Rev. Mr. Felvus are both now submitted; and these, as well as the real fact that Mr. Dougan had no direct communication with the Rev. Mr. Gilgrass, obviously have very little relation to Mr. M'Lean's specific charge against Mr. Dougan, of an attempt privately to influence the evidence of witnesses to which Major Moody referred, and which would have been speedily proved had Mr. Dougan granted Major Moody's repeated requests to have the matter investigated; but all of which requests Mr. Dougan declined noticing, although they were addressed to him in official letters duly recorded, and delivered by the Secretary of the Commission, and as such remain on the minutes. Major Moody, however, positively refused officially to investigate anything from Mr. M'Lean himself as long as Mr. Dougan was absent from Tortola.

Respecting Mr. Dougan's conduct in influencing some evidence, (admitted by him to have been received privately from Christiana Wheatley,) Major Moody has only to refer to the evidence given publicly by Christiana herself before the Secretary of the Commission, and the correction thereof, in one part, by the fellow servant of Christiana, and finally her affidavit before two magistrates; the whole of which proves that Mr. Dougan was less anxious to ascertain the whole truth for the information of Lord Bathurst, than he was to state circumstances in such an imperfect and garbled manner, as would best enable his friends, the anti-colonists, to attack the West India colonists, on the subject of the value of free labour in West India agriculture. In these posthumous papers Mr. Dougan refers to certain information received by Major Moody from the Rev. Mr. Chadderton, the rector of Tortola, and Mr. Dougan endeavours to confound this with the conduct imputed to Mr. Dougan, viz. that of privately influencing the evidence of witnesses, whose testimony has been produced to Lord Bathurst. Now the testimony of Mr. Chadderton never has been produced by Major Moody, for it referred chiefly to the statistics of Tortola, and merely noticed the habits of the liberated Africans with respect to steady industry in an incidental manner, but it is ready to be produced whenever called for.

Mr. Dougan also says, that some persons absolutely refused to go near Major Moody, and he specifically refers to Francis Welch, a free coloured man, as one who had told Mr. Dougan he would not again go before Major Moody. All these misrepresentations of Mr. Dougan relative to Francis Welch have been explained in the beginning of these remarks (note (a) pages 5, 6, 7), and a copy given of the affidavit actually taken by Welch before Major Moody and the Secretary, on the very subject upon which Mr. Dougan had said that Welch would not again go before Major Moody, thus proving that he had no objection to go before Major Moody, and affording a direct contradiction to the assertion made. Indeed Major Moody cannot bring his mind to believe that Mr. Dougan was the real author of the unfounded assertions made in his name, and now published after his death, because he must have been aware how easy it would be for Major Moody to correct his misrepresentations of the truth, as the documents existed and were accessible to Major Moody in many cases.

With respect to Mr. Dougan's observations on the conduct of the magistrates in the case of Jem, as they do not concern Major Moody, he has only to remark on the subject of dates, that on the 4th April 1823, Mr. Patnelli was examined to ascertain the circumstances under which the date of Onoque's death had been given, that is, whether it was on the 18th or the 13th of April 1815, a point to which Mr. Dougan attached much consequence from the inference that might be drawn therefrom, that the death of Onoque had not been satisfactorily accounted for by Mr. Patnelli. The statement of the free coloured man Welch, privately taken by Mr. Dougan, and published in his Report, p. 47, had reference to this matter. Major Moody, finding that  
Welch

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Welch was considered as an important witness, had him summoned to attend the Commissioners, but it so happened that Mr. Dougan never once attended on any of the days for which Welch had been summoned; and as Major Moody did not wish to act without his colleague in a matter where Mr. Dougan had been taking the evidence of Welch unknown to either the Secretary or Major Moody, Welch very naturally became impatient at the loss of time, for which the Commissioners had no authority to compensate him.

Mr. Dougan, in page 47 of his Report, takes care to omit putting any date to the unsigned statement alleged to have been made by Welch, but according to the latter it was at the time when Mr. Dougan was assigning ill health as a reason for not attending the duties of the Commission.

Whilst Mr. Dougan was proceeding in this manner, on the 5th or 6th of April it appears that President Porter had the evidence of Jem taken without any official communication with Mr. Dougan or Major Moody on the subject, but he also certainly informed the Commissioners a few days afterwards what he was doing, and that he was going to St. Thomas's to obtain the evidence of the Rev. Mr. M'Laughlin, then residing there, on the subject, and this he did on the 30th April. On the 9th of June 1823 Mr. Dougan left Tortola, and Major Moody declined entering into the inquiry after his colleague had left the country; but on its afterwards being represented to him that it would be unjust to refuse to receive the documents which Mr. Porter had prepared, Major Moody did receive them; and as he has hitherto forborne to make any remarks thereon, he does not deem it necessary for his own defence to say anything more here, since, in point of fact, the charges preferred by Mr. Dougan have no reference to him.

My colleague actually brought this as a formal charge against me, and proposed to have an investigation of the transaction, and that Mr. Gilgrass and the missionaries should be summoned. Having denied the alleged charge, I rejected the proposed investigation of my colleague into so unfounded a charge; but before him I solemnly invoked God to witness my declaration of its being totally unfounded in truth; to which my colleague said, in the most insulting tone, "it may be so, as regards Mr. Gilgrass, one missionary; but did not you say so to Mr. Felvus, another missionary?" I felt such a remark made by my colleague was undeserving an answer, and refused to give any explanation to him; but I have done so to your Lordship, and as solemnly declared that I made no such remark to any of the missionaries.

The fact was, that returning from the Custom-house, after the examination of the African apprentices, I met Mr. Felvus, one of the Wesleyan missionaries, and remarked to him how happy I was to find so many of the African apprentices who had been deemed sufficiently deserving characters to have been admitted members of their society. I regretted that an instance had that day occurred of a planter, who originally held ten or fifteen apprentices, and that not one of them had been baptized, although he had held them seven years.

It appears that Mr. Felvus understood me to have alluded to Mr. Maclean. The person I alluded to was Mr. John Lettsom, sen., the father-in-law of that gentleman. Mr. Maclean had only held his apprentices for a few months, and

could

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could not have been the person I alluded to.

This charge of my colleague was as groundless as it was insidious, by an attempt first to cast a slur on my character, on the grounds that I had a prejudice against Mr. Maclean, and to afford my colleague a kind of plea for defending Mr. Maclean for a most unjustifiable act of severity to two females.

My colleague has added many personal accusations, of my privately obtaining information, which has been produced before your Lordship.

I have shown how early my colleague set me this example, in the case of the Rev. Mr. Chaderton, &c.; but I had a much better plea for justification than he had; for such was the terror which my colleague's name had created with persons at Tortola, that half a dozen of them absolutely refused to go near him; nay an intelligent free coloured man, named Welch, the person who had the principal charge of the four African cargoes of slaves, after calling twice on Major Moody, with a view to his examination, was sent away much vexed; and he told me that he would not go before Major Moody again. I mentioned this circumstance to my colleague, who replied that the fellow was saucy and talked of being paid for his time. What resource was left me then, but to take the information of this man as he gave it me, particularly as it tended to disprove what Kirwan, the collector's man, had testified of the alleged death of two apprentices, who I have great reason to believe were improperly disposed of. Welch had attended three different times, and refused to attend again.

Christiana Wheatly was one of my visitors: when ill in the country at Tortola, I availed myself of the opportunity of a visit from her, to inquire into her situation, which had been depicted to your Lordship as a miserable one. It was but a short time previous to my departure. It appears that since my colleague has read the information given me by Christiana, he sent to Tortola, and this timid woman appears by a deposition, said to be taken by Dr. Stobo and another, to have unsaid all that she stated to me.

Jem, an apprentice, was one of the last examined, not long before I left the island. Whilst my colleague was taking this examination personally, during the illness of the Secretary, I was truly astonished at the charges he brought against  
his

Mr. Dougan took Welch's affidavit previous to his appearance before the Board so often when Mr. Dougan did not attend. Mr. Dougan was aware of this, and therefore has not put *any date* to Welch's declaration, nor did he enter the declaration in the official book of the office, intended to contain such documents.

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his master, President Porter, of being chained, imprisoned, and detained by his master beyond his seven years apprenticeship. In the presence of my colleague I cautioned and guarded the man against making false charges, but he persisted in them. It seems the President allowed that he did chain or shackle him.

But he has done me great injustice by not giving me credit for enabling him to refute the charges; for I was the Commissioner who proposed (after this man had made so serious an accusation) that President Porter should be informed of the nature of the charges, and be afforded an opportunity of refuting them.

In page 58, vol. 1, your Lordship will see the manner in which President Porter has done this, and after I had quitted the island. The heated passions of the President are fully displayed in page 58, vol. 1, and afford a fair specimen of an enraged man who knows himself to be out of the reach of correction.

The person who *acknowledges dealing in shackles, chains and cows skins*, (but not the *execrable cart whip*, as he now calls it), is pleased to say, that "I have *disgracefully, illiberally and illegally tampered with this African James, and seduced James to lodge an accusation against him.*"

This man's testimony, see vol. 1, p. 56, was taken before both Commissioners.

It appears that on the 14th June 1823, soon after my departure from Tortola, this man Jem was produced by my colleague before Governor Maxwell, who was then at Tortola. It was not for the purpose of examining Jem in the presence of the Governor, as to the alleged false charges made against the President, an excellent opportunity for open and honest investigation, but merely it seems to ask Jem whether he wished to remain in Tortola, and to witness that Jem wished to stay there.

On the 5th April 1823, when my colleague and myself were both at Tortola, in p. 59, vol. 1, the following deposition is said to be taken before Dr. Stobo.

Virgin Islands, Tortola.

Before the Honourable John Stobo,  
Member of His Majesty's Council.

Jem, a Portuguese negro, condemned to His Majesty, and afterwards a servant of the Hon. George R. Porter, now President of His Majesty's Council in

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the Virgin Islands, maketh oath that Mr. Dougan, one of the Commissioners to inquire into the state and condition of negroes condemned to His Majesty, sent twice to him and examined him in private (nobody being present except the said Mr. Dougan and himself) at the house of Miss Sally Keys, where Mr. Dougan lived, two several times, and also once in the street, as to the treatment he experienced while under the care of the said George R. Porter. He further stated, that he never thought of complaining against his late master; that he had no reason to do so, because his master always treated him well, and that he has always considered him, and now does consider him, his best friend: that if Mr. Dougan had not called him he *should never have gone to him*, and that he does not consider he has any reason to complain against the said George R. Porter.

(signed) *Jem*  
mark × of  
*Porter.*

Sworn to before me, this 5th day of April 1823, being first read and explained to deponent.

(signed) *John Stobo, J. P.*

On the 28th July Jem appears to have made a declaration before Dr. Stobo and William Gordon, the King's Counsel, it is in page 59, denying his former declaration before the Commissioners, as regarded his treatment, and that he did not go to the Court-house to complain against his master; but that he did *on one occasion* go before President Hetherington, the Hon. Andrew Andera, and the Hon. John Ferdinand Pickering, members of Council, and state that his time of servitude had expired, and wished them *to speak to Dr. Porter on the subject.*

He believed they did so; and he *was shortly after* that time discharged from any further attendance on the said Dr. Porter.

(signed) *John Stobo.*  
*William Gordon.*

In this last certificate there is no allusion to the conduct of Mr. Dougan, but Jem appears to confirm part of what he stated to the Commissioners, that of making a complaint to President Hetherington, of Dr. Porter's having detained him in his service beyond the term of his apprenticeship, and that he was released

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leased by the interference of the President and two Members of Council.

Dr. Stobo stands at this moment in the awkward situation of being charged with a serious crime, and appears to be no longer a member of His Majesty's Council; I am therefore unwilling to offer a remark on a deposition taken before him alone on the 5th April 1823, when both Commissioners were in the island of Tortola, seriously reflecting upon the character of one of them, who was so long and well known in the island. It appears, however, that he did so take this deposition in April 1823, which was not produced till the 28th July 1823, after Mr. Dougan had left the country.

I must for several reasons be silent as to Dr. Stobo, and also President Porter. The facts which they themselves have recorded in vol. 1 and 2, of these Reports, will need no comment of mine.

But is it necessary for a person filling the respectable situation I did, and deporting himself as I trust my conduct has proved, (for had it been otherwise th offended masters of apprentices at Tortola would have produced the instances,) is it necessary I repeat for me to enter into an explanation about this drunken man Jem, whom your Lordship will find among the doubtful and bad characters, of what he has said, or what unsaid?

I will however do so, and give my first acquaintance with Jem. There was a great noise in the street, near a grog-shop; it interrupted my writing; and on inquiring the cause of the disturbance, I was told that it was Jem, an African apprentice, making the noise. I looked out of the window, and knowing that this man had never been examined, called him up to the house, and desired him to come the next day to the Commissioners to be examined. He said he would do so, and that Dr. Porter, his former master, knew him to be as good a cook and groom as any in the island. I asked him why he was so very dirty; he said, he had no more clothes. I desired a piece of soap to be given him, and directed him not only to wash himself, but also his clothes, and if he came to me clean I would give him something for himself; and I purchased from a shop the same day a shirt and trowsers to give him, should he appear clean.

Some time after I again saw this man at the grog-shop, and made him come to the door; when he appeared as dirty

*Mr. Dougan.**Major Moody's Remarks.*

as ever. I reprobated his conduct, and showed him the clothes which I had intended for him, (but which I afterwards gave to a more deserving object,) and turned him away with every mark of my dissatisfaction.

I saw him once after this, in the street where he encountered my remonstrance with him on his indolence and drunkenness, without much attention to it; and I never saw Jem after, until he came before the Commissioners to be examined.

Such I most solemnly aver to be a true detail of all that concerns my knowledge of this man; and yet what a fine story is endeavoured to be built on it.

Bath, April 18, 1826.

I solemnly declare my firm belief of the truth of the assertions made by me, and the information contained in the within document containing 48 pages.

(signed) *John Dougan.*

Witness to the signature  
of John Dougan,

(signed) *T. E. Dicey.*

Major Moody's Remarks on Mr. Dougan's Abstract of the Tortola Schedules,  
as given in the annexed Appendix.

IN page 24, Mr. Dougan thus alludes to the Returns given in this Appendix: "My Lord, I beseech you, (passing over every other remark which I have made) to read the characters given by the masters and mistresses of the whole of these African apprentices, as I have classed them in the Appendix, with the pages of reference to the printed details, and then decide between my colleague and me, whether he is correct in stating as "a fact, *generally speaking*, with only a few exceptions, that the labour of the African apprentices, *as free people*, is not much valued."

It is obvious, therefore, that Mr. Dougan, as well as the Edinburgh Reviewer, (No. 90, page 396), to whom these posthumous papers had been submitted previously to their being laid before Parliament, considered that the decision of the difference of opinion between the Commissioners depended on the accuracy of the statements of facts, and of the inferences drawn from such statements. On this account only, Major Moody feels himself obliged to point out, in as short a manner as he can, some of the important considerations which Mr. Dougan and the Reviewer have suppressed, in considering these statements.

The Edinburgh Review, indeed, in No. 90, page 397, is pleased to say on this subject, "The Major does not pretend to insinuate, that any arts were practised with the masters, and it is on the testimony of the masters alone that we are willing to rest our cause."

Major Moody often attempted to have the Methodist missionaries, and certain free negroes and people of colour examined in the presence of Mr. Dougan, on that gentleman's return to Tortola from England, for the express purpose of proving certain facts as to some of the modes privately resorted to by Mr. Dougan to influence the testimony of masters and mistresses, and other persons, relative to the character given of apprentices before the Commission; but Mr. Dougan steadily, and perseveringly refused to permit Major Moody to produce the witnesses, who were ready to prove the facts in an official manner.

In page 77 of Major Moody's First Report, he stated one circumstance connected with an examination relative to an apprentice named Daniel Onabou, to whom his master, a free black man, had given an excellent character before the Commission. It appeared, afterwards, that this apprentice had not deserved the character given of him, and that, on asking the master why he had misled the Commissioners, "he could give no reason, but the amiable feeling of disliking to speak ill of the apprentice, as the Commissioners would not like it." And it is not unworthy of remark, that, notwithstanding this fact, Daniel Onabou is included in these papers by Mr. Dougan among the "male apprentices who have fair and deserving characters!" being the eleventh name in the *Atrevido* List, page 66 of this Appendix.

Now Major Moody was prepared to prove officially, if his colleague would have permitted

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*Mr. Dougan.*

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*Major Moody's Remarks.*

mitted the witnesses to be heard, that Mr. Dougan, in many cases, had been endeavouring to influence the evidence of masters and mistresses, and particularly of those who were black or coloured. The assertion, therefore, of the Edinburgh Reviewer, in this case, will admit of being modified.

It is also particularly to be observed, that the apprentices whose good characters are given in this Appendix, were then living with masters and mistresses, *and under the coercion incident to their condition of apprentices*; indeed, since the magistrates of Tortola declined to interfere in disputes between the apprentices and their masters, the former were, to all intents and purposes, kept under a strict system of discipline, and, under such coercion, deserved good characters in several instances. The question between Mr. Dougan and Major Moody, however, was, whether the labour of these apprentices, "as free people," would, or would not, be valued by the other inhabitants of the colony, who could afford to give them wages, when the Africans should be free from coercion of apprentices, or slaves, or, in other words, become "free people."

No doubt existed, but that, under coercion, slaves and apprentices could be made to behave to the satisfaction of their masters and mistresses; but it was desirable, if possible, to ascertain if the Africans were likely to continue to do so when free from coercion, and working for wages, under all the physical and moral circumstances in which the colony of Tortola was actually placed.

There were, indeed, several other negroes who, under different circumstances, had been captured and liberated prior to those Africans here noticed in this Appendix; and these former classes of negroes now being really "free people," and under no coercion, their actual state of industry in working steadily for wages, as free labourers, when ascertained to be favourable, would have been an unanswerable argument in favour of Mr. Dougan's opinion, and would have totally removed Major Moody's doubts. From the conduct of these last-mentioned classes of free people, however, Mr. Dougan does not venture to draw any strong inference, nor does he here give their names, or even refer to any fact ascertained concerning the value attached to their voluntary and steady labour for wages. It was, however, solely from an investigation of facts concerning people in their state, (being free from coercion), that the question at issue between the Commissioners could be decided. Indeed, Mr. Dougan himself appears to have felt how much facts were against his peculiar opinions on this question, from the pains he has taken to misrepresent certain circumstances respecting Degagé and Christiana who were in this class of "free persons," as well as in the case of the Nottinghams, who were under the most favourable circumstances to have proved his theory, had it been correct.

To investigate all the circumstances suppressed by Mr. Dougan in this Appendix, which bear on each individual case of coerced labour, would swell this Report to an enormous size; but if it should be desired by Government, Major Moody is willing to do it.

In the mean time, perhaps, an examination of a few cases which Mr. Dougan has particularly noticed as being most favourable to his views, will be deemed satisfactory, and will, at present, be sufficient to show the fallacies involved in the reasoning which these cases are adduced by Mr. Dougan and the Edinburgh Review to support; viz. that if Africans are industrious under coercion, therefore they will continue to be industrious when free from it, without reference to the peculiar local circumstances in which they are placed.

## N° 4. Appendix.

## MANUELLA.

Male Apprentices, who have fair and  
deserving Characters.

Page.	Age.	(1) The first African apprentice under the coercion of a master, adduced by Mr. Dougan as having "a fair and deserving character,"
Vol. 1. 60.	George Gent, (1) - 22	is "George Gent, aged 22," and for further particulars reference is made to the Tortola Schedules, page 60. It there appears, that George Gent was, at the time of examination, in the service of Pero Elms, to whom he had been transferred as an apprentice on the 24th May 1822, to be a domestic. It is further said, that George Gent had "some knowledge of employment" as a domestic; and that he had a "good character." Certainly, this information is very satisfactory, so far as it goes; but when it is required to know how far this person with a good character is likely to be employed, when free from the coercion of an apprentice, in such a colony as Tortola, Major Moody thought much more information was necessary, and that the Commissioners should not be content with sitting in a room only, to investigate all the points required to be known, but should also have visited the abodes of the apprentices, and personally inquired into the kind of labour on which they were employed, and should have personally observed whether the work they performed had been well or ill done, when it could be ascertained, as well as inquire into many other circumstances.

To these suggestions of Major Moody, Mr. Dougan replied, that the examinations had better at first take place in the Custom-house, and be recorded in a certain form in schedules, and afterwards it would be time enough to consider how the personal examination



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examination at the abodes of the apprentices could be best made. Had the other inquiries ever been made, this reasoning was judicious, and Major Moody adopted it, on the express belief that farther inquiries would be jointly entered into by Mr. Dougan.

The time, however, at which it was convenient for Mr. Dougan to accompany Major Moody never arrived, and therefore his personal researches had the disadvantage of being made without the society of his intelligent colleague. Major Moody, however, will avail himself of the information of his colleague, when placed within his reach, as often as possible, in noticing the weight due to the abstract of characters given in this Appendix, on the authority of Mr. Dougan.

In a remark of Mr. Dougan respecting Freeman Oka, in the *Atrevido* list of this Appendix, page 66, he describes Pero Elms as "a free black man, who lived on one of the small quays," and says, that Pero Elms had other apprentices, and, among them, those whom the executors of President Hetherington were desirous of giving up to the collector. It will be remembered, that Mr. Hetherington's executors wished to give up those apprentices on the 16th May 1822. Freeman Oka, with some others, appear, by the Schedules, to have been transferred to Pero Elms on the 24th May 1822, the same day that George Gent was placed with Pero Elms, and the same day on which Mr. M'Lean's apprentices were examined at the Custom-house by Mr. Dougan and Major Moody.

It was on the 12th June 1822, that Mr. Dougan ceased to examine apprentices on the plan of the first Schedule. In page 166 of the Tortola Schedules, Ann Unaninqui, one of the female apprentices of the late President Hetherington, appears to have been examined on the 25th May 1822 by both the Commissioners when in possession of Pero Elms. Freeman Oka was transferred to Pero Elms on the 24th May 1822; therefore it was between the 24th May and 12th June 1822, that the apprentices of Pero Elms were examined, and consequently the experience which Pero Elms had of the industry of those persons, of whom he gave so favourable an account, must, of necessity, have been only that of about two weeks. This is one point for consideration, in determining the question of character for steady industry of any person; but it is entirely suppressed by Mr. Dougan.

In the early part of Mr. Dougan's Report, the resolution of the Commissioners respecting examining into past occurrences, is assigned as a reason for the executors of Mr. Hetherington giving up to the collector his apprentices in May 1822; and yet this resolution was never made known to any person out of the office, and was not even adopted, until Mr. Dougan returned back to Tortola in October 1822, as will appear from pages 90 and 91 of the Tortola Schedules. Mr. Dougan then adds: "Some were produced for examination before both Commissioners, by masters who held them only a few weeks previously; and as it was agreed, except in special cases, not to enter into past grievances, the whole period of their former apprenticeship of seven or eight years was not inquired into; but merely as to a short period of a fortnight, or a month, during which they had commenced a servitude with a new master or mistress."

According to Mr. Dougan himself, therefore, the cases of George Gent, Freeman Oka and Ann Unaninqui had not been special cases deserving of particular investigation. The very next apprentice to Freeman Oka is Edward Omo, who also had been with the late Mr. Hetherington, but was indented to Pero Elms on the same 24th May 1822, and yet after October 1822 formed a special case for investigation by the Commissioners, and the result is given accordingly.

Pero Elms therefore had his apprentices only two weeks at farthest when he decided on their characters, and this judgment the Commissioners at the time were bound to receive and record, as in the room where they were sitting, they could have no means of judging but from what the master and apprentice might be pleased to afford, and according to the Schedules to which Mr. Dougan and the Edinburgh Review refer, George Gent said nothing about his master, who had given him a good character.

In the supplement to the Tortola Schedules, page 336, certain African apprentices, therein named, were supposed to have been sold as slaves in Porto Rico. Respecting one of these apprentices who had been indented to the same Pero Elms, Major Moody stated: "The evidence for Edward Omo being sold as a slave is not so strong as that of the others; but he having run away from his master, a free black man, named Pero Elms, and his not being in Tortola, or St. Thomas's, after every inquiry, it is probable that he was inveigled away to Porto Rico."

This apprentice, Edward Omo, complained of his master, Pero Elms, the free black man, alleging that he was underfed; and on this occasion, Pero Elms, when thus accused, rejoined that Edward was idle and unwilling to work. The result of the whole was, that Edward ran away, and is supposed to be now a slave in Porto Rico.

Of Freeman Oka, with the same master, Pero Elms also gave a good character, founded on a knowledge of two weeks. This was in May or June 1822. But in the Tortola Schedules, page 249, under the column for remarks, is one dated 10th April 1823, from which it appears, that Freeman Oka, with a good character, had also been a runaway, during the previous six months, from the same Pero Elms: yet Freeman Oka is the thirteenth name in Mr. Dougan's Abstract of the *Atrevido*, as being one

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*Major Moody's Remarks.*

of Mr. Dougan's "fair and deserving characters." Mr. Dougan, it is true, states that "Major Moody has added this remark: 'Is now a runaway, and has been six months absent, being advertised by his master 10th April 1823.'" Now, Major Moody *did not add that remark*. It was added by the Secretary, and by the direction of *both* Commissioners, when the Schedules were finally compared at the Custom-house by Mr. Dougan and Major Moody, in presence of the collector, who furnished the fact. When Major Moody alone added any thing to the Schedules, it was done in a *separate supplement*.

Another apprentice of Pero Elms, named Ann Unaniqui, is also included by Mr. Dougan among the "fair and deserving characters," being the seventeenth female in the Venus cargo in this abstract. Yet, on referring to the Tortola Schedules, pages 166, 167, it appears that she had been given up even by Pero Elms, and indented to a free black woman on the 25th March, 1823; and it appears that this was ascertained on the 11th April 1823, being the day after the remark, dated 10th April 1823, was made relative to Freeman Oka. Why was this good character voluntarily given up? Obviously because the labour of the apprentice, even under coercion, was not much valued on farther experience.

It is to be observed, that Freeman Oka, as well as George Gent, said nothing about his master Pero Elms. Ann Unaniqui, in May 1822, said she was satisfied with her master, who gave her a fair character, and yet actually got rid of her in March 1823. It is from the detail of portions of facts, on the authority of Mr. Dougan deceased, omitting other portions of the facts, that his friends have drawn inferences as to the great value of the labour of the African apprentices *as free people*. An inference the very reverse seems to be the legitimate conclusion, when *all* the facts are fairly stated, and considered.

Major Moody was not satisfied with merely recording the characters of the apprentices as collected in a room in the Custom-house. In order to ascertain their real character and condition, Major Moody actively employed himself in visiting their abodes, and, whenever it was in his power, actually inspected the work they had done in a given period, and from such inspections, and other facts, he formed his ultimate opinions as to their industry, and the value of their labour; but such investigations could not be recorded in Schedules intended merely to show the result of examinations taken in the Custom-house, whereas the personal and more important investigations were to be made afterwards, by Mr. Dougan and Major Moody, but when the time came Mr. Dougan declined to assist.

On one of these inspections Major Moody visited the abode of Pero Elms, on the Quay, where he was employing his apprentices in cultivating cotton, catching fish, and occasionally, in the dry season, picking salt. He found the apprentices very discontented with their situation, and it excited no surprise in Major Moody's mind to learn afterwards, that the result was very different from what might have been expected from the characters given. Pero Elms himself had only recently been a slave, and certainly never could have afforded to keep such a number of domestic servants as he had obtained from among these African apprentices, merely because more wealthy people could not be induced to take them. Pero Elms, however, discovered, that if the apprentices could be induced to submit to his mode of government, something could be made from their labour *when no wages were paid*; but he was not likely to pay the apprentices wages, when the terms of indenture should expire, and they would become "free persons" like himself.

Major Moody found, on the same quay where Pero Elms employed his apprentices in cultivating the land, that Cornelius Smith, also a free negro, but the owner of eight slaves, employed six of them in cultivating about twenty-one acres of ground in cotton and provisions; an average crop of cotton not exceeding 1,050 pounds. That estimating all his profits from cotton, catching fish and picking salt, he did not make two bits a day for his working slaves. But as the free negro can subsist himself, according to his present scale of wants, by *occasionally* catching fish, picking salt, or collecting firewood for the Danish colonies in the neighbourhood, he refuses to work steadily in other kinds of work for such wages as the capitalist can afford to give. In short he can exist, and yet work very little, and hence habits of indolence, which are not removed by the occurrence even of severe distress at uncertain and probably distant periods.

The African apprentices, when free, adopt the same habits, and subsist in nearly the same manner, when not supported by the British Treasury; and therefore, although they even were industrious when under the coercion of apprenticeship, it by no means follows that they will continue to be so when altogether "free people." When Major Moody and Mr. Dougan were together in Tortola, the future conduct of the indented apprentices as to steady industry for wages when free from coercion was certainly a matter of doubt and debate. Major Moody, under all the physical and moral circumstances of Tortola, thought that the apprentices, when free, would not exercise a steady industry for such wages as the capitalists could afford to give. Since that period, the result has shown that Major Moody reasoned correctly. Mr. Dougan gives this abstract to justify his inference to the contrary. The question having been disposed of by time, Major Moody's remarks are now given chiefly to show how imperfectly Mr. Dougan had stated the facts, by which he and other clever men had been misled. The facts suppressed by Mr. Dougan relative to the apprentices of the free black man Pero Elms, have

Mr. Dougan.

Major Moody's Remarks.

have only been noticed, because one of them was the first name mentioned in Mr. Dougan's abstract. Hundreds of others could be produced for the same purpose, but it would be idle to examine them in detail, as these have been done.

	Page.		Age.
Vol. 1.	62.	Gregory Ross	- 19
-	-	Howel Ohanuma	- 20
-	64.	Curry Ocolli	- 20
-	-	Edward Agno	- 18
-	-	Thomas Oquamo	- 21
-	-	Stephen Oaanasika	22
-	-	George Obridion	- 26
-	-	Jack Aquane	- 22
-	66.	Josep Aquando	- 18
-	-	Anthony Entea	- 32
-	-	Jack Oro (2)	- 19

Mrs. Shannon says, she cannot say he is a *bad negro*, nor a *good one*; believes him as *honest as most negroes*; has seen him intoxicated; not often idle and negligent; thinks, at the expiration of his apprenticeship, he would be able to get four or five dollars per month wages, and that she would give it herself.

accuracy in including such a person in his list of "fair and deserving characters." Accordingly, on reference to the Schedules referred to by Mr. Dougan, it is found that he has taken some liberties with the punctuation of the sentence, so as to make it suit his peculiar views; thus, he quotes Mrs. Shannon as saying of Jack Oro, "Has seen him intoxicated; *not often idle and negligent, &c.*" The meaning of this sentence is obviously influenced by its punctuation. On reference to the Schedules, the sentence is found to stand thus: "Has seen him intoxicated, not often; *idle and negligent.*" Now it does appear to Major Moody impossible even for persons under the influence of peculiar dogmas to represent such a man as "a fair and deserving character;" yet it is by such ingenious misrepresentations of the truth that the people of England have been misled on these matters.

Poor Mrs. Shannon, on account of her poverty, was utterly unable to give Jack Oro, when free, four dollars a month as wages, although she certainly states she would.

These persons were examined by both Commissioners.

Vol. 1.	70.	Peter Acho	- 24
-	-	Tom Cochrance	- 33
-	-	William Onyeeble	- 20
-	-	Richard Jeffreys	- 20
-	76.	Henry Oriamo	- 21
-	78.	Jasper Aquaco	- 33
-	80.	William Oranya	- 26
-	-	Robin Aquan	- 28
Examinations taken by two Commis-			
sioners - - - - - 20			
Vol. 1.	82.	Frederick Hivogo (3)	19
-	-	Edgar Mulkere	- 21
-	-	George Hivogo	- 24
-	84.	John Oroa	- 19
-	-	Peter Akaon	- 18
-	-	William Ohagalo	- 24
-	86.	Frank Houman	- 23
-	-	William Watchuca	22
Examinations taken by Major Moody			
8			

(2) The case of Jack Oro is here particularly noticed by Mr. Dougan, as showing that Mrs. Shannon, a poor white widow woman, had given him a high character for industry, and, consequently, that Jack Oro had a "fair and deserving character." Mr. Dougan refers to page 66 of the Tortola Schedules for the facts on which he grounds his reason for including this man in his list of "fair and deserving characters."

According to Mrs. Shannon's testimony, as quoted by Mr. Dougan, Jack Oro "is neither a *bad negro*, nor a *good one.*"

This alone excites doubts as to Mr. Dougan's

(3) The first apprentice examined by Major Moody alone, to whom Mr. Dougan's abstract refers, is Frederick Hivogo; and Major Moody readily admits, that Frederick Hivogo had "a fair and deserving character," having lived as an apprentice eight years with Mr. Thomas, a merchant in Tortola. But with respect to future employment, what does Frederick Hivogo himself think? He says: "the country too bad now; he no can get work, or pay for it." Can words more emphatically express the fact, that the possessors of capital in Tortola had no inducement to lay it out in hiring such labour as Frederick Hivogo had

to offer. Here the grand question of the value of free labour, as compared with slave labour, again occurred, as it did continually. If Frederick would have worked *steadily* for such wages as the agricultural capitalist could afford to give, he might have had employment all the year round; but Frederick Hivogo had no intention of exerting

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*Mr. Dougan.**Major Moody's Remarks.*

exerting himself in the service of another, *steadily* during the working days of the year, for such wages as the capitalist could afford to give him. On the other hand, Mr. Thomas, his master, may, or may not, hereafter hire Frederick; but, at any rate, he thinks so fine and healthy a young man, being a good cook, cannot fail to support himself in a country where the most idle and worthless, by devoting a few hours to fishing, picking wood, &c. for the market, are able to obtain that low scale of subsistence, with which people in a similar sphere of life are contented.

## Male Apprentices, of a doubtful or uncertain Character.

Page.	Age.
Vol. 1. 60. Dick Porter -	21
Cannot give him the best or worst character.	
Vol. 1. 62. Josep Jose -	20.
Has been a bad boy, but altering a great deal for the better.	
Vol. 1. 68. George Olonga -	23
- 72. Isaac Aquaweriva -	-
- 74. Abraham Hunter -	23
- 76. John Yangoro -	26
Examination taken by both Commissioners -	6
Vol. 1. 76. William Anjedake -	20
Examination taken by Major Moody	1
	<hr/>
	7
	<hr/>

## Male Apprentices, of undeserving and bad Character.

Page.	Age.
Vol. 1. 60. Bastian Ocolo -	23
Pres <sup>t</sup> Porter, master, says is a thief.	
Vol. 1. 60. George Rondo, or Ozana -	19
Ditto, runaway, thief and drunkard.	
Vol. 1. 60. Henry Watchinga -	20
Disobedient, lazy and insolent.	
Vol. 1. 62. Sam Omegno -	30
Drinks, and is quarrelsome, disobedient; industrious for himself.	
Vol. 1. 62. Oronoco, or Apan -	18
Very smart attendant: latterly a very idle worthless boy.	
Vol. 1. 68. Bonaparte Ofaka -	26
Examinations taken by two Commissioners -	6
Vol. 1. 82. Henry Machuba -	20
- 84. Thomas Obohn -	22
- 88. William Anganobi (4)	20
Examination taken by Major Moody	3
	<hr/>
	9
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(4) It would require many volumes to expose all the erroneous inferences which might be drawn from an abstract like this of Mr. Dougan; and, therefore, Major Moody hastens to the last name in Mr. Dougan's list of the Manuella, which is that of William Anganobi, returned as "an undeserving and bad character" by Mr. Dougan; but the examination is said to have been taken by Major Moody, whence the inference is, that Mr. Dougan was not present. Now on reference to the Tortola Schedules, pages 88, 89, 90 and 91, it will be seen, that this same William Anganobi came from Antigua to Tortola, for the purpose of being examined, in the Octavia mail-boat, with Mr. Dougan himself, on his return from England to resume the duties of a Commissioner; and Mr. Dougan's character of William, on the evidence of the son of his late master, was, "that he was honest, industrious and clever;" but that when intoxicated, was abusive; "when sober, quiet and civil;" and that, on another person's authority, "from ten to twelve dollars per month had been received for his wages on board the

"mail-boat."

Mr. Dougan.

Major Moody's Remarks.

"mail-boat." This was, certainly, rather a *fair character* of William Anganobi, as recorded by Mr. Dougan himself on the Schedules. But when Captain Carter, jun. came to Tortola, he denied ever having told Mr. Dougan, what the latter stated he had heard from Captain Carter, and denied the circumstance of the wages also, showing by the regulations of the mail-boat service, that it could not have occurred. William Anganobi also, a short time after his arrival, conducted himself improperly on the premises of Mr. Dyer, a free-coloured person of great respectability.

When Mr. Dougan found that Captain Carter had denied his assertions, after Captain Carter left Tortola, Mr. Dougan again presented William Anganobi for another examination, the apparent object of which was to make William criminate Captain Carter, deceased. Mr. Dougan, however, conducted this attempt so very unfairly, that Major Moody actually retired from the examination, that his name and character might not be impeached, as in any way approving of Mr. Dougan's mode of proceeding. And yet, in the face of these facts, Mr. Dougan, in his abstract, wishes it to be inferred, that the examination of William Anganobi had been conducted by Major Moody *alone*.

## MANUELLA.

## Female Apprentices, of fair and deserving Character.

	Page.		Age.
Vol. 1.	100.	Charlotte Umburi	23
-	-	Terencia Gelas	23
-	-	Susannah Aquequi	28
-	102.	Mary Ucomma	28
-	-	Louisa Mecca	23
-	-	Juliet Tiesta	25
-	104.	Jane Equo	25
Examination before two Commissioners	-	-	7
Vol. 1.	106.	Louisa Ejegelabo	24
-	-	Julia Alloma	23
-	-	Hester Oucuacha	33
-	108.	Isabella Ouconia	23
Examination taken by Major Moody	-	-	4
Vol. 1.	110.	Nuago Eliza	24
Examination by both Commissioners	-	-	1
			<hr/> 12 <hr/>

## Females, of uncertain or doubtful Characters.

	Page.		Age.
Vol. 1.	100.	Rebecca Oquamo	27
-	-	Louisa Uchigala	22
-	104.	Jennett Moquanta	26
Examination taken by two Commissioners	-	-	3
Vol. 1.	108.	Fanny Umbucca	23
-	-	Fanny Ulola	32
Examination taken by Major Moody	-	-	2
			<hr/> 5 <hr/>

## General Recapitulation of the Apprentices of the Manuella.

	Males.	Females.
Fair and deserving characters -	28	12
Uncertain and doubtful characters	7	5
Undeserving and bad characters -	9	-
Total - -	44	17

## CAPTURED NEGROES AT TORTOLA.

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*Mr. Dougan.**Major Moody's Remarks.*

## VENUS.

Male Apprentices, who have fair and  
deserving Characters.

	Page.	Age.
Vol. 1.	120.	James Occurrunqua, 20
-	-	William Jennings - 20
-	-	Thomas Moreau - 17
-	122.	Frederick Odo - 18
-	-	Peter Dunas - 25
-	-	Sampson Sampson 17
-	-	Jack Amichugen - 26
-	124.	Ned Madoca - 26
	126.	Bristol Oruabe - 20
	128.	Providence Obulla 24
Examinations taken by two Com- missioners	- - -	- 10
Vol. 1.	134.	Jim Ingram (5) - 24
		An excellent character.
-	134.	David Ohunna - 40
-	136.	James Naux - 25
-	-	Edward Unquo - 27
-	-	Jack Umma - 16
-	140.	Martin Udgin - 22
Examination taken by Major Moody		6

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(5) The next note of Mr. Dougan, relative to "fair and deserving characters," is in the Venus cargo, where the first apprentice examined by Major Moody alone was Jem Ingram; and Mr. Dougan adds, on the authority of Major Moody, "an excellent character." Major Moody admits the fact, but still doubts whether a person situated like Jem Ingram, will, when free from the coercion incident to his state of apprenticeship, work steadily for such wages as the capitalist can afford to give. Indeed, the master of Jem Ingram distinctly says, that Jem "would

"not get employment for want of persons in Tortola who could afford to pay wages," *i. e.* to such a person as Jem, who was "a groom, and handy about the house." The supply of labour of that kind far exceeded the demand, and Government might have foreseen this consequence, had any person been consulted who had practical knowledge of the employment of labouring people in the West Indian Islands, prior to the promulgation of the Orders in Council, which have led to so much expense, and disappointment.

Males, of doubtful or uncertain  
Characters.

	Page.	Age.
Vol. 1.	120.	George Jenkinson - 21
		Pretty fair character; rather lazy.
Vol. 1.	124.	Rodney Onykese - 19
Examination by two Commissioners		2
Vol. 1.	134.	Tom Inno - 34
Examination taken by Major Moody		1

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3Male Apprentices, of undeserving and  
bad Characters.

	Page.	Age.
Vol. 1.	126.	William Unam - 34
-	130.	Pitt Darlington - 18
Examinations taken by two Com- missioners	- - -	- 2
Vol. 1.	138.	Thomas Uhuni - 28
-	140.	Thomas Johnson - 20
Examination taken by Major Moody		2

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*Mr. Dougan.**Major Moody's Remarks.*

## VENUS.

## Female Apprentices, of fair and deserving Characters.

	Page.		Age.
Vol. 1.	154.	Hester Ahadda	- 19
-	-	Ester Baby	- 20
-	-	Olivia Oniculo	- 27
-	-	Theodora Waenzen	18
-	156.	Jennett Ammoa	- 30
-	-	Cecilia Onambova	- 22
-	158.	Fanny Umbeka	- 28
-	-	Fanny Ogizza	- 25
-	160.	Eliza Oreaca	- 28
-	-	Caroline Ananiqua	20
-	162.	Fanny Ounga	- 28
-	164.	Celia Akeise	- 19
-	-	Joan Onaico	- 20
-	-	Fanny Waaqua	- 24
-	-	Violet Izonias	- 28
-	166.	Maria Arenessi	- 24
-	-	Ann Unaniqui	- 27
-	-	Louisa Odumaqua	- 23
-	-	Bella Elemina	- 25
Examinations taken by two Commissioners			- - - - 19
Vol. 1.	168.	Anne Cumberland	- 25
-	-	Myrtilla Unguboa	19
-	-	Peggy Houaca	- 23
-	170.	Celia Umruddi	- 24
-	172.	Venus Ounga	- 25
Examination taken by Major Moody			5
			<u>24</u>

## Female Apprentices, of doubtful or uncertain Characters.

	Page.		Age.
Vol. 1.	156.	Kate Ariang	- 32
-	-	Mary Ann Unguba	26
-	158.	Venus Accomohie	20
-	160.	Mary Honaca	- 25
-	162.	Alicia Aquoneiwo	- 20
Examination taken by two Commissioners			- - - - 5
Vol. 1.	172.	Hannah Otola	- 23
Examination taken by Major Moody			1
			<u>6</u>

## Female Apprentices, of undeserving and bad Characters.

	Page.		Age.
Vol. 1.	158.	Jane Oricaaga	- 28
-	170.	Phillis Ogaza	- 24
Examination taken by two Commissioners			- - - - 1
Examination taken by one D°			- 1
			<u>2</u>

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Mr. Dougan.

