

**HEARING
SLAVES
SPEAK**

Trevor Burnard
HEARING SLAVES SPEAK
with an Introduction by Trevor Burnard

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**Series Preface by the President of Guyana,
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SERIES PREFACE

Modern Guyana came into being, in the Western imagination, through the travelogue of Sir Walter Raleigh, *The Discoverie of Guiana* (1595). Raleigh was as beguiled by Guiana's landscape ("I never saw a more beautiful country...") as he was by the prospect of plunder ("every stone we stooped to take up promised either gold or silver by his complexion"). Raleigh's contemporaries, too, were doubly inspired, writing, as Thoreau says, of Guiana's "majestic forests", but also of its earth, "resplendent with gold." By the eighteenth century, when the trade in Africans was in full swing, writers cared less for Guiana's beauty than for its mineral wealth. Sugar was the poet's muse, hence the epic work by James Grainger *The Sugar Cane* (1764), a poem which deals with subjects such as how best to manure the sugar cane plant, the most effective diet for the African slaves, worming techniques, etc. As John Singleton confessed (in his *General Description of the West Indies*, 1776), there was no contradiction between the manufacture of odes and that of sugar: "...a fine exuberant plant, which clothes the fields with the richest verdure. There is, I believe, scarcely any cultivation which yields so lucrative a return per acre as under favourable circumstances, than that of the sugar cane. So bountiful a gift of Providence seems not only calculated to call forth the activity and enterprise of the agriculturalist and merchant, but to awaken also feelings of a higher and more refined enthusiasm." The refinement of art and that of sugar were one and the same process.

The nineteenth century saw the introduction of Indian indentureship, but as the sugar industry expanded, literary works contracted. Edward Jenkins' novel *Lutchmee and Dilloo* (1877) was the only substantial fiction on Guiana, and whilst it was broadly sympathetic to the plight of Indian labourers, it was certain of Britain's imperial destiny, and rights over mineral

resources. It was not until the period leading up to Guiana's Independence from Britain (1966) and the subsequent years, that our own writers of Amerindian, African, Asian and European ancestry (A.J. Seymour, Wilson Harris, Jan Carew, Edgar Mittelholzer, Martin Carter, Rajkumari Singh et al.) attempted to purify literature of its commercial taint, restoring to readers a vision of the complexity of the Guyanese character and the beauty of the Guyanese landscape.

The Guyana Classics Library will republish out-of-print poetry, novels and travelogues so as to remind us of our literary heritage, and it will also remind us of our reputation for scholarship in the fields of history, anthropology, sociology and politics, through the reprinting of seminal works in these subjects. The Series builds upon previous Guyanese endeavours, like the institution of CARIFESTA and the Guyana Prize. I am delighted that my government has originated the project and has pledged that every library in the land will be furnished with titles from the Series, so that all Guyanese can appreciate our monumental achievement in moving from Exploitation to Expression. If the Series becomes the foundation and inspiration for future literary and scholarly works, then my government will have moved towards fulfilling one of its primary tasks, which is the educational development of our people.

President Bharrat Jagdeo

HEARING SLAVES SPEAK

TREVOR BURNARD



The Caribbean Press

The Guyana Classics Library

INTRODUCTION

It is very difficult to hear West Indian slaves speak in the historical archive. Most were illiterate and thus unable to leave written records, not just in the harshest phases of African slavery in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but also in the years of amelioration covered by the material in this book. This period, following the end of the Atlantic slave trade, was marked by a supposed softening of the slave system and an increased concern among metropolitan Britons about how slave life and conditions were affecting slaves in the West Indies.¹ Even if slaves had been literate, as so few were, they were always constrained by being in close contact with masters and mistresses, all of whom were supported by the coercive powers of the state. As James C. Scott states in his explorations of how the oppressed enter into discourse with oppressors, it is very rare that we catch a glimpse of what Scott calls the “private transcript” of the oppressed, what peasants or enslaved persons said to each other when their masters were not around or when representatives of power did not monitor and judge their words.² It is close to impossible, therefore, to hear slaves speak freely, in voices unmediated by the context in which they found themselves.

The records outlined below do not provide such unmediated reflections by slaves upon their condition. They are records created by official authorities as part of a governmental judicial process. But they do provide a rich, close to unparalleled, source of evidence about the contours of slave experience. They give us a good guide to the moral economy of enslaved people: what they considered their rights, what they thought they owed their owners and what their owners owed them, and what actions they thought so egregious that they would walk long distances to put forward their complaints to the Fiscal.³ This set of records helps us gain a rare entree into the world of enslaved people in Berbice in the

1820s and 1830s, to their hopes and fears, and to the particular constraints and opportunities that they faced.⁴

I have taken ninety-two cases presented before the Fiscal between 1819 and 1832, drawing them nearly at random from the voluminous records of the Fiscal of Berbice held in Colonial Office Series 116 at The National Archives, Kew, London, in order for readers to gain some perspective on the strange world of Berbice slavery in the dying years of slavery in the British Empire.⁵ I hope these records will contribute to a more complete understanding of the multifaceted realities of slavery in early nineteenth century Berbice, one of three colonies that became British Guiana in 1831. These records illustrate, through the complaints of slaves – complaints about overwork and excessive punishment, righteous indignation about ill-treatment of family members, accusations of petty criminality and sometimes charges of severe criminality, such as rape and, in a particularly interesting case, of obeah – how slavery operated in the British West Indies and how enslaved people negotiated their way through the uncomfortable situations that they found themselves in.

What is most important about the documents that form the basis of this book is that they reveal enslaved people as real people, as individuals who often quarrelled with each other but whom, it seems, shared similar aspirations and dreams about the lives they might be able to fashion for themselves. Responses from the white minority, usually as defendants, not only confirm slaves' humanity and individuality, but also reveal the irony of a society where African Americans often responded to their environment in a variety of idiosyncratic ways, while their white owners and managers were constrained by the duty of solidarity, forever conscious of their numerical inferiority and the need to present consistent and homogenous opposition to demands from slaves. It is the voices of enslaved people, speaking through these records, that inspired the title of "Hearing Slaves Speak." Before reading these cases, however, we should examine more closely the kind of documents that make up the Fiscal's Records, and the social character of Berbice in the 1820s when these records were created.

The Fiscal's Records

The Fiscal's Records for Berbice, Demerara and Essequibo are contained with 24 large volumes kept at The National Archives

in Kew, London. Overall, they contain perhaps 10,000 pages of information. In this volume, I have sampled records from only a few of the 24 volumes still extant – volumes 138, 139, 142, 143, 144, 147, and 148. Readers should be aware that masses of equally interesting or representative stories from the Fiscal's reports from these and other volumes are not included here, demonstrating the richness of the sources available. Indeed, the Fiscal's reports are that rare commodity, a virtually unused body of raw evidence about life under slavery for West Indian slaves.⁶ This book is intended as an introduction to the riches that are contained in these records. I have confined my attention to records from Berbice, in part because the range of records in respect of Berbice is especially large. Nevertheless, there are abundant records about Demerara in the 1820s that will also be of use to the researcher and student.

The Fiscal's Records come in several forms.⁷ Perhaps the most valuable records are the manuscript and printed copies of complaints made, mostly by enslaved people, to the Fiscal about matters that outraged them. That many things outraged them can be seen in the wide variety in types of complaints that are listed in the ninety-two cases outlined below. Slaves welcomed an opportunity to put their case before a leading Crown official, even if their day in court more often than not left them without the redress that they sought. In addition to hearing slave complaints about their treatment, the Fiscal was in charge from the mid 1820s onwards of monitoring discipline on Berbice estates. He required the managers of estates to send to him each year a list of the number of punishments meted out to slaves on each estate. Managers had to provide the Fiscal with a list of all punishments, divided by how many were given to men and how many given to women, the kind of offences committed, and how many slaves were given floggings or placed in the stocks for a period of time.

The first part of this book offers a sample of some of these types of information: the prices of slaves when sold at public vendue; a summary of punishments in 1827-28 and in 1832; and an estate by estate listing of how many punishments were given, if any were given at all. What is noticeable about the latter records is how greatly estates varied in how extensively slaves were punished. Thus, John Ross, the manager of 440 slaves handed out 137 punishments in one four month period and 134

in the next four month period. Meanwhile H.E. Hockin, the owner of 309 enslaved people, gave only 16 and 14 punishments in the same time period. Slaves' experiences could thus depend materially on the quality and effectiveness of the manager of the estate they lived upon. Just as interesting is the summary of the offences that enslaved people committed. The great majority related to disputes over work: 4,530 slaves were punished for bad work; 300 for refusing to work; 1,346 for disobedience or insolence. Slaves were also punished for criminality, ranging from attempted murder, to trying to commit suicide and to theft. The latter was quite common, accounting for 310 offences in 1827-28. Also significant were offences connected to moral delinquency, such as mistreating children, fornication and adultery, drunkenness, lying or ill-treating wives. Some of the most serious moral delinquencies related to practising obeah, or what whites considered witchcraft.⁸ In 1827-28 there were 11 such accusations made against slaves. Obeah was taken very seriously by the authorities: notably in a case found in the British Parliamentary Papers (this case will be published in a forthcoming volume of the Guyana Classics), entitled *Trial of a Slave in Berbice*, slaves found guilty of obeah faced execution.⁹ Case Eighteen below is a lengthy account of another obeah (or obiah) incident.

The Fiscal was a curious office for a British colony. In essence, the Fiscal was the chief legal officer of the colony, exercising an equitable function, similar to the Lord Chancellor in Britain, whereby slaves, who were legally not allowed to go to court, were able to come to him to complain that they were not being treated properly. The office of the Fiscal was a legacy from the Dutch history of the colony of Berbice; he was responsible for ensuring that planters adhered to *The Rule on the Treatment of Servants and Slaves*, a treatise on how slaves should be treated that the Dutch instituted in 1772 in order to curb slave unrest. Under the terms of the British acquisition of Berbice in 1803, the British were obliged to retain the Dutch bureaucracy of the colony, including the Fiscal. The Fiscal allowed slaves access to justice in ways that were denied them elsewhere in the British West Indies. As the results of most of the cases treated below indicate, the Fiscal was not particularly inclined towards taking the enslaved person's side. He was, after all, a prominent member of white society and he socialised with leading planters.

Case after case finished with the Fiscal admonishing the slave who brought forward a complaint and occasionally ended with him ordering the slave to face punishment.

Nevertheless, the Fiscal was a check on planters' worst behaviour. Indeed, he had a vested interest in having slaves bring complaints before him. Initially, before 1814, he took one third of all fines levied against slave owners and managers. Subsequently, his salary was increased to ca. £8,000 per annum, partly in salary, partly in fees, making him the highest paid government official in the colony. He also imposed a fine on all slave owners who had a case brought against them, no matter what the outcome. Thus, the Fiscal encouraged rather than discouraged slaves in bringing forward criticisms to his court. Slaves, usually denied access to courts, had someone in the person of the Fiscal who would at least listen to their complaints, even if he did not act upon them. Consequently, slaves brought their concerns before the Fiscal at regular intervals and the Fiscal listened to them while his clerks wrote down what the slaves said, preserving their words seemingly as close to verbatim as was ever likely to occur in the annals of Atlantic slavery.¹⁰

From 1819, complaints from slaves to the Fiscal were recorded in government documents for the first time. Despite the patois that slaves used being routinely smoothed over by the recording clerk, evidence suggests that the direct testimony of slaves complaining about their treatment was noted down faithfully and accurately. As such, the records of complaints brought before the Fiscal are a rare example of slaves speaking for themselves.¹¹ Of course, legal records have their own difficulties. Natalie Zemon Davis memorably described the type of social history evidence gained through the testimony of poor people in courts as "fiction in the Archives."¹² There is a measure of fiction in the ninety-two cases outlined below, given that both slaves and their managers called to give evidence chose to shape their complaints and their testimony both to represent themselves to their best advantage and also to pander to the prejudices of the Fiscal. Thus, managers tried to show themselves as fair and humane masters, tested beyond endurance by recalcitrant slaves so that they were "under the necessity" (to cite a common phrase used by the Fiscal) of implementing punishments. Slaves, on the other hand, tried to

present themselves as reasonable people, pushed beyond endurance. They often started their complaints in the manner of Quamy, in a case in C.O. 116/140 (not included here) representing 22 men who resented having to change from work on a coffee plantation to cutting down trees in the bush. Quamy began by saying "That we know we are purchased to work." Similarly, Louis, complaining about a host of ill treatments from his female owner, began his complaint "I am not lazy nor a runaway. I am willing to work." Consequently, this type of evidence needs to be seen as narrative accounts that have to be deconstructed and interpreted from a variety of angles, rather than being taken as simple elaborations of fact. Moreover, a slave giving a complaint against a master or mistress knew that his or her testimony was likely to have consequences, even if the Fiscal was very strict about the maintenance of his authority. He took a decidedly dim view of any owner or manager who chose to punish a slave for making a complaint.

In some ways, the system was designed to benefit the weaker party – the slave who could speak in ways that he or she seldom could do openly before white people. This is not to say that slaves got a free ride when coming to complain to the Fiscal. In the majority of cases, as noted above, the slave complaint was dismissed and the slave faced at the very least a stern ticking off from the Fiscal – a man who generally viewed matters from the viewpoint of the slaves' proprietors and who believed that discipline would be ruined if masters' authority was not supported. Some idea of the Fiscal's attitude to slaves can be gleaned from a letter by H.M. Bennett to Governor Sir B. D'Urban that "nine times out of ten the complaints proceed from the most indolent and worthless slaves on the estate."¹³ It was quite common for slaves to be scolded for his or her behaviour, even if the grievance was upheld. Laurence, for example, complained that his manager flogged him for not making good fires. The Fiscal listened to his complaint – very briefly – and dismissed the case, reprimanding Laurence and telling him to "attend to his duty." But at least slaves were able to have their grievances heard and, in some cases, listened to. In Laurence's case, for example, the manager was forbidden "from flogging or striking a negro with a horsewhip."¹⁴ Even if they did not succeed, slaves did draw the attention of important whites to the conduct of managers, occasionally

initiating the removal of managers who had lost the trust of slaves. How individual plantations were managed was vitally important. Most disputes centred on particular issues on particular estates under the control of particular managers. The great majority of managers never had any slave come before the Fiscal. Most complaints were directed at managers that slaves thought were either incompetent or very harsh: 73 percent of several thousand complaints in the Fiscal's Records were directed at 20 managers with 55 percent being focused on just 10 managers. One of the virtues of the Fiscal's reports is that through these reports we can determine how slave management was meant to work, and when and for what reasons it broke down. It would break down because a manager or owner lacked the personal authority to force enslaved people to do what he wanted them to do.¹⁵

Berbice in the 1820s

These cases were heard in a very peculiar society, one of the more complete slave societies ever known, but a slave system that was growing just at the time that slavery in the British Empire was coming under unprecedented attack from abolitionists, appalled at slavery's violence and immorality. Berbice in the 1820s was close in its social structure to eighteenth century Jamaica or to low-country South Carolina. It was a frontier settlement where lands were being developed and where a plantation economy was becoming established. It was similar to both of these societies in being a close to complete slave society in which over 90 percent of the population of nearly 23,000 were slaves. Most of these slaves – three quarters of those aged over 15 in 1819 – were born in Africa, with the majority being men of prime working age. The majority of slaves worked on the 140 plantations that hugged the coast and which had been created through painstaking labour in the dense Guiana forests and rugged coastline. Most lay below sea level and thus needed constant maintenance. Coffee was the major crop, although sugar was fast supplanting its supremacy in the 1820s. Ownership was largely concentrated outside of the colony and the white managerial population was small, mostly male, and well aware of the threat that slaves posed to their safety. Mortality was high and the slave population was not self-sustaining. Berbice was thus what Barry Higman calls one of the third phase sugar colonies, colonies that shared social and

economic characteristics more like those of slave societies in the period of the slave trade than of colonies in the period of widespread amelioration.¹⁶

These colonies were also colonies where slavery was noticeably harsh. Punishment records in the Fiscal's Records indicate that in a six month period, one fifth of all slaves were given a punishment. The total number of punishments amounted to nearly 7,000 for a population of 20,000 slaves. Of those punishments, 25 percent involved a whipping, suggesting that approximately 7 percent of male slaves were flogged in a typical six month period.¹⁷ Slaves in Berbice had a better time than slaves in Demerara, where sugar production was more extensive, if such comparisons between relative levels of hardship are worth making. Nevertheless, the information in the Fiscal's Records indicate that slaves in Berbice also faced very difficult conditions, just like their compatriots in Demerara. Their situation was aggravated by the personal nature of slave management and by the anxiety that white managers and owners felt towards their charges. That anxiety often led them to lose control over their actions when exasperated about slave actions and attitudes. Managers felt isolated on distant plantations and when pushed beyond endurance, lashed out wildly at the people they felt responsible for destroying good order on their estates.

One such occasion, noted in C.O. 116/140 but not included in the list of cases below, occurred when a manager discovered that a favourite and expensive mare had been fatally wounded by malicious use of a carpenter's adze. A slave related how when he was told of the injury the manager "pulled out a wattle and began beating Jackson [the messenger] and he licked the man till he could not see." By his estimate he gave Jackson 150 lashes (when the legal limit was 39), put him in the stocks and then flogged him again. Jackson said "Massa you are going to kill me" and the manager allegedly replied that "if I kill you there is no law there for you." He then forced Jackson to watch the horse die in his arms. The manager suspected that one of four slaves wounded the mare but none of the four slaves would own up (the culprit was probably an ex-carpenter called Quamina, who was angry about being demoted from carpentry to working in the field). Enraged, he put all four slaves in the stocks, binding their hands hard and keeping them in the stocks

every night for two weeks. He refused to let the sick nurse see them and forced them to use chamber pots rather than being released from the stocks when necessary. The slaves were in great pain as they were “tied by their wrists to a beam and hawled up to an extent that their toes barely touched the ground.” The manager, as the Fiscal recognised, had lost all sense of perspective when losing a favoured horse. What is significant, however, is that he could act on his high passions to the detriment of slave welfare.¹⁸

Slaves complained about excessive punishment; about being moved against their will; about being demoted from trades to fieldwork; about masters not taking into account their sickness and especially the sickness of children, several of whom died; about masters’ cultural insensitivity; and about food and clothing allowances being inadequate. From the complaints a reasonably clear picture emerges of what slaves thought was the minimum due to them as slaves. They felt entitled not to be asked to work more than their strength allowed; to receive food and clothing sufficient to survive; to have time off, especially on Sundays and on public holidays, and not to be expected to work when they had time off; to be cared for when sick, and to have their legitimate claims to be sick listened to, and that they should not be punished when they accomplished their tasks, behaved according to the rules and were not insubordinate.¹⁹

A close look at three cases gives us more information about the sort of things that slaves thought were beyond the pale. Mistreatment of wives and especially children brought especially fierce complaints. One of the most compelling cases, Case Sixty Nine in this book, arose out of the death of a young girl, Elizabeth, and the determined efforts of her parents to try and find justice for her after her very early death. The Fiscal noted that Telemachus and Caroline, the parents of the recently deceased Elizabeth, came to see him to complain that their daughter had died because the manager had forced himself upon her, even though “she having not yet arrived at the state of womanhood.” A long investigation followed in which it appeared that Elizabeth may have been deflowered by a young negro boy (although most of the suggestions were that his attempt upon her failed) and that the cause of her death was “nervous debility,” not shock from being penetrated by a male before she had reached puberty.²⁰ But Telemachus and Caroline

were not convinced. They knew just how extensive was the sexual abuse of young women by white men and did not trust white doctors to tell them the truth about what their white masters did.²¹ Telemachus insisted that the manager was lying about being connected with Elizabeth. He provided the Fiscal with lots of circumstantial evidence, much of which is very valuable for rounding out how enslaved people lived and occasionally thought, that seemingly supported his claim. What is interesting is less whether Telemachus was right in his suspicions that a rape had been committed than is the innate assumptions that slaves had about both white lack of faith and also that white people would conspire to deny justice to black people. Just as interesting is how determined a slave father was to see his dead child be treated right after her death. It denies a common claim made during slavery that enslaved people, especially slave men, did not care for their children. Telemachus cared deeply; deeply enough to make the very dangerous accusation that a manager had raped his child. One imagines that he had to live with very serious consequences once his case was dismissed and he had to return to his plantation home.

Insensitivity on the part of managers to slave family life was also at the centre of another complaint. In a case not included here, Billy complained that his master, Richard Bell, had shown a lack of respect to his slaves by measuring up a very sick slave for a coffin before that slave had died and burying the slave "the very moment he died and before he was cold."²² He added the poignant image of the slave looking up at the carpenter Demerara measuring him for size, seeing what he was doing and hanging down his head. For Billy, Bell's callousness was part of a general pattern of lack of care towards the sick. He detailed another case of a slave dying after being forced to work when clearly ill and concluded with his own situation. He claimed he had a pain in his stomach "if the sun is hot upon me" but that his master thought him just lazy and forced him and other slaves to work beyond endurance. Billy's inability to work as required led Bell to have him flogged by the driver. Adding insult to injury, Bell stood upon his shoulders while he spread eagled on the ground during his flogging, causing him to vomit blood. In testimony intended to curry favour with the Fiscal, he claimed that Bell had replied to a slave comment that his management methods were killing his slaves that

“when he purchases Negroes [neither] the governor nor the Fiscal gives him money to pay for them, therefore when he does buy” them he can do with them as he likes.” Claiming that Bell had refused to accept that he was sick rather than lazy, Billy “came here to complain, finding I could get no redress.”²³

The complaint therefore was in two parts – the callous early dispatch of a dead slave and punishment for what Billy though was a legitimate complaint of illness, neither obviously connected. Billy’s ambition was to connect the two together. No-one disputed the facts of the first complaint and Bell was admonished by the Fiscal for “want of proper feeling” which was “bound to operate prejudicially on the minds of his negroes and would create discontent among them.” But the Fiscal would not accept the second complaint and ordered that Billy be punished at his discretion. He accepted the testimony of Demerara that Billy was “a strong man but lazy inclined and always complaining of sickness.” For that reason, Demerara did not like to work in the same Pen with him. Another slave, Charles, agreed with Demerara’s assessment that Billy’s character was “not good” although he thought that his backwardness with his work was due to sickness. For Bell, the case was cut and dried. Billy was a “very lazy idle negro and a liar.”

What is interesting about these cases, as with another case involving insubordination from a female house servant when extraneous material on sexual exploitation was included as part of the slaves’ deposition,²⁴ is how slaves presented information to the Fiscal that had strictly little to do with a specific complaint but which was intended to show a pattern of misbehaviour on the part of their owners and managers. What makes these complaints especially valuable from an historian’s perspective is that the Fiscal allowed slaves to ramble off the point in order that he might get a full picture of slave life in the colony. Here, Billy wanted redress for what he considered excessive and unfair punishment by implying a general pattern of unconcern for slave welfare. He was well aware, it seems, that the British government was committed to a policy of amelioration and that it was concerned about the extent of slave mortality in its new colonies. His testimony was expressly constructed so as to find a sympathetic ear.

Family concerns were sometimes so paramount to slaves that they were willing to entertain what seem to us paradoxical

solutions, such as seeking to be sold to another master, in order to preserve their familial ambitions. In Case Forty Nine, for example, Klaas and Hendrick both complained that they had been sold “under circumstances of peculiar hardship and oppression.” For both men, what especially angered them was their owner’s indifference to their family situation. Klaas had an aged mother whom he cared for in New Amsterdam. He lamented his owner’s decision to sell him to a sugar estate twenty five miles from town. Hendrick, a slave who had foregone the opportunity to become free when taken by his owner in the United States and had returned to Berbice so that he could be close to his family, similarly wanted to protest about being sold a long way from family members. In support of Klaas’s case, the Fiscal heard heart-rending testimony from his old and sick mother, with a complicated story about arrangements for how whoever purchased Klaas was bound to purchase also his mother. His owner, Colonel Nixon, a very highly placed planter-politician, protested that he had treated Klaas well, that his intentions were honourable and that he had sold Hendrick because Hendrick was violent and unstable. Nixon tried to fashion his evidence so as to suggest that he was receptive to familial arguments although the subtext of his evidence makes clear how much the sales of the slaves had been motivated primarily by his own financial gain. Eventually, the Fiscal ruled that Klaas had the right to choose his owner by himself, thus countermanding an important slaveholding principle: that the right to dispose of slaves as one pleased was sacrosanct. The demands of family in this case trumped the privileges of property.

Not all complaints were by individuals wanting a solution to individual problems. One example, not included in the cases below but typical of them, was a complaint from 22 men belonging to L.F. Gallez (an owner who was frequently a subject of complaints but who was also the sole proprietor who urged his slaves to formalise marriages).²⁵ Quamy, representing these men, started off his complaint with a ritual acknowledgement that he knew that slaves “are purchased to work.” He then launched into a litany of complaints about being worked too hard, and that slaves on Gallez’s property were flogged unreasonably because they did not produce the work that was needed “until we run away into the bush.” However, because

of obligations to family and friends and from personal distaste for the challenge of life in the thick South American jungle, running away into the bush, according to Quamy, "is something that we cannot do." It was not only excessive work that bothered these slaves but interference in slave family life. "He will never leave us quiet about our wives," Quamy complained. He continued: "If they are pregnant he is vexed and finds fault upbraiding us that we are good for nothing but to get women with child – if the women have children, they are not allowed to stop at home." What he wanted was a return "to former times." The slaves were agitated by what they considered to be unreasonable work loads, brought on by the owner buying two estates in the bush that needed clearing – hard, physical labour that taxed slaves beyond endurance. They suspected he was in financial strife – "whether he has lost money by the Estates we do not know" – and was skimping on food and clothing for slaves while forcing slaves to work. Echoing the previous complaint, complainants noted that Gallez was disrespectful to slaves who died and dismissive of slave illness. If a slave died, "he only allows 3 or 4 to bury and no coffin is given unless we find the boards." If a slave was sick, "he gives us physic and in 2 or 3 days drives out to work."

Gallez, predictably, denied all these accusations and supported his case with evidence from April, an elderly driver, "father and grandfather of seven slaves." April denied that the slaves were ill-treated and thought they were poor workers. "The negroes," he averred, "did not work and I repeated it to my master as I was duty bound." Presumably, the complaining slaves may have thought April's duty was not to his master but to them. The result, also predictably, was that the case was dismissed as "frivolous" and the slaves had to beg pardon from their master. They may, however, have proved their point. The large number of slaves complaining suggests widespread dissatisfaction with management practices on the estate. Being asked to beg pardon was at the very low end of possible punishments. Whites in Berbice, one year after the Demerara revolt of 1823, would have been very aware that a major cause of that revolt was a sudden intensification of work patterns in the colony. This complaint fell into that category, one which possibly presaged larger political action.

