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CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

Abolition of Negro Slavery,

AND

THE MEANS

OF

PRACTICALLY EFFECTING IT.

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BY

J. F. BARHAM, ESQ.

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## P R E F A C E.

Language of Satirical Writers and  
People of England.

EVERY one, who addresses the public, must wish, that what he has to offer may be received without any prejudice arising from a misconception of his former opinions and conduct. On this account I am desirous to correct two misstatements, which have been made respecting myself.

I have been represented by some, as having been originally a defender of the Slave Trade, though afterwards a convert to its abolition. This is not so. I have never, at any time, viewed the Slave Trade without the strongest feelings of disapprobation; nor have I ever done an act, nor have I ever spoken a word, which, according to my judgment, had a tendency

practically to support it. The first occasion on which I ventured to address the House of Commons on a public subject was in support of the Bill, which was introduced in 1794, for the purpose of abolishing the Trade for supplying Foreign Colonies. It is true, that being thoroughly convinced, that, under the circumstances of that day, it would be impossible to enforce, practically, *a direct and general prohibition*; and that the attempt would only create a contraband trade of equal extent, worse character, and more difficult cure; I very unwillingly opposed that measure; recommending, in lieu of it, *as much gradual restriction, as it might be found, from time to time, practicable to enforce*: but no sooner had the revolution of St. Domingo, and the disappearance of every flag but the British from the West-Indian Seas opened a chance, as I thought, of really and practically abolishing the

Trade throughout, that I joyfully added my best assistance to those who ultimately accomplished the abolition.

I have also lately been represented as hostile to the improvement of the Slaves. This imputation has surprised me (since my exertions in their favour had not always been unnoticed); but I suppose it may have arisen from the opposition I made to the Registry Bill. It is with reluctance that I advert to a measure, which again divided me from many whom I respect; but I must claim from them that candour, which I am willing to show. They introduced the Bill, doubtless, because they believed, that a contraband trade existed, or would arise: I resisted it, because I was satisfied, that no such trade existed, or, *under the changed situation of the Colonies*, was at all likely to arise. They supported the Bill, because they thought it would be beneficial to the

Slaves : I opposed it, because I thought, that, without being of any use to the Slaves, by being *misunderstood*, it would lead them into mischief and danger. Whether there have been any reasons to suspect, that I was not wholly wrong, I shall not here inquire.

To improve the condition of the Slaves, in every safe and practicable way, I have ever deemed the first duty of the master ; nor have I ever contemplated such improvement, without viewing at the end of my perspective, as its ultimate object and consummation, *their capacity for, and their possession of FREEDOM.* X

That the process to this point must, under the present circumstances, be exceedingly slow, has always, to me, been a most painful consideration ; and my chief motive, in presenting these pages to the public, is to point out, that the present moment offers an opportunity, which never



has occurred before, and which may never occur again, of altering those circumstances so as to render an accelerated progress of improvement both safe and practicable.



ON  
THE ABOLITION  
OF  
**Negro Slavery.**

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**THE** nation, as with one voice, has called on its legislature to adopt speedy and decisive measures for the abolition of Slavery in our Colonies—Government has accepted the call, and demanded that the task be committed to itself—Expectation is everywhere alive, and deeply painful will be the general feeling if it should be disappointed.

It would be uncandid to suppose, that government had taken the matter into its own hands merely to get rid of a temporary embarrassment; and without meaning really to effect the object. But even if this were so, it would make no difference in the end. Those, who have awakened the public feeling on this subject, will know how to arouse it again; the public voice will be

heard in a yet louder tone; and the danger is, that government will thus be forced on measures, which, if due preparation be not made for them, will involve both the Slaves and the Colonies in common ruin.

The nation does not indeed expect that emancipation can be effected by any immediate act, for, until the Slaves can be fitted for freedom, it is acknowledged, that emancipation would be injurious even to themselves: but what the nation does expect, is this—*that the most energetic measures shall be forthwith employed to bring them into that state, in which freedom may be granted to them with benefit and safety.*

To judge correctly with regard to these measures is the important point, both for government and the nation. For, if, on one hand, by too much precipitation the greatest mischief and danger may be produced; so, on the other hand, if there be not sufficient decision, the object will remain at a distance most unsatisfactory to the public feeling, and unjust towards those, whose wrongs we want to redress with all possible speed.

In considering this difficult subject, our first question will naturally be to ask, What is the *actual* condition of the Slaves, and what has it hitherto been? Has it improved? Is it improving, or is it stationary? The answer can-

not be disputed. In physical respects it has much improved, and little is left to do. The Slave is now in most physical circumstances better off than the labouring class of other countries\*. This it was in the power of the master to accomplish, and it is done. But in civil and moral respects, his condition is not materially changed. Some improvement may have been made, and some may be in progress (more perhaps in reality than appearance, and more by custom than by law); but still we must confess, that his civil rights are yet hardly definable, and his moral improvement is almost yet to be begun.

That progressive improvement, however slow, must arrive at the desired point at last, will of course be admitted. But if the question be asked, will it, under the present process, arrive at the point of emancipation within the *time* that the nation expects?—the answer must be, *decidedly no*. At the present rate of improvement, generations must pass before freedom could be safely or beneficially imparted to the Slaves.

If again it be asked, whether by such measures as have been now recommended

\* Let it not be understood as if it were meant to place physical good in any competition with the blessings of liberty, moral improvement, or religion. It is merely meant to state the fact as it is.

to the Colonies, the progress of improvement will be rendered satisfactory?—the answer must be again, *decidedly no*. Some good they may do: some branches of the evil they may lop off; but they go not to its root: they may somewhat relax the bonds of the Slave, but they will not practically *much* advance *that*, which, if ever he is to be free, must precede his freedom; *namely, his moral improvement*.

Moral improvement is the hinge on which every thing must turn. When that is sufficiently advanced, civil rights may be freely granted, and emancipation will have no danger. But moral improvement will not be accomplished by vain recommendations to the Colonies to do what they have not the means of effecting.

Nothing indeed could be easier than for the Colonies to pass specious laws, which would remove every reproach from their statute book; but if, from existing circumstances, these laws could not have any practical effect, it were better that the evil should remain open to public view, than that it should be thus disguised.

Nothing could be easier for them, than to introduce Christianity *in name*. For the most insignificant reward, the Slaves would universally accept baptism. Without reward, they would rather doze at a monthly sermon, than work during the time. But such feeble means of

conversion would not change them : it were better that they should remain as they are, than that a people, whose religion (if indeed it can be called such at all) continuing in fact as it is, should be regarded as Christians.

Nothing could be easier than to comply with the constant requisition, that the evidence of a Slave should be *admissible* in a court of justice ; but no one has yet contended, that, till he can feel the obligation of an oath, till you have at least found some symbol fairly to swear him by, his evidence shall be regarded as *credible*. What will the Slave then have gained ? The mockery of being produced not to be believed. Better for him that he should remain as he is, than exchange a technical disability for a public exhibition of his incompetence.

Nothing could be easier than to abolish the use of the whip ; but those, who call for this abolition, always end by proposing some other means of coercion, some other instrument of punishment ; less decried perhaps, but which is to be equally effectual. What again will the Slave gain by this ? It were better that his chains should appear in their full deformity, than that they should be gilded over\*.

\* One exception must, however, be made here. The recommendation lately sent out, to prohibit the use of the whip towards women, is most important in a *moral* point of

One of the measures recommended to the Colonies is the facilitating individual emancipation; and certainly it is desirable, that there should be no impediment in the way of those, who are disposed to give freedom to their Slaves\*, as a reward, or from kindness; but no error could be more pernicious than to suppose, that general emancipation can arrive by

view. Degradation of the female is everywhere the prominent feature of barbarism; and to distinguish their women by any mark of respect cannot fail to raise them in the estimation of the Slaves, and to lead towards every virtue.

\* It does not appear, that any law has passed with the *view* of discouraging individual emancipations, nor indeed is it conceivable, that a policy of this nature could be entertained by any owner of Slaves, for the plain reason, that the fewer Slaves there are besides, the more valuable must be his own. Could one-fourth of the Slaves be emancipated this year, the income of the Colonies would be quadrupled in the next, for the redundant produce, which depresses the market, would disappear. The laws, which impose some difficulty on emancipations, had another object. In part it was a humane one. The owner of Slaves is now by law obliged to furnish them annually with a fixed quantum of clothing, food, &c. Now to escape from this obligation, some persons were base enough, when their Slaves were past work, to emancipate them, and these became the most miserable objects imaginable. To prevent this, and to protect the parishes from the burthen of maintaining these poor people, laws were passed, requiring, that when a Slave was emancipated, some security should be given for his future sustenance.



multiplying individual emancipations. The case of the Negro has by some been compared to that, which once existed in our own and most other countries, where (as has been justly said) Slavery was at last extinguished by the enfranchisement of the last Slave. But the cases differ essentially. When the European Slave was enfranchised, he passed into the general mass of the free population. Not thus is it with the Negro: when he is enfranchised, he passes not into the condition of the free community, but forms a separate class of his own; and (as we see in every Colony) the most wretched class of the whole population. The reason of this is evident; namely, that *he is not yet in that state of moral improvement, in which freedom is a good.*

It will perhaps be said, that the case will become different when the number of emancipated Negroes becomes greater; but experience does not warrant this opinion. We do not observe, that the free Blacks are more improved where they are more numerous: we can hardly discern anywhere, that one step has ever been taken by them voluntarily towards civilization; nor ever will there, till their whole character be previously changed. But as they become more numerous they will become more dangerous; and, be where it may, whenever they become

sufficiently strong, they will drive out the Whites, and make the remaining Blacks slaves to themselves\*.