Major Moody's Remarks.

General Recapitulation of the whole of  
the Apprentices of the Venus.

	Males.	Females.
Fair and deserving characters -	16	24
Uncertain and doubtful characters	3	6
Undeserving and bad characters	4	2
Total - -	23	32

## CANDELARIO.

Male Apprentices, who have fair and  
deserving Characters.

Page.	Age.
Vol. 1. 184. Joe Oro (6)	- 20
Pretty good character; ignorant of any trade.	

(6) The next note of Mr. Dougan relative to "fair and deserving characters" in the Candelario cargo, refers to Joe Oro, examined by both Mr. Dougan and Major Moody. The words quoted by Mr. Dougan are found

in the Schedules to have been given by Jack Dougan, a free black man, who had once been a slave to Mr. Dougan. The Commissioners had no other means of acquiring any knowledge of Joe Oro, as he resided in a foreign colony, from which, as some of the apprentices had been sold as slaves, it was unanimously deemed desirable, by Mr. Dougan, the Collector, and Major Moody, to withdraw them. Major Moody wished to induce them to cultivate land in Tortola, of which a sufficient quantity, if not too near the town, might be obtained for a rent merely nominal; and even near to the town, many apprentices had small gardens, for which no rent was paid.

How the fact of a poor black man like Jack Dougan, who had a domestic without any establishment to employ him in, giving a good character to a person said to be entirely ignorant, could induce Mr. Dougan to draw an inference, that such a person's labour will be highly valued, when he is free, Major Moody cannot conceive, and therefore makes no further remark than this: that as Jack Dougan himself does not appear to have been willing to work as a cooper in Tortola, there is little probability of his servant Joe Oro, when free, being willing to work more steadily than other free negroes.

Vol. 1. 184. Charles Agua (7)	23
Sickly.	

(7) The next person particularly noticed by Mr. Dougan, as having "a fair and "deserving character," is Charles Agua, who is stated to be sickly. Now this person is represented by his master as "having been a good servant, but wishing "to go to St. Thomas's to work, he thinks that idea has spoiled him." Again, "was "industrious, but not so now." "Sometimes he will work, and sometimes not."

Many persons would doubt whether such a man had "a fair and deserving character," even according to the Schedules to which Mr. Dougan refers; and yet this case is particularly distinguished by Mr. Dougan, even allowing for his appearance being sickly.

Vol. 1. 184. Tom Ongon -	- 18
- Othello Amanamata	18
- 186. Dick Ross Aquada	24
- Robert Ajahon	- 25
- Kerwan Angano	- 17
- 188. Wellington Oponna	23
- 190. Jacob Laqueche	- 21
- Alexander Oro	- 18
- 192. Paris Okaka	- 18
- John Equasano	- 18

Examinations taken before two Commissioners - - - - 12

Vol. 1. 194. Neptune Ibba	- 21
- Henry Unubusi	- 25
- Edinburgh Immon	26
- 198. Fox Ajah	- -
- Sam Owho	- 30



<i>Mr. Dougan.</i>			<i>Major Moody's Remarks.</i>
Page.	Age.		
Vol. 1. 200.	Jack Aquenna - 29		
- -	Edward Annaaboa 17		
- 202.	Moses Ofoco - 28		
- -	William Yamo (8) 22		(8) William Yamo is the next person noticed in a particular manner by Mr. Dougan in the Atrevido cargo; and Major Moody agrees that William Yamo is an excellent man; and since his master, the Collector of the Customs, with a good income, has no other servants of his own, it may be hoped, that William will continue to be employed as a domestic.
An excellent servant.			
Examination taken before Major			
Moody - - - -	- 9		
	21		
	<u>21</u>		

This, however, cannot be said of the other apprentices called domestics, who have only waited on poor white or black persons not much more wealthy than the poor African apprentices themselves. Indeed, the majority of masters and mistresses never would have had so many servants, had not the services of these poor African apprentices been declined by the more wealthy inhabitants; a circumstance which, as has been already stated, might have been foreseen in such colonies, had Government consulted any persons practically acquainted with the mode of directing the labour of such people, who were in a backward state of knowledge and civilization.

#### Males, of doubtful or uncertain Character.

Page.	Age.	
Vol. 1. 190.	William Occoma - 23	
- 192.	France Watchecu 30	
Examinations taken before two Com-		
missioners - - - -	- 2	
Vol. 1. 196.	Billy Oquano - 30	
- -	Cork Ouanqua - 32	
- 200.	Tom Okranquo - 19	
- 202.	John Enana - 18	
Examinations taken before Major		
Moody - - - -	- 4	
	6	
	<u>6</u>	

#### Male Apprentices, of undeserving and bad Characters.

None.

#### CANDELARIO.

#### Female Apprentices, of fair and deserving Characters.

Page.	Age.
Vol. 1. 212.	Maria Adda - 20
- -	Fanny Waregora - 24
- -	Kitty Accuba - 23
- -	Dellied Obaco - 21
- 214.	Eleanor Ungubo - 21
- -	Fanny Umbori - 22
- -	Caroline Adda - 21
- -	Berthia Uchu - 25
- 216.	Sarah Aconaja - 20
- -	Angilla Imbahoa 21
- 218.	Betty Imbahowa - 25
- -	Susannah Ouanana 23
- -	Rachael Umborio 19

## CAPTURED NEGROES AT TORTOLA.

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<i>Mr. Dougan.</i>		<i>Major Moody's Remarks.</i>	
Page.		Age.	
Vol. 1. 218.	Jane Wabigo	- 23	
- 220.	Betsey Ehagnowa	21	
- -	Viola Evagna	- 18	
- -	Rosette Annabe	- 19	
- -	Susannah Erinmo	24	
- 222.	Molly Acumba	- 28	
- -	Rebecca Ariotte	- 23	
- -	Margaret Galas	- 20	
- -	Isabella Uwan	- 24	
- 224.	Martha Lolloo	- 21	
- -	Jane Osanno	- 19	
- -	Louisa Glass	- 20	
- -	Nancy Jadora	- 18	
Examination taken before two Commissioners - - - - 26			
Vol. 1. 226.	Eleanora Odo	- 16	
- -	Margaret Aconwosa	26	
- -	Matilda Aquako	- 20	
- -	Milkah Alloma	- 25	
- 228.	Henrietta Orlo	- 19	
- -	Sophy Innata	- 24	
- -	Amelia Ogossi	- 24	
- 230.	Rebecca Moqua	- 23	
- -	Penelope Whan	- 24	
- -	Louisa Egimma	- 28	
Examinations taken before Major Moody - - - - 10			
			<u>36</u>

## Female Apprentices, of doubtful and uncertain Characters.

Page.		Age.	
Vol. 1. 216.	Phoebe Ereahow	- 25	
- -	Nancy Amacha	- 24	
Examinations taken before two Commissioners - - - - 2			

## Female Apprentices, of undeserving and bad Characters.

None.

## General Recapitulation of the whole of the Apprentices of the Candelario.

	Males.	Females.
Fair and deserving characters -	21	36
Doubtful and uncertain characters	6	2
Undeserving and bad characters	-	-
Total - -	27	38

Mr. Dougan.

Major Moody's Remarks.

## ATREVIDO.

Male Apprentices, who have fair and  
deserving Characters.

	Page.	Age.
Vol. 1. 238. William Bomb	-	19
- - Andrew Opunna	-	16
- - Valencour Amaka	19	
- 240. Harry Encanyo (9)	27	

Has been constant at his work; never had reason to complain of him; is industrious—six years at the carpenters trade, and may be accounted a second-rate carpenter. If his time was out would give such a man eight dollars per month; and would give him a preference.

(9) The next name particularly noticed by Mr. Dougan, as possessing "a fair and deserving character," is Harry Ecanyo, in the Atrevido cargo. By reference to page 240 of the Tortola Schedules, it will appear that Mr. Belisario was the master of this apprentice; and the Commissioners at the time of examination, recorded their *joint* opinion thus: "Although he appears to be an industrious deserving man, yet he does not possess a grateful feeling for great services rendered by his master." This has been suppressed by Mr. Dougan.

The same master had another apprentice named John Sano, who had an excellent character, and who, at one time on board a sloop, had actually received eight dollars a month, and his master said before the Commissioners he *would* give him four dollars a month, but latterly it was found the same master had only given him two dollars a month, yet John Sano had always behaved well. Such was the difference between evidence given to the Commissioners, and the real fact as to the value of the labour of the apprentices. Finally the apprentice left Tortola.

This shows how circumstances influenced the hire of these apprentices, even when they maintained the best possible character as apprentices.

In Major Moody's First Report, page 103, the letter of Mr. Belisario to the Commissioners is quoted to show that Harry Ecanyo, whom they had thought ungrateful, was charged "with neglect of duty, and very insolent conduct towards Mr. Depinna, "the gentleman under whose immediate charge all Mr. Belisario's African apprentices had been for some time placed." It is true, Harry Ecanyo expressed contrition for his conduct, and was pardoned. Mr. Dougan, it will be observed, suppresses this fact, which however, would induce many persons to doubt the perfect propriety of Harry Ecanyo being considered one of the first class of characters; for, although he certainly was the most clever and most industrious of all the African apprentices, yet ingratitude and insolence are great defects in a servant, whether his skin be white or black.

Vol. 1. 240. Dick Onija	-	25
- - Friday Abouchi	-	13
- 242. Tom Ecka	-	25
- - Richard Oro, 4th	16	
- - Joseph Oro, 3d	15	
- - James Chugunto	15	
- 244. Daniel Onabou	20	
- 246. George Acunda	20	
- 248. Freeman Oka (10)	19	

His first master was President Hetherington, and continued on the estates two years after his decease. On the arrival of the Commissioners he was given up and indented to Pero Elms, a free black man, who lived on one of the small quays. The character given of this man from Pero Elms is, "He bears a very good character from the former person that knows him: is willing and industrious; knows him about two weeks. He works in the field; and at present in the ground in cotton and provisions. *Going to learn to make fish pots.* Mr. Robinson, the executor of President Hetherington, says that the  
boy

(10) The next note of Mr. Dougan, which refers to persons having "fair and deserving characters," is opposite the name of Freeman Oka, who has been already noticed, and of whom the Tortola Schedules, in the column of remarks made by the Commissioners *jointly*, and *not* by Major Moody *alone*, report, that he had been a runaway from his master six months, at the time Mr. Dougan and Major Moody were finally comparing the Schedules with the indentures at the Customhouse. Major Moody, therefore, cannot understand the principle upon which Mr. Dougan particularly distinguishes Freeman Oka in his abstract, and classes him among those apprentices who have "fair and deserving characters."

## CAPTURED NEGROES AT TORTOLA.

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Mr. Dougan.

Major Moody's Remarks

boy has behaved himself very well. Major Moody has added this remark: "Is now a runaway, and has been six months absent, being advertised by his master 10th April 1823."

Examination taken before two Commissioners - - - - 13

	Page.	Age.
Vol. 1. 250. Charles Aquabia	-	15
- - Dick Amache (2)	-	19
- - Horatio Aquane	-	19
- 252. Welcome Orro (2)	-	18
- - William Aneaga (11)	-	19
Not in good health.		

"ing character," but it is stated that the apprentice was not in good health. On reference to the Tortola Schedules, page 252, on which he grounds his opinion, it appears that the apprentice had been a runaway, and had "made no progress as a domestic; cannot do any work in the ground, not having strength enough;" and what is still more extraordinary, as being a circumstance directly opposed to Mr. Dougan's opinions as to the value of the labour of the apprentices as free persons, the master says the apprentice "would unquestionably starve;" when asked how far he was likely to provide for himself at the expiration of his apprenticeship. It would appear that Mr. Dougan could never have even read the Schedule to which he refers, or that his friends imagined that no person would ever be found to compare the accuracy of the quotations.

## Vol. 1. 252. Brand Aquana (12) 15

The case of this very clever boy is a peculiarly hard one, as represented by my colleague himself, who took his examination. Mr. Fraser, who produced the apprentice, and gave his character, is manager and attorney on the estate of George Nibbs, deceased, and the same person who attended at the Custom-house for the purpose of describing the wretched situation of the African apprentices at St. Thomas's, as also the individual who has transmitted to this country statements under his authority, strongly reflecting on the characters of the free people at Tortola, called the Nottinghams and free persons, which statements have been published. I may also add a friend of my colleague.

Mr. Fraser says of the boy Brand, "He works in the blacksmith's shop, can make nails, is very hardy, and can look after horses; can make hats. He thinks he would be able to support himself."

There is nothing set down as coming from the apprentice himself; but the following are the remarks of my colleague. "Not vaccinated; healthy; is fed from the kitchen, and badly clothed; but Mr. Fraser has promised to allow him annually two suits of clothes. Chiefly employed in taking care of horses, and occasionally in the blacksmith's shop; is a sharp, intelligent

535.

(11) William Aneaga is the next person in the Atrevido cargo, who is particularly noticed by Mr. Dougan as a "fair and deserv-

(12) Brand Aquana, 15 years of age at the time of examination, is the next person particularly distinguished by Mr. Dougan as "a fair and deserving character," followed by remarks reflecting on Major Moody's mode of performing his duty.

Brand Aquana was examined by Major Moody alone, who has stated, that he was "a sharp, intelligent and industrious boy," for such he really was as an apprentice. And Major Moody, as a Commissioner, recommended that the boy should be bound to some trade where his abilities would be developed, and where he would be able to get religious instruction. Major Moody did not content himself with mere recommendation, but he exerted himself to effect his purpose, and after many ineffectual attempts, the boy was obliged to be put as an apprentice to a free black man, who had very little employment as a tradesman himself, but as he had been bred a carpenter, and had no slaves, Major Moody hoped the boy would be taught something more than Mr. Fraser would engage to have him taught.

The real facts of this case, therefore, tend rather to refute than to confirm Mr. Dougan's opinion as to the high value entertained of such labour.

Mr. Dougan, on this occasion, with a view to support the account given by the Antislavery Society, of the free people called the Nottinghams, on his authority, digresses into an account of Mr. Fraser, whom he represents as a friend of Major Moody. It has been already stated, in the early part of these remarks on this Report, that Major Moody was never in the house of Mr. Fraser, nor Mr. Fraser ever in the house of Major Moody; that they never had any correspondence with each other by letter, nor even by word, except when Mr. Fraser came before Major Moody as a Commissioner, which might be twice, or thrice at most. Major Moody

*Mr. Dougan.*

*intelligent and industrious boy.* Such is the treatment given by the attorney and manager to so clever a boy engaged in such employment as groom and blacksmith; not to afford him two coarse linen suits during the year, the whole cost of which could have been but 8s. 4d."

Instead of being content with the promise of Mr. Fraser affording two of these suits annually, I should certainly have directed his immediate removal from such a master; particularly as I find my colleague in describing the situation of the two previous, and two subsequent apprentices examined by him, uses the words *well fed*; in this instance he only says *fed* from the kitchen, and badly clothed. Brand had never been baptized, nor did he attend any place of worship; my colleague recommended him to be bound to some trade, where he can get religious instruction; and he appears to have been transferred on the 5th August 1822, to Mr. T. M'Kenney, a carpenter.

the author, in his letter to Lord Liverpool, says, "I lay before your Lordship the following very particular and accurate statement, drawn up at my special request, by Daniel Frazer, Esq. of Tortola, who authorizes me to use his name."

Some time prior to this period, it happened to be Major Moody's duty to notice some of Mr. Dougan's misrepresentations of the truth as to the increase, wealth, and industry of the free negroes at Long Look, called the Nottinghams, and some of these misrepresentations are now acknowledged to be errors by Mr. Dougan's daughter, on his authority.

In observations on the debates in the House of Commons on the 15th May 1823, a society, composed of many amiable and intelligent persons, published to the people of England, "that the forty-three Nottinghams consume more of British produce and manufactures in a year, and promote the traffic of Tortola itself, more than three times the number of slaves would do." When Major Moody exposed this gross misrepresentation of the truth in his official Reports, it very naturally laid his character and conduct open to the severe animadversion of those persons, who, under the influence of peculiar dogmas, had disciplined their minds to see the question, in which they felt a deep interest, in one point of view only, and, appear to have agreed to abuse and calumniate all those who may attempt to correct their errors. Of this abuse, and its consequences, Major Moody has had his full share.

As Mr. Dougan had lived so long in Tortola, and knew the inhabitants, Major Moody cannot believe that the numerous errors of these posthumous papers proceeded from him, but from those persons who deemed the production of these papers a favourable opportunity to calumniate Major Moody.

Page.

Age.

Vol. 1. 252. (13) Sam Orro (1) 21

First apprenticed to Mr. Nibbs, the same master as Brand, but transferred to his manager, Mr. Christopher W. M. Crandal. Nothing in the examination appears as coming from the apprentice; but this is the information given as from the master: "Knows very little of the business of domestic."—*N. B.* "He was indentured as domestic; he would not be able to provide for himself."

The

*Major Moody's Remarks.*

Moody has already stated in what manner he proceeded in the case of Brand Aquana, which was totally different from that represented by Mr. Dougan. It now remains to correct another mistake of Mr. Dougan, who represents Mr. Fraser, the manager and attorney of George Nibbs, to be the same person who gave information to Mr. Dougan and Major Moody, as Commissioners, in the Custom-house, at the request of the Collector, as to the "wretched situation of the African apprentices at St. Thomas's."

In the minutes of the Commission, dated 5th November 1822, the Mr. Fraser referred to by Mr. Dougan is thus described: "Mr. Alexander Fraser, who has the direction of Mr. Hill's property at Tortola, was at St. Thomas's about three weeks ago, where he saw," &c. &c.

Now Mr. Fraser, who produced Mrs. Nibbs' apprentices, is described as "manager and attorney of the estate of George Nibbs, deceased." His Christian name is not there given by Mr. Dougan; but he is also described by him as "the individual who has transmitted to this country statements under his authority, strongly reflecting on the characters of the free people at Tortola, called the Nottinghams," &c. and this enables Major Moody to ascertain that the person who sent home information respecting the Nottinghams, was called "*Daniel Frazer.*" For in a pamphlet entitled the Colonial Controversy, printed at Glasgow in 1825, in p. 19,

(13)—Sam Orro, an apprentice in the Atravido cargo, affords another opportunity to the individuals connected with these posthumous papers to attack Major Moody. The authority for this attack is the matter to be found in page 252 of the Tortola Schedules. From this, Sam Orro appears to have been originally indentured as a domestic to George Nibbs, deceased, of the Joe's Hill plantation, and was produced at the same time with the late Mr. Nibbs' other apprentices by Mr. Fraser, who was manager and attorney on the estate, as Mr. Dougan mentions.

Major Moody does not think it again necessary

## CAPTURED NEGROES AT TORTOLA.

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## Mr. Dougan.

The actual condition and character of the apprentice in the opinion of the Commissioners, is thus given: "Not vaccinated; healthy; appears to have been well fed, but *very badly clothed*; employed chiefly as a *herdsman*; the lad *has been much neglected*, but appears capable of being usefully instructed." This lad had not been baptized, nor did he attend any place of worship: as herdsman, he could not go to church or chapel.

What was the result in this case? was it the same as in the previous one of Brand Aquana? the apprentice was not removed from Mr. Crandal, and still remains with the same master, as badly clothed and as much neglected, though capable of being usefully instructed as ever; unless he has done as a former apprentice of the same Mr. Crandal (Thomas) who preferred slavery in Porto Ricco, to such freedom and treatment as he experienced at Tortola.

Thomas was severely whipped by Mr. Crandal; he applied to the King's Counsel for relief; gets none; but is again placed in a like employment of herdsman to His Majesty's law officer; and finally runs away to Porto Ricco.

Sam, or Orro's case, was still stronger; his very bad clothing and neglect must have been obvious to the Commissioner; for he declares it, as well as the capability of the apprentice; and yet this Commissioner (specially sent out to inquire into the state and condition of these people) suffers, without a single observation on the case, Mr. Crandal to keep his apprentice; employs him as a herdsman, though he had bound himself under indenture to employ him as a domestic.

Would it be a matter of surprise that Sam, or Orro, should follow the example of his brother herdsman, Thomas, and again become a slave. This decision of his case was made by one, specially appointed by his Royal Master to inquire into it.

Page.	Age.
Vol. 1. 254. Isaac Haccoona	- 18
Examination taken before one Commissioner	- 8
	<hr/>
	21
	<hr/>

## Major Moody's Remarks.

sary that he should offer any detailed explanation of the mode in which the recorded examination was conducted. Some explanation, however, is here necessary, respecting the extraordinary misrepresentations of the truth contained in the note attributed to the late Mr. Dougan.

It will be seen, by the Schedules, that Sam Orro had been indentured to a person who afterwards died; and as there was no person to execute the conditions of the bond, at the time of examination by Major Moody, and as it was manifest, that they had not been fulfilled, Major Moody stated exactly what he had ascertained.

The Collector afterwards indentured Sam Orro, as a domestic, to a person who was not living on Joe's Hill estate, and who *previously had had nothing to do with the apprentice*. The Collector may, or may not, have exercised a sound discretion. He had, indeed, very little choice in placing Sam Orro with Mr. Crandal. But the following assertions, in the posthumous papers, being incorrect, and unsupported by the Schedules, to which Mr. Dougan refers, are calculated to mislead. For example, it is said, "*the apprentice was not removed from Mr. Crandal.*" Why should he be? The examination of the apprentice by Major Moody, had reference to the mode of treatment and employment, whilst on Joe's Hill estate, *and not when under Mr. Crandal, or on Sea Cow Bay estate*. As he was never examined afterwards, it is impossible for Mr. Dougan fairly to infer that Mr. Crandal treated him as the late Mr. Nibbs was said to have done. For instance, it was not likely that he would be employed only as a herdsman, for Mr. Crandal did not want a herdsman for another person's cattle; he wanted a domestic for himself.

Mr. Dougan, without quoting any authority, asserts, that Mr. Crandal employed the apprentice as a herdsman, &c. &c.; but it is mere assumption and assertion, and, as far as Major Moody knows, it is contrary to the fact.

Mr. Dougan then introduces a new subject, unconnected with the abstract, but apparently with a view to show that Mr. Crandal was an improper person to have an apprentice in his service. But in page 91 of the Tortola Schedules, it appears that, on the 11th April 1823, when Mr. Dougan and Major Moody were finally comparing the Schedules, William Anganobi, the apprentice whom Mr. Dougan himself had brought to Tortola, had been indentured to this very Mr. Crandal, without one word of disapprobation on the part of Mr. Dougan, who returned to Tortola in October 1822, and did not leave it till June 1823.

Mr. Dougan says, "a former apprentice of the same Mr. Crandal (Thomas) preferred slavery in Porto Rico to such freedom and treatment as he experienced in "Tortola," and further makes a variety of assertions about Mr. Crandal's treatment of this apprentice, Thomas, but does not quote, or refer to, any authority in support of them.

Mr. Dougan.

Major Moody's Remarks.

In pages 144, 145, of the Tortola Schedules, are given certain circumstances connected with the sale of Thomas Acquabia, a slave in Porto Rico, to which he had been inveigled, along with a slave from Cane Garden Bay plantation, by a Spaniard of Porto Rico; but the most extraordinary circumstance is, Thomas Acquabia was not living with Mr. Crandall, when he was inveigled away by the Spaniard, and sold as a slave against his will.

It will also be observed, that in pages 144, 145, Thomas Acquabia is returned as a "male sold as a slave in foreign colonies;" and as Thomas had never been seen, nor examined by *either* of the Commissioners, they could not know any thing from himself; nor was Mr. Crandall ever informed of any of the charges now preferred against him by Mr. Dougan; nor did Mr. Dougan ever produce evidence before the Commissioners to prove what he advanced, although Mr. Moody, at the time when Mr. Dougan first made similar assertions, particularly requested him to do so, and to have Mr. Crandall called upon to disprove them if he could.

Apprentices, of whom there is no  
Character given.

Page.	Age.
Vol. 1. 238. John - - -	- - -

Male Apprentices, of doubtful and  
uncertain Character.

Page.	Age.
Vol. 1. 254. John Aguam - -	- -
- - John Ejogon - -	- -

Examined by one Commissioner	- 2
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Male Apprentices, of undeserving and  
bad Character.

Page.	Age.
Vol. 1. 244. Paul Aquabia -	20
- - Edward Omo -	17
Examinations taken before two Com- missioners - - -	- 2
Vol. 1. 250. Frederick Owanquo	16
Examination taken before one Com- missioner - - -	- 1
	<u>3</u>

ATRIVEDO.

Female Apprentices, who have fair and  
deserving Characters.

Page.	Age.
Vol. 1. 264. Rosetta Odoma -	24
- - Penny Osocaco -	16
- - Cleopatra Moquo	21
- - Charlotte Egoma -	27
- 266. Betsey Adda -	18
- - Grace Aconabo -	19
- - Peggy Inwha -	18
- - Zylpha Acumba -	19
- 268. Olivia Umborio -	19
- - Madeline Waacha	20
- - Rosetta Indawa -	18
- - Sarah Ocoma -	17

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## Mr. Dougan.

## Major Moody's Remarks.

Page.	Age.
Vol. 1. 270.	Margaret Ungobo 22
- -	Rebecca Wayneora 18
- -	Hannah Ouanta (14) 19

A very honest, good negro; industrious; mistress is obliged sometimes to tell her to sit down; she works too much.

Her mistress has relations; has a little property; and when she dies, means the apprentice to inherit it; made her will to that effect.

make the apprentice her heir, unusual, inquired into the circumstances of the mistress, and whether she had any other relations; and when the reason of this inquiry was stated to the young man, with whom Ann Bennett was living as a housekeeper, Major Moody was told, that Ann Bennett had congratulated herself on her ingenuity in thus avoiding the consequences which she had apprehended from having Hannah as her servant for six years without any title, and said, "she had crammed the Commissioners with a story about her making a will leaving Hannah her heiress."

Vol. 1. 272.	Agnes Odoma - 18
- -	Amanda Oumiva (15) 16

Character given by her master, Mr. White: "A very good negro; industrious and honest; a good house servant." Apprentice complained that Mr. White beats her very ill; the marks upon the body were made by severe whipping, done by her master at the instigation of her mistress. She was whipped three times in one day with a piece of rope, and was whipped at two several times; has not had any clothes given her by her mistress for eighteen months; has two frocks given by her husband.

Vol. 1. 272.	Olivia Ozoma - 17
- -	Frances Emaca - 25
- 274.	Fanny Eforo - 16
- -	Charlotte Moquo - 16
- -	Rachael Mangan - 18
- -	Angoletta Emaca - 14
- 276.	Angela Immos (16) 15

Mr. Lettsom, sen. her master, says, "she is not a bad character; never had reason to complain of her; if she had not been lame, would have been a very good servant."

Vol. 1. 276.	Phillis Imma - 19
- -	Maria Wanangua - 18
- -	Kila Umborio (17) 18

Mr. Maclean, her master, says she has behaved pretty well since he had her; *will only steal victuals*; is industrious and sober. The apprentice objected to be employed in cotton piece-work.

Vol. 1. 278.	Kitty Moquo (18) 21
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Her master, Mr. Maclean, says her character has been a very good one; is

(14) The next note of Mr. Dougan relative to "fair and deserving characters" in the Atrevido cargo, is found opposite the name of Hannah Ouanta. Nothing can be more flattering than the character given of this apprentice by the free coloured woman Ann Bennett, who had no claim to her services, but had employed her six years without any title. The apprentice made no observations as to whether she was satisfied with her mistress or not; but Major Moody, thinking the voluntary proposal of the latter, to

(15) The next remark of Mr. Dougan is opposite to the name of Amanda Oumiva, in which Major Moody agrees; but he is, nevertheless, quite convinced that Jane Markoe, the free black woman, with whom Amanda was placed, will never be able, in consequence of her poverty, to give her wages as a free person.

(16) The remark of Mr. Dougan, opposite the name of Angela Immo, omits the observation in page 276 of the Tortola Schedules, which mentions that the lameness of the apprentice prevented her from being employed about the house. Yet this circumstance, which does not affect her character, will certainly affect the value of her labour when free.

(17. 18. 19.) With regard to the observations of Mr. Dougan opposite the names Kilah Umborio, Kitty Moquo, and Amelia Adaca, apprentices of Mr. M'Lean, Major Moody refers, for his remarks on the whole case of Mr. M'Lean, to the Parliamentary Paper, No. 462, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 12th June 1827, from page 9 to page 33,—and the joint Report of Messrs. Bowles and Gannon in the



*Mr. Dougan.**Major Moody's Remarks.*

is industrious and sober; can sew and mark, and is a good house servant.

This was a special case, and was laid before Lord Bathurst by Mr. Dougan. See Appendix; also N° 6, Minutes of the Proceedings of the Commissioners at Tortola, from 24th Oct. 1822 to 13th Nov. 1822.

the Parliamentary Paper, No. 463, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 12th June 1827, from page 44 to 52.

	Page.	Age.
Vol. 1. 280. Amelia Adaca (19)	17	
A special case, as the preceding.		

Vol. 1. 280. Zelia Watchena (20)	25	
Has been sickly.		

- 282. Betsy Oxhenda (21)	21	
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(20. 21.) The next remark on the *Atrevido* cargo is opposite the name of *Zelia Watchena*, said by Mr. Dougan to have been sickly, and page 280 of the Tortola Schedules is referred to. Nothing of the kind is there to be found. Conceiving it might refer to the next name, *Betsy Oxhenda*, mentioned in page 282, Major Moody finds that this individual, included in Mr. Dougan's abstract, is stated to have died so long ago as 20th August 1822, leaving two children to be taken care of by charity.

Vol. 1. 282. Leah Wayema	- 18
- - Harriet Wambo	- 22
- - Sophy Odempe	- 23
- 284. Lavinia Immo	- 23
- - Delphine Watche	- 18
- 286. Grace Wodoco	- 19
- - Hester Uzza -	- 19
- - Ellen Gervoma	- 21
- 288. Mary Ezaco -	- 21
- - Charlotte Immo	- 20
- 290. Jenny Omana	- 26
- - Else Odowa -	21
- - Susannah Onewagacoge	18
- - Susannah Adeaga	- 25
- 292. Kitty Wambo	- 17
- - Maria Imboge	- 18
- - Peggy Aquama	- 23
- - Clementina Umborio	16
- 294. Eliza Umborio	- 19
- - Martha Wagnade	21
- - Matilda Egonora	- 27
- - Molly Oncoroquo	- 25
- 296. Isabella Acumba	- 20
- - Maria Onechequa	- 20
- - Rose Esser -	- 21
- 298. Maria Imbaquo	- 26
- - Charlotte Ecoma	- 23
- 312. Louisa Uradu	- 19

Examination taken before two Commissioners - - - - 59

Vol. 1. 300. Kitty Odoma	- 21
- - Catherine Wake	- 18
- - Eliza Imbahow	- 17
- 302. Maria Mecca	- 23
- - Rebecca Dingwoha	24
- - Sally Imoquo	- 18
- 304. Mary Yemolly	- 25
- - Lavinia Moqua	- 20
- 306. Charlotte Acanja	- 25
- - Mercy Ogum	- 25
- - Maria Obulla	- 27

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<i>Mr. Dougan.</i>		<i>Major Moody's Remarks.</i>
Page.	Age.	
Vol. 1. 306. Adeline Ejogo (22) Special case.	18	(22) The remark of Mr. Dougan opposite Adeline Ojogo of its being a special case, appears to refer to a special Report by Mr. Dougan on this case, which forms a separate document in these posthumous papers. Major Moody, therefore, refers to his remarks thereon, to prove how unfairly these posthumous papers have stated facts, not only on ordinary occasions, but even in cases deemed special ones by Mr. Dougan.
Vol. 1. 306. Silvey Wyaca - - Kitty Egina (23) The character of this female not given.	- 18 - 22	(23) Opposite to the name of Kitty Egina, Mr. Dougan notes, that "the character of this female is not given." On turning to the page referred to, viz. 308 of the Tortola Schedules, it appears there was no person to give any account either of her, or Charlotte Abache, as both appear to have run away from Tortola to St. Thomas, and yet Mr. Dougan includes them in his list of "fair and deserving characters."
Vol. 1. 306. Charlotte Abache 310 Jennett Adda (1st) (24)	22 22	(24) Opposite to Jennet Adda, Mr. Dougan says: "see what the mistress says of this hard-working negro, not being able to support herself." On a reference to page 310 in the Tortola Schedules, and to the note (d) pages 17 to 21 of these Remarks, the case will appear to be very plain to any person acquainted with the absence of habits of steady industry among people in a backward state of knowledge and civilization, with a low scale of wants, in the low lands of the torrid zone.
Vol. 1. 310. Betsey Ebaqua Examinations taken before one Commissioner	- 23 - - - - - 17 <hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/> <hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/> <hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/> 76 <hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/> <hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>	

Mr. Dougan's Abstract being altogether erroneous, it is unnecessary to notice it further than to remark the omission of any reference to the pecuniary means of the masters and mistresses to pay wages afterwards to their apprentices, when free, and the low scale of wants of all uncivilized people, because the employment of the apprentices, at that period, if even willing to work, would depend much upon the means of their masters and mistresses to pay them wages. Had this inquiry been entered into, the great majority of masters and mistresses would have been found to be poor white, black and coloured people, unable to keep these servants on wages. Major Moody includes the poor whites, because the greater number of them also are in a similar situation to the poor free black and coloured.

Major Moody having shortly examined those cases which Mr. Dougan has particularly noticed by his remarks opposite the names of the individuals, and having shown that, in these cases even, a reference to facts proves that Major Moody, in his former Reports, had drawn the soundest inferences, and expressed to Earl Bathurst the most correct opinions; as, indeed, the fact of the liberated apprentices in Tortola being now chiefly supported at the expense of Great Britain would alone show, without the details into which he has entered.

In such colonies as Tortola, where the means of mere subsistence are easily obtained, except when hurricanes or long droughts occur, the free negro, having few wants, has no physical stimulus to labour steadily for such wages as the capitalists can afford to give. In consequence of the competition of other countries which raise similar articles to those of Tortola by the means of labourers, whose wages only amount to mere subsistence, and a few extra comforts, the capitalist of Tortola can only afford to pay the labourers in the colony upon the same scale, for the ordinary number of hours of steady labour in the day, or days in the year, that his fixed capital can be made productive by the aid of such steady human labour. Now, in these colonies, the free negro can obtain mere subsistence, and such extra comforts as all of his rank around him are enjoying, by short and irregular intervals of labour in such occupations as fishing, picking salt, fire-wood, &c. to the procuring of which, by hiring labourers, the capitalist has no motive to contribute, as such trade affords no advantages to him, or to the parent state, in comparison with the cultivation of the soil by slave labour in raising articles that have a value in Great Britain, such as sugar, cotton, &c.

## Female Apprentices, of doubtful and uncertain Character.

Page.	Age.
Vol. 1. 270. Phillis Charcobe	- 19
- 284. Fanny Adenage (2d)	24

<i>Mr. Dougan.</i>			<i>Major Moody's Remarks.</i>
Page.	Age.		
Vol. 1. 270. Eliza Occazie	- 21		
Subject to fits.			
Examination taken before two Commissioners	- - - -	-	3
Vol. 1. 302. Fanny Imbahow	- 17		
Sickly, and perfectly unable to take care of or provide for herself and two children.			
Vol. 1. 304. Rebecca Oreka	- 19		
- 310. Mimey Wadoca	- 23		
Examinations taken before one Commissioner	- - - -	-	3
		-	<u>6</u>

Female Apprentices, of undeserving and bad Character.

Page.	Age.
Vol. 1. 304. Barbara Worle	- 22
Examination taken before one Commissioner	- - - -
	- 1

General Recapitulation of the whole of the Apprentices of the Atrivedo.

	Males.	Females.
Fair and deserving characters -	21	76
Those of whom no character is given - - - - -	1	-
Doubtful and uncertain characters	2	6
Undeserving and bad characters	3	1
Total - -	<u>27</u>	<u>83</u>

General Result of the whole.

	Deserving Characters.		Doubtful Characters.		Bad Characters.		TOTAL.
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	
Manuella -	28	12	7	5	9	-	61
Venus -	16	24	3	6	4	2	55
Candelaria	21	36	6	2	-	-	65
Atrivedo -	21	76	3	6	3	1	110
	<u>86</u>	<u>148</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>291</u>

That is to say, of 291 individuals, 234 are represented as of a deserving character; 38 as being of doubtful character; and only 19 as being of bad character.

The

## CAPTURED NEGROES AT TORTOLA.

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*Mr. Dougan.**Major Moody's Remarks.*

The within paper contains a classification of the characters of Africans captured in four ships, the *Manuella*, *Venus*, *Candelario* and *Atriveido*, given by their masters before the Commissioners. I have, to the best of my judgment, classed the characters of these Africans under three heads, according to the characters so given by their masters and mistresses; and solemnly declare my firm belief of the justice and accuracy of remarks which accompany this classification.

(signed) *John Dougan.*

Witness to the signature of John Dougan,

(signed) *T. E. Dicey.*

## N° V.

REMARKS on Major Moody's Return of African and Creole Negroes taken in small Vessels and condemned at Tortola.

IT cost me much labour searching old trunks of papers in the Registry, annoyed by the nausea of cockroaches, to get at the information relative to the class of small vessels. The result of my researches I left in a book at the Commissioner's office. It appears that my colleague, who was entirely uninformed (A) on this subject, as will appear by his letter to Lord Bathurst, 6th September 1822, after I had quitted Tortola, from illness, went to the Registrar of the Admiralty, with my index in his hand, pointing out the information, and where it had been discovered.

Considering the circumstances under which these posthumous papers were got up for the purpose of being laid before Parliament, it is probable that some mistake in dates and names may have occurred; Major Moody, therefore, declines to avail himself of any advantage arising from these, in repelling the charges of Mr. Dougan. It appears, says he, that "after I had quitted Tortola, from illness, Major Moody went to the Registrar of the Admiralty, with my index in his hand, pointing out the information, and where it had been discovered."

In page 145 of Major Moody's First Report, there is a return of most of these *small* vessels, furnished by the Registrar of the Admiralty, the Hon. M. Dyer French member of Council, with a note showing that the return was then imperfect, inasmuch as the Custom-house Returns added others to the list. There were other returns received from those offices, including larger vessels. In a letter to the Under Secretary of State, dated 11th September 1822, which is probably the one to which Mr. Dougan intended to refer, Major Moody states as follows: "According to a list which I annex, No. 3, it appears that 69 slaves, considered as creoles, have been condemned here, and 'set at liberty as free men.' The list enclosed is from the Register of the court of Vice-Admiralty; a list from the Custom-house for the same object is extremely imperfect."

It appears, therefore, that on the 11th September 1822, *when Mr. Dougan was in England*, Major Moody had even then obtained lists, however imperfect. Mr. Dougan did not go to England from illness till the 10th June 1823, having returned to Tortola on the 20th October 1822, and it was on the 11th September 1822 that Major Moody had already transmitted one of the lists of vessels condemned with negro slaves on board; it is obvious, therefore, that Major Moody had not been so entirely dependent on Mr. Dougan's aid as the posthumous papers assert.

It is far from Major Moody's wish to undervalue the activity, and zeal of Mr. Dougan as a Commissioner; but he deems it right to state so much, to show that there are no grounds to justify the manner in which these posthumous papers are made to underrate his own exertions.

When Mr. Dougan and Major Moody together were inquiring into the particulars of these smaller captures, it happened that the form of a Schedule was to be determined upon, and, as in the original Schedules for the *Manuella*, &c. no column was left to indicate *the cause of the condemnation of the vessel*. Mr. Dougan insisted that no column should be placed for that head. Major Moody was anxious to have the whole truth stated, to prevent erroneous inferences from being drawn, and deemed such a column the more desirable, because, while in England, Mr. Dougan had adduced the number of negroes condemned in these small vessels as a proof that this class of persons were extensively *smuggled* into the English colonies; whereas, on investigation, it turned out that they had been condemned under revenue laws totally unconnected with the African slave trade.

Mr. Dougan, as usual, adhered to his opinion, so that nothing was decided upon till he quitted Tortola in June 1823; but he having left behind him in the office a paper

MAJOR MOODY's Remarks on those of Mr. Dougan on the Return of African and Creole Negroes condemned in the Court of Vice-Admiralty at Tortola, as given into the Commissioners, from the Custom-house, and the Court of Vice-Admiralty.

(A) MR. DOUGAN is pleased to state, that Major Moody was entirely uninformed on the subject of African and Creole negroes condemned in the Court of Vice-Admiralty at Tortola; and to prove this assertion, he refers to Major Moody's letter to Earl Bathurst, dated 6th September 1822.

It so happens, that Major Moody never wrote a letter of that date to Earl Bathurst on any subject whatever.

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paper containing sundry memoranda opposite to the names of the vessels condemned, Major Moody thought it fair to insert these memoranda in the Schedules, that no part of the information, which Mr. Dougan appeared to have deemed important, might be withheld from His Majesty's Government. In cases where Mr. Dougan had made observations unsupported by the official documents, or directly contrary to them, Major Moody quoted the originals, which he had himself consulted, in justification of his own opinions with reference to those left on record by Mr. Dougan.

My colleague, however, to show a superior tact and accuracy, has passed my original data through the severe criticism of a reviewer; with what accuracy, the following observations will show:

Vol. 1, p. 6 and 7. *Espiegle, Vivient.* Major Moody observes, that from the papers left by Mr. Dougan, it would appear that two of the crew were Africans and one a Creole, and that Lieut. Kippin commanded the *Laura*, and that Mr. Dougan is wrong in both instances, for that there were two Creoles and one African, and that Lieut. Hunter commanded the *Laura*.