The meaning of the Fiscal's Reports

What are we to make of these reports? One way of viewing the various cases that are presented below is that they allow us to see relationships between black and white within the context of negotiations between people with varying and shifting amounts of power, both of whom are trying to gain an advantage over each other and who are often, as in the cases coming before the Fiscal, attempting to place their position in the negotiating process before the bar of public opinion. Of course, all this harks back to an older but still powerful scholarship, that of Edward Thompson and his notion of moral economy.²⁶ It suggests that the language of class needs to be added to that of race more often than it is in slavery studies – this is one of the most important points that Ira Berlin reminds us of in his gentle admonitions concerning how slavery should be studied, in his work on differences over time in the history of African-Americans in bondage.²⁷

Emilia Viotta Da Costa in her work on these reports makes excellent points on what is implied about slave expectations in the complaints that they brought before the Fiscal. She conceives of these expectations in terms of “rights,” an assumption on the part of slaves that there was an unspoken contract, “an invisible text that defined rules and obligations.” Slaves expected to follow rules but believed slave owners had obligations. These duties and obligations could be summed up, she feels, as being that “all slaves should perform according to their abilities, and all should be provided according to their needs.” What these “abilities” and “needs” were had to be negotiated both individually and collectively between slave and master. Again and again in the complaints, slaves protested about treatment they thought unfair and for which they had not received proper redress. What is clear is that they wanted a say in their treatment and wanted to be able to remonstrate when they felt they had a grievance.²⁸ This attitude could be seen as comprising resistance but this underplays the extent to which the acceptance that slaves had duties they should perform suggests that slaves accepted the right of masters to control them and to keep them in slavery. The problem with resistance as an historical concept is that when it is used, except in the most sensitive hands, it implies that slaves would not put up with enslavement in any of its forms and that they strove constantly to try and gain

freedom or at least an advantage over their master in what amounted to a racial and class war. If this is the case, then resistance can only be seen as wildly unsuccessful, as so little everyday “resistance” led to outright rebellion. Moreover, the evidence of the Fiscal’s reports suggests that enslaved people may not have liked slavery but that generally they put up with most aspects of enslavement and only protested about matters they thought especially unjust. It might be, as Da Costa argues, that “without the daily and tenacious acts of defiance and sabotage, rebellions would have been difficult, if not impossible,” but the limited number and small impact of slave rebellions make daily conflicts between slave and master devoid of political significance. As David Brion Davis has commented:

How could workers who were relatively free from market forces produce so much or drive such economic growth, especially when historians claim they were engaged in subtle forms of day-to-day resistance? I have seen no satisfactory answers to such questions, but suspect that the negotiating and bargaining between slaves and masters often led to compromises that actually aided productivity.²⁹

Thinking about slave resistance requires as much consideration of masters as of slaves. A major problem with the resistance paradigm is that it is overwhelmingly focused on what slaves were up against and what they did to overcome their problems. Masters become shadowy figures, obstacles to be overcome on the march to autonomy, self-respect and freedom. But what comes out clearly in the complaints of Berbice slaves is that the power of masters was always constrained by their fears, by their capabilities and especially by their knowledge of what their slaves might do if they did not at all times maintain a pose of mastery.

Masks kept on slipping. The relationship between slaves and masters was a delicate balancing act. Slaves probably did see the relationships in terms of duties and obligations, as Da Costa suggests, but the person who had to adjudicate over what were these rights was the slave proprietor. In this respect, white owners and managers were the active partners in a negotiated relationship; slaves were the passive recipients but recipients whose response to what they were given could determine the outcome of negotiations.

It goes without saying that these negotiations were unfriendly and that the balance of power was always on the side of the master. The Fiscal made the distribution of power between master and slave clear in a couple of cases where slaves questioned slave owners' motives and attempted to claim a stake in the management of properties. When Scipio complained, in Case Five, that his manager had forced him to work despite Scipio's claim to be sick, the Fiscal chided him after hearing and dismissing his case. Summarising the judgment, the Fiscal stated that although "slaves were in all cases of grievances permitted to prefer their complaints, and that every attention should be paid thereunto, and the same redressed when so entitled, yet that the duty of the President, as well as the Fiscal, was to punish false accusations of slaves against their owners and managers." Scipio was ordered to be flogged "in the presence of the Fiscal on plantation Friends, as an example to the gang of that estate."³⁰

It would be wrong, therefore, to assume that slaves thought they were in a shared enterprise with masters, even though on occasions and for their own purposes they asserted a sense of collective identity as residents of a single plantation in ways that coincided with the interests of managers and overseers. In this way, the small world of the plantation could be distinguished from the larger world of imperial politics, where the interests and values of ruled and ruler was meant to coincide more often than not. The ideal of the monarchical society was a wise ruler and happy subjects. That ideal was achieved surprisingly often in early modern Britain and British America. When James II succeeded to the throne in 1685, the corporation of Monmouth acknowledged that it was the King's "Right to Rule and Govern" and his "Subjects' Duty to Obey."³¹ Even though planters sometimes had the conceit that their plantations were little kingdoms, these kingdoms were always unhappy ones, with little sense of shared values. In such cases, the job of the man who made decisions could be very difficult, which is clear from many of the complaints from slaves in Berbice. As everyone knew from their memory of seventeenth century strife between absolutist Stuart monarchs and resentful and rebellious subjects, retaining the support of underlings was extraordinarily difficult, even in social systems predicated upon deference and upon the God-ordained legitimacy of monarchs, masters and fathers. By the early nineteenth century, the force of revolutions and

changing familial relations that weakened the power of patriarchs had put great strain on the values of the old regime but within slavery such values still held strong, even in strongly capitalist societies such as Berbice, where ownership and daily control over dependents was often separate. Slave owners and their representatives still expected to be obeyed unquestionably and framed their rule in patriarchal ways. Gaining respect and loyalty from people who had neither consented to being ruled (even if they accepted that being ruled was an inevitable part of the human existence) was much more difficult and many slave owners failed to convince their charges, either through force or persuasion that they should be loyal and respectful of duly constituted authority.

A good portion of the master's authority resided in his personal abilities, especially his ability to muster the considerable coercive forces at his disposal. These included, crucially, the support of the state as ultimate guarantor of slaveholder power and privilege. In the end, it was the authority of the state that allowed owners and managers the power to force slaves to do what he wanted them to do. What is extraordinary, in retrospect, is how many masters were able to get slaves to accept their authority. The very full records of Berbice indicate that 768 slaves took legal action against their masters in 1824/25 but that there were no complaints from slaves from nearly three quarters of plantations in which two-thirds of slaves were held. In other words, less than one in four managers had to come in front of the Fiscal to answer a complaint. Three in four managers were able themselves to resolve conflicts within the plantation system.³²

The complaints brought before the Fiscal were therefore the relatively rare examples where compromises between slaves and masters had not been found possible. Compromise between slaves and managers made the system work; force alone could not do so. Violence was at the heart of the system and masters achieved their aims largely through the application of violence and through employing spiritual terror to cow slaves into submission.³³ But slavery was a contestation that required negotiation because the power of masters, as complaints from Berbice makes clear, was not absolute. Skilled managers (about whom we do not hear from in the records) got their way; less skilled masters faced problems. As Ira Berlin argues, "the web

of interconnections” between slave and master “necessitated a coexistence that fostered grudging cooperation as well as open contestation.”³⁴

The moral lessons of the Fiscal’s Records

I mention how slavery was complicated by human relations because the job of the historian is not to point out moral lessons but to provide evidence about the past so that we can recognise the ways in which people in the past lived, worked and thought in all their messy complexity. Inevitably, however, especially when dealing with a subject as morally fraught as slavery, issues of morality intrude. There is little point, lamenting the cruelties of enslavement and being outraged that so many people led stunted lives as a result of racially divided exploitation for financial gain. We don’t get very far by thinking of history as a series of moral judgements upon our ancestors and our ancestor’s oppressors. One of the virtues of the Fiscal’s records is that in their depth of coverage of both slave owners and enslaved people we come to understand that slavery was a complicated process of negotiation. The enslaved people in these records are far from perfect. They fight each other, as in the last case in this book, where two women fought in an undignified fashion over the affections of a white man; they drink too much, as in Cases Eighty Two and Eighty Six when the aptly named Champagne was hauled up before the Fiscal for excessive drunkenness; and they behave towards each other sometimes with a conscious lack of humanity. At the same time, they demonstrate, as can be seen in Telemachus’s admirable insistence on his dead daughter gaining justice, that slaves did not lose their humanity when trapped in a coercive system.

Nevertheless, one cannot look at the past in an entirely dispassionate way. One needs empathy for one’s ancestors and for the situation that they found themselves in. A principal aim of this series is to introduce, especially for the people of Guyana, who live the legacy of enslavement and of the brutality of plantation life into the present day, reminders of the past that has so shaped the present. Slavery was a monstrous system, even when there was an office like the Fiscal in which some of the worst excesses of enslavement were mitigated. It is hard not to conclude that many of the complainants in these cases led constricted lives, full of pain, both psychological and

physical, due to the injustices of enslavement. This volume of sources, in which we get as much direct testimony from the mouths of slaves as the imperfect source material of the past allows, is a modest contribution to trying to understand how enslaved people navigated these lives full of pain and sometimes enjoyment. My belief is that if we hear slaves speak and listen to what they say, then those people, long dead but not forgotten, can tell us things of value both in order to understand the past and also to appreciate the present and prepare for the future.

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Notes

- 1 For amelioration, see J.R. Ward, *British West Indian Slavery, 1750-1838* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).
- 2 James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).
- 3 The Fiscal was a peculiar office in a British colony, analogous to a Protector of slaves in some other Crown Colonies, but with greater powers to punish not just enslaved people but also slave owners and slave managers.
- 4 For the use of similar sets of records in South Africa, also a British colony with Dutch antecedents, see John Edwin Mason, *Social Death and Resurrection: Slavery and Emancipation in South Africa* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 2003).
- 5 The full references are: "Fiscal's Reports, 1819-1832, Berbice" – Colonial Office Records, class 116 vols.138-142; "Reports of Protectors of Slaves, 1826-34" Berbice – C.O. 116/143-53, The National Archives, Kew, London. I have noted at the top of each class of entry and in the ninety-two cases the full reference from the C.O. 116 series. The records are either in manuscript or in printed form. The handwritten records are less voluminous than the printed material but often contain the most valuable material, or at least the most minimal of editorial interference.
- 6 Few historians have used these records. Some treatment of the records can be found in Mary Turner, "'The 11 o'clock flog': women, work and labour law in the British Caribbean," *Slavery and Abolition*, 20 (1999), 38-58; Emilia Viotti da Costa, *Crowns of Glory, Tears of Blood: The Demerara Slave Rebellion of 1823* (New York: Oxford University

- Press, 1994), 39-85; J.H. Lean, "The Secret Lives of Slaves: Berbice, 1819-1827," (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Canterbury, New Zealand, 2002); and Alvin O. Thompson, *Unprofitable Servants: Crown Slaves in Berbice, Guyana 1803-1831* (Barbados: UWI Press, 2002). In addition, see Gordon Gill, "Labour, Material Welfare, and Culture in Hydrologic Plantation Enterprises: A Study of Slavery in the British Colony of Berbice," (unpublished PhD thesis, Howard University, 2004). For further thoughts on these records as historical evidence, see John Lean and Trevor Burnard, "Hearing Slave Voices: The Fiscal's Reports of Berbice and Demerara-Essequibo," *Archives* 27 (2002), 37-50.
- 7 Printed summaries of slave reports can also be found in Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, (1825) XXV: 476 'Further Papers relating to Slaves in the West Indies: Demerara and Berbice' and Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, (1829) XXV: 335, Protector of Slaves Reports. A second volume in this series will include material from this source.
- 8 For obeah, see Kenneth M. Bilby and Jerome S. Handler, "Obeah: Healing and Protection in West Indian Slave Life," *Journal of Caribbean History* 38 (2004)153-83 and Diana Paton, "Obeah Acts: Producing and Policing the Boundaries of Religion in the Caribbean," *Small Axe* 13 (2009), 1-18.
- 9 *Trial of a Slave in Berbice, for the Crime of Obeah and Murder, Proceedings of the Courts of Criminal Justice for the Colony* in British Parliamentary Papers (1823) XVIII: 505. For a discussion of this case, see Juanita De Barros, "Setting things right: Medicine and magic in British Guiana, 1803-38," *Slavery and Abolition* 25 (2004), 28-50.
- 10 The history of the office is outlined in C.O. 116/155/appendix one. For other accounts, see James Rodway, *History of British Guiana from the year 1668 to the present time*, 3 vols. (Georgetown, 1891), II: 104; Henry Bolingbroke, *A Voyage to Demerary 1799 to1806* , (London, 1807), 52; and Henry G. Dalton, *History of British Guiana*, (London, 1855), 273-4.
- 11 Lean gives a good summary of the creation of the office of the Fiscal and the nature and reliability of the records in "Secret Lives of Slaves," 30-47.
- 12 Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, Ca.: University of California Press, 1988).
- 13 Letter to Sir B.D'Urban from M.S. Bennett, Fiscal, 21 January, 1826, C.O. 116/138.
- 14 Case Twelve: C.O. 116/138/38-39. Da Costa argues that one effect of the 1823 rebellion in Demerara was that for the first time managers would be on occasion fined for misconduct. Da Costa, *Crowns of Glory*, 64.
- 15 Lean, "Secret Lives," 106, 150.

- 16 B.W. Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807-1834* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 45, 63-64. The proportions of slaves in sugar in Berbice were considerably less than in Demerara and Essequibo, which were classic sugar monoculture colonies.
- 17 Lean, "Secret Lives," 315, 320.
- 18 C.O. 116/140.
- 19 Da Costa, *Crowns of Glory*, 73.
- 20 C.O. 116/139/195-219.
- 21 For sexual abuse of young women, see Trevor Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 157-62.
- 22 C.O. 116/140.
- 23 C.O. 116/140.
- 24 Burnard and Lean, "Hearing Slave Voices."
- 25 Lean, "Secret Lives," 285-86; C.O. 116/140.
- 26 E.P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters: The Origins of the Black Act* (London: Allen Lane, 1975).
- 27 Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2003).
- 28 Da Costa, *Crowns of Glory*, 73.
- 29 David Brion Davis, "Looking at Slavery from Broader Perspectives," *American Historical Review*, 105 (2000), 465.
- 30 C.O. 116/138/34-35.
- 31 Tim Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685-1720* (London, New York: Allen Lane, 2006), 50-1.
- 32 Lean, "Secret Lives," 54.
- 33 Vincent Brown, *The Reaper's Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008).
- 34 Berlin, *Generations of Captivity*, 5.

**HEARING SLAVES
SPEAK**

GENERAL STATISTICS BERBICE, 1827-32

1. Prices of slaves at vendue (public sale) in 1827
2. Summary of types of punishment, 1827-28
3. Punishments on each estate, 1830
4. Punishments on each estate, 1832
5. Total Absence of punishments, 1832
6. Summary of types of punishment, 1832

1. Prices of slaves at vendue (public sale) in 1827.

C.O. 116/144/31

STATEMENT, showing the PRICES at which SLAVES have been sold at Public Vendue in the Colony *Berbice*, from 1st September 1827 to 30th August 1828.

Date of Sale	Estate	No.	Ave. Price (Currency)	Ave. Price (Sterling)	Remarks
6 Sept 1827	Dunrobin	124	f.1,490.00	£104.60	Very fine people.
20 Sept 1827	Spring Garden	85	1,511.50	106.00	Some very fine people.
1 Nov 1827	Bloomfield	58	1,550.85	108.80	Very fine people.
15 Nov 1827	Lucia Berthen	3	1,283.30	90.10	An old woman, a young woman, and a boy.
3 Dec 1827	Essandam/ Sans Souci	214	1,131.30	79.40	Many leprous and diseased people among them.

TABLE (Continued)

Date of Sale	Estate	No.	Ave. Price (Currency)	Ave. Price (Sterling)	Remarks
6 Dec 1827	R. Douglas	10	f.1,745.00	£122.50	Domestics and fine people.
16 Jan 1828	L'Esperance	122	1,222.25	85.30	Many leprous and diseased people among them.
20 Jan 1828	R.K. Gill	6	1,042.00	73.20	Three women and three children.
20 Jan 1828	G.A. Casey	2	1,400.00	98.20	A fine young woman and her child.
3 April 1828	R. Bell	17	1,099.00	78.20	Very indifferent people.
3 April 1828	J. Arthur	2	2,300.00	161.40	A man and a woman, very fine people.
10 April 1828	Woodlands	54	1,132.10	80.50	Many old and many very young people.
20 April 1828	H. Broer	49	1,288.50	90.50	Some very fine and several diseased people.
21 May 1828	Vrow Johanna	32	1,245.00	87.40	Very indifferent people, and none very fine.
28 May 1828	Carel/ Willemshoop	67	1,528.00	107.20	Uncommon fine people.

Berbice, 30th August 1828. Faithfully compiled from the books of my office, signed *Charles Kyte*, D.V.M.

Note by the Protector: – These Slaves were sold in families, separate from the Estates. The Estates were also sold.

2. Summary of types of punishment, 1827-28.

C.O. 116/144/38-40

No. 6 List of Offences committed by Male and Female Plantation SLAVES in the Colony *Berbice*, made up from the Returns of Punishments forwarded to the Protector of Slaves, by the Civil Magistrates of the several Districts, from the 1st July 1827 to the 30th June 1828; showing the nature of the Offences, the number of Slaves committing each particular Offence, nature of Punishment for such Offences, and the total number of Offences and Punishments.

Nature of Offence	Males	Females	Flogging	Stocks	Total
Attempting to murder	3	0	2	1	3
Attempting to commit suicide	1	0	1	0	1
Attempting to ravish	1	0	0	1	1
Cutting with cutlasses	10	3	5	8	13
Incendiaries	2	0	2	0	2
Killing stock	3	4	2	5	7
Cruelty to animals	4	9	3	10	13
Housebreaking	16	0	9	7	16
Sheep stealing	14	2	10	4	14
Theft, petty larceny	279	31	161	149	310
Attempted theft	23	3	14	12	26
Striking overseer/driver	14	3	10	7	17
Biting	0	1	0	1	1
Resisting manager	0	2	0	2	2
Breaking stocks	6	0	2	4	6
Refusing to work	139	161	56	244	300
Disobedience	505	148	174	519	653

TABLE (Continued)

Nature of Offence	Males	Females	Flogging	Stocks	Total
Insolence	457	236	153	540	693
Insubordination	36	22	17	41	58
Absenting from work	399	94	143	350	493
Quarrelling/ fighting	318	213	128	375	503
Maltreating children	1	2	1	2	3
Attempting to strike white man	1	0	1	0	1
Fornication and adultery	11	28	6	27	33
Drunkenness	145	5	43	107	150
Bad work	2774	1756	730	3800	4530
Introducing rum on estate	11	4	6	9	15
Leaving estate at night	33	20	16	37	53
Not following medical advice	28	21	5	44	49
Riotous conduct	50	21	38	33	71
Harbouring runaways	18	0	10	8	18
Cutting and stealing canes	6	0	2	4	6
Practising obeah	11	1	10	2	12
Falseness - lying, complaints	77	43	42	78	120
Carelessness in regard to fire	14	3	4	13	17
Ill-treating wives	29	0	17	12	29
Total	5939	3173	1924	7188	9112

3. Punishments on each estate, 1830.

C.O. 116/146/21-26

TABLE A Exhibiting the number and effects of the Returns of Punishments received by the Proctor from the Managers of Plantation Slaves, from the Fourteenth day of May to the twenty ninth day of September 1830 and from the thirtieth day of September to the 30th day of December 1830.

Name of Manager	Name of Estate	Slaves May-Sept	Punishments	Males	Females	Slaves Sept-Dec	Punishments	Males	Females
W. Seaman	Overwinning	94	26	22	4	92	44	30	14
R. McKenzie	Providence	389	29	25	4	388	84	72	12
G. Parys, T. Edgelow	Everton	201	84	37	47	312	111	84	27
C. von der Marck	Bellevue	209	19	15	4	205	8	6	2
J. N. Lentz	Rotterdam	151	30	16	14	151	43	12	31
P. N. Mackay	Lonsdale	210	56	25	31	209	40	21	19
Robert McKenzie	Gebrveders	166	56	28	28	175	28	26	2
J. A. Forsyth	Friends	306	24	21	3	291	48	41	7
H. Roarke	Enfield	258	141	102	39	260	15	10	5
A. Ferguson	R. McKay's task gang	35	28	28	0				
H. Boyle	Ross Fraser's task gang	27	12	12	0	26	10	9	1
R. Boyd	E. Chisholm's task gang	60	29	28	1				
James Elliott	Ross and Barnstedt's task gang	60	13	13	0				
S. Boas, jr.	Dentichem	262	17	8	9	257	36	30	6
P. Campbell	De Kinderen	152	7	7	0	150	6	6	0
E. Hicks	Buse's Lust	170	7	5	12	188	20	17	3
John Ross	Highbury	447	137	46	91	440	134	46	88
I. L. S. Noteboom	Nieuir Vigilantie	145	25	15	10	144	7	5	2
R. Kennedy, G. Wiseman	Herstelling	171	25	15	10	165	30	17	13
H. W. Reuss	H. McCallum's task gang	32	6	6	0	28	9		9
J. A. Warner	Bloemhoff	107	87	6	81	108	36	8	24
H. M. Nicholson	Vryberg	180	31	15	16	180	41	27	14
A. Hartman	Waakraamheid	195	37	27	10	194	72	49	23
C. A. Kuyt	L'Esperance	48	12	0	12	49	20	3	17

TABLE (Continued)

Name of Manager	Name of Estate	Slaves May-Sept	Punishments	Males	Females	Slaves Sept-Dec	Punishments	Males	Females
P. Ter Rechorst	La Prudence	174	42	14	28	176	40	19	21
J. V. Mittelholtzer	Klara and Germanica	181	77	29	48	177	75	34	41
D. Campbell	Schepmoed	128	42	29	13	127	14	9	5
A. McDonald	L'Enterprise	52	10	3	7	48	3	2	1
A. Austine	Ma Retraite	250	116	51	65	245	127	108	19
G. Prentice	H. Grimmond's task gang	31	44	41	3	32	157	155	2
A. Fraser	Welgeleger	165	17	10	7	165	38	31	7
G. Helmers	Old Welgeleger	19	4	4	0	19	2	1	1
F. H. De Quay	Karel Willemstrop	190	66	34	32	196	104	70	34
H. M. McCallum	Woodcutting gang	60	8	8	0	62	53	49	4
J. J. De Hankar	D'Eduard	135	20	9	11	129	15	8	7
A. Currie	Blairmount	333	71	40	31	327	84	67	17
P. McCulloch	Balthayock	300	95	44	51	292	64	26	38
H. Gunn	Blair's Carpenter	30	37	37	0	32	17	17	15
L. Mulder	Long en Hoop	148	60	30	30	144	60	47	13
H. Huskies	Schumacher's Lust	62	11	4	7	62	8	4	4
T.A. Van Meirs	Gelderland	158	10	4	6	159	16	2	14
I. L. Huntzen, jr.	La Fraternité	157	7	5	2	157	30	9	21
I. L. Barnstedt	Augsburg	180	20	14	6	178	51	23	28
F. Maurenbrecher	Standvastigheid	220	14	11	3	217	24	20	4
A. Nicolson	Zuydywyk	187	82	28	54	188	47	24	23
F.A. Spangberg	Broerslust	24	18	11	7	40	14	12	2
K. Terlot	Op Hoop van Beter	143	7	2	5	141	8	5	3

TABLE (Continued)

Name of Manager	Name of Estate	Slaves May-Sept	Punishments	Males	Females	Slaves Sept-Dec	Punishments	Males	Females
J. Proctor	Graven Hagen	150	61	43	18	127	28	21	7
J. Russell	Resolute	150	12	5	7	151	44	26	18
James McAndrew	Nomen Nescio	83	9	9	0	83	8	5	3
John Corbett	Utile and Paisible	145	420	216	20- 4	144	53	45	8
L. Hintzen	Dankbaarheid	166	30	17	13	165	35	24	11
J. Tuminers	Bestervidegheid	161	42	20	22	160	39	17	22
W. Grant	Overyssel	115	15	3	12	113	9	3	6
I. I. L. L. Frantzen	Nieuwhoop	84	8	4	4	84	7	5	2
J. Overeem	De Liefde	228	2	1	1	233	4	4	0
J. de May	Lust tot Rust	153	21	17	4	156	39	30	9
L. Liddell	Vreheid	356	116	95	21	347	141	114	27
G.P. Turnbull	Lochaber	362	40	29	11	348	63	41	22
P. Nicholson	Sandervoost	260	81	71	10	260	72	44	28
J. Rodenbroek, J. W. Obermuller	Bleyendaal	125	28	15	13	121	84	49	35
G.P. van Holst	Anna Clementia	171	11	10	1	165	33	26	7
A. McIntosh	Philadelphia	213	44	33	11	462	143	79	64
A. M. Watt, D. Cameron	Melrose and Co. Gang	21	12	8	4	17	7	5	2
T. Jansen	W. Jansen's gang	27	16	14	2				
G. Schwartz	Schwartz's gang	14	2	2	0				
H. de Jong	Mrs Gallez's gang	47	2	0	2	40	10	10	0
L. F. Gallez	L.F. Gallez Jr's gang	18	6	5	1	20	10	4	6
H. de Jong	Catharinaburg	212	11	8	3	222	11	10	1
J. Williams	Prospect and Smithson's	330	130	81	49	335	138	70	68
W. Boyle	Canefield	324	59	46	13	315	113	69	44

TABLE (Continued)

Name of Manager	Name of Estate	Slaves May-Sept	Punishments	Males	Females	Slaves Sept-Dec	Punishments	Males	Females
W. Gunn	Rosehall	334	103	78	25	331	65	53	12
T. Tray	Reliance	263	95	60	35	248	48	23	25
W. Bennett	Adelphi	108	31	17	14	107	13	12	1
W. Nash	Goldstone Hall	352	231	135	96	344	55	16	39
G. Hagar	New Forest	70	62	42	20	113	143	75	68
S. Fraser	Palmyra	84	6	4	2				
W. Whitsutt	Nos. 5 and 7	258	70	32	38	254	53	40	13
A. Ross	Warren and Cumberland	140	47	11	36	140	67	20	47
D. Fraser	Kilcoy	150	7	7	0	148	5	5	0
D. Ross	Port Mourant	211	10	7	3	209	14	11	3
W. Cort	Hampshire	275	13	11	2	274	31	14	17
J.W. O'Bryan	Albion	202	24	22	2	205	17	11	6
J. Grimmond	Alness	370	46	26	20	371	52	34	18
G.B. Davis	Wellington Park	7	2	2	0	7	7	7	0
John Junor	Mary's Hope	246	39	39	23	244	106	70	36
R. McDermott	Eliza and Mary	520	7	7	12	516	119	56	63
J. Carruthers	Carpenter's gang	20	5	5	0	11	1	1	0
W.B. Manson	Skeldon	325	28	28	8	326	60	40	20
J. McDougald	Cotton Tree	259	58	43	15	259	46	36	10
H. Hiles	Bel-Air	56	13	9	4	56	5	5	0
G. Lancaster	Hoodley Park	88	22	10	12	83	35	6	29
R. Parry	Waterloo	168	139	71	68	170	164	80	84

TABLE (Continued)

Name of Manager	Name of Estate	Slaves May-Sept	Punishments	Males	Females	Slaves Sept-Dec	Punishments	Males	Females
J. Chisholm	Hope and Experiment	289	207	127	80	286	253	109	144
A. McPherson	Nos. 17 and 18	367	17	10	7	365	119	47	72
H. Shields	Nos. 19 and 20	375	79	37	42	372	327	84	243
A. McInnes	Belle Air	65	5	3	2	68	9	3	6
S. Hiles, Charles Rich	Golden Grove	135	12	8	4	136	43	31	12
John S. Usher	Golden fleece	199	54	25	29	199	34	14	20
T. Fauset	Profit	184	20	20	2	185	20	19	1
J. Moore	Litchfield	156	26	26	12	158	21	12	9
M. McKenzie	Ross	14	4	4	0	26	7	7	0
J. Kirkwood	Foulis	175	3	3	0	364	19	19	0
W. Caffray	Union	175	42	37	5	175	103	66	37
H. E. Hockin	Winkel department	309	16	11	5	308	14	11	3
F. Bertocain	Boat builder's gang	24	1	1	0	24	4	4	0
L. Warren	Working gang	20	1	1	0	15	18	18	0
		18220	4582	2701	1881	18911	5307	3214	2093

4. Punishments on each estate 1832.

C.O. 116/150/3-8

TABLE A Exhibiting the number and effects of the Returns of Punishments received by the Proctor from the Managers of Plantation Slaves, from the first day of January to the thirtieth day of June 1832.