Of all the projects that have ever been imagined, that of declaring all the children free, who shall be born after a certain time, is the one which would bring with it the most *certain ruin*. Indeed, we may fix the date at which that ruin would arrive: this would be (if it did not happen sooner) at the first moment when this generation had reached maturity.

Those, who expect that this generation would resemble the free labourers of other countries, are strangely deceived. Let men conclude what they will, *from cases of exception*, we know that the Negro race is so adverse to labour, that without force we have hardly anywhere been able to obtain it, even from those who had been trained to work; and now we are to expect it from those who have been trained to idleness!

\* There is nothing of which a Negro Slave has such horror as that of becoming the Slave of a free Negro, for these are generally found to be the severest of masters. I would not willingly undervalue the virtues of the Slaves (and attachment to their masters, when kindly used, they certainly have in an eminent degree), but I imagine, that to the fear of being made Slaves to other Negroes we must in some degree attribute that adherence to their masters, which the Slaves have often manifested in cases of insurrection.

No—if ever general emancipation is to come without general ruin, it must come, not by emancipating *Slaves*, but by emancipating *Slavery*; by gradually extracting from the condition of Slavery all its ingredients, till at last the whole mass of Slaves shall at once glide, as it were, into freedom. From the former course we could expect only an idle and vicious population; in the latter, every step we take is good in itself, and leads to good. In the former process, the farther we go the greater is the danger; in the latter, every day would bring additional security.

But what, then, are the means, by which this desirable change could be so accelerated as to give us some *near* view of the object we aim at? The answer is painful, but it is of no use to disguise the truth—*at present they exist not; nor can they be created, unless we can remodel the whole frame of our Colonial establishments.*

This, therefore, we must either boldly determine to undertake, or we must be content to await the slow progress of such improvement as time may gradually produce.

Persons, who have given but slight consideration to the subject, or who have trusted false information as to facts, will be surprised at this statement, having hitherto believed, that, if the Colonial assemblies and proprietors were in

earnest, they could speedily effect whatever was desired; but such will not be their opinion if they examine the subject more closely.

The assemblies may pass what laws they will; but here are customs, manners, and opinions to be entirely altered; deep prejudices to be rooted out, both in the White and Black population; here is the character of a *people* to be changed; above all, some stimulus is to be discovered, and brought into action, by which those are to be induced to labour, who have no wants, and those to submit to moral institutions, who have no moral feelings. If to change the character of a people by law be in any case the most difficult problem in political science, what must it be in that strange anomaly of human society, which the Colonies now present to our view?

The owners of Slaves may labour for the same object as much as they will, and many have thus laboured all their lives, but have laboured nearly in vain. Nor are the causes of this failure out of sight. The changes to be wrought are not within the scope of a master's *mandate*; and his *influence* with the Slaves, as to many things, is less, exactly because he *is* their master. To any thinking mind this will convey no paradox: the fewer rights a man retains, the more tenacious he is of them. All here depends on opinion: the opinion of the Slave, at present, acknowledges the

right of his master to his labour, because he bred and feeds him : he acknowledges the right to enforce that labour by punishment : but of any interference with his domestic life or pleasures he acknowledges not the right, and is exceedingly jealous of any approach to it, in the shape of advice or influence.

Nothing can betray more ignorance of the subject, than when persons blame the master for not enforcing marriage amongst his Slaves. By persuasion and reward, sometimes, a *seeming* acquiescence in this institution has been obtained from a few Slaves ; but nothing would sooner excite their open resistance than any exertion of authority on the subject.

Let it not be supposed for a moment, that this representation of the difficulties to be overcome proceeds from a wish to discourage the purpose : it proceeds from the very opposite motive. The first step to overcome a difficulty is to ascertain its full extent ; and he, who would undervalue, is not the most likely to surmount it. To represent a thing easier than it is, may indeed lead men more readily to the attempt, but it is likely to place them farther from the execution of any thing that requires persevering exertion.

Of exceeding difficulty is indeed the object we aim at ; but from nothing that has been said

does it follow, that it is unattainable. It follows not, that, because in the present condition of the Colonies improvement *must* be extremely slow, changes might not be made in that condition, which would render a rapid improvement both safe and practicable.

Of what nature those changes must be, will best appear by a review of the principal obstructions which now exist against improvement.

OF THE  
CHIEF OBSTRUCTIONS TO IMPROVEMENT,  
AND  
THE MEANS OF REMOVING THEM.

I. The chief obstruction is *fear of the Slaves*. In physical force, they are tenfold superior to their masters ; but, from their state of ignorance, they are not able to devise, and, from their close confinement, they are not able to execute, any plan of concert, or combination. Now, to improve them, we must enlighten their minds, and relax their confinement. But the more we succeed in these objects, the more we increase our own danger. Knowledge is strength, and freedom from confinement is opportunity. Suppose the assemblies to be as liberally disposed as possible, you cannot expect them to be divested of those feelings, which govern the rest of mankind, and self-preservation will ever be the first law of human nature.

To judge what would best remove this obstruction from fear, it will be well to examine from what point the danger chiefly arises. The Slaves know pretty well, that, besides the power of their masters, there is another power over the water, which is stronger than they. Their notions are indeed not very distinct on the subject, but they have occasionally heard, that this power

over the water is sometimes disposed to side with them against their masters; and in proportion as this notion prevails more or less among them, so is naturally the danger greater or less of their resistance and insurrection. The way, then, to diminish, or rather to do away the danger at once, would be *to let them see that there was but one authority, from which there was no appeal, and against which all resistance would be vain, namely, that of the King*, for under such title would the authority of Great Britain be regarded. In the mind of the Slave resistance to the King of England would appear in a very different light, than resistance to the local powers; and, if this change could be brought about, many an improvement, which *now* would be hazardous in the extreme, would be free from all danger. In fact, the danger would then become less, in proportion as the knowledge of the Slaves became greater; for such knowledge would the more convince them of their inability to cope ultimately with the power of Great Britain.

II. The *next obstruction* to improvement is the absence of all wants, that would stimulate a free Negro to labour in the West Indies. What they may have done in other countries or climates proves nothing. Nor will any minute cases, which are brought forward (and which



one has no means of examining), have much weight. A few Negroes under peculiar circumstances may have laboured for hire, but the evidence of all the Colonies in the West Indies (in some of which there are abundance of free Negroes, and abundance of people who would gladly hire them) proves, that, constituted as he now is, the Negro will not work but under coercion. Hayti proves it—Africa proves it\*.

\* The cultivation of Hayti seems to be now confined to the raising of provisions, which requires very little labour, and to the gathering of coffee and cotton from the trees already planted. As to Africa, even though in one particular part there should be a class of men, who will undertake temporary jobs for hire, and even though there may be some symptoms of voluntary labour at Sierra Leone, produced by moral improvement, yet such exceptions destroy not the general evidence of that vast continent. Indeed, the latter case rather confirms our statement. It is far from our meaning, that by moral improvement any change may not be effected; what we mean to say is, that till such improvement shall have taken place, the Negro will only work by coercion. A curious proof of this will be found in Mr. John Hay's Narrative of the Grenada Insurrection, published by Ridgway, page 106. This gentleman was some time detained at Guadaloupe, then under the government of Victor Hugués. Punishment by the whip had been then totally abolished; but instead of it a military tribunal had been established, consisting of five whites and blacks, who made a tour of the Island once a month, in order to try and punish such Negroes as had neglected their work. *They were condemned to be*

But indeed we hardly need to appeal to experience for the proof. By the clearest conclusions from facts, that cannot be disputed, we may assure ourselves, *a priori*, that it *must* be so. The labour of a few days builds as good a habitation as the Negro desires, and the labour of a few more supplies him with food for the year. Clothing he hardly wants, and artificial desires he has none so strong as the desire to pass his time in idleness. By what then but force can he be brought to work? We must here call, with the Greek mathematician, for ground to stand on. Ground there is none; and we might as soon expect to put a machine in motion by a power, which should be weaker than the power that resists, as we might expect the free Negro to labour for hire, till some adequate want shall impel him. To teach him artificial wants must be a work of time and uncertainty; and the case is hopeless unless we can bring him under the same impulse, which acts on the free labourer everywhere else. All the world over, this is neither more nor less than the want of food; and if the Negro is to work, that stimulus must

*chained by the middle and ancle for five to fifteen years. The more refractory were shot, which very frequently happened. Mr. Hay relates this incidentally, and not for the purpose of founding any argument upon it.*

be applied to him, or he must remain under the whip; for as to confinement or disgrace, he would hardly feel them as a punishment.

Such are not the most pleasing views of human condition, but we must not shut our eyes to them, unless we would grossly deceive ourselves. The Slave probably would prefer his present state under the whip, to that into which we would thus lead him; and no doubt, that physically he suffers less in his present state, than he would then do *at first*; but the process is unavoidable; and if you would convert him into a free labourer, there is no other way to teach him.

But how may the thing be effected? Half an acre is sufficient for his cottage and his food; the kind of land he wants is of little value, and is divided amongst proprietors so numerous as to render a combination impossible. Sooner than let their land lie waste, these proprietors would underbid each other, and the Negro would thus obtain what land he wants at a rent, which the labour of a week, perhaps, would procure him. Another week would serve for its cultivation, and the remaining fifty weeks he would remain idle. It does not seem, that any law could reach this case, nor could it be prevented, unless *all the land were in one proprietor*, who might require a reasonable quantum of la-

bour to pay for it. If this could be effected, the situation of the free Negro would become similar to that of the free labourer everywhere else, whose constant work is requisite for his constant food: some would then labour more and more successfully than others; artificial wants would gradually supervene, and thus we should have obtained the ground to stand on, by which we might raise a due proportion of these people into the different degrees of social order.