I may be incorrect in the extract which I made from the depositions at the Vice-Admiralty Court at Tortola, as to the country of the slaves, and cannot ascertain the facts, as I have not now the originals to refer to. This only I will state, that nearly the whole of the original information relative to Creole and African negroes captured in small vessels was collected by me alone, from the Admiralty records, and inserted in a book, a fair copy of which was left at Tortola. The rough book I now have. In the memorandum as to the *Espiegle, Vivient*, is written, "captured by *Laura*," Capt. Kippin's name is not mentioned as the commander of the *Laura*—two set down Africans, one Creole.

In my Report, p. 42, the *Espiegle* is stated to be captured by H. M. ship *Laura, Charles N. Hunter* (B). This criticism might have been spared, as Major Moody had seen Mr. Dougan's Report given in England, where *Capt. Hunter* was stated as the captain of the *Laura*.

contained the original remarks of Major Moody, the date will be found to be the 13th August 1823, at which time he could not in Tortola have seen a report of Mr. Dougan, which was drawn up in London several months afterwards. Major Moody has only to say, that he never saw the first Report of Mr. Dougan till he was asked to sign it, and therefore any remarks of his in any of the Schedules could not be influenced by any thing in a Report which he could not possibly have seen at the time.

Vol. 1, p. 8 and 9, *Mary, Todd* (C). In this case Major Moody denies, with his usual confidence, the accuracy of Mr. Dougan, and says, that he has carefully examined all the papers in the Registrar's office, and particularly the list of men referred to by Mr. Dougan, and, that in the short list of men (as he terms it) there is *no place* named; whereas Mr.

(B) Mr. Dougan appears to have made a slight mistake. He seems to think that Major Moody had seen his Report, and the Appendix thereto, dated 20th December 1823, previous to the Schedules being sent from Tortola. On reference to Major Moody's signature to the Tortola Schedules, which

(C) In the case of the *Mary, Todd*, master, Mr. Dougan refers to his pocket-book for the accuracy of his statement. Major Moody refers to the original documents in the court of Vice-Admiralty for the accuracy of his statement, and which was made with Mr. Dougan's note before him; and Major Moody has no reason to believe or suspect that Mr. French, the registrar, withheld any document, as all the papers relative to each case were

*Mr. Dougan.*

Dougan states, twice, it was "Antigua," which does not seem probable, as the list itself stated that the vessel belonged to Mr. Brooks, and the list of men having the words "bound for Antigua," seems clearly to refer to some other voyage.

I have now before me the original note made by me, and set down in a pocket-book, as to this case of the *Mary, Todd*. It is as follows: "Besides Hannibal and Joe, the list of men found on board contains the following slaves:

- |               |   |               |
|---------------|---|---------------|
| 1. Hannibal   | - | } ALL SLAVES. |
| 2. Peter      | - |               |
| 3. William    | - |               |
| 4. Joe        | - |               |
| 5. Old Tobias | - |               |

(signed) 1 Feb. 1812.

*R. Johnson, ANTIGUA.*

his

*J. × Todd.*

mark.

Can I doubt my own accuracy, when I see such details as *R. Johnson, Antigua*, and the cross of the master, and the double scoring under the words "ALL SLAVES," to remind me of that particular document. I well recollect discovering this small piece of paper among the other documents.

My memorandum is equally particular; for, I find it thus, "The *Mary, Todd*, was captured 1st March 1812, and belonged to *W. Brooks, of St. John's, Antigua.*"

I truly think Major Moody did not carefully examine all the papers, or he would have found this small piece of paper, of which I took a copy.

Vol. 1, p. 9. *Jonah Seguan*; omitted by Major Moody.—"Thomas, owned by Mr. Jonti (D) St. Pierre, Martinique."—The name of the former master may lead to the future discovery of this person, and therefore ought to be mentioned.

quired of several persons well acquainted with the inhabitants of that town, and with which he was himself acquainted, but none remember that such a person ever lived there.

Vol. 1, p. 9. *Augustus, Hinson*.—Major Moody was struck with the 18th interrogatory being put to a slave, as he would become free on the condemnation of the vessel (E). The crew were probably all slaves. Let it be observed, that in the case of the *Mary*, except the master, all the crew were slaves. The Act of Parliament directs that the master and two of the crew should be examined. If this Act were dispensed with, the master, the

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were tied up together, and carefully examined. It certainly is allowable for Mr. Dougan to wonder that his accuracy should be doubted; but no one can wonder that Major Moody should be the person to doubt it, after the numerous exposures of Mr. Dougan's errors in these Remarks.

(D) Whether Thomas was owned by a Mr. Jonti, as stated by Mr. Dougan, Major Moody cannot tell, as there was no evidence to that effect. Although there may have been persons with names similar to that of "Jonti," in St. Pierre, Major Moody has in-

(E) The observation made in the case of the *Augustus, Hinson*, master, relative to the 18th interrogatory being put to a slave, arose from the circumstance of the slave being benefited by the condemnation of the vessel. As an Englishman, Major Moody thought the mode of proceeding contrary to that pursued in those courts in which he had had any experience,

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the party offending, would be the only person competent to give testimony, because all the crew are slaves.

Major Moody evidently is desirous of extending to the Admiralty Court, in matters of prize, the colonial system of rejecting slave testimony.

Prevoyante, Auzias, master. Vol. 1, pp. 10 and 11. The case of John Charles Degag e (F), captured in this vessel, has occupied two pages of remarks from Major Moody, (N<sup>o</sup> 10 and 11.) It would be a waste of time to enter into all the minutiae of this man, Charles Degag e, whether he was 5 feet 2 or 5 feet 6, or the actual John Charles, who was in the chain-gang at St. Thomas.

have occurred. John Charles Degag e must have been captured on the 19th July 1811, in a smuggling vessel, and made free on the 9th August 1811; after which he must have been again sold as a slave to a new master, and on the 18th November 1812, again captured, and condemned in the same court, in another smuggling vessel, and again liberated, after paying bounty-money to the captors; the same collector certifying the papers; all of which is scarcely possible.

It turned out, however, that there was neither truth, nor probability in the assertion; and Mr. Dougan says very coolly: "it would be a waste of time to enter into all the minutiae of this man, Charles Degag e, whether he was 5 feet 2 inches or 5 feet 6 inches, or the actual John Charles, who was in the chain-gang at St. Thomas." Yet it was these minutiae which exposed his attempt to deceive Earl Bathurst.

Mr. Dougan's inferences as to this man were indeed all thrown into doubt, by his not producing John Charles before *both* Commissioners, as soon as he understood that a person would be present to confute what John Charles was said to have stated to him. Finally, John Charles ran away from Tortola in such a hurry, that he forgot to pay his house-rent.

Mr. Dougan says he himself saw John Charles, which is not doubted, but doubts are entertained of the truth of that which he says John Charles told him, for neither he nor John Charles dared venture to have the assertions examined, whilst from John Charles's rapid retreat from the colony, it appeared that they actually took pains to defeat the possibility of any examination taking place.

The evidence of Jenny Ronan, and Pero Leonard, who had been sufferers by the conduct of John Charles, was officially produced as to his character. Their evidence was recorded on the books of the Commission on the 12th of November 1822, when Mr. Dougan was sitting as a Commissioner in Tortola. Mr. Dougan never called for the examination of these free coloured people, who could speak to that which they actually knew. But on the 6th of December 1822, he privately, and unknown to Major Moody, gets two other poor free black men, Richard Philips and Thomas Jeff Niles, to put their marks to a paper in the presence of another free black man, T. W. Audain, to certify something. But even they do not certify one word respecting the direct evidence of other persons against John Charles, but only that they knew nothing amiss of him. Now, it is singular, that none of these persons, or their documents, were ever produced before the Commission in Tortola by Mr. Dougan, but that they only appear in these posthumous papers, when Major Moody had no power or means of examining the parties. Mr. Dougan, indeed, asserts, that Pero Leonard would have come before the Commissioners, and contradicted all that he had said to Mr. Cunningham, had he (Pero) not been afraid of Major Moody.

It does not appear that Pero Leonard himself gave this reason to Mr. Dougan, as the latter only says, "he was informed so," but he does not state who was his informant, and Major Moody can only express his belief that the assertion had no foundation in truth.

When, on a former occasion, Mr. Dougan mentioned the names of persons, who professed themselves afraid to appear before Major Moody, the falsehood was quickly proved, by showing that they had all actually gone before him, with the exception of Jennette Heyligar, who neither went before Major Moody, nor the Collector; for it was not absolutely necessary for her to go to Major Moody's office. Indeed, her evidence referred solely to the cargoes of Africans, with which Mr. Dougan had been concerned, and whose fate the late Lieutenant-general Sir James Leith having unintentionally misrepresented, Major Moody could have no possible motive to impede her from giving such information, as would explain satisfactorily

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experience; and notwithstanding the observation of Mr. Dougan, he has yet to learn the nature of the crime he has committed in noticing it as he has done.

(F) The case of John Charles Degag e captured on board the Prevoyante, Auzias, master, occupies a considerable share of Mr. Dougan's Report, being one of the cases in which his attempt to deceive Lord Bathurst had been previously exposed.

On reference to pages 10 and 11 of the Tortola Schedules, it will appear, that had Mr. Dougan's assertions with regard to this man been true, the following facts must



## SLAVE TRADE: PAPERS RELATING TO

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the suspicions entertained against herself, and the inferences unfavourable to Mr. Dougan. As, however, she would neither appear before the Collector, nor Major Moody, and they had no power to enforce her attendance, she was not incommoded in any way, which must show how little disposed Major Moody was to incommode any person.

Major Moody can say nothing about what John Charles may have told Mr. Dougan, as both the one and the other carefully avoided any inquiry into these matters, but how the fact of a poor negro woman being twice with John Charles at Tortola could prove that he had purchased that woman's freedom, as Mr. Dougan infers, is far beyond Major Moody's comprehension. The woman may never have been a slave, or she may have been freed in some other manner, or she may have been a runaway slave. The notarial certificate certainly proves the identity of John Charles with the man captured by the Peruvian, and it is also clear that he had served on board the Peruvian as a seaman, and that when discharged he had twelve dollars in money to pay for that certificate, but it proves nothing else, and these facts are not denied.

That John Charles was not scared away from Tortola by the police officer, is proved by the fact, that he left the island before Mr. Cunningham had called at the house where he had lived. Mr. Dougan supposes that he quitted it "about the 7th November." Mr. Cunningham's letter is dated the 12th November 1822, and it stated the result of his inquiries that morning. Major Moody has not the least doubt whatever but that Mr. Dougan alone induced the man to leave the island, as soon as he found that Major Moody intended to investigate the truth of the statements which Mr. Dougan had recorded as hearsay evidence from the man himself, for no satisfactory reason has been assigned by Mr. Dougan for making a record on the minutes of mere hearsay evidence, when he had the man himself ready to give it, unless he had some doubts as to the result of an investigation of the truth by Major Moody.

Major Moody begs to observe, that John Charles never did call at the Custom-house on the 6th of November; for on the minute of that day made at the Custom-house, it appears by Major Moody's First Report, page 89, "he proposes that the man be sent for to ascertain how far his interests are likely to be affected by any delay in his examination." Yet Mr. Dougan never sent for him to appear, but promised to do so some other day. The man, however, never appeared.

The question as to the time that John Charles had been living at Tortola is determined, in the opinion of Mr. Dougan, by a certificate of two coloured men, dated 6th December 1822, referring to a former period of *two* or *three* months, to prove that John Charles Degagé could not have been in the chain-gang at St. Thomas on the 8th August 1822, the time at which Mr. Grigg, the Custom-house officer, reported that he had actually spoken to the man in the chain-gang. *Vide* Major Moody's First Report, page 151. Now, any person calculating the difference between these periods, will find that four months would have elapsed from the 8th of August to the 6th of December, and therefore the certificate in no manner whatever proves an *alibi* for John Charles on the 8th August 1822.

It is to be observed, that Mr. Dougan, in his First Report to Earl Bathurst, had suppressed the date of the free black man's certificate, and he now says, half a dozen respectable free persons had told him that John Charles had been living in Tortola *two* months at least, reckoning from the 7th November 1822, when Mr. Dougan supposes he had quitted Tortola; and he is the best authority on this point, because it is most probable that he induced the man to run away. Now two months from the 7th November would not prove an *alibi* on the 8th August, any more than the certificates.

The inference that Major Moody drew from the fact of John Charles being in the chain-gang at St. Thomas (as proved by the positive evidence of Mr. Grigg, and since confirmed by that of John King, esq. of that place) was, that he and another, who had also been in the chain-gang at St. Thomas, did not "appear to have conducted themselves properly as free men:"—(*vide* Major Moody's First Report, page 141), and he now submits that nothing has been shown by Mr. Dougan to prove the facts stated to be untrue, or the inference unfair.

These, however, are facts which are evident:—the man I myself saw at Tortola; he was apparently about 5 feet 6, and came to that island *voluntarily* with his wife. Richard Philipps and Thomas Jeff Niles, two free men of colour, certify as follows: "We, the undersigned, do certify, that John Charles lived in our neighbourhood with us for about two or three months, during which time he conducted himself

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himself in a very sober, honest, industrious and becoming manner; he attended principally to fishing; and often heard him and his wife complain of getting no work to do, and that they could not make a living in the country.

Given the 6th day of December 1822.

his  
*Richd. × Philipps.*  
mark.

his  
*Thos. Jeff × Niles.*  
mark.

Witness, Thos. W. Audain.

Pero Leonard, a free black man, was asked the character of John Charles and his wife; he said they were very quiet and industrious people, paid their rent, and would not have gone away from Tortola if they had not heard that Major Moody had sent a police-officer to search for him, and to inquire if he was not a bad character. Pero promised to come before the Commissioners, and give the character of John Charles, but refused afterwards, saying, as I was informed, that he was afraid of Major Moody.

Two other free persons, who lived opposite to John Charles for upwards of two months, gave him the character of an industrious man; that he was up at the earliest dawn of day engaged in making fish-pots. But they declined appearing before the Commissioners, for the like reason as Pero Leonard. Major Moody objects to my record as to John Charles, as being John Charles's own account, given in most favourable colours.

The Report which I made of his having purchased the freedom of his wife was pretty evident by the woman's having been twice with him at Tortola. I saw his discharge from the Peruvian, and a notarial certificate of his freedom under the signature of Mark French, Esq. Register, for which he had paid Mr. French *twelve dollars*, and therefore he must have been in good circumstances to have paid such a sum for a certificate.

All these documents Major Moody would have seen as well as myself, had not the man been scared away from the island by inquiries for him as a suspicious character by the police-officer.

Tortola was an island too that yielded no prospect of employment for a person who had been bred to the sea. It is not surprising, therefore, that John Charles departed suddenly.

It is now necessary to state how I first

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knew of this person being on the island. It was from the party calling on Sunday, the 5th November, at my lodgings, stating who he was, and that he was ready to give an account of himself to the Commissioners. It being Sunday, he was directed by me to call at the Custom-house the next day, the 6th, and he would then be told what day to appear before the Commissioners. The next day, Monday the 6th, I noted the circumstance of John Charles being on the island, for the purpose of fixing a day for his examination;—for about this time the Commissioners had been busily engaged in other matters;—it therefore became necessary to fix a day for this man's examination. John Charles having been scared away from the island in the manner described, and no other means left of obtaining any further information, I recorded that which I believed and saw, "that the female at Tortola was the wife of John Charles, whom he had purchased for 225 dollars. That he was possessed of money was pretty evident, when he paid 12 dollars for a certificate of his freedom, on his first visit from St. Thomas at Tortola. I could not doubt, from the report of half a dozen respectable free persons, that John Charles had been two months at least living at Tortola, from the time of his quitting, supposed about the 7th November.

It is clear therefore that in the early part of August or September, a John Charles must have been residing at Tortola; yet Major Moody writes to Mr. Wilmot on the 11th September 1822, that John Charles was a bad character, and was working in the chain-gang at St. Thomas, a Danish island.

Major Moody further remarks in that letter most unfavourably of five others; and concluded with saying, of the other sixty-three creoles (G), "I have been unable to find any trace whatever, except what Governor Von Schollen, of St. Thomas, told me, that he believed the greatest part of the men entered on *board Columbian privateers*, but whose conduct more resembled that of pirates. Some went to St. Domingo, and it is probable the rest to Porto Rico. They have all left Tortola." He adds further, "*lest it may be thought I have not used due diligence to inquire after these creoles unaccounted for, I beg leave solemnly to assure you I have used every exertion in my power, not only in Tortola, but in the foreign islands of St. Thomas and St. John's, to which I went at my own private expense,* and

(G) Mr. Dougan then takes up another passage in Major Moody's letter, wherein it was stated, he could not, at that time, 11th September 1822, obtain any trace of several negroes condemned in small vessels, except what he had heard from the Danish Governor of St. Thomas.

This letter of Major Moody was an answer to certain inquiries, and the best that could be given at the time. It was not a separate Report, for Major Moody was at the time the only Commissioner in Tortola, and the letter he then wrote never assumed the character of a Report. Mr. Dougan's accusation is in these words: "But I think at the same time Major Moody, in making a separate Report to Mr. Wilmot, on the 11th December 1822, as to the sixty-three persons, should not have given the very unfavourable account

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*Mr. Dougan.**Major Moody's Remarks.*

and I propose to do the same in Porto Rico, where I know some of the African apprentices are."

"account which he then did of those people from mere hearsay."

Major Moody on this, as on former occasions, has only to request that the whole of his words may be quoted, to avoid the misrepresentation of his meaning. The words in the letter referred to are these: "Of the sixty-nine slaves, *who ought now to have been useful members of society in a British colony, as free men*, I have only been able to collect information as to six."

Respecting sixty-nine persons, Major Moody acknowledges he had not been able to obtain information excepting of *six*, whom he specifies by name.

"Of the other sixty-three creoles, I have been unable to find any trace whatever," says Major Moody, "except what Governor Von Scholten of St. Thomas told me, that he believed the greatest part of the men entered on board a class of vessels called Colombian privateers." It is true that since that period Major Moody did obtain farther information, which confirmed that opinion; but at the time he was writing, it is obvious, he merely mentioned that he could then obtain no other trace than that alluded to. He also added, "that some went to St. Domingo, and it is probable the rest to Porto Rico. *They have all left Tortola.*" Now, not one word is said respecting the character of these sixty-three persons, as Mr. Dougan is pleased to state had been done. It certainly is stated that the Colombian privateers, at the period in question, acted more like pirates, a notorious fact, which no one has denied, and indeed which Mr. Dougan's evidence in some measure would tend to confirm. *Vide* his account of the *Perla*. That the Danish Governor must have been acquainted with these events, any person who knows the system of police adopted in the Danish colonies will immediately understand. One fact, however, was certain. *Not one of these persons was in Tortola.* Mr. Dougan returned to that island, read Major Moody's letter, and appears to have been anxious to produce John Charles at least, although Major Moody had previously found him out, and yet with all Mr. Dougan's zeal to aid Major Moody, *not one of these people was discovered.* Messrs. Bowles and Gannon, their successors, also went to St. Christopher, and remained a very long time at Antigua, to which place some of these people had originally belonged, and yet not one, even of these sixty-three persons, was discovered and personally examined, by either of these gentlemen. Yet although they were never discovered by any person, Mr. Dougan says, "Had Major Moody carefully traced the records of the court, he would have seen by a memorandum in the registry, that certificates for bounty on forty-three slaves taken in these small vessels, had been sent from the registry to the collector and comptroller, of which Mr. Grigg, the great authority of Major Moody, was always an acting deputy, and sometimes for both," &c.

Major Moody did make all these inquiries, as the Schedules themselves show, and he did examine every one of the records, and he did examine Mr. Grigg, from all of which it appeared, that the people, when liberated, went to St. Thomas as fast as they could get away from Tortola, and therefore Major Moody inquired after them through the Governor of St. Thomas, since not one person was in Tortola, to his knowledge, when he wrote.

Major Moody cannot comprehend how the discovery that Great Britain had paid considerable sums of money for these people, can in any way prove that these persons were, at the time of his writing, "*useful members of society in a British colony, as free men.*" It only proved that the captors, the Custom-house officers, Mr. Dougan himself, and other navy agents, had secured their emoluments in Tortola, as in Sierra Leone; but these facts did not prove any thing as to the condition of the people after their liberation. In such instances as these, imperfect statements appear generally to have been resorted to, the effect of which was delusion, in making the British nation believe that the public money was applied in the most useful manner, whereas that fact was extremely doubtful, in the judgment of Major Moody. Lawyers, and navy agents may have had sufficient motives, and sufficient influence to procure Acts of Parliament, and Orders in Council to be framed with the view of conferring the greatest degree of benefits on the Africans, and yet the effect may have been rather more beneficial to themselves than to the nation, or the Africans; for certainly, that any benefit has generally resulted to the Africans, equivalent to the amount of British capital expended upon them, has never yet been even attempted to be proved, notwithstanding all the efforts of those who have had a direct interest in deluding the nation on these subjects; at the same time that they, and others may have believed themselves to be acting on the purest motives, and unconscious of their error, whilst they severely calumniated men as good as themselves.

That no information could be collected respecting these people, was a matter of sincere regret to Major Moody, because the want of information had led the late Sir James Leith to make some unfortunate representations on the subject of these African apprentices; and a late collector of Tortola had done the same, as appeared from a Report of his given in to the Commissioners, and with respect to which Report, Major Moody begs leave to offer some explanation in the Appendix, No. 1. against some insinuations of Mr. Dougan.

*Mr. Dougan.**Major Moody's Remarks.*

I will freely admit, that Major Moody might have endeavoured to discover these people taken in small vessels, and that he might not have been aware of the place of information where I found it, on my return to England, viz. the preparatory examinations of the masters and crews of the captured vessels in the registry of the Court of Vice-Admiralty; also, that there was a man called John Charles, in the chain-gang at St. Thomas, who at a distance answered Mr. Grigg, at St. Thomas, when he called out the name of John Charles; and that Major Moody knew not, on the 11th September, that a John Charles was residing at Tortola; but, I think at the same time, Major Moody, in making a separate Report to Mr. Wilmot, on the 11th September 1822, as to the sixty-three persons, should not have given the very unfavourable account which he then did of those people, from mere hearsay; that, "the greatest part had gone on board privateers of the New Republic, resembling pirates, and to St. Domingo and Porto Rico." Had Major Moody carefully traced the records of the court, he would have seen by a memorandum in the registry, that certificates for bounty on forty-three slaves taken in these small vessels had been sent from the registry to the Collector and Comptroller, of which Mr. Grigg, the great authority of Major Moody, was always an acting deputy, sometimes for both; and that it was more probable to suppose, from the great irregularity in the Custom-house papers and proceedings, that these unfortunate people were totally neglected by the Custom-house officers, whose duty it was to attend them; and that a considerable portion of them were carried off the island by their masters, as soon as the Judge's sentence was pronounced, of which, most probably, they were ignorant.\*

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\* (H) It appears in the cases of these sixty-three Creoles, captured in small vessels in the case of the two first captured African ships with slaves, the Nancy and Amedie, that Major Moody was equally unsuccessful in his inquiries, as Secretary for Sir James Leith whilst at Tortola in April 1815, as to the fate and disposal of these two considerable cargoes of slaves, which the first man the Secretary met in the streets could have told him; yet the Secretary suffers Sir James Leith to write your Lordship, 21st Nov. 1815, "That after meet inquiries of all the negroes formerly apprenticed out, I could only learn of the existence of three of them." In the cases of the sixty-three Creole slaves, as in that of the Nancy and Armidie, as represented by Sir James Leith, I have good reason to doubt that Major Moody,

(H) Mr. Dougan, in this note, appears to wish to make Major Moody answerable for the letters of the late Lieutenant-General Sir James Leith, who was Commander of the Forces and Captain-General of the Leeward Islands, and who had written on the subject of the Tortola apprentices to Earl Bathurst.

There can be no doubt but that the late Lieutenant-General Sir James Leith's letter to Earl Bathurst respecting the fate of the Africans condemned in the court of Tortola, like many others from high characters in the West Indies, was written in ignorance, but with the best and most pure of motives. The late Lieutenant-General Sir James Leith was

Mr. Dougan.

Major Moody's Remarks.

As regards John Charles, and the others of these enfranchised persons (except Jim) Mr. Dougan will most appropriately repeat an observation made by Major Moody, "that any measures recommended with reference to character *so collected*, ought to be received with great caution."

Vol. 1, p. 15.—Sally, Duroche. Mr. Grigg, acting for the collector in the sale of this vessel and cargo, tells Major Moody, that he understood three of the slaves *ran away*, or were *carried away* from the island the night after the condemnation; he thinks it most *probable* they were *carried away*. Mr. Grigg, when asked concerning these people by Mr. Dougan, knew nothing of them; if the negroes ran away, they did so from freedom; if they were carried away, is it unreasonable to suppose that this was done by the owner, and that the slaves knew

Moody, whether as secretary to Sir James Leith, or as Commissioner, has in either instance made the proper inquiries at the Custom-house, Admiralty Court, and other places where information was to be had by personal research, when Major Moody, suspecting that your Lordship might doubt his diligence, solemnly assures your Lordship that he had used every exertion in his power at Tortola and the neighbouring foreign islands and could find no trace of them, except in the few instances he mentioned, but concludes, from vague information of Governor Von Scholten's belief, that the greatest part embarked on board Columbian privateers, whose conduct resembled that of pirates. I must, in duty to those sixty-three Creoles, assert that Major Moody had no just foundation for his representations to your Lordship in regard to them. Several of them are traced since to have served on board our ships of war; and from the total neglect the condemned Africans received from the collector of the customs, I have little doubt that the greater part were removed by their former masters from Tortola immediately after the condemnation had taken place, and that they remain with their former masters as slaves to the present day.

was incapable of deliberately deceiving any person; but it is perfectly true that he wrote at one time that which he ascertained afterwards not to be the fact, respecting African apprentices in Tortola being held in slavery. He did certainly, at the time, believe that many of them were held in slavery, whom it afterwards appeared Mr. Dougan himself had sent to Trinidad, under the protection of Sir Alexander Cochrane. Mr. Dougan, in consequence of that letter of Sir James Leith, the Report of Mr. Bridgeman, and the affidavit of Mr. Grigg, certainly was unfairly dealt with, and therefore complained. Major Moody never hesitated to declare his colleague free from any portion of blame, which by inference might have been imputed to him from imperfect, and incorrect official statements, and affidavits, communicated in ignorance of the real facts.

As an apology for the late Lieutenant-General Sir James Leith, however, Major Moody can state positively, and upon his own knowledge, that the circumstance which led Sir James to inquire into the state of the apprentices, occurred just previous to his

going to Crab Island in the Crescent frigate, with the intention of returning to Tortola. When at Crab Island, letters from Sir Philip Durham, the Admiral on the station, informed him of the escape of Buonaparte from Elba, and of communications from the Governors of the French Islands, which required his presence to the windward. Sir James Leith therefore did not discover his error relative to his Report on Africans condemned in Tortola, until a private communication was sent to him from the Secretary of State, enclosing a letter that had been transmitted to the African Institution from the West Indies. On investigating the truth as to the matter therein referred to, Sir James discovered the mistakes made by himself, and the correspondent of the African Institution, who had asserted that new negroes had been clandestinely imported into Nevis, contrary to the Act for the abolition of the trade.

The opinion which Sir James Leith for a short time erroneously held respecting the Africans captured on board the *Armidie* and *Nancy*, in which Mr. Dougan was concerned, was thought by that gentleman in his own case to have been very unreasonable; but when other people were concerned, and when Mr. Dougan was the person to convey imperfect statements leading to inferences imputing blame to others, then Mr. Dougan became perfectly fearless in his insinuations, and even in inferential calumnies. Such conduct and such reasoning Major Moody could not approve; and he repeatedly stated his opinion of the irregular, and careless manner, in which matters of this kind were conducted by Mr. Dougan, as a Commissioner, whose duty it was to act fairly and impartially towards every one.

Mr. Dougan.

Major Moody's Remarks.

knew nothing of the sentence declaring them free, and it was least probable of all (as Major Moody separately reports to Lord Bathurst) that the greater part had embarked in Columbian privateers, as the master present on the spot would not permit this (I).

(I) In the case of the Sally, Duroche, master, Mr. Dougan merely extends his speculations on the conduct of other persons, when placed under similar circumstances to his own. For example, the same Mr. Grigg took an affidavit before Mr. Bridgewater, the collector of Dominica, which certainly bore very hard upon Mr. Dougan, until Mr. Dougan produced a counter affidavit from a free black woman. The verbal communication of the same Mr. Grigg is quite conclusive here to the mind of Mr. Dougan, when other persons are concerned!! His affidavit, when Mr. Dougan was concerned, was unworthy of belief!! Why the masters of vessels condemned in a court of admiralty at Tortola should necessarily remain in St. Thomas to prevent their former crew from going where they pleased, when free, is beyond Major Moody's comprehension.

Vol. 1, p. 19.—In the case of the Favorite, Tyne, with seven slaves, in which further proof was ordered, Mr. Dougan's remarks were, "it does not appear that any further proof was produced at court, or can it be ascertained how the register and ship's papers, six in number, had been taken out of the Registry." Major Moody, as a comment on this, says, "the first part is correct; but Mr. French, the registrar, *distinctly stated*, that the register of the vessel, and the ship's papers, six in number, were given out of the registry by Mr. French himself, on a receipt, and with the consent of the parties."

Here Major Moody would insinuate that the registrar distinctly stated this to me; no such thing occurred; I saw the receipt given to the registrar by the *claimant* for the six principal ship's papers, but could find no authority from the judge, or captors, empowering the registrar to part with those material papers from his office, and particularly without retaining official copies of originals so given out; for in such case there was an end of the suit; as, without these documents, or copies of them, no process could be carried on.

As to inquiry into the case at Barbadoes, as recommended by Major Moody, I would by no means recommend so useless an undertaking; the only information to be had there would be from the party interested in the escape of his vessel and slaves, from further process; the test of inquiry should have been the Court of Admiralty at Tortola, where the transaction occurred (K) and the production of the authority for parting with such important documents without having certified copies; there was no bail given in, and how could a vessel, under such circumstances, pass the Custom-house, that has been under judicial process, without a certificate from the judge or registrar in admiralty.

(K) In the case of the Favorite, Tynes, master, it appears that Mr. Dougan thinks Major Moody ought to have made certain inquiries, which it is alleged he had not done. Now is it to be credited that Mr. Dougan, *the alleged author of these posthumous papers*, was himself a Commissioner, and acted both with, and often altogether independently of Major Moody in inquiring into all such points? What then could have prevented Mr. Dougan himself, during his long residence at Tortola

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Tortola, from making those inquiries which he blames Mr. Moody for not having made, or what could prevent Mr. Dougan from showing in Tortola that such inquiries ought to have been made? Why obviously because Mr. Dougan in Tortola had not the same friends at his elbow, whom he had when making up these papers, urging him to point out how Major Moody could be exposed. The case, however, is very simple. It was eleven years after the last order of the court, that Major Moody examined into this matter, which Mr. Dougan also examined. Major Moody, when using Mr. Dougan's words, quoted them as such. When he speaks in his own name, the marks of quotation are omitted, and it is in that part where Major Moody says, "Mr. French, the Registrar, distinctly stated that the register of the vessel and the ship's papers, six in number, were given out of the registry by Mr. French himself, on a receipt, and with consent of parties." Such is the account which Major Moody gives of the statement made by Mr. French to him, and therefore he naturally supposed that the parties must have come to some understanding, which could be easily learned in Barbadoes, *where the owner of the vessel lived, as well as the master of the vessel, and the mate, who were all free people.* Mr. Dougan, indeed, says, "the mate and six seamen of the Favorite were all natives of Africa and slaves, and the master the only free person on board." It would not have altered the conduct of Major Moody, had the fact been, as stated by Mr. Dougan, whose object seems to be merely to introduce a remark on slave evidence where freedom would be the result of condemnation. Mr. Dougan, however, mistakes the fact; for the names of the *seven* seamen as slaves are specifically given, and not *six*, as Mr. Dougan asserts; and the master states, the vessel "was navigated by himself, a *mate*, and seven mariners, "who were slaves," obviously meaning that only the seven mariners were slaves. And their number was satisfactorily accounted for, as being required to haul the timber cut in Crab Island, where very few inhabitants were to be found. A plainer case never existed than that this transaction had no connection whatever with the illegal importation of African slaves.

This appears a blinked transaction not to be sifted at Barbadoes, as my colleague is disposed to do; indeed there would have been no means of proceeding by oral evidence in this case, if that which *struck* Major Moody so forcibly (I conclude he meant as improper,) in the case of the Augustus, Hinson, p. 9, should be permitted in this case, "that George Piggot, a slave, was examined on oath to the eighteenth standing interrogatory," as such a person would become free on the condemnation of the vessel, for the mate and six seamen of the Favorite were all natives of Africa, and slaves, and the master the only free person on board.

The seven slaves, sailors on board, were worth 1,400 dollars; half their value might have purchased the safety of the vessel and cargo, and continued these people slaves, and convenient navigators to foreign parts.

Vol. 1, p. 23, (L) Brig Busy, Bennett.—This vessel was seized at Tortola. The small pox had attacked many slaves on board; the sick were obliged to be removed on board a small vessel; the brig had parted her cable and lost her anchors; the slaves had been a very long while on board, as they had gone the circuit of the islands, from Trinidad to St. Thomas, in search of a market. Under these circumstances it surely was for the benefit of all parties, (such as the *law then was*,) that these slaves should be landed and sold; not a hundred days after the 25th March 1807, but in the month of May 1807, when there

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(L) The fourth Return in the Tortola Schedules, in pages 20 and 21, contains such accounts as the court of Vice Admiralty afforded on matters respecting which Mr. Dougan had left some memoranda, but which, on investigation, appeared to be unfounded. These cases are passed over by Mr. Dougan, and he next refers to the case of the Busy, Bennet, master, in pages 22 and 23 of the Tortola Schedules. The Busy was of the class of vessels which Mr. Dougan had not noticed in the memoranda he had left in the office, although the vessels were specifically mentioned in the various returns sent in to the Commissioners.

Major Moody, therefore, thought that some notice ought to be taken of these vessels, but Mr. Dougan declined to assist him, and therefore Major Moody made the best report he

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*Mr. Dougan.*

*Major Moody's Remarks.*

was not any knowledge whatever of such an act having been passed; indeed, His Majesty's order in Council making regulations and provisions for slaves liberated under the Act, was only dated in March 1808.

he could, with the aid of the Custom-house officers and those in the court of Vice Admiralty. Major Moody's notice of these vessels would doubtless have been more perfect, had Mr. Dougan been pleased to give his assistance; the more especially as he himself was a party in many of the transactions.

Mr. Dougan is pleased to accuse Major Moody of some criminality in what he calls "the designed arrangement of his remarks, so as to make it appear that the slaves on board the *Busy* had been sold on the 6th July 1807, one hundred days after the passing of the Abolition Act of 25th March, when the order for sale was on the 25th May 1807."

Now the words of Major Moody, as may be seen in the Tortola Schedules, page 23, are these: "The sentence of the Judge on the 6th July 1807, throws no light on the subject; but it appears the Judge, on the 25th May 1807, gave an order for the negroes to be landed and sold, in consequence of the affidavit of John Dougan, Esq. who at that time was agent for the captors." Words could not express more clearly that the negroes were ordered to be sold on the 25th May 1807, although they were not condemned by the Judge till 6th July 1807.

On looking at the Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, which passed the 25th March 1807, the 7th section thereof expressly prohibits the negroes on board being sold as slaves, but enacts that they should be condemned to the Crown. Now as the draft of the Abolition Bill was seen by Major Moody when in the West Indies early in May 1807, he thought it worthy of remark, that it appeared to be unknown in Tortola, which was a station to which the packets went at that period, although one hundred days had elapsed. As to the expense incurred by the agent in hiring a vessel to put the slaves on board, it certainly appeared to Major Moody and his informants to have been unnecessarily incurred, for, as in other cases, the people could have been better provided for on shore, and at less expense. Many persons also might be inclined to think, that however perishable a cargo of negroes may have appeared to Mr. Dougan, yet that the selling them into slavery prior to their being condemned was a circumstance deserving of remark, inasmuch as medical persons were more likely to be competent judges in such a case than the prize agent to the captors, who so much the sooner received his commission on the sale of the slaves. In addition to these considerations, it appeared that the case of the *Busy* had been inquired into by the Commissioners of His Majesty's Customs, by their letter of the 23d April 1811, and the answer to which is now declared by Mr. Dougan to have been given "by some persons who knew nothing of the transaction," which alone would seem to justify the notice that Major Moody had taken of it.

With respect to this class of vessels mentioned by Mr. Dougan, Major Moody has only to repeat, that being included in the Returns sent in to the Commission, it was deemed necessary to take some notice of them; and undoubtedly he should have been glad, at the time, to have had any information which Mr. Dougan might have been pleased to afford, but at this time, without access to the documents referred to, he does not consider it necessary to say more, than to answer any personal attack of Mr. Dougan.

Who that reads the following remarks but must see the designed arrangement of them, so as to make it appear that the slaves on board the *Busy* had been sold as such on the 6th of July 1807; a hundred days after the passing of the Abolition Act of 25th March 1807, when the order for sale was on the 25th May 1807.

Brig *Busy*, Bennett.—This vessel and cargo of slaves were seized in the port of Tortola, 15th April 1807, by the Hon. Capt. G. King, of H. M. ship *Alexandria*.

On the 18th April was filed the affidavit of the informant, Captain King; 20th April the information was filed; G. King, prosecutor, for the King and himself; that after the 1st January 1807 207 slaves were unlawfully exported in the *Busy*, from Tortola to St. Thomas; the exportation not occasioned by peril  
of

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*Mr. Dougan.**Major Moody's Remarks.*

of the sea, &c., by reason thereof the ship and slaves became forfeited.

- 23 April. Monition issued.
- 30 - Claim by master.
- 12 May. Compulsory writ to certain witnesses.
- 12 - Interrogatories to Joshua Collins.
- 15 - Examination of D<sup>o</sup>.
- 15 - Interrogatories to master, Bennett.
- 16 - Examination taken of master.
- 18 - Examination of Garrick Garrick.
- 22 - Interrogatories of G. D. Dix (filed.)
- 23 - Examination taken.
- 23 - Affidavit of John Dougan as to the state of the vessel and slaves, praying on behalf of Capt. King, that the slaves may be sold.

On reading the affidavit of John Dougan, agent for the informant, on motion of counsel for said informant, and *with the consent of Simpson, claimant's counsel*, the Judge decreed, that slaves seized on board the said brig be landed and sold by the Marshal of this court, and the proceeds thereof be immediately thereafter paid over to the agents of the said informant and claimant, or the person or persons by them authorized to receive the same, to abide the final decree of this court.

By the Court,

*Mark D. French*, Registrar.

- 25 May. A commission of sale issued.
- 3 June. Sale made of slaves.
- 17 - Return of sale made into court.

Sentence, 6th July :

“ On the whole matter it is my indispensable duty to sustain the informant's allegations, and to consider the property in question, as prayed; one moiety to His Majesty, and the other moiety to Capt. King, the informant, which I accordingly do.”

This was for breach of an Act passed 23d May 1806, in the 46th year of His Majesty's reign, to enforce and render more effectual, as is therein expressed, an order of His Majesty in Council, for restricting the slave-carrying trade of British subjects by their shipping and capital to their own colonies, and forbid-

*Mr. Dougan.*

*Major Moody's Remarks.*

ding their supplying the countries of foreign power or state with slaves.

It will thus appear that the *Busy* was seized the 15th April 1807, and that she was proceeded against for breach of an Act passed 23d May 1806, 46 *Geo.* 3, for supplying foreign colonies with slaves.

The Act which was passed 25th March 1807, or 47 *Geo.* 3, c. 36, could not have been known at Tortola on the 15th April following; besides, by the seventh clause of 47 *Geo.* 3, c. 36, no forfeiture to His Majesty was to take place till from and AFTER THE 1ST MAY 1807, viz. all slaves which shall at any time from and after the 1st May 1807 next be seized or taken as prize of war, or liable to forfeiture, under this or any other Act of Parliament, shall and may, for the purposes only of seizure, be condemned; then follow the regulations as to bounty, and the liberation of the slaves.

Major Moody's account of the *Busy* and her cargo of slaves is: "It appears there was an appeal from this sentence, but which was finally affirmed. The negro slaves on board, however, were not condemned to His Majesty, but were sold as slaves. As such a proceeding was contrary to the Abolition Act, passed 25th March 1807, it is to be supposed, that it was not known at Tortola on the 1st July 1807, or about one hundred days afterwards. The sentence of the Judge on the 6th July 1807 throws no light whatever on this subject; but it appears the Judge on 26th May 1807, gave an order for the negroes to be landed and sold in consequence of the affidavit of John Dougan, Esq., who at that time was agent for the captors." (Then follows the affidavit, see p. 23.)

Before I proceed to make any remarks on the foregoing Report, in the case of the *Busy*, Bennett, I beg to place in juxtaposition an extract of Major Moody's letter to Lord Bathurst, dated 2d March 1825, which transmits his Report, "It is possible I may have erred in drawing wrong inferences from the facts which I have stated; but as I pledge myself to have only stated what I have conscientiously considered to be the most faithful exposition of facts, I trust that I may hope in such case for your Lordship's indulgence."

Let me most earnestly solicit your Lordship's attention to this case of the *Busy*, and to Major Moody's pledge to your Lordship, and whether in this case  
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*Mr. Dougan.**Major Moody's Remarks.*

of the *Busy*, Bennett, master, he has most conscientiously given the most faithful exposition of facts.

Major Moody reports, "that the negro slaves in this vessel, although condemned, were not condemned to His Majesty, but were sold as slaves, and that such a proceeding was contrary to the Abolition Act, passed 25th March 1807; (see page 23.) It is to be supposed that it was not known at Tortola on the 6th July 1807, or one hundred days afterwards." I must also refer your Lordship to page 9, in the remarks of Major Moody on the *Mary, Todd*, where he says, "from a careful examination of all the papers in the Registrar's Office," it may undoubtedly be inferred, that Major Moody saw the proceedings in that case; the copy furnished by him of Mr. Dougan's affidavit proves this. How is it possible to account for Major Moody's ignorance of information on this head, when the proceedings were before him, that this vessel and slaves on board were seized by the Hon. Captain King, on the 15th April 1807, for breach of an Act passed 23d May 1806, for restricting the slave-carrying trade by British subjects, and forbidding the supply of slaves to the countries of foreign powers after 1st January 1807. Major Moody must have seen that, under the Act passed 23d May 1806, the vessel and cargo of slaves were proceeded against for an offence committed, by exporting to the Danish island of St. Thomas 207 slaves after 1st January 1807. The information filed by Captain King on 18th April 1807 showed it; the Judge's sentence declares the Act of 23d July 1806, that under which the forfeiture takes place.