Name of Manager	Name of Estate	Slaves	Punishments	Males	Females
W. Seaman	Overwinning	83	29	17	12
R. McKenzie	Providence	385	20	8	12
T. Edgelow	Everton	305	21	21	0
C.von der Marck	Bellevue	199	18	11	7
J. N. Lentz	Rotterdam	210	95	25	4
P. N. Mackay	Lonsdale	214	37	16	21
W. Grant	Gebrveders	166	14	2	12
W. Killup, R. McDermott	Friends	285	29	25	4
John McKenzie	Enfield	265	14	12	2
D.McKay	R.McKay's task gang	55	101	75	26
H.K. Hartman	Woodcutting gang	8	2	2	0
M. W. Sour	Woodcutting gang	6	2	2	0
I.H.H. Sander	Barnstedt task gang	149	47	42	5
S. Boas, jr.	Dentichem	256	14	2	12
L. Van Rossum	De Kinderen	300	17	13	4
E. Hicks	Buse's Lust	179	7	6	1
John Ross, John Gunn	Highbury	418	183	58	12
A. Sutherland	Blair's Coopers	10	7	7	0
P. McConchie	Essendon	22	12	12	0
G. Wiseman	Herstelling	158	15	13	2
H.W. Reuss	H. McCallum's task gang	35	15	13	2
J. A. Warner	Bloemhoff	110	22	10	12
H. M. Nicholson	Vryberg	184	45	25	20

TABLE A (Continued)

Name of Manager	Name of Estate	Slaves	Punishments	Males	Females
A. Hartman, C.F.A. Von Allum	Waakraamheid	195	29	23	6
C.A. Kuyt	L'Esperance	47	4	3	1
P. Ter Rechorst	La Prudence	174	25	12	13
J.V. Mittelholtzer	Klara and Germanica	171	29	14	15
Peter Campbell and J. A. Forsyth	Schepmoed	129	6	6	0
A. McDonald	L'Enterprise	49	21	10	11
A. Austine	Ma Retraite	251	99	73	26
G. Prentice	H. Grimmond task gang	33	32	26	6
A. Fraser	Welgeleger	162	14	10	4
R. Boyd and D. Campbell	B. Chisholm Woodcutting Gang	47	21	21	0
C.F. Fyrish	Karel Willemstroop	34	4	4	0
H. M. McCallum	Woodcutting gang	70	12	12	0
J.J. De Hankar	D'Eduard	127	7	3	4
A. Currie	Blairmount	324	40	23	17
P. McCulloch	Balthayock	290	31	19	12
James Campbell	Blair's Carpenter	30	37	37	0
L. Mulder	Long en Hoop	140	54	34	20
W. Buie	Ross	18	1	1	0
G. Prass	Gelderland	156	5	4	1
I.L. Huntzen, jr.	La Fraternité	160	8	4	4
I.L. Barnstedt	Augsburg	180	20	14	6
I.J.S. Kelton	Standvastigheid	210	76	31	45
A. Nicolson, P. Campbell	Zuydwyk	185	38	22	16
F. A. Spangberg	Broerslust	36	34	17	17
K. Terlot	Op Hoop van Beter	132	13	11	2
W. Vass	Phoenix	157	44	21	23

TABLE A (Continued)

Name of Manager	Name of Estate	Slaves	Punishments	Males	Females
J. Russell	Resolute	129	17	15	2
James McAndrew	Nomen Nescio	83	9	9	0
D. Cameron	Utile and Paisible	147	20	8	12
L. Hintzen	Dankbaarheid	163	12	10	2
J. Tuminers	Bestervidegheid	158	75	33	42
R. Loyd	Overysseel	178	5	4	1
I.I.L.L. Frantzen	Nieuwhoop	80	11	9	2
J. De Vry, J. Fauset	Liefde	80	41	25	16
J. de Vry	Lust tot Rust	154	48	25	23
L. Liddell	Vreheid	336	91	68	23
Thos. T. Taitt	Lochaber	344	19	17	2
P. Nicholson	Sandvoost	202	58	36	22
J. W. Obermuller	Bleyendaal	118	12	6	6
G.P. van Holst	Anna Clementia	165	36	31	5
Thos. Gray	Philadelphia	479	121	67	54
Henry Dowdy	Goedland	40	17	17	0
H. de Jong	Mrs Gallez's gang	43	3	2	1
L.F. Gallez	Botany Bay	20	9	5	4
H. de Jong	Catharinaburg	215	15	12	3
J. Williams	Prospect	156	71	45	26
J.A. Forsyth	Smithson's Place	142	38	26	12
W. Gunn	Rosehall	321	32	30	2
D. Gilraen	Reliance	239	22	16	4
W. Bennett and A. Grant	Adelphi	104	23	17	6
W. Nash	Goldstone Hall	344	70	47	23
G. Hagar	New Forest	105	62	17	45
F. McDonald	Nos. 5 and 7	264	58	34	24
A. Ross	Cumberland	40	24	18	6
D. Fraser	Kilcoy	152	8	8	0

TABLE A (Continued)

Name of Manager	Name of Estate	Slaves	Punishments	Males	Females
D. Ross	Port Mourant	226	15	12	3
W. Cort	Hampshire	275	98	24	70
J.W.O'Bryan	Albion	205	20	18	2
J. Grimmond	Alness	360	27	22	5
G.P. Turnbull	Mary's Hope	241	74	57	17
G.B. McKenzie	Eliza and Mary	520	116	16	100
T. McKenzie	Carpenter's gang	12	9	9	0
W.B. Manson	Skeldon	326	131	81	50
J. McDougald	Cotton Tree	251	39	22	17
W. Hiles	Bel-Air	55	6	4	2
G. Lancaster	Wodley Park	81	5	3	2
R. Parry and B. Farrell	Waterloo	164	141	72	69
J. Chisholm	Hope and Experiment	287	84	42	42
A. McPherson	Nos. 17 and 18	365	65	52	13
H. Shields	Nos. 19 and 20	367	61	16	45
Thos. Lighton	Belle Air	67	32	28	4
Charles Rich	Golden Grove	140	52	31	21
John S. Usher	Golden fleece	199	34	19	15
A. Munro	Profit	188	40	31	9
F. Fausit	Ross and task gang	40	45	45	0
J. Kirkwood	Foulis	352	13	10	3
P. Oldfield	Union	176	94	74	20
L. Warren	Working gang	20	1	1	0
		17482	3720	2214	1506

5. Total absence of punishments, January to June 1832.

C.O. 116/150/9-10

Manager	Name of Plantation	No. Slaves
J. Volkerts	Waliaver's Gang	23
Francis Douglas	Fyrish Cattle Farm	32
John Schweirs	Mrs Bell's gang	19
Jacob Staal	Noord Holland	19
F. La Rose	Carpenter gang	10
G.B. Davies	Wellington Park	10
J. Abbensets	Edgelors and Wade	24
W. Murray	W. Fry and Co. Carpenters	22
James Moore	Jacob Wilhelmina	6
Alex Lamont	41 and 42 West Coast	5
F.L. Frauendorff	Land Canaan	10
James Sampson	Plantation Ross	8
H.C. Hagar	Grass cutters	5
John Grant	Good Hope	6
Peter Chesney	Woodcutting gang	15
F.S. Sollicoffer	Carpenter's gang	8
George David	Domestic slaves	7
M. Jaffray	Domestic slaves	5

6. Summary of types of punishment, 1832.

C.O. 116/150/11-12

Nature of Offence	Males	Females	Total
Cutting with cutlasses	1	0	1
Killing stock	17	1	18
Cruelty to animals	6	0	6
Housebreaking	17	1	17

TABLE (Continued)

Nature of Offence	Males	Females	Total
Theft, petty larceny	109	19	128
Attempted theft	8	0	8
Striking overseer/driver	3	0	3
Biting overseer	0	1	1
Refusing to work	27	34	61
Disobedience	235	178	413
Insolence	65	55	120
Insubordination	75	113	188
Abusive language to owners	0	5	5
Absenting from work	115	62	177
Contemptuous behaviour	4	0	0
Quarrelling/fighting	38	26	64
Beating Others	16	5	21
Maltreating children	0	5	5
Idleness and lazyness	123	132	255
Fornication and adultery	0	4	4
Drunkenness	59	0	59
Bad work and not finishing task	576	345	921
Neglect of duty	1070	525	1595
Neglecting stock	23	0	23
Not throwing grass	4	0	4
Not coming to work in proper time	108	279	327
Riotous conduct	14	13	27
Harbouring runaways	7	0	7
Cutting and stealing canes	13	17	30
Practising obeah	4	0	4
Falseness - lying, complaints	5	0	5

TABLE (Continued)

Nature of Offence	Males	Females	Total
Carelessness in regard to fire	7	0	7
Introducing rum on estate	2	0	2
Absenting from hospital	5	1	6
Neglecting sores	8	1	9
Refusing to take medicine	0	1	1
Eating dirt, charcoal	0	1	1
Leaving estate at night	2	0	2
Selling and destroying clothes	1	0	1
Selling and destroying work utensils	1	2	3
Breaking punts, carts etc	2	0	2
Breaking hospital	2	0	2
Indecent language and behaviour	1	5	6
False pretence of sickness	17	18	35
Total	2214	1506	3722

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CASE ONE

C.O. 116/138/26-31

8th February, 1819.

Investigation of sundry complaints of negroes

Investigation of the Complaint of Nine Negro Men, belonging to Mrs. Ibon Sanders, residing in *Upper Berbice*; investigated this day before his Honor the President, and the honourable Member W. Halder

Examination of the Negro *La Rose*: – Says, That the cause of his complaint is, that the gang of negroes belonging to his mistress are, 1st, not fed sufficiently; that they are not allowed more than six cakes of cassavie weekly, which is inadequate for their support. On being asked how he came in the good state he appears in, says, that they are generally supplied by the Indians. 2d, That they have no clothing: on inquiry says, that the gang received a jacket and a hat a year ago: it is now after new year. For the last nine weeks had no allowance of fish: fish is given them only occasionally. They return from the Bush every Saturday evening; on the Sunday they get six cakes cassavie and nothing else, and return on the Sunday evening. No complaint of flogging.

Negro *Klaas*: – That they have no more than six cakes of cassavie weekly; that they are supplied by the Indians with food, but that the Indians are not tired of supplying them; that they return from the Bush on the Saturday evening; on the Sunday

morning they are to reap cassavie till eleven o'clock, then go to procure firewood and carry plantain stools from an old field to a new one, with which occupation the day is nearly spent, and till three o'clock; that from the time of her husband's death they have had clothing but once of Mrs. Helder. States that Sanders died in 1814. He produces a bolt and two rings or shackles, with which the women are confined with often, the ankles and wrists crossways, by which means they are bent double. He was twice confined that way himself, by order of his mistress, for tying up shingles badly: he was so confined from evening till morning. They had fish only on Christmas days, and not since; tobacco and rum are given on holidays, and not otherwise. He and three others, when Mr. Sterk was there, went to complain of hunger; and she ordered them to be tied down to the [unspecified] and flogged with two drivers; it was on a Sunday; supposes he had sixty.

Negro *Commaad*: – States that he gets only six cakes cassavie, and having a wife belonging to his mistress, he has to give her the half of his allowance, say three cakes; the women never get any allowance, only occasionally a small piece of fish; if they steal or secrete any of the roots of cassavie, when preparing it, and detected, they get flogged, as was lately the case with his wife: that from being constantly wrought in the Bush and beaten by the heavy rains, they have represented their uncomfortable case and situation to their mistress, requiring rum, and other refreshments of good food, but always had for answer she had nothing to give, and if they had any complaint to carry it to the Fiscal; says it is a long time since they had clothing, twice since the death of their master, mistress came to town a little after Christmas, and had the gang called up and informed she could get no clothing, for them; that they had to reap cassavie, carry plantain stools, and fetch firewood on Sunday morning, which occupies the greatest part of the day, as it is nearly dusk by the time they have sharpened their tools. Has been confined in shackles before and since his master's death, but that is the common mode of punishment for the women.

Negro *Kees*: – That he gets only six cakes of cassavie, out of which he gives three to his adopted mother; that he and Tom got flogged for complaining that they had not sufficient food, his two hands tied one side of his neck and flogged with a bush rope, which happened to break, was flogged with the rope now

produced, but making too much motion was tied down and flogged with the rope. The women have no allowance, and when they complain or murmur they are immediately fastened in the shackles. It is about two years since they had clothing. They are made to reap cassavie and get firewood every Sunday till late, the sun hanging before their work is finished.

Negro *Lubin*: – That the negro men are allowed only six cakes of cassavie, they get no fish, no rum, she does occasionally purchase fish, but it is not given to the negroes, but given for the purchase of plantains; get no clothing, upwards of two years since they had any; the children and women get no allowance; if any of the negroes complain of hunger their hands are tied to their necks, and flogged with bush rope; the women are frequently confined in the iron shackles. No Sundays are allowed to the negroes, they are made to reap cassavie, and procure firewood every Sunday until the greatest part of the day is spent; they have repeatedly complained to their mistress for want of food, clothing, and other comforts, and were in the hope that their grievances would be redressed by her, and therefore carried their complaints no further, but finding themselves disappointed they at length came to town.

Negro *Tom*: – Complains that he is not sufficiently fed, nor clothed, and flogged as the others state, when any complaint is made to his mistress on the above subjects; that he gets only six cakes of cassavie a week, and his last clothing the year before; the women and children have no allowance, the former are constantly confined in the shackles for not performing a sufficiency of work, which they are unable to do from not being fed; Sunday is not given them, they are to reap cassavie every Sunday morning, and also to fetch firewood, which occupies them great part of the day.

Negro *Sam*: – Complains that they have only six cakes of cassavie for week's allowance, and when they complain to their mistress of this scanty allowance they are flogged; that they get no clothing like other negroes; the women and children get no allowance; that the men share their scanty allowance with the women and children, and look to the Indians for support; that the women are generally confined in the shackles, and the men made to work the greatest part of Sunday in digging cassavie, and carrying plantain stools and firewood: 1817 last had clothes.

Negro *William*: – That they get only six cakes of cassavie a

week; that his wife and children get no allowance whatever, that he is therefore obliged to give the greatest part of his allowance to them; if they complain to the mistress of this scanty allowance, they are flogged either with bush-rope or a rope's end, the women punished by confinement in the shackles. They do not get clothing like other negroes; the last time they were supplied was in 1817: they got three ells of salemporis, a jacket and hat. No Sunday allowed; they are to reap cassavie Sunday morning, carry plantain stools and fetch fuel till late in the day. On being asked why he did not come to complain before, replied that they had always hoped their situations would have been made more comfortable, particularly as the young master was expected out; but now that he is come, and finding themselves more neglected by his mistress than before, they could no longer bear it.

Negro *Adam*: – That he is a driver, and had been deputed by the gang to represent to their mistress that they were not sufficiently fed and clothed; that his mistress, instead of affording redress, she had directed him to be confined in the stocks. Tom and Kees then stepped forward to expostulate, and they were both flogged with the bush-rope: Tom the most punished. He (the driver) was soon released from the stocks and sent to the Bush. The men are made to reap cassavie, carry plantain stools and fuel every Sunday, until a late hour. After this employment they have just enough time to sharpen their tools before dusk. The women and children get no allowance; Christmas the last time they had rum or fish. He gets a dram weekly on making a report of work done in the Bush. The women are frequently confined in the shackles; the last one confined was Acessie the cook, about four or five weeks ago. A considerable time since they got clothing; in 1817 they got a jacket, a hat, and three ells of salemporis.

Examination of *Mrs. Sanders*: – States that they get six cakes of cassavie, made from a basket full of the cassavie roots; that the cakes are very thick, and the allowance now is the same as they had fourteen years ago; that every negro gets a half-bottle of rum weekly; at times only once a fortnight, when the rum is nearly expended; they get a salt fish, or an allowance of salt weekly; they have had no fish since new year, in consequence of her absence from home, and no one she could trust the keys with. Food is dressed every day for the children; no allowance

is given to the four field women, in consequence of their allowing it to be eaten by the hogs; this withdrawing of the allowance was previous to Mr. Sander's death. That the negroes are clothed yearly; one year a jacket, a hat, and three ells of salemporis; the women have osnaburgs and a hat, but no jacket or blanket. The negroes are obliged to bring home a basket of cassavie every Sunday morning, and firewood every Sunday evening, that they only have to go to the field to fetch it home; the cassavie is brought home to be prepared for next week's allowance; the task can be done in half an hour: the bringing the fuel is done on a Sunday evening, because the negroes prefer it.

Interrogatories presented to the Honourable Commissaries of the Court of Criminal Justice, in a suit of Inquiry instituted in a Complaint preferred by Nine Negroes, the Property of Mrs. Sanders, against their said Mistress; the said Interrogatories to be put unto *Christian Philip Mackreel*, overseer of Mrs. Sanders.

1. Your name, age, religion, place of nativity and occupation? *Christian Philip Mackreel*, forty-two years of age, Protestant, Berbice, wood-cutter.

2. Are you not employed by Mrs. Sanders to superintend her gang of wood-cutters in Upper Berbice? Yes.

3. What food and what quantity is given to the men, women and children, belonging to Mrs. Sanders, weekly, to your certain knowledge? Cassavie, a basket full each man; the women no allowance; a pot is boiled at eleven o'clock every day consisting of barley, rice or plantains; they are moreover always in the house with their mistress.

4. Is this quantity of cassavie, issued to the man gang, sufficient for their week's allowance, or have you ever known them to complain of insufficiency of food? The allowance given to the negroes is the same as was issued previous to Mr. Sander's death; the negroes were always satisfied to appearance, and I can declare I never heard them complain of any short allowance till Mrs. Sanders's late return from town.

5. On such complaint being made to Mrs. Sanders, have their grievances been redressed? Or have two or more of these slaves not been punished for such representation? And if so, describe the manner, mode, and extent of punishment? On their complaint being made to Mrs. Sanders, she said, I cannot give you more this week, as no more is prepared, but next week you shall have a cake more: the negroes were satisfied; but Kees

being impertinent, he received thirty-nine stripes with a carracarra bush-rope; he was laid down, and received them. The negro Tom was punished the same day, the driver Adam having complained to his mistress that he had absented himself from his work for three days, his hands were tied around his neck, and he got ten with a carracarra; but making too much motion, his mistress directed him to be laid down, and he received thirty-nine with the carracarra; more than thirty-nine is never inflicted; I count them myself always.

6. Did you not return with the negroes every Saturday (men gang) from the Bush? What work is required of the negroes on Sunday? when do they commence, and when do they complete the same? Yes; early in the morning they go to fetch their allowance from the field: the driver Adam and four women reap it on the Sunday morning; they generally finish this at ten; sometimes, if they exert themselves, at nine o'clock; they then work their own provision fields; at five o'clock they return from their fields, each with a bundle of firewood.

7. How long have you been in the employment of Mrs. Sanders, and what clothing have been given to the men, women, and children, during such period? I came from Surinam about two and twenty years ago, and have always remained in his service. The men get every year clothing, one year a jacket, a hat, and three ells of salemporis, the women four ells of osnaburgs, with a hat; next year a blanket, a hat, and three ells of salemporis; the house women checks; this year's allowance is not yet issued, but was brought up with Mrs. Sanders.

8. Is not Mrs. Sanders in the habit of causing her slaves, and the women in particular, to be confined in the shackles? Mr. Sanders was in the habit of confining them in shackles when the men did not sow their task, but since his death the shackles have been thrown aside and are quite rotted.

9. Was the woman Acessie not confined four or five weeks ago in said shackles, if so, do you know what fault she had committed to deserve this punishment? I am ready to declare on oath, that I never saw her so confined, nor heard of it; the shackles were thrown in the river and found there by one of the negroes, and brought out, and it has ever remained in the hospital; the negro women are often confined in the stocks, but never in the shackles; and on returning from the Bush, I generally learn what punishment by confinement has generally

taken place.

10. Have you, or have you not, seen other negroes, the property of Mrs. Sanders, confined in said shackles? I have never seen or heard of any negro being so confined since Mr. Sanders's death.

11. Relate the several instances that you know, if any, of the negroes belonging to Mrs. Saunders having been confined in shackles. I have never heard of any.

12. Describe to the court the manner in which negroes are confined in the shackles belonging to Mrs. Sanders, and now exhibited to you. In Mr. Sanders's lifetime I have seen them confined, their ankles and wrists crossways; but in Mrs. Sanders's time I have never witnessed it.

13. Did not the driver, Adam, lately represent to Mrs Sanders that the negroes complained that they had not sufficient food; and was he not confined in the stocks; and on what pretence; how long confined? Yes, when the complaint was made of not having sufficient food, it was represented by Adam the driver. He was not confined that Sunday, it was the Sunday before; ten negroes brought home 100 bundles of shingles in a week; he was confined for about half an hour, no longer, but it was the Sunday previous to the complaint being made.

14. What allowance of rum and fish is issued to the men, women and children? Is the fish not generally given by Mrs. Sanders to strange negroes for plantain? The driver gets a bottle of rum every week; each negro man half a bottle of rum, as long as there is any on the estate, it is seldom out; the driver too gets a fish; each of the men half a fish, if it be large, or a whole one, if small; I lay out the allowance myself; Mrs. Sanders purchases four bunches of plantains weekly, for which she gives a fish; the women get half a fish once a fortnight or three weeks.

15. Are you ready to make oath to your replies? Yes.

The foregoing answers were repeated to the respondent, who declared perfectly to understand the same, to persist thereby; and was willing, and did make solemn oath, that the answers so given by him were the truth and nothing but the truth.

Signed C.P. Mackreel, Henry Beard (president), W. Helder.

CASE TWO
C.O. 116/138/32

8th February, 1819.

Complaint of the Negro *London*, the property of W. Kewley, against *Napier*, a pioneer, lately belonging to the garrison.

London says, a considerable time ago he took *Napier* to the fort in his small boat, and at *Napier*'s request brought him back to town again, from which time whenever he is met by *Napier*, he, *Napier*, asks him when he is going to pay him; that this demand was made again yesterday, when *London* said to him, "Napier, what do I owe you, I took you at your request to the fort and back in my master's boat; I never purchased a bit's worth of tobacco or cassava, or anything else from you, why do you continually make me ashamed by asking for payment?" that *Napier* then seized him, tore his jacket, and cut him in two places with a knife; that his face being covered with blood, and being greatly alarmed, he ran away to the Fiscal's office, and not finding him at home, he went to the barracks; the under sheriff sent me to Dr. Beresford's, where the wounds were dressed; I went with a dienaar to the doctor.

Napier examined: – Says that *London* came up to him on the road on Saturday very drunk, and seizing hold of his jacket, wished to fight me; I refused, saying you have owed me money a long time and had better pay me; *London* took hold of my trousers, which he tore off, and took some money I had in my pocket, and two keys; we wrestled, and he fell among some pieces of wood, and cut himself. He cried out "You have cut me with a knife;" I said, where is the knife? *Joe*, belonging to Mr. Lindner, was present.

Joe examined: – Says *Napier* and himself had brought sand from the Point; that on going out of the boat I saw *London* and another negro passing in a boat with grass; *Napier* called to *London* and asked him for a bit. I did not hear any answer; having taken up my oar, I went into our yard and said nothing of any dispute between them; *London* came some time afterwards in my master's yard to complain to Mr. Lindner respecting *Napier*, master called me and inquired the cause of this fighting, I replied, I knew nothing of it.

17th February, 1819.

Re-examination of the Negro *Joe*, the property of Mrs. Linder,

respecting the assault committed on London by the pioneer *Napier*: – States, that when last examined he had in some degree suppressed his evidence, fearful of consequences for having witnessed an assault. Relates, that on the day of the affray, he, the witness, had returned with *Napier* from the Point with a small punt; shortly after they landed, Mr. Kewley's punt passed with the negroes *London* and *Louis* with grass; *Napier* called out to *London*, and said, "Come and pay me my bit;" *Napier* made use of an uncivil and unkind remark; I considered the two negroes in the grass punt had pursued their way; I took up my oar and went into the yard, leaving *Napier* employed in taking the sand out of the punt with a shovel; I shortly afterwards heard a noise on the road, and went out; the fight was over; *London* had been fighting with him, and had not torn his clothes; I did not examine his trowsers; *Napier* informed me, that *London*, in the scuffle, had fallen on the pieces of bullet-tree (of which there are a good many pieces, belonging to Mr. Bone, lying at our water-side); he had nothing in his hands; I solemnly do declare that I did not see *Napier* have or make use of a knife the whole of that day, and am confident that if he had one I must have seen it, as we were together the whole day, and we cooked our dinner and eat it together; I did not see *Louis* after I returned from the yard, nor even Mr. Kewley's grass punt at or near our water-side, as I never saw it again, although I was the whole of that afternoon employed with *Napier* taking the sand out of the punt, and carrying it up in our yard.

Examination of the negro *Louis*, belonging to W. Kewley, regarding the assault between *Napier* and *London*: – Says, that on Saturday afternoon as he, witness, was returning with *London* with grass, and passed Mrs. Lindner's water-side, *Napier*, a black soldier, called out to *London*, and said, he had better pay him his bit; *London* replied, I do not owe you a bit; *Napier* said, never mind, I will find you to-morrow. Witness and *London* proceeded on; *Napier* busy removing the sand; after going a little way, *London* said, I will go and see what he will do by finding me to-morrow; I replied, you had better not; to-morrow, if any time we meet him, you may inquire; *London* said no, and jumped out of the punt of water, and went on shore. I got the punt alongside Mr. Otto's schooner, where I had to get something to take for massa; on coming on board I saw *Napier* and *London* fight; *Napier* threw *London* down twice; I saw him

fall; I do not know how he got hurt, but there are a quantity of rock-stones lying where London fell; I got one of Mr. Otto's people to go with me; I saw no more of London that evening, nor did I see any thing of him till he was released from the barracks. London and myself carry bread to the fort; we leave our punt at the fort, and go to cut grass. I went that day into Mr. Abensett's old cotton piece for grass; on my return I found London was in the punt; he was drunk; where he got the rum I know not.

A true copy from the President's office, James Bone, secretary, Berbice, 25th February, 1819.