III. A *third obstruction* to improvement arises from the impossibility of obtaining any general concert amongst the numerous proprietors, which now exist. To produce the effect we want on the moral condition of the Slaves, it is indispensable, that some *general and uniform plan* should be everywhere instituted and followed up. Now this could not be accomplished by law, and must in great part, as matters stand, depend on the voluntary exertions of the proprietors and managers. But these (even if we suppose them unanimous as to the *object*) cannot be expected to be unanimous as to the *means* of pursuing it. According to their different notions, one man will aim at improvement one way, while his neighbour aims at it another, and thus the endeavours of all will be lost.

*This obstruction could obviously only be removed by bringing all the Slaves under one government.*

IV. A *fourth obstruction* to moral improvement is the want of adequate means in the Colonies to form the establishments it would require.

The chief means of moral improvement are *religion and education*. Religion we know may do any thing; but it depends not on man to ensure its acceptance and diffusion, especially amongst those, who are past the age of education.

Education must therefore go hand in hand with religion; and perhaps it would be best expressed thus, *we must have the means of religious education first, and of religious observance afterwards*. If we would produce the effect speedily, these institutions must be so extensive, that every child shall be thus educated, and that the means of religious instruction and worship shall be within the reach of every Slave. Partial attempts may do *individual good*, but *our* object they would not attain\*: whereas if the thing were done every-

\* It was the opinion of Mr. Burke (who at one time honoured the author by much communication on these subjects), that the moral improvement of the Slave would only be effected by a *general* diffusion of religious instruction *at once*. He said, that the point must be carried at first by a *sort of force*, and that partial impressions would often be

where at once, we may calculate the day on which Slavery may be finally abolished; for that day will have arrived when we shall have obtained a generation thus educated.

Now, establishments of this extent it is out of the power of the Colonies to command, either in regard to the pecuniary means, or those of ob-

obliterated as fast as they were made. But let it not be thought, that partial attempts are here undervalued. Infinite is the merit of those, who have made them, and great, in some cases, has been their success. The United Brethren (commonly called Moravians) have led the way, and their mode of teaching is peculiarly adapted to impress the minds of the Slaves. But neither their number nor their pecuniary means enable them to extend their missions as much as might be desired. The Methodists have also had considerable success; but they are viewed in the Colonies with some jealousy. I am inclined to believe, that this jealousy is in general unwarranted, though, perhaps, there have been some instances of particular persons (perhaps not authorized, but calling themselves Methodists) acting with considerable indiscretion. If in nonessentials they could adapt their forms a little to the circumstances of the case, their zeal might be highly useful. The Established Church has not hitherto been very active in this work; but it appears, that, under the patronage of the Lord Bishop of London, a society, having for its object the conversion of the Negroes, is now about to enter on the task with energy worthy of its object. Should the diffusion of religious instruction among the Slaves not be made a national concern, certainly, those who are prompted by humane views towards them, or a desire for the abolition, could in no way so well promote that object as by contributing to the means of converting them to Christianity.

taining the requisite teachers and ministers. At present, schools there are none, and the established clergy are barely sufficient for the white population. To furnish education and religious instruction to eight hundred thousand slaves, dispersed as they are, would require so many teachers and ministers as to induce a fear, that the thing could hardly be accomplished; especially as we know, on one hand, the indisposition of men to risk their health in those climates, and, on the other, the expenses of living there. Yet, as this is the *turning point* of the whole, let us not abandon it till we find it quite unattainable.

A calculation of the requisite number of these establishments must at present rest on very uncertain data, and much depends on the denseness of the population in the different Colonies. In the Appendix (No. I) an attempt has, however, been made to calculate that number and their expense, which it is supposed would not be less than two hundred and fifty thousand pounds per annum; though afterwards it might perhaps be reduced. But even this supposes, that a considerable concentration of the population had been previously effected. At present, if education and religion are to reach all the Slaves, a much larger establishment and expense would be requisite.

The means then of removing this obstruction

must be either to furnish an establishment such as has been stated ; or, if the population be left in its present dispersed state, to furnish a much larger establishment. To alter the state of the population is obviously impossible, while the property remains in the hands of different proprietors ; and this brings us again to the same point, the advantage, or necessity of *vesting it all in one proprietor, or at least placing it under one direction.*

V. The last obstruction, that need be enumerated, is the apprehension, which the present proprietors entertain, that though *all* Great Britain demands the abolition of Slavery, yet that *all* the price of obtaining it would be cast upon them. Such apprehension is probably unfounded ; but when their all is at stake, men are not easily cured of their fears ; and till these are entirely removed, it cannot be expected, that the proprietors should act as they would, if perfectly assured, that they were to bear whatever loss may ensue, *only in just proportion* with the rest of the nation.

The remedy here would of course be to give them that assurance, either by some *solemn* declaration of the legislature, or, what would be better (if practicable), by *some immediate indemnity*. But as this leads to a subject of much importance and extent, it may be well to consider it separately.



## OF COMPENSATION.

Compensation should be considered in two points of view; its *necessity* and its *justice*.

### *Of the Necessity of Compensation.*

It is *necessary*, because without it our object (the abolition of Slavery) cannot be attained. Doubtless it is in the power of Great Britain to abolish Slavery by its own decree, to enforce that decree on the Colonies, or to leave the Slaves to enforce it for themselves. Nothing could be easier or shorter than this process. The free condition of Hayti can everywhere be attained in a week. But if we want to retain the Colonies as possessions of any value\* after the abolition, we *cannot enforce* it on the proprietors and resident white population; *for the very first application of force on them, that be-*

\* No man's opinion deserves more weight on most subjects than that of Mr. Baring; but particularly on this, on which his knowledge must be great, though not himself a Colonial proprietor. Mr. Baring declared to the House, that if the Slaves were emancipated, we must take leave of the Colonies as a productive possession. Doubtless this gentleman would admit the condition, "*unless the character of the Slaves can be previously changed.*"

*comes visible to the Slaves, will be the certain signal for general insurrection, and the fate of the Colonies is decided without recal.*

Let me here adjure those whom it may concern, to take care what they are about in this respect. One wrong step, and their regret may be eternal. Let them do else what they will. If they cannot else be satisfied, let them resume the charters, and abolish the present legislatures of the Colonies: it will be better for the Colonies, and better for the Slaves, than that they should be openly controlled, and yet suffered to exist; for they will be consigned, not only to inefficacy and contempt, but to plunder and death. In whatever shape local authority appears to the Slaves, whether in that of a governor only, or as it is now composed; for their *own* sake, and for the sake of those who are entrusted with the authority, it should appear to the Slaves (while in their present state) to be *absolute*.

But will the white inhabitants put it to this issue? Will they expose themselves to certain ruin, rather than comply with the terms required of them? The answer is perilous; but so much is certain, that they will not accept the assurance of persons here (who, as they think, know little of their situation), that abolition will do them no harm. Many of them believe, that abolition

will be fatal to their existence and that of their families; and seeing ruin equally in compliance and resistance, in some quarter or other violent councils will prevail. To produce the catastrophe, it needs not that there should be a general resistance, any spark may be sufficient to light the flame.

To predict this conduct, on the part of the Colonies, is not attributing to them any inveterate determination to maintain a bad system, it is attributing to them only the common feelings of mankind. If it were proposed, *at the separate expense* of any county in England, to remedy an evil which had been established by the *nation at large*, does any one suppose that such county would tamely acquiesce? Yet how infinitely weaker would that case be than the one we have been considering!

Let not the pride of Great Britain be here offended. The same blood flows in the veins of the Colonist as in those of the people of England. They have dared much for their country in forming those Colonies: they have often suffered much for their country: and they will in any case act as their countrymen would. They will be ready to share with their country all the cost of abolishing Slavery; but if it is attempted to make them bear *more than their share*, they will not acquiesce—and your Colonies are gone.

Compensation is therefore necessary, if we will have Colonies as well as abolition. But it were most desirable, for the speedier attainment of the object, not only to have the acquiescence, but the willing co-operation of the white inhabitants; for if that population were merely to be passive, and do nothing, it would not be easy to find *all* the necessary agency by which to effect our purpose.

That co-operation we may have; and we may have it on the fair terms of doing that ourselves, which we call on others to do, and of paying our proportion of the debt, which we as well as they have contracted.

*Of Compensation, as required by Justice.*

But is it really so, as we have affirmed, that the people of Great Britain are equally liable for the debt, we would now pay to humanity and justice, as the inhabitants of the Colonies and the owners of Colonial property? The question is most important; and, before it can be safely answered, we must inquire *how this debt arose, by whom, and for whose benefit it was contracted?*

That debt arose by the Slave Trade; and that trade was established by, and for the benefit of, the *nation at large*.

To say, that Great Britain formed the plan,

and that the Colonies executed it—to say, that Great Britain made the laws, and that the Colonies availed themselves of those laws—would be greatly understating the share, which Great Britain had in *the origin of the Slave Trade, and in the consequent system of Slavery that now exists*. But many persons have been so used to charge all the odium of that system on those, who by accident happen to be the present owners of Slaves, that they will be surprised to learn how much larger a share Great Britain has had, than the Colonies, in the *formation, maintenance, and present extent of Slavery*.

The following historical facts will clear up this point a little.

Great Britain established the Slave Trade in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who personally took a share in it.

The Colonies did not then exist.

Great Britain encouraged it in the successive reigns of Charles I, Charles II, and James II, by every means that could be devised. But it was William III who outdid them all. With Lord Somers for his minister, he declared the Slave Trade to

The Colonies, all this time, took no share in it themselves, merely purchasing what the British merchants brought them; and doing therein what the British government invited them to do, by every means in their power.

be "*highly beneficial to the nation*:" and that this was not meant merely as beneficial to the nation through the medium of the Colonial prosperity, is demonstrated by the Assiento Treaty, in 1713, with which the Colonies had nothing to do; and in which Great Britain binds herself to supply 144,000 Slaves, at the rate of 4,800 per annum, to the Spanish Colonies. From that time, till within a few years of the present time, our history is full of the various measures and grants, which passed for the *encouragement* and protection of the trade.