After condemnation in the Vice Admiralty Court, the appellant appealed to Lord Stowell, as Judge of the Admiralty. (I must entreat his Lordship's pardon, and learn to imitate the complimentary style of my colleague, who seldom names a person or persons of distinction, without designating their character.) I will therefore say, that this learned civilian would not have confirmed these proceedings, had they been either illegal or improper, or as Major Moody says, contrary to the Abolition Act, passed 25th March 1807.

Major Moody has introduced among the papers an affidavit of Mr. Dougan, as agent to Captain King, dated 23d May 1807, stating the perilous state of the *Busy*, the sickness of the slaves, and their hazardous condition; also the great expense

*Mr. Dougan.**Major Moody's Remarks.*

expense of 15*l.* per day for food, as inducements to the court to direct the slaves to be landed and sold. This was fifty-nine days after passing the Act of 25th March 1807, and not one hundred days.

These slaves had been a very considerable time on board ship, having gone from Africa to Trinidad, thence to Dominique and other islands, down to St. Thomas; besides this period, they had been then at Tortola forty-one days on board ship. Surely it was mercy to those poor people to have them landed and sold, and not to have kept them on board until 6th July, a period of sixty-eight days longer.

The claimants saw the propriety of landing and selling these persons, and acquiesced in the sale; that it should be made by the Marshal of the court, and the proceeds paid over to the agents for the captors and claimants. These agents jointly transmitted the proceeds to England, which were lodged there to await the final sentence of appeal.

Major Moody has also introduced a letter to the Collector and Comptroller of the Customs, Tortola, from the Commissioners of the Customs, dated 13th April 1811, to inquire why they did not take proper steps to obtain the custody of the seizure after condemnation; to which is replied, under date 13th July 1811, (not by Mr. Thomason the collector, or Mr. Turnbull the comptroller, but by some persons who knew nothing of the transaction,) that Mr. Thomason was infirm, and that Mr. Turnbull considered the seizer's agent as entitled to the sales of the vessel and cargo. The falsity of this is proved by the Judge's order to the Marshal of the court to make sale thereof.

Major Moody says, the sentence of the Judge on the 6th July 1807 throws no light whatever on the subject, that of condemning as slaves these persons one hundred days after the passing of the Act of 25th March 1807.

Forfeitures under the Act of 47 Geo. 3, c. 36, for the purpose of liberating the Africans, were not to have effect until from and after 1st May 1807. The *Busy* was seized on 15th April 1807, for a breach of the Act of the 23d May 1806.

Major Moody thought proper to bring before your Lordship's notice a class of cases of vessels having slaves on board condemned as prize, not under the Act of 47 Geo. 3, c. 36, or cases in which acquittals have taken place, namely, the *Busy*, Bennett, seized 15th April 1807, and condemned as a prize, under Act  
passed

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passed 23d May 1806; the English ship Ainsley, Brown, master, restored November 21st 1808; the Africa, Connolly, restored 16th March 1808. An appeal was made on behalf of the captors, and the ship and slaves appraised; bail was given in by the master, and the ship and slaves (according to the regulations of the Prize Act for the regulations of bail on appeal,) were handed over to the master, who proceeded on his voyage with the slaves.

Brig America, Windsor, restored 29th January 1808; Falcon, Garcia, restored 26th August 1811.

Major Moody has also added the case of the La Mouche, (M) Warrington, in which there were no slaves on board, except one who was servant to Robert Mason, the master of the La Mouche.

(M) *Vide* the note in page 96, by which it appears that the official documents returned *four* slaves as having been on board. Whether the fact was true or not, the case having been reported to the Commission, some observation on the case was necessary to explain it.

Africa, Connolly.—The number of males and females on board this vessel at the time of condemnation could have been ascertained, if it were necessary, in the registry of the Vice Admiralty Court, where the Marshal's returns of the appraisement of slaves and vessel were deposited. Mr. Thomas Dougan, my nephew, was the agent for the captor. I was in the island of Tortola at the trial of the cause. The Judge of the Admiralty restored the vessel and cargo of slaves under this sentence, and the Act of Parliament regulating prize appeals.

The master of the vessel, having a sentence in his favour, *had a right, under the Prize Act, to proceed on his voyage*, after giving in bail to answer the appraised value of the vessel and cargo of slaves. There was no means of avoiding the usual mode of proceeding, as regulated by Act of Parliament. The master obtained permission to proceed on his voyage with the slaves, on giving sureties for vessel and cargo. James Murphy and G. D. Dix were the sureties for the value of the ship and 236 slaves, in the sum of 21,772 *l.* 19 *s.* 6 *d.* currency. Mr. Dougan, although he was not the agent for the captor, Lieutenant Mitchell, who had not the means of the expense of an appeal, strongly urged the captor to do so, and voluntarily offered to conduct it in England at *his own expense*, which he actually did, and with success, and obtained an order from the Treasury for the payment of his advances, about 700 *l.* or 800 *l.* On the 17th November 1810 the Lords of Appeal *reversed the sentence, condemned the ship and slaves to the King, or THE VALUE TO BE PAID ACCORDING TO BAIL BOND.*

However

*Mr. Dougan.*

*Major Moody's Remarks.*

However it may be regretted that by the Act of Parliament regulating prize appeals the Africans on board this vessel could not be detained, yet it was satisfactory that the parties were ultimately punished by a loss of the value of the vessel and cargo, as the slaves on board the *Africa* did not come under the class of persons liberated from slavery, under the provisions of the Act of Parliament for abolishing the slave trade, as directed by His Majesty's letters patent. Mr. Dougan did not include in his Report any statement of this vessel, or others in similar circumstances; but as Major Moody has noted them very imperfectly, and very mysteriously, implying censure on some persons for neglect of duty, Mr. Dougan will endeavour to throw some light on the subject, and to remove part of the mystery. In doing this he has found much difficulty, for want of an immediate recurrence to the Vice Admiralty Court at Tortola.

The *Busy*, *Bennett*, and the *Africa*, *Connolly*, are already disposed of. The next case is that of the *Ainsley*, Brown, master, captured by His Majesty's ship *Safety*, Lieut. Dwyer, and proceeded against on a charge for trading with an enemy's port, and acquitted: not a slave on board. Clearly the captain did not come under any class of vessels, having slaves on board, which the Commissioners were directed to inquire into. If it were meant merely to mention the mysterious transaction, that the ship *Ainsley*, Henry Curran, master, entered inwards at the Custom-house at Tortola, on the 13th November 1807, 141 male and 43 female African slaves; and, as Major Moody says, they were accordingly sold as such, and that he could not get any satisfactory explanation. Now really, my Lord, without any knowledge whatever of the first transaction of the *Ainsley*, Curran, that entered at the Tortola Custom-house, slaves from Africa, 13 Nov. 1807; yet, taking that fact to be as stated, had I been at Tortola, and desirous of knowing why, after the passing of the Act of 47 Geo. 3, c 36, s. 1, slaves should be permitted to be entered at Tortola, on the 13th November 1807, and sold there, I should, in the first instance, have referred to the Act itself, which enacts, "That after the 1st May 1807, the African slave trade, and all manner of dealing in the purchase, sale, barter or transfer of slaves, or persons intended to be used as slaves, carried on, in, at, to or from any part of Africa, is abolished

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abolished and declared illegal; and all manner of dealing by purchase, sale, barter or transfer, or other agreement soever, relating to any slaves or persons to be used as such for the purpose of their being *removed*, either immediately or by transshipment at sea, or otherwise directly or indirectly *from Africa*, or any place whatever in the West Indies, or *America not in the dominions* of His Majesty, to any other place, in like manner abolished."

My next inquiries would be, did the *Ainsley* leave Africa with the slaves on board previous to the 1st May 1807.

It is almost impossible to suppose otherwise than that this ship left Africa previous to the 1st May 1807. It is well known that most of the slave ships called first at Trinidad, where there were a great number of slave ships that could not dispose of their slaves, and they went from thence to the different Windward English islands, and lastly to Jamaica. The *Busy*, *Bennett*, had her slaves on board in the West Indies after her arrival there for four months: a passage of two months from Africa would account for the time. The ship's clearance would evidently prove the fact of exportation from Africa, and importation at the port of arrival in the West Indies. But above all, I think your Lordship might safely rely on it, that this vessel was not subject to seizures; for both the officers of His Majesty's navy and those of the customs, after the previous seizures of slave ships in that very port, would not have suffered so glaring a case to escape them.

But the truth is, Major Moody has mistaken the Act itself, taking into his view the period of *exportation* from Africa, 1 May 1807, to that of importation at Tortola.

*America*, *Windsor*, captured by His Majesty's ship *Latina*, J. A. Wood.— This ship and slaves were restored 29th January 1808, and no appeal prosecuted, and a matter of course the vessel proceeded with her slaves to her destined port. It is remarked by Major Moody that these Africans were "*slaves, and WERE SOLD AS SUCH.*" Most probably they were, but how was it known to Major Moody that these persons were sold as slaves; some Columbian cruizer might have liberated them as the property of Spaniards.

*Falcon*, *Garcia* master, captured by His Majesty's ship *Liberty*, G. M. Guise, commander; restored 26 August 1811.

It appears by Major Moody's extract from a Return of the Court of Vice-Admiralty,

*Major Moody's Remarks.*



*Mr. Dougan.*

*Major Moody's Remarks.*

dated so late as the 2d August 1822, that there is an *observation* on this case, "Captors appealed; vessel and cargo detained at St. Thomas for want of security; afterwards liberated." Surely the Register of the Admiralty ought to have known *how* this vessel was afterwards liberated, and whether the master gave in bail for the value of the slaves, and proceeded on his voyage. One must naturally conclude that this was done, or the vessel could not have proceeded on to the port of her destination. The captor's appeal clearly existed, for by the records of the Court of Vice-Admiralty the inhibition in this case was not relaxed till 14th February 1814. It appears by Major Moody's statement that a copy of the proceedings in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Tortola was transmitted on 10th July 1812, to the Commissioners of His Majesty's Customs. The inhibition not being relaxed till 14th February 1814, the natural conclusion is, that the case was such as to preclude the prosecution of an appeal, particularly as the whole process had been forwarded in due time to the Commissioners of the Customs.

(M) In respect to La Mouche, Lewis Warrington, captured by His Majesty's ship Fly, Captain Tomkinson; condemned 16th August 1819; it clearly appears that at the time of capture there was only one slave on board, who was a servant to W. R. Mason; this person was not condemned. As Major Moody has not stated that this vessel was proceeded against under any of the Abolition Acts, but merely that the vessel was condemned on 19th August 1819, it is uncertain for what cause this vessel was condemned. This can be only ascertained at Tortola. Major Moody has given some details of vessels with slaves on board, captured, as he states, by armed ships, under a commission of Artigas, one of the independent South American generals; and that the merchants of the Danish island of St. Thomas resorted to Jort Van Dykes and the retired small islands, where the slaves were carried, came there and bought the slaves. I think Major Moody might have given some further particulars as to the parties engaged in this traffic. They were not Danes; but the chief operator in this business was an Englishman, a merchant at St. Thomas, with whom Major Moody is well acquainted.

Islands, who had had any concern in privateering under any flag. Some years, however, prior to the Commissioners being at Tortola, Mr. Dougan having given up all share in privateering, or dealing in African cargoes of slaves, he cannot mean himself; and Major Moody positively asserts that he does not know any other person, who to his knowledge was so engaged.

(M) On comparing the Tortola Schedules, pages 24 and 25, four slaves are returned as having been on board the Mouche, Warrington, master, under suspicious circumstances as to the nationality of the flag, and the object of the voyage.

Major Moody gave as his authority for the statements made, as to the number of slaves on board, certain returns made to the Commissioners of the Custom-house. Major Moody then gave certain remarks, obtained from the officer of the Court of Vice Admiralty, which are at variance with the other return. Which party was most correct is not worth inquiring further, than the facts show that vessels of a suspicious character did navigate among the Virgin Islands, and, indeed, Mr. Dougan himself now admits the fact, but accuses Major Moody of withholding information as to the parties engaged therein, asserting that "the chief operator" was "an Englishman, a merchant of St. Thomas, with whom Major Moody is well acquainted."

It is obvious that, no name being mentioned, Major Moody can only here declare solemnly, he does not know, or believe, that any Englishman "with whom he is well acquainted," either in St. Thomas or anywhere else, was "the chief operator," or any way concerned in the transactions referred to by Mr. Dougan; for it is evident that Mr. Dougan cannot mean himself, and he was the *only* person well known to Major Moody in the Danish, or British Virgin

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There was but one slave ship carried into the English islands. One slave vessel was carried to La Mesure Bay, in the Danish island of St. John's.

But the chief traffic, in which not only this English merchant of St. Thomas participated, but many persons at Tortola and Spanish Town were equally engaged, was that of captured Spanish vessels, which were carried to these retired ports. They were run on shore designedly by the captors, as the situation of the vessels will show; witness La Perla, stated to be wrecked in January 1822, as described in a chart of Anegada and part of Spanish Town, introduced by Major Moody in his Report.

Lest any navigators seeing this map and the mark of the shipwreck of La Perla should apprehend danger in a similar situation, some note should have been made—*this vessel was designedly placed there*; for La Perla was within the bason of the north sound of Spanish Town, one of the finest harbours in the West Indies. The English vessels and boats soon came to the relief of *this distressed wreck*, and received a very liberal salvage for saving it. The fraud was so evident, that 200 barrels of the flour, part of this vessel's cargo, carried to Tortola, was seized in stores at Tortola, but the police officer, during the night, removed the seized articles. Proceedings were instituted against this person; but on the counsel for the defendant demanding to know who was the prosecutor, none avowing himself, the King's counsel, Mr. Gordon, entered a *noli prosequi*. This transaction took place at Road Town, the seat of Government.

## APPENDIX, N° 1, to the Remarks on the Small Vessels.

IN the remark of Major Moody given under the letter (G) further information is promised in the Appendix, to explain more fully that part of the paragraph relative to a letter of Major Moody quoted by Mr. Dougan, wherein Major Moody speaks of his diligent endeavours to account for the apprenticed Africans in Tortola, as compared with the exertions of a collector, who had reported to Lord Bathurst, that 130 of the apprentices were "unaccounted for." Mr. Dougan on that occasion, in quoting Major Moody's letter, omits the last member of the period. The whole period is as follows: "Lest it may be thought I have not used due diligence to inquire after these Creoles, unaccounted for, I beg leave solemnly to assure you, I have used every exertion in my power, not only in Tortola, but in St. John's, and St. Thomas, to which I went at my own private expense; and I propose to do the same in Porto Rico, where I know some of the African apprentices are, *and my exertions in inquiring after them (the African apprentices) have been so far successful, that out of 130 persons returned 'unaccounted for,' by the last return of the late collector here to Lord Bathurst, I have been able to account for 123 of them.*" The part in italics is omitted by Mr. Dougan. The truth of the assertion was afterwards proved in the Schedules made, and examined by Mr. Dougan himself, who, therefore, could not deny the fact.

Respecting the result of Major Moody's diligence on that, or on any other occasion during Mr. Dougan's absence, or after his return to Tortola, every document, affidavit, and evidence were produced to Mr. Dougan, and were carefully compared, investigated by him, the Collector, and Major Moody, on the final examination of the indentures, and those Schedules which contain the examinations of apprentices, excepting only the supplementary Schedules, made after Mr. Dougan had left Tortola.

As Mr. Dougan seemed to take little interest in the troublesome business of accounting for apprentices, who had not been produced for examination, even when he was in Tortola, he could not form a correct idea of the degree of exertion necessary to obtain the information required; and consequently, he may easily be excused for under-rating it, inasmuch as it was a part of his duty which he could not perform, at least during the time when he was in England.

To Major Moody, however, the duty appeared to be important, as the following instructions from Earl Bathurst will prove, how far the Colonial Government even had been deluded by erroneous information sent home *officially* from the colonies. Earl Bathurst's instructions to the Commissioners were such on this subject, that the Commissioners were induced to begin their examinations with the apprentices with Tortola, on account of the representations which had been officially made to Government, respecting the extent of the number of African apprentices who were erroneously alleged to be held in slavery in Tortola. "With respect to the captured negroes apprenticed in the West Indies, under the Order in Council," (says the Earl Bathurst,) "and still more with respect to those who were, previous to the promulgation of the order in the West Indies, delivered over without indenture to persons who undertook to instruct them, the probability of abuse is far greater, having been apprenticed at a time when they knew not the distinction between apprenticeship and slavery; they may have been treated, and may now be retained in slavery without any apprehension on their part of the injury inflicted upon them. Facts indeed have been adduced which make it highly probable, that in one island at least great abuse of this kind did exist."

The allegations here referred to as facts, were contained in a Report from the late Lieutenant-general Sir James Leith, which was afterwards proved to be incorrect in many particulars, as Mr. Dougan himself showed in the Tortola Schedules; and apparently confirmed afterwards in a special Report, dated so recently as the 31st July 1821, from the acting collector of Tortola, Henry Clement, esquire, addressed to Earl Bathurst, in which 130 of the Africans last apprenticed were specifically returned as "*unaccounted for,*" in red ink, written opposite to the name of each. Government, therefore, could not but believe that to be true, which had been reported by persons holding high official situations; and yet, on a more perfect investigation *on the spot*, these and other allegations were found to be incorrect.

On examining the African apprentices, it appeared that the masters and mistresses had gone to the Custom-house with their apprentices on being summoned, and had shown them to Mr. Clement, and yet he still had returned the people as "unaccounted for." When this was doubted by Mr. Dougan, for example, in the case of a Mr. Cullymore, the signature of Mr. Clement himself was produced on the indenture in the Custom-house, kept by Mr. Clement, with the date of exhibition some days prior to the date of the return transmitted to Earl Bathurst. The date and signature being on the back of the indenture, which was produced in the Custom House, and the apprentice being present in the room, even Mr. Dougan could not then justify the apparent carelessness with which such Reports had been in that case, by an official person in the colony, acting from motives perhaps benevolent, but most injurious in their effects, so far as the correct representation of the truth may be deemed desirable in any case.

Mr. Clement soon afterwards having died in Tortola without a will, his papers were examined, and a correspondence was discovered between him and Mr. Bridgewater, the collector at Dominica; in which, as Mr. Clement was only acting collector, he was recom-

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mended to strengthen his claims to confirmation in the appointment by interesting certain persons in his welfare, on the principle of his great desire to meet their benevolent wishes towards the Africans. The following letter then appears to have been written to William Wilberforce, esquire, the copy of which in Mr. Clement's own hand-writing was found amongst his papers, and shown to Major Moody, who previous to leaving Tortola applied for, and obtained a certified copy of that, and other papers relative to the business.

“ Sir,

“ Tortola, August 10th, 1821.

“ I feel a confidence that I shall be forgiven the liberty I take in addressing you, as my object is to ask advice respecting poor unfortunate Africans.

“ But I must first inform you, Sir, that the late collector here was on the 1st June last suspended for malpractices, and he also sent home his resignation. The gentleman who suspended him was a Mr. Bridgewater, who is collector at Dominica, a most humane man, whose feelings were highly worked on by observing the cruel way in which the unhappy African apprentices were used. On the 1st of June, he appointed me acting collector (being before searcher), and strictly enjoined me to endeavour by every possible means to better the situation of our poor fellow creatures. This desire, together with my own strong feelings, induced me to lose no time, and I commenced calling them in for inspection, and I have this day forwarded my First Report to Lord Bathurst on 386 poor souls, who ought to be forthcoming, and requesting his Lordship's directions.

“ In the hope, Sir, that you will be induced to call, and cast your eye over the Report, I shall anxiously await in anticipation of your approval of my conduct. You will observe, Sir, I have forwarded to his Lordship with my Report a copy of a letter I wrote to the President, and his answer. In such general misconduct, I thought it right to commence with him, as others might point him out as an example. I also in my Report expressed a wish that his Lordship might be induced to speak favourably with respect to Mr. Belisario's apprentices, in the hopes that it might operate favourably on the community. I have little acquaintance with Mr. Belisario, as I am quite a new comer in Tortola, but it delights me to see the care he takes of his unhappy friendless fellow-creatures. They love him like a father. Many African masters say he spoils the rest by good nature. I widely differ. They are well fed and clothed, each a separate house to live in, and although demolished in the hurricane, rebuilt for them. All are baptized, and are become excellent workmen, some carpenters, and one, whose indentures are expired, still lives with him on weekly hire.

“ It will be highly flattering to me, Sir, if you will call and see my Report; and should you be good enough to point out anything that may occur to you, believe me really, Sir, that although only ‘an humble labourer in the vineyard,’ with yourself, the minutest possible attention will be paid to your wishes.

“ My strict and determined inquiry has not rendered me very popular, coupled with many seizures I have made, but I will do my duty conscientiously, and in me the poor unfortunate people, who were torn from their homes, shall find a strenuous promoter of the humane intentions of His Majesty's Government, a protector and a friend.

“ I have seized this week, one man, one woman, and three children brought here some time since from St. Croix (47 Geo. 3, c. 36, s. 4), and the poor creatures are anxiously waiting the event of the trial which comes on Saturday next, (after our mail goes.) I proudly assure you, Sir, that I am considered ‘Wilberforcian,’ and however unpopular it is to be a friend to the blacks in the West Indies, I must and will do my duty. I value the prayers of these poor five slaves a million times more than all the popularity of the island. It would, indeed, Sir, excite your feelings to see, through the glistening tear in their eyes, their gratitude, and their truly anxious fears. They sadly want to know, if I do get them free, whether I will let them serve me, &c.”

Addressed to

William Wilberforce, Esq.

(signed)

“ Henry Clement.”

The Answer is dated 28th September 1821.

Major Moody, having quoted part of Mr. Clement's letter to Mr. Wilberforce in page 94 of his First Report, would not have thought it necessary to have referred to it again, had not Mr. Dougan deemed proper to insinuate, that he had been deficient in exertion in conducting his inquiries. The whole tone of Mr. Clement's letter proves how anxious he was to recommend himself to Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Clement speaks of his inquiry as having been “a strict and determined” one; and yet 130 African apprentices were returned by him as “unaccounted for,” of whom 127 were discovered and satisfactorily accounted for by Major Moody, with very little aid from Mr. Dougan. Major Moody therefore could not be deficient in exertion, inasmuch as he was more successful than persons who appear to have been full of zeal.

The letter, indeed, is very important in other points of view, as showing, in connection with other Reports, how the Government and the public were deceived even in official reports respecting Africans in the West Indies being held in slavery.

To show that some trouble was undergone in this business, Major Moody has only to

\* This is the same person whose treatment of his apprentices is so severely criticised by Mr. Dougan, and his anonymous correspondent, in these papers, after the death of Mr. Belisario

refer to the refusal of Jeannette Heyligar to appear before Sir James Leith in 1815, and before the Collector of the Customs or Major Moody in 1823; so that, in her case, Mr. Dougan himself was obliged to go to her own house without any other person being permitted to accompany him, in order to induce her to give him the information he required, to account for those people who had once been under his care, and who had for a long time been in her own service. Had Jeannette Heyligar explained to Sir James Leith how she obtained the apprentices, she then had, he would then have discovered his error as to many others being held in slavery, which he certainly at one time believed to be the fact.

How much more difficult, then, was it to get people to give themselves the trouble to attend at the Custom-house, and upon magistrates, to take affidavits respecting circumstances in which they had no personal interest whatever, and where no pecuniary allowance was, or could be, given to them for loss of time, or expense incurred by their attendance. One example will illustrate this. In pages 94 and 95 in the Tortola Schedules, an African apprentice named Messah Hekeke was returned as "unaccounted for" by Mr. Clement. It appeared by the indenture, that he had been apprenticed to the Rev. Mr. Turner, a Methodist missionary. That gentleman, however, was dead. Reference then was made to his friends, and some of them attended, and spoke to their knowledge of Mr. Turner having a servant named Messah, but could not give any further account of him. In this dilemma, and the late Mr. Turner having been a Methodist missionary, Major Moody applied to the Methodist missionaries then in the island, (who so far from declining to come before him as a Commissioner, as Mr. Dougan asserts, had ever shown the greatest readiness to assist him,) but they knew nothing. The gentleman, however, afterwards discovered a fellow-servant, who, though a slave, furnished such a clear proof of Messah having died under an ordinary dispensation of Providence, and a declaration to that effect was received by the Collector and Major Moody as satisfactory testimony, and in this Mr. Dougan himself concurred, at last.

This narrative of what appears to have been so easy a matter to accomplish, required a long correspondence with different persons, and the personal visit of Major Moody to several places in the country on horseback, attended with considerable personal inconvenience at a time when he was suffering from sickness.

If trouble of that kind had not been taken on many similar occasions, the inference in England might have been drawn, that Messah had been sold as a slave, more especially as the Schedules prove that some had been sold as slaves. And it is here deserving of remark, that every case where an apprentice had been sold as a slave was discovered by Major Moody *alone*, Mr. Dougan never having been the discoverer of one case, although he certainly never withheld his exertions to pursue the inquiry when once brought under his notice, nor was deficient either in zeal, or exertions, whenever it appeared to be probable that an apprentice was held in slavery.

Any imputation, therefore, of want of exertion on the part of Major Moody to promote the real welfare of the apprentices, or of inclination to aid in rescuing them from slavery, is perfectly unfounded, by whomsoever it may have been preferred.

The series of Reports made to Government, stating these liberated Africans to have been in slavery, or "unaccounted for," by persons holding high official situations in the colonies, as shown in the case of the small colony of Tortola alone, cannot fail to prove how liable His Majesty's Government are to be deceived by their own officers in the colonies from mere ignorance, perhaps, or from a wish to recommend themselves for higher appointments, by indirectly assuming to themselves a peculiarly high degree of benevolence and humanity, which leads them to state only part of the truth. Other persons in England are then soon found ready to reason on these imperfect statements; and when rare cases occur, unfavourable to the colonists, such are quickly represented as being the general custom, instead of being the exception.

OBSERVATIONS in answer to the Remarks of Mr. Dougan on the Reports of  
Major Moody.

IT is necessary here to state again, that when Major Moody was on his passage to England from America, Mr. Dougan was pleased to transmit a *separate* Report on the Africans who had been condemned to the Crown in the Vice Admiralty Court at Tortola; and in this separate Report, Mr. Dougan had discussed the opinions commonly entertained on the comparative value of free and slave negro labour in West Indian agriculture. Upon this subject also, Mr. Dougan, previously to his official communication as a Commissioner of Government, had *privately* corresponded with certain persons in England, who felt a deep interest in obtaining the emancipation of the negro slaves in the West Indies. How far such communications were regular or not, is immaterial; but the fact was, that these persons, when formed into a society for the attainment of their object, upon the authority of such statements as Mr. Dougan had privately given them, asserted that a certain number of emancipated negro slaves in Tortola, "consume more of British produce and manufactures in a year, and promote the traffic of Tortola itself more than three times the number of slaves would do." And this assertion was made with the view of controverting the opinion of Mr. Alexander Baring, given in the House of Commons, relative to the effect of emancipating the slaves in the West Indies upon the future value of these colonies to the parent state.

Major Moody, on his return from America, was asked to sign the Report drawn up by Mr. Dougan, who had sanctioned such opinions as those quoted above; but on reading the Report, previous to signature, Major Moody found in it so much misrepresentation, and so much suppression of the truth, apparently with the view to favour the inferences of those persons, who are now called the Anti-slavery Society, that, as a conscientious man, employed by his Sovereign to report the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, he declined to sign or approve of it. On being asked to give his reasons in writing for not signing or approving of that Report, he complied with the request. It is upon these reasons of Major Moody that some remarks are now offered in the name of Mr. Dougan, for the papers themselves were not sent to Government, until after his death, and then not by his wife, who is still the head of his family, but by his daughter, Miss Mary Stephen Dougan, the god-daughter of James Stephen, Esq. who has long been known as one of the most active, and most powerful enemies of the West India capitalists.

Major Moody's habits of life, and previous studies, though connected with different branches of science, have been very unfavourable to elegant composition, or the proper arrangement of discussions such as are here required for the establishment of the truth; and therefore he confines himself chiefly to pointing out the unfairness of the reasoning contained in these remarks attributed to Mr. Dougan, and to proving that the reasons for not signing Mr. Dougan's Report were well founded. Major Moody still thinks he acted correctly on the occasion, and therefore has no fear or hesitation in defending himself, notwithstanding the power and the malevolence with which he has been assailed for honestly and fearlessly doing that which he considered it his duty to do; and notwithstanding what he has already suffered for stating the truth.

N<sup>o</sup> VI.

MR. DOUGAN'S REMARKS      MAJOR MOODY'S EXPLANATIONS.  
 On the Statements made by Major Moody  
 in his Report.

YOUR Lordship perhaps is not aware under how many difficulties I laboured in forming my Report, from the ill state of my health at the time of arranging it, and not being able to refer to the papers (A) which were in the office. My Report was made as early as 22d December 1823; that of my colleague is dated 2d March 1825, although he arrived in England, I think, in December 1823.

before Parliament. That Mr. Dougan had had access to the Schedules, is proved by the Abstract which he has given of them, in his Appendix, beginning at page 21, and ending in page 26 of his Report. The same Appendix also contains copies of various official letters, and the present papers also contain long extracts from the minutes. All of these papers, therefore, must have been accessible to Mr. Dougan, at the time of drawing up his separate Report, and these posthumous papers.

In page 35 of the Parliamentary Paper, No. 462, laid before the House of Commons last Session, Major Moody has explained why he could not sooner draw up the Report required of him, and therefore, he does not now repeat his reasons; and indeed he considers accuracy to be a more important object than expedition in such cases as these, when his object was to point out those mis-statements of Mr. Dougan, which prevented Major Moody from approving of the separate report, for which Mr. Buxton had moved the House of Commons to get printed.

My colleague having my Report before him, and a lapse of fourteen months, has sifted the whole of it, and it appears to me, has evinced a greater desire to reply to the statement of facts made by me, than to give your Lordship a fair Report of the actual state and condition of the apprenticed Africans, into whose situation the Commissioners were directed to inquire and to report.

Major Moody having suffered so long a period to elapse, and having collected from the West Indies (B) partial information from parties accused, has introduced and blended them with the minutes of the Commissioners, although he knows some of them to be unfounded, containing several personal remarks on myself.

ment in Major Moody's first Report, that had been received subsequently from the West Indies, is to be found in pages 95 and 96, containing the affidavit of Christiana Wheatly, and the name of Mr. Dougan is not once mentioned therein, although it certainly disproves his assertions.

The cause of its introduction was this: Mr. Dougan in making up his Report, expressly referred to the Tortola Schedules, and specially to the examination of this Christiana Wheatly, contained therein. In page 14 of Mr. Dougan's Report, he noticed Major Moody's remarks on the case of this female, and specifically referred to a statement which he alleges that Christiana Wheatly had made *privately* to himself, and which statement was materially at variance with that which she had made officially in the presence of Major Moody, the Collector and the Secretary of the commission, who had officially recorded it at the time of her examination. It is true Mr. Dougan kept the private examination, which he had made, a profound secret from the Secretary of the commission, and from Major Moody, with whom he was acting at the time, with apparent cordiality; and consequently Major Moody never saw the *private* paper until, on his return to England from America, he read it in Mr. Dougan's Report ready to be laid before Parliament.

(A) Major Moody cannot comprehend what papers were withheld from Mr. Dougan. It nowhere appears that Mr. Dougan ever was asked by Government to make a separate Report *in the absence of his colleague*. It was Mr. Dougan's own voluntary act; after which, Mr. Buxton moved for the Report being laid

(B) It will be seen, in opposition to Mr. Dougan's assertion to the contrary, that Major Moody has not, since he was called upon to make his first Report, introduced any document subsequently received from the West Indies, which he knew to be "unfounded, and containing severe personal remarks on Mr. Dougan." The only docu-

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*Mr. Dougan's Remarks.**Major Moody's Explanations.*

Mr. Dougan's main object in taking this *private examination*, as on similar occasions, was to obtain from the poor woman some assertions, *in general terms*, as to her great industry. Major Moody, on reading Mr. Dougan's *private examination*, saw it was one of Mr. Dougan's attempts to deceive Earl Bathurst, by misrepresenting facts relative to free labour, in order to promote the objects of his friends in London, and therefore Major Moody obtained the evidence of Christiana herself, on oath, before a magistrate on the points in question, and which evidence, *on oath*, clearly proved that Mr. Dougan's statement was a misrepresentation of the truth. As Mr. Dougan's examination had been taken without the knowledge of the Secretary, the Collector, or Major Moody, it was impossible for Major Moody in that case to prove, that the public examination of Christiana had been fairly stated in the Schedules, except by a re-examination of her before a magistrate, to do which certainly required time, as the circumstances were to be investigated in the West Indies.

My conduct, I trust, has been the reverse of my colleague, abstaining from unwarranted personal reflections on Major Moody; I have, in numerous instances, suppressed observations which ought to have been made known.

I trust that I shall continue the like quiet line of conduct, although I am under the necessity of explaining away much plausibility in his statements, and unfounded, confident assertions and remarks made by him (C).

(C) Whoever may read these papers, which attempt to calumniate Major Moody for having done that, which he considered it to be his duty to do, must be amazed at the following passage in Mr. Dougan's Report. "*Abstaining from unwarranted personal reflections on Major Moody*, I have in numerous instances suppressed observations which ought to have been made known. I trust I shall continue the like quiet line of conduct, &c."

Mr. Dougan is now dead, and cannot afford any more explanations, otherwise Major Moody would have asked, *by whose dictation all the bitter passages against him in these Reports were written*, since from the words of Mr. Dougan, just quoted, it would appear that he himself had *abstained* from the use of such language?

And I do this, my Lord, much pressed in point of time, having received the printed Reports about six weeks ago, in a state of health much more impaired than when I last addressed your Lordship, and at an advanced period of life when a man ought to be guarded in expressions which may injure another.

I make no denunciations against myself, as Major Moody has done, such as the penalty of being tried by a court-martial as a military man, if I have failed in my duty; offer no such pledge of honour as an officer; I vaunt not of previous services rendered apprenticed Africans *gratuitously*, of situations of rank held under general officers; of "opportunities of experience in directing and controlling the labour of Europeans and Creoles, of white, black and coloured persons, of freemen and of slaves in the torrid zone, when employed on military and civil services; in mechanical and agricultural industry, where self interest did not exist to bias the judgment, and where the sole consideration was faithfully to discharge the duty of an officer of engineers, and the administrator of the Crown estates in Guadalope," &c. &c.

I soothe not in complimentary strains,  
"great

Major Moody never in his life ever entertained the idea of his being tried by a court martial as a military man, for his conduct as a Commissioner. His statements here ridiculed, were to show that he had had the local and practical means of forming a judgment on the matter in question, by reference to facts known to Earl Bathurst to be true.



*Mr. Dougan's Remarks.**Major Moody's Explanations.*

"great illustrious persons; most enlightened and benevolent general officers; the enlightened mind of the commander of the forces, and governor," &c.

P. 69. I will not compliment the benevolent persons composing the members of the African Institution, at the exposure of their ignorance, in regulating local subjects at the distance of 4,000 miles, but as being totally deficient in practical and accurate knowledge of West India matters; and point at *one individual* who *alone* is competent, see page 58, vol. 1, to form regulations for the government of liberated Africans, and to ascertain their true character.

But why should I attempt to bring into one focus all the merits of this individual? the Report gives the information; and every discerning mind must admire its wisdom, and duly appreciate its worth and disinterestedness.

Let *my* offering to His Majesty's Government be one of truth, of sincerity and common sense, stating the actual condition of these Africans, the treatment they have experienced, and their capability of becoming useful members of society.

If I go further and endeavour to support the cause of the oppressed, to expose fallacious and deep-seated prejudices, and vindicate reflections made upon deserving individuals; I do so most reluctantly, aware that such details as are requisite to expose the fallacious must be to a great degree a tiresome waste of your Lordship's time. But if these details be un-replied or unexplained, I fear a favorite maxim of my colleague's may be made applicable—"If what I assert is not disproved, it must stand as a fact (D)."

life, and actually near his death, it is singular with what a tone of irony, and misrepresentation, he follows up his previous intention of being "*guarded in expressions which may injure another.*" The hand of a bitter enemy to Major Moody shines pre-eminent in every line, till it terminates in the allegation of its being a favourite maxim with Major Moody, that "if what he asserts be not disproved, it must stand "as a fact"—an opinion which he never uttered, but which explains the origin of so many bold assertions on the part of Mr. Dougan, from having adopted the maxim, which he imputes to his colleague.

The maxim may be a good one, or a very bad one, for anything that regards Major Moody: for he is now, for the first time, made acquainted with its being the maxim of any person.

Were a judgment to be formed from the licence of assertion used by the compilers of these posthumous papers, which bear the name of Mr. Dougan, it would appear that the maxim has had considerable influence on the authors of it, for Major Moody entirely disclaims it. Sometimes Mr. Dougan does quote what Major Moody may have said, but in this case of a favourite maxim, the pages of the work containing the place is omitted, and the reader left without any other authority, than an assertion by Mr. Dougan, or some other person, and which assertion is apparently made more to illustrate the new maxim, than to satisfy the inquirer as to who was its author.

Never was there a greater field for remark than the display made by my colleague in his Report affords me. I had formed such abundant notes that my greatest

Major Moody has distinctly said, that neither himself, nor any person, sitting in London, could satisfactorily regulate such matters as the control of the labour of the Africans in the West Indies. Every man having had any experience in the actual control of such labour, except a few theorists, will be of the same opinion. And the result of various attempts to act otherwise by Government has confirmed its justice, by the expense incurred, and the disappointments which have been experienced.

(D) Considering Mr. Dougan to be as he describes himself, at an advanced period of

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*Mr. Dougan.**Major Moody's Remarks.*

greatest difficulty was that of condensing and not becoming tedious and tiresome: I must therefore select only a few heads.

I find that this is only the first Report of my colleague, and that your Lordship is led to expect (Vol. 2. p. 113.) a second and a third Report of one of the Commissioners, as he truly states, (p. 133.) "*sent out to inquire into the state and condition of the apprenticed Africans and captured negroes in the West Indies.*"

My colleague, in the true form of protest, has noted, under seven heads, his reasons of dissent in approving my Report: certainly no opportunity was afforded me of either declining to sign his Report, or of approving it.

No. 1. of my colleague's heads of protest is, that he did not approve of the mode which the Commissioners adopted in collecting examinations (E). The plain answer to this is, that the mode of examination was partly formed by me the very morning when the apprentices were to have been examined. It had never occurred to my colleague, or a more eligible form, in his opinion, would have been adopted. So it was that the heads of the columns of examinations hastily formed by me, were adopted by my colleague until the day after the last examination of African apprentices, when my colleague disapproved of the mode, as he has taken care to record in page 132 Tortola Schedules, and which was sent to me on the day I had concluded to leave the West Indies, on grounds far different than the mode of examination of apprentices.

"English colonists and their descendants; the effect being to collect cases frequently under excitement, showing the abuse of power by the white race, without, at the same time, showing all the circumstances arising from laws, institutions, and the effect of climate on the black and white races of men, rendering the former capable, and the latter incapable, to support themselves in certain occupations of productive industry. For, without these circumstances being fairly investigated, it appears difficult, if not impossible, either to ascertain the real nature of the evils existing, or the proper means of lessening or removing them, as is required, to enable Government to conform to the Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 47 Geo. 3, c. 36. s. 16."

Major Moody confidently asks any unbiassed person, if the Tortola Schedules do contain the information deemed necessary. It is therefore no answer to these objections, when Mr. Dougan tries to show that one set of columns, or the heading in one form of a Schedule was better than another. The object of the Commissioners ought to have been, to obtain certain important, and useful points of information, such as would help His Majesty's Ministers to judge of the best plan for providing for the captured negroes, when they should become altogether free from their state of coercion as apprentices.

It was manifest that His Majesty's Government did not themselves possess the necessary knowledge, otherwise they would not have sent out a Commission to the West Indies to obtain that kind of information. Indeed, the want of correct local, and practical information on such subjects, on the part of the Colonial Department of His Majesty's Government, is too notorious to dwell much upon. Prior to Major Moody's employment, there was not one person in the office, who had ever had any practical knowledge relative to the direction and control of human labour in the West Indies, the habits of the labourers, and the local and physical circumstances which differ so much from those seen in other countries, where men are found to work for such wages as the capitalists could afford to give, in raising certain staple articles,

having

(E) Major Moody's statements and opinions having been garbled, misquoted and misrepresented by the Anti-slavery Society, the Edinburgh Review, and in these posthumous papers, he has earnestly to entreat those, who may feel any interest in ascertaining the truth, not to believe the statements of these authorities respecting his opinions. Instead of the first reason of Major Moody for not signing Mr. Dougan's Report being merely what Mr. Dougan states, the real words of Major Moody are,—

"1st, Because, in my opinion, the mode adopted in collecting individual examinations by us was not calculated to give a fair, clear and distinct idea of all the circumstances which influence the actual state and condition of the free Africans, with reference to the laws and institutions of Tortola, as regards the welfare of the

*Major Moody's Explanations.*

having a value in Europe. In these countries a proper ratio exists between the population, and the capital that can be profitably employed in paying wages to the labourers for work *steadily* performed; but such ratio not existing in Tortola, a different result was seen from the adoption of plans, which otherwise were desirable. In short, that the policy of adopting or modifying plans depended on local circumstances, which varied in degree in the different colonies.

One step in obtaining any information certainly was to record it in some convenient form. Major Moody might have differed in opinion with Mr. Dougan, as to the best form in which the state and condition of the apprentices should be recorded. Certainly he did not attach as much importance to numbers of columns and forms of heading as Mr. Dougan did. And in the end Mr. Dougan, by these forms of Schedules completely upset all Major Moody's hopes of ever obtaining the useful, and correct local information requisite for the purpose of enabling the Commissioners *jointly* to report to His Majesty's Government fully, and fairly on the points it was their duty to examine.