CASE THREE
C.O. 116/138/32-34

Negro *Tommy*, belonging to William Fraser, complainant: – Says, he is cooper by trade, and employed as such by his master on plantation Goldstone Hall; that on Friday morning last he went in the boiling-house for nails, and there saw another cooper, by name George, heading up sugars; complainant went to one of the casks and took a lump of sugar for the purpose of sweetening three gallons of hot water; did not hide the same, but proceeded with it in his hand from the boiling house; was met by his master, Mr. Fraser, who inquired where he got the sugar; complainant informed him of his having taken it, and for what purpose. His master immediately ordered him to be laid down, tied to stakes, put two drivers over him, and one hundred lashes inflicted upon him. On inquiring how complainant knew that one hundred lashes had been put upon him, he said, that persons standing by had counted them; was required to state the names of such persons; says, that Barbary, Shaw, and Billy, counted them, the overseer lately come on the estate was present; after receiving this punishment Mr. Fraser went to complainant's house and searched it, found in his tool-chest a quantity of old nails, among which were also a very few new ones; Mr. Fraser went to the trouble of weighing them, there were fourteen pounds; accounts for having these nails in his possession, by stating that having been employed by Mr. B. Jeffery to cooper some casks, he according to his custom had kept all the old nails; that on his quitting Mr. Jeffery he had omitted to give these nails over; to this quantity, so procured, he was also in the custom of putting

up any old nails which passed through his hand at Goldstone Hall; he had no particular view in keeping these nails; some few were occasionally used by him to repair his house, some in his work, when occasion required; and trusts from the quantity found in his tool-chest, which was frequently opened to the view of other persons, that it cannot be construed they were selected and reserved for sale. Complains of not being sufficiently fed nor clothed; has but one bunch of plantains a week. Says, he has belonged to Mr. Fraser about five years, during which period he has had clothing only twice; does not belong to plantation Goldstone Hall, but to Mr. Fraser. Exhibits his posteriors, few lashes appear, not more in appearance to sanction a supposition he has been punished beyond the limits of lashes prescribed by law. On this being represented to complainant, he said he had been favoured by the drivers, who threw the whips over him; names of the drivers, Tommy and Acawa. Says that after being flogged, Mr. Fraser had his buttocks washed with brine, and ordered to be locked up every night in the stocks; was confined Friday night, Saturday night, and all Sunday.

Presidency, 10th February, 1819.

Examination of *Samuel Willcox*, overseer on plantation Goldstone Hall: – States, that the negro Tommy was flogged on Friday for stealing sugar: Tommy came to me and asked for nails; I went with him to the store for the nails (the store is not in the boiling-house); after delivering the nails, and returning with him, I was met on my way to the boiling-house by another negro, who also asked for nails; I had therefore to return to the store. Tommy, I learnt from Gift (a boy in the still-house), that Tommy had gone in the boiling-house. Gift gave notice of Tommy the cooper being in the boiling-house to Tommy the driver. Mr. Fraser met Tommy the cooper, and brought to me with the sugar, asking me if I knew anything of it. I said no; but supposed he must have got it out of the boiling-house during my absence. The sugar, I suppose, was about the quantity of half a pound, more or less. Mr. Fraser then ordered the drivers, Tommy and Acawa, to flog the cooper Tommy: he was tied down to stakes and flogged; to the best of my knowledge forty-one lashes were given; I counted them, there were neither more nor less than forty-one: he appeared much cut. I have seen negroes flogged before, but never with so much severity. He was released, and

went about his work directly. Mr. Fraser then went, as I was informed, and searched Tommy's house to see if he could find any thing else: I learnt this from the driver who went with Mr. Fraser. The above-mentioned drivers returned with a box to the boiling-house door from Tommy the cooper's house. I saw a napkin, having about a pound or two of sugar, and some nails, old and new ones; about fifteen pounds weight of nails; I believe the old ones were the largest proportion. The coopers come daily for nails, and take as many as is deemed necessary for the work they have to perform. I never knew him of being guilty of stealing nails. I have heard from the drivers, Tommy the cooper was not to be trusted. Mr. Fraser, in consequence of finding these nails, directed him to be confined in the stocks at night till next Christmas. He was put in stocks at night since the flogging. I believe he gets his weekly allowance as the other negroes, and they are all well fed. During my residence on the estate he has conducted himself with propriety; the negroes do not speak so well of him; they are never allowed to take sugar out of the boiling-house; they get molasses almost every Sunday. I do not know whether he was confined in the stocks on Sunday last or not; I believe I have not seen him on the estate since last Monday forenoon. I did not count the previous cracks of the whip; but the forty-one lashes, which I can correctly speak to, I counted as those which cut him on the bottom.

Examination of *William Fraser*, proprietor of plantation Goldstone Hall: – I was amongst the carpenters on Friday at the Stoke Holes, aback of the boiling house; I saw Tommy passing with something in his apron: I asked him, "What have you got there, Tommy?" he replied "nails." I said, "So many nails for you alone?" he replied, "it was for himself and another." I requested to see them. After some delay or hesitation on his part, I took hold of the apron and looked into it, and found sugar and nails mixed together; I asked him where he had got the sugar, and he said, in the boiling-house; the nails he had got for his work from the store, and not out of the boiling-house. I asked him who gave him the sugar? He said he had taken it. I observed, "Do you not know that you are not permitted to go into the boiling house to take sugar? You also know, if I found you at such work I would punish you; had you come and asked me for the sugar I would have given it you: you also know I never forgive lying or stealing, and therefore I must punish you."

The overseers and drivers were about the door, I ordered the drivers to flog him; they tied him to the stakes and flogged him, and in consequence of the fault he had committed I gave him such a punishment that I, as owner of that slave, considered myself in duty bound to do, always bearing in mind the laws of the colony with respect, and gave him thirty-nine lashes.

RESULT

It appeared from the foregoing investigation, that the negro Tommy was guilty of taking sugar out of the boiling-house, an act reprehensible and deserving of punishment. But it also appeared evident, from the testimony of Samuel Wilcox, the overseer, that the proprietor, W. Fraser, had exceeded the law, by causing a severer punishment to be inflicted on the said negro Tommy than the law sanctioned; namely, two lashes. His Honor the President, recommended the Fiscal to apply for the penalty enacted by the court's publication, for this breach of ordinance, together with the costs of inquiry, and in the event of hesitation or refusal, on the part of the said William Fraser to pay the same, to institute an action for the recovery thereof. In consequence of this recommendation, the following letter was addressed to Mr. Fraser, proprietor of plantation Goldstone Hall.

To Wm. Fraser, Esq. Fiscal's office, February 10th, 1819.

The complaint preferred by your slave Tommy, of being punished excessively, has this day been investigated before his Honour the President, and the charge of receiving excess of punishment is corroborated by testimony of one of the overseers of plantation Goldstone Hall, present at the punishment of said slave, I have now to inform you, that you incur a penalty of three hundred guilders for breach of the first article of the ordinance of the Honourable Court of Criminal Justice of the colony, dated 14th November 1810; which penalty, with the costs of investigation, I demand to be forthwith paid, to prevent the institution of proceedings at law for the recovery thereof.

I have, &c. *M.S. Bennett*, Fiscal.

The fine of three hundred guilders, together with the costs, amounting to *f. 69*, was consequently demanded, and afterwards received from Mr. Fraser. Which I attest, *M.S. Bennett*, Fiscal.

The whole of this proceeding, with the exception of the result, and Fiscal's letter, was contained in the book of complaints delivered to the Lieutenant Governor.

CASE FOUR
C.O. 116/138/34-35

10th February, 1819.

Complaint of the negro *Bethune*, belonging to the plantation Tain:— Says, that he purchased some Guinea-bird eggs, which he set to hatch in house; that Mr. Rich, the manager, broke the doors of the negro-house open in search of Guinea-bird eggs, which he said had been stolen from him; that on finding the eggs belonging to complainant, he, the manager, claimed them; that he represented to the manager that the eggs found in his house were old and nearly hatched, and that these missed by the manager were fresh lain ones. He broke one of my eggs and it had a chicken in it. The manager told his, the complainant's children, that he would take the hen and eggs, and as soon as the chickens were reared, the manager would return the hen and keep the chickens for himself. I heard this myself. At night, when I came from the field with grass, the manager inquired if I had sat Guinea-bird eggs, I replied, yes. He asked me where I had got them; I said from Big Corts. The manager said they were his eggs, and ordered the driver Lubin to take complainant to the stocks; this was Friday night passed. Saturday I went to work, and was locked up again in the stocks at night; I remained in them all Sunday. Monday morning, went to work; Tuesday morning, when I came in for breakfast, the manager ordered me to be flogged; I was held down by four negro men, *Peter, John, Ross* and *Pitt*, and flogged by Lubin the driver. I received fifty lashes; I counted them myself; counts ten five times, and said that was the number of lashes inflicted upon him. My countryman Charles counted the number of lashes also. Exhibits his posteriors, which appear to have evident marks of recent punishment.

Examination of *James Rich*, manager of plantation Tain:— States, that he lost some time ago a nest of Guinea-bird eggs, consisting of sixteen. On Friday last I missed another nest of twenty and odd; I then searched some of the negro houses, and found sixteen in the house of one of the estate negroes, but not the complainant's. I enquired if the hen and eggs belonged to him; he replied, the hen is mine, but the eggs belong to *Bethune*. In the evening I enquired where he got the eggs; he replied, I purchased them from *Chance*, belonging to Mr. Corts; I directed him to be confined at night. On the Saturday I went to Mr. Cort's,

and having requested to see the negro Chance, I inquired if he had sold any Guinea-bird eggs to a negro belonging to Tain, named Bethune; he denied having sold the eggs, or having any knowledge of Bethune; he was cautioned by Mr. Cortis to speak the truth, and he again repeated his assertion. I did not punish the negro on Sunday, nor could I do so on Monday, being obliged this day to attend militia duty. He was confined all Sunday in the stocks. On Tuesday, when they turned in at 11 o'clock, I directed him to be laid down, and thirty lashes to be given him; I did not inform him the reason of flogging him, as he was aware of the cause; I had told him, Bethune, on the Friday evening that I would ascertain from Chance if he had sold eggs to Bethune, and if I found that he told me a falsehood, punish him; I told the negro Ned, in whose house I had found the hen and eggs, that they should remain there, but that I would take the chickens when they were reared. I bought Chance with me.

Examination of *Benjamin Stracy*:- Being required to state any knowledge he had of a negro named Bethune, belonging to plantation Tain, being flogged on Tuesday last, he related that the negro was called from the negro house at breakfast on Tuesday morning, and Mr. Rich, the manager, directed four negroes to hold him down, and the driver to flog him; he, the negro Bethune, received twenty-seven or twenty-eight lashes to the best of my knowledge; did not count them; thinks they did not exceed thirty in number; no reason assigned to the negro why punished on Tuesday morning.

Chance admitted: – Denies all knowledge of Bethune; he, Bethune, says, this is not the negro Chance to whom he alludes; Chance declares his master has no other negro of that name.

CASE FIVE

C. O. 116/138/34-35

10th February, 1819.

Complaint of the negro *Scipio*, belonging to plantation Friends:- Says, that he complained last Saturday to the manager that he was sick, manager sent him to plant corn. Sunday morning complainant went to the manager's door again, and complained of a swelling in his knees; the manager drove him from the door, saying if he returned he would have him tied down and flogged. Monday I was sent to plant plantains aback; but not being able

to work, from pain in my knee joints, I complained to the driver La Rose, who said he could not help it, I must go to the manager, but was fearful of doing so in consequence of the threat made yesterday. I therefore was backward in my work, which being perceived by the overseer Rose, at 11 o'clock he ordered the driver to give me eight lashes, which he did, with further orders, if I did not keep up with the other negroes, to flog me again. The driver La Rose, a little time afterwards gave me two stripes with a carracarra. I desired him to examine my knees, and he would see I could not work; he replied, I cannot help it, it is the orders of the manager and overseer. About 2 o'clock that day I made my escape and got as far as plantation Belle Vue, where I slept, and came to town yesterday forenoon to complain.

12th February.

Examination of *William Forsyth*, manager of plantation Friends:- States, that the negro Scipio came to complain on Thursday of pain in his knees; I gave him a dose of salts and on Friday he returned to work. On Saturday he told me had run a nail in his foot; I examined, but could perceive no traces of a nail having run into it. On Sunday morning he complained again, and fearful I might have mistaken, I directed the overseer to make him wash his foot carefully. He did so, and stated he could not perceive any thing; I desired him to put a poultice of cassavie, lest the negro's statement may be correct; this was done. Although I expected Scipio would go to his work the next morning, I did not give the driver any orders respecting him, nor did I direct him, Scipio, to go to work. On Monday morning, however, he went to the field; the overseer did not return to the buildings till evening, the gang having being employed aback. He inquired of me if Scipio had come home; I replied he had not. He, the overseer, then informed me, that finding Scipio had not dug the plantain holes sufficiently deep, as he had been repeatedly ordered to do, he directed the driver to give him six lashes, which were inflicted in his presence; and that on the negroes turning out at 1 o'clock, Scipio was absent. States, that the punishment alluded to was not inflicted in consequence of Scipio's not having performed a sufficiency of work, but because it was improperly done, and says that the driver La Rose, on being questioned on the subject, positively denies having flogged him with the carracarra of his own accord; denies the

assertion of having sent Scipio on Saturday to plant corn, the article having never been planted on the estate since his having the management of the same.

After this examination, the negro Scipio was directed to attend, and having explained to him that, no truths tending, slaves were in all cases of grievances permitted to prefer their complaints, and that every attention should be paid thereunto, and the same redressed when so entitled, yet that the duty of the President, as well as the Fiscal, was to punish false accusations of slaves against their owners and managers; and he, the complainant, having confessed that his complaint was made to the manager of having run a nail in his foot on Saturday, and again on Sunday, and admitted the means of relief resorted to by the said manager, he was directed to be flogged in the presence of the Fiscal on plantation Friends, as an example to the gang of that estate.

15th February.

Attended on plantation Friends this morning, and agreeable to resolve on the 12th instant, caused the negro, Scipio, to be punished in the presence of as many of the gang of that estate as could be conveniently collected, after explaining to Scipio, and other by-standers, the cause of inflicting punishment.

CASE SIX

C.O. 116/138/35-36

A true copy from the President's office,

James Bone,

Berbice, 25th February, 1819. Pres. Sect.

Berbice, 25th February.

Thomas Janzen v. L.C. Brandes: – Complainant states, that on Tuesday evening past, the 23d instant, I was taking a walk with John Munro and Lodewyk Coleman; from Mr. De Vry's Yard, we proceeded towards the colony negro houses; on the road I saw Brandes beating my sister Sarah with a drawn sword; Sarah had been Brandes's wife, but is not at present; I went up to Brandes, and said, "Brandes, do not lick my sister in that improper manner with a sword;" my sister had hold of the sword; she let the sword go on my interference, and immediately Brandes turned towards me, and gave me a chop with the same

weapon on my thumb; I endeavoured to retreat backwards, but unfortunately fell; Brandes then pushed at me with the sword, and struck me on the forehead; he also kicked me whilst lying on the ground, and struck me several times with the blade of the sword, saying he had been waiting for me a long time; I endeavoured to get up as soon as I could and effected my escape by running; he pursued, but could not overtake me; I came to the Fiscal, by learning he was at the President's; I went thither, and from thence to the doctor's (Jeffery) to have my wounds dressed.

Deposition of *John Munro*: – I supped at Janzen's with Lodewyk Coleman on Tuesday evening; we took a walk afterwards, intending to go to the colony negro houses; when we came near to the house occupied by Brandes, aback of De Schivier's, we found him beating Sarah, Janzen's sister, on the road with a drawn sword; Janzen went up to Brandes, and putting his hand on the sword, said, "Mr. Brandes, do not beat my sister in this manner with a sword;" I do not recollect hearing Brandes say any thing, but I saw him strike Janzen with the sword; I saw him fall, and I saw Brandes strike him more than once or twice with a sword; I did not reckon how often, Janzen got up and ran away; I got home before gun-fire.

Deposition of *Lodewyk Coleman*: – I supped at Janzen's on Tuesday evening; John Munro was with us; after supper we took a walk, intending to go as far as the colony negro houses, where Janzen's sister Sarah lives; coming near Brandes's house, we found him fighting or beating Sarah, Janzen's sister; Janzen went up to Brandes, and raising his hand towards the sword, said, "Mr. Brandes, do not beat my sister with the sword;" I saw Janzen fall, and Brandes gave him some wounds with the sword, and kicked him whilst on the ground; I heard Brandes say that Janzen was the man he had been waiting for a long time; Janzen rose, and ran away.

Deposition of *William Jeffery*, medical practitioner: – Says, that he examined the wounds of Thomas Janzen on Tuesday evening, 23rd instant; found he had received a slight wound on the thumb of the left hand, and a scratch on the forehead, with some weapon, the edge not being very sharp, states further, that the wounds appeared slight, and likely to be healed up in a few days.

Brandes, on confession before the Court, convicted; – imprisoned for one month.

CASE SEVEN
C.O. 116/138/36

11th March, 1819.

Alexander, Alcibiades, Utrecht, Noordwyk, and Zealand, negroes, belonging to plantation Friends: – State, that they have lately been removed from plantation Den Arend, in Upper Berbice, to the Friends; that they are sent into the field before gun-fire; that their work is examined at eleven o'clock; the manager is never satisfied with the quantity of work performed, they are therefore obliged to work during their breakfast time, say from eleven o'clock till one; that a certain task is given, six feet of a canal, six shovels deep the whole width; that if a sufficient part of this task is not completed, they are each flogged with a carracarra, say each twenty-five. On being questioned to account why they are flogged at eleven o'clock, when a sufficient part of their task is not performed, when they have a certain portion allotted for the whole of the day, and for which, if not completed, they ought to be punished, they state, that an over-proportion is required because their task should be increased; state, that a woman went to complain to Mr. Ross, the attorney, that no time was allowed them to get their meals; Mr. Ross sent them back, but the driver of the woman-gang was sent for him (Mr. Ross), and confined in the stocks at Denitchem. Noorwyk explains, that if the task given in the morning is finished before dark, they begin to commence a new one; for this reason they are pushed in the morning, and are flogged at eleven o'clock. Inquired which of complainants had been flogged at eleven o'clock for not having sufficiently advanced in their work; Noorwyk says he never was; Alexander shows one stroke; on inquiring, it appears it was because he was not early enough in the field; Utrecht not flogged, Alcibiades not flogged, at eleven o'clock, but made to work at breakfast time; Zealand not flogged, but made to dig at trench at night till gun-fire. The negroes appear in a high state of health, and also in excellent condition. Alexander and Zealand bear evident marks of most severe punishment received on plantation Den Arend; the former stating that he had received his flogging from Mr. Mittelholzer, the latter from Vander Schroef, consequently some years ago.

CASE EIGHT

C.O. 116/138/36-37 and appendix 9

Plantation Gelderland: *Nettelje, Julia, Le, and Mietje*, each with an infant in arms, complain that no time is allowed them to nurse their children; that during the crop an equal quantity of coffee is expected and required of them as from other women having no children, or of the men; that a similar task is given them in weeding grass with the rest of the gang, which they are not able to perform, in consequence of carrying their children on their backs; in the event of failing, they are beaten in his presence with the handle of the whip by the driver Esperance. *Nettelje* and also *Mietje* were flogged the day before yesterday by the carpenter *La Fleur*; they, with others, were weeding the dam; they had made a fire to drive away the sand-flies; they were seen by Mr. Joel, the manager, suckling their infants; he inquired if they had no work to do; they replied, they had just taken their children up, who were crying, they were laid down and flogged. Their coats were stained with blood. Mr. Joel took the fire up, and threw it in the trench. *Julia* was locked up in the stocks because she did not keep with the rest of the gang, and threatened to be flogged next morning; she is a young, with her first child. *Lea* complains that she is not allowed to suckle her child during her work; she was threatened to be flogged next day by *Toel*, at the same time with *Julia*.

RESULT.

The Fiscal has a perfect recollection of having attended on plantation Gelderland in consequence of these complaints, which were greatly exaggerated. He examined the field work, and found that on such of the coffee beds as were weeded by women having children, there was on such bed additional hands. The charge against the driver was strictly denied by him, of having struck or beaten them with the handle of his whip. The driver was most seriously admonished to refrain from ever attempting to do so. The two women appeared to have been flogged. Mr. Joel stated, he had repeatedly prohibited the making of fire in the fields; the spot where the fire was made, and alluded to in the foregoing complaint, was pointed out to the Fiscal, it was in the coffee field, and therefore likely to endanger the cultivation; this was the reason they were flogged. The chief cause of dissatisfaction arose from a contention between the manager and the complainants;

the manager insisted the children should be left under the charge of nurses; the women insisted on taking them on their backs to the fields. After hearing both managers and complainants, the Fiscal interposed his authority, directing that the children for the future be given in charge of careful nurses, and the complaint was therewith dismissed.

CASE NINE
C.O. 116/138/38-39

Jane, belonging to Mr. Bourmester, says her master gave her to his housekeeper Grace, who is constantly abusing and ill-treating her; she is often in the habit of kicking her, and beating her with any thing that comes to hand, sometimes with a fire-stick, sometimes with a piece of wood. Monday morning she was sent by Grace to look for wood; when she returned she took a piece of crab-wood she had brought, and beat her with it, and kicked her. Her master was not at home; she got breakfast for her mistress, and a gentleman, Mr. Harvey. After breakfast, sent me for wood; I had just recovered from a fit of sickness, having had a blister on my belly, which was not yet healed; I felt faint, and was under the necessity of sitting down to recover myself. When I came home with the wood it was about eleven o'clock; as soon as I returned she began to beat and kick me, saying she hated to see me; a boy belonging to Mr. De George, named Alexander, saw when she beat me, and a girl named Sophia, belonging to Sue Austerhem.

C.O. 116/138/appendix 9

Mr. A.G. Bourmester having been required to attend at the Fiscal's office, and inquired of, if he had any remembrance of the result of this investigation, he having answered it on behalf of his housekeeper Grace, state, That he perfectly recollects the case to have been exaggerated, but not having been able to prove to the Fiscal's satisfaction, that the complaint of the negress, *Jane*, was unfounded, the fiscal had insisted on paying a fine on behalf of his housekeeper, Grace, to which he had been under the necessity of submitting.

CASE TEN

C.O. 116/138/39 and appendix 9-10

Complaint of the woman *Minkie*, belonging to Thomas C. Jones:— Says, Mr. Jones took her out of the barracks on Tuesday; after I got home he sent me to Mr. Henery; he would not buy me. He sent me to another gentleman, I do not know his name, but he lives in town; they both said my master asked too much money for me, and sent me back. I begged for a pass to look for an owner; he said no, he would put me down and cut my a-e, and would give me more than the law gives. I was then laid down and tied to three stakes, and Chance flogged me with a cart-whip; I got a severe flogging; I saw Mr. Layfield at his door with another gentleman, and Mr. Kerschner, the baker, saw it from his window. Mr. Jones bought me from Mr. Logie of Demerara. I have marks of severe punishment visible on me, old and recent floggings, all inflicted by Jones.

Minkie states, Mr. Jones took her out of the barracks on Tuesday. After I came home, he sent me to Mr. Henery, who would not buy me; he sent me to another gentleman; I do not know his name but he lives in town. They both said my master asked too much for me and sent me back; I begged for a pass to look for an owner; master said no, he would put me down, and cut my ____, and would give me more than the law.

I was confined in the barracks on the 14th of November last, by my master, Thomas C. Jones, on account of running away. I was sent to sell bread, and not having sold it, I ran away, fearful of punishment from Peggy, who does not like me. Peggy is housekeeper to Mr. Jones. I was absent only four or five days. My master took me out of the barracks last Tuesday afternoon; he said he would send me to Mr. Henery's store to sell me; I was sent there with Chance, with orders to bring me back if Henery did not buy me; I was not bought. Chance took me to another gentleman, whose name I did not know; his clerk said he was not there. I was taken home. I told my master I did not want to stop with him, but wanted to remain in the barracks until he sold me; he said, you want to stop in the barracks, do you? I will give you the barracks on your ____; I was laid down and tied to stakes, and he said he would flog me, and then sell me; I was severely flogged with the cart whip; Chance flogged me. Exhibits her posteriors, which are covered with a plaister by order of the doctor, and apparently lacerated to that degree, that the court

judged it expedient to direct her not to uncover it. Says, Mr. Kerschner, the baker, was at his window when she was punished.

Examination of *W.F. Rudder*, assistant to Messrs. John and James Beresford, practitioners of physic: – He attended the woman yesterday for the first time. Dr James Beresford saw her the day before – she appears to have had a flogging. I ran my eye over the parts which appeared much Inflamed and saw the poultice applied and ordered by Dr John Beresford – her posteriors showed marks of former flogging.

Anthony Kerschner called and examined stated to the effect following: I heard the Whip going on Tuesday Evening last but saw Nothing. I asked the white Cooper at Mr Layfield's who informed me that Mr Jones had been flogging his Negroes, which is all I know concerning it.

Examination of *Edward Hughes*, native of England in the employ of Thomas F. Layfield, New Amsterdam: – States, He heard the sound of the whip, and in the evening overheard the negroes say it was a woman belonging to Mr. Jones who had been flogged. I was in my shop at work, but neither witnessed the woman being flogged, nor did I see her afterwards. Mr. Kerschner inquired of me, which of Mr. Layfield's negroes had been flogged, and I replied, it was one of Jones's.

Thomas Carney Jones called and being examined on the Complaint of Minkie and the circumstances related by her, states to the effect following: I have had Minkie two years and during that time she has been absent from time to time running away nearly twelve Months. I sent her to the Barracks for that fault in the Month of November last and released her on the afternoon of Tuesday last after sending her for sale to two or three persons she became so Insolent that I was obliged to break her mouth to quiet her and for her continued Impudence gave her a flogging, no one was present. I counted the lashes and they did not exceed the Law, but I had them well laid on, after she was flogged I had her washed with some Lime water, this happened before Dinner on Tuesday last and after she ran away having no place to secure her. When I sent for her I had no intention of flogging her, but after sending her to three different persons for sale, and not succeeding, I told her she had deserved a flogging; to this she replied, "you cannot flog me, it shall cost you plenty of money." I then directed her to be flogged, and that they should be well laid on, which was then done. I gave her thirty-nine; it

was the first time she was ever flogged by me.

RESULT

His Honour the President, and the honourable member of the court, before whom this investigation was taken, were highly indignant at the treatment of this female. No evidence, however, could be obtained to convict the proprietor of having inflicted severer punishment than that prescribed by law. The Fiscal was recommended to pay strict attention to the conduct of said proprietor towards the complainant. The following letter was addressed to Thomas C. Jones.

Berbice, 20th March, 1819.

To Thos. C. Jones

Sir, The complaint preferred by the negress Minkie, your property, of having suffered severe and excessive punishment, has been investigated by his honour the President, and the honourable J.G.C. de Nienwerkerk, senior member of the court of Criminal Justice. No sufficient evidence is obtained to warrant the institution of criminal proceedings against you on this charge. It is my duty to state, that the honourable gentlemen before whom this complaint has been investigated, are fully satisfied, that the unfortunate female slave Minkie, had been flogged in a most severe and cruel manner; to her sufferings, you thought proper to add (as appeared from your own confession) of breaking her mouth, in a most brutal manner. Your conduct calls for redress; but, unfortunately for the cause of humanity, sufficient evidence cannot be procured to inflict punishment on you. It is with the consent and approbation of his honor the President, that I do most seriously caution you, as to your future conduct towards this slave, as it will be my duty, as well as inclination, vigilantly to watch over your behaviour to her. You are desired to take her from the custody of the under-sheriff, on payment of the costs incurred of this inquiry.

I am, &c.

M.S. Bennett, Fiscal of the Colony.

The whole of this proceeding, with exception of the Fiscal's letter, was contained in the book of complaints delivered to the Lieutenant Governor.

CASE ELEVEN
C.O. 116/138/40

Berbice, 12th March, 1819.