So much as to those who created and fostered the trade: and now let us see, who it was that first marked it with disapprobation, and sought to confine it within narrower bounds.

The Colonies began in 1760. South Carolina (then a British colony) passed an act to prohibit further importation; but

Great Britain rejected this act with indignation, and declared, that the Slave Trade was *beneficial and necessary to the mother country*. The governor, who passed it, was reprimanded.

manded; and a circular was sent to all other governors, warning them against a similar offence.

The Colonies, however, in 1765, repeated the offence; and a bill was twice read in the assembly of Jamaica, for the same purpose of limiting the importation of Slaves; when

Great Britain stopped it, through the governor of that island, who sent for the assembly, and told them, that, consistently with his instructions, he could not give his assent: *upon which the bill was dropped.*

The Colonies, in 1774, tried once more; and the assembly of Jamaica actually passed two bills to restrict the trade; but

Great Britain again resisted the restriction. Bristol and Liverpool\* petitioned against it. The matter was referred to the Board of Trade, and that Board reported against it.

\* The conduct of this town, with regard to the Slave Trade and Slavery, is too curious to pass without remark. Within a very few years of the present time, Liverpool was the great Slave Trader of all. Liverpool invented and clung to all the enormities of the middle passage. Liverpool defended the trade to the last moment, not as a necessary evil, but as a good thing in itself. The sense of the nation, however, prevailed, and the trade was abolished. Still Liverpool would not give up the topic of Slavery, and its voice is still heard more than any other on that subject: but (oh the miracle!) it has suddenly changed sides, and the ultra advocate of the Slave Trade has become the ultra declaimer against

The Colonies, by the agent of Jamaica, remonstrated against that report, and pleaded against it on all the grounds of justice and humanity; but

Great Britain, by the mouth of the Earl of Dartmouth, then president of the Board, answered by the following declaration: "We cannot allow the Colonies to check or discourage, *in any degree*, a traffic so beneficial to the nation." And this was in 1774!

It is presumed, after this, not many persons will be disposed to contend, that Great Britain has not had at least an equal share in establishing Slavery with those who happen now to be the actual owners of Slaves.

But still there are some points to be closely examined before we shall venture to pronounce, that the claim for compensation rests on the strictest grounds of justice.

Slavery! How is this to be accounted for? Self-interest is pretty generally worshipped, but seldom in so public a way. But something still more extraordinary has been reserved for this most mercantile town. It has not only changed sides diametrically within a very few years on this subject, but it is able at this moment, to view the same thing in both ways at once. An ingenious merchant of that place has invented a glass, by which, if directed to the West, Slavery is seen as a monster of such frightful magnitude, that, in order to destroy it instantly, you ought to destroy all your Colonies; but which same glass, if directed to the East, shows the same Slavery in a form perfectly diminutive and inoffensive.



To make that claim *absolute*, it must be shown, that the thing which is required to be surrendered is not merely *a system*, which afforded the means of prospective gain, but that it is absolutely *a property in possession*, and held by the same right by which all other property is held—*the law*. Closer than this it does not seem possible to draw the line; and here lies the distinction between the present claim, and that which was made at the time the *Slave Trade* was abolished. The claim then made (but which was urged much more strenuously by the British Slave merchant than the planter) was not a claim for *property in possession*. The *Slave Trade* could not be property, though it might be the means of creating property. The right to trade had been permitted by law, but no engagement had been made, that it should be permitted for ever. Those, who trusted to its continuance, trusted at *their own risk*; and when it was prohibited, what they lost was not a *vested property*, but the chance of contingent gain; whereas what will be taken here is, that which the law has sanctioned as property for ever.

A very respectable author (Mr. Clarkson) contends against this claim of property upon a ground, which it is not necessary here to dispute. His argument seems to be, that such property

cannot be created even by law, since it is contrary to the first principles of our nature (which are anterior and superior to all law) that one man should have property in another man. Be it so, but what then? This would justify the Slave in regaining his liberty by any means he could employ, since he had been unjustly deprived of it. But in the question of compensation the Slave is no party. That question lies wholly between the proprietor and the legislature, which has constituted the property. *The law must be binding, at least on those that made it.* If the legislature, with a view to national advantage, has committed injustice, and now, with a view to national justice, would repair the wrong, it is for the nation to pay the price of its wrong, and not for the individual, who acted in conformity to the law. To fix on the present proprietor the cost of redeeming the acts of the nation at large would be concluding a series of injustice to Africa by an act of injustice to a portion of your own subjects, with regard to whom your first laws would have been a fraud, and your last would be a robbery.

It has been often repeated, that evil must not be done that good may come out of it : that the end can never sanctify the means : that injustice may not be committed even for the purposes of justice ; and certainly there is no principle of

morality which it is more important to keep inviolate than this, though there often appears much temptation (even from good motives) to swerve from it. But here we are in no such distressing alternative. We are not to choose between injustice to the Slave, and injustice to his owner; but we are to choose between injustice to the owner, and that justice which we have it in our power to do him.

If the people of Great Britain, by their general call on the legislature to abolish Slavery, meant to say, that they were so deeply sensible of its injustice, that they would pay whatever it cost to abolish it; there is not a passage perhaps in any history, which does more honour to a national character, for it must have appeared to them that the sacrifice would be great.

But if by that call was meant, that it should be abolished by taking from others the property which they (the nation) had constituted such for their own benefit, and of which they had received the benefit, then there are no words which would adequately express the contempt they would deserve for their hypocrisy and injustice. It may be, that some few have signed petitions in that view; it may be, that many have signed them without much consideration of the consequences; but he must have a vile opinion indeed of his country, who could attribute a view like

this to any considerable portion of its inhabitants.

It is however said by some, that no compensation will be due, since there will be no loss; that when the Slaves are set free they will work for hire like labourers everywhere else; and that such hire will be cheaper than the present cost of maintaining them. These assertions, it is not necessary either to admit or deny; for, be they true or be they false, it is quite clear, that common sense, as well as common justice, demands, that the experiment should be made at the risk of those who predict its success, and demand its execution; and not at the risk of those who apprehend its failure, and protest against it. If the former be not altogether insincere in the opinions they express, and dishonest in their purposes, they cannot hesitate to encounter a risk, which they say is nothing, and accept a gain, which they say will be great.

But in what way can it be contrived, that this risk shall fall, as it ought, on the nation at large? In what way can the due compensation be appreciated while one party maintains, that emancipation will be a benefit, and the other, that it will be ruin to the owner? If the former be in the right, the smallest sum, that the people of Great Britain were made to pay, would be an act of injustice to them; and if the latter

party be in the right, the largest sum, if less than the whole, would be an act of injustice to the proprietor.

To say, that this may be settled afterwards, according as matters turn out, will not do, because the result may remain in suspense for an indefinite period, and when it arrives its cause may be disputed. We know how compensations are made after the event, when the same party is to make the estimation and pay the price. No men will agree to what they fear may be their ruin first, and then take their chance for what may be given them afterwards. It would be neither wise nor honourable for Great Britain to desire it. It would not be wise, for the expectation would be disappointed; it would not be honourable, for, instead of an open display of justice and magnanimity, it would exhibit a narrow and equivocating spirit, which no man would honour, and no man ought to trust.

One way there is to get out of this difficulty, and there is but one. It is obvious. Let the *nation at once assume to itself all colonial property, and make moderate but just compensation to the proprietors for the whole.* Let the nation then do, on its own account, what it desired the present proprietors to do. Then, if there be risk, it will be incurred, *as it ought*, by the nation, which demanded the change; if there

be loss, it will fall, *as it ought*, on the nation ; and, if there be gain, it will be, *as it ought to be*, the gain of those who incurred the risk.

*Justice* will be done to the Slaves, for they will be placed in a way in which, with the least possible delay, they may arrive at freedom.

*Justice* will be done to the proprietor, for he will receive, as proprietor, exactly what was due to him, and, *as one of the nation*, he will pay exactly his due proportion of whatever loss may ensue.

*Justice* will be done to the people of Great Britain, for in no case will they pay more, or receive less, than *exactly what they ought*.

When, in common life, a man, finding himself in a difficult case, of doubtful and seemingly conflicting duties, has had the virtue and courage to turn away from all inferior considerations, and to follow the plain path of strict justice, it will ever be found in the end, that he has taken not only the *honestest* but the wisest course, though the consequences, that prove it such, may not always be immediately apparent. In this case they *will* be apparent, for the same measure, which does justice to all parties, will be found not only to remove every one of the obstructions that have been enumerated against improvement, but to facilitate our object in a de-

gree as yet perhaps hardly expected. It will farther be found, that those measures, which in the hands of the Colonists would be inefficient, would, in the hands of government, be efficacious ; and that what with the former would be accompanied with great danger, with the latter might be undertaken with perfect security. Finally, it will appear, that what to the individual proprietor would be probable ruin, to the state would bring, instead of loss, certain and considerable gain.

But let us first review the existing obstructions to improvement, in order to see whether they would be really removed.

The first was the danger of the Slaves being led to resist local authority, by the hope of protection from without. This danger would disappear, when they were told, that they were no longer Slaves of any private master, but that they belonged to the King himself ; and not only would all thoughts of resistance be at an end, but a very salutary change would be wrought in their own ideas, and their estimation of themselves.

The *second* obstruction arose from the want of means to induce a Negro to work, otherwise than by direct coercion. Such means would now be furnished by the possession of all the soil from which he can derive a subsistence.