On looking at the Tortola Schedules, with a view to obtain the information referred to by Major Moody, they must appear to be trifling; but yet it was upon the strict adherence to the matter, deemed by Mr. Dougan, to be suitable only for these forms of Schedules, that Mr. Dougan always entrenched himself, when he found that any proposed inquiry by *both* Commissioners would tend to expose the false opinions as to free labour, entertained by his friends in England. Mr. Dougan's ready answer was, that no column in the Schedule, in his opinion, could be interpreted to have the objects in view which Major Moody wished to illustrate.

Whether the fact were so or not, there being only two Commissioners, the opinion of one was as good as that of the other; and Mr. Dougan certainly was able to say that Earl Bathurst had directed a certain form of Schedule to be followed, and that the apprentice was to be examined *privately*. But Major Moody could not believe that Earl Bathurst intended the headings of the columns in the form of Schedules to limit the inquiry of the two Commissioners, so as to prevent the obtaining of the practical local information necessary to be known in order that the full purposes of the Commission might be executed. Still less could Major Moody ever believe, that Earl Bathurst intended Mr. Dougan and himself, even when acting as Justices of the Peace, and not as Commissioners, to adhere strictly to the form of Schedule, and thereby prevent the witnesses, plaintiff and defendant to be in open court together, and hear the evidence on both sides; yet such was the meaning given to it by Mr. Dougan. Indeed he has himself, in these posthumous papers, even given the minutes of a trial carried on in that manner. Major Moody believes there never was recorded, in the annals of British jurisprudence, such a mode of examining the witnesses in a case on which the decision of English magistrates was to be formed, as that case exhibits; and which has afforded an opportunity to the Edinburgh reviewer to indulge in a vein of ridicule, the force and wit of which consists in misrepresenting the truth, as will be shown in the correction of Mr. Dougan's remarks in the place referred to.

Major Moody was desirous of obtaining, not only all the information which the form of the Schedules was calculated to receive, but a great deal more; so as to show what were the relative wants of the labourers in Tortola, and the portion of time in the year during which it was necessary to work, in order to supply these relative wants, whether from the spontaneous productions of nature, or from the capitalist as wages; and also what portion of steady labour, with average skill, it was necessary for the capitalist to obtain from the labourer in return for such wages as he could afford to give, considering the average rate of profit, influenced by the price which the staple articles of production bore in those markets, to which they could be sent for sale, in competition with similar articles raised under different circumstances.

Such information, when collected by two Commissioners of different opinions, if further aided by a third Commissioner as an umpire, would most probably have been more carefully sifted, and more fully discussed, than by any one Commissioner, and the real truth would have been more likely to be submitted to Government, to enable them to judge fairly, as to the future prospects of the liberated African apprentices to support themselves, by working for such wages as the capitalists could afford to give. And if there was no probability that the capitalists would be induced to employ the apprentices as free people steadily and profitably, then some other mode of providing for them than as apprentices would become necessary, in conformity with the Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Major Moody, therefore, respectfully submits, that it is no answer to the objections, (contained in p. 133 of his First Report), against signing that of Mr. Dougan, to be told that the mere form of Schedule was approved, or disapproved of by any person; for it must appear obvious that the mere form of the Schedule was not the objection, but because the Schedules did not contain either a fair, or a clear idea of those circumstances which Major Moody had stated to be necessary, to enable His Majesty's Government to judge of, or adopt useful, and practical regulations on the matter investigated.

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In order that the various forms of examination may be collectively presented to your Lordship's view, I have copied first the original Schedule formed by me, next Schedule A. proposed by Major Moody to your Lordship as an improved form; Schedule B. the one proposed by me, lastly, Schedule C. ordered by your Lordship to be adopted.

The forms of Schedules do not appear among these papers, but the different forms are to be found in the Tortola Schedules, already printed, and laid before Parliament.

It was gratifying to me to find that your Lordship had sanctioned nearly the whole of the Schedule B. proposed by me; this will appear at the foot of Schedule B. Your Lordship's authority, therefore, sanctioned the original Schedule formed by me; and the improved form I suggested in Schedule B. in the great essential point, that of taking down separately the African's own account of himself, and rejecting the proposed improvement of Major Moody of a column in its stead, "Actual state and condition and character in the *opinion of the Commissioners*;" and further, that the apprentice should be examined apart from the master.

Your Lordship will be able to form a judgment of what may be apprehended from deriving your information, not from the testimony given, or words spoken by the master or apprentice, and taken down at the time, and judging only, not from the facts themselves, but from the *opinions* of the Commissioners, where my colleague, during my absence in England, by adopting his mode of examination, and forming a record of it, in the case of Adeline Ejogo, Vol. 1, p. 306 (F), has afforded a practical proof of serious inconveniences which may arise from such a mode, your Lordship's discernment will readily comprehend, by referring to my remarks in that special case; to be found in Special cases, Appendix.

(F) As the matter of Adeline Ejogo, has been introduced more fully in another place by Mr. Dougan, Major Moody begs to refer for his answer to this special case, to the Appendix, where it is discussed. Major Moody, however, attaches no further importance to the form of Schedules than to the circumstance of their having afforded to Mr. Dougan

a pretext to avoid entering into those useful, and important local inquiries, which Major Moody deemed necessary in investigating the whole truth, on those points, which it was the duty of the Commissioners to examine; and which if they had been examined more fully, would have still more clearly proved the profound local ignorance of those who framed the Orders in Council for these African apprentices, and how unfit the regulations adopted were to accomplish the objects which it may be presumed they wished should be attained. Indeed this ignorance is now made apparent from the result.

There are persons in the world who retain old fashioned ideas that Providence will occasionally defeat the best concerted arrangements of man by the simplest means, making the very learned contribute to set aside their own wise and best digested plans. Whether this case be a just exemplification I shall not pretend to decide; but I will candidly confess that I was deeply impressed at the singularity of the circumstance.

*Mr. Dougan's Remarks.**Major Moody's Explanations.*

The reasons which I submitted to your Lordship's consideration, for sanctioning the form suggested in Schedule B. will be found in Appendix M. and must have met your Lordship's approbation in all the essential points, and differed widely in a more concise mode of record, and more explanatory terms.

No. 2.—My colleague says that I have omitted to notice the want of local information displayed in the Orders in Council, as *affecting the state* and condition of the apprentices, and particularly the value of the labour of these Africans in the island of Tortola (G).

(G) It is deemed best to give exactly as printed in the First Report, page 134, the second reason assigned by Major Moody for refusing to sign Mr. Dougan's Report.

" 2d. Because my colleague has entirely omitted to notice any of the consequences, as more specifically arising from the want of local information displayed in the Orders in Council, as affecting the state and condition of the apprentices, and more particularly respecting the value of the labour of these free Africans in the island of Tortola."

Mr. Dougan says, he had no desire to write a commentary on the regulations formed in the Order in Council relative to the employment of these apprentices. But Major Moody, as a man of plain understanding, considered that regulations by Orders in Council respecting the labour of African apprentices in Tortola, or parish apprentices in England, *must necessarily have reference to the peculiar local circumstances of Tortola and England*, otherwise the good intentions of the framers of the regulations, through sheer ignorance alone, may fail in producing the effect contemplated, by the most pure benevolence, as indeed the result has proved to be the case with the African apprentices, whether in the West Indies, or in Sierra Leone, although in England they may have perfectly succeeded.

Now as Government had been grossly, though perhaps unintentionally, deceived respecting these African apprentices, Major Moody thought it proper to investigate the truth of every thing that might enable Government to see their way clearly for the future. Major Moody was not seconded by Mr. Dougan only in this part of the duty of the commission, but in others, Mr. Dougan gave his active aid.

Major Moody never shrunk from any duty of this kind, nor can an instance be shown, where he refused his aid to any kind of inquiry, although he may have occasionally differed from Mr. Dougan as to the most proper mode of conducting it. But in all matters relative to the comparative value of free and slave labour under the peculiar circumstances of West India agriculture, Mr. Dougan was apparently so ignorant, and inexperienced although born in the West Indies as to be unable to see the points on which the question turned; at least, he never failed to avoid them.

Mr. Dougan, in repelling Major Moody's second objection, says, the great cause of failure, (*for all agree that the Orders in Council had failed*), was "in giving a preference to sugar planters who employed them (the African apprentices) generally as field labourers in sugar cultivation for fourteen and ten years, though apprenticed as domestics."

Now the real facts were, as seen by the Schedules, that those African apprentices, who had been at first taken by the sugar planters, were generally given up, but that those who had remained, as in the case of Dr. Donovan and Mr. Sheen, Major Moody and Mr. Dougan both agree in considering these apprentices, though living on a sugar plantation, as being produced under more favourable circumstances than any that were produced, except perhaps those of the late Mr. Belisario, who is now as much abused in these posthumous papers of Mr. Dougan, as he was formerly praised in the letter to Mr. Wilberforce by the late Mr. Clement.

The people still serving as apprentices in general were indented in the years 1814 and 1815, and were examined in 1822 and 1823, or from eight to nine years afterwards; and as the terms of indenture were from ten to fourteen years, the Tortola Schedules clearly show that they were then distributed generally among poor black and poor white masters and mistresses. Mr. Dougan, indeed, afterwards confirms this statement, by assigning as another cause of failure "the great abuse, which then took place, of allowing any person whatever who could pay a certain price for drawing up the indenture, to possess the services of these poor Africans, for such an extended period." Now, although it was not exactly true, that "*any person*" could obtain an apprentice from the collector, yet it was true in Tortola, that in proportion as the more wealthy inhabitants ceased to take African apprentices, the poorer

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poorer classes became their masters and mistresses. So that in Tortola, at least, the Orders in Council failed, as any person who possessed a correct knowledge of the circumstances of the colony could have foretold.

The circumstances stated even by Mr. Dougan himself in these papers, therefore, actually confirm the force of Major Moody's objection, respecting the want of local information displayed in the Orders in Council. Mr. Dougan indeed speaks of Tortola being "a poor exhausted country, about one half of it abandoned and "thrown out of sugar cultivation." Yet part of the soil of Tortola is richer and better than many parts of Barbadoes, which is cultivated like a garden; and many parts of Tortola is superior in fertility to the neighbouring Danish colonies, where, however, the Danish planters were in a flourishing *state* as compared with the generality of the English planters, though the latter often had a more fertile soil. The great cause of suffering among the English planters, however, was the want of commercial credit, since those who had means of their own were doing well. It is true much land is abandoned, because whenever the buildings and machinery go to decay, those planters, who have spent their former profits in England, are obliged to borrow money to restore them. And in Tortola, no one could now be found to lend the money necessary to make the fixed stock efficient to take off, and properly prepare those crops which the lands however often are still capable of producing. Hence even good land was not cultivated, whose crops could not be taken off. New kinds of cultivation, therefore, such as cotton and provisions, occasionally were tried. But cotton being raised in North and South America at so small an expense, the free negroes, the Nottinghams, paying no taxes or wages even, had abandoned its cultivation, as Mr. Dougan has stated. Only a small portion of land being necessary to raise provisions, both the owners of slaves, and the free people, found themselves in that situation of poverty, which arises from having no market for such surplus articles of food as they produced, beyond a very limited quantity. Food, therefore, was abundant, but those comforts of life connected with a higher degree of civilization, were little known in Tortola, which were enjoyed in the Danish colonies, a few miles distant.

The production of Sugar afforded the highest profit; but its production required that portion of capital, or credit, which the owners of part of the land in Tortola could not now obtain. Unable, therefore, to draw any profit from such labourers as the African apprentices, it naturally followed, that their labour was considered of little value by capitalists in such a colony as Tortola, in which, therefore, they ought not to have been placed, at least under such regulations as the Orders in Council had directed.

The local ignorance of those who framed the Orders in Council, therefore, is equally shown even by Mr. Dougan's view of the subject, as by that of Major Moody, and there being no demand in Tortola for the labour of these people, who are now free, the Treasury of Great Britain is called upon to support them; whereas, had a proper system of control been established, these people might now have been useful, and industrious members of the West India community, without being a burden to the British treasury, or to the colony objects of apprehension.

I certainly felt no desire to write a comment on the regulations formed in the Orders in Council. The views of those who formed those orders appeared to me a desire to provide for the female Africans in useful domestic employments, as cooks, housemaids, laundresses, sempstresses, and occupations not requiring severe bodily labour; and that the males should be taught trades, such as carpenters, masons, coopers, sailors, and other useful professions, and also employed as house servants. To acquire any of these trades seven years was deemed a sufficient period to make the apprentices perfect. Some clause, I understand, was introduced, specifying that the extreme length of servitude should not exceed fourteen years. This was an unfortunate clause; for instead of applying it to trades of difficult acquirement and special cases, the collectors at Tortola applied the extreme term of fourteen years in all cases, even those of domestics, and of the easiest acquirement;

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ment; this appeared to me a great sacrifice of the time of the African. But that which most *affected the state and condition of the apprentices* was the great abuse in putting those orders into execution. As I have stated, both males and females, although the latter were expressly forbidden by the Order in Council to be worked in the field, yet were chiefly given in preference to sugar planters, who employed them generally as field labourers in sugar cultivation, for fourteen and ten years, though apprenticed as domestics.

The poor island of Tortola was the place where the great mass of them were carried. The general poverty of the place, and of its inhabitants, and the great abuse which took place there of allowing any person whatever, who could pay a certain price for drawing up the indenture, to possess the services of these poor Africans for such an extended period; these are the genuine causes which so seriously injured these unfortunates. It is truly ridiculous *in the extreme* to see, under protest No. 2, such an expression as my colleague uses, "*the value of the labour of these free Africans in the island of Tortola;*" a poor exhausted country, about one half of it abandoned, and thrown out of sugar cultivation. It is an imposition to speak in so learned a manner upon general principles, acknowledged by Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, &c. and omit altogether the true facts of the case itself.

(H) No. 3. It appears that I have omitted to notice the inability of Englishmen, or their white descendants, to enter into a competition with the African race in occupations requiring much exposure to the sun, as in agricultural industry, and the effects thence arising in regard to the Africans on the poorer classes of white, black and coloured free labourers, who have no other home or asylum than Tortola.

are not upon an equal footing; and that the poor Englishman actually requires more protection than the poor African, *ceteris paribus*. These poor whites did formerly work in Tortola at such trades, or occupations, as did not require much, or, at least, constant exposure to the sun. The withdrawing of British credit from supporting West India agriculture diminished the quantity of wealth annually created in the island, and so far diminished the means of profitably employing the poor whites in such occupations as those, by which they had formerly subsisted, and brought up their families. At this particular time Government occupied itself in creating a new class of competitors to the whites, and indeed to the free coloured people, who had lived somewhat like the poor whites, by adding to the number of free labourers in certain occupations, not requiring much exposure to the sun. At this same time the former free labourers, whether white or coloured, in certain occupations in Tortola, are yearly less able to find employment, and at last they and their families begin to call upon the parish for support, to the extent measured by the want of profitable employment. Prior to the introduction of the class of African apprentices as labourers into particular occupations, and in greater numbers than the reduced means

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of the colony required, it had been comparatively prosperous, whilst it now was in comparative distress, and therefore much less able to support its own parochial poor. The colonists having capital in Tortola, therefore, complained that Government had increased the burthens arising from the expense of maintaining their own poor, by placing in the colony a new class of persons whose labour as domestics, drudges, carpenters, &c. was not wanted by capitalists, whilst the Africans did not work as agricultural labourers for such wages as the agricultural capitalist could afford to give; for if the liberated Africans would work, there was plenty of land upon which they could be employed.

The same destruction of commercial credit in Tortola also threw the labour of many slaves out of sugar cultivation into other kinds of occupation, which already had more labourers than could be profitably employed; and hence quarrelling and discontent were engendered between the apprentices, and the other classes of the community: to control which required a more expensive system of police, than the reduced finances of the colony could support. All these effects were deemed by the colonial capitalists to be contrary to the pledge of Government towards them, which guaranteed them against any danger, or charge from the introduction of these African apprentices; and which could easily have been effected, had the poor Africans been placed, under the control of Government, upon land at first, as they can work in the sun. Had they been employed under a judicious system of control in raising articles, which had a value in the parent state, the Government, which would not have looked for any profit from their labour, needed not to have incurred a loss, for whilst subsistence would have always been secured by this plan, a small rate of profit also, if properly directed, would have been the result to each African, *who could have been obliged to cultivate his ground steadily for his own benefit.* In doing this also the liberated Africans would have contributed to the colonial taxes, and increased that proportion of the wealth of the colony, which is annually divided amongst those who labour, whilst at present they increase the number to be fed, and supported without proportionally adding to the wealth of the colony of Tortola. It did not appear that any liberated African of that class had ever paid one farthing in taxes to the colonial Government; and when apprentices, they frequently served masters and mistresses whose poverty rendered them unable to hire any servant, and who never would have been permitted to have had an apprentice, could the Collector have found any other mode of lessening the expense incurred by the treasury.

The effects of the ignorance displayed in the Orders in Council may be in some measure illustrated by supposing an English parish having poor people in it, to be provided for, at the expense of the capitalists. The poor people, though able and willing to work, from physical circumstances, are capable of pursuing only certain occupations, and in these employments they obtained such a reward for their labour as rendered them less burdensome to the parish. Under such circumstances, if vessels laden with foreign poor people should arrive in the parish, and if these foreign poor people should be placed as apprentices in this parish, to such trades as the English poor of the parish had formerly been employed in, it seems plain, that, when the demand for the labour of the parish poor is diminished, whilst the number of English and foreign labourers are increased, much inconvenience must arise to the English capitalists, and to the English poor of that parish. If, under these circumstances, there was much land of a fair quality laying waste, and only requiring to be cultivated by human hands, and if for this kind of labour, the foreign poor were better qualified than the English poor, would it not be a more reasonable plan to place the foreign poor people on the lands, which they were peculiarly qualified to cultivate, rather than persist in making them competitors with the English parish poor for those certain kinds of labour, in which the latter could work, or in apprenticing them to masters and mistresses, who were not much better off than themselves.

Had the case occurred in England, every person would probably have seen the absurdity of the plan adopted; but as it occurred in the West Indies, at a distance of 4,000 miles, and admitted of dispute, those who saved the Government of that day the trouble of thinking, seem to have succeeded in the recommendation of plans, which no person of sober and practical views could have approved. The truth is, it does not appear that Government had ever consulted any person who had the necessary practical and local knowledge relative to the control and the comparative value of different kinds of labour in the colonies. Some persons, doubtless, were consulted, but their peculiar dogmas rendered them very unfit to decide on such matters. These persons having procured for Mr. Dougan the appointment of Commissioner, it was perhaps not unnatural for him to suppress the statement of any facts which might impeach their wisdom. Major Moody, however, deemed such omission a valid objection to his signing, or approving of a Report so defective.

The fact that an Englishman, or some of his white descendants, could not toil in the sun as Africans can, does not require my confirmation at the present day; but I see no reason why, when the



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slave population is so very extensive, and is actually employed in agricultural cultivation, it may not be permitted to His Majesty (under the peculiar circumstances of these Africans having been *illegally* torn from their *native homes*;) to allow them the same rank in their present new society as they previously held in their own country, and be honourably employed in the military and naval service. His Majesty's Government having then selected the most active and able persons for the above purposes, those remaining, being originally free persons restored to their native liberty, have surely a right to be taught the most useful and profitable trades and arts, the better to enable them to provide for themselves in a country perfectly new to them, and having to combat many impediments, the very acquirement of a new language being a great disadvantage.

As to my colleague's remark on the poor whites at Tortola being affected by the rivalry of these apprentices, my personal experience enables me to say that most of the poor whites have abandoned the country, from its sterility and the badness of the seasons; the free black and coloured persons are those chiefly who, attached to the spot, still persevere in cultivating a country which yields little or no adequate agricultural returns.

(I) No. 4. It seems that I am charged with neglect in not noticing how the Orders in Council, and the recent form of indenture, by withdrawing the African apprentices from agricultural pursuits, have created them competitors with the slaves in certain kinds of industry, exciting envious feelings between them, as also with other poor white, black or coloured persons.

(I) Mr. Dougan, in noticing Major Moody's fourth objection still, farther confirms its force. The fact of the enmity between the slaves and the poor African apprentices is not denied by Mr. Dougan; indeed, it could not have been doubted, after the evidence given to him, and Major Moody by the African apprentices themselves, as well as the daily exhibition of fights, and quarrels in the streets, in which the poor African apprentices were opposed sometimes to the slaves, and sometimes to the poor free black and coloured people, as well as the whites.

These events Mr. Dougan describes as the natural consequences, "when a set of strangers intruded themselves among the old stagers;" and he seems to consider them as of very little consequence, although he knew such acts of insubordination had arisen therefrom, as could not fail to injure the credit of any community, and particularly of one so poor as to be unable to pay a police, thus rendered necessary for their suppression!!

In p. 18, of Mr. Dougan's First Report, he correctly refers to the points to which Lord Bathurst had directed the attention of the Commissioners; and he specifically mentions, "the prevention of danger, or of charge to the communities of which the liberated Africans form a part." Indeed, this was provided for by the Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade; it may not, therefore, be unfair to inquire how far the capitalists, and more intelligent parts of the community of Tortola were interested on the subject. In p. 32 of Mr. Dougan's first Report, he quotes from a petition, in which all the Members of Council and Assembly, including some of Mr. Dougan's oldest acquaintances, and friends, unanimously stated to Earl Bathurst, "That the feelings of jealousy and hatred, engendered in the minds of the slaves towards the African apprentices, have become reciprocal; and when the latter are freed from their present restraints as apprentices, it is to be expected that the occasions of mutual violence between them and the slaves, and other free coloured people,

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“ people, will become more frequent and serious in a colony without troops, a militia, or the funds to support a proper system of police, &c.”

Major Moody is aware that Mr. Dougan, and other persons holding the same dogmas, treat any representations from the West India colonists with great contempt; in this case, the representations of the colonists were confirmed by facts, and circumstances which occurred under the eyes of Mr. Dougan, and Major Moody, and were recorded in their minutes. The question, therefore, was whether the colonists had been protected from that danger, and charge, which obviously it was the intention of Earl Bathurst to effect. The colonists themselves, as Mr. Dougan himself has shown, thought they had not obtained the pledged protection. The circumstances stated in the Schedules and Reports show that the representations of the colonists were not unfounded; it remains, therefore, to consider the remedy proposed by Mr. Dougan; and here Major Moody must use the words of Mr. Dougan himself. “ I would advise,” says he, “ every man, woman and child in this sterile island, of every complexion, either to quit sugar and cotton cultivation, and plant provisions only for their maintenance, rear cattle, and carry it anywhere for sale, even to foreign ports, if the price were better, cultivate the fisheries, and collect salt, or to abandon the exhausted soil and seek a better.”

It so happens, that the inhabitants of Tortola have for some time past done every thing here recommended by Mr. Dougan, except quitting sugar and cotton cultivation, and abandoning the colony. Doubtless, many of them would be glad to go to other colonies, but many of them, it may be supposed, would wish to continue the cultivation of that soil, which formerly had yielded them as large crops as those of the neighbouring Danish colonies, *ceteris paribus*; and these English colonists, born and bred in the island, must think it a strange thing to find their prosperity and welfare as residents of Tortola, deemed to be a matter of no importance, whilst, within a few miles, they see the cane and cotton-fields of Danish and Spanish subjects, comparatively flourishing and prosperous, under the protection of foreign flags. Major Moody deems it his duty, as a loyal subject, to submit these observations to His Majesty's Government, because he trusts the Virgin Islands will never be abandoned on the recommendation of Mr. Dougan, and his friends; for, as is known to every naval officer, in time of war, the vessels of Trinidad, Grenada, and other leeward colonies, homeward bound, could not safely rendezvous, for convoy, in any other British harbour to windward. To abandon the Virgin Islands, is an equivalent measure to that of sacrificing the trade of many of our West India colonies in time of war. Major Moody merely refers to these military considerations in explanation of Mr. Dougan's proposed remedy for the evils noticed in Major Moody's fourth objection. As Mr. Dougan's health appears to have been in a very weak state, when this part of the posthumous papers was drawn up, it is probable that his judgment may have failed him, otherwise he never could have recommended the abandonment of the colony by all the capitalists, as a remedy against the incurring of danger, or charge, by the residence of a few liberated Africans amongst them.

When Mr. Dougan resided in Tortola, prior to his appointment as a Commissioner, he was the attorney of John Stephen, esquire, for his sugar plantation; and although Mr. Stephen was his friend, and the brother of his friend James Stephen, esquire, the most active and able enemy of the colonial capitalists, yet it does not appear that Mr. John Stephen adopted the plan now recommended by Mr. Dougan, for he prudently sold his share of slave property in Tortola, precisely in the same manner as Mr. Dougan afterwards sold his share of the sugar plantation of the family in Demerary. And Mr. Dougan, in his recommendation, seems to forget the injury that would thereby be done to British creditors, having mortgages, or other claims upon estates in Tortola. Indeed, the plan of Mr. Dougan, though entertained by some persons in England, is one founded on injustice towards the capitalist, and the very idea of its being adopted by Government, sufficiently accounts for that depreciation of property, and destruction of commercial credit, which is fast ruining the West India capitalist, who requires assistance.

That Mr. Dougan really approved of what is here said to have been recommended by him, appears to be scarcely credible. In p. 23, of the Tortola Schedules, the affidavit of Mr. Dougan on the 23d May 1807, is given, wherein he recommended the immediate sale of a cargo of negroes for which he was agent. And if he believed then that these people being sold into slavery at Tortola would be for their benefit, it is difficult to conceive how he could, in less than twenty years afterwards, recommend the people who bought them, to give up the only cultivation, that would enable them to reimburse the expense of purchase, when it was under his eyes daily, that the cultivation of these articles in a colony having much poorer soil, under the Crown of Denmark, was enabling its capitalists to pay their debts, and live comfortably. Mr. Dougan, therefore, could only have meant his recommendation to have applied to those owners of estates, where the buildings had been destroyed already by the hurricane, and whose lands, therefore, on the sides of hills, having been out of cultivation, had been injured by the tropical rains washing away the soil, which previously had been retained by walls for that purpose, but now neglected,

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from the destruction of commercial credit, preventing the owner from borrowing capital to put his land, and buildings in good order after a hurricane; as had been the case formerly, when the West India Colonies of Great Britain were deemed valuable appendages of an Empire, whose prosperity depends on her maritime power, and her commercial credit.

The only serious reply to be made to this is, that if the Road Town of Tortola was a fine thriving place, a competition among the people would be such only as has existed in other parts of the world when a set of strangers intruded themselves among the old stagers, and that similar envious feelings would arise; but that the public at large would derive a benefit. Not so the present case; for I would advise every man, woman and child in this sterile island, of every complexion, either to quit sugar and cotton cultivation, and plant provisions only for their maintenance, rear cattle and carry it any where for sale, even to foreign ports if the price were better, cultivate the fisheries, and collect salt, or to abandon the exhausted soil and seek a better; nay further, I would humbly suggest to His Majesty's Ministers the propriety of suffering to exist such an incompetent representation of a regular government by Council, Assembly and Governor, as that now existing at Tortola; the country wholly unable to pay its public debt, or perform contracts made by them, and, as their petition to His Majesty (Vol. 2, p. 32) states, "a colony without a militia, or the funds to support a proper system of police."

(K) No. 5. My colleague complains of the production, on my part, of documents in support of my opinions, which were never officially verified on the spot, or formed part of the official records; and that he was deprived of all means of *examining* on the *spot* the individuals whose statements the documents professed to contain; and at the conclusion alludes to the testimony given by the respectable Wesleyan missionaries, and regrets that he had not an opportunity of further examining them.

apprentice:—"Neither the queries put to the minister, nor his answer, ever formed "part of the official records!" Thus, says Mr. Dougan, Major Moody "committed the same *fault* he now charges me with: it is his own authority which condemns "him."

The state of Mr. Dougan's health alone can satisfactorily explain the frequent instances in which it has been proved by Major Moody that his memory had failed him. A plain recital of facts will be the best answer to Mr. Dougan. But even had the facts been as Mr. Dougan has been pleased to state them, they prove that Major Moody at least had communicated the contents of the documents to Mr. Dougan in Tortola, and thereby had given him an opportunity of procuring further information from Mr. Chadderton. But Mr. Dougan never once hinted to Major Moody that he had obtained any information of any kind, for the purposes of the Commission, from the Wesleyan missionaries, and consequently Major Moody could not avail himself of the circumstance further to investigate the truth; so that his fifth objection was well founded as to information *privately* obtained by Mr. Dougan from the Methodist missionaries, even on Mr. Dougan's own showing. The other cases Mr. Dougan does not attempt to deny.

(K) Mr. Dougan is pleased to notice Major Moody's fifth objection to signing Mr. Dougan's Report, by saying, "I avow the fact of "not submitting to him (Major Moody) the "documents furnished by the Wesleyan missionaries." He then offers his reasons for so doing. The first of these refers to Major Moody's own conduct in "boastingly" having read to Mr. Dougan an extract of what Major Moody stated to be part of a letter to him from the Rev. Mr. Chadderton, the Rector of the parish, in reply to certain queries put to him by Major Moody. This extract, says Mr. Dougan, drew a very unfavourable comparison between the slave, and the African

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Explanation being now the chief object of Major Moody, it is necessary for him to state, that on his going out to the West Indies, with the approbation of the Under Secretary of State, he took out various *blank schedules* to be filled up by the most intelligent persons in each colony, in order to obtain a correct statistical account of each; and in this work, Mr. Dougan, with the express permission of the Under Secretary, was so very obliging as to promise to assist him; and this he did, for some time after the arrival of the Commissioners in the West Indies. As rector of the parish, Mr. Chadderton was applied to by Major Moody for certain points of statistical information, which he afforded, and incidentally noticed the indolence of the free black, and coloured people, and of the African apprentices, when speaking of their wages, wealth, &c. But as, during the few years he had been in Tortola, (although he had been many years in the West Indies, and indeed was born there,) he had not had any experience in the control of labour, Major Moody did not attach any importance to his opinion, one way or another, in that point, further than merely referring to it, in noticing the singular circumstance of Mr. Dougan having omitted all reference to the rector of the parish, in a matter affecting the moral character of a part of those persons in whose spiritual welfare it was well known Mr. Chadderton, the rector, took a deep interest, as is proved by the Parliamentary Papers, in which he has expressed it; and which indeed have been often quoted by anti-colonial writers. As for the rector, or the Wesleyan missionaries having any knowledge of the comparative value of free and slave labour in West India agriculture, no person could have supposed it even, but those who were equally uninformed on the subject, and consequently be unable to show the degree of ignorance exhibited in their replies. Mr. Chadderton, indeed, had no experience of his own; but so far as mere opinion went, no one could be more decidedly in favour of those opinions which Major Moody has submitted on the authority of facts, and of persons who had actual experience, and consequently were best able to form a correct judgment.

Major Moody most solemnly denies ever having shown the statistical return of the rector to Mr. Dougan in a "boasting" manner, or in any manner different from that in which he was in the habit of showing him similar returns, in order to consult with him thereon.

Mr. Dougan, however, is pleased also to assign, in the case of the Wesleyan missionaries, the old assertion of their being afraid of appearing before Major Moody, and that "had the three missionaries entertained an idea that they were to submit to the cross-examination of Major Moody on the opinions which they had formed, Earl Bathurst would have been totally deprived of the valuable information conveyed by Mr. Gilgrass and his brethren."

Major Moody will not make any observation on the value of that evidence, in which the voluntary witnesses would not submit to a cross-examination, because he has no wish to say that which would be injurious to the character of the Methodist missionaries, who are men entitled to his respect, and esteem for their virtues. There is not one of them, who would not suffer at the stake as a martyr, rather than shrink from their opinions; but a farther examination of these gentlemen might have elicited facts, showing either that the missionaries had come to conclusions upon unsatisfactory data, or that their want of experience in the control of labour had led them into error respecting circumstances, which they, in ignorance, believed to be facts. For persons acquainted with tropical agriculture, and the control of labour, have constantly seen statements put forth to the English Public, on the authority of men fully as worthy of credence as even the Methodist missionaries, and yet the very statements themselves, when examined by persons who understood the subject, only show the ignorance of the parties who make the statements. The English Public, and indeed the Government, being equally ignorant, from having had no practical experience to enable them to detect the errors, are in some measure obliged to be satisfied with such imperfect evidence, *merely because it comes from persons considered to be disinterested, whilst the important fact of ignorance in those who give the imperfect evidence cannot be detected by persons, WHO THEMSELVES ARE EQUALLY AS IGNORANT AS THE WITNESSES.*

But Major Moody never can believe that the Methodist missionaries ever sanctioned the assertion made by Mr. Dougan, that they would not have appeared before the Commission, because they were good enough frequently to attend the Commission, and were constantly treated like gentlemen; and on the other hand, they on every occasion *spoke, and wrote to Major Moody in the spirit of kindness*; indeed they even requested him to preside at a missionary meeting on the very day when he left Tortola, which at least showed, that a spirit of confidence, and kindness had existed between them and Major Moody, even to the last day of their being together in Tortola. He has never seen, nor written to any of them since his departure, but his feelings of respect and good-will towards them remain unchanged.

I am glad of the opportunity afforded me of a few observations on these charges of my colleague. I avow the fact of not submitting to him the documents furnished by the Wesleyan missionaries, and I submit

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submit my reasons:—In the first place, soon after the arrival of the Commissioners at Tortola, Major Moody boastingly read me an extract of what he stated to be part of a letter to him from the Rev. Mr. Chaderton, the minister of the parish, in reply to certain queries put to him by my colleague.

This extract certainly drew a very unfavourable comparison between the slave and the African apprentice, as it affected the African. Neither the queries put to the minister, nor his answer, *ever formed part of the official records!*

The queries were put, and the answer given, but no other record of them was made than the following statement by my colleague in his Report. Your Lordship will be pleased to notice, Vol. 2, p. 82. “I also applied to the clergyman of the parish, who informed me he had no personal knowledge of the African apprentices; and as his account therefore could not be considered as formed from personal knowledge and observation, I shall not refer to it, because under these circumstances, influencing its character, and being unfavourable, it does not appear to me fair to either party, that I should produce it in a case affecting moral character.”

Thus your Lordship sees as plain as the noon-day sun that my colleague, the complainant, committed, at a very early period after our arrival at Tortola, the same *fault he now charges me with*: it is his own authority which condemns him. I verily believe the truth to be, that the reverend pastor, in my opinion a conscientious good man, finding that he had in a hasty manner given an opinion upon a subject which he was not at the time competent to perform, having been in the island only a few months, very properly either retracted that opinion from better information, or desired it not to have the sanction of his name.

It is very liberal, however, in my colleague not to produce Mr. Chaderton's account, as he terms it, but merely to *allude* to its being unfavourable to the *moral character* of the apprenticed Africans.

This is really, my Lord, in very plain terms, *too much of humbug*.

Besides this bad example set me by my colleague, at the time when I obtained the documents from the Wesleyan missionaries, I was compelled to separate myself from him; and I verily believe had the three missionaries entertained an idea that they were to submit to the cross-examination of my colleague, or the  
opinions

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opinions which they had formed, that your Lordship would have been totally deprived of the valuable information conveyed by Mr. Gilgrass and his brethren.

(L) No. 6.—My colleague protests against my having introduced into my Report ASSERTIONS respecting the value of free labour in West India agriculture, which prove to be incorrect, when the real facts are fairly stated; and in that particular case I am an *incompetent judge*, from a *bias on my mind*, and from want of *practical information*; and that my assertion or opinion has no weight, unless clearly and distinctly supported by detailed facts, proving such opinions to be just inferences therefrom.

which never once came before the Commissioners, never formed part of their records, and never was jointly investigated by Mr. Dougan, and Major Moody. Mr. Dougan says, that the copy given by him was taken from *part of the minutes of one of the branches of the Legislatures of Tortola, but he does not say by whom.*

Major Moody had also heard of the petition, and obtained a copy of it through Dr. Ross, who at the same time showed him a petition, nearly similar, in the printed minutes of the Legislature of Bahama, which had been used as their guide.

Major Moody suggested to Mr. Dougan the propriety of their jointly investigating the facts contained in the petition, but Mr. Dougan at once opposed as an objection the form of the Schedules recommended to be followed, and therefore nothing was done in any joint inquiry. Major Moody visited every part of the colony to investigate personally (because it was the only useful kind of investigation) the alleged facts on which the almost uniform opinion of people in England had ignorantly been formed, as to the superior value of free over slave labour in the West Indies, as it decidedly was in many other countries, under different local circumstances.

Opinions drawn from analogies relative to the state of other countries do not apply to certain colonies in the West Indies. To Major Moody it appeared, that this difference depended on certain physical causes, as well as on certain moral causes; whereas very eminent persons appeared to have been satisfied with limiting their inquiries to the action of the moral causes alone. Of these moral causes Mr. Dougan satisfied himself by referring to the prejudices arising from difference in the colours of the skin, and was pleased to refer to Sierra Leone as a triumphant proof of the superior value of free negro labour over slave negro labour in tropical agriculture, because persons of white skins in that colony had no prejudices against people with black skins, and all were on an equal footing, as to the laws of the colony. In conformity with these views, in page 19 of Mr. Dougan's Report, he recommended that the African apprentices should in general be sent to Sierra Leone, if the objection arising from the expense of their removal could be overcome. This recommendation was entered in the minutes of the Commission, and is quoted in his Report, page 20, as having been dated in Tortola, 14th March 1823. At that time, therefore, Mr. Dougan had recommended the removal of the liberated Africans, except in a few special cases, to Sierra Leone. To this it does not appear the petitioners objected; so far as the *practical* measure was concerned, both the petitioners and Mr. Dougan may be said to have been of the same mind on the 14th March 1823, upon the supposition that the petition was drawn up prior to that period, for Major Moody is unable to ascertain its precise date, and Mr. Dougan has omitted to give it.

Major Moody has the following reasons, however, for thinking that he is correct in believing the date of the petition to have been prior to the 14th March 1823, because it appears from Major Moody's first Report, page 118, that Mr. Dougan had been reporting to Earl Bathurst respecting the Nottinghams on the 16th January 1823, and Miss Mary Stephen Dougan admits that her father was wrong in statements he had given as to their increase by marriages among themselves, and finally, the Anti-Slavery Society, in page 236 of their notes on the debate in Parliament on the 15th May 1823, say: "In the year 1822, this little colony of free persons," (meaning the Nottinghams,) "was visited several times by two *highly respectable gentlemen*, on whose authority we are enabled to state the following particulars." At that time (1822) Major Moody was one of two "*highly respectable gentlemen*;" but by the same persons he soon after was abundantly abused, because he refused to sanction the attempts made by them to deceive Government, and delude the nation. But as Mr. Dougan had gathered his information respecting the Nottinghams so far back as 1822, with the hope of confuting the petition from the

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the legislators of Tortola to the King, as he now says; it is manifest, therefore, that the petition itself must have been prior to some period in 1822, and consequently prior to the 14th March 1823.

At that time, therefore, Mr. Dougan and the petitioners both agreed in the practical measure of removing the Africans, although for different reasons. These posthumous papers in the name of Mr. Dougan, wish it now to be believed, that he only began to think about the question of free negro labour, after having seen the petition, although it never was recorded on the minutes of the Commission, and although he declined to investigate the truth of its statements officially; but these very posthumous papers prove, that Mr. Dougan, in Dominica, even when on his way to Tortola, and before he could possibly have seen the *Tortola petition*, had been examining Mr. Bridgewater, the collector of the Customs in Dominica, Mr. Wilson, the harbour-master, Mrs. Henderson, who is said to have kept an hotel, and Mr. Miller, who kept a retail shop, as to the industry of certain free negroes, who *did not live near to one of these individuals so examined*. For the negroes living on Morne Bruce, the military inhabitants thereof, were best able to speak as to the facts, and Mr. Dougan has carefully avoided giving the evidence of any one of these persons; nor has he indeed given the real evidence of any person, but merely what he is pleased to represent them as having said *privately* to him: and too many cases have occurred wherein he has misrepresented the truth, from some defect of memory, to trust to its accuracy in this case, even had the witnesses produced been persons the most likely to know *all* the circumstances required to be investigated. It is manifest, therefore, that Mr. Dougan, before he ever saw the *Tortola petition*, had been *privately* occupied in gathering *imperfect statements* on the subject of free negro labour; and consequently it could not be for the purpose of removing the specific allegations in the petition, which he had not yet seen, that he had been induced to collect them in Dominica. The inaccuracy with which he has reported the facts, even as to Dominica, will be shown hereafter. What he has stated as to Tortola is the matter for explanation now.

Mr. Dougan's opinions, or those of any other person, on the subject are of little consequence without a detailed examination of the facts. It is the facts, therefore, which he produces to confute the petition of the Legislature of Tortola to the King, that Major Moody had to consider. Mr. Dougan enumerates the facts, to which he referred, thus:

- 1st. "That of a parish tax in the Island of Tortola, amounting in the whole to 1,770*l.*; the free people of colour paid 501*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* of it;" and
- 2d. "That during a period of thirty years, which he had known the island, not a single free black or coloured person had received parish assistance, whilst the whites annually became a heavy burden on the parish list for public support." Such arguments being those usually urged by the members of the Anti-Slavery Society on this topic.

With respect to the first fact specified by Mr. Dougan, on referring to his Report, page 33, it will be seen that the parish tax is raised, as Mr. Dougan himself states, by a levy of 6½ per cent. on the value of houses in town, and 6*s.* on each slave. The names of the persons are then given, and the sums paid by each free coloured person, as the tax due on houses and slaves, to the amount of 501*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*, of which 333*l.* were paid by the heirs of two white planters, who left their houses and slaves to their children, being coloured persons, and who, in point of industry, and education, were certainly exactly in the same relation to the other capitalists, as any other white heirs, having houses and slaves, would have been.

Major Moody is utterly at a loss to conceive how Mr. Dougan arrives at his inference, that because free black and coloured persons, possessing houses and slaves, pay taxes for them, free negro labour, therefore, is of more value to the colony than slave labour.

The Tortola petition distinctly refers to seventy-six adult slaves, manumitted since the registry in 1818, and three distinct bodies of people, amounting, with their descendants, to seventy-three persons, who had been manumitted, with a few hundreds of acres of land given to them; and Mr. Dougan does not even pretend that any of these persons were included in his own list of rate-payers for houses, or slaves, in page 35, as may be seen on comparing that list with the names in pages 36 to 41. The very fact which Mr. Dougan submits to disprove the assertions of the Legislature of Tortola, tends therefore most strongly to confirm all that had been said respecting their fears as to the future steady agricultural industry of the Africans when liberated, since not one of them appears to be so employed, or to have paid any public tax, according to Mr. Dougan's own documents, when duly examined.