Complaint of *York, John, Lucas, George and Azor*, belonging to J.P. Broer: – State, that they have been put to weed grass on a Monday, each a bed; that they not being able to complete the task, they were flogged with the carracarras that evening, by order of C. Brumont, manager; La Rose, the driver, flogged them all. The work of Monday was left unfinished, and a new bed given on Tuesday; this was not completed, and they were again flogged with carracarras by La Rose. The work of Tuesday was left unfinished, and a new given on Wednesday; and that not being completed, they were again flogged in the evening with the same instrument and driver. That on Thursday morning their master came and inquired if their work had been finished; and being informed by the manager it was not, they were called up, and flogged with a tar-rope, which Mr. Broer had brought over with him; they were flogged by the Negro Hope. At 11 o'clock they went and complained to Mr. Melville. That the unfinished work of the week they are obliged to finish on Sundays; they each get a bunch of plantains, with salt or fish.

To his Honor H. Beard, Esq. President of the Honourable Courts of Justice of the Colony Berbice.

Sir,

I had the honour verbally to report to you on the 13th instant that five negroes, the property of Mr. J.P. Broer, had been sent to me by the honourable A. Melville, a member of the honourable court of criminal justice, to whom they had preferred their complaints; 1st. That the task-work allotted to them, was more than they could perform; 2^d. That the manager, Mr. Brumont, was in the habit of causing them to be punished with carracarras, and the proprietor, Mr. Broer, on one occasion with a tar-rope; 3^d. That they were made to work on Sundays; and 4th. That they were not sufficiently furnished with provisions, or weekly allowance. In consequence of these complaints, I deemed it necessary to direct the return of said slaves, and intimated my intention to Mr. Broer of attendance on the estate, for the purpose of investigating the grievances complained of. I accordingly, yesterday, proceeded to the residence of Mr. Melville, and requested the favour of his joining me on this investigation, to

afford me his advice, and to ascertain whether the quantity of work required by Mr. Broer of his negroes was more than customary or not, and he having kindly acceded to my request, we repaired to the estate or place of land cultivated by Mr. Broer.

The gang was called up, and the complainants directed to point out the work required to be performed by them, the said Mr. Broer, and his manager, Mr. Brumont, being present; this being done, it appeared evidently to us that the quantity of work, viz. the weeding of grass, and the state of the land where this work was to be performed, were considerably more than ought to be required.

The second complaint, that the negroes were flogged with carracarras, by order of the manager Mr. Brumont, was ascertained from all the negroes present; and Mr. Brumont, after some endeavour to deny this charge, confessed that they had been flogged with the said carracarras on the evening of Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday; the negroes also, one and all, declared that some had been flogged with a tar-rope, by order of Mr. Broer, on the Thursday morning, in consequence of not finishing their work on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, which was also admitted by the said manager, and ultimately by Mr. Broer.

The third charge, of being made to work on Sunday, was denied by Mr. Broer; the manager, being cautioned to state whether this charge was grounded on fact or no, said "that they had planted corn, and got hog, and cow meat on a Sunday, until eleven o'clock."

The fourth charge, of not being sufficiently fed, was denied by the manager; he admitted that the negroes received but one bunch of plantains a week, but stated that they were at liberty during the week to cut another bunch for themselves, and referred himself to the driver, La Rose, to prove this assertion, who greatly contradicted the same; the manager could not state that he had ever given any specific order to the driver to allow this privilege of cutting an additional bunch during the week, or point out any negro who was, or had been allowed to do so.

I therefore directed Mr. Broer to diminish the task of work imposed upon his negroes, directed that each negro should be provided with two bunches of plantains a week, and two pounds salt fish (it having appeared that they received only a very scanty occasional allowance); that the negroes should not be employed on Sunday, or no work whatever, save such as is directed by

ordinance of the honourable court; and I informed him of my intention of prosecuting him for the several penalties he had incurred, on account of the charges preferred and proved against him; and lastly, I directed the negroes, that if the redress now ordered was not attended to, they should wait on the burghar officer of the district (to whom I should notify the orders given to Mr. Broer), and represent the same to him.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c. M.S. Bennett.

CASE TWELVE
C.O. 116/138/39-40

Complaint of *Laurence*, belonging to plantation Providence:—Complains, that the manager flogs and keeps him in the stocks on account of not making fire sufficient; that he was locked up in the stocks.

The manager examined, and states that the Negro, after repeated admonition for not making fire, was flogged with about a dozen lashes, and locked up in the stocks for three nights; requests the Negro may be examined; no appearance of any flogging visible; the complaint dismissed; the negro reprimanded to attend to his duty, and the manager prohibited from flogging or striking a negro with a horsewhip: manager's name, McDumott.

CASE THIRTEEN
C.O. 116/138/53-55

Plantation Recumzigt, Berbice, 2nd June, 1819.

Investigation of a Complaint preferred by *A.J. Glasius*, Esq. Proprietor of the above Estate, against part of the Gang for insubordinate Conduct on Whitsunday past, on the occasion of Clothing and Rations being delivered the Gang, on the above day. This investigation held in presence of the honourable William Helder, member of the court of Criminal Justice.

Complaint of *A.J. Glasius*: — States, that knowing Sunday was the only day on which slaves are allowed to dance at the ensuing holidays, he intentionally omitted to have coffee packed, as great part of Saturday evening and Sunday morning would be taken up in washing and putting it away. He also directed the drivers

to omit bringing home fuel on Sunday morning, but directed that some of the negroes should get grass, and as Monday was a holiday, but not a dancing day, fuel should be brought home then. The negroes all appeared satisfied; they each received a dram at the overseer's house, and four large flasks of rum to take to the negro-houses with them, as customary in holiday-time. The evening and great part of the night were spent by them in dancing. On the Sunday morning, about half-past six, I directed the overseer to give the negroes their rations, namely, a tierce of beef, fifty stockfish, half a cask of barley, each a hand of tobacco, two pipes, and salt: the drivers to have rations, and the men three ells of osnaburgs, the women five, and the house people six, and the children one and a half ells. Jackets, hats, &c. had been given last Easter. After the rations were laid out, the overseer called on me, and inquired whether I would be present myself; but breakfast being on the table I declined doing so, after ascertaining from him that everything was laid out as had been directed by me. About half an hour after, the overseer with the drivers came up, and informed me that after eighteen or nineteen negroes had received their allowance, and on its coming to the turn of negro August to receive his, he had taken up the osnaburgs, and after examining it, had exclaimed, "Is this the osnaburgs we are to receive? I will not have it;" that his example had been followed by most of the others, and particularly by the negroes Conraad and Virtus. I inquired again if the quantity I had directed had been cut off; and in order to satisfy myself the better, I sent for it, measured it, and found it full three ells; the same quantity I have ever given since I have resided on the property, a period of sixteen years. I ordered the drivers to go to August, and direct him to come to me; the drivers returned, saying he refused to do so. The overseer then went to the negro-houses to direct August to come to me to account for his conduct, and explain the cause of his refusing the osnaburgs. The overseer, however, returned, saying, August, on his coming up, cried out, "Come, my lads, let us be off;" and he was immediately joined by five-and-twenty others, who proceeded on the estate towards the back. They took the beef, fish, barley, tobacco and pipes, and went off.

I inquired in the evening of the drivers if the negroes had returned, and was informed a few had. The next morning the drivers informed me that the rest also had returned during the night. As soon as the insubordinate part of the gang had quitted

the negro-houses with a shout, I gave notice to the burgher captain of the same, and requested he would apprise the fiscal of it. The fiscal attended to the estate on the Monday morning, and having directed six to be confined in the stocks for examination, he cautioned the gang to return to duty and attend to the orders that should be given them; after which he quitted the estate and the six ringleaders remained in confinement.

Mr. Glasius produced the journal of the estate. It appeared osnaburgs and checks had been served to the gang May 1815.

Osnaburgs and checks December 1815, on account of getting no jackets.

December 1816, jackets and hats.

Ditto 1817, double allowance, 586 ells osnaburgs, and 427 ditto checks, in consequence of no jackets.

January 1819, jackets and hats.

May ____, osnaburgs, which great part of the gang objected to.

The osnaburgs refused by the gang was examined and found of an excellent quality, and a few pieces taken out of the heap were measured and found to contain three ells, five ells.

The negro *August* being admitted, states, that he is not the only one who refused to take the osnaburgs; that they received no clothing since Mr. Staal's time, about five years ago; that their master constantly tells them that when his ship comes he will give them checks and osnaburgs; that lately jackets and hats had been given them on account of the arrival of their young mistress, but no checks or osnaburgs; and therefore seeing so small a quantity given last Sunday, he with some others got dissatisfied and refused to take it. Denies having been sent for by his master on Sunday; but confronted with the overseer B. Dorr, the latter declared that the drivers having been sent for to call August, and returning without him, he went and met them, inquired why he did not come; the drivers stated that August positively denied; he the overseer therefore went himself, and they were then just going away; he reported it to the proprietor.

The head driver *William* states, that he received orders from his master last Sunday to go and bring August. He went to the negro-house, and seeing August, acquainted him with his master's orders. August replied "I will not come, for he will lock me up in the stocks." Returning from the negro-houses he was met by the overseer and returned with him, August, while

a number of others then went off. The driver was then questioned respecting the delivery of osnaburgs, checks, jackets and hats; states that osnaburgs, checks, jackets and hats had been yearly furnished them; sometime jackets and hats, at others osnaburgs and checks.

Negro *Conraad*: – Says, that he has no cause of complaint, but that his master has been for many years promising them jackets, blankets, osnaburgs and checks; that they have had no clothing for years, and therefore seeing the quantity of three ells put out for them last Sunday after so many years disappointment, he with others had refused to take the osnaburgs, but had taken the beef, stockfish, pipes and tobacco. States, since Messrs. Schwiel's administration they have had no clothing. We got three ells checks and three ells salemoris from Mr. Staal. It appears from information of Mr. Glasius, that the estate had been released from sequestration about two years ago. A piece of Danish osnaburgs was produced by Mr. Glasius, and he inquired of Conraad whether this osnaburg had not been given to the negress since his administration: denies it.

Negro *Virtus*: – Says, he took his osnaburgs, but seeing his mattys refuse to take it, he threw it down also. His master has continually amused them with promise of clothing now for five holidays, but has given them nothing; has had no clothing since Mr. Staal's time.

Negro *Adonis*: – Corroborates the evidence of the above negroes as to promise and time of not having received clothing. Being confronted with the driver William, admits to having received checks the last year of Mr. Staal's administration, 1816; admits he lately received a jacket and hat, and that three ells of osnaburgs were offered him last Sunday.

Negro *Moy*: – Corroborates the former evidence respecting the promise and length of time they had had no clothing: says, he did not represent to his master that the quantity of cloth was not enough, because the others did; had no clothing for five years; other negroes get every year. The driver having a shirt of checks on, which he says was given him by his master, witness was called upon to state whether he had received any; says he got three ells of checks, a cap of which he now has on: a remnant of Dutch osnaburgs produced, and inquired if he got any of that: he says, he got three ells of the same: a lined jacket was also produced, which he acknowledged to have got one of, also

a hat; admits lately to have received a Dutch jacket and hat, holiday before last.

Negro woman *Jenny*: – States, that she refused to take the five ells of osnaburgs because it was not sufficient for a coat; admits that her master gave her three ells a few weeks ago on account of her having a young infant; one and a half ells were laid out new for the child; got six ells checks and six ells osnaburgs three years ago, three new years. Confronted with the drivers, it appears this was issued in December 1817; admits she got a lined jacket with a hat in December 1816, and a jacket and a hat last Easter; the five ells osnaburgs laid out Whitsunday, but refused.

After examination of the complaint preferred by the proprietor and the defence and evidence of the negroes accused, the honourable member and myself took into consideration that it did not appear from the month of May 1815 to the 1st January 1817, that the negroes had received the clothing customarily given on estates. This having been represented to Mr. Glasius, he replied, that he was not amenable for the acts or intermissions of sequestrators of the estate appointed by the court; that his estate, *Recumzigt*, was released from sequestration in the month of June or July 1817; that he has on the estate – 43 men, 33 women, 15 boys, and 13 girls, – total 104: That he proves from his books that up to the present date he has delivered to his negroes, in December 1817, 586 ells osnaburgs, 427 ells checks, 88 jackets, and 370 ells of osnaburgs now to be issued, making together 1,383 ells of clothing, an average of 13 ells for negroes of every description for the space of 18 months, with one jacket and a hat. States, that if any proper representation had been made to him that his slaves required some little additional supply, it ought to have been duly represented; and if any grievance did exist and not redressed by him, they should have preferred it to the fiscal; but that insubordinate conduct of several of his slaves, and in particular that of the negroes August and Conraad, were such during the late holidays as to create much uneasiness, and evince a spirit of disobedience which ought to be checked, to prevent a recurrence of such conduct; and therefore prays that an example should be made of the ringleaders. Mr. Glasius further proves, that 88 jackets and 88 hats were delivered to his negroes in December 1816 by the co-sequestrator, H. Staal.

Taking the above into consideration, and the negro August

having during his examination evinced much disrespectful conduct, and it appearing from the evidence of the overseer that he was the first to object and induced to refuse taking the clothing offered them, and that he had also positively refused to comply with the declarations of his master, delivered to him by the driver, and therefore guilty of insolent and unbecoming conduct; it was resolved, that the negro August should be exemplarily punished; and the negro Conraad, for disrespectful conduct in presence of the Fiscal on Monday last, to receive a few lashes.

His Honor H. Beard, President Courts Justice, Berbice 3d June 1819.

Sir,

I beg leave to represent, for your Honor's information, that I received on the 30th ultimo, a letter from Captain Favre, of the Burgher Militia, stating that Mr. Glasius, the proprietor of plantation Recumzigt, had requested of him, by letter on Whitsunday, the assistance of a militia guard, in consequence of the insubordinate conduct of twenty-six negroes attached to his estate. In consequence of this information, I attended on the 31st on plantation Recumzigt, and learned that the said slaves had refused to receive the quantity of osnaburgs allowed them by their said proprietor; and that he was fearful they intended to quit the estate for the bush, and would probably endeavour to induce others to follow. Having confined six, represented as the most unruly of these negroes, I returned to town; and yesterday, with the honourable A. Helder, member of the court of Criminal Justice, I again attended on plantation Recumzigt.

We examined the negroes confined by me on the 31st May, and found that they were very much dissatisfied with the quantity of osnaburgs allowed them, say three ells for the men, five for the women, and one and a half for the children; and although the honourable member and myself were of opinion that the quantity allowed them was not sufficient, we were nevertheless satisfied that the conduct of the slaves examined, and in particular that of the negro August, was highly reprehensible, and had evinced a spirit of insubordination by taking the osnaburgs served out to him, throwing it in the trench, prohibiting the other slaves from taking their allowance, and positively refusing to comply with his master's directions to attend and account for his reprehensible conduct. We deemed it necessary, for this

unbecoming manner, to direct him to be punished in presence of the gang, as an example. The other negroes examined appearing sensible of their improper conduct, were dismissed, after being reprimanded for their past behaviour; and informed, that in the event of any grievance existing, it was the duty of the slave to represent and seek redress from his master, and if not succeeding, then to look for such redress from a higher authority. The whole gang appeared satisfied with this argument; and the negro August, after punishment, acknowledged the impropriety of his conduct, and begged his master's forgiveness.

I have the honour to be, Sir, Your Honor's obliged and humble servant.

CASE FOURTEEN

C.O. 116/138/46-47

19th May

Heard a complaint of the negro *Greenock*, belonging to the plantation Cotton Tree: – states that he was not well fed; that the plantains given them were remaining in their houses, and quite yellow; that the manager was constantly in the field. The appearance of the negro indicating that he must have been well fed, and the further complaint appearing that the manager performed his duty towards his employer and frivolous, he was directed to receive fifty lashes, which were inflicted in my presence in the market-place same day.

CASE FIFTEEN

C.O. 116/138/53-54

14th June

Complaint of negro *Philip*, the property of plantation Canefield Carye: – Says, he complains on account of being too much punished. The overseer goes to complain to the manager that I am drunk; and when I deny it, the manager orders me to be locked up in the stocks for four days. I am taken out of the hospital as sick-nurse, and put to work with the carpenters. I was sent to town with one of the overseers to fetch up jack-screws; the overseer went to breakfast at the Vendue Office, and I went to Maria Threefalls' to roast some plantains; when I went

to the water-side, I found the boat was gone; I went home by land; I went to wait the boat at the trench-mouth on the plantation; when the boat came I helped Joe and Swart to land the things; at night I was put in the stocks; I was released in the morning; I was sent to the field, which I objected to, being sick-nurse; I went into the field, and wrought half a row, and I then left the work at nine o'clock; I came to town; I got here at eleven, and not seeing the Fiscal at home, I remained at the Stelling; I slept at Mr. Nicolay's house; next morning I went to the Fiscal.

John Cameron manager of the plantation, being heard on this complaint, states, that the negro Philip has often been put in the stocks, on account of his being frequently drunk, and his very great neglect of the sick, which has often been represented by the doctors. I have often cautioned him for the above abuses, and I did once give him punishment with the whip, about two months ago. The overseers have often reported he was drunk; and when on inquiry I found it was the case, I had him locked up. The overseer has also complained he caught Philip receiving rum from the man attending the cane-room, by means of a phial, through the window railing. The account of his being absent when Mr. Richardson came for the jack-screws in town is correct, with this addition, that the overseer did send to Maria Threefalls' for him, but he was not there. The overseer waited for him as long as he thought the tide would admit of; and not finding him, he, the overseer, was under the necessity of helping him row the boat up himself. When he made his appearance on the estate, I forbore to punish him with the whip, but put him in the stocks for the night; and finding all endeavours to reform him fruitless, I ordered him to the field. The overseer reported to me that he would do nothing in the field; I did not notice it, but shortly after heard he had gone off. He bears a very bad character amongst the negroes, who accuse him of taking their fowls to procure rum.

Complaint frivolous and unfounded: – directed to be punished.

CASE SIXTEEN
C.O. 116/138/54-56

Examination of the negro woman *Rosetta*, belonging to plantation Beerenstein; – The complainant says she has nothing to say against

the manager nor her owner, but that the driver Zealand is the person which made her go to town; that he is continually licking and cursing her, and even cut her with a cutlass once in the arm, which mark is very visible, and once knocked her with a cutlass in her teeth; that Zealand is the ruler of the estate, so that the manager has less to say than he; that Zealand has a washerwoman, and the use of the milk of the cows (even tell to throw the same away), and that the manager has not the least authority to hinder him in his proceedings, he being allowed the use of everything; that in consequence of some licks lately received from Zealand she left the estate, she hid herself a few days in the bush, went to the colony hospital and miscarried there; the sick-nurse Elias, with Mooalla, Mandrienna and Betze, being witnesses to this occurrence; which miscarriage she attributes to the several misbehaviours of Zealand against her.

Rosetta objects to the witnesses brought in by Zealand, as the one is his boy, and the other his assistant driver; says the remainder of the gang will substantiate her declaration.

Berbice, 4th June, 1819.

Examination of the negro *Zealand*, belonging to plantation Beerenstein: – Says Saturday week they were employed in loading plantains in the punts; that he, as driver of the estate, directed the good bunches to be taken out for sale, and the bad ones to be brought home for plantation use; that on this occasion he told Rosetta to take a bad bunch, which she put in the punt, out of the same; that the woman turned her head to him; upon which he, observing her to look very red in the eyes, asked her why she looked so; to which she gave him a very cross and disgusting answer; which vexing him, he went up to her with a thin piece of bush-rope, telling her not to be so insolent, and licking her at the same time with this said instrument of correction on her mouth, stating, that as her mouth was so bad the same only deserved to be punished. Upon which Finch, sitting there at that time, directed him to put her in the stocks; upon which she pushed at Finch, who, standing, threw, by the consequence of her pushing, a negro in the trench. Afterwards he laid hold of her and put her in the stocks, but requested from Finch to release her again, to which he consented; and after which she made her way to town.

4th June, 1819.

Examination of *Jack*, also of Beerenstein, a witness in the case of driver Zealand: – Says that he saw Zealand strike Rosetta with the bush-rope on her mouth, so that it made the blood come out and swelled the lips. Says further, he never saw Zealand strike Rosetta with a cutlass. Lastly, states that he never saw Zealand strike Rosetta but only on the occasion of loading plantains Saturday week.

Examination of *Primo*, also from Beerenstein, and witness for Zealand, driver of said estate: – Says that he saw Zealand strike Rosetta with a carracarra on her mouth till the blood came out of the same; says, never to have seen that the driver ill-used the woman with a cutlass; and further states, that on the occasion of loading plantains on Saturday, it was the first time he ever saw Zealand to strike Rosetta. – Direct attendance of manager, Dr. Beresford, and other witnesses called by her.

Beerenstein Complaint. – *Rosetta v. Zealand*.

John Beresford, medical practitioner, and attendant of the hospital belonging to the Winkle department, being questioned whether it was to his knowledge that the woman Susetta had miscarried in the hospital during her late confinement, states, that he was requested by Mr. Scott to examine the said woman, who had complained that she had miscarried in consequence of the ill-treatment experienced from Zealand; that he, the medical practitioner, had examined the said woman Susetta very minutely, and could not discover any appearance of miscarriage which she stated had occurred a few days before; and finding nothing the matter with her, he reported her fit for work.

Examination *Elias*, cause Rosetta, alias Susetta; witness doctor of hospital: – Says, that Rosetta has been in the hospital four or five weeks ago; she came from the estate to complain no physic was given her; she was put in the stocks by Mr. Scott's order; she was examined by the doctor, but he ordered no physic; she one morning showed me a pot half full of blood and water; she said she had miscarried; the appearance was of a thick substance; I directed her to put it up carefully till the doctor came; she put it under the hospital; it was destroyed by the pigs; doctor never saw it; I never told him, because it was made away with by the pigs, and she did not because she was in the stocks; she had been about a week in the stocks when this occurrence took place; I never knew she was pregnant.

Mandorina, witness cause Rosetta: – Says she was in the hospital at the time Susetta was there; saw a pewter pot, which had blood in it; Susetta said she had passed it; I did not examine it; Susetta did not say in my hearing she had miscarried; being sick, I paid little attention; the doctor came there every morning; it was never told to him.

Mocalla, witness cause Rosetta, or Susetta: – Says, Susetta, or Rosetta, was confined in the stocks whilst I was sick in the hospital; I understood one day that she had miscarried; I saw a pot which she showed to Elias, the hospital black doctor; I did not examine it, being sick; the doctor did not attend this day; I heard Rosetta say she had miscarried; I saw her clothes; there was blood on them, and I believe she did miscarry; neither this, nor former witness, knows how long Rosetta had been confined when this occurrence took place.

W. Scott, agent, having heard the above evidence, states that the woman Rosetta, alias Susetta, came to him to complain against the manager; that she reported that she had absconded in consequence of ill-treatment received from Zealand, and had miscarried during the short stay she made in the bush, for which reason the agent, requested Dr. Beresford to attend her, states further, that she has a complaint of the bladder. – Reprimanded.

CASE SEVENTEEN
CO 116/138/55

Berbice, 4th June, 1819.

Thomas Keen versus *Thomas*: – States, that the negro Thomas, whom he hires from the agent of the Winkle department, absented himself some time previous to the late holidays; was absent eight days; during which time he went about shoeing horses (he being a smith) on his own account. There is a positive order that no smith shall take shoes out of the shop; this order, however, paid no respect to. Mr. Gaymer, clerk to the Winkle department, met Thomas with his tools in a bag, a bottle of porter, and a loaf of bread; on inquiry where he was going? Thomas replied he had been sent by me to shoe money, others gave him porter, wine &c. After he had been absent eight days, I was informed by other smiths that he Thomas, was lurking about the shop, he having sent to call two of them. I went out, and speaking to him, directed him to come to me; this he refused and walked off. I directed two

men to go and seize him; he ran towards the river, and threatened to drown himself if pursued. He jumped into the river; I went there myself, and directed the workmen to follow him in a boat; they did so, but as often as they came up to him he would dive and remain so long under water that I became alarmed. At length, being exhausted, he was taken. He was entreated to surrender, but would not. After he was taken I sent him to the barracks, and solicit now that he may receive a punishment. – Directed to be flogged at Mr. Keen’s foundery.

CASE EIGHTEEN
C.O. 116/138/60-63

Plantation Demtichem, 17th June, 1819.

W. Ross, attorney, plantation Demtichem, complainant, against the negro *Hans*, belonging to Beerenstein, on charge of Obiah.

Gabriel, a girl about nine or ten years of age, daughter of Isaac and Nancy: – States, that she was employed in her father’s house on Monday night boiling plantains, by direction of her mother; that whilst so occupied, La Rose and Amsterdam came to her, and took her to January’s house, where she saw a strange negro, who she knew was named Hans, having seen him formerly at Buses Lust; he told me not to cry; if I did, he would flog me; he then took a piece of salemפוריס, and put it over my head; he told me that if I saw any thing, I should die; he directed Lindsay Harry to take me on his shoulders; Hans, Amsterdam and La Rose went to Frederick’s; we were joined by my father; they called Frederick’s wife to open the door; Frederick was in the stocks; the door was opened by Pompadore, Frederick’s wife; we went in, my eyes still blindfolded; the piece of salemפוריס went over my head; I held the pot in my hands, being on the back of Lindsay Harry, the salemפוריס descending over the pot. She was taken off Lindsay Harry’s shoulders, and sat down on a small bench; Hans went and lay down on Pompadore’s bed; he lay on the bed till the people came to Frederick’s house; Hans then got up; took the pot from me, and gave it to my father; Pompadore did not see that I had the pot in my hands; it was so covered with the salemפוריס she could not see it; nobody spoke to me; the pot when I received it, had nothing but a little water in it.

The overseer, *Boaz*, states: – That the negroes being employed grinding coffee, he had missed the two carpenters, La Rose and

Amsterdam, who were working at the Friends that day, but still one employed to grind coffee. The driver said, "Perhaps they are not yet come from the Friends;" with which answer I was at that moment satisfied. I made particular enquiry for the carpenters at work at the Friends.

W. Ross, attorney of plantation Demtichem: – States, that on Sunday forenoon the negro Frederick, the head carpenter, and a man of good character, came crying to the overseer, Mr. Boaz, to complain that the negroes were breaking open his house, and digging up the ground, accusing him of being a poisoner, and consequently that poison must be secreted in the house; the overseer immediately proceeded to the negro yard, and brought the drivers January, La Fleur, Benjamin and Frederick up to the door; the driver January commenced justifying himself by stating that he, with others, had sent for the negro Hans, who was a good negro, and with whom he was acquainted, to find out the cause of these sudden deaths; immediately in hearing that it was with the knowledge of the drivers that this man had been sent for, I declined further investigation, directed them to be locked up in the stocks, and reported the circumstance to the burgher officer and the Fiscal. It appeared that the minds of the negroes must have been greatly agitated. They having thrown themselves on the ground, biting the grass, tearing the earth with their hands, and conducting themselves like maniacs; I did not witness it myself, being confined to my room by indisposition. On Tuesday I had information from the girl Gabriel that the negro Hans was in the negro house; I went there with the overseers, but could not find him; yesterday morning the same little girl pointed out to the overseer, saying, "The man that gave me the pot is now passing;" the overseer came and reported it to me; I directed him immediately to follow him with some of the negroes; William, the stable boy went; the overseer succeeded in bringing him to me. States, that the minds of the people were in such a state of ecstasy, and conducted themselves as possessed to that degree to attract the attention of three gentlemen passing, who came in and inquired the cause of this uncommon agitation, just as Frederick was reporting the circumstance to the overseer.