The *third* obstruction was the difficulty of obtaining any general concert among the proprietors, as to the modes of improvement that should be adopted. These modes would now be determined on by collective wisdom, and introduced by uniform direction.

The *fourth* obstruction consisted in the want of adequate funds to form the necessary establishments, and the want of power to produce the desirable concentration of the population. The former would now be defrayed by the public, which could not be unwilling to improve *its own* estate, and which, possessing the whole, would naturally draw the population into the more favourable districts, abandoning such as were least profitable.

The *fifth* obstruction arose from the unwillingness, which the present white inhabitants feel to co-operate in that, from which they apprehend their own ruin. Such apprehensions would now be at an end, and, for their own sakes, they would assist in producing an order of things, which must render their future residence both more agreeable and more secure.



OF THE  
PRACTICABILITY OF THIS PLAN.

But are we, after all, contemplating a vision? And is not that, which is now proposed, as impracticable as any of those things which we have shown to be so? Does it not contain evils as great as those we would remove, or risks as formidable as those which we have refused to encounter?

These are questions which ought to be fully canvassed, and the answers ought to be satisfactory. No objection should be deprecated, that can be distinctly and specifically stated; but what may be fairly deprecated is this; that, if all such objections shall be satisfactorily answered, the plan may not be rejected, from some *undefined and undefinable notion, that it will not do.*

That most men will at first be startled by the magnitude of the proposal is expected; and some will, on this account alone, be disposed to dismiss the subject without further examination. There is, in some minds, a quality which refuses to contemplate any thing that is extensive, and leads men to regard, as impracticable, that which, if they would summon a little courage

and industry to their aid, they would discover to be, not only not impracticable, but not even of difficult execution. If we have hitherto stated facts correctly, and reasoned fairly upon them, it is, perhaps, not asking too much of such persons, when we call on them for a little farther patience and attention.

It may be, that, as we proceed, difficulties, which at a distance appear insurmountable, may vanish as we approach them; and that new, and as yet unperceived facilities may arrive to our aid. The difficulty of a measure is not always commensurate with its extent. It is sometimes easier to do the whole than a part; and generally cheaper to rebuild than repair, when there is an original fault in the construction. We will conclude nothing rashly. But if it has been shown, that the plan proposed affords the best chance of obtaining an object of deep interest; if it shall be shown, that the means of its execution contain nothing of insuperable difficulty, or paramount objection, it is not too much to say, that such plan deserves very serious consideration.

That a measure like this should be free from all difficulties, and exposed to no objection, is not to be expected; all that can justly be expected is; that such difficulties and objections should be less than those which exist in our pre-

sent state, or which would accompany any other plan to amend it. We hope, however, that something more than this will appear, and that the measure will be found to be practicable with no great difficulty; and, if liable to any objections that cannot wholly be removed, yet that such objections, as compared with the object to be attained, are deserving of very little weight.

OF

THE MEANS OF EXECUTION.

- We are now to show, first, in what way the present proprietor may be compensated for the property which we call on him to surrender; secondly, how that property can be conveniently taken possession of on behalf of the nation; and, thirdly, how it may be *beneficially* administered in future.

The first process would be simple and easy. A fair estimate would be made of all Colonial property, and a stock to that amount might be created, which would afterwards be apportioned amongst the several proprietors, by separate valuation of their respective properties.

A sufficient number of commissioners might be appointed, who, having first fixed the principles of their valuation, would simultaneously proceed to the Colonies; the average price of a Slave having been fixed already, nothing would remain respecting them, but to observe how much above or below that average each particular lot of Slaves may be. The land, with its appendages, on which the Slave is employed, is currently considered in value as equal to that of the Slaves, and the same observation would

take place with regard to that part of the property. Such valuations are very frequent in the West Indies : and, if we may judge by the celerity with which they are made, the whole of this great work might be accomplished in a very short time.

It is next to be shown, how possession could be conveniently taken of this property on behalf of the state : here again there would be no difficulty. A day might be fixed (which ought to be the day on which the crop was concluded), on which each transfer would take place, and a certificate might be delivered to each proprietor for the price that had been fixed upon for his property. Previously to this, a certain number of persons might have been selected in each district for the *immediate* management of property in that district ; these would be amenable to a more general authority in each Colony, at the head of which one or more commissioners would for the present remain, and who would correspond with a supreme authority to be created at home. In what shape that authority should be created it may perhaps be deemed here unnecessary to discuss, but we shall suppose it to be formed pretty much on the model of that which governs our Indian empire—a board of direction and a board of control. These would gradually form the most suitable plans of future

management ; persons duly educated would be sent out for that purpose ; and one complaint would be speedily remedied, namely, that the Slaves are now governed too much by inferior persons, who are unfit to be trusted with power.

We are, thirdly, to show, that this administration of the property would be beneficial, or, in other words, that the state need not make a losing bargain.

That all the benefits, which are to flow from this change, would arise immediately, cannot be expected ; since many of the alterations from which they are to arise must be gradually introduced. But some of these benefits would be immediate, and sufficiently show, why the same property, which, in the hands of individuals, had been unprofitable, must be highly profitable, when in the hands of one proprietor.

OF THE  
**INCREASED PECUNIARY PROFITS**  
THAT WOULD  
**IMMEDIATELY ARISE.**

These will be derived, first, from the price of Colonial produce, which, instead of fluctuating, as it has hitherto done, from extremes that alternately distress the consumer and the proprietor, may henceforth be fixed at a point, equitable and advantageous to both.

Secondly. They would arise by a diminution in the expense at which the market is now supplied.

## OF THE PRICE.

That whosoever can regulate the supply can command the price, it must be unnecessary to argue. It would be a monopoly. But let not the odium, which is often attached to that word, be applied here. It is not a monopoly of one person, or a company, imposing an unreasonable price on the people. It is the people's own monopoly, imposing on themselves that fixed price, which they deem just, and which they are willing to pay for the object they desire. Within a few years they have frequently paid 80s., 90s., and even 100s. per cwt. for raw sugar. These prices gave unreasonable gains to the producer; but they distressed the people, and hurt the consumption. At present, the average price is about 60s.; a price, which distresses the producer, and would ultimately ruin the production. It seems, that it would be no bad bargain for the consumer, if the price were fixed at 72s. (which is about 2s. below the average of the last nine years). But if any one should choose to contend, that this would be a



tax on the people, be it so. This rise of price from its minimum (which cannot be long maintained) would cost the consumer about  $1\frac{1}{4}d.$  per lb.; and, perhaps, with the additional charges of retail,  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$

This then would be the total contribution of the people towards the abolition of Slavery. The other objects—their security against a higher price—their security against the loss of the Colonies, with all the important interests dependent on them—nay, the satisfaction of acting equitably to the proprietor shall be thrown in—this  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  per lb. is what they would pay for what they have declared to interest them almost beyond any other object, and would form a sort of gauge by which the world will measure the sincerity of their professions of humanity and justice.

OF  
EXPENSES, THAT WOULD IMMEDIATELY  
BE SAVED.

The mercantile expenses, namely, those which arise between the loading of the vessel and the delivery to the first purchaser, and which come under the various heads of freight, insurance, commission, brokerage, &c. &c., amount to about 11s. per cwt. Of these, the freight of 5s. per cwt. could, perhaps, not be lowered (though some advantages would arise to the shipping interest from a greater certainty of freight); but the remaining charges might be done away with altogether.

Insurance, which to the individual proprietors is necessary, would have no object when all the importation belonged to one proprietor. The individual insures lest the loss might happen to fall on him separately; but when the whole is concerned, that loss is already deducted, since the import is taken at the amount of its average *arrival*.

Commission, brokerage, &c. &c., would be reduced to very little; and what remains would be fully balanced by a saving of the expense of collecting the present duties, which would be no

longer necessary, since they would afterwards merge in the price.

A calculation of these *immediate* profits by price and saving of expenses will be found in Appendix II\*, and amounts to 2,880,000*l.* per annum.

\* The more important items in all these calculations rest on data, that are capable of being exactly ascertained; but as we have taken general averages for many points, they will not agree with individual cases. It is believed, that every thing has been rather under than overstated. But the principle being obvious, every one, who may differ from the estimator, will be able to apply his own estimates to the general conclusion.

OF PECUNIARY PROFITS THAT WOULD NOT  
BE IMMEDIATE.

These would arise from a consolidation of properties now held by different owners. As matters now stand, every proprietor must have his separate establishment of buildings, costing him from 500*l.* to 1000*l.* per annum, in repairs, renovation, and interest on the capital so invested. He must also have his separate establishment of manager, overseer, and subordinate agents. Where the property is small, or ill circumstanced, these two items often sweep away the whole of its produce. Now, by consolidation, one establishment (with perhaps a little addition) would often serve for two, and sometimes for three or four properties. In Appendix III will be found an estimation of the saving which might be made in five years (not counting the first) at the rate of 375,000*l.* per annum, till it amounted to 1,500,000*l.* per annum.

These amounts of immediate and gradual increase, united to the present profits, must be the future income of the Colonies. We have, therefore to consider next, what are the actual returns of colonial property; and in doing which it may not be amiss to consider what they have been hitherto, as well as what they are at present.

OF THE PAST AND PRESENT RETURNS FROM  
COLONIAL PROPERTY.