The following is Mr. Dougan's list of rate-payers, to which is now added the number of slaves owned by them, and by whose labour chiefly the taxes were paid. It will be observed that Mr. Dougan, in his list, had omitted the number of slaves possessed by these persons. It was, however, the labour of these slaves which provided the means to pay the taxes for the free people of colour, as well as for the whites, whilst the liberated Africans, who had no slaves, paid no taxes, having no houses. Indeed they do not appear to have contributed to the payment of any tax.

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"Names of Free Black and Coloured Persons, and the Amount paid by them for a Parish Capitation Tax on their Slaves, of 6s. each, and on the Assessed value of their Houses in the Road Town of Tortola."

Names.	No. of Slaves.	Sum Paid.		
		£.	s.	d.
Sarah Roach	1	-	6	-
Isaac Amey	3	1	13	-
Jane Fleming	1	-	6	-
Peter B. Bunting	6	4	11	-
Charles Daly	-	-	6	-
A. E. Daly	-	-	6	-
Isaac B. Westcott	2	-	12	-
C. Fleming	1	-	6	-
Joan Stephens	-	-	6	-
John Dyer	19	7	4	-
James Lawson	1	1	16	-
Heirs of James Croke	11	5	6	-
Lydia Pagans	10	5	14	-
William and Ann Lewis	3	-	18	-
Heirs of R. Johnston	-	1	7	-
Mary Walters	21	8	6	-
Frances Slaney	10	3	-	-
Nimrod Harragin	7	2	16	-
Thomas J. Niles	-	2	8	-
Anne Martin	1	-	6	-
Heirs of A. C. Hill	426	135	16	-
Richard Maduro	1	-	6	-
E. Johnston	2	-	12	-
Mary Norman	1	-	16	-
Mary Johnston	2	-	12	-
Frances Audain	1	1	16	-
Margaret Montgomerie	2	-	12	-
Sarah Keys	19	5	14	-
Bice Foreman	-	2	2	-
A. Patnell	1	-	6	-
Jane Martin	2	-	12	-
Mary Patnelli	-	3	16	6
Ann Berkley	2	1	7	-
Catherine Fraser	18	10	8	-
George Nibbs	1	-	6	-
Ann M'Cleverty	4	1	4	-
C. Harper	6	2	16	-
William Bagnell	4	1	4	-
A. Stephens	1	-	16	-
Ann Bennett	-	2	19	-
Thomas W. Audain	-	-	6	-
Jennette Heyligar	4	1	4	-
Margaret Newton	9	2	14	-
Francis C. Gordon	5	1	10	-
Pero Elms	5	2	-	-
Thomas Croke, senior	8	9	8	-
Thomas Croke, junior	-	3	6	-
Heirs of Margaret Bennett	4	1	4	-
William J. Higbie	-	1	13	-
Catharine Martin	3	-	18	-
William Smith	2	1	2	-
Heirs of Benjamin Smith	-	4	8	-
Heirs of George Martin	639	197	4	-
Thomas Llewellen	1	1	6	-
Heirs of Ann D'Arcey	15	12	10	-
Henry Rapsot	3	-	18	-
Hew Temaw	-	-	10	-
William M'Kenny	-	-	10	-
Ann Ellison	-	-	15	-
Daniel Johnston	-	1	-	-
Abraham Ravenier	-	1	-	-
Sarah Ann Wickham	-	-	10	-
George J. S. G. Norman	-	1	10	-
Joseph Harragin	-	-	15	-
Eliza Bedford	-	2	10	-

Heirs



## SLAVE TRADE: PAPERS RELATING TO

*Major Moody's Explanations.*

Names.	No. of Slaves.	Sum Paid.		
		£.	s.	d.
Heirs of C. Turnbull	-	-	15	-
Mary Van Prague	-	-	1	-
Peter Stephens	-	-	15	-
John M. Farrington	-	-	10	-
Sarah Hill	-	-	9	6
Andrew Grimes	-	-	12	-
Heirs of J. F. Lettsom	-	-	6	-
Cyrene Lake	-	-	6	-
Lewis Hyndman	-	1	-	-
Hopewell Molineaux	-	2	-	-
Ann Molineaux	-	2	-	-
Eliza Shelton	-	1	-	-
Penelope Hodge	-	1	-	-
Heirs of W. C. Rawleigh	47	-	14	8
Margaret Bennett	1	-	-	6
Total	1,343		£. 501	18 6

According to the above statement, 1,343 of the slaves in Tortola appear to have belonged to certain free black and coloured people. Where the names given by Mr. Dougan as rate-payers could not be found, in Major Moody's list, the number of slaves is not expressed. For instance, "Charles Daly" is mentioned as paying 6s., the exact amount of the tax on one slave. The only free person of colour in Major Moody's list, whose name resembles it, is "E. Catherine Daly," owning one male slave, which would make the same sum of 6s., but Major Moody, although he believes his own documents to be more correct than those of Mr. Dougan, has adhered strictly to the names, and sums given by Mr. Dougan, even when they are manifestly wrong; for example, among the latter names are two persons named Molineaux, each having two slaves, so that each must have paid 12s. tax, whereas Mr. Dougan puts them down as paying only 6s. each.

Mr. M'Aulay, in his Letters of Anglus, page 95, gives 1,766 slave as being the number owned by the free black, and coloured people of Tortola in 1822, and the tax upon that number at 6s. each, would alone exceed the sum given by Mr. Dougan, as the tax paid by them both on houses and slaves together. The truth is, Mr. Dougan would not consent to procure his information jointly with Major Moody, in an official manner, and either intentionally, or from ignorance, he was always deceiving himself, and endeavouring afterwards to deceive others, by suppressing some part of the truth.

Major Moody, therefore, has proved that Mr. Dougan's facts, when correctly stated, confirm Major Moody's opinions, and afford the most conclusive evidence against the truth of Mr. Dougan's own assertions.

Mr. Dougan, indeed, says that Major Moody has offered no evidence to controvert his facts, nor has Major Moody denied those stated by him. As this assertion can easily be refuted by a mere reference to the pages of Major Moody's first Report then before Mr. Dougan, Major Moody here contents himself with making the reference. (*Vide* Major Moody's first Report from page 109 to 113, *et seq.* and particularly, the official document from the treasurer of Tortola, marked (D.) in page 152.

Mr. Dougan's second fact states, that not a single free black or coloured person had received "parish assistance" during the 30 years he had known the island. It is difficult to conceive how such a fact, even if true, could prove that the liberated Africans would work steadily in agriculture for such wages as the capitalists could afford to give, which was the subject of doubt with the Tortola legislators, and with every person indeed, who has had any practical experience in the control of labour in West India agriculture.

It was shown in the Tortola Schedules, that a person could be subsisted there, and in Porto Rico for 3d. per diem, and that Jem Mapangua, a person whom Mr. Dougan deemed a most worthless character, stated to Mr. Dougan, and Major Moody, that he could, by gathering for sale the unappropriated bounties of nature, such as grass, wood, wild-fruits, fish, &c. daily obtain food, and even some luxuries, such as rum and tobacco, equivalent to about 13d. a day. Any person with a black skin, which enables him better to bear the action of the sun during labour under an exposure to it, can easily support a family, so far as mere food, and other moderate comforts are concerned, in that climate, by an exertion very slight in comparison to that which the labourer must use in England, where he can be effectually prevented from appropriating to himself the grass, wood and fruits grown on other people's land. In the West Indies, therefore, where the English race of men cannot undergo the same degree of exertion in the sun as the blacks can, the former are frequently reduced to beggary, in that climate, where the less educated negro can easily support himself. The poor Englishman, therefore, becomes a burden to the parish often from necessity, and sometimes, as in England, from the circumstance of there being no work to be given to him. His peculiarity of physical constitution will not, however, allow him to labour

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labour in all those employments, which can be safely and easily executed by a person with a black skin, from the peculiar action of a particular combination of solar light and heat on the human frame, without reference to any causes merely of a moral nature.

This is a subject purely philosophical, and capable of a philosophical explanation on scientific principles, should Government wish to have Major Moody's observations upon it.

If, however, the free negro introduced by Government into Tortola, should require relief from the parish, the fact of their not getting it, would not disprove the assertion, that these free negroes would not cultivate the soil for such wages as the capitalist could afford to give, it would only prove that they could subsist in the country without labouring steadily for wages; and this may be true, and still such a population be a source of annoyance to the capitalists, as gipsies in England, are sometimes found to be.

Mr. Dougan's remarks on the industry of the disbanded soldiers in Dominica prove, in the first place, that it was not in Tortola he began to form his plan of representing the advantages of free negro labour to Government, as he has asserted, when assigning his reasons for introducing this subject into his Report. Major Moody has reason to believe, that as this was the most important point for the consideration of Government, so it was the one upon which Mr. Dougan was most bent on misleading, having first deceived himself, by the influence of certain dogmas in perverting his will from entering upon extended inquiries, and his judgment from arriving at fair conclusions.

Under the influence of certain impressions on his mind, on the subject of slavery, Mr. Dougan was ever active in deluding himself by imperfect investigations on this subject, and in these investigations, it cannot fail to be observed, that he uniformly excluded Major Moody, who, of the two Commissioners, had had the most experience, respecting the control of labour, and whose previous education and habits had fully enabled him to pursue such investigations.

At Dominica, the scanty facts for determining Mr. Dougan's opinion on the disputed question were these. Both Commissioners saw by the road side, on which they were travelling, a small *portion* of ground (Mr. Dougan objects to the word "*patch*") on which cassada or manioc was planted. A gentleman travelling with the Commissioners pointed it out, as ground which had, without any leave, been taken possession of by some of the black disbanded soldiers. The subject of conversation at the time, was how these people had conducted themselves since they had been disbanded, and how far they were kindly treated.

The officer, among other things, said that if the disbanded black soldiers would settle themselves on grounds, and cultivate the soil quietly, nobody would interrupt them; and as an example, he pointed out the portion of ground planted in cassada, as having been taken possession of by some of them, and yet that no person had interrupted them. Mr. Dougan did then, certainly, immediately adduce the fact of the portion of ground being cultivated by the disbanded soldiers, as a proof of the theory respecting free labour which he was so desirous to induce Government to believe, and which at that time was generally believed, by well informed persons in England, ignorant of local circumstances in the West Indies.

Major Moody thought the fact before them did not justify the inference of Mr. Dougan, inasmuch as the manioc plants close by them were foul with weeds, thereby showing neglect; and in the next place, Major Moody thought it was necessary to ascertain how many disbanded soldiers were employed in cultivating the portion of ground before them, and what time they devoted to the work. That these circumstances ought to have been ascertained before any judgment could be formed, is so reasonable a proposition, that the mere fact of coming to a conclusion, like that of Mr. Dougan in his state of ignorance, is sufficient to prove there must have been some bias on his mind, from the influence of his belief in some dogma, which prevented the fair exercise of his judgment.

Neither Mr. Dougan, nor Major Moody deemed it necessary officially to investigate all the circumstances of the case at the time, as it was not a question then before them as Commissioners. But when Major Moody afterwards found, that Mr. Dougan had misrepresented the facts of the case to Earl Bathurst, in a Report to which Major Moody's signature was required, he naturally refused to give it, and stated the reasons in pages 117 and 118 of his first Report.

That being done in London, though the circumstances had occurred in Dominica, Major Moody was obliged to apply to three military gentlemen, then in London, but who had once lived on Morne Bruce, near to the grounds of which a part had been cultivated by the disbanded black soldiers. These three military gentlemen, therefore, were the only persons in London, known to him, from whom he could obtain any information, however imperfect, respecting those local particulars, which the Commissioners had not jointly investigated on the spot.

Under such unfavourable circumstances, it must be obvious, that Major Moody, in London, could not specifically point out to these gentlemen the precise portion, or "*patch*" of ground on Morne Bruce, to which Mr. Dougan had referred in the conversation alluded to, and therefore it was impossible in, London, to settle any question

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question relative to the exact extent of the ground, to which reference had been made in a conversation held five years ago, further than to state, that, speaking from memory only, in the opinion of one, the whole of the ground did not probably exceed twenty-five acres, and in the opinion of another, fifteen acres. It must, however, appear very extraordinary that Mr. Dougan never inquired of any military officer, *resident on Morne Bruce*, respecting the agricultural industry of the disbanded black soldiers, and particularly of Dr. Dow, or Lieut. Tulloch, the assistant engineer, who were often in his company; and were in Dominica when he obtained the evidence of other persons, *not one of whom lived on Morne Bruce*:—for example, Mr. Bridgewater, the collector, Mr. Wilson, the harbour-master, Mrs. Anderson, the hotel-keeper, and Mr. Miller, the shop-keeper, all resided in the town. None of these persons however say one word about the disbanded black soldiers receiving an allowance of 5*d.* a day from Government. Four moderately industrious persons could have done all the work attributed to twenty-five or thirty residents, *besides stragglers*, which last word gives an indefinite idea of the number of persons employed in cultivating a particular portion of ground, the extent of which was never ascertained; and yet the industry, or indolence of the labourers must be determined solely by the extent of ground cultivated, the care that is taken of it, and the number of persons employed thereon. Nevertheless, it is from alleged facts of this description, so imperfectly investigated by Mr. Dougan, that inferences are drawn by him, and his friends, respecting the superior value of free over slave labour in West India agriculture, by men both amiable and intelligent on other subjects\*, and who indeed have the power to influence public opinion, and operate on the measures of His Majesty's Government.

Some parts of Mr. Dougan's remarks are unintelligible to Major Moody, and therefore he is unable to afford any satisfactory explanation.

Mr. Dougan quotes Major Moody as saying, "the little patch was ONLY planted in cassada, but was full of weeds: a little further on," says Mr. Dougan, "my colleague remarks, that the weeds injured the cultivated plants; by this we find there must have been other plants besides that of cassada, but the bias on my mind prevented me from seeing the fact before my eyes!"

On reference to page 117 of Major Moody's first Report, it will be observed, that the word "ONLY" is not used by him, but that he merely states that "the little patch of ground was planted in cassada," and that it was "foul with weeds." It is manifest that one plant of cassada could not occupy the whole space, and consequently that there must have been more plants than one cultivated upon it; whilst the weeds making the ground foul showed that there were plants of different kinds, and betrayed the negligence or indolence of the cultivators.

Mr. Dougan, indeed, attributes shortness of sight to Major Moody, as explaining that the cassada cultivation was not foul with weeds, but with "*vines of the sweet potatoe.*" Any person acquainted with West India agriculture knows, that cassada, and sweet potatoes are not planted in the same hole, because the two roots do not ripen at the same time; and therefore the one in an unripe state would be destroyed in digging out the other root. The manioc or cassada generally cultivated in Dominica takes about nine months to arrive at maturity, whilst the potatoe is often produced in less than half the time; and there is scarcely a worse weed, than a certain kind of the vine, which produces the sweet potatoe. It is manifest, therefore, that ignorance alone occasioned such remarks as have been attributed to Mr. Dougan in these posthumous papers.

Mr. Dougan seems to think the question ought to be decided, by determining whether he or Major Moody had the best eye sight; and affords a curious illustration to show the superiority of that of Mr. Dougan, because in examining a figure, Major Moody thought it represented the number 8, whilst another gentlemen, upwards of seventy years of age, agreed with Mr. Dougan that it more resembled the number 3;—from which Mr. Dougan infers, that Major Moody could not distinguish a cassada plant, from a pea-bush at the opposite side of the Horse Guards!!! But as Major Moody generally uses a glass, and did so on the visit to Morne Bruce, a military position which he was looking at for the first time, he contends that he saw the objects before them, better than Mr. Dougan did.

Mr. Dougan says, that Major Moody had described these disbanded soldiers in Dominica as an indolent and drunken race, whilst the Commissioners were in England.

Major Moody has already referred in his former remarks to the conversation which took place in the Wesleyan mission-house, on the subject of the agricultural industry

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\* Major Moody, in the Appendix, marked Y, page 148, has added, in his own defence, some observations on the mode in which the value of free and slave labour in the cultivation of sugar has been investigated by such clever men as Mr. Ward, who was employed by Government in a mission to Mexico, because some of the statements of Mr. Ward were produced by Serjeant Bosanquet and Serjeant Denman before His Majesty's Privy Council for the purpose of showing that Major Moody's evidence, given on oath, was erroneous with regard to Berbice, a British West India colony, whereas Mr. Ward's statements, even though imperfectly made as respects Mexico, tend to confirm Major Moody's evidence in the strongest manner, when fairly examined.

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of the Nottinghams of Tortola prior to 1822, in which a respectable missionary had taken a view of the actual facts somewhat different from that which Mr. Dougan has since taken. Major Moody, after this period, was anxious to investigate *all* facts on this subject on account of their obvious importance, but he always communicated the result of his inquiries to Mr. Dougan, who, on the contrary, always concealed his inquiries from Major Moody, and indeed some of them are only now produced after the death of the inquirer.

The circumstance referred to by Mr. Dougan was this. The comptroller of customs in Dominica, when in London, had stated to Major Moody, that he knew some of the black soldiers, who had been employed to work by themselves, both at taskwork and for daily hire, after they had been disbanded:—that the wages in one case paid by himself were 3s. currency, or about 1s. 10d. sterling per diem, with a cottage and as much land as they pleased to cultivate, together with two drams of rum daily in wet weather; and that they were paid every Saturday night: that in his own case, the people worked two weeks, and then left him. He considered that about twenty-five per cent of the whole died, soon after their release from the control of military discipline. This gentleman, Mr. Laidlaw, certainly considered the general character of the disbanded black soldiers, at that time, to be nearly as Mr. Dougan has stated. It must here be observed, however, that Major Moody never has referred, in his Reports, to Mr. Laidlaw's opinions; because Mr. Dougan and himself *had not jointly investigated the statement on the spot*, which both Mr. Dougan and Major Moody at that time deemed necessary to ascertain the truth of any circumstance mentioned to them. But Mr. Laidlaw being a gentleman of high character for intelligence and honour, his opinions were deemed by Major Moody sufficiently important, to be submitted for Mr. Dougan's perusal, although the Commissioners were still in London, inasmuch as the circumstances mentioned were worthy of farther inquiry.

On reference to No. 442 of the Parliamentary Papers for 1824, it will be seen, in pages 25 and 26, that Mr. Reid, the president of Dominica, recommended that the negroes condemned in the Instance Court of Vice Admiralty, in that island, should be sent away; but he did not speak as to their habits of industry, a point on which Mr. Bridgewater, the collector, and Mr. Gloster, the chief justice, had given such opposite statements, although both parties may be said to have had an interest in representing the liberated Africans as valuable members of society, inasmuch as the greater the number of negroes condemned in Dominica, the larger the sum would be, which would have to be paid to the collector, and to the judge on their condemnation in the courts of Vice Admiralty: to the collector, by the bounties paid to him, and to the judge, by the fees of the court. Major Moody, therefore, prior to the Commissioners making up their joint Report on the Dominica case, (the commission being then sitting in Tortola), wished to ascertain the opinion of President Reid upon the matter, on which the collector and the chief justice had given such opposite opinions. Mr. Dougan declined making the inquiry, and therefore Major Moody could not obtain a *joint* application. The Report on the Dominica case was dated 31st May 1822, (the very day on which the last minute in Mr. M'Lean's case had been made), and twelve days afterwards Mr. Dougan left Tortola for England. When Major Moody showed to Mr. Dougan, on his return from England, the letter which Mr. Reid had sent him, in reply to one he had written as a separate Commissioner, Mr. Dougan objected to it, as not being official evidence; and therefore it was not considered such, by either of them, nor would it now be referred to, notwithstanding the high official situation of Mr. Reid, as administering the government, had not Mr. Dougan here introduced some evidence from Mr. Bridgewater, the collector, which does not appear even to have been given in writing to Mr. Dougan, nor in the presence of both Commissioners, although such evidence alone, at that time, was deemed official by Mr. Dougan. Mr. Reid wrote thus: "In regard to the fugitive Africans under charge of Mr. Bridgewater, I must candidly say, that my opinion of their conduct and character is widely different from his. For some time after their arrival here, they were allowed to be at large on the country, without being under any discipline or control whatever; and their conduct, so far from being orderly or subordinate, was considered a very great nuisance. Afterwards they were employed in carrying materials to build a house for Mr. Bridgewater, but since it has been finished, they have again relapsed into their former habits, being without sufficient check or control. I frequently see them drunk in the streets, quarrelling among themselves and with other negroes. They are in the habit of visiting estates in the neighbourhood of the town, on some of which they have wives among the gangs, (not married wives), and in several instances their conduct has been extremely violent and outrageous, for which they would have been prosecuted, but unfortunately our laws do not reach them from their nondescript character. On an estate, partly under my charge, belonging to Sir George H. Rose, and others, one of these persons was in the habit of visiting one of the women, and in these visits was frequently accompanied by one of his countrymen. On these occasions they often got into quarrels and fights with the other negro men belonging to the estate, creating so much disturbance on the property, that the manager was obliged to interfere for the protection of his own people. He endeavoured

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“ deavoured to lay hold of them, when one of them menaced him with his cutlass before the gang, telling the manager, that as he belonged to the King, he would act as he pleased, and visit the estate when he liked, without the permission of the manager.”

On the subject of disbanded black soldiers, Mr. Reid wrote thus: “ A friend of mine, now by me, some years ago purchased a plantation in the neighbourhood of Prince Ruperts, where there was at the time a great number of disbanded black soldiers. He prevailed on eight or ten of them to clear some ground, and paid them weekly 3s. per day, and half a pint of rum to each man, with permission to build cottages and cultivate as much ground as they wished to work, for their own benefit. They all left him at the end of a few weeks, although they worked entirely by themselves, and they never would return, alleging that they had no occasion to work; yet these men were seemingly in distress, and I believe the majority of them died. “ Mr. Hill or Mr. Archer can give you the returns of the deaths among these disbanded black soldiers: it is, I understand, frightful.”

This was written in 1822, and in the present year Mr. Bremner, now in England one of the most intelligent gentlemen in Dominica, thus answered some inquiries which Major Moody made of him. “ In my rides through the provision grounds occupied by the disbanded soldiers, which lie along the sides of the road to Morne Bruce, I have seldom observed any thing which appeared to me to deserve the name of cultivation; detached patches of ground here and there, some having the earth just scratched, some half abandoned and lying in weeds, and in all the most complete marks of slovenliness met my eye; and it was very seldom I ever observed any of the people at work. To form any correct idea of the extent of land occupied in such scattered and desultory culture on a hilly and broken surface is impossible, without measurement had been taken there.

“ It would be a novel mode to plant sweet potatoes among cassada. The latter requires to be kept carefully weeded, and never would thrive near such a neighbour; besides it requires nine months to arrive at maturity, whilst the potatoe requires much less time, and it is very troublesome to extirpate it as a weed, where it has been once planted.

“ As to the general character of these disbanded black soldiers, as far as it has come to my knowledge, it is that of idle, thievish and disorderly. The proprietors of the estates adjoining the habitations of these people look upon them as mischievous and troublesome neighbours, and would give not a little to be relieved from such a pest.

“ One instance of their industry will serve as a specimen. I was at one time induced to rent to one of them a piece of ground for a period of years on condition of his planting every year a stated portion in coffee, and taking proper care of it, paying me a trifling rent, he having a residence upon it. I soon found, however, that he was neglecting the land, being scarcely ever at home, and breaking the contract. In short I was heartily glad to get rid of him on any conditions. He never paid me any rent.”

It will be immediately seen, that either Mr. Dougan or Major Moody must have been grossly deceived as to the character of these people for *steady industry*. The provisions brought to market proved only that such articles were brought to market for sale by the disbanded soldiers, as well as by plantation slaves; who sometimes sold their surplus produce on their own account, and sometimes on account of others, and the labour of a few days in the year was sufficient in good seasons to produce such excess. Both slaves and free blacks produce food in excess for sale; but as the free people do not, with the command of all their time, produce more than the slave does in a small portion of time, the obvious inference is, that the free negro must spend much of his time in indolence, or otherwise he might be much richer. He is, however, satisfied with the little he has, and will not cultivate the soil for wages to become richer. Such inquiries as would prove, or disprove this point, *can only be made on the spot by persons acquainted with labour in West India agriculture*, and this was what Major Moody wished to have been done *jointly* by the Commissioners, *on every occasion*, but Mr. Dougan preferred conducting his inquiries *privately*, and concealing them from Major Moody, even when they were daily together in the same office. Either Mr. Dougan or Major Moody therefore must have attempted to deceive Earl Bathurst. Major Moody leaves it to any impartial person to determine which of the two it was, —Mr. Dougan, who voluntarily gave in his Report; or Major Moody, who refused to sign it, on account of the alleged misrepresentation of the truth contained therein.

Mr. Dougan again urges the fact of the poor free blacks not receiving parish relief, whilst it is given to the whites, as a proof of the great industry of the free blacks; and that the fact of their not begging in Tortola, is not contradicted by the personal experience of Major Moody to the contrary, because Mr. Dougan is pleased to assume, that it was only *in one instance*, which he gives, that Major Moody ever attended to the application of free people as beggars. Major Moody has only to repeat that his personal experience was not so limited as Mr. Dougan is pleased to assume. It may easily be conceived why Major Moody here confines himself merely to a denial. In a country where the means of moderate subsistence is so easily obtained by those who have a black skin, which enables them to endure labour in the sun, Major

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Moody still must be permitted to think, that there ought to be no beggars among those able to work, from the facility of getting land, and the abundance of fish and salt, which can be obtained by such little exertion, as that of merely applying to their own use, *the unappropriated bounties of nature*, cutting firewood, &c. &c. For these articles there is a demand, limited indeed to the small Danish colonies in the neighbourhood, to which they resort in open boats, without caring for the custom-house officers. Of the abundance of fish, Mr. Dougan himself gives an instance which must show, that, in a country where salt is found, and the sun is hot enough to dry the fish, there can be no want of that kind of food; indeed, it forms no small part of the allowance given to slaves in Tortola, and is sold among the neighbouring foreign colonists, who find it more profitable to employ their slaves in the cultivation of sugar, and cotton, than in catching fish, or in cutting firewood. Major Moody entirely agrees with Mr. Dougan in his opinion of the wretched situation of the poor whites, who, from physical causes connected with the colour of the skin, and the effect of solar light and heat upon the human frame, are unable to subsist in the low lands of the torrid zone by cultivating the soil. The subject is extremely curious to a philosophical observer of mankind, who may deem it necessary to estimate the effect of physical, as well as of moral causes in all those combinations of circumstances, which influence the progressive advancement, or decline of countries in wealth, power, and social happiness. Major Moody is quite ready to enter upon the subject, should His Majesty's Government deem it necessary, but at present he has only to correct the careless assertions, contained in these posthumous papers.

Mr. Dougan is pleased to give an account of Virgin Gorda, one of the Virgin Islands, forming part of the Government of Tortola. His facts are not however stated correctly. When speaking of the inhabitants, Mr. Dougan says: "they had *ceased to cultivate the soil, for it yielded nothing.*" Major Moody visited every part of Virgin Gorda, and carefully collected information relative to its statistics, which was seen by Mr. Dougan, and is given in pages 110 and 111 of Major Moody's second Report, under the name of Spanish Town, such being the appellation by which Virgin Gorda is commonly known on the spot.

The result, when compared with the observations of others, was as follows: Virgin Gorda, or Spanish Town, in the year 1823, (when Mr. Dougan is pleased to say the inhabitants had "ceased to cultivate the soil," and when "it yielded *nothing,*") had 115 acres of land in cotton, which on an average yielded about 14,000 lbs. weight. It had 200 acres in provisions, and 6,560 in pasture, on which black cattle and sheep were raised, and fattened for sale in the Danish islands chiefly. There were 27 horses, 3 asses, 270 horned cattle, 1,500 sheep, 180 goats, 200 pigs, besides a large quantity of poultry; and according to an estimate made with as much care as circumstances would admit, it appeared that 280,000 lbs. of fish were annually caught, and the greatest part sold. The quantity indeed had latterly increased, from the free people chiefly adopting this mode of obtaining their subsistence. The number of inhabitants at that time was not less than 98 whites, 221 free black and coloured, and 435 slaves. These statistical details for the period alluded to, afford the best answer to the assertions made in the posthumous papers.

Mr. Dougan is pleased to assert, that "the *ONLY* attempt Major Moody has made to show a bias on his (Mr. Dougan's) mind, he (Major Moody) has partially recorded (vol. 2, p. 103.) in the case of Harry Belisario, a carpenter, one of "the most intelligent and industrious of the African apprentices." Major Moody agrees with Mr. Dougan that Harry Belisario was the most intelligent of the Africans, and had a fair character for industry, as an apprentice under coercion. But both Mr. Dougan and Major Moody, when in Tortola, considered that Nelson, a mason, who had been indented to Mr. Sheen, and who had served his apprenticeship on a sugar plantation, was not only the most industrious, but the most wealthy, according to his own account, of all the Africans. But so far from the solitary case mentioned by Mr. Dougan from being the "*ONLY* attempt" made by Major Moody to show a bias on the mind of Mr. Dougan, Major Moody, among other instances, begs to refer, to where Mr. Dougan had stated Hull to be the owner, and the occupier of a house of his own, as being one of the reasons which prevented him from going to Trinidad. *Now as Hull at that time had no house, and even now does not appear to have one of his own, and never having assigned such a reason, and Mr. Dougan being too pious a man knowingly to assert that which was not true, Major Moody gave that particular fact as well as others relative to Hull, to show the operation of a bias on Mr. Dougan's mind; since nothing but a bias could account for the existence of such assertions utterly unfounded in truth*—for Major Moody could not fairly impute moral guilt to Mr. Dougan, from the excellence of Mr. Dougan's moral character, and conduct in matters, where this bias was not called into action. The misrepresentation of the truth by Mr. Dougan respecting John Charles Dégagé, Christiana Wheatly, &c. &c. are all referable to the same state of Mr. Dougan's mind.

Mr. Dougan himself, however, having selected this case of Harry Belisario as one wherein he had not shown any bias on his mind, Major Moody now only feels himself obliged to support the correctness of his assertion in that particular case.

*Major Moody's Explanations.*

In page 103 of Major Moody's first Report, as referred to by Mr. Dougan, it will be found on evidence there quoted, that although Harry was a good apprentice in many respects, yet both Mr. Dougan, and Major Moody agreed in recording it, as their joint opinion, in page 241 of the Tortola Schedules, "that Harry has been well treated, clothed and fed by his master; although he appears to be an industrious deserving man, yet he does not possess a grateful feeling for great services rendered by his master." Such is stated in the Schedules to have been the opinion of both Commissioners, when in Tortola, with respect to Harry Belisario's conduct towards his master. Some time after that record was made, Harry was again brought before Mr. Dougan and Major Moody, in their characters of justices of the peace, on a charge made by the master, contained in his letter of the 31st October 1822, viz. "for neglect of duty and very insolent conduct towards Mr. Depinna, the gentleman under whose immediate charge all Mr. Belisario's African apprentices have for some time been placed." But in these posthumous papers, Mr. Dougan is made to say that "during his master's absence for one day, his overseer Mr. Depinna was left in charge of matters, &c." Now Mr. Dougan knew that the very words of the charge by the master himself was contrary to the meaning which Mr. Dougan wishes to be believed from these words of his. Mr. Dougan also knew, that at the time when Harry was examined before them, as Commissioners, and when as such they had declared Harry to have been "well treated, clothed and fed by his master," that Mr. Depinna was the person in charge of these apprentices. Indeed the very public duties, which Mr. Belisario had to fulfil in the colony, rendered it impossible for him to attend to his apprentices employed in breaking up hulks of wrecks, and repairing his houses in town. Mr. Depinna, although designated by Mr. Dougan as a "jew boy," was upwards of 23 years of age; whether he was a gentleman, or not, his father had moved in the society of gentlemen previous to his failure as a merchant, and he certainly had given his son a liberal education: his use of oaths in his evidence, as being those he had used in his conversation, was certainly highly culpable, but it may be doubted whether they ought to affect the credibility of his evidence, so as to render it unworthy of belief.

On Mr. Belisario giving in his charge against his apprentice to Mr. Dougan and Major Moody, as justices of the peace, a day was appointed for trying the cause. When however it arrived, Mr. Dougan, instead of adopting the ordinary forms of English law, would not allow the accuser and the accused to be together before the magistrates, nor permit either party to hear the evidence of witnesses, and consequently prevented any cross examination on their part, by putting questions to the witnesses. Such measures were adopted, as being strictly conformable to the new instructions from Earl Bathurst in the opinion of Mr. Dougan, whereas Major Moody contended, that these instructions of Earl Bathurst never were intended to govern their proceedings, as justices of the peace, because it was contrary to the laws of the colony. As there were only two Commissioners, Major Moody, as on other occasions, was obliged to let Mr. Dougan have his own way, merely taking care to have recorded the extraordinary mode of proceeding in the Minutes of the commission.

Mr. Belisario was called upon, to give a list of his witnesses, which he did, and personally gave his own evidence. Harry on being asked for his witnesses, that they might be summoned, said he had none to produce. But as it was understood afterwards, that a black man was in the room of Harry, when Mr. Depinna entered it, the examination of witnesses was closed on the 5th November 1822, on the part of the prosecutor, whilst Harry's evidence, in defence, was not required till the 19th November 1822, in order to give him time to get the black man to appear before the justices of the peace.

The place of trial was, as on other occasions, the dining-room of the collector of the customs, the respective witnesses sitting in the office until called in. Of the different witnesses, Mr. Dougan only gives the evidences of Mr. Belisario, Mr. Depinna, and that of Harry himself. There were however other witnesses; for example, in the evidence of Harry, as given by Mr. Dougan himself, reference is made to what Harry had said to Mr. Clotworthy, who was unconnected with either party, farther than that Harry's cottage was near to Mr. Clotworthy's house. Mr. Clotworthy in his evidence stated, that he had heard a great noise in Harry's house; and that soon afterwards Harry had called on him, "acknowledging that he had acted wrong, and wished Mr. Clotworthy to intercede with Mr. Depinna for him, and such being a circumstance much in favour of Harry, he had intended to have complied with his request; but soon afterwards he learned that the matter was to be taken before Mr. Dougan and Major Moody as justices of the peace. Indeed the whole matter of complaint appeared to Major Moody only of importance, in convincing all parties, who might deem it their duty to apply to Mr. Dougan and Major Moody, as magistrates, that justice would be legally, fairly, and impartially administered. Having failed in persuading Mr. Dougan to act in the usual mode of administering justice, in point of form of proceeding, Major Moody left the matter entirely to Mr. Dougan, confining himself to asking a question now and then of the evidence, when Mr. Dougan appeared to have omitted some important point.

Mr. Dougan indeed says: "after having heard the complaint made by Mr. Depinna,  
" and

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"and he had retired, and when Harry was called in to answer to the charge, five hours having elapsed in examining previous parties, who were standing all the time; above all, being thoroughly convinced by the testimony of the accusing party only, that the apprentice Harry needed no defence, I did desire Harry on his entrance to take a back seat, which had been occupied by Mr. Depinna, and which Harry with diffidence declined." Now as Mr. Depinna was examined on the 5th November 1822, and the evidence in defence stated and recorded in the minutes, were not given by Harry till the 19th November 1822, which dates are suppressed in the posthumous papers, it is manifest that the assertions made by Mr. Dougan to justify his mode of proceeding are contrary to the truth. For as Harry was not called in, until Mr. Depinna had retired, even according to Mr. Dougan, they could not both have been before the magistrates together; and as Mr. Depinna was examined on the 5th, and Harry was only examined on the 19th November, instead of standing five hours he must have been standing fourteen days. But as he was "called in" from the Custom House Office, when he did attend, the fact was, no time had elapsed on the day Harry was examined, as he was the first witness, and all he had to say did not take up fifteen minutes; and as the examination took place in the collector's dining-room, there were no back seats on which Mr. Depinna, or any body else, had sat a fortnight before. Yet it was immediately on the accused Harry entering the room, that Mr. Dougan drew a chair to the table, and asked the apprentice to sit down at it, with the magistrates, the collector and secretary, and give his evidence, although he was the defendant.

Major Moody made no remark at the time, attributing it merely to absence of mind. But as other persons were in the room, on Mr. Dougan retiring for a short time, Major Moody was requested to put Mr. Dougan on his guard in thus showing an apparent contempt for the ordinary rules of society in cases where apprentices were tried, whether innocent or guilty, on charges imputing to them insolence of conduct, and neglect of duty; for it was alleged it would be impossible afterwards to prevent the apprentice who had been asked to take a chair at the same table with the magistrates, from believing that he could have support from them in opposing his master. It was not however till next day, the 20th November 1822, that Major Moody drew Mr. Dougan's attention to the circumstance, stating the difference between his conduct on the occasion of Harry, and those other occasions, wherein both Mr. Dougan and Major Moody had helped to seats African apprentices appearing before them, merely as Commissioners, to be examined as to their state and condition; as some of the apprentices under these circumstances had appeared in weak health, or with a child in their arms, Mr. Dougan however defended his conduct, and seemed to consider that the only error he had committed was in forgetting that the face of Harry was black. He contended, in justification, that he considered Harry to be innocent before he opened his mouth, and yet he thought Harry might be long on his legs defending himself against the charges preferred by Mr. Belisario. Major Moody tried to bring Mr. Dougan to a more correct way of thinking, by entering on the Minutes as follows: "*The colour of Harry's skin has nothing to do with the business*; for if an apprentice in England should have been in similar circumstances, Major Moody believes that a person in Harry's situation would not have been asked by the magistrates to take a chair, and sit down to give his evidence. Major Moody is positive it would not have taken place with the son of the first nobleman in England in a military court, where it is not more necessary to respect the forms of society, and rules of observing due subordination, than in a small West India Colony, where the system of government, laws and institutions, having been sanctioned by His Majesty, ought not to be contravened by persons placed in a situation like that of the Commissioners to inquire into the state of captured Africans."

This is the case, which, in the opinion of the Edinburgh Reviewer, justifies his holding up to contempt and ridicule the conduct of Major Moody. He has, however, carefully reconsidered his conduct on that occasion, and as he cannot discover the fallacy in the reasoning which influenced his conduct on the occasion, so he must still think that Mr. Dougan's conduct, when deliberately attempted to be justified by assertions like those used, did show that there was some bias operating on the mind of Mr. Dougan, which led astray that good judgment which he manifested on other occasions in life.

Mr. Dougan having been pleased to impute it to Major Moody as something like a crime, or at least an inconsistency, for his sitting at table, and in company with coloured persons, Major Moody reluctantly is obliged to give explanations, not to justify himself, for he thinks none necessary, but to show that there was no analogy whatever between Major Moody's conduct, and that of Mr. Dougan. The persons with whom Major Moody sat at table were amiable, intelligent people, who had been well educated in Europe, wherein they associated, and do now associate with his own family, and those in situations of life even higher than he ever expects to attain. They were persons of correct, moral conduct, respectably married, and their father had placed properties belonging to them and him, under Major Moody's direction, nearly equal to half a million of pounds sterling.

With respect to the other parent of these children, the same circumstances, which



*Mr. Dougan's Remarks.*

*Major Moody's Explanations.*

in London would have influenced Major Moody's conduct, guided him in the West Indies. Any impartial person must perceive that there was no analogy between the cases to which Mr. Dougan has been pleased to refer; which has no apparent object except to wound the feelings of amiable persons living in England, and who cannot help the circumstances under which they were born.

In reply I have to remark the reason why I introduced into my Report remarks on the industry of the free black and coloured persons at Tortola, and in the other West India islands, was in some measure occasioned by certain expressions contained in the petition of the Council and Assembly of the Virgin Islands to His Majesty, stating that "when the indentures of the African apprentices should expire, the community would be inundated and *oppressed by a species of population already too numerous in the present state of the colony*; that they would not apply themselves to agricultural purposes, as *experience warranted an opposite direction*. Few would then apply their labour, as *they prefer a precarious subsistence, obtained by casual employment*, to that regular industry which is requisite for the *cultivation of the soil*." (See page 32.)

It was for the purpose of removing the effect of these wrong allegations against the free people of colour, made by the Council and Assembly of Tortola, operating to the disadvantage of the apprenticed Africans, that I introduced, not only my own opinions and long knowledge of the industry of the free persons of colour in the West Indies generally, but also produced certain facts of wealth and industry in the very island where the legislature deemed them already *too numerous*. The facts were these:—that of a parish tax in the Island of Tortola, amounting in the whole to 1,770 *l.*, the free people of colour paid 501 *l.* 18 *s.* 6 *d.* of it; and that during a period of 30 years which I had known the island, not a single free black or coloured person had received parish assistance; whilst the whites annually became a heavy burthen on the parish list for public support.

Now, my Lord, these are *facts*; but my colleague says that when the *real facts* are fairly stated, my *assertions* will prove incorrect.

He has offered none, neither has he denied those very important ones which I have just alluded to; but it seems he warmly combats and differs in opinion with me as to all facts of the case of the disbanded black soldiers at Dominique.

My colleague truly concludes himself to be the person whose opinion did not coincide with mine, as to the cultivation  
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of land near Roseau by these persons. He says that he remembers perfectly well, in riding up to Morne Bruce, a *small patch of ground* was planted in cassada; that he remarked how *foul with pith weeds* was the *little patch of ground*, as *proving how much it was neglected*; and that it appeared to him three or four men in a day could put *all the little patch in complete order*, as to weeding.

He further adds the words, "yet with the perfect ignorance of how much ground was cultivated, how many persons were employed, and how long they had worked on the patch of ground before him at that moment full of weeds, injuring the *cultivated plants*." Does my colleague feel himself justified formally to assure your Lordship, "That the proofs of industry were too evident for him to be mistaken?" Major Moody concludes his remarks thus, "That the *bias on the mind of my colleague* here quite deprived him of the use of his judgment in a fact *before his eyes*; and he has carefully avoided giving any details upon the subject."

Let me entreat your Lordship to listen to a plain unvarnished recital, in reply to this story.

The *little patch of ground in possession*, but not cultivated by the black soldiers, proves, by a note of my colleague's in the same page, 117, to have been 20 to 25 acres, according to Lieutenant Wyott and Assistant-Surgeon Martin, and that the black disbanded soldiers connected with the cultivation of it were from 25 to 30 residents, *besides stragglers*; and Lieut. Brundeth, an engineer, has a distinct recollection of the features of the hill, and thinks it does not exceed 15 acres. By either computation, this little patch of ground has actually increased from a little patch to 15 or 20 acres of ground! So far as to one material *feature* of this case, its *magnitude*. The next is, that the little patch was only planted in *cassada*, but was full of weeds; a little further on my colleague remarks that the weeds injured the *cultivated plants*. By this we find there must have been other *plants* besides that of cassada, but the bias on my mind prevented me from seeing the *fact* before my eyes!