Evidence of *S. Boaz*, overseer of plantation Demtichem:– States, that yesterday, having received orders from Mr. Ross to take the negro Hans from the public road, he pursued him with

the stable boy, William; who, on coming near to Hans, and being desired to seized him, had declared he was afraid to do so. In consequence of this information I went and took hold of the man, who made an attempt to get away; but not being able to run as fast as I, I seized and brought him to the attorney. I received orders to take him to town, with numerous articles found on his person; I did so, and took him to the Fiscal, who directed one of the dienaaren of justice to take him to gaol. When Hans was brought to the door he had on a shirt and trowsers. Mr. Ross directed one of the carpenters and head cooper to undress him; they hesitated, till peremptorily directed to do so by Mr. Ross. The articles were found secreted in his dress, and he had in a handkerchief f.50 in money. All the articles, money &c. were given over at the gaol.

Examination of *Frederick*, head carpenter: – That on Saturday night he was wakened by the head driver January, who told him to come to his house. On arriving there he found all the men, women and children before January's house. January said, that so many deaths had occurred that he had sent for a man to put every thing to rights; this man was Hans. January then took a ram's horn from above his door and poured a little rum in it, and drank it; saying "that he wished to have the bad people off the estate, and everybody must listen well." Hans sang his country song; January drank a second time out of the horn (witness never saw the horn before,) a bottle of rum was on a table, and also a wine glass. Hans pushed the latter off the table and broke it: January got vexed, saying, "this is the second glass you have broken." I said, "never mind, don't get vexed, as you sent for the man; if you want a glass I'll give you one." I sent for one; January directed a dram to be given to the officers. Hans, after singing some time, said he wanted a young girl; he had placed a white feather in the head of all the children. He took a girl named Eve, and lay down on the ground, the girl next to him. He then took the girl Gabriel, and she also lay on the ground with Hans. He then got up and said "these children should point out the persons who administered poison on the estate." He began to sing a country song, and every one must join in chorus. He told January that as he had come to set things right on the estate, every body, big and little, must contribute a bit. The guns fired and I went away.

After grass and fuel had been thrown, the people assembled

again at the house of January. Hans told me the driver had engaged to collect this money, but as you are the head man of the estate, I have more confidence in you. You must collect this money, and as soon as I receive it you will see what I shall do for all of you. I said it could do; but why was January not the fittest person, he being the driver and the person who had sent for him. Hans replied he had more confidence in me. The negroes then began to contribute; Hans and January went to another house, leaving me to collect. I received the money; also La Fleur and Benjamin. A sufficient sum being collected about eleven o'clock, Hans and January joined us. I delivered the money to January, the paper money separate from the silver. He said, "Hans, here is your money." A handkerchief was also contributed; Hans laid the money in the handkerchief; they went in the open air: Hans had a tub of water brought, a bundle of wild canes, and also grass; he put the grass in the water and sprinkled their faces; everybody was directed to dance, and Hans joined. The negroes became as if crazy; some threw themselves in the mud – others jumped; they that were the most turbulent were flogged with the wild canes by Lindsay Harry, by order of Hans, and recovered; others more furious, and not recovering from the stripes of Lindsay Harry, Hans struck with a bamboo, and they immediately recovered. He asked me if I was afraid; I said no, but I did not like this sport. He took me around the ring formed twice. He went in the house and drank twice, a circle was again formed. Venus was quite as a crazy person and could not recover the effect, for which she had been struck with the cane and bamboo, but not so as to cure her effectually. She danced in the circle, and coming up to me said, I was the bad man on the estate, and that such things were never practised by us, that they want to remove me. He said, "be silent; let us see what is to come." Venus ran out of the circle and said "come, and I show you where the poison is hid." Hans sat on the ground leaning against a table. January went to raise him; he said "stop, stop, let me rest, my eyes are turned." I asked Venus "why do you say I am the bad man, and how do you know it?" She replied, "I see it from the water that has been sprinkled over my face and eyes." They then all followed Venus, shouting and making a noise; they went to my house, threw down two casks of water, broke down my kitchen and fowl-house, and dug up the earth with shovels. Venus said "it is not here, it must

be in the house." I opened the door, they went in. I said "stop, let some go in; I will give you room." I put my box, hat &c. on one side, and said "take care, the poison you look for must be found openly and not by pretence." – Benjamin ripped up some of the boards; they dug but found nothing. Venus said "my eyes are not well washed; I did not accuse the head carpenter, but London." I said "No, you accused me, and brought the people here; this is not London's house, but mine." Venus then said, "let me go to Hans (who had remained at London's house) to get my eyes properly washed." I said "no; I have been accused, and must insist, as my house has been broken, that this business shall be found out, or I know what to do." Venus then went to Hans, and was followed by the gang, and I went and reported this occurrence to the overseer. Says, that Hans, in selecting the child, said it must be the girl who had lost her mother, and Eve was brought to him, but she being so very much alarmed, he said he must have another; if no other child was to be found who had lost its mother, a twin child would do as well. Gabriel was therefore brought to him. When I went to complain, Hans was removed by some of the negroes to another house.

Evidence of the negro woman *Venus*: – Says that the driver January directed that nobody was to quit the estate; every body must come to his house. I went there, and saw Hans. January said, every body must bring money and give it to uncle Frederick; every body give money; I gave two bits (having a child). Hans said, he would pull off all the poison that was in the ground, which made the people on the estate die so suddenly. A tub of water was brought by Linsey Harry; a handful of grass was put in the water by Hans, and he stirred up the water: some wild canes were also brought by Harry. Hans sent him. Every person stooped down, and Hans washed their head. They danced first: Hans sang the dance called Walter Mamma dans. My head began to turn, as if I was mad; don't know how occasioned this: the first dance she ever saw, whose heads turned in such a manner that they fell to the ground. Were flogged with the wild cane first; if not recovered he flogged them with a carracarra and put guinea pepper in their eyes which he chewed. All this was done to me but I could not recover. Had not, nor ever does drink rum. I could see and hear every thing, but was exactly as if I was crazy: I recovered a little after this last. Is not aware that she accused Frederick as the bad man. Hans said he

would make a little child find where the pot of obiah was hid: did not see the pot. Does not know she took the people to Frederick's house; if I did I am not aware of it. I know I was there but I am not aware what I did. I was in hysterics; constantly laughing, although nothing was said to make me laugh. Afterwards I went from Frederick's house to January's, where Hans had remained: I went there by myself; he was putting his money in a little packall: I stood at the door, he said that something must go out of my head. He chewed some wild cane and put it in my mouth and I recovered. I returned to Frederick's house. Do not know of any conversation passing between Frederick and myself. I went again to January's house, and found Hans lying on the floor, apparently in a fit; he was shaking and trembling very much. Hans got up: some one held his hand and he went out of the chamber.

Evidence of *Pompadore*: – Says that Isaac came to her on Monday night, and told her to open Frederick's house. She inquired why? He said, "Never fear." He came in with Hans, La Rose and Amsterdam. They lighted a lamp. Linsey Harry had the child Gabriel on his shoulders: a piece of salemporis descending from her head, and covering a pot she held in her hand. Nothing in the pot but water, that I saw. The lamp was lighted, and Hans showed every one present nothing was in the pot but a little water. Hans made Isaac and Amsterdam dig a hole, and he made the child sit on a bench next to a hole, the salemporis hanging over. Hans went and lay upon her bed, the hole was near to it: when he got up, he ordered Amsterdam to take the child up, the salemporis still hanging over her head and shoulders, and carry her to the hole. Hans took the salemporis off the child's head, and then the pot appeared to contain a ram's horn, some fluid, and the bones of some animal. The child fell to the ground immediately as the pot was taken out of her hands; and Hans said, "See, the child is dead." After the child had lain a little it recovered. Did not see any thing administered.

When Hans lay on the bed, and the child sitting near the hole, all the people were present. Hans said the horn, &c. came out of the hole; nobody say the things come out of the hole.

CASE NINETEEN
C.O. 116/138/118-19

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negroes *Quashy, Sharp, Dick Thomas, and Spencer* against *Dr. Munro*, their owner.

Quashy states, That he works in the boiling-house; that they begin to work at eleven or twelve o'clock at night, and continue until eight or nine o'clock in the evening; that he has suffered this for many years, but at present he cannot suffer it any longer. This caused him and the rest of his companions to come and declare before his Honor the Fiscal the way they are treated and clothed by their owner. The whole of the above negroes declare that before *Dr. Munro* went home, four years ago, he gave them a round jacket for their clothing; and since that time until today they never received anything else. They state, that with the hard work in which they are employed on the plantation they only get for their allowance a small bunch of plantains for a week (a bunch produced by the negroes containing thirty-seven or thirty-eight small plantains); they also state, since they belonged to *Dr. Munro* they never have received any salt fish. Or salt to eat with their plantains. When *Dr. Munro* went home he left *Mr. McLean* as attorney for the estate, and *Mr. McLean* bought some salt fish, and gave them about 2lbs. each man for fourteen days. As soon as *Dr. Munro* returned from England he found fault with *Mr. McLean* for giving the negroes salt fish, which he had never done, and dismissed him from his employment; and since the return of *Dr. Munro* they have never received any salt fish. They all waited upon *Mr. Murray*, overseer of the estate, who advised them to come to town, and make their complaint to his Honor the fiscal for redress. They say, one day the whole gang went to *Dr. Munro*, and begged him to give them something to eat; he answered them, "I cannot help you; it is your fault if you have no plantains." The whole of the estate are ready to prove this.

Berbice, 30th May, 1822.

After hearing the above complaint, the Acting Fiscal, accompanied by his burgher officer, *T.M.H. Duggan*, proceeded to plantation *Foulis*, the estate alluded to, about twenty-five miles from New Amsterdam, belonging to *Mr. William Munro*, the owner of the complainants; and having questioned the owner and many of the principal negroes on the property as to the facts complained of, and having ascertained that they were in a great measure

groundless, but that some irregularities were certainly chargeable against the overseers for not personally attending to see the allowance dealt out to the gang at a proper time, and in a proper manner, they were according admonished, and Mr. Munro recommended to dismiss them from his employ if they were not more attentive to their duty in future. Two of the complainants, who it was proved, were guilty of insolence and disobedience of orders, were punished in presence of the whole gang, who were informed that any real grievance they had to complain of would always be attended to, but that they would be severely punished whenever their conduct was proved to be refractory and disorderly. A copy of the ordinance respecting the clothing and feeding of negroes was then handed to Mr. Munro, who was informed that penalties would be rigidly enforced if the enactments were not strictly complied with.

CASE TWENTY
C.O. 116/138/119-120

Berbice, 3rd June, 1822.

Examination of the negro *Bristol*, the property of plantation New Forest, belonging to Mr. Smithson of Canjé River.

Bristol states, That he is a sickly negro, and not able to do hard work; upon which account the manager of the estate put him as a watchman over the fresh water, in which situation he remained for a year, and the manager never found fault with him. One day the manager was passing where *Bristol* was watching the water; he told *Bristol* he must go home, and that he should get a good flogging. *Bristol* answered him, "For what do you want to flog me; I have done nothing wrong;" and he did not go home at all; this happened upon a Friday. I went home on Sunday morning to get my allowance; the manager told me, "So, boy, you did not come in on Friday to get flogged, but you come to-day for your rations;" he told the driver I should not get any allowance. I went again to watch the water, and on Monday morning I went to the manager for my allowance; he called the driver and flogged me; he said, "I don't know what kind of work you do that you come here to claim your allowance;" and kept me without allowance for three weeks. After I found the manager did not wish to give me allowance, I went to Mr. John Cameron to complain. Mr. Cameron gave me a pass, and told me to go home, and as soon

as he came there he would send for me, and inquire into my complaint. I went home, and gave the paper Mr. Cameron gave me to the manager. He read it, and laughed, and said, "Boy, the pass is very good indeed; go and tell the driver to look for a good whip, and come here and flog you." So I did but the driver did not come at the moment, and the manager asked me if I had been for the driver; I told him, yes; then the manager told me to stop at his door. As soon as I saw the manager go away, I made my escape to town, for the purpose of making this complaint to his Honor the Fiscal for redress.

The manager and head driver of the estate, New Forest, to which Bristol belonged, being summoned to attend at the Fiscal's office, to answer the above complaints, and the attorney's (Mr. J. Cameron's) statement of all the circumstances having been also obtained, it appeared that Bristol, an elderly and sickly man, had no other employment on the estate on the morning alluded to by the complainant, found that he had neglected the light duty assigned to him the day before, and therefore threatened to flog him; in consequence of which threat he absconded for two days; but on Sunday morning, when the gang were receiving their allowance, he made his appearance, and demanded his, on which the manager directed the driver to send him away; he however returned on Monday morning, when the manager ordered the driver to give him six stripes, and put him in the stocks; for which he came to the Fiscal to complain. – He was ordered back to the estate, and warned to be more attentive in future to his duty; and the manager was directed to give him his allowance, and not to punish him again for this conduct.

CASE TWENTY ONE

C.O. 116/138/120

Examination of a Complaint by the negro woman *Henderina*, belonging to L.C. Abensetts.

Henderina states, That she is a sickly woman; she went to the overseer of plantation Providence (where she is working) to report herself sick and unable to go to the field; the overseer gave her a dose of salts and a vomit, which operated, and she continued to vomit for some hours in the morning, and felt herself very weak in consequence of such much purging. At one o'clock in the afternoon the overseer came to her and told

her she must go into the field to work, the physic still purging her, and she unable to do any work. In consequence she came to town, and went to complain to her master (L.C. Abensetts); when she came to him, he told her to go away; "I have nothing to do with you; I have hired you to Mr. Henery, and you must work for him." That she went away, and went to Mama Lucy's house, and remained there three days until she got a little better, when she made up her mind to go back to the plantation on Monday morning; but this morning (Sunday) Mr. Abensetts came into Mama Lucy's yard and saw her there; he told her to go back; she was sick, but would go tomorrow morning; but her master told her she must go to-day, or else he would send for a dienaar to carry her to the estate; she said, before I go sick as I am I will go to the Fiscal; she said she wished to be sold, and have a master at once, and not to be sent to day one-side and to-morrow another side. She had been once before to lodge the same complaint to his Honor, M.S. Bennett, then Fiscal.

On examining into the complaint it was found to be groundless. The woman Henderina had always been accustomed to reside in town, and she did not like the idea of being removed from thence to plantation Providence, although that estate is not more than two miles distant from town; she was therefore reprimanded for her conduct and sent back to the plantation.

CASE TWENTY TWO
C.O. 116/138/120

Berbice, 11th June, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negroes *Caesar, Duncan, Hero, Bacchus, Watt, Hector, Jeffery, Welcome* and *Smith*, belonging to plantation New Forest, against the Manager of said estate.

Caesar states, That he is a good strong negro, and is able to any kind of work which is given to him; but as the manager of the estate gives him a task which he is unable to finish any day, although he works at his breakfast time, he is therefore obliged to stay in the field from morning till late in the evening. Those negroes who are able to finish their task are ordered to go home, and those who are not able to finish are flogged before they go home. He states, that he endeavours his best to finish his task before time; but when his work is finished, the manager orders

him to go and help those who have not done their task; and if he should refuse to do so, he would be flogged: he says, that the manager told him this is the attorney's order, that strong men must help the weak ones. He states, that yesterday the big punt, belonging to the estate, came to town and when she returned she brought three puncheons of coals, two kegs of nails, and two kegs of paint. The manager told the driver to call the negroes for the purpose of hauling up the punt: when the driver called the first time, Caesar says he did not hear, and of course did not answer: the driver came among the negro-houses and saw him, and told him the manager called him to help haul up the punt; he went directly, but the water being low, we could not get the punt up. We took away the two kegs of nails and two kegs of paint, and brought them to the manager's house. After that was done, the manager told me and four more we must go in the stocks; three of us went in the stocks; but I and Duncan did not go in, because we had worked all day long in the field, and I was so hungry that I nearly fell down; and I said to myself, before I will go in the stocks I shall go to the Fiscal. – The negroes Duncan, Bacchus, Hero, Watt, Hector, Jeffrey, Smith and Welcome, state the same as Caesar; and they call upon the whole gang of the plantation to prove the way they are treated by their manager; and they state the whole gang were ready to come to town to his Honor the Fiscal to make their complaint and seek redress.

The day after hearing this complaint, the Acting Fiscal, accompanied by the burgher officer, William Fraser, proceeded to plantation New Forest; and after a minute examination of the manager, overseer, and a number of the gang, as to the facts complained of, found the complaint entirely groundless; and that the complainants, having in the first instance been guilty of disobedience of orders, made the complaint merely to secure themselves from punishment. The ringleaders were therefore flogged in presence of the whole gang; who were all reprimanded for their disorderly behaviour.

CASE TWENTY THREE

C.O. 116/138/121-22

Berbice, 11th June, 1822.

Examination of a complaint by the negress *Princess* against *Robert Semple*, her owner.

Princess states: – That this morning soon, she saw a woman of the name of Cuba sitting down asleep; she said to her, “What was you doing last night that you did not sleep?” At the same time Mr. Semple came out of his bed-room, and asked me what I said, “I don’t speak with you, I speak with Cuba.” Then my master said, “You always have something to say; better you shut your mouth.” I answered him again, “Master I don’t speak with you. I speak with Cuba;” and then I came down stairs, and went into the kitchen. Master followed me into the kitchen, and told me I had better go to my work than meddle my tongue; I answered him, “I am doing my work, and you came to trouble me; I was not speaking to you.” Then he went to the store and took a horse-whip, and began to flog me. I asked him for what he flogged me? He said, “For badness.” I told him, “So long as you flog me for nothing, I shall go to the Fiscal,” and I came away.

New Amsterdam, Berbice, 12th June, 1822.

Sir,

With regard to the complaint preferred against me by the negro woman *Princess*, I have merely to say, that I charged her of insolence; of which she is guilty, as is apparent by her own statement. To which I only have to add, that it was not when she asked Cuba if she was sick that I spoke to her, but subsequently, on her making some observations respecting my coming out of my bed-room; that when I finished dressing and went down stairs, I found her in the kitchen haranguing her mother, who pushed her out of the kitchen, and desired her to hold her tongue, for doing which she participated in her abuse. I then repeatedly warned her, that unless she was silent and went to her work, I would bring a horse-whip to her; this had no other effect than to make her louder, and induce her to tell me to bring the horse-whip, which she did, I assure you, several times before I complied with her request; this being the first time, during more than four years that I have owned her, that I have had recourse to such measures.

I have the honour to be, Sir, Your most obedient servant,
Robt. Semple.

To his Honor the Fiscal.

The woman *Princess* was reprimanded for making this unnecessary complaint; and informed, that if her master complained of her conduct again, she would be punished.

CASE TWENTY FOUR

C.O. 116/138/122

Berbice, 18th June, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negro *Trim*, the property of Plantation Friends, whereof Mr. Forsyth is manager.

Trim states: – That some time ago the manager ordered him to go and make fire under the engine, about twelve o'clock at night; as there was no firewood close to the fire-place, he went to fetch some wood; but as rain was falling, and the wood was all wet, and the fire could not catch. At the same time the engine was working; but the fire became too slack, and not being sufficient for the engine, it stopped. As soon as the manager saw the engine stop, he came to me, and asked what was the reason the engine stopped? I answered him the wood was wet, and could not burn good. At that answer the manager called the driver, and put me down and flogged me; and the manager yesterday would have flogged me again, if I had not made my escape to come and complain and ask redress.

In this case it was proved that the steam-engine on plantation Friends was actually stopped for a considerable time in consequence of the inattention of the negro *Trim*, who was ordered to attend to the fire under the boiler, and supply it with fuel; and that the story of the wood being wet was no excuse. The manager ordered the driver to give him therefore a dozen of lashes, and to tell him he would be punished more severely if he did not attend to his work better in future.

Trim was reprimanded for making this unfounded complaint, and told that he deserved the punishment he had received; and that if he was ever guilty of similar neglect of duty, he would be severely punished by the Fiscal.

CASE TWENTY FIVE

C.O. 116/138/122-23

Berbice, 22nd June, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negro *Johannes*, the property of plantation Dankbarheid, whereof Mr. Ross is manager.

Johannes states: – That he is a short-breathing man, and that he cannot stay close to the fire. He states, that some time ago

the manager put him to make fire for the engine; that he cannot suffer fire, and cannot make good fire. The manager said to him, "I believe you do not wish to make fire," or, "You do it on purpose;" for which he flogged me three times in one day, and ordered me into stocks the whole of the holidays. As soon as the holidays were over he released me, and sent me to work in the field. Five days after, the manager put me again to make fire for the engine; I told him I was not able to make any fire; but the manager said again, "You must do it, or else I shall have you flogged." He took me to the driver, and flogged me again; that passed almost every day. Yesterday (Friday) I was flogged twice; and when the driver came to flog me the third time, I made my escape, and came to town to complain for redress. He states, he will do any other work upon the estate, except making the fire for the engine.

On examination into this complaint, it appeared from the evidence of the attorney and the manager that the complainant was a very lazy, idle negro, and that he had been tried at various kinds of work, and at last put to make fire, as most suitable for him; that on account of neglect of duty, he had been slightly punished in two or three instances, but never to the extent complained of; and that he had the choice of working in the field, if he preferred it.

On inspection, Johannes had no marks upon him to prove that he had been recently punished, as stated by him; he was therefore ordered back to the estate, and the manager was ordered to put him to work in the field with the women gang, as it appeared he had a slight complaint in his chest, which at times affected his breathing.

CASE TWENTY SIX

C.O. 116/138/123

Berbice, 23rd June, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negress *Jenny*, the property of plantation Litchfield, whereof Mr. Vass is manager.

Jenny states: – That she is a sickly woman, and unable to do any work at present along with the rest of the gang; she has had a pain in her breast for near two or three months, which makes her weaker daily; she told the manager several times about it, and begged for medical assistance, but in vain; for the manager

told her she made sham to avoid work. After some time the doctor was sent for to see her, and ordered some medicine for her, which she never received; the only thing which she got was a warm bath and a dose of calomel and jalap. The next morning the manager ordered her to go to work; so feeling herself too weak to do any work, she came away to complain.

The medical practitioner for plantation Litchfield, and the manager both declared the woman Jenny had every appearance of being in good health, and the manager and overseer both stated, that she would never do work of any kind on the estate. The morning she came to the Fiscal's office to lodge her complaint, she had walked eighteen miles; Litchfield being that distance from town: and although, by her own statement, she was at that time too weak to do any work, she did not appear to be at all fatigued by the journey. She was severely reprimanded by the Acting Fiscal, and sent back to the estate, and the medical practitioner was requested to make inquiry about her whenever he visited the plantation.

CASE TWENTY SEVEN

C.O. 116/138/123-24

Berbice, 28th June, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negro *Welcome*, belonging to a plantation Vryburg, whereof Mr. Saul is manager.

Welcome states: – That some time last week the manager called him to his door, and asked him what was the matter with him, that he spoke so much for the last two or three days; and that some of the negroes told him (the manager) I was always speaking about him. I answered the manager that I never said anything bad about him. The manager said the negroes had told him I was a bad man. “Well, master, if the driver don't like me, I cannot help it.” The manager said, “Well, hold your tongue, Sir.” I told him I never saw an estate as bad as this. Then the manager called two drivers. I told the manager these two drivers always gave me double the work I am able to do; then the manager ordered me to be put in the stocks (both legs), and said, “Go, go; to-morrow I shall fiscal your bottom; you shall not spoil your master's estate.” Then I was put in the stocks on Monday, and the next day I was taken out and flogged by two drivers; I received 104 lashes, and then put in the stocks again

with one foot in. I told the house-boy to beg the manager to let me out for five minutes to go and wash my bottom, but I was refused. There I was kept for four days and four nights, with an allowance of three wasted plantains and a bottle of water per day. My wife came to me to bring some food, but she was refused permission to give it to me. During the four days I was in the stocks, I was not allowed to go to the privy-house. When the manager came to take me out of the stocks, he told me he was very sorry to have flogged me in that kind of way. "I have observed that since I came here as manager, that you do your work very well, and I am sorry to have punished you." And then I was released out of the stocks, and sent to the hospital to cure myself. After a thorough investigation of this complaint, which, if the facts stated by the complainant had been true, would have been a very serious one for the manager, it appeared that Welcome was a riotous insubordinate character, and was always the head man when anything was going on on the estate; that in the present instance the manager was informed, Welcome was endeavouring to persuade the other negroes that they had too much work given to them; and that on receiving this information, he called Welcome, and endeavoured to reason with him on the impropriety of his conduct, but that Welcome, instead of attending to him, became very insolent; on which he ordered him to be confined to the stocks till the next morning, when, in the presence of the overseer, he received 39 lashes. – This was approved of by the Acting Fiscal, the complaint dismissed, and Welcome severely reprimanded for his misconduct.

CASE TWENTY EIGHT

C.O. 116/138/124

Berbice, 2nd July, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negress *Marietje*, the property of Juno Frauendorff.

Marietje states: – That on Saturday the 29th June all the women belonging to the estate were ordered to go and weed grass about the negro-houses in the afternoon; they all went to work in the negro-grounds according to custom in the evening. As they came home she found her house broke by a hog; she went to her master for some nails, which she got. As she was mending her

house her husband came home to see her (a negro belonging to Mr. Jansen) and remained there till the morning. Now some of the negroes went and told her mistress that a white man slept in her house on Saturday night; for which her mistress, without asking whether it was so or not, ordered her to be put in the stocks on Sunday evening; and on Monday morning she was taken out and flogged. She came to complain to know what was the reason she was put in the stocks and flogged for her mistress never told her; she only learnt she was flogged because she did sleep with a white man; and she can call her own husband as a witness that he did sleep with her on Saturday night, and no one else. She states, that Juno Frauendorff is her mistress, and Thomas Jansen is her mistress's husband. That after she was flogged, she went to her mistress and told her, "Thank you, mistress." Thomas Jansen came to her and said, "You must say, thank you, master, also;" which she refused to say. Thomas Jansen told me, "I shall put a chain on you, and make you work with it;" upon which threat I made my escape, and came into town to the Fiscal for redress.

On examination, it was proved that the woman Marietje had been punished by order of her mistress without any sufficient cause; her mistress was therefore fined f. 300; and Thomas Jansen was informed, that if he attempted to put a chain on Marietje, or to punish her in any other way, he would be prosecuted, as it appeared in evidence that he was the cause of her mistress punishing her in the first instance.

CASE TWENTY NINE

C.O. 116/138/124-25

Berbice, 5th July, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negroes *Mourant, Joseph, Secondo, Frank, Mackay, Fanny, Susan, Louisa, Daly, Cuba, Coffy, Quajo, Elias, Quamy, and Fanny*, a girl, the property of John Quarles, plantation Plegt Ankar.

Mourant states: – That he has belonged to John Quarles about 30 months, and since he has belonged to him he only remembers to have been free of work on Sundays eight or nine times. He has always been working on Sundays from morning until late at night. He states that the girl Cuba has been sick with the yaws for near four months, and never got any thing to cure

them, except one day the doctor came to her, and ordered her to drink sulphur, which she drank for two or three weeks; but while she was drinking sulphur, she was obliged to go in the field with heavy rains, that she never could get better. Besides the hard work with such a sickness, she is almost every day punished; particularly about two weeks ago, she was tied up to a tree and there well flogged. Mourant states, that while the gang are at work in the field, Mr. Quarles goes to the negro-houses, and if he sees any fowls or ducks belonging to the negroes, he will take and kill them for his dinner; and if the negroes speak about it, Mr. Quarles says the ground belongs to him, and not to the negroes.