The returns from Colonial property have been extremely various. They seem to have been larger about seventy or eighty years ago, than they have ever been since. From that date they fluctuated variously till about the year 1789, when they again became very considerable; but about the beginning of this century they received a severe check by the measure then adopted, of withholding a portion of the drawback on exportation; or, in other words, by charging the Continent with a British duty on Sugar. The experiment was plausible. Great Britain was then severely taxed by continental subsidies, which it was not always easy to remit, and Great Britain at that time possessed almost all the Sugar Colonies in the world. But the scheme could in no case have lasted long. Sugar can be produced in too many parts of the world to be made a subject of monopoly in Europe. The attempt stimulated the Americans to seek sugar in India. It set the Brazils and Cuba to work, and these Colonies, having soon after the Slave Market to themselves, in conse-

quence of our abandoning that trade, obtained Slaves so cheap, that they were enabled to undersell the British planter in every foreign market. Still the balance of import and domestic consumption might have been soon restored; but it was determined, at the last peace, to retain the Dutch Colonies in South America, the produce of which has, for the present, entirely destroyed it\*.

\* Why, at the time when the nation was burning with zeal against Slavery, it was thought fit, as our share of spoil at the last peace, to claim, by preference, *Slave Colonies*, it is not easy to guess; but it is not true (as has been said), that the old Colonies acquiesced. They made the strongest remonstrances against it. They contended, that these Colonies could be of no use to Great Britain (which had already more sugar than she could dispose of), while it would be sacrificing the old Colonies to the interest of speculators, who had no right to plead their investments in these Colonies as a reason for retaining them, since a temporary occupation during war had authorized no conclusion, that they would be retained at the peace. They further argued, that these investments would not be lost, either to the proprietor or the nation, if these Colonies were restored; but that the returns would flow into the mass of private and national profit, just as those, from similar investments in the Danish Colonies are known to do. All was in vain. There existed at that moment an unaccountable desire for Slave Colonies. Demerara and Berbice were retained; and those speculators are now making ten per cent. on their capital, while the old Colonies are ruined. This is owing to the superior fertility of Demerara, which is, however, balanced by its great in-

In the earlier part of this history of the Colonial profits, we have not the means of being very accurate; but for the last thirty-four years we can speak with more precision; and, both from general calculations and reference to a great many actual accounts, it appears, that in this period the profits have been at the rate of about 10*l.* per Slave, or something more than six per cent. on the capital, which agrees with the current estimation of that time, that an estate of one hundred slaves produced 1000*l.* per annum, and so in proportion. At present the profits would hardly be taken at more than 3*l.* 10*s.* by any one, or at less than 2*l.* 10*s.* The medium is probably correct (vide Appendix IV), which would make the present returns of £ the Colonies to be . . . . . 2,400,000

This sum, added to the immediate gain of . . . . . 2,880,000

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Would make the returns for the first year . . . . . 5,280,000

Which, according to Appendix, would increase every year by 375,000*l.* till it had reached (see Appendix V) . 6,780,000

salubrity, and the danger, that as soon as the various armies, that have been fighting all round it, shall be withdrawn, the Slaves of Demerara, who are almost within hearing of the revolted Slaves of Surinam, will disappear and join them.

Such would be the pecuniary results from this plan, in which we have taken no allowance for many new profits, that might be obtained when the whole were under one direction, but which are not within the reach of individual management

No one has doubted, that new objects of cultivation might be introduced into the Colonies with success; which would relieve the market from that glut of sugar, which is now exported to great disadvantage, together with its proportionate redundancy of rum. Such experiments have not been, nor probably ever will be, made by individual proprietors. When the prices of the *present* productions are high, the proprietors have no motive for changing them, and when those prices have become low, they have not the means. It is proverbial, that whoever first embarks in a new speculation is likely to be ruined (even though it should turn out profitable afterwards), and therefore no one will begin. Such would not be the case when it were national property. To withdraw a proportion of labour from the production of that sugar, which is now so unprofitably exported, would cost little; and experiments of various kinds might be made throughout all the Colonies at a very trifling expense.

Another great advantage would arise. Those



disasters, which have so often ruined individuals, and even whole colonies, would now lose their terrors. No hurricane has ever affected all the Colonies at once; and therefore the loss, in any particular part, being in future spread over the whole, would be as nothing, since it is the average production which has been taken as the basis of all the calculations.

We must here, also, notice an advantage, that would not exactly be pecuniary, but which would be of no small importance, as a means of checking our rivals in the Slave Trading Colonies; and which would perhaps do more good in this respect than our negotiations have done. We have, at present, a surplus of fifty thousand tons for export. This surplus, remaining in the market, is the cause of the present depression. But, if the whole importation belonged to the nation, the surplus would be exported at once\*, and, wherever it were directed, would overwhelm every competitor, who would thus find himself much embarrassed in continuing his Slave Trading speculations.

\* Here lies exactly the difference. This surplus remaining in the market, the depreciation falls on the whole, but if exported, it would fall only on the fourth part, and thus enable us to undersell the foreign producer.

OF THE AMOUNT OF COLONIAL CAPITAL  
NOW EXISTING.

This capital consists in Slaves, in land, buildings, stock, &c. The cost of a Slave formerly depended on the price at which he could be imported, with the cost of maintaining him till he became habituated to labour. Since the importation has ceased, it must depend on the cost of rearing him, which, according to Appendix VI, will be found to be about eighty pounds. It has been usual to estimate all other capital equal to the value of the Slaves. The actual cost of this has indeed been much greater. Colonial capital would then be estimated thus:—

	£.
800,000 Slaves, at 80 <i>l.</i> . .	64,000,000
Other Capital . . . . .	64,000,000
	<hr/>
	£ 128,000,000 *
	<hr/>

\* Vide Appendix VII.

## OF THE AMOUNT OF COMPENSATION.

What the amount of compensation for this property ought to be, it is not necessary here to inquire; and as it is not necessary, the task is willingly avoided; since whatever were proposed would probably by some be thought too much, and by others too little. It is the principle, rather than the scale upon which that principle is to be adopted, that we are anxious to establish; and for our purpose it is sufficient to have shown, that the income obtained by the public will be amply sufficient, not only to cover any reasonable claim for compensation, but to defray all establishments for improvement, and to leave a large surplus applicable to any national object. So much, however, may be observed respecting the proper amount of compensation, that on the one hand the proprietor ought not in his estimate to look to profits, such as he has heretofore had; and, on the other, that the public ought not to look to his present moment of depression; first, because it has been caused, not by his own acts, but those of the public; secondly, because there are events, not improbable, that would remove it; and, thirdly, because, as the nation at any rate will gain much by the very thing for which it was willing to pay much, it ought not to seek to make those gains still greater, by unduly depreciating the value of a forced purchase.

## OF A NEW ADVANTAGE IN FACILITATING EMANCIPATION.

Having now disposed of the pecuniary gain, and other collateral benefits, that would arise from this plan, we return to the subject with which we began, *emancipation*, and the means of accelerating it.

There yet remains to be stated an advantage, which will be gained for that object — one, that is perhaps more important than any which has been yet considered, and which perhaps alone were sufficient to justify our adoption of the measure proposed.

It is an indisputable fact, that, at the present moment, at least *one-third* of all the labour in our Colonies is absolutely *wasted and thrown away*, by its being unavoidably employed on land unfit for the productions that are cultivated. The individual proprietor has little means of helping this. Both he and his Slave are fixed to the spot, if not by law, at least by the extreme difficulty of removal. Thus, one proprietor employs a numerous body of Slaves on a soil, that makes the poorest return; while another, possessing a fertile tract of land, is obliged to let the greater part lie waste for want

of labourers. This evil, which in a country of free labourers cannot exist, may be said almost to predominate in the Colonies; and there are whole islands in this situation. Now this evil would be speedily removed. The individual owner can hardly ever command the capital necessary to purchase and form large establishments elsewhere, and in small bodies the Slaves are most averse to be moved. But when all shall be one property, no capital will be requisite for the purpose, and the Slaves would have no objection to be removed to a better place, when they could be accompanied by all their connections.

Four or five years would be sufficient to place all the Slaves in the places where they might most profitably be employed; and thus we should have at our disposal all the labour, that was wasted before.

Here, then, we have obtained a fund, for as much individual emancipation as we may deem proper, and for as much relaxation of labour as we may think fit to impart. Here we have an engine of such power, as was hardly ever possessed by the rulers of any people; and it is not too much to say, that here we have the means, if we choose so to use them, of accomplishing one-third of the abolition almost immediately.

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Let us now recapitulate the positions on which the plan proposed has been founded.

1. The first was, That Slavery must be abolished, at whatever cost.

2. That it cannot be safely or beneficially abolished, till the Slaves shall be brought into a fit state to receive freedom.

3. That this can only be effected by moral improvement.

4. That moral improvement is advancing at a very slow rate.

5. That the Colonial assemblies and proprietors have not the means of materially accelerating this process.

6. That the attempt to force them on measures, to which they are unequal, would, under their present circumstances, produce probable ruin, both to the Colonies and Slaves.

7. That therefore abolition must be deferred to a very remote period, or that some such change must be made in the form and constitution of the Colonies, as would render more practicable the improvement, that must precede abolition.

8. That the obstructions to improvement are, fear of the Slaves—the want of means to induce them to voluntary labour—the impossibility of

producing the necessary concert among the proprietors—the want of adequate means to form the necessary establishments for education and religion—and, finally, the impossibility of obtaining the necessary co-operation of the proprietors and white inhabitants, unless they shall be previously secured against the ruin they apprehend.

9. That all these obstructions would be removed by the measure proposed.

10. That justice, as well as the necessity of the case, demands, that due compensation should be made to the present owners of the Slaves.

11. That there is no mode in which such compensation could be made, without the danger of either wronging the proprietor or the public, unless the public shall assume the whole property, and make compensation for the whole.

12. That this measure would obviate every difficulty, and do complete justice to every party.

13. That there is every reason to believe, that it would be profitable instead of being expensive to the nation; but that, whether profitable or expensive, the profit would accrue, and the expense would fall, where it ought.