Again, I feel confident of setting this part of the case *in its true light*, for the truth must depend upon which had the best eye sight at the time, my colleague or myself; and as the first difference of

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opinion about the goodness of our vision had been formally decided in my favour by Mr. Grigg, (to whom my colleague himself referred for a judgment,) in regard to the formation of a figure, supposed to be a forgery, whether it was a 3 or an 8, when Mr. Grigg decided as I did, that it was a 3. (See page 95.) I have thus a fact on record of the goodness of my own eyesight. My colleague, I trust, will permit me to remark, that he is very nearsighted, and that if a piece of cassada could by any possibility be placed on the opposite side of the Horse Guards, and he were to look at it from thence, I venture to assert that he could not tell a cassada plant from a pea bush, and whether that which grew at the feet of the plants were actually weeds or potatoe vines.

Here then is the true developement; those things which he had looked at with imperfect vision, (for part of the grounds were close to the road,) and what he thought were *weeds*, actually were *vines of the sweet potatoe*, running at the foot of the cassada plant. It also appears that he only discovered the cassada plant, whereas, besides the potatoe vine, I saw plants of the *sugar cane*, *cero pease*, and *other articles*; and instead of a small patet of ground in cultivation, I saw *a great part of the side of the hill*, about *twenty acres in cultivation*. I certainly felt gratified to see such proofs of industry in the black soldiers; and observed that these persons could not be the indolent drunken race my colleague had heard of, and had described to me whilst in England, before our departure, as lazy and drunken creatures.

My colleague accuses me of carefully avoiding giving details on this subject. Considering that the Commissioners only remained a few days in this island, during which they had to inquire and report upon a special point which fully occupied all their time, I cannot accuse myself of indolence or inattention in making further inquiries as to the disbanded soldiers; for my colleague is not aware that I really saw "the little patch of ground" when he was not present; and that I obtained verbal information from several persons in Rosean Dominique, which I did not specify in my Report, not wishing to encumber it with details of information which I am now persuaded my colleague would have objected to, as not being obtained in the regular way. It is not too late to do so, and I give the substance of my information now, merely to show the correctness

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correctness of the information afforded as to the industry of the black disbanded soldiers.

Disbanded Black Soldiers at  
Dominique.

THE Collector of His Majesty's Customs said these black soldiers were very industrious, and cultivated their grounds. When first landed, and unprovided with grounds, several committed excesses in drink; it did not now exist to his knowledge.

Mr. Wilson, harbour-master, knew them; they were an industrious set of people, worked well, and were thriving.

Mrs. Henderson, who kept the hotel, says, she saw them go to market every Sunday. They were very industrious, and brought supplies of victuals to Rosean market regularly. At first some few of them got tipsy, and lay under the galleries, but they had no houses or grounds then; at present there was no such thing. They were very industrious, and she only knew of one man given to drink, who was also a hard working man.

Mr. Miller, who kept a retail shop in the market place of Rosean, saw these people come to market every Sunday with a variety of provisions for sale. He knew most of them, they were a hard working set. One stout man only was addicted to excessive drinking; but he was a hard working man, and only occasionally got drunk; the rest were sober and industrious. They steadily cultivated the Government grounds near Home Bruce. Much more industrious than free creole blacks and mulattoes, and by no means so much addicted to litigation and squabbles with each other.

My assertions of the industry of these disbanded soldiers I confidently repeat have not been incorrect. The comparative improving state of the free people of colour at Tortola, and poverty and distress of the white settlers, my colleague has not attempted to deny; asserting only (page 116), "I have great pleasure in adding, as far as I know, my testimony to the general moral good conduct of the free black and coloured people of Tortola, but I regret that I am unable to confirm all the details given by my colleague. As to beggars of that class, *I speak from personal experience, that they do beg, although they are not importunate.*"

It so happens that I am acquainted with one of the instances of the personal experience of my colleague, in a donation

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to a free person; but the fact ought to speak for itself, the case was this: a mulatto female, the slave of Mrs. Slaney, a free person of colour, from motives of kindness of the mistress had been for some time permitted by her mistress to go in search of means to pay a moderate sum for her freedom, as the mistress could not afford to liberate her slave without. This mulatto female slave was a feeble woman, she bore an excellent character, and was one of the teachers in the school established by the Missionaries.

Among others this woman applied to my colleague, who readily furnished two dollars for the specific purpose of purchasing her freedom. This poor creature, though apparently a free person, was actually a slave at the time, for the purchase money had not been paid.

The other story related by my colleague (p. 16), of the miraculous draught of fishes (sprats) taken by an idle free black fisherman, at his instigation, and the moderate charge the idle fisherman made for them; as also another fortunate taking of fishes in the North Sound at Virgin Gorda, where my colleague went to visit an old *Charaile military* position, where six men with only one hook and line caught so many fish, that with coneys and crabs, there were in less than four hours about four pounds weight of *good food provided for each person in the boat*; and that *in such a country there ought to be no beggars!*

Truly, my Lord, I cannot permit such delusions to pass unnoticed, notwithstanding the solemn denunciations (in pages 76, 90 and 98) so frequently made by my colleague against himself if he intended to deceive; and without adopting his words (p. 98), "I dare not deceive your Lordship." *I must say, and that most truly, that this is altogether deception.*

This county of Virgin Gorda, this paradise, in which there ought to be no beggars, is not a paradise, and man cannot exist there by his labour; it is the most hilly and barren spot of any I know in the West Indies, and being the most eastern of the Virgin Islands, is seldom visited with rain; the little level land which exists is filled with mangrove and stagnate swamps.

The hardest race of whites in the Antilles resided there, but solely for the purpose of visiting vessels wrecked on the Anegada—shoals close to the north sound—and they lived chiefly by this plunder. When these dangerous shoals were better known to navigators, and wrecks

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wrecks were fewer, these people were left in a state of great distress : they had ceased to cultivate the soil, for it yielded nothing ; they tried fishing, but this was precarious, and on a small scale, and the price they obtained for turtle, the best of fish, was only  $4\frac{1}{2}d.$  per pound ; the turtle they had to take a great distance, about thirty leagues, to obtain a sale for it, so that it took them four or five days before they could again go to their homes. The natural result of persons settled in this sterile place is, that I do not think one white man of this hardy active race has remained there ; George, the last of them, I saw at Tortola, in a wretched plight.

It is deceptive to a degree to say, that in such a country there ought to be no beggars ; the reverse is the truth ; in such a country there must be beggars, if there be any to beg of.

In most unfrequented waters, where the fish are not disturbed, they are occasionally to be taken in abundance ; a single king-fish, or barrow coota, would give four pounds of fish a-piece to each of my colleague's party ; but this is no proof why there should be no beggars or poor people in the north sound of Spanish Town.

Were I disposed to amuse your Lordship with a miraculous taking of fishes, I might mention one, I think, in 1807, during the time Admiral Sir Alexander Cockrane was waiting at Tortola for orders, to capture the Danish Islands : the admiral accompanied me in a small schooner to one of those unfrequented bays, at the east end of Tortola ; a seine was taken from the Belle Isle, and eight or ten men ; in two hauls or casts of the seine, which occupied us many hours, we literally caught a boat load of fish, feasting therewith twenty to thirty people, and yielding I am confident upwards of twenty pounds to each person ; and yet, my Lord, had I told your Lordship, "*in such a country there ought to be no beggars,*" I should have greatly deceived you, for like the east end of Spanish Town, the east end of Tortola was then, and now is, a poor deserted country.

In regard to the bias on my mind, with which I have been so frequently charged, in at least half a dozen parts of my colleague's Report, I beg to remark, that this is no novel mode of attack against persons who feel an interest for the African race, it has become quite thread-bare from its frequent use by a certain class of people.

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The charges of bias on the mind, zeal, enthusiasm, fanaticism, nay lunacy, have been frequently applied by writers and reporters like my colleague to the best informed men, who have for a long period calmly and perseveringly endeavoured to do justice to the African race and their descendants.

The frequency of my colleague's charge of a bias on my mind, no more verifies the accusation against me than the repeated denunciations against himself; if he be found attempting to deceive, your Lordship should perfectly absolve him from all imputation.

The only attempt my colleague has made to show a bias on my mind he has partially rescinded (vol. 2, p. 103), in the case of Henry Belisario, a carpenter, one of the most intelligent and industrious of the African apprentices. Mr. Belisario, his master, gave the following character of this man, at the time he was produced: "He has been constant at his work, never had reason to complain of him; is industrious; has been six years at the carpenter's trade, and may be accounted a second rate carpenter; if his time was out, would give such a man eight dollars per month, and would give him a preference."

It appears, that during the master's absence for one day, his overseer, Mr. De Pinna, was left in charge of matters; Harry, the head carpenter, waited upon Mr. De Pinna, to receive some customary allowance made by the master to the apprentices: he was obliged to wait until Mr. De Pinna had breakfasted, which detained him some time, and was desired by him to call again at ten o'clock; this delay occasioned Harry's own breakfast to be behind-hand, as he at that time had no one to cook it for him, as *Mr. De Pinna had that morning removed the boy appointed to get his breakfast*; but the true character of the parties will best appear by the accusation of the overseer, and the defence of the apprentice:—

Mr. Aaron De Pinna, who has the direction of Mr. Belisario's African apprentices, stated, that on Wednesday, 30th October, he went to Mr. Snow's, a place where the Africans were at work, and asked where Harry the head carpenter was; was told by the five apprentices who were present, that Harry had not come from breakfast yet; he told them that, by heavens, he would not put up with Harry's conduct any more; he

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he took out his watch, saying that it was half past ten, and Harry was not come to his work; in consequence of which, he went to the house where Harry lives, and saw him in his house at breakfast, with another black man; he said, Harry it is now half past ten, and you are not come to your work; he answered, that he had left a boy named Friday, one of the apprentices to provide his breakfast, and you (meaning Mr. De Pinna) came and took him away from doing so; he asked him how the other Africans did; he said, they had all their wives; he asked him, why he illtreated his wife, by beating her so unmercifully as he had done last Sunday. Harry asked, if Mr. De Pinna's (a kept mulatto woman) had done as his had done, if he would not have done the same as he, Harry, had done.

HE SIMPLY SAID, BY GOD you shall not stay from your work after ten o'clock: to which he asked Mr. De Pinna, if he had not that morning drawn his chair to his, Mr. De Pinna's, breakfast table; Mr. De Pinna got *rather aggravated* at such a question, and told Harry that he was an *impertinent son of a bitch*, and he would know what to do with him. During that discourse, Harry was sitting down, just with his thumbs holding his braces, near his breasts, and reeling back on the *chair* in which he sat at breakfast, this he did with an air of indifference; after that expression or abuse of Mr. De Pinna, Harry rose from his attitude described, and came to the door and asked Mr. De Pinna, "Do you think that you can come into my house, and strike me as you have done another of the people?" (meaning one of the apprentices) "you are mistaken;" to which Mr. De Pinna replied, "Your master is not here, but *I'll be damn'd if I don't get satisfaction from him.*" He, in a careless manner threw out his arms and said, "he did not care, nobody could do any thing with him; let him cut my throat." He desired him not to go to work until his master returned, who was at that time at Normans Island; he answered, saying, "I don't care, *I'm damned* if I don't go to the wak," meaning he would go to the work. Mr. De Pinna quitted Harry's house, and returned to Mr. Snow's, where the apprentices were at work, and gave further orders for the work of the day; but remained at Mr. Snow's with the people at work at least ten minutes before Harry came there to his work.

The whole of this discourse was re-

*Major Moody's Explanations.*



*Mr. Dougan's Remarks.*

*Major Moody's Explanations.*

lated that very day by Mr. De Pinna, in presence of two free women, whose names he cannot now recollect, but will give them in if necessary; and he related the whole of the transaction the next morning to Mr. Belisario, who told him that he had behaved like a good boy, and that he would see him satisfied, better than could be done by himself, saying at the same time, that he intended to refer the whole business before the Commissioners of Inquiry. That Harry's conduct as yet has had *no effect* upon the other apprentices, but would, if no notice was taken of it by Mr. De Pinna; that the apprentices were not present when Harry made use of the *abusive language* already stated, therefore the transaction could have no effect on them. Since Frederick (an apprentice mentioned in Mr. Belisario's letter) went to St. Thomas, Harry's conduct had been totally changed; that on the 26th October he went to the place of work at Mr. Snow's about half past eleven o'clock, and asked Harry what work had been done; he replied, "I don't know what to do, I am always working, and still Mr. De Pinna says there has been nothing done; then better send me about my business; there is the boards Mr. De Pinna is looking after, to prevent being stolen; people can't eat boards."

That on the 24th October, about a quarter to four, he went to dismiss the apprentices from work, and ordered Harry to measure the different pieces of board at the place of work, and measured several pieces, on which he asked Harry if those were all the pieces? He said, yes. On casting his eye round the room Mr. De Pinna saw two pieces of board behind a door blind, and asked him, what do these two pieces measure? on which he *seemed confused*, and said, *he did not know they were there*. Mr. De Pinna measured these two pieces, in addition to the account which Harry had given him, and found them of five feet in length. Mr. De Pinna HAS REASON TO BELIEVE *that all the carpenters*, and the other male apprentices, (except Stephen and George,) were in the habit, more or less, of taking or stealing boards, and other materials, which can be PROVED by several inhabitants of this island, *as well as by himself*.

That he has found PIECES OF BOARD *in Harry's possession*, which were missing from the work, and were not by any right in HARRY'S POSSESSION; that among others was a whole *Albany board*.

Mr.

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Custom House, 19th Nov. 1822.

Mr. Belisario was asked if he had afforded all the information he was desirous of communicating on the subject of his letter, 31st October 1822? He replied that he had done so.

Mr. Belisario corrected an error in his evidence, that instead of the conduct of *Harry* had induced his apprentices to behave ill, it should be, the conduct of Frederick.

Mr. Dougan asked Mr. Belisario if he ever had reason to know that Harry had committed a theft whilst in his service; he replied, that of his own knowledge he cannot bring home a charge against Harry; but he has more than once been cautioned by neighbours to have a strict eye over him, as they believed he was guilty of stealing Mr. Belisario's *lumber and nails*. Mr. Belisario, however, has never discovered any loss of those articles which he could attribute to *Harry*, and really believes the parties giving the information may have been mistaken.

Major Moody asked if *the gentleman* under whose care and charge he has placed his African apprentices ever reported to him that he had found pieces of board in *Harry's possession*, which were missing from the works, and were not with Harry by any right, amongst others, a whole Albany board; Mr. B. answered that no such report AS ABOVE STATED was made to him by Mr. De Pinna, the person under whose charge his apprentices are placed; but that Mr. De Pinna lately informed Mr. B. that, on putting up work one day, he demanded an account from Harry of the *pieces of board cut into certain lengths*, which Harry collected and delivered to him; that on Mr. De Pinna's being about to quit the place, he discovered two pieces of board, of about four or five feet in length, concealed by a window-blind; that *Mr. De Pinna* was NOT ABLE TO ASCERTAIN BY WHOM they were PLACED, or with WHAT INTENT.

Harry Belisario, African apprentice, stated that he had a little house at Mr. Snow's to frame; that at nine o'clock he went to Mr. De Pinna to ask him what allowance of rum his master had ordered him. Mr. De Pinna was at breakfast; he waited for him; after Mr. De P. had breakfasted, asked him for the rum, who said he must call about ten o'clock; went to his house to breakfast; before he broke a piece of bread

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Mr. De Pinna came and told him it was ten o'clock. He told Mr. De Pinna he had just come home, and had eat no breakfast. Mr. De Pinna asked what he had been doing; he replied that he had been waiting for him in the yard all the time. Mr. D. P. said he did not care about it, if he eat no breakfast; he said to Mr. D. P. "you allow me to work, but you don't allow me time to eat." Mr. De P. said, "if you play fun with me I will have you in the gaol, to give you one hundred and fifty lashes;" he gave him answer, "what have I done to you? I have stolen nothing belonging to you." When Mr. De P. came into the house he bent his fist to knock him, but he struck the table, and broke it; Harry got up and said, "Massa, no do such a thing like that." Mr. De P. said, "I don't care any thing about it;" Harry replied, "Mr. De Pinna, since I come from the Guinea Yard, it is not you that took me first, it was my master, Mr. Belisario." Mr. De P. said he could do what he pleased with every one of them, as their master had given him liberty; gave him answer again, "so long as master give you liberty, I beg then." Mr. De Pinna then went away. Mr. De Pinna next day complained to master, saying, that master must give him satisfaction. Master asked if he had given Mr. De P. impudence; he denied it; master was not dissatisfied; told him he was going to punish him. He replied, "Massa, so long as I no do you nothing; you say you will punish me, so I am satisfied." After that went to Mr. B. and said, "Massa, I beg your pardon; master said he must not come ask his pardon, he must come to the custom-house. This day master send for him to make the complaint against him before the Commissioners; after the day he went to beg Mr. B.'s pardon. He said you must not beg my pardon when you come to the custom-house; you must beg all the Commissioners pardon, and he comes to beg pardon to-day; he has nothing else to say."

Being cautioned by Mr. Dougan to speak the truth, he was asked by him, whether he had not behaved in a very insolent manner to Mr. De Pinna, by putting himself in a particular attitude, with his hands under his arms, and leaning back at the same time in a chair; he replied he had no chair in the house, only benches; he never did so, meaning, lean back in a chair, &c.; he was not insolent to Mr. De Pinna. He was further asked, if he did not speak very loud to him, he answered

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answered that he spoke *very easy* to Mr. De Pinna.

Major Moody asked if Mr. De Pinna did not tell him not to go to his work, *on the morning that he went to ask for rum*, until his master returned?—Harry replied, Mr. Pinna said, after you not come to work at ten o'clock, you must not come to work for the whole day. Harry told Mr. De Pinna, it was only ten minutes past ten o'clock before he went to work: he was sure that was the only answer he gave; after that he went to his work.

Being particularly asked if he did not use the expression, "I don't care, *I am damned* if I don't go to the work;" he answered he never did. On being asked if he made use of the expression, "let them cut my throat;" he replied, he never did.

Mr. De Pinna said to him if his master did not give him satisfaction every one of them must lick him. Being asked if on Sunday the 3d November he had not called on Mr. Clotworthy, and spoken to him about the business; he replied, it was Sunday morning he went to Mr. Clotworthy, and begged him to go to master to know from him what he Harry did to Mr. De Pinna. Mr. Clotworthy did not meet his master at home: then he told Mr. Clotworthy, "Mr. De Pinna treats me so bad; I work from day to night every day; my time itself, if he called me about work, I no think hard of it." He told Mr. Clotworthy, "suppose you were going to kill any body, and they had a piece of bread in their hand, you would allow them time to eat it." Harry told Mr. C. he must go and beg master for him, and to let him know from master if he belonged to him or Mr. De Pinna. On being asked if he *had not expressed himself to Mr. C.* that he, *Harry, hoped that he would be pardoned by Mr. De Pinna*; replied, he told Mr. Clotworthy to beg Mr. De Pinna's pardon for him.

Did he, Harry, acknowledge to Mr. C. that he had *acted wrong*, and this was the first time he had *committed himself, and that he would not do the like again*; he replied, "Yes sir, HE SAID SO to Mr. Clotworthy."

Harry stated that he wished the Commissioners to ask his master what he did to him, as he said he was going to punish him? If he does not get up in the morning very early to do his work? If he went to play or sleep instead of doing his work? If he stole any thing belonging to him to let him know? And if Harry had ever caused his master any trouble?

If a Jew boy like Mr. Aaron De Pinna, not a tradesman, in the absence of his  
master

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master for a day, should so conduct himself towards an apprentice of twenty-seven years of age, who had faithfully served six years as his master reported, as also that he was constant at his work, and that the master never had reason to complain of him—if, I say, a Jew boy like Mr. Aaron De Pinna should have brought before an English magistrate an apprentice like Harry of twenty-seven years of age, whose master had reported of him that he had been six years at the carpenter's trade, *had been constant* at his work, and that *he never had reason to complain of him*; that he was industrious, and that when his time was out he would employ that man in preference; the magistrates also being previously apprized of the high character given, should hear the frivolous charge made against the apprentice, and the blasphemous expressions of the Jew boy in his accusation, I verily believe there is not a magistrate in England who would not have dismissed the charge, without hearing a reply, and punishing the complainant as far as he could do, by compelling him to pay for every profane oath he had used.

Such was my impression at the time of this frivolous charge got up for a purpose. And after hearing the complaint made by Mr. De Pinna, and he had retired; and when Harry was called in to answer to the charge, five hours having elapsed in examining previous parties who were standing all the time; above all, being thoroughly convinced by the testimony of the accusing party only that the apprentice Harry needed no defence, I did desire Harry on his entrance to take a back seat which had been occupied by Mr. De Pinna, and which Harry with diffidence declined.

Your Lordship will judge whether this arose from a strong *bias* on my mind, or a natural impulse in favour of an injured person.

Shortly after, when my colleague had time to prepare a formal philippic on this occasion, he introduced it into the minutes of the Commissioners, and, as I find, again introduced in his Report that my conduct was subversive of *the ordinary regulations which prevail in most societies*; but that I had promised *it should not occur again*.

The minutes of the Commissioners will give a more accurate account of my observations on this circumstance; but the substance is, that I was conscious of the innocence of the accused, brought up on a frivolous charge, made by so worthless an accuser, and that Harry appearing  
before

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before me as an innocent person wrongfully accused, I inadvertently forgot that his skin was black, and desired him to take a distant seat, which I should have done had he been a poor white man in a similar situation. I added, that the case should not occur again of allowing a black man to *sit* in company with white persons.

Here, if I may be permitted to bring the fact to my colleague's recollection, it would appear that this instance which occurred would not have been the first of its kind, of a person of colour sitting in his presence, and at table with him, for I well recollect a discussion on the propriety of the conduct of my colleague, whilst he was acting at Demerara as attorney to Mr. Catz, a Dutch gentleman who had large coffee estates in that colony, that it then became necessary, *although subversive of the ordinary regulations which prevailed in societies of the colony*, to invite to dinner a *mulatto woman*, by whom Catz had several illegitimate children; and in this instance my colleague got rid of his colonial prejudices: but there was a *distinction* in the two cases, the one was a *poor black*, the other a *yellow heiress!* A dispassionate person will judge of the bias which operated in the minds of my colleague and myself; in these instances mine at least had one merit, that of *being disinterested*.

My colleague, under the sixth head of his protest, denies the assertion made by me as to the value of free labour, and introduces (page 103) the case of this very man, Harry, a carpenter, the most industrious and clever of the African apprentices, to show that the value of his productive industry under a master, so nearly equalled the expense of his maintenance, as only to leave twenty-three dollars or *4l. 13 s. 6 d.* per annum in his favour; and my colleague remarks, "*it is such facts as these and others that enable us to form satisfactory opinions as to the value of the industry of the African apprentices, and the probable result when they become free from the restraint of a master.*"

The facts of this case, on which my colleague builds his theoretical and fanciful ideas of the productive industry of free Africans, I positively deny; one or two circumstances will clearly show this. The first is the value which Mr. Belisario put upon the labour of Harry, whom he called a second rate carpenter, and properly so, for as he could not read and write, he could not be deemed a first rate carpenter, although he could construct a house; but

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Mr. Dougan here again reverts to a subject on which it would appear, after having deluded himself, that he was most anxious to delude others. Mr. Dougan thinks that a knowledge of reading and writing was only necessary to make Harry Belisario a first rate carpenter, but from not possessing these qualifications, he was only a second rate carpenter in Tortola. It would be difficult to say what kind of a carpenter Harry would be called in England, but the appellation of a second rate carpenter in Tortola, and a second rate carpenter in England would indicate the possession of very different qualifications. The qualifications necessary to put up a house in Tortola imply the possession of a very moderate degree of mechanical skill;—certainly a degree of skill much less than that which is necessary in England; for any botch of a carpenter in Tortola can put up a small wooden building in a few days, which is called a house, and persons can live in it in that climate. But as almost every man, who is able to work, possesses the same kind of skill, there is little demand for such kind of labour, and consequently, it is not much valued as a branch of productive industry. This assertion is denied by Mr. Dougan. Mr. Belisario showed that Harry *under the coercion of apprenticeship*, executed work for him to the amount of 100 dollars per annum. Mr. Dougan thinks Mr. Belisario's opinion respecting Harry's future services being worth 96 dollars, is too low an estimate; and that it

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allowing for this deficiency, Harry was an excellent carpenter. What then does Mr. Belisario offer to do for this man, who has built a house for himself, but unfortunately on his master's land? Why to continue him in his service when free, and to allow him ninety-six dollars per annum. This evidently is a hard bargain the master wishes to drive with his apprentice, whose services he wishes to retain; for no man who has been in the West Indies but must know, that for the commonest botch of a carpenter, nay for a day labourer, half a dollar would be the price of his day's work; and that a carpenter like Harry would readily command three-fourths of a dollar a day. His earnings as a botch carpenter or day labourer would be 156 dollars per annum, but at its just value of three-fourths of a dollar or 3*s.* sterling, his annual earnings would be 234 dollars, instead of 96 dollars per annum, which his provident master is willing to allow him; and my colleague, who calculates on facts like these, when they suit a purpose, as willingly adopts.

of his own time, according to Hull's own evidence given to Mr. Dougan and Major Moody, he had not a house of his own, but lived in the out house of another poor person, without paying any rent; had no money at the time in his possession, and could give no account of the number of days in the year during which he worked. The case of almost every liberated African, when free from control, showed that they did not exert steady labour for wages throughout the working days of the year; and, with the exception of Nelson, who lived on a sugar plantation, every one of them was in comparative poverty; although if they had worked steadily, they might have been comparatively rich. The value of the labour of such free people depends on *their willingness to work* for the capitalist in such a *steady manner as to enable him to make some profit*, otherwise he would have no motive to pay wages; and facts prove, that, in Tortola, they do not exert this degree of steady industry. In some occupations also, the demand for labour does not exist, though it does in others. Major Moody, therefore, inferred, that in the present ratio between labour and capital in Tortola, the labour of the Africans, generally speaking, as free persons in those occupations in which they actually were employed, was little valued, since none were then found to be employed steadily in any kind of labour for regular wages, except John Sano, and his master wished to get rid of him, only employing him as a domestic from kind motives of benevolence. Mr. Dougan assumes, that, IF they would work all the working days in the year, and IF they did get certain wages, their labour would be valuable. Such assumptions, however, being contrary to the fact, all Mr. Dougan's inferences fall to the ground with respect to the value of the labour of the liberated Africans in general, even if the assumptions should be true in the solitary case of Harry Belisario, who certainly was the head-man among the apprentices, and decidedly the most intelligent, and perhaps, with the exception of Nelson, the most industrious, when under coercion. As workmen, however, both were decidedly inferior in skill to George Hughes, yet he, when entirely free from control, lived solely by cutting fire-wood, fishing, and fiddling at dances.

Take another instance of Mr. Belisario's economy, and of his calculating money making disposition; it is the case of John Sano (see vol. 1, p. 29), apprentice to Mr. Belisario. This man was free when examined, he was then employed as a sailor at the rate of eight dollars per month, or 21*l.* 12*s.* sterling per annum, and fed and clothed himself. An accident had obliged him to quit the sea; his old master took him into his service, allowed him four dollars per month, or 10*l.* 16*s.*

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ought to be at least 156 dollars per annum, since the just value would be 234 dollars per annum. This opinion of Mr. Dougan is solely founded on the assumption that Harry, when free, would not only work *steadily*, but that there would be a demand for his labour as a carpenter. At the same time it is in evidence that George Hughes, a better workman, lives by fishing, and fiddling at dances, because he, who had been in England, and who was much more advanced in the scale of civilization than Harry, was found, in common with others of his class in Tortola, when free from coercion, to prefer such modes of subsistence as fishing, cutting firewood, &c. to regular and steady labour. And yet such occasional exertion was sufficient to provide for their wants, considered relatively with those of other free persons in the same class of society. There was not therefore any fact to support the assumption on which Mr. Dougan reasons.

Now instead of assuming how much per annum the labour of Harry might possibly be worth *when free from constraint*, as Mr. Dougan does, Major Moody wished to ascertain for how much per annum such a carpenter as Harry did actually work. Mr. Dougan himself had shown that the apprentice Hull, a cooper, *when under coercion*, worked for 150*l.* or upwards of 650 dollars per annum; and yet, *when free from coercion*, and perfectly master

Mr. Dougan then brings forward the case of John Sano, whom he describes as being employed as a sailor, at the rate of 8 dollars a month. Now, this man described as a sailor, was merely a domestic; indeed, he is represented as a very good house servant. He served for two or three months only on board a small colonial droghing vessel, where, meeting with an accident, he was obliged to go on shore, and never afterwards could obtain employment on board any vessel, or indeed any where else as a domestic, except with his old master, Mr. Belisario, who from kind feelings of benevolence gave him 2 dollars

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10*l.* 16*s.* sterling, clothed and maintained him; but we learn by a note of my colleague, that on the 18th March 1823 Mr. Belisario had curtailed John's wages to two dollars per month, or 5*l.* 8*s.* sterling per annum, and clothed and maintained him. Now John was an active young man of twenty-five years of age; the same good house servant, cook and sailor he had been, and yet his master reduces his wages one half, and John still remains with him, nay refuses to go to Trinidad, although his wife was allowed to accompany him. Now all this only proves one thing, that John Sano has a close master, who has cut down his wages one half, but it does not prove that John's earnings are only 5*l.* 8*s.* per annum, or that his annual profits only amounted to that sum. His master was deputy provost marshal. George, an African apprentice, was under-sheriff, and kept the prison. Marshal's sales for debt were more frequent than any other; John, like other persons attached to the sheriff, might have found little advantages, which amply rewarded the scantiness of his wages, like that of chambermaids at large inns.

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lars a month, without any view to profit. As John Sano was a free man, and perfectly master of his own time, and as Mr. Belisario obviously employed him rather from kindness than from any need of his services, since he might have had plenty of other apprentices without wages, it is clear John Sano might have left Mr. Belisario whenever he pleased. Mr. Dougan says that Mr. Belisario was "a close master," who cut down his servants' wages one half; "but it does not prove," says Mr. Dougan, "that John's earnings are only 5*l.* 8*s.* per annum, or that his annual profits amounted to that sum." There is no reasoning with a person who argues in such a manner. John was the domestic servant of Mr. Belisario, at a certain rate of wages; but, says Mr. Dougan, Mr. Belisario, being deputy provost marshal, "he might have found little advantages which amply rewarded the scantiness of his wages, like that of chambermaids at large inns." Now, the circumstance of Mr. Belisario's having refused to take any more apprentices as domestics, or in any other capacity, proved that he could have saved all John Sano's wages, moderate as they were, if he had wished it; and the fact was, that he afterwards gave him something to take him to Trinidad, because he did not want his services, and John at last did go to Trinidad, not as a sailor, but as an agriculturist on his own account, though he declined going

as long as he could live with his old master as a domestic. The kindness of Mr. Belisario to his apprentices was notorious, and had even been reported to Mr. Wilberforce by Mr. Clement, the late collector; and Mr. Wilberforce, in reply, very properly informed Mr. Clement, "that he had read with pleasure what he said concerning Mr. Belisario." Yet the memory of this man, now that he is dead, is traduced and misrepresented in these posthumous papers, for stating what he believed to be the truth, although, when in Tortola, Mr. Dougan himself, in a special manner, stated his high opinion of Mr. Belisario as a master, as is proved in page 241 of the Tortola Schedules. But an anonymous writer is now produced in these posthumous papers, to sanction Mr. Dougan's posthumous charges against the deceased. The claims of such evidence to credibility however must be much affected by the circumstances under which it appears to have been obtained, and under which it is given,—no person on the part of the deceased being present to cross examine the anonymous witnesses. The evidence, indeed, such as it is, amounts to this, that Mr. Belisario, though "a close master," died so much in debt, that his house and lands would not pay his debts. Now, as he possessed no slaves, it must be obvious that he had not made much profit by the labour of his apprentices even under coercion, on those houses and works on which he had employed them; and which indeed he proved, and therefore, that he could not have profitably given them more allowances than he did, and consequently, could not have been the "close master," which he is now represented by Mr. Dougan to have been. Harry is said to have land, but the quantity, and the manner in which it is cultivated is, as usual, suppressed; the dimensions, however, of his house are given, as being nine feet by thirteen. For the land and house, it appears, he pays 6 dollars, or 27*s.* per annum, which is three weeks wages, at the low rate estimated by Mr. Belisario; and Harry, it is said also, has his cow, goats, pigs, &c. In page 115 of Major Moody's first Report he gave the quantity of stock, such as horned cattle, horses, goats, hogs and poultry, owned by the slaves on certain sugar plantations in Tortola. Mr. Dougan does not object to the accuracy of the quantity, but objects to the amount of the prices, in one case. The slaves on these estates, though obliged to work during the greatest part of the week for their masters, yet appear to have been as well off as one of the most industrious of the carpenter apprentices, a second rate workmen, when entirely free, and altogether master of the whole of his time. The fact of the slaves having the property could not be denied by Mr. Dougan, much criticism however was employed on the introduction of a column, showing the number of dogs possessed by the slaves. If the slaves then, who had so little time to themselves, were found to possess the same kind of wealth that is possessed by Harry Belisario, there cannot apparently be any thing extraordinary that he, with all his time at his own disposal, should be on a footing as to wealth, with a slave of his own qualifications and influence.

But not one word is said, even by the anonymous correspondent of Mr. Dougan, which would lead any one to believe that Harry Belisario, now he is a free man, works for



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for 234 dollars *per annum*, which Mr. Dougan says, his earnings as a carpenter *might* amount to. Major Moody on the other hand had shown, as in the case of Hull, Boatswain, George, &c. and that, as free negroes, they would in general merely work to obtain subsistence, upon that scale of comfort, which is obtained by the working classes around them; and not such a scale as Europeans think they would work for to obtain. And as subsistence upon the African's scale of comfort can be obtained by a little irregular labour, whilst the capitalist in general can only make any profit when he is certain to obtain steady moderate labour for wages, therefore the mutual dependence between the capitalist, and the free negro labourer, working for such wages as the capitalist can afford to give, is rarely seen in the West Indies, and never perhaps in the profitable cultivation of the soil, in raising staple colonial articles for exportation when such articles are raised in foreign countries by slaves, as in the United States, Cuba, and Brazil. Harry therefore as a free man is not found working for 234 dollars a year, at least it is not to be inferred from any thing produced, although Mr. Dougan expected that such would be the result. It is singular also that not one word is said about the money, which the collector pays to the liberated Africans, at the expense of the British Treasury, although such is known to be the fact from the bills drawn for that purpose; and which expense need not be incurred, if the people would only exert themselves very moderately in steady labour.

Some of the statements in the anonymous letter, respecting the cost of Frederick's house, whose dimensions are only 10 feet by 14 feet, and yet amounted to 120 dollars, besides carpenter's labour, really excite surprise at their insertion, were it not for the utter ignorance, and great credulity which have been displayed in England on the subject of free labour in the West Indies. On this subject Major Moody would refer to the Report of the Commissioners on Sierra Leone, when speaking upon such evidence as that given here anonymously, showing what little reliance is to be placed on the sums said to have been expended by the negroes on their houses. On such cases Major Moody always visited the houses, measured the materials, and ascertained the ignorance of the estimators, who were guided generally by a very natural kind of vanity. In page 39 of the Sierra Leone Report, it is said, "In general, those who have been able to save part of their earnings, appropriate it to the erection of houses; but the sums which they represent themselves as having expended in this way are, in some instances, so far beyond their means, or what the appearance of the buildings indicated, that little reliance can be placed on their information." In other respects, also, many passages could be quoted to prove that Major Moody's views were correct, from the state of society at Sierra Leone; for speaking of the liberated Africans in small islands near Sierra Leone, where on Mr. Dougan's views *great voluntary industry ought to have been expected*, it is said, page 43, "that few of the liberated Africans would labour upon their farms, unless by some means they were forced to do so."

Mr. Dougan, or rather those who had to get up these posthumous papers, have now declined to say any thing more about the Nottinghams, upon which the public had been so much deceived by the statements of some member of the Anti-Slavery Society. The apology arising from ill health and want of time is rather singular, when both were found to introduce so much new, and utterly unimportant matter, whilst the defence of detected misrepresentations of the truth were delayed. Major Moody therefore does not feel it necessary to add any thing here farther to expose the misrepresentations of the truth in that case.

Let not this disguised statement, the estimate of an interested master, mislead your Lordship's judgment to conclude that such a carpenter as Harry Belisario could in the West Indies only earn 96 dollars, or 21*l.* 12*s.* per annum, and John Sano 24 dollars, or 5*l.* 8*s.* per annum.

Mr. Abraham Mendez Belisario, in his answers to certain queries put by my colleague, (vol. 1, page 340,) speaks thus of Harry and his other apprentices, and puts a case as applicable to their situation, and must, in the common course of events, occur. He says, "We will suppose the term arrived which is to *deprive me of the services* of the whole of my apprentices, and leave them to shift for themselves. The *quid pro quo* having ceased, it cannot reasonably be expected that I will allow them to continue in the occupation

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occupation of houses built on my own lands; that I shall permit them to make use of *my gardens*, or enjoy any of the conveniences I now grant them. How SERIOUSLY THEN will those people feel that loss, when their regular paid allowance for maintenance, clothing, medical attendance, nourishment in sickness, &c. are also withdrawn."

It is very singular that at the moment I am now writing I have before me a letter from a person whose veracity I think may be relied on, dated Tortola, 8th January 1826. It appears that the reports of my colleague and myself had been transmitted from England to that island, and the statements of Mr. Belisario known there.

The letter runs thus, "Mr. Belisario is dead, and all his lands and houses not sufficient to pay his debts. I find that he states, in an answer to questions put to him, that his apprentices will seriously feel the loss of his regular allowance, house, garden, &c.; you will judge how they feel this loss, when I give you a true and impartial statement of the present situation of these apprentices. Harry hires the hill side land of Tom Moreton's, at Kellewing, for 6 dollars per annum; has a house built nine feet by thirteen; has it well furnished, agreeable to custom; and has his cow, goats, pigs, &c. Frederick is building a house on Hannah Collin's hill side land, which he will have finished in a week hence, ten feet by fourteen, all new lumber shingles, &c.; he told me it would cost him 15 joes, or 120 dollars, (27*l.* sterling,) besides his and other carpenter's labour. Tom hires land from Affection Isham; has a house, ten feet by fourteen. Dick Belisario hires land from Nimrod Harragin on his cotton plantation; has a very fine walled and thatched house; has ground, goats, pigs, &c. Dick Ross, healthy; not so well off; rather inclined to drink; hires a house for his wife. Several of the other apprentices have houses, and many of them *the first huxters in town*, and are priding themselves much in aspiring to wealth. It was a pleasure to see them at Christmas."

Thus it appears that this provident master, living a single life, without children, and holding appointments of marshal and clerk of the Council, dies, and his property is insufficient to pay his debts. Since his death we find his apprentices building houses for themselves, (one of them paying 120 dollars for his new house,) hiring lands, and cultivating them.

*Mr. Dougan's Remarks.*

*Major Moody's Explanations.*

them. They are evidently in a thriving way, quite contrary to the master's prediction. His estimate of their property, furniture, house and bed linen, was 50 dollars. Here we see that, exclusive of that property, one of them, Frederick, not the highest in his estimation, has actually 120 dollars for a new house.

Such, I am confident, will be the failure of similar predictions as to these persons, and their future pursuits.

The case of the Nottinghams I shall, if time and my health permit, most satisfactorily place in its true light.

(*m*) The 7th and last head of protest my colleague might have spared, as regarded the island of Tortola, the only colony in which the Commissioners had an opportunity of judging what appeared most beneficial for the welfare of the apprentices, in their future disposal.

The question however for Major Moody's consideration was, *whether or not he could conscientiously sign Mr. Dougan's Report*, and if he could not, Major Moody was bound in duty fairly to state to Earl Bathurst, his reasons for withholding his signature, and approval from a Report drawn up by Mr. Dougan, *not in the West Indies, but after his return to England, living in the midst of those anti-colonial friends, who had procured his appointment, and under whose influence he was apparently acting.* Indeed at the time when these posthumous papers were writing, Mr. Dougan was the secretary of a proposed company, whose object was to induce the people of England to subscribe their money to cultivate sugar, &c. between the tropics by free labour: his desire to influence the opinion of Government on that subject, rendered it the more necessary for Major Moody to give the reasons for his opinions in some detail.

Although Mr. Dougan's observations on the subjects, which required the careful consideration of both of the Commissioners, may have been limited, in consequence of his previous mercantile pursuits, yet it did not follow that those of Major Moody had been equally limited, during the period he had resided in the West Indies, where he had filled various appointments which rendered it his duty to observe carefully, and minutely, in different colonies, and in different countries, those peculiar physical, and moral circumstances connected with the influence of capital, and relative degrees of density of population, and climate, &c. upon the steady industry of the working classes of mankind, and also the general effect of physical causes, when combined with others of a moral nature, upon the progressive civilization of the African race of mankind, living among the English race of men, in the low lands of the torrid zone, under circumstances connected with the colour of their skins, and peculiar constitutions, which rendered the two races unequal in their bodily powers to cultivate the soil profitably for wages.

Mr. Dougan, indeed, referred to Sierra Leone, as affording a model for the West India colonies to follow, in matters connected with the Government, and the labour of the negroes, particularly the liberated Africans. But as neither Major Moody, nor Mr. Dougan had ever been in Sierra Leone, Major Moody could not place implicit reliance on Mr. Dougan's statements, as to the prosperous situation of capitalists and labourers in that colony.

In promoting the spiritual welfare, and civilization of mankind in a backward state of knowledge, having also a low scale of physical wants, Major Moody had observed in the religious missions, which he had visited in different parts of the low lands of the torrid zone, that it was necessary to use coercion, as well as rewards, in order to produce a good effect; and that the exercise of individual judgment in particular cases was more essentially necessary to success, than the best conceived regulations, founded on abstract principles.

And even in Sierra Leone, it would appear that the success had not been so great, as has been represented by certain persons, who, after deluding themselves, have succeeded, by dint of repetition in periodical works, in deluding the public in this respect.