Joseph states, that since they came from the Corentyne to the river, he does not know what is called Sunday, for he is never free of work; and when dancing days come, and other negroes dance, he is obliged to work sometimes until nine or ten o'clock at night. He cannot keep any stock, because his master takes it away from him.

Secondo states, that since he came to work up the river, he never had one Sunday free to himself, and particularly the great holidays; if any negro speaks about going to please himself, he is sure to get flogged. There is no breakfast time allowed, and sometimes they don't come home until nine or ten o'clock at night from their work. They scarce have time to rest, when they are turned out again. He cannot keep stock; for his master, when he wants a fowl for his dinner, sends the boy *Coffy* to the negro-houses, who takes any one he can find.

Boy *Coffy* states, that he is the house-boy; and sometimes his master tells him to go and look for a fowl in the negro-houses, which he does; and his master desires him if any negro comes to claim it, I must tell him that the fowl had no business in his yard. No Sunday or other holidays are kept on the estate amongst the negroes.

The rest of the negroes state the same thing.

On hearing this complaint the Acting Fiscal proceeded to the plantation Plegt Ankar, where, after a minute examination of Mr. Quarles and the complainants in the presence of each other, it was proved that the negroes were very hard-worked and that Mr. Quarles was in the habit of employing them till late in the day almost every Sunday, and that he frequently kills their ducks and fowls without paying for them at the time he

takes them. He was therefore assured, that if any more complaints were made against him by his negroes for such treatment, he would be criminally prosecuted; and was directed, in presence of his gang, to furnish any one of them that asked for it with a proper pass to proceed to the Fiscal's office. He was also directed forthwith to pay them the full value for any of their ducks or fowls that he had ordered to be killed.

CASE THIRTY
C.O. 116/138/125-26

Berbice, 12th July, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negroes *Prince, Jasmin, Abercrombie, La Fleur, Baron, Numa, Ben, Leander, Tom, Cupido, Fox, Figaro, England, Tom* and *McFarlane*, the property of plantation *Herstelling*, against the manager of said estate.

Prince states: – That the manager of *Herstelling* turns the gang out in the morning a long time before the gun fires at the fort, and at day-light all the gang at their work. At breakfast time, when the bell rings, before the negroes are able to put their victuals on the fire, the bell rings again to turn them out; so that most of the negroes go in the field again without breakfast. He states, that the manager gives them more work than they are able to do; and if the work is not done in time, the whole gang are flogged. That their allowance only consists of one bunch of plantains and a little fish every week, and no more. He states, that when all the gang are at work, and two or three of them have not finished their task, for the sake of these two or three people the whole gang are flogged; this happens almost every day in the week.

Jasmin states, that the manager turns out the gang a long time before gun-fire in the morning, and that before day-light the gang are at their work. When the bell rings the manager turns out the gang a long time before gun-fire in the morning, and that before day-light the gang are at their work. When the bell rings for breakfast, before they are able to cook their victuals, the bell rings again to turn out; and so they have no time to eat anything before they go into the field again. That only one bunch of plantains and a little fish is allowed them for a week; and on account of two negroes who had not finished their work, the whole gang was flogged yesterday; this happens almost every

day. When they are not flogged by the manager they are flogged by the overseer. This happened since the present manager came to the estate; it was not so before.

Ben states, that the manager turns them out very soon in the morning; before gun-fire the whole gang are in the field at their work; and that they only get a bunch of plantains and a little salt fish for their allowance every week. That at eleven o'clock when the bell rings for breakfast they have only time to get home; for as soon as they are at the house the bell rings again to turn them out. The negroes have no time to eat with their bunch of plantains. He endeavours his best to please the manager with his work, but the manager is never satisfied, and must flog them whether they are right or wrong. The remaining twelve negroes state the same.

Hussar, head driver on Herstelling, states, That on Thursday last he has a gang of sixteen men with him, weeding young canes in a field about 500 rods from the buildings. That the whole gang were at their work, and had got three beds weeded before the sun rose. An overseer, Michael Harrold, came to the field at seven o'clock, reckoned the gang, and directed the driver to see the work properly done. About an hour after the manager came to the field, and ordered the driver to flog the whole gang, with the exception of one man, Alexander, as the work was not going on properly.

On inquiring into the truth of this statement, in presence of the attorney of the estate, it appeared that although the manager's conduct was, in some measure, reprehensible, yet the complainants had greatly exaggerated their grievances. They were therefore ordered to return home, on the attorney's promising to go to the estate the next day to see that every real cause of complaint was remedied; and to warn the manager, that if the negroes had cause to complain again, he would be immediately discharged.

CASE THIRTY ONE

C.O. 116/138/126

Berbice, 14th July, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negress *Rose*, belonging to Mr. James Fraser, West Coast.

Rose states: – That she is a sickly negress, and that she is not

able to do any strong work. She says, that when she goes to the manager and tells him she is sick and not able to work, the manager laughs at her, and tells her to go to her work, or else she will be flogged. She finding herself unable to work, and too sick to receive punishment, ran away from the estate, and to the Fiscal to complain and ask redress.

Rose was sent back to the estate, and was directed to let her remain in the hospital till examined by the doctor who attends the estate.

CASE THIRTY TWO

C.O. 116/138/126-27

Examination of a complaint preferred by the negro *Green*, belonging to plantation Goldstone Hall, the property of the honourable William Fraser.

Green states: - That when his master bought him, about seven years ago, he was very bad with sore legs, and unfit for any sort of work upon the estate. One day his master came to the estate to inspect the negroes. When he came to him, he said, "Go away with you, what time will you be able to buy a piece of plaister to dry up your sores?" At the same time he made me pull off my trowsers, and gave them to a woman and desired her to burn them. After some time my foot got better, and my master ordered me into the field, where I continued a long time. Since the manager came to the estate he ordered me to take a shovel and go to work with it; but my foot being sore, and I not able to work with the shovel, because if I did so my foot would break out again, told him I would do any other work on the estate. The manager answered, "Then damn you and your foot; I don't care if you break out from head to heel;" and ordered me to be put into the stocks with both feet in. It was in a dark room, and I was kept there eleven days. When I was released, he ordered me again to take a shovel, but I refused; when I was put in the stocks with both feet in for two weeks. Last Saturday I was taken out of the stocks and sent to work in the field. Sunday morning all the gang were ordered to haul timber, at the same time I went to ease myself. The manager came to see the work, and as I was not there he put me in the stocks again until Monday at eleven o'clock, when I was released and sent to the field. In the evening, when we brought home grass, the manager came to

see if I brought grass according to his wishes; he found no fault with me. Amongst the whole gang of negroes, about 300, I am the only one the manager has a spite against, for which reason I come to seek redress.

The complainant having no mark whatever of sores upon his feet, was severely reprimanded for his disorderly and improper behaviour; and told, that if the manager ever had occasion to complain of his neglecting his work, he would be severely punished by the Fiscal.

CASE THIRTY THREE

C.O. 116/138/127

Berbice, 21st July, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negress *Sankey*, belonging to plantation Vryburg, the property of Messrs. Wulff, Brown, and Co.

Sankey states, That in consequence of her husband being sold without her and her children, she makes this representation for the purpose of being sold with her husband, having a little child by him, and not able to support it.

On investigation of this complaint, it was found to be entirely unfounded. *Sankey's* husband was sent, with four or five other negroes, in a punt from plantation Vryburg, belonging to Wulff, Brown, and Co. who had a large mercantile establishment in town for stores; and these gentlemen requiring the assistance of an additional number of hands to land goods, and finding that one man could be spared from the punt, detained the man in question in town for a few days. *Sankey* was reprimanded for making such a frivolous complaint, and sent back to the estate with her husband.

CASE THIRTY FOUR

C.O. 116/138/127-28

Berbice, 29th July, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negro *Azore*, belonging to plantation Recumzigt.

Azore states, That the manager put him to pick coffee in the logie, which work he had never done before. At 11 o'clock the

manager went to the logie, and found that he had not filled his basket; for which he was flogged: and from that time he was ordered into the stocks every night, and in the daytime was sent to his work. Every Saturday evening, when the overseer called him again to go into the stocks, he ran away, and came to town to complain; and calls upon the negro William to prove that he (William) put him every night into the stocks. This complaint being of a very serious nature, the manager, overseer and William were ordered to attend at the Fiscal's office to answer it; when, after a thorough examination, it appeared that the negro Azore was an idle, ill-disposed man, and that having never finished his task in the field like the other men, he was put into the logie with the women to clean coffee on Monday morning. That, instead of cleaning the same quantity as the women, he did not clean half as much; in consequence of which he was flogged and ordered to be put in the stocks every night till he cleaned the quantity of coffee required of him. That he had certainly, in consequence of this order, been put into the stocks every night from Monday till Saturday, but no longer; and that on Saturday night he would have been confined again, had he not made his escape and come to complain.

Azore was sent back to the estate, after being severely reprimanded for his idleness and neglect of duty; and the manager was warned never again to inflict on him so severe a punishment in the stocks, every night for a week, for so trivial an offence as not finishing the task assigned to him.

CASE THIRTY FIVE

C.O. 116/138/128

Berbice, 5th August, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negro *Thomas*, the property of plantation Goldstone-Hall, against the Manager of the said estate.

Thomas states: – That in the beginning, when the manager came to the estate, he flogged him twice for nothing. He went to complain to Mr. Fraser, but no satisfaction was given to him; but Mr. F. told him to go home and do his work. He did so; but last Sunday he came from the bush, where he had been cutting firewood; and being very tired, and it being a dark night, he went to the negro-houses and fell asleep. The next morning he went to

take his allowance, but was refused any: at the same time the manager called the driver and ordered him (Thomas) into the stocks, and he supposed the manager would flog him on Monday morning; for which reason he ran away from the driver, and came to complain, to know for what reason the manager stopped his allowance, and then ordered him into the stocks, for he does not know he committed any crime to be punished. He would have gone to his master, but fearing his master would not have listened to his complaint, he came to his Honor the Fiscal for redress.

The complainant was told, if the manager had flogged him for nothing so long ago as when he took over the management of the estate, he ought then to have complained of him; that in the present instance he acknowledged he was ordered to be put into the stocks for neglecting his work, and that, therefore, he ought not to have complained of the punishment.

CASE THIRTY SIX
C.O. 116/138/128-29

Berbice, 6th August, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negroes *Frederick*, *Jem* and *Davy*, belonging to the plantation Profit against the Manager of said estate.

Frederick states: – That after having worked the whole week for his master, he thinks that the Sunday belongs to the negroes; for which reason he is in the habit of going over to the next estate every Sunday morning to see his friends, and returning in the evening: for doing of which the manager sends the driver to take him up and puts him in the stocks till Monday morning, and told him he must not go anywhere off the estate. Last Sunday he went to the next estate to see his friends; the manager sent the driver after him, and put him in the stocks until Monday morning, and then gave him a good flogging; and since, he has been confined in the stocks at night: he therefore comes to complain, to know if the manager is allowed to use him so. *Jem* and *Davy* complain of the same treatment as *Frederick*; on which account they all agreed to come to town, to make the complaint to his Honor the Fiscal for redress, for they do not wish to go into the bush like bad negroes.

In this instance the complainants were ordered back to the

estate, after being informed that the manager had only done his duty in punishing them for their disobedience in going off the estate without passes; he having proved to the satisfaction of the Fiscal that he had informed the gang that they would never be denied passes when they applied for them.

CASE THIRTY SEVEN

C.O. 116/138/129

Berbice, 9th August, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negro *Joe*, belonging to a plantation Boses Lust, whereof Mr. Johnstone is manager.

Joe states: – That the manager ordered him to go over to plantation Resolutie to dig trenches; he told the manager he was not able to dig trenches because his stomach hurt him. The manager said he must go, or else he would flog him. *Joe* told him he could not dig trenches; then the manager put him down and flogged him; afterwards ordered him to go and cut grass. *Joe* did so; but yesterday morning (Friday) the manager flogged him again, and ordered him to take his shovel and cutlass and go to Resolutie; which he refused to do, and got away, and came to town to complain.

The Manager stated, in answer to this complaint, that *Joe* was a strong able negro, and capable of doing as much work as any man on the estate; but that he was very idle and disorderly. That in the present instance he was ordered to go, with the rest of the gang, to work on plantation Resolutie, an estate belonging to the same proprietor as Buses Lust, on the opposite bank of the river, but that *Joe* refused to obey him. Supposing he was really unwell, the manager allowed him to remain at home for a day or two, and gave him some light work about the buildings. On Friday, seeing *Joe* apparently quite well, he again ordered him to go to Resolutie; which *Joe* refusing to do, he flogged him.

Joe was told he deserved the punishment he had received, and was ordered to proceed forthwith to plantation Resolutie, where, if he neglected his duty, he would be severely punished by the Fiscal.

CASE THIRTY EIGHT
C.O. 116/138/129-130

Berbice, 12th August, 1822.

Examination of the negro *John*, belonging to William Ross, Corentine Coast.

John states: – That his master gave him twelve beds to plant with canes, and to be finished before 11 o'clock in the morning, which he could not perform, and was obliged to work during his breakfast-time. When the driver is ordered to flog any of the gang, he is in the habit of taking powdered glass and marabunters (wasps), and mixing them together, and then rubbing his whip with the mixture. He states, that sometimes the overseer goes to the field with the gang, and eats their plantains, and also takes some from them and feeds his dog. *John* says, that he and four other negroes left the estate for the purpose of coming to complain; but the four men not being able to swim over the creek, they were obliged to go back, and he alone came to complain and ask for redress. The driver who put the powdered glass and marabunters (wasps) on the whip is named Bob. Those who were present on Sunday when *John* remonstrated with said Bob (the driver) on this matter, are Bob, Thomas, Duncan, Welcome, Ned, Forrest, Philip, and *John*.

The plantation Culcairn being at a considerable distance from town, some time elapsed before this matter could be properly investigated. On the 18th September Bob and Thomas being confronted with *John*, and being asked whether they heard any thing of a conversation between the driver Bob and *John*, respecting his rubbing the lash of his whip with powdered glass and marabunters (wasps), or whether they saw Bob do any thing of the kind, they both peremptorily denied the same, although they lived in Bob's house with him all the time they were on plantation Culcairn.

Bob, the driver, a sensible, well-behaved negro, also declared that he not only never did or spoke of rubbing the lash of his whip with glass, as alleged by *John*, but that he never thought of such a thing.

The manager and overseer of the estate both stated, that if Bob had really been guilty of such a cruel act, *John* ought to have complained of it to them; and that in that case, if it had been proved, Bob would have been sent to his Honor the Fiscal for punishment – *John* was therefore severely reprimanded, and

sent back to the estate.

CASE THIRTY NINE

C.O. 116/138/130

Berbice, 20th August, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negro *James*, belonging to Dr. Smith

James states: – That he has belonged to Dr. Smith for four years, during which time his master never gave him allowance of any kind for food or clothing; consequently he is obliged to find himself in every thing. At the same time he does the work of three good men; he has to mind five horses, and cuts grass five times a day for them; he minds two cows, milks them morning and evening, and has to take care of them in the pasture: he has to clean the house every day, and wash it once a week; and when the grass is high in the yard, he must weed it and keep the yard clean. That during his master's sickness, his house-keeper was in the habit of every day killing a fowl belonging to him; and whenever she wanted any eggs, she would go to the fowl's nest and take what she wanted; and that he has taken from him eight fowls and twenty-four eggs. For these reasons he comes to his Honor the Fiscal for redress.

Dr. Smith, being summoned to attend at the Fiscal's office to answer this complaint, declared that *James's* whole statement was false. That with respect to his fowls and eggs being taken, once or twice when he was ill, it was true *James* had applied to some eggs and chickens, but that he had been paid the full price he had demanded for them; and as to his having so much work allotted to him, the fact of his having the leisure to attend to and raise such a quantity of poultry was a sufficient proof to the contrary. That, however, as it appeared *James* did not wish to belong or remain with him, he would allow him to remain in town till the next public vendue, when he would sell him.

CASE FORTY

C.O. 116/138/130-31

Berbice, 22nd August, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negroes *Jacob* and

Dirk, both belonging to plantation Sandvort.

Jacob states: – That the manager sent him to plantation Smithson's place to fetch some tar, which he brought home about 9 o'clock in the morning. The manager then ordered him to go and weed grass on the road, where he went and did so; from 9 to 10 o'clock he weeded three rods and a half. The manager told him, "If you don't weed the road before night, you shall be flogged to-morrow morning." I told the manager I was sent too late to my work, and if I did not finish the road it was not my fault. The road was not finished at night; the next morning I was flogged by the manager's order, and received eighteen lashes. I was sent to my work, but in the evening was ordered into the stocks, in order to be flogged the next morning; but I made my escape, and came to complain. – The negro *Dick* stated the same as above; they both came for the same cause.

These negroes were reprimanded, and sent back to the estate; it appearing from the evidence of both the manager and overseers, that having neglected their work they had been slightly punished for it, and ordered into the stocks at night; but that the manager had no intention whatever of punishing them again the next morning.

CASE FORTY ONE

C.O. 116/138/131

Berbice, 23rd August, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negro *Felix*, belonging to plantation Scotland, against the Manager of said estate.

Felix states, That he has had a black woman upon the estate for his wife now two years; and the reason of his coming to complain is, that the manager of the estate takes her from him, although he has a wife of his own. He is always taking the negroes wives, particularly his wife (*Felix's*); for she has a child from him; and since the child has been born, the manager is always punishing him and his wife without a cause. Some time ago ten of the gang came to complain to their master (*Dr. Broer*), to report to him that the manager had connexion with their wives: their master promised to them that he would remove the manager from the estate, and place another one there. Upon this promise the negroes returned to the estate; but since that

they have never heard of another manager. Felix and his wife are daily punished, which has compelled them to come to your Honor for redress. He calls upon the whole gang of the estate to prove his assertions to be correct.

On hearing this complaint, the Acting Fiscal proceeded to the estate, accompanied by Dr. Broer, the owner; and on questioning the manager and negroes, in presence of each other, on the subject-matter of the complaint, it appeared that Felix had neglected his work, and was told he would be punished if he did not finish his task the next day, which he did not do; and therefore supposing the manager would punish him, he went to the Fiscal to complain. This being proved, Felix was punished for his misconduct, and the manager severely reprimanded for taking improper liberties with the women on the estate, which it was evident he had done; and Dr. Broer was therefore strongly recommended to discharge him from his employ.

CASE FORTY TWO
C.O. 116/138/131-32

Berbice, 29th August, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negresses *Aspasia* and *Catherine*, belonging to plantation Sandvort, against the Manager of said estate.

Aspasia states, That the manager, on Friday 23rd instant, gave her a flogging, because, when Mr. John Cameron went to the estate, she told him the coffee was bad, and she could not clean as much as the manager wanted her to do; and again, three days after Mr. Cameron came again, and the whole of the women went to him to lodge a complaint, but he gave them no redress; and as soon as Mr. Cameron was gone, the manager flogged her again. For these reasons she came to complain to your Honor, and ask redress. *Catherine* states also as above.

It appeared, on investigation of this complaint that *Aspasia* had been twice punished with a few stripes for not having finished the quantity of coffee given to her, which was not by any means more than she could easily have cleaned. Mr. Cameron, the owner of the estate, on being applied to by *Aspasia*, made the necessary inquiry into the matter; and it was by his direction that she was flogged. The complainants were therefore remanded, and sent back to the estate.

CASE FORTY THREE

C.O. 116/138/132

Berbice, 3rd September, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negro *Abraham*, belonging to plantation Buses Lust.

Abraham states, That Saturday last he was sick, and on that account went to the doctor. The doctor found him sick, and ordered him a dose of rhubarb. After he had taken it, the manager came to him and said, "You are not sick, go to your work." This I refused to do. I was then ordered into the stocks, and on Monday morning I was flogged; and on this morning I was flogged again. For these reasons I come to your Honor for redress.

The doctor's evidence being considered necessary, application was made for it, and the following certificate was received from him; viz.

Berbice, Plantation De Kinderon, 9th October 1822.

Sir,

In compliance with the desire you express, that I should make known to you all the circumstances which came to my knowledge respecting the punishment and previous state of health of the negro *Abraham*, belonging to his Excellency Major-General Murray, at present confined in the colony gaol, I have to state, that the manager, William Johnston, sent the negro above mentioned to be examined by me previous to his punishment on the 3rd of September. I examined and inspected him, but finding no symptoms of disease which required his staying in hospital, I told him he might take a day's rest then, and return to his work the next day; at the same time directing the hospital nurse to give him four grains of rhubarb, which was merely ordered as an unpalatable medicine, to discourage the admission of idlers into the sick house.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant, *A. Johnston*.

On *Abraham's* still refusing to go to work on Monday morning, the manager ordered the driver to give him half a dozen lashes; this made him exceedingly insolent and abusive; which was the cause of his coming to the Fiscal to complain. He was told, the manager had given him only what he deserved for his insolent and refractory conduct; he was sent back to the estate, and ordered to go to his work.

CASE FORTY FOUR
C.O. 116/138/132-33

Berbice, 4th September, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negro *Tobias*, belonging to plantation Friends.

Tobias states, That about two months ago he was going from plantation Friends to plantation Dentichem. On his way thereto he saw in a trench a white bird, which he supposed was a flamingo; for which reason he went close to it with a stick, and knocked it down. As soon as it was dead, he found it was a goose, and he was very sorry he had killed it; but he could not help being mistaken. Some negroes came up to him, and tied him and carried him to the manager. The manager put him in the stocks; and he was kept there near two months, with an allowance of four plantains and a bottle of water per day; which was given to him every evening at six o'clock; he was one day in the stocks with fever, and asked for some water, which was refused him; he was therefore under the necessity of drinking his own urine; and if he had not made his escape he would have been in the stocks until now, and God knows how long he would have been kept in.

Berbice, 18th September, 1822.

On an investigation of the witnesses *John* and *Adonis*, *John* states, That about five or six weeks ago he was watchman in the yard of Dentichem. About one o'clock in the morning *Tobias* came to him and inquired if *Adonis* was at home; he answered yes; and told him if he would go to him he must not go through the yard, but round by the negro-path; that *Tobias* bid him good night; and passed toward the negro-houses; that he saw nothing more of him till about three o'clock the next morning, when hearing a noise in the stock-house, he called out; and *Adonis* coming to see what was the matter, met *Tobias* and caught him, and delivered him over to *John*; who carried him to Mr. Boas, the overseer.

Adonis says, that about three o'clock, having occasion to come out of his house for a necessary purpose, he heard the watchman calling out; and on going to see what was the matter, he met a man covered with mud near the fowl-house, whom he immediately recognised to be *Tobias*. On his begging him, *Adonis*, not to lay hold of him, he however did so, and delivered him over to the watchman: he was quite naked. Next morning

his hat and clothes were found on a dead bench at the fowl-house, along with a dead goose, which it is supposed he must have killed. The only punishment Tobias received for this offence was a week's confinement in the stocks; but some time after he was released, it was discovered that he was practising obeah on the estate; and he was therefore again confined, when he broke out of the stocks and came to complain.

The attorney, manager, and overseer, all positively deny that Tobias ever had fever during his confinement, or that he was ever refused water when he asked for it. Being a very bad character, and disliked by all the other negroes on the estate, he was sold at public vendue, and not allowed to return to the plantation.

CASE FORTY FIVE

C.O. 116/138/133

Berbice, 14th October, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negro woman *Sally*, belonging to plantation Sandvoort.

Sally states, That on Sunday morning the 13th instant she was ordered by the manager of the above estate to go and wash coffee with some children, which she refused to do. On her refusal the manager immediately called four negro men, and had her flogged in the presence of the overseers of plantation Lochaber and plantation Goodbaranerland: their names she does not know, nor the names of the four negroes; but the driver's name was Nicholas.

This is to certify that the woman *Sally*, attached to plantation Sandvoort, did refuse to wash coffee on Sunday, when there was 3,000 lbs. of coffee in the house liable to be injured by lying without washing; and that she also gave insolence to the manager and driver.

Signed *Robert Davies*. *Charles Hewitt*. Manager.

On its being proved that the coffee would have been injured if it was not washed that morning, *Sally* was informed she ought to have complied with the order, and reprimanded for not doing so; and the manager was told, that if it ever could be proved in future that he punished one of the negroes under his charge on a Sunday, he would be prosecuted before the honourable court of Criminal Justice.

CASE FORTY SIX
C.O. 116/138/134

Berbice, 22nd October, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negroes *Ferdinand*, *Christopelle*, *Affamy* and *Carroll*, belonging to plantation Bloomhoeff.

Ferdinand states, he is employed in cutting mannicoles and that his master gave him the task to cut 250 in a day, to be cleaned and brought to the waterside; that he has to go far in the bush to cut these mannicoles, and that from morning to night he cannot do more than cut them, and it is dark when he has done, therefore could not bring them out to the water-side; for which reason his master put him in the stocks last Friday evening, and kept him there in order to flog him on Monday morning; but he and the other three negroes made their escape on Sunday evening out of the stocks, and came to your Honor to seek redress.
– The negroes *Christopelle*, *Affamy*, and *Carroll* state as above.

The Acting Fiscal having ascertained that to cut and carry to the bank of the river 250 mannicoles was an ordinary day's work for a man, and the usual task given on all the estates in the river, and the manager having declared himself ready to make oath that he had no intention whatever to flog the complainants on Monday morning, as stated by them, they were slightly punished and sent back to the estate, after being reprimanded for neglecting their duty and breaking out of the stocks to come and complain of the light punishment inflicted on them by their manager for their misconduct.

CASE FORTY SEVEN
C.O. 116/138/134

Berbice 22nd October, 1822.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negro woman *Harriet*, the property of plantation port Mourant.

Harriet states, That on Friday last the manager of the estate found one of his glasses broken: he called a boy called Cuffy, and ordered him to bring all the plates, glasses, knives, forks and spoons to be examined, to see if everything was correct, and sent the boy Peter to call me from the kitchen. Upon my coming to the manager, he told me one of the knives was

missing: I answered, "Master, I have nothing to do with the knives; I do not clean them; ask Jessie and Peter." He answered, "You must find the knife:" I answered "Master, I have nothing to do with the knives." Then he ordered me into the stocks, and on Saturday morning I was severely flogged with tamarind sticks: for which reason I come to complain, and to seek redress.

Harriet, it appeared from the manager's statement, was directed to see that the house boy took proper care of the things in the house; and having in several instances neglected this duty, she was slightly punished for it, to convince her she was responsible for them. She was therefore sent back to the estate, and warned to be more attentive in future.

CASE FORTY EIGHT

C.O. 116/138/134-35

Berbice, 3rd January, 1823.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negro *Klaas*, the property of J.V. Mittelholzer, against him.

Klaas states, That some time in November last his master ordered the driver, with our other negroes, to go in the bush to square wood, and at the same time gave them two bunches of plantains and a little salt-fish for each man; with which allowance the negroes remained in the bush about a month, without receiving any other allowance. Some time after, their master sent into the bush the remainder of the gang to the same place, along with an overseer, to work there. Now, as the holidays were approaching, their master came to the place where they were working, and took away the overseer, with all the negroes belonging to him; and left all the negroes belonging to plantation Lana. When Christmas came, the negroes asked the driver if their master ordered them to go home or not: the driver answered, "Master did not tell me anything;" so the negroes remained in the bush until the holidays were over, without any thing to eat; when they all agreed to go home, and went to their master, and asked him what was the reason he kept them in the bush without any thing to eat, and without giving them their holidays, as he had given his own negroes. He did not say any thing, but ordered the driver to take the punt loaded with wood, and come to town. The driver asked him to give something to eat for the negroes; for they had nothing. Their master answered,

“I have nothing to give them;” and went in his corjaal away. For these reasons I come to complain, and to seek redress. I call upon the driver and twenty other negroes to prove what I say.