14. That there is nothing of paramount difficulty in, or objection to the measure.

15. And that, therefore, unless an equally good, or better measure can be proposed for the purpose, this is a measure, which the legislature owes to the Slaves, to the Colonial Proprietors, and to the People of Great Britain.



## CONCLUSION.

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WHETHER the opinions that have thus been submitted to the public be well-founded or no, at least they are not of recent formation; and, if erroneous, they have all the demerit of deliberate error. That the Colonial legislatures and proprietors have *not* the means of accomplishing what is expected of them I have ever contended, both in public and in private; nor has any thing ever induced me to waver in that conviction. It was, undoubtedly, a painful one; for there seemed no chance of bringing about that unity of power and action which were indispensable for success. The plan of vesting the direction of Colonial concerns in the hands of a company, and that which has now been suggested, seemed to afford the only means of effecting it; but, in times of prosperity, no proprietor would have consented to part with the management of his property, or much less to surrender it without such a price as could not have been paid. On the other hand, not till the present moment would the people

have endured any thing that *seemed* like taxing them, in order to obtain abolition. Such were the reasons that have hitherto deterred me from venturing on the subject.

But the case is now changed in both respects. On one hand, the Colonial proprietor is so depressed, that he would accept a price to which he would not have listened before ; and, on the other hand, the nation, by calling as it has done for abolition, has committed itself to pay its due proportion of the price, should price be necessary.

It has been remarked, that the co-existence of two evils may sometimes furnish the means of removing both : so it is here. Those evils are, the state of Slavery in our Colonies, and their present great depression. The same measure will cure both these evils ; but, had they not existed simultaneously, neither could have been cured. But for the present depression, the Colonies would not have consented to this measure ; nor would the nation have consented to it, but for the Slavery they wish to abolish. This concurrence of circumstances is so extraordinary, that deep would be, and ought to be, our regret, if, when too late, we should discover, that we had let the opportunity go by, when we could have at once abolished Slavery, and established the future prosperity of our Colonies.

Let those, who are most averse to entertain the project, reflect, that they have not the option to choose between this (or some equivalent) plan, and stopping where they are: the nation will not stop: *Slavery must and will be abolished*: and the question is now only, whether or no some attempt shall be made to prevent that abolition being accompanied by ruin to the Slaves, ruin to the Colonies, and ruin to many of the most important interests of Great Britain.



## POSTSCRIPT.

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To anticipate the objections that may be made to this plan will perhaps seem premature ; yet some having been suggested as probable, it may not be amiss to offer here some reasons that perhaps may remove them.

### OBJECTION I.

It will perhaps be said, that to take property from the owner for a public purpose, and to fix its price, not by the intervention of a jury, but by the estimation of those who take it, is vicious in principle, and without precedent.

Now as to precedent, it may be answered, that the *case* is without precedent ; and as to principle, except in the order of the thing, it follows the same principle by which, if injury shall have been done to an individual by the public, compensation is fixed by the legislature, and not by a jury. But after all, if both parties are satisfied, who is to complain ? The nation must be satisfied, for it is the legislature that will have fixed the compensation ; and that the Colonies would be sa-

tified with any fair compensation, under their present circumstances, there is no reason to doubt.

#### OBJECTION II.

It will no doubt be said, that individuals always manage their concerns better than the public, and that the less government has to do with the management of property, the better. As a general maxim this is undoubtedly true; yet there are exceptions, when, for the sake of major interests, the state wisely retains in its own hands concerns of a similar nature. Thus it grows its own timber, it builds its own ships, it manufactures its own arms; and thus, if it will introduce free labour into the Colonies, it must, *for a while*, take them into administration.

Besides, there can be no apprehension that it would manage this property in a more disadvantageous way than the proprietors have done, and indeed are obliged to do. The reason why a government generally manages ill is, because it is obliged to trust to agency throughout. But here, the proprietor, resident in Europe (where all reside, that can), trusts to a *double* agency; first that of his merchant here, who never sees the West Indies, and he trusts to an agent there, who never sees him. As for the proprietor, who resides in the West Indies, he manages still

worse ; for he only resides there from want, and is therefore wholly disabled from conducting his affairs to advantage.

Others may go farther and say, that government could not manage this property at all ; but on what grounds exactly such opinion could rest does not appear. That the concern is exceedingly great is true, but surely those, who have found the means of managing our East-Indian Empire, need not despair of being able to govern eight hundred thousand Slaves. There is, doubtless, in this case a difficulty peculiar to it, since we have to bring these Slaves into a new condition of society. But this difficulty could hardly be balanced against the infinitely greater extent, distance, and various complexities of the other case. Let it be also observed, that the difficulty, *here*, will only be temporary ; and when the change has been effected, administration may be at an end, and then the estate may be let for payment in produce, by which all the advantages would be retained of commanding the price, without the trouble or expense of agricultural management.

### OBJECTION III.

It may also be said, that this plan would throw a dangerous patronage into the hands of government. But the kind of patronage it would

give is not of a dangerous description. Direct influence in parliament it need give very little ; since all those, who have appointments at home, might be excluded, excepting one or two for the purpose of giving explanations. The probable shape into which the rest would gradually fall would be, that young men would be educated here, in the necessary qualifications ; and being sent out, would generally rise by seniority. The patronage, therefore, would chiefly consist in the original appointments, which ought not to be more valuable than is necessary to obtain proper subjects ; and against this must be balanced the suppression of all the places now held for the collection of Colonial duties.



## A P P E N D I X.

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### APPENDIX I.

#### *Calculation of the Expense of a Church Establishment, and Schools for the Negro Slaves.*

If we suppose the eight hundred thousand Slaves to be divided, as nearly as possible, into congregations of two thousand each, and that one clergyman could take on him the charge of two adjoining congregations, it would require two hundred clergymen for the whole; and, farther, it would require fifty supernumeraries to assist those who might be disabled by sickness, and supply the vacancies as they occur. It seems almost indispensable that they should be married men, both for the sake of their own domestic society, and for the sake of furnishing examples to the Slaves, of the married state as it ought to be. The buildings in the plantations, which it is proposed to throw up, would conveniently enough supply habitations and churches; and to each should be allotted a few acres of land for private use, but not enough to allow of any speculations of gain. Their stipends should not be such as to tempt worldly avidity, but sufficient to place them beyond the cares of any reasonable want. Above

all, they should be freed from any undue solicitude respecting the families they may leave behind them.

It does not seem, that a married couple could live in decent comfort in those countries under 300 <i>l.</i> per annum; this, therefore, would require, per annum . . . . .	£. 75,000
To each congregation should be attached a Negro clerk, a Slave, selected for his good character and Christian conduct; their pay might be 5 <i>l.</i> per annum each; and, as it should not be taken from them after they were disabled, the amount might be . . . .	5,000
Passages out and home, repairs of churches and dwellings, &c. &c. might be . . . . .	20,000
It would require one Bishop for Jamaica, and two for the other Colonies; these, besides a suitable residence, could not have less than 4,000 <i>l.</i> each . . . . .	12,000
Three Deans, or coadjutors, to assist or succeed them, 2000 <i>l.</i> each . . . . .	6,000
Passages, &c. &c. . . . .	2,000
	<hr/>
Total church establishment . . . . .	£120,000
	<hr/>

Taking the number of children to be educated at forty thousand, and dividing them into schools of fifty each, and supposing each teacher to attend four schools, it would require two hundred teachers, and fifty supernumeraries: as these persons ought to be of a description to assist the clergy as catechists and readers, a stipend of less than

200 <i>l.</i> per annum would not be more than sufficient to maintain them, and thus we should want . . . . .	£. 50,000
Incidental charges would amount to, probably	10,000
	<hr/> 60,000
A sufficient fund for the support of all that were disabled in both services, for their widows and children, might require . . . . .	70,000
Church establishment, as stated before . . . . .	120,000
	<hr/> £250,000

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## APPENDIX II.

*Calculation of the immediate Profits that would arise (in addition to the present profits), if the whole belonged to one Proprietor.*

Taking round numbers, we state the consumption of Great Britain and its dependencies to be one hundred and fifty thousand tons of sugar, the increase on which, at 12*s.* per cwt., from 60*s.* to 72*s.*, is 12*l.* per ton . . . . .

	£. 1,800,000
Mercantile expenses saved thereon, at 6 <i>l.</i> per ton . . . . .	900,000
	<hr/>
Gain on sugar . . . . .	2,700,000

	£
Gain on sugar (brought forward)	2,700,000
A proportionate rise of one-fifth on rum, from 10 <i>l.</i> to 12 <i>l.</i> per pun- cheon, on 30,000 puncheons,	£.
home consumption . . . . .	60,000
A proportionate saving of expenses .	30,000
	<hr/>
Gain on rum . . . . .	90,000
All other articles* being supposed equal to rum, a similar gain on these would be . .	90,000
	<hr/>
Total gain. . . . .	£ 2,880,000
	<hr/>

N.B. There would also be a saving on produce exported, a great part of which is subject to all the mercantile expenses that would be no longer necessary; there are not data for ascertaining the exact amount, but it is supposed that it might be little short of 300,000*l.*

\* Exact data for this item are not to be found, but it is generally supposed, that these articles, as coffee, cotton, &c. &c. are in value equal to rum.

### APPENDIX III.

*Calculation of additional Profits, that would gradually arise by Consolidation of Properties.*

The outgoings on Colonial property, calculated on the Slaves at so much per head, is generally rated at 6*l.*, independently of what may be furnished from one property to another, as cattle, &c., and which would not, therefore, come into the general account. It is supposed, that at the least one-third of this would be saved by consolidation.