Major Moody, however, distinctly disclaims the imputation of any unworthy motive towards those individuals who are amiable, and benevolent in their general characters. Of late indeed, and since the report of His Majesty's Commissioners on the colony of Sierra Leone has been laid before the public, it would seem that some of the

This time never arrived, although time was found to write so much misrepresentation respecting Major Moody.

(*m*) Major Moody's seventh reason, for not signing, or approving of Mr. Dougan's Report which had been drawn up in London, is only noticed by saying it might have been spared as regarded the island of Tortola, the only colony in which the Commissioners had had an opportunity of judging of what appeared most beneficial for the welfare of the apprentices in their future disposal.

*Mr. Dougan's Remarks.*

*Major Moody's Explanations.*

the pious missionaries have adopted opinions, which tend to corroborate some of those of Major Moody, and confirm him in thinking he was justified in refusing to sign the Reports of his colleague. In a Report drawn up last year by the West Africa mission, alluding to the measures, which withdrew the exercise of civil power by the missionaries over the liberated Africans, it is said, "The people feeling that the *restraints* formerly put upon public observance of heathenish rites or noisy amusements, followed the natural leading of an evil heart. No means were possessed by those seeking the spiritual good of the people to stop practices which disturb the more peaceful of the inhabitants, and lead to the perpetuation of heathenism; and in which the people will be sure to engage, *if left to themselves*, though they will abstain, *if checked*, without any danger to the public peace, as the experience of many years has abundantly shown."

The manner in which the liberated African children have been treated as apprentices in Sierra Leone also appears to have been worse in general, than that in which the liberated Africans were treated in the West Indies. "The system of apprenticing liberated African children has ever since been carried to an extent the missionaries cannot but deplore; because the apprentices, almost without exception, are deprived of farther means of instruction, being neither sent to school nor to church. Their masters and mistresses seem to look upon them as not much better than slaves; and if the scanty clothing with which they supply them justifies us to form a judgment of their general treatment, their condition seems to be far from desirable." Thus in other parts of the world, besides Tortola, it appears that the system to which Major Moody so strongly objected, has not been found to be calculated for advancing a people like the Africans either in religious improvement or in steady industry, without which they are not likely to become useful members of that society of which they form a part, under the Government of Great Britain; although that was the object which Government wished to accomplish.

An observation made by M. Humboldt respecting the connection between the physical circumstances of certain parts of the torrid zone, and the character of the labouring classes for steady and regular industry in voluntarily cultivating the soil, may not be uninteresting, although Major Moody, having visited some of the countries to which M. Humboldt refers for facts as to the superior value of free labour, is able to point out the inaccuracy of the details given of the case in the valley of Aragua, and is able to show that a correct statement would confirm his views, as given in his Reports, and evidence before the Privy Council. "The agriculture of the torrid zone involuntarily reminds of the intimate connection which exists between the extent of land cleared, and the progress of society. That richness of soil, that vigour of organic life, which multiplies the means of subsistence, *retards the progress of nations towards civilization*. Under so mild and uniform a climate the only urgent want of man is food. It is the feeling of this want alone which excites him to labour; and we may easily conceive, why in the midst of abundance, beneath the shade of the plantain and the bread-fruit tree, the intellectual faculties unfold themselves less rapidly, than under a rigorous sky, in the region of corn, where our race is in a perpetual struggle with the elements. *These circumstances highly worthy of attention modify at the same time the physical appearance of the country, and the character of its inhabitants.*"\* Government, however, seem as yet to have avoided the investigation of such matters by competent persons, whilst they were legislating by Orders in Council for such countries.

And yet it is under circumstances like these, that Major Moody has been doomed to witness *amiable, and even intelligent men, perfectly unexperienced in the control of labour in these countries, and imperfectly informed as to the physical facts, which ever will influence the modes of acting, deciding on measures deeply affecting private property, with a degree of confidence, which has astonished him, and made him feel that the future prosperity and welfare of the British colonies in that part of the world are in great danger,*

\* Negro slaves have been liberated, and located in Nova Scotia and in Sierra Leone, in neither of which colonies does slavery exist, and consequently it could have had very little influence in promoting or retarding civilization, and the formation of habits of steady industry among the negroes so placed. In Nova Scotia the liberated negroes, under the influence of necessity arising from climate, when left to themselves, though less advanced than the white labourers, yet in general are found to exert a greater portion of steady labour, and to be in a more advanced state of social civilization than the liberated negroes in Sierra Leone, notwithstanding all the care and expense which have been bestowed by Government, and others in the attainment of these objects. Even in the Bahamas, on the margin of the torrid zone, but where the soil is very poor, some of the liberated Africans, who have been located on land purchased for them, have in some instances repaid the purchase-money of the land which they were employed in cultivating; and perhaps under a judicious system of control the same result might be obtained in Africa, thus saving to the nation the expenses incurred under Orders in Council framed in ignorance of the subject. For New South Wales, cultivated by convicts under coercion, or men under the coercion of necessity from the desire to obtain the wants of a high scale of civilization, affords a strong contrast to Sierra Leone, under a different policy, in the progress of civilization, and increase of national wealth.

*Mr. Dougan's Remarks.*

*Major Moody's Explanations.*

*danger, requiring from him a fearless intrepidity in declaring the truth, whether he may be attended to or not, in these remarks, which though involving important principles, are here made in defence of his own character and conduct.*

All the representations I have made to your Lordship earnestly solicited the removal of African apprentices from that impoverished country the Virgin Islands, except in cases of local attachments and connexions.

Bath, April 18, 1826.--I believe the facts contained in the within remarks, containing 55 pages, to be correctly stated, and solemnly declare the sincerity of the observations made by me.

(signed) *John Dougan.*

Witness to the signature of John Dougan.

(signed) *J. G. Dicey.*

#### MAJOR MOODY'S EXPLANATIONS.

APPENDIX (Y), referred to in page 122.

AS an illustration of the imperfect manner in which able men (though employed by His Majesty's Government) have conducted their inquiries with a view to ascertain the comparative value of free and slave labour in cultivating the soil in low lands of the torrid zone, when thinly peopled, Major Moody refers to the arguments brought against his evidence, given on oath before the Privy Council on the 21st November 1827. On that occasion no *vivâ voce* evidence was produced by Government to confute Major Moody's evidence. Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet, however, in cross-examining Major Moody, put the following questions: "I think you say that you do not think that emancipated slaves would work upon a sugar estate 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 I think no man can foresee." In Serjeant Bosanquet's address to the Privy Council he referred to an admission made by Major Moody in his evidence, that sugar had been produced in Batavia by free labour; and the learned Serjeant was pleased to add, that "it was quite sufficient for him to have the admission on their Lordships minutes." Now, as in all other cases, it is on a comparative statement of *all* the circumstances, in each case, upon which any inference can be soundly drawn from analogies, it cannot but excite surprise that no *vivâ voce*, or personal evidence whatever was produced to show their Lordships that the cases of Berbice, and Batavia were completely similar, or even analogical in any way beyond the parallel of latitude. The learned Serjeant, however, did produce some circumstances relative to the production of sugar by free labour, in certain parts of Mexico, from "Cuernavaca to Cuautla Amilpas, and Jyncar, covering a space of about forty miles;" but unfortunately in that case also many important physical circumstances were not stated; and it was these circumstances so omitted which confirmed the correctness of Major Moody's evidence. Major Moody therefore proposes to submit, for the consideration of Government, some of those circumstances which the learned serjeant, and indeed all the other lawyers, had omitted to notice; and thereby it will be seen that the circumstances under which sugar was alleged to be profitably cultivated in Mexico, at an elevation of upwards of 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, and at a great distance from foreign competition, were not analogical with those occurring in our colonies of Guiana at the level of the sea, which were then under the consideration of the Privy Council. Major Moody, in his reports and evidence, had referred his opinion to the "low lands of the torrid zone," and when "thinly peopled." Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet referred to the statements of Mr. Ward for his authority respecting the sugar in "Cuernavaca;" and in the map of Mexico attached to Mr. Ward's book, "Cuernavaca" is represented as being 5,428 feet above the level of the sea. In vol. 2, page 306, in speaking of the view of Cocoyoc, he distinctly includes the mountain

of Popocatepetl; and in page 292 that mountain is described as being covered with snow, and the map shows its vicinity to these sugar plantations, and gives its elevation as being 17,884 feet above the level of the sea. Now it will be seen that this elevation above the level of the sea, the comparative density of its population, and the vicinity of Cuernavaca to districts and large towns, where sugar could not be produced, gave a *monopoly price*, and consequently a high rate of wages to free labourers in a climate favourable to the constitution of the Mexican Indian and mixed races, within twenty leagues of the city of Mexico itself; whilst of the inhabitants of *the low lands near the sea coast* Mr. Ward, in vol. 1, page 454, speaks thus: "The maritime districts are not only *thinly* peopled, but are remarkable for the *listless and indolent character* of the population, which seems to *increase* in proportion to the *bounty of nature*, and the consequent facility of obtaining a supply of the necessaries of *life.*" This is in strict conformity with Major Moody's views. Mr. Ward also gives an extract from the "*Balanza General del Comercio de Vera Cruz,*" in vol. 1, page 63, showing the value of the sugar exported from that place for sale in other countries from 1802 to 1813, *after which no sugar appears to have been exported.* Mr. Ward indeed says, "at the present day the total produce of sugar is not exactly known, but it must be considerably *less* than that of the best years before the revolution, as the sugar estates are confined *almost entirely to the vallies of Cuautla and Cuernavaca.*" Yet in vol. 1, page 21, Mr. Ward tells us "the state of Vera Cruz alone is *capable* of supplying all Europe with *sugar.*" Why then has sugar ceased to be exported from Vera Cruz? This is explained by Mr. Ward as having arisen apparently from the machinery having been destroyed during the civil war, and never having been re-established since, vide page 64. But, it may again be asked why the machinery in the low lands of Vera Cruz were not re-established when the price of sugar was so high? For in vol. 1, page 69, Mr. Ward says, "the valley of *Cuernavaca* suffered much in the first years of the revolution, and particularly during the *siege of Cuautla Amilpas, when most of the neighbouring estates were destroyed by the contending armies.*" And Mr. Ward continues, "I could not discover that there was any reason to believe that the total produce of the valley ever much *exceeded* that of the present day." If sugar then could have been raised in *the low lands* of Vera Cruz, by free labourers working for such wages as the capitalists could afford to give, it must be obvious that the buildings and machinery would have been as speedily restored *on the low lands as at Cuernavaca, upwards of 5,000 feet above the level of the sea.* From Humboldt we learn some physical facts, which explain this apparent anomaly. In his work on *Nouvelle Espagne*, edition of 1827, by Renouard of Paris, in vol. 3, page 9, he says, "*Mais la configuration extraordinaire du sol de la Nouvelle Espagne met de fortes entraves aux transports du sucre à la Vera Cruz. Les plantations qui existent aujourd'hui, sont la plupart très éloignées de la côte opposée à l'Europe.*"—Aussi long temps que les communications, intérieures sont restées peu faciles, les sucres des environs de CUERNAVACA, et de Valladolid de Mechoacan n'ont pu être exportés avec profit du port de la Vera Cruz, qu'à l'époque où, par la destruction de Saint Domingue, le prix se sont élevés à 48, et 56 piastres la caisse (de  $\frac{1}{2}$  tercio ou 16 arrobas ou 184 Kilogrammes.) Then follows a table like Mr. Ward's, showing the quantity of sugar, and value thereof, exported from Vera Cruz from 1802 to 1812, and its gradual diminution, *until no export took place.* It was therefore necessary to consider all the facts relative to the price of sugar at Mexico, twenty leagues distant from Cuernavaca, more especially as no information on this point was produced by any of the lawyers employed before the Privy Council. Nor do their Lordships of the Privy Council appear to have pursued the inquiry either by a commission, or by witnesses produced publicly in court to be cross-examined.

Taking Mr. Ward's authority in vol. 1, page 64, he gives the price of sugar as being from 3 to 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  dollars (the dollar being estimated by Mr. Ward at 4s. sterling) for one arroba of sugar, which he also represents as being 25 lbs. weight. This gives, as a medium price, the high rate of 58s. per cwt., without reckoning the freight, and other charges incident to the sale thereof, or the duty paid to the revenue. Even Mr. Ward admits that the free labour sugar, raised at Cuernavaca, is of a bad colour, and yet is sold for from 24 to 28 reals the arroba, when good Havannah sugar, raised by slaves, is sold, at the sea port, for from only 10 to 14 reals per arroba. In point of fact, therefore, sugar raised by free Indians, and the mixed breeds at Cuernavaca, sold at only twenty leagues distance for 58s. per cwt. without duty, whilst in London, 4,000 miles distant, British West India colony sugar was, between the years 1821 and 1827, selling for a price varying from 29s. to 38s. per cwt., including a heavy freight, and charges of a commercial nature; but not the duty of 27s. per cwt. paid to the revenue, that charge being excluded in both cases. Such investigations into *all the facts bearing on the subject*, would have shown, that men like Mr. Ward, M. Humboldt, &c. had come to erroneous conclusions, merely from not having considered *all the facts of the case*, arising solely from their ignorance of West India agriculture, and the control of labour.

Now it is the knowledge of physical facts which were never submitted for the consideration of the Privy Council, that would have proved that there was no analogy between the cases of Berbice and Cuernavaca; and they also would have explained satisfactorily why the low lands of Vera Cruz, like St. Domingo, ceased to export sugar, because, as Major Moody had stated, for such wages as the capitalist could afford to give the free labourers, whether Indians or of the mixed races, would not work so steadily, though moderately as would enable the sugar planter to raise sugar at a price, which would enable him to compete with others in a foreign market; or where sugars, produced by slaves in other countries, would undersell him; thereby confirming, and not opposing, the truth of the evidence

evidence which Major Moody had given on oath before the Privy Council. From Mr. Ward, vol. 1, page 68, it appears that in Cuernavaca the free labourer could obtain from 6 to 7 reals per diem; and in vol. 1, page 336, speaking generally of the wages of labour in Mexico, he says, "the daily wages of labour *do not exceed 2 reals*, and where a cottage can be built "for 4 dollars;" and yet we are told that in Cuernavaca, with these high wages, the sugar works have all been rebuilt which had been destroyed during the war, whilst in the low lands those destroyed have not been rebuilt. Now as the same laws, religion and language prevails in all these districts, the causes of this discrepancy must be in a great measure of a physical nature; and it was these physical causes which Major Moody wished always to have had investigated, for the information of Government, because they were of great influence, and because no person in the Colonial Office had had any experience of their great effect, in the control of labour in the West Indies. Indeed Government apparently reasoned chiefly from some alleged analogies, and on the influence of moral causes alone, whilst the influence on societies of circumstances of a physical nature, whether connected with climate, density of population, extent of unemployed capital, fertility of soil, facility of subsistence, &c. appear to have hitherto been very imperfectly stated or investigated, even by intelligent persons, who appear to have looked on them under the bias of particular dogmas, which excluded many important considerations from their minds. Hence those imperfect descriptions of facts, by the suppression of important matters in such descriptions as have sometimes been produced on this question to influence the opinion, and measures of Government, the members of which were known to be uninformed practically, and therefore less able to detect the fallacies arising from such suppressions of the truth.

The consequence has been, that suspicion and distrust have been excited in the minds of persons deeply interested in West India property, and practically acquainted with its details, when they saw eminent persons reasoning and deciding on matters regarding private property, without Government having enjoined some Commissioners practically competent by their experience to investigate these subjects *on the spot, where alone all the facts could have been fully and fairly sifted.*

Even in Mr. Ward's work there are statements, which, it is presumed, he would not have made, had he possessed the necessary practical experience in the control of labour in the agriculture of the torrid zone. For example, in vol. 2, page 302, speaking of Cuernavaca, Mr. Ward says, "During the two days which I passed there I visited two of the greatest haciendas de azucar (sugar estates) mentioned in the first book."—"I found," he says, "*in both the same exuberant fertility of soil, &c.*" Again, speaking of another estate near to Cuautla Amilpas, in vol. 2, page 304, he says, "nothing could be finer than the scenery; and *the vigorous growth of the canes, though planted much more closely than in the West India islands, attested the richness of the soil, &c.*" In vol. 1, page 65, he asserts the same thing as to the fertility of the soil being proved by the cane being planted closer than is customary in the West Indies. It is the universal rule in the West Indies to plant the canes closer in poor land than in rich soil, because on poor land the cane plant throws up fewer shoots, or suckers to cover the land with canes. On rich and fertile soils the canes are not planted so close, because they throw up so many suckers, that fewer cane plants are sufficient to cover the soil. To plant more canes than are necessary for this purpose would not only increase the labour, but would injure the crop materially, both in the quality of the juice, and its quantity. Mr. Ward, however, does not give the extent of ground, or the labour employed on it, and the result in detail, from which it would have been easy to show how his intelligent mind had been imposed upon. In vol. 1, p. 65, Mr. Ward says, "the crops are usually very abundant, *the cane being planted much closer than is customary in Jamaica*; but the ground is not exhausted by this system," a circumstance so apparently extraordinary to Mr. Ward himself, that he gives another circumstance to explain it; viz. "as the Mexican planter is enabled, from the extent of his estate, to divide his sugar lands into *four equal parts*, one only of which is taken *annually* into cultivation; "the remaining three lie fallow until their turn comes round again." Now this last circumstance is as extraordinary as the former, to a person acquainted with the details, and principles of tropical agriculture. It is well known that in good land, producing such crops as Mr. Ward was told, the sugar cane is not planted *annually*, but is cut successively for two or three years, and in many soils for *several* years. The same canes once planted on such land furnish what is called ratoon canes, from which sugar of the best quality is uniformly made. It is therefore altogether inconceivable why the Mexican planter in such a soil as it is described to be, should replant *annually*, in order to make indifferent sugar, as Mr. Ward acknowledges it to be; for if the land really be as is described, he could make better sugar, and save the expense for labour, in a country where, Mr. Ward says, the workmen can make from 3s. to 3s. 6d. per day; and where Mr. Ward describes the labourers to be "a debauched, ignorant and barbarous race," the blessing of freedom not having yet advanced them far in social or moral civilization; and consequently neither economy, nor comfort could be promoted by having more labourers than could be profitably employed.

There are some parts of Mr. Ward's account, which perhaps can be explained by the occurrence of typographical errors; but there are others, which when examined, involve some error in the calculations: for instance, in vol. 1, p. 68, "the wages and current charges" of a great hacienda are stated to be from 8 to 1,200 dollars a week, which would imply that the annual expense would be from 8,320*l.* to 12,480*l.* sterling per annum. Mr. Ward, in p. 66, however in stating the great profits which such cultivation affords, says what is rather extraordinary when compared with other statements, that "each arroba of sugar yields an equal quantity of molasses, which sells at the door of the

the hacienda for five and a half reals per arroba; the sale of this alone is sometimes sufficient to cover the *raya* or weekly expenditure of the estate, leaving only the wear and tear of the machinery to be deducted from the produce of the whole crop of sugar." Now, if a calculation be made of the value of the molasses made on the largest haciendas, on the proportions and prices here given, the amount would only defray about one half of the *raya*. Had Mr. Ward himself, who was in England, been produced as an evidence before the Privy Council, it is possible that he might have explained much of that which now appears obscure, and indeed contradictory: but as some of the alleged facts, stated by him, appear to be at variance with others, also on Mr. Ward's authority, such evidence, in a case where millions of private property were at stake, ought to have been fully sifted by the Privy Council, by Mr. Ward himself being called upon, as Major Moody was, to give his evidence *vivá voce*, and upon oath, and not in the way it was introduced, by persons, who showed they were perfectly ignorant of the subject.

Were it necessary to investigate the probable effect of any intended measure of reform bearing on the efficiency, and discipline of our military, and naval forces, every one would perceive the propriety of examining persons only who had had at least some experience in the control and government of soldiers, or sailors on actual service, either in the field, or the garrison, or afloat; and such evidence, delivered on oath, would scarcely be set aside by quoting books, or reports containing the cursory remarks of men, without any practical knowledge or experience in a question, where experience could best enable a person to see all the bearings, and consequences of the changes or reforms meditated to be enforced. In like manner Mr. Dougan, and many other eminent persons have given their cursory remarks, firmly believing them to be true, as fair descriptions of the facts bearing on the question under investigation, but from want of practical experience, they omit important considerations relative to physical circumstances, which had they been fairly stated, would have probably influenced the judgment of His Majesty's Government, the different members of which themselves, unfortunately for the colonial capitalists, being practically uninformed of the principles, which under various circumstances, influence the changes, or reforms meditated in the control and government of the negro labourers, under the present peculiar state of each West India island and colony. Major Moody, in giving his evidence, which he did most reluctantly, had to consider his peculiar position, as being the only person, at that time, attached to the Colonial Office, who had had any experience whatever in the control of labour, and the government of labourers, slave and free, black and white, in the West Indies: and farther, up to that period, Government had not deemed it necessary to employ competent persons publicly and officially to investigate on the spot the various circumstances in each colony, which in practice might be found to modify any general regulations. Since Major Moody has been removed from the Colonial Office, without the slightest blame being imputed to him, and without appointing any other person, similarly qualified, to act in his place, he deems it just to himself, to give the illustration, which he has done respecting eminent persons differing from him in opinion, arising, as he conceives, from these persons not having had the same practical experience, and wide field for general observation, which he has had on the subject of the comparative value of free, and slave labour in West India agriculture, under the present circumstances of the British West India colonies.



N<sup>o</sup> 5.

Special Case of Adeline Ejogo. Apprentice examined by Major Moody alone. Vol. 1, page 306.

**DURING** Mr. Dougan's absence in England, Major Moody thought proper to reject the column previously adopted by himself and Mr. Dougan, "Party's own Account," in which the words of the apprentice were inserted as nearly as possible; and to place instead thereof a column under this head, "Actual Condition and Character in the opinion of the Commissioner;" and under that head my colleague has introduced words describing the situation of the apprentice, evidently as coming from the apprentice.

This last mode of examination gives a summary of the information, according to the opinion of the Commissioner, and not the actual words taken down by the secretary, as coming from the parties examined.

In this case of Adeline I saw the original information of her master, Mr. Maclean, in the precise words of the party, and taken down by the secretary, as coming from him.

This original information, which ought to be still in the office, was afterwards most materially *changed*, so as to convey a different meaning altogether, introducing new matter, and altering the whole nature of the facts.

Your Lordship will best judge of this circumstance by the following extract, copied by me from the original examination in the secretary's hand-writing, taken in the case of Adeline, which document ought, by a regulation formed by your Lordship, to be still remaining among the official papers of the commission as original evidence.

In page 306, vol. 1, under the head, "*Proficiency in the trade to which they were originally apprenticed, or any other occupation, as given by master or mistress,*" Mr. Maclean, the master of the apprentice Adeline, appears to have given the following information, and which I saw in the hand-writing of the secretary, Mr. Barrow:—"Having been emp," (meaning employed,) "*in cultivating cotton, she has not made much progress as a DOMESTIC, but is NOW LEARNING TO COOK.*"

**MAJOR MOODY'S** Remarks upon Mr. Dougan's special case of Adeline Ejogo, referred to by him in his Abstract, showing the fair and deserving characters in the Atrevido Cargo.

IN page 91 of Major Moody's first Report, which was perused by Mr. Dougan a long time prior to the drawing up of these posthumous papers, a minute of the Commissioners is quoted for the purpose of showing, that on the 28th October 1822, after Mr. Dougan had returned to Tortola from England, Major Moody had directed *all the papers of every kind* in the office to be submitted to Mr. Dougan, who was invited specifically "to state how far he agreed with the proceedings of the Commission, &c." as conducted by Major Moody during his absence; and in the above minute, it appears that Mr. Dougan promised to comply with Major Moody's invitation, but this he never performed. Major Moody had such an opinion of Mr. Dougan's zeal, that he is convinced, had the opinions, said to be expressed by him, in these posthumous papers, relative to this special case of Adeline Ejogo, been really entertained by him at the time, that Mr. Dougan would not have failed to have stated them to Major Moody, and would have had this apprentice again before the Commissioners, as he actually did in the case of William Anganobi, mentioned in the former papers.

Mr. Dougan, in these posthumous papers, is made to say, that "during his absence in England, Major Moody thought proper to reject the column *previously adopted* by himself and Mr. Dougan, 'party's own account.'"

It is impossible to believe that Mr. Dougan himself wrote this sentence, for, on a reference to the Tortola Schedules laid before Parliament, and which Mr. Dougan had compared, there will be found different forms:—the first was that adopted by Mr. Dougan, and Major Moody, *prior to the visit of the former to England*. This Schedule will be found to be distinguished by the statement, that the apprentices then examined had been produced before *the Commissioners of Inquiry*, meaning both Mr. Dougan and Major Moody. In pages 60 and 61, when the first apprentice belonging to the Manuella cargo was examined, it will be seen, as in other pages, that the column designated, "*Party's own account,*" is *not to be found*, a circumstance directly contrary to the assertion here attributed to Mr. Dougan.

On Mr. Dougan's return from England, however, he brought with him a new form of schedule, and the first person's examination recorded in the new form was that of the apprentice William Anganobi, who had come to Tortola in the mail boat Octavia, in which Mr. Dougan himself had arrived from Antigua;

## Mr. Dougan.

The whole of the foregoing extract exhibited the mark of a pen drawn through it, and the following words were interlined, and form the record as it now stands in the printed Report, vol. 1, p. 306:—“SINCE IN HIS POSSESSION *she has been employed as a COOK, WHICH, FOR THE TIME, she has made as much proficiency as HE COULD EXPECT; as she does not appear to have been so employed PREVIOUS TO HER COMING TO HIM.*”

The following fac simile shows the testimony as at first taken, and how it was altered afterwards.

Page 17 of Mr. Barrow's draft of examination, Monday, 29th July 1822, contains the case of Adeline Ejogo. One of the columns stood thus:—

“Proficiency in the trade to which they were originally apprenticed, or any other occupation, as given by master or mistress.”

~~“Having been emp. in cultivating cot-~~  
Since in his possession she has been em-  
ten, ~~she has not made much progress as~~  
employed as a cook, which, for the time, she  
~~a domestic, but is now learning to cook.”~~  
has made as much proficiency as he  
could expect, as she does not appear to  
have been so employed previous to her  
coming to him.

To my apprehension the erased writing carries genuine marks of truth, as coming directly from Mr. Maclean when first questioned; and as the interlined one seems an after thought, and contrived to serve a purpose, even the facts are not the same.

In the first instance, Mr. Maclean mentions that Adeline, having *been employed* in cultivating cotton, *had not made much progress as a domestic; and secondly, “but is now learning to cook;”* evidently meaning at the time she was produced.

Now what are the facts of the altered version? 1st, That “*since in his possession she has been employed as a cook.*” Are we to understand from this that the female Adeline, from the time she first came into the possession of Mr. Maclean, had been employed as a cook? No such assertion could be truly made; for she had been many months working for him on the cotton field with his other apprentices.

## Major Moody's Remarks.

tigua; and it will be observed, on reference to the Tortola Schedules, pages 88 and 89, that this form is there, as elsewhere, described as that “ordered by Lord Bathurst to be adopted,” and it was in that form of Schedule *only*, that there was a column entitled “Party's own account.” It is true, that in the abstract of the characters given by Mr. Dougan, it is stated that William Anganobi had been examined by Major Moody alone, but the very discussions recorded in pages 88, 89, 90 and 91, of the Tortola Schedules, clearly prove that Mr. Dougan himself was not only present at that time, (for he ordered the apprentice on one occasion not to answer a question put to him by Major Moody,) but that he himself spoke to the character of the apprentice.

Mr. Dougan returned to Tortola from England, with the new form of Schedule, on the 20th October 1822. The first person examined under it was William Anganobi, on the 31st of the same month, as already shown. Now, Mr. Dougan himself, in these posthumous papers, gives the date of the rough draft of the examination in these words: “Page 17 of Mr. Barrow's draft of examination, Monday 29th July 1822, contains the case of Adeline Ejogo, &c.” The schedules themselves show that the column entitled, “Party's own account,” was not used prior to Mr. Dougan's return from England in October 1822, and therefore it was impossible for Major Moody to have done that of which he is accused. It will be seen, however, that Major Moody, in all special cases, even prior to October 1822, did give the apprentices' account of themselves, and often in their own words, although at that time there was no particular column headed as is described in these posthumous papers.

It does indeed seem difficult to conceive how such misrepresentations of the truth could find their way into these posthumous papers, but it is Major Moody's duty to point them out when they occur in cases like the preceding, inserted with the professed object of misrepresenting his conduct.

Mr. Dougan says, he “saw the original information of her (Adeline Ejogo's) master, Mr. M'Lean, in the precise words of the party, and taken down by the secretary as coming from him.” Major Moody has only to state here that every paper in the office being submitted to Mr. Dougan, and the rough schedules, forming part of these papers, being constantly on the office table for the purposes of reference, there can be no doubt of Mr. Dougan's having seen them, as they were expressly intended for his perusal, remark, or reference on any occasion. Mr. Dougan's charge against Major Moody is in these words:—“The original information, which ought to be still in the office, was afterwards most materially changed, so as to convey a different meaning altogether, introducing new matter, and altering the whole nature of the facts.”

Here Major Moody would observe, that it is obvious, from the very public and open nature of the transaction, that he must have been unconscious of having done any thing wrong;

*Mr. Dougan.*

The first and the second statements are totally at variance. The first says, "she is *now* learning to *cook*;" that is, at this time, which was several months after, his two apprentices, Kitty and Amelia, had accused him of severe treatment towards them, and of his not employing them as domestics, but in clearing grounds, which had been eight years out of cultivation.

Again, in the amended statement we find an entirely new circumstance, not mentioned in the erased account, *that for the time she has been employed as a cook, SHE HAS MADE AS MUCH PROFICIENCY AS HE COULD EXPECT.*

Lastly, we have in the amended version *the reason* why she had not made much proficiency in these words, "*as she does not appear to have been so employed (that is as a cook) previous to her coming to him.*"

Here we see a most important fact at first stated by the master, which was afterwards totally suppressed in the account given to your Lordship, namely, that she had been employed in cultivating cotton, and had not made much progress as a domestic.

Some account is given of this cotton cultivation, under this head, "Actual condition and character in the opinion of the Commissioner;" but it is strangely jumbled with other facts, so as to leave it in doubt whether it comes from the apprentice or from the master, or is expressive of the knowledge of the Commissioner himself.

"Not vaccinated; has had the yaws; has been sickly, but is now in a tolerably good state of health; well fed from her mistress's table; very well clothed; has two suits of brown linen at home, besides the suit she has on; *is learning to be a cook*; has been with her present mistress since January; **FORMERLY WORKED IN THE COTTON PIECE.**"

Who is it that gives this account, the master or the apprentice? It is not possible to decide. But to proceed with the extract:—"Had been a runaway sixteen months, and was harboured by Aunt Bella, a creole belonging to the late Mr. Hetherington."

By the word Aunt Bella, your Lordship may suppose this part to come from the apprentice:—"Conducts herself extremely well, and has never run away since she has been with her present mistress; is honest and industrious."

Who is it that says this, is it master, apprentice or Commissioner? There then appears

*Major Moody's Remarks.*

wrong; and, as Mr. Dougan states, that the whole was in the secretary's handwriting, it is evident also that Major Moody had not done any thing clandestinely. He regrets that a little detail is necessary in order to explain a circumstance from whence criminality is inferred only from part of the facts being, as usual, suppressed by Mr. Dougan. At a distance of 4,000 miles, facts may sometimes be disputed, and thus enable Mr. Dougan's friends to calumniate Major Moody for a time, whereas, had the circumstance been stated on the spot to Major Moody, Mr. Dougan's mind, if he ever had any doubts, would have been satisfied in a minute.

It is necessary to state, that Mr. M'Lean was much irritated when the Commissioners refused to examine the witnesses whom he was desirous of producing in defence of his character, and he wished Major Moody to examine them in the absence of his colleague, which Major Moody declined to do; but after the departure of Mr. Dougan from Tortola, Major Moody wrote officially, on the 29th June 1822, to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, as follows:—"Under all the circumstances of the case I have preferred waiting till his feelings settle a little, before I give him my answer; in the mean time I have requested the clergyman of the Church of England and the chief missionary to attend the future proceedings of the Commission, that they may see the principles on which I act."

About ten days after this, Major Moody proceeded with the business of examination, and, amongst the other apprentices, Adeline Ejogo was examined, precisely in the same manner as any of the others, as the reverend gentleman who attended must have observed.

Mr. M'Lean, however, who had complained of Mr. Dougan for not taking down all his evidence, naturally required the evidence which he had given to Major Moody to be read over to him, and this was done, as it was in all other cases, when Major Moody acted alone. To this evidence of Mr. M'Lean thus taken down by the secretary, who did not write short-hand, Mr. M'Lean objected, and then gave the evidence interlined, as being the real meaning of his words.

Major Moody cannot conceive upon what principle of justice he could object to Mr. M'Lean having his own evidence corrected, when read over to him, to insure its being correct. If Mr. M'Lean thought that the secretary had not taken down his real meaning, surely Mr. M'Lean alone was the most competent judge to have it altered, so as to express what he really did mean.

The first paragraph would have made Mr. M'Lean say of Adeline Ejogo, that "having been employed in cultivating cotton, she had not made much progress as a domestic." Mr. M'Lean said he could not tell the cause of her deficiency as a cook, prior to her coming to him, for as it appears in the other columns in the Tortola Schedules, page 306, Adeline had been ten months a runaway, living with Aunt Bella, a creole slave; and although Adeline Ejogo may, or may not have formerly worked in a cotton piece, she had not so worked with Mr. M'Lean. Indeed it was

*Mr. Dougan.*

appears to have been an erasure in an original record, which had been fairly transcribed by the secretary in his handwriting, in order to make way for an alteration afterwards made, I presume, by the Commissioner, totally changing the nature of the facts. And this is the more suspicious, as it appears that in two previous cases, those of Kitty and Amelia, (p. 271 to 281) the same master was examined by both Commissioners, and he made a similar acknowledgment of employing the apprentices in cultivating cotton, instead of the employment of domestic servants. Such a fact coming out after the course which was pursued some months before with respect to this same Mr. Maclean, would have been very inconvenient.

*Major Moody's Remarks.*

was not probable that she had, as since January she had lived with Mr. M'Lean's family, and neither they, nor himself had been residing on their estate, nor even on the island, or quay on which it was situated; a fact which, it may be remembered, he had adduced, on another occasion, to account for his ignorance of the treatment of those apprentices, who did *not* live with him, but on his estate upon which he did *not* reside.

There could not, therefore, remain a doubt but that Mr. M'Lean's meaning had been misunderstood in the first instance, and when his evidence was read to him immediately afterwards, he pointed out the mistake, and the correction was accordingly made; and this, Major Moody apprehends, would have taken place in similar cases in taking down any Gentlemen's evidence in Great Britain.

The rough schedules of examinations, which were left by Major Moody in the office, showed all the alterations, the original merely having a line drawn through it, and

the emendation being written in the vacant spaces, generally in red ink.

Now the fact of Adeline Ejogo having cultivated cotton, prior to her apprenticeship, is distinctly stated in Major Moody's examination of her, in these words, "merely worked in the cotton piece." Major Moody, therefore, had no wish, and indeed no object in suppressing that fact, but Mr. M'Lean would not allow it to be stated upon his authority; yet, when it appeared from the examination of the apprentice herself, Major Moody inserted it as part of the evidence, although there was no particular column headed "Party's own account."

Major Moody has now to apologize for giving so long an explanation of a matter so simple, but which has appeared to be of much importance to those who composed the posthumous papers. Indeed in another part, it is thus remarked upon the discovery of the lines scored in the rough schedules of the examination of Adeline Ejogo, although Mr. Dougan might have observed precisely the same thing in many other instances in the rough schedules, even when taken by himself. "There are persons in the world who retain old fashioned ideas, that Providence will occasionally defeat the best concerted arrangements of man, by the simplest means, making the very learned contribute to set aside their own wise and best digested plans. Whether this case" (the discovery of the lines scored) "be a just exemplification, I shall not pretend to decide, but I will candidly confess that I was deeply impressed at the singularity of the circumstance."

Major Moody, on another occasion, has referred to the influence of certain religious dogmas on the mind of Mr. Dougan, but he really never could have conceived that Mr. Dougan would have considered, as a special interposition of Providence, the mere fact of his seeing, and noticing a paper, which was put before him for the express purpose of been seen, and noticed, accompanied even with a request that he would favour his colleague with the result of his observations.

Major Moody had no means of communicating with Mr. Barrow here referred to as the secretary until his return from Sierra Leone. On his return from thence, Major Moody wrote to him, and received the annexed answers.

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Major Moody's Remarks.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Barrow, addressed to Major Moody.

82, Upper Seymour-street, Somers Town, 27 April 1827.

Sir,

I HAVE received your letter of yesterday's date, and return you the following answers to the questions contained therein; viz.

Question 1.—Did I ever directly or indirectly influence you in any manner as to the correction of any evidence taken down by you as secretary?

Answer.—You never interfered with, or dictated to me respecting the evidence given by the parties brought before us.

2nd.—Was it not the uniform practice, both under Mr. Dougan and myself, that when any master, or mistress objected to any words or sentence being used, when their evidence was read over to them, to score the words or sentence objected to, and interline the amended evidence in the rough minute?

Answer.—As the evidence was not taken down in short-hand, it sometimes happened the sentence taken down was objected to by the masters or mistresses when read to them afterwards. I do not recollect any case wherein an apprentice objected to any sentence taken down either by Mr. Dougan, you or myself. When the master or mistress made an objection, the word or sentence was scored out, and their amended evidence interlined in the rough schedules; and when there was not room from much interlineation, sometimes a slip of paper was wafered to the place.

3d.—Was it not the uniform practice to keep these rough minutes of evidence, so interlined or amended, publicly on the table of the office during office hours, and were not the fair schedules made from these rough schedules by you, or the clerks employed for that purpose?

Answer.—The rough schedules were constantly in use, and examined to see how many people in each cargo had appeared, and how they were connected, and for other purposes of reference. When these were completed, two clerks, one a white and the other a coloured person, were employed in our office to copy the schedules fairly, according to the cargo of each vessel. These were carefully compared by Mr. Dougan and you, just before he last went to England, at the Custom-house, and compared the indenture of each person, and noticed any particular change in the column for remarks.

4th.—Was any mystery or concealment ever attempted respecting these interlined or amended rough schedules?

Answer.—Never; nor could there be any, because they were almost constantly had recourse to by Mr. Dougan, by you and by myself, and the two clerks.

5th.—Did I leave these rough schedules in your charge as secretary, when I gave over the charge of the Commission to the gentlemen who relieved me?

Answer.—All the rough schedules and an office fair copy of them were left by you, when the Commission was taken over. These rough schedules and the fair copies of them were in like manner left by me with the Commissioners when ill health obliged me to leave the West Indies. After having fairly entered in the minute book all other minutes (not being schedules), you and Mr. Dougan compared them, and wrote the initials of your names against any erasure in the official minute book. The rough memoranda for these minutes were left with you, as having been ordered to be destroyed; and a fair copy of the schedules also was left with you.

6th.—Will you be pleased to state if I ever gave you any instructions about amending or altering the evidence given by Mr. M'Lean, respecting the apprentice Adeline Ejogo, mentioned in page 306 of the Tortola Schedules, which have been laid before Parliament?

Answer.—Neither in that case, nor in any other did you give me any instructions respecting the alteration of any evidence given by Mr. Maclean.

7th.—If there were any lines scored out in the rough draft of the schedules or examination, at whose request were such lines scored out, and new words introduced?

Answer.—Any lines scored out in the case of Mr. Maclean, were done so by his desire, and it was by his desire alone that any new words were interlined. The same thing was done when Mr. Dougan was present in similar cases.

I have also taken the pains to compare the printed copy of Mr. M'Lean's evidence in the case of Adeline Ejogo, mentioned in page 306 of the Tortola Schedules, with the fair copy of the schedules in the office, and I do solemnly affirm my belief that the words there used were the real words which Mr. M'Lean gave in evidence.

I am,

(signed) *J. Barrow,*

Secretary to the African Apprentice Commission.

To Major Moody.

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MAJOR MOODY, having now given such explanations, as the posthumous remarks, attributed to the late Mr. Dougan, seemed to require, has to conclude with the assurance to Government, that he will be at all times ready to give such farther explanation, as they may think necessary, to elucidate the truth. For Major Moody is fully aware of the difficulty of discussing any subject of a local nature at 4,000 miles distant from the places to be affected by the result. The Orders in Council relating to African apprentices, and the Consolidated Act for the abolition of the slave trade sufficiently prove this assertion. Yet neither the Orders in Council, nor the Consolidated Act ever excited the parliamentary opposition of those Members of Parliament, who, having some interest in West India property, are supposed to understand the influence of all those physical, as well as moral causes, which bear on the control of human labour in various countries, when placed under different circumstances. These gentlemen, however, not having had any practical experience in the direction and control of labour in the West Indies, were obliged to adopt opinions on reasons drawn from analogy. But as it is impossible at 4,000 miles distant, to ascertain personally whether the alleged analogy was perfect or not, they did not always agree with those, who reasoned on circumstances, altogether different from those seen in England. Even among persons interested in West India property, therefore differences of opinion exist, arising from the practical knowledge possessed by one class in the control of labour, whilst the other only reason theoretically, and from analogy. It cannot therefore excite surprise that so much difference in opinion should have existed between Major Moody, when reasoning from practical experience in the control of labour in different countries, and Mr. Dougan, who although a West Indian, and a very intelligent person, yet was altogether ignorant of the principles which practically influenced the control of West India agricultural labour, in which he had not had any experience, in his pursuits, whether of a legal, or of a mercantile nature. If a third person had been in the commission, these differences of opinion could have easily been settled on the spot, as Major Moody had suggested; but that plan not having been adopted, he resigned, from his reluctance to expose the unworthy attempts of his colleague to deceive others, on subjects, upon which the people of Great Britain felt a lively interest, and who, from feelings of benevolence, were anxious to believe any circumstance which held out the hope of their being gratified, without injury to the West India capitalist: for it is impossible not to perceive that the question of the comparative value of free and slave labour in West India agriculture, is that upon which the emancipation of the slaves, without injury to the rights of private property altogether depends. And the incessant attacks on Major Moody, and the eager desire of a powerful party to get him removed from the Colonial Office by misrepresentations of the truth, and by sophistical reasoning.

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