From the eight hundred thousand slaves, we must here deduct fifty thousand not employed in agriculture, and on whom no saving would be made; but a saving of 2*l.* each on seven hundred and fifty thousand slaves would be . . . . . £1,500,000

This saving would begin on the second year, and be complete at the end of the fifth year, thus:—

	£.
On the first year . . . . .	—
On the second . . . . .	375,000
On the third . . . . .	750,000
On the fourth . . . . .	1,125,000
On the fifth . . . . .	1,500,000

## APPENDIX IV.

### *Estimate of the present Profits of the Slave Colonies, taken from totals.*

Two hundred thousand tons of sugar, at 22 <i>l.</i>	£
net . . . . .	4,400,000
One hundred thousand puncheons of rum, at	
10 <i>l.</i> net . . . . .	1,000,000
All other articles taken as equal to rum . . . .	1,000,000
Forty thousand Slaves*, not agricultural, as	
domestic servants, artizans, &c. &c., 20 <i>l.</i> . .	800,000
	7,200,000
Deduct 6 <i>l.</i> per head expenses on eight hundred	
thousand Slaves . . . . .	4,800,000
	£ 2,400,000

\* In Appendix III, the Slaves, not agricultural, were taken at fifty thousand. They are now reduced to forty thousand, in consequence of a suggestion, that the former might be too large a number; and as there are no *direct* data, on which to calculate, it is preferred to take the lowest estimate. For reasons, however, which will be found in Appendix VIII, it is believed, that in fact the number considerably exceeds even fifty thousand.

## APPENDIX V.

### *Calculation of Future Income.*

First year:—	
Present income, as before . . . . .	£ 2,400,000
Immediate increase, as per Appendix II	2,880,000
	£ 5,280,000
Second year:—	
Income as last year . . . . .	5,280,000
Gradual increase by consolidation, as per Appendix III . . . . .	375,000
	£ 5,655,000
Third year:—	
Income as last year . . . . .	5,655,000
Increase as before . . . . .	375,000
	£ 6,030,000
Fourth year:—	
Income as last year . . . . .	6,030,000
Increase as before . . . . .	375,000
	£ 6,405,000
Fifth year, and subsequent years:—	
Income as last year . . . . .	6,405,000
Increase as before . . . . .	375,000
	£ 6,780,000

*Calculation of Future Income, made in another way.*

Sugar, home consumption, at 72s. (less duty 27s., and freight at 5s.) = 40s. is 40 <i>l.</i> per ton, on one hundred and fifty thousand tons .	£ 6,000,000
Fifty thousand tons exported at present, price 22s. net, or 22 <i>l.</i> per ton . . . . .	1,100,000
Rum, thirty thousand puncheons, home con- sumption, at 13 <i>l.</i> . . . . .	390,000
Seventy thousand puncheons exported, at 10 <i>l.</i> .	700,000
All other articles taken as equal to rum* . . .	1,090,000
Profit on forty thousand Slaves, not employed in agriculture, at 20 <i>l.</i> each . . . . .	800,000
	<hr/>
	9,980,000
Deduct reduced expenses on seven hundred and sixty thousand Slaves, at 4 <i>l.</i> . . . . .	£ 3,040,000
Expenses on the other forty thou- sand, at 6 <i>l.</i> . . . . .	240,000
	<hr/>
	3,280,000
	<hr/>
	£ 6,700,000
	<hr/>

\* As there is no general enumeration of the Slaves employed in each separate production, it is difficult to speak with certainty on their separate profits. But it is not necessary for our purpose. *The account we rely on*, for a correct view of the profits, contains but three items. The first is the net sales. Secondly, the profits not arising from sales. And, thirdly, the expenses. All these, taking them in general, may be stated with tolerable accuracy. See Appendix IX with regard to the expenses; the other items have been discussed before.



## APPENDIX VI.

*The cost of rearing a Slave to the age of fourteen, when first his Labour begins to exceed the cost of his Maintenance, has been calculated thus:—*

1. Loss of the mother's labour before and after, allowance being made for the cases in which the £ child is born dead, or dies immediately . . . . .	10
2. Medical attendance, &c., with insurance on mother's life, allowance being made as before . . . . .	5
3. Interest on the above two sums for fourteen years .	15
4. Maintenance of the child (beyond the value of any labour) for fourteen years, at two per cent., with interest . . . . .	40
5. Insurance on the life of the child to the age of fourteen years . . . . .	10
	—
	£ 80
	—

## APPENDIX VII.

It has been remarked, that, previous to the abolition, the value of a Slave depended on the cost of importing, as it does now on that of breeding him. During the discussions respecting the abolition, there was exaggeration on both sides, on this subject. The abolitionists represented the cost of importing to be so much less than that of breeding, that the planter absolutely discouraged breeding; while those, on the opposite side, represented the cost of breeding to be less than that of importing. The truth was, that the cost of breeding was always greater than that of importing; but the Slaves, bred in the country, were of considerably greater value than the Slaves imported. Nearly the whole of the Slaves may now be considered as bred, and, therefore, will warrant a greater average value than will be found in old valuations. As to all the other property, it is said to be now currently taken as equal to the present estimate of the Slaves. Formerly it was rated higher, and Bryan Edwards puts it at double the former estimation of the Slaves. Thus an estate of one hundred Slaves was, according to him, worth 5000*l.* for the Slaves, and 10,000*l.* for the rest. According to our estimate, the Slaves would be 8000*l.*, and the rest 8000*l.*; making 16,000*l.* instead of 15,000*l.* But the difference, that now almost all would be Creole Slaves, whereas, at the time he wrote, the greater part would be Africans, makes his the higher valuation of the two.

## APPENDIX VIII.

By Slaves not agricultural is meant all those, the profit of whose labour is not included in that of the agricultural productions. All servants requisite for those, who are employed in conducting the plantations, and artificers belonging to, and working on those plantations, should *be* counted as agricultural. But all servants or artificers *let out for hire* are not agricultural, as their profits arise from an independent source. Again, artificers *hired* to work for the plantation from without are not agricultural, since their hire is charged in the expenses of the estate.

There are no *direct* data, from which to calculate the number of these non-agricultural Slaves; but it may be estimated in two ways: first, by deducting from the whole number, that number, which we judge to be requisite for producing all the agricultural returns, the remainder being of course the number we seek. Secondly, we may compute, from the best grounds we have, what those other objects must require; and should both these processes lead to nearly the same conclusion, we may infer, that it is tolerably correct.

Now, if we take  $6\frac{3}{4}$  cwt. as the average produce of a Slave employed in Sugar alone (and probably no one would put it lower), it will require about six hundred thousand Slaves to produce the whole 4,000,000 cwt., which also tallies exactly with the profits and charges,

which we have fixed for Slave labour. The total price of sugar and rum, *viz.* 5,400,000*l.* less 3,600,000*l.* (the expenses on six hundred thousand Slaves, at 6*l.* per head) being 1,800,000*l.*; which is exactly the clear value of the labour of six hundred thousand Slaves. We may, therefore, pretty safely assume this to be the number employed on Sugar. With respect to the number of Slaves employed on other agricultural produce, we cannot go by quantities, since we cannot get exactly at those quantities; but we may see how many Slaves it would require to produce the 1,000,000*l.*, which they are said to amount to; for at 9*l.* each (3*l.* profit, and 6*l.* expenses) about one hundred and eleven thousand Slaves would furnish produce enough to sell for 1,000,000*l.* Thus we have seven hundred and eleven thousand Slaves for agricultural produce, and eighty-nine thousand Slaves for other objects.

This will agree pretty well with the computation, which we should make of the number, that was really requisite for those other objects. And, first, we should estimate the number of artificers, independent of those on the plantations, *thus*:—There are considerably more than one thousand five hundred sugar works in the Colonies, which cannot be estimated at less than 4000*l.* each; and the other agricultural buildings, together with the towns, would certainly make a total of 12,000,000*l.* in value. Now only a small part of these is kept up by the plantation Slaves and Whites (say 2,000,000*l.*), leaving 10,000,000*l.* for the non-agricultural Slaves. Now, if we suppose one twentieth of this to be required annually, in repairs and renovation, we shall want twenty-five thousand Slaves, who, at 20*l.* per annum (the price stated), would perform that work. Next, if we suppose ten thou-

sand resident non-agricultural white inhabitants in the Colonies, and allot to each three domestic servants, we shall want thirty thousand more in this capacity. If to these are added all those, who supply the towns with meat, vegetables, poultry, fish, &c., and all those, who breed horses and cattle for sale, not to the plantations, but to others, with all other kinds of employment, it would perhaps not be too much, were we to insist on the full number produced by the other calculation.

## APPENDIX IX.

There is no subject, on which people would answer so variously, as they would, if asked, what is the *expense* of Colonial property, estimating it at so much per Slave. It must naturally include, not only the personal expense of the Slave in food, raiment, medical attendance, &c., but it must include the expense of the tools he works with (as far as they are purchased), the expense of those persons, who superintend him, and the expense in repairs (not done by himself) of buildings, requisite for the manufacture of his produce. It ought not, however, to include what is bought from other agricultural establishments, for the profits of these are not *counted separately*, but thrown into the agricultural produce. In the Leeward Islands, these expenses must be rated high, because there almost every thing must be bought from without; whereas, in Jamaica, almost all the cattle and provisions, together with a considerable portion of the lumber, is supplied within the island; nay, in many cases, even a deduction from those expenses should be made, for articles (such as fat cattle) sold from the estates to the towns. The difficulty, in fixing the right sum, lies in forming a true average on property so variously circumstanced. Bryan Edwards seems to have had too much in view, in this respect, the particular part of the country with which he was connected, and most persons form their opinions in a similar

way. But according to the broadest average I have been able to form, from the inspection of as many actual accounts as I have been able to obtain a sight of, and from the best calculation, that, with the assistance of the most experienced persons, I have been able to make, of what they ought to be, it seems to me, that 6*l.* per head is a just allowance.

T H E   E N D .

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