On hearing this complaint *Mr. Mittelholzer* was summoned to attend at the Fiscal’s office, and to bring with him the driver and some of the people who had been squaring wood with *Klaas*. From the evidence it appeared, that some time previous to the Christmas holidays, *Mr. Mittelholzer* went to the place where the negroes were working, and finding that they had not done as much work as they ought to have done, he gave them all tasks, and told the driver not to allow any of them to go home at Christmas, except those who had finished the tasks assigned to them; and that he did not send their allowance at the regular time at Christmas, because he expected they would have finished their work, and come home. *Mr. Mittelholzer* was told he had acted incorrectly in keeping the negroes in the woods during the holidays; that if they had neglected their work he should have punished them in some other ways; and if any of them again complained of not receiving their regular rations he would be fined.

CASE FORTY NINE

C.O. 116/138/135

Berbice, 3rd February, 1823.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negress *Susan*, belonging to plantation *Standvastigheid*, against the Owner of said estate.

Susan states, That her mother is an old woman, sickly, and unable to do anything upon the estate. Some time ago *Mr. Maurenbrecher* bought at vendue the whole family, including the old woman; and that *Mr. Maurenbrecher* gave away, as a present, the old woman to a manager named *Mittelholzer*, and sent her back to town. That she does not wish to part with her mother, as she is an old woman, and unable to help herself; for which reason she comes to your Honour to see if you can make *Mr. Maurenbrecher* take the old woman back, or make *Mr. Mittelholzer* buy her.

Susan’s mother was not given away, as stated by her; but being an elderly woman, and not fit for plantation work, was hired to *Mittelholzer* as a house-servant, her services not being

required in that capacity on the estate. They could see each other frequently, as the residences of Mr. Maurenbrecher and Mr. Mittelholzer were not far distant. This was communicated to Susan, and she was sent back to the estate.

CASE FIFTY

C.O. 116/138/135-36

Berbice, 9th February, 1823.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negress *Rose*, belonging to B.A. Sanders, against her mistress.

Rose states, That on Friday last a girl named Nelly did break a butter-cup, and put it by: afterwards her mistress called her to wash the cups; and as she took the cup to carry it away, the cup fell into pieces; then her mistress blamed her for breaking it, and gave her a good beating, sent her away with the broken cup, and told her not to return to her yard without a new cup; and as I am a sickly woman, and have no means to buy a new cup, and am afraid to go home again, I come to your Honor for protection.

Rose reprimanded for complaining without a cause, and sent back to her mistress.

CASE FIFTY ONE

C.O. 116/138/136

Berbice, 3rd March, 1823.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negroes *Maria, Jane, Fanny, Marianne, Polly, Bella, Caroline, Betsy* and *Nancy*, belonging to plantation Port Mourant, against the Manager of said estate.

Jane states that she belongs to Port Mourant, and is a field negro, and is constantly in the field from morning before gun-fire, until late in the evening; that the work which the manager gives her is too much; that she is unable to complete it, although she works during her breakfast time. Sometimes she is obliged to work on Sunday to finish the task given her during the week; and often has no time to eat from morning till night; if the row is not finished she is put in the stocks, and kept in till morning, when she is released and sent to her work; sometimes the whole of the women are flogged for the sake of two or three not finishing their task. Last Friday the driver was flogged on

account of his having allowed the women to come to the house to get breakfast, and they were sent all back to their work; the manager saying to them, that they had time to eat at night and not in the day. On Saturday last the Manager went to the field, and found that they had not finished their row, and immediately ordered four women to be flogged, for which she thought it very hard against those women, which were merely punished for nothing. – The other women state the same as Jane, and come to your Honor for redress.

On investigation of this complaint, it appeared, that although the tasks given to the negroes of the estate were not actually more than they could do in a day, yet that the Manager was very severe upon them, and too frequently inflicted punishment without sufficient cause; he was therefore informed that his conduct would be vigilantly looked after in future; and if he continued the same system, the attorney of the estate would be recommended to discharge him from the management.

CASE FIFTY TWO

C.O. 116/138/136

Berbice, 5th March, 1823.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negro *Jan Broek* belonging to plantation Highbury, against the Manager of said estate.

Jan Broek, states, That on Tuesday morning 4th instant he went to the Manager to report himself sick with the tooth ache; the Manager began to slap him, and sent him to the field, where he was able to do very little work; the pain caused him to do very little, and he went to the Manager again, but it was in vain; the Manager slapt him again, sent him away, and told him if he came back he should get a good flogging, and then be put in the stocks. When I heard this, I left the estate and came to your Honor to complain. He calls Frederick, Promiere, and Estella to prove what he states.

The complainant, *Jan Broek*, apparently a strong healthy young man, was told he would be punished if he came again to the Fiscal with such a frivolous complaint; and the Manager was informed he ought to have sent for the medical practitioner of the estate to extract the tooth, instead of treating the man roughly when he went to complain of the pain.

CASE FIFTY THREE

C.O. 116/138/136-37

Berbice, 26th March, 1823.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negro *Kees*, the property of plantation Highbury.

Kees states, That he is a field negro, and always did his work the same as the rest when in good health; but having been about a year sick he is not able to do any hard work, and the manager of the estate compels him to do work which he is utterly unable to do; he therefore comes to your Honor for redress.

Kees was sent back to the estate, and the manager was recommended to give him lighter work in future, till he got stronger.

CASE FIFTY FOUR

C.O. 116/138/137

Berbice, 27th March, 1823.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negro *Ness*, the property of plantation Port Mourant.

Ness states, That he is the driver over the women, and the Manager asked him last Sunday why he did not go to work, and he answered that he had not been ordered to do so, or he would have gone to work, as he did not wish to do any thing without the manager's order. The manager then offered to flog him; but he made his escape, and came to your honour for redress.

The complainant in this instance was punished by the Acting Fiscal for having left the estate and come to town to complain without any cause, and when he knew he had been guilty of disobedience of orders and neglect of duty; and the manager was warned of the impropriety and illegality of working the negroes on a Sunday.

CASE FIFTY FIVE

C.O. 116/138/137

Berbice, 22nd April, 1823.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negress *Catherine* the property of William Reynolds, and attached to a task-gang,

whereof Mr. McDermot is Manager, working at plantation Sandvoort.

Catherine states, That on Monday morning the driver gave them one row each to weed, to be weeded before eleven o'clock, and then to take another row, which all the gang finished before (*Catherine*) her; she was grumbling about not having any thing to eat, and her master came to her, and asked what she was grumbling about; she answered, "Master, I say nothing bad; I only say I get nothing to eat, and I cannot get strength to work." Then her master immediately called the driver, put her down and gave her a flogging. The driver flogged her with a whip, and her master with a horse-whip upon her shoulders. After she was punished, she was ordered into the stocks in order to be flogged the day after; but while she was going with a negro to the place of confinement, she made her escape and came to your Honor for redress.

On investigation, this complaint was proved to be utterly groundless; the woman was therefore severely reprimanded, and sent back to plantation Sandvoort.

CASE FIFTY SIX
C.O. 116/138/137-8

Berbice, 24th April, 1823.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negro *Michael*, belonging to plantation Providence, the property of William Henery.

Michael states, That about four months ago, a black woman, by name Jenny, belonging to the same estate, did complain to the manager of having lost from her trunk some money, cloth and coral; for which reason the manager, in order to discover the thief, called all the carpenters (as the trunk appeared to have been opened with a carpenter's chisel) and searched the different tools, to see if he could find out who did break open the trunk. The manager found in the possession of the carpenters a chisel which the trunk appeared to have been broken open with, and the manager asked *Michael* if he knew any thing of the robbery; to which he answered no. Then the manager ordered him down, and two drivers were ordered to flog him, and give him one hundred lashes. He was then put in the stocks until he was better, and able to do his work; and after that he was constantly kept

in the stocks from five o'clock in the evening until five o'clock in the morning, and from Saturday evening until Monday morning, so on till Easter Sunday, when the woman Jenny found a string of corals on the neck of a girl named Peggy: then Jenny brought this girl to Miss Sally, who took it away from her immediately. The girl is the manager's housekeeper, and nothing was said to her. The complainant went to the manager to be indemnified for a punishment he had received for nothing. The manager told him, "If you do not hold your tongue, I will put you in the stocks." The complainant now went to his owner for redress, and was answered by Mr. Henery, "I cannot help it: it is not my fault; the punishment you had from me was the manager's fault." So that as he found he could get no redress from either master or manager, he came to your Honor for redress; and he is ready to prove all he has stated.

The proprietor and manager of plantation Providence having been summoned to attend at the Fiscal's office to answer this complaint, they both declared Michael's statement to be grossly exaggerated. It appeared from the manager's evidence, that when the woman Jenny informed him of the robbery that had been committed at her house, he inspected the chest that had been broken open, and discovered that it was forced with a carpenter's chisel; on which he ordered all the carpenters on the estate to bring out their chisels for examination; when it was found that Michael's was evidently the one which had forced the chest. This, the manager conceived, was sufficient proof of Michael's guilt; particularly as he had committed similar offences before, and almost all the negroes of the estate believed he was the person who had robbed Jenny. He therefore ordered the driver to give him thirty-nine lashes, the number allowed by law; and confined him every night for a week in the stocks. – The manager was informed, that if he really considered him guilty of the robbery, he ought to have sent him to the Fiscal for trial. There was no proof whatever that the corals found on Peggy's neck were part of those which had been stolen from Jenny.

CASE FIFTY SEVEN
C.O. 116/138/138-39

Berbice, 28th April, 1823.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negroes *Douglas*

and *Banaba*, both belonging to plantation Lochaber.

Douglas states, That he is a man of family: he has a wife and four children: that he made the greatest part of the negro-houses upon the estate; and when the houses were all ready, the manager made a distribution of the houses among the estate's gang, and every one got a place except him and his family. He went to the manager to ask for his house: the manager told him there was no house for him. I repeatedly asked for a house, but in vain. Some time ago I went to Mr. Cameron to complain, but without effect. *Douglas* lives with his family at the water side, and it is some distance from the buildings: he came too late on Saturday morning to his work, for which the manager punished him with fifty lashes. He, *Douglas*, told the manager if he had a house like the other negroes, he would always work with them; but the manager said to him, "Go and be damned; you shall have no house, and you shall be here to go to your work when the rest are going:" to this I did not know what to say, but came to your Honor for redress. – *Banaba* states the same as *Douglas*.

On examination, it appeared from the evidence both of Mr. Cameron, the owner, and Mr. Jush, the manager of the estate, that the buildings on Lochaber were not yet finished; but that the carpenters were getting on as fast as possible with them; and that although a number of the negro-houses required on the estate have been finished, yet there are others not yet ready; but that every exertion is making to get them done as soon as possible. That *Douglas* is one of the negroes who have not yet been provided with a good house; but the temporary building in which he lives is not a quarter of a mile from the other buildings, and therefore the distance ought not to be made an excuse for his not attending at his work as early in the morning as the other people. And with respect to his having received fifty lashes by order of the manager, it was proved to be incorrect, as had only once been punished with a few stripes for coming to his work too late. – *Douglas* was ordered back to the estate, and admonished to be more attentive to his duty in future, and the manager was requested to let him have the next negro-house that was finished.

CASE FIFTY EIGHT

C.O. 116/138/139

Berbice, 5th May, 1823.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negro *Lachlan*, belonging to plantation Hampshire.

Lachlan states, That on Sunday last a dispute took place in the negro-houses of the said estate, between a boat-captain called Peter, and a negro named Richard, both belonging to the above estate. He saw them fighting, and went to prevent them, when the captain began to strike him: he did not strike the captain back, because he was a head man. The captain carried him to Mr. Baird, and lodged a complaint against him, when Mr. Baird told the captain to give him a good beating, and let him see if I would strike the captain back. The captain began to cuff me about my face, and took hold of my neck and cuffed me until he was tired, the whole time in the presence of Mr. Baird. I was ordered into the stocks, and was kept there until Monday morning, when I was released to go to my work, but I made my escape and came to your Honor for redress.

This complaint was dismissed after the complainant (a boy) had been severely reprimanded for his misconduct in striking the boat-captain in the first instance, and then coming to complain of his being put in the stocks for having done so.

CASE FIFTY NINE

C.O. 116/138/139-40

Berbice, 27th May, 1823.

Examination of a Complaint made by the negroes *Grant* and *Gert*, attached to plantation Woodsburg, the property of A.H. Bonn.

Grant states, That the manager gave him a trench to dig, two shovels deep. In the place where he was digging there was an old root which prevented the shovel from going so deep: he, however, tried his best to go through but in vain. At last his shovel broke, and he told the driver; and the driver went to the manager to get a new shovel, which he gave to Grant on Friday evening. He had no time to grind it, but went to Belle-vue to borrow one from one of his friends. On Saturday morning I went to work: when the manager saw the shovel, he said, "Grant, where did you get that shovel?" I told him: the manager said,

“Why did you not grind your shovel, and come to work with it without going to borrow one from other negroes?” I told the manager the grind-stone handle was broken, and for that reason I borrowed a shovel, or otherwise I could not do his work; and that I would grind my shovel on Sunday if the grind-stone was mended. The manager gave me a letter to Mr. Frantzen at Bellevue, but I thought it was to desire Mr. Frantzen to give me flogging, and instead of going to Bellevue, I came to your Honor for redress. Grant states the whole men-gang of Wordsburg left the estate on Sunday to come and complain, but he does not know where they are gone: he only met the negro Gert, who says the rest went back again. – *Gert* states the same as Grant.

On the manager’s observing that the complainant (Grant) was not working with the shovel he had given him the evening before, he inquired the reason. The complainant in the first instance stated, that he had not time to grind his shovel on Friday evening; and in the next, that the cause of his not grinding it was that the handle of the grind-stone was broken. The manager therefore, supposing that he had got the shovel he was using dishonestly, gave him a letter to the manager of the neighbouring estate, Bellevue, to inquire if he had really borrowed the shovel on that estate; but instead of carrying the letter as directed, he came to town to complain; and it was proved that he had, after much persuasion, induced Gert to accompany him, although he confessed he had not just cause of complaint. Both of them were therefore punished, and sent back to the estate.

CASE SIXTY

C.O. 116/138/140

Berbice, 27th May, 1823.

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negroes *Jaba, Sanco, Catto, Medoc, Ned* and *Isaac*, the property of William Reynolds, but employed by Mr. McDermott.

Medoc states, That they are now working on plantation Lochaber in cutting down a piece of bush; and after the bush was cut down, the manager gave them a trench to be opened, to make a road to come to the estate. The manager found they did not finish the task given to them; he had them all put in the stocks, and this morning flogged us all. He says, they do not know what they call breakfast-time; and what is given them to

eat they have no time to eat, except at night; for which reasons they all come to your Honor for redress.

On hearing this complaint the Acting Fiscal wrote to the senior burgher officer of the district in which the complainants had been working, requesting him to go to plantation Lochaber and examine the work done, and the task assigned to each negro; which he accordingly did, and reported that the tasks given to the negroes could have been easily finished by them by three or four o'clock in the afternoon, if they had worked at them as they ought to have done; and that their statement, that the manager had flogged them all was false: he had only punished two or three of those who had done the least work. They were therefore reprimanded by the Fiscal, after reading the burgher officer's report to them; and sent back to the estate.

CASE SIXTY ONE

C.O. 116/138/140-41

Examination of a Complaint preferred by the negro *Toubi*, belonging to plantation Lancaster, the property of John Bond, whereof R. Thompson is manager.

Toubi states, That on Wednesday last he was seized with a pain in his right side. He went to the manager, who gave him a dose of tartar emetic and salts. After he had taken his medicine, Dr. Brown made his appearance on the estate, and the manager desired him to visit me, which he did. The doctor found me sick, and directed some medicine to be given me in the morning. I went to the manager for the physic the doctor directed; but the manager, instead of giving me the medicine, ordered me to go and gin cotton. I replied, I am not well enough to gin cotton; upon which the manager got angry with me, sent for a driver, and gave me a good flogging, for which I came to your Honour for redress.

On examination of this complaint, it appeared from the evidence of both the doctor and manager, that although a dose of medicine had been given to *Toubi* the day he complained of pain in his side, yet they had no reason to believe he was really sick, and therefore the manager ordered him to go to his usual work the next morning; which on *Toubi's* refusing to do, he directed the driver to flog him to it. The Acting Fiscal reprimanded the manager for giving the order to the driver, as

it was possible Toubi was really sick: and further directed, that he should be permitted to work in the field for a few days, till he was able to return to his gin.

CASE SIXTY TWO
C.O. 116/138/app.12-13

Investigation of a Complaint preferred by the negro Brutus, belonging to plantation Providence, against the manager, to the Fiscal, on the 26th June 1819.

Brutus states, he is watchman of the plantation walk. The manager told him he was to take two negroes and a little boy, all of whom had yaws, into his house. Complainant objected to do so, in consequence of his never having had that disease, he therefore slept some nights in the open air, and built himself a small hut in the plantain walk, and covered it with dry leaves. Manager observed it, and said, come here, I will show you where to make a house on the road; he put up a stick to show me where the spot should be; he told me to make the yaws negroes dig and drain near the spot; the negroes said, they could not work in consequence of their being covered with that malady. I told this to the manager; he said lick them; I said, if I flog them with my whip and hold it, I shall catch the yaws also; I am afraid of it. The manager wants my daughter Peggy; I said no; he asked me three times; I said no; he kept the wife of Rule, and after having her a few nights, left her, therefore I refused. Manager asked me Friday night; I refused, and on Saturday morning, he flogged me; it is not for my work; this thing hurt me, and I came to complain.

Direct attendance of Peggy. Peggy being sick, Acquasiba, her sister, attended; states, that the manager sent aunt Grace to call Peggy, and to say if Peggy would not come, I must; we said, daddy said we must not, I was too young; Grace left us and went to daddy, shortly afterwards she returned, and tried to coax me to go, but I would not, as my daddy had forbid it. Grace went in and told the manager. The manager sent to call Fanny. Fanny went up and found him in his room, and all of us (the creoles) got orders to be watchmen at his door; I was watchman, Peggy, Fanny, and many more.

The manager, Robert McDermott, positively denied having flogged Brutus on any other account, than for neglect of duty; there was no appearance of punishment to induce the Fiscal to

suppose he had received beyond a few lashes. The Fiscal had a long conference with H. Bethune, the attorney of Mr. Henery (at this time in London); this gentleman assured him he had been on the estate, and had used every endeavour to discover if Brutus had received punishment on account of his having refused his daughter to the manager, but had failed; and on his, the attorney's assurance, that if this charge could have been brought home, he would have instantly discharged him from the estate. The Fiscal forbore inquiry, after admonishing the manager on his conduct.

CASE SIXTY THREE
C.O. 116/138/app.13-14.

Investigation of a Complaint preferred by the negroes *Avanture*, *Sam*, *Wilhelmina*, *Avanture*, *Betje*, and the children *Ordinance* and *Anna*, the property of Robert Elwes, to the Fiscal, on the 8th of April 1819.

Negro *Avanture* states, That his master ill treats his children, and principally that his housekeeper, Fanny, is always severe against him; that Mr. Elwes never gives any allowance to his children, and that when the mother carries them rice or any thing else, Fanny, the housekeeper, throws it away. That he, the complainant, gets only one bunch of plantains a week, and a small piece of salt fish; that he is also obliged to work, as well as the other negroes on a Sunday, till four o'clock p.m. That since his master bought him he never had a Sunday for himself, and that generally they are treated very bad; that on holidays they are obliged to attend to their work more or less.

Negro *Sam* states, That he only gets one bunch of plantains, and a small piece of fish a week; that he is obliged to work every Sunday till four o'clock p.m.; that even during the last holidays, he was obliged to be out upon his master's business; that in cases of sickness, no attention is paid to them.

Negress *Wilhelmina* states, She is the mother of the girls *Betje*, *Anne*, and of the boy *Ordinance*, and that her daughter *Phillipentje* remained upon the estate; that all these children are in the service of the house; that her master, but particularly Fanny (a slave), his house-keeper, treats her children very bad; that when one of them is sick, and she brings something for her child to eat, the same is thrown away under great abuse from

Fanny. That the children never get any allowance of food, or any clothes, (they being naked, with the exception of a small piece of cloth for decency sake); the one girl is between eleven and twelve years, the other, eight or nine years. That their master, as well as Fanny, are continually beating them with bush rope, of which the children exhibit the marks. That Fanny cut her child Betje with a knife on her finger, by her flying into a passion, on account that the knives were not cleaned so quick as was ordered. That she is worked every Sunday till four o'clock, after which, she and the other negroes are obliged to cut grass for the horse, and procure fire-wood for their master's kitchen; that she only gets one bunch of plantains, and a very small piece of salt fish a week, as her allowance; that she has but once received 3 ½ ells of checks, and 3 ½ ells of osnaburgs, and nothing for her children; that a few days ago, the girl Betje was ordered by her master to take the dung away near the bridge, for which purpose she took something to remove it, but was ordered to remove the dirt with her own hands. That in case of sickness of herself or her children, their master cares very little about them; that the boy, Ordinance, lingers very much, occasioned by constant bad usage, and that his master don't like them.

Negro *Avanture*, alias *Quamino*, states, That he is eight or ten years of age, that he is a house-boy. That Fanny sends him early in the morning to milk the goats; that in case he does not do this quick enough, she comes out and beats him, also his master beats him, pulling him often in a cruel manner by the ears and nose; that he gets no regular allowance of provisions, but lives on only what he can get. That he minds the horse, cleans his shoes, turns the coffee, and more of like work; that his master never gives any clothes; and when sick, after taking salts, he is obliged to perform the same task.

N.B. The other complainants being present at this examination, say that they are forced to work after taking physic; finally, the complainants prove by many old marks on their back and posteriors, that their statement is not at all incorrect, and that they have been severely dealt with.

To His Honour H. Beard, President. Berbice, 17th April 1819.

Sir.

I have the honor to report, for your information, that I attended on plantation Zelden Rust, for the purpose of

investigating the complaint of the negroes, Avanture, Sam, Wilhelmina, Avanture, Betje, and two children, belonging to Mr. Elwes, the present proprietor of said plantation, and found the complaint of their working on Sundays corroborated by all the negroes on the estate. The negroes appeared healthy and well cared; but they were very much dissatisfied with the conduct of the negro woman Fanny (a slave of the property), a favourite house servant of the proprietor's. The negroes also complained of being flogged with carracarras, and produced a bundle of them, which were kept in readiness for service when required. The manager and proprietor, Mr. Elwes, admitted that they were occasionally employed on Sundays, until eleven o'clock, but solely to work in their own grounds. I therefore prohibited him from insisting on doing any work on Sundays (save such as stated in court's ordinance), unless it was inland given them as their own, the produce of which, to be considered as their exclusive right, and by no means to assist them towards the maintenance of the slaves. I also prohibited the further use of the carracarra in presence of the gang; and directed, if these, my orders, were not punctually obeyed, that they should cause the same to be represented to the nearest burgher officer, whom I should request to attend to their representation.

I have &c. *M.S. Bennett*, Fiscal.

CASE SIXTY FOUR
C.O. 116/138/app.14-15

Investigation of a Complaint preferred by the Negroes *Brutus*, *Goodluck*, and *Ambrose*, belonging to Plantation Cotton Tree, the property of W. Katz, Esq. to the Fiscal, on the 22nd May 1819.

That they are not allowed time for breakfast, that they sleep in the field, that they work in the field till the gun fire, and then have to eat grass, and they go to the field at cock crow; that they are confined to the stocks, and not allowed to go out, even for the common calls of nature; that they went to their master, Mr. Katz, to complain, and he flogged them; the plantains given them for allowance rot in the house, not having time to eat them. Inquired what work they do at eight o'clock at night? Replied, cut canes.

Mr. *W.W. Kernan*, (the manager of the Cotton Tree Estate), being in attendance, denies the charges preferred. Declares that

the negroes are allowed from eleven to one every day, to get their breakfast; that they are turned out between five and six, just at daybreak, and turn in at dusk in the evening; after which they cut or bring the grass, which, according to the general custom of negroes, they cut at noon; that the Cotton Tree Estate is in sugar; that whenever they cut canes, the tops are brought home instead of grass. Denies the charge of cutting canes until eight o'clock, as very improbable; firstly, from danger of the negroes cutting themselves; and secondly, from the fear of cutting a field of canes improperly. He states that Goodluck and Ambrose having run away about three weeks ago, and on being taken up, they were confined in the stocks at night; and is positive that they were never confined in the day, as that would be a loss of labour, and no punishment to an idle negro. Brutus was placed watchman over them, and the three have been absent from the estate since Tuesday evening, to the best of my recollection. Refers himself to the overseers on the estate for proof of the above assertions, and to Mr. Katz, as proprietor, who frequently visits the estate, and would not sanction any oppression of his slaves.

The negroes being admitted, and inquired of, when they absented themselves from the estate, Brutus says, they left the estate in the evening, and went to No. 2, took a small punt, and came over in the night. Goodluck prevaricates, saying that they took the small punt from No. 2, but the tide turning against them at breakfast time, they got to the mouth of Canje, and remained there all day; they intended going to their master, but being afraid, they did not go; they slept in the punt all night, and came to the Fiscal's next morning, say yesterday Friday morning.

The charge preferred by the negroes being contradicted by the manager, and the negroes prevaricating as to the time of quitting the estate, I directed the attendance of the overseer of Cotton Tree; and he having attended, about two o'clock, on Saturday the 22nd, gave the following information, declaring himself ready to affirm on solemn oath.

Thomas Kelly, overseer on Cotton Tree, declares that the negroes are turned out between five and six o'clock, about $\frac{1}{4}$ past five the bell rings, at eleven to turn in, and at one to turn out; that he has known some of the negroes to work at breakfast time, by order of the driver. That he never knew the negroes to

work after dusk. That two of the complainants were ordered to be locked up every night for three weeks, for the above crime; they could have been confined without his knowledge, he being field overseer; that he read the list of negroes to throw grass on Tuesday evening last; that Brutus on this occasion not bringing grass, he inquired the cause of such neglect, and was informed he was employed in confirming Goodluck and Ambrose in the stocks. That some time after, but on the same evening, the driver came and reported Brutus, Goodluck, and Ambrose, had absconded themselves, which he (overseer) communicated to the manager.

The complaint of the negroes appeared unfounded, for which, and for absenting themselves from Tuesday evening till Friday morning, the Fiscal directed each to receive 75 lashes, which were inflicted on Monday morning, the 24th instant.

To W. Katz, Esq. Berbice, 24th May, 1819.

Sir,

I have maturely investigated the complaint preferred by three of your negroes, attached to plantation Cotton Tree, against their manager, Mr. Kernan, and having found their complaint without foundation, I have deemed it my duty to order the said three slaves to be exemplarily punished at the public market place, which was done this morning in my presence. I have endeavoured, and I hope succeeded, in impressing on their minds, that as much as it is my duty to attend to the complaint of negroes, and to cause redress in all cases of oppression, so also it is my duty to inflict punishment on slaves who prefer false and ungrounded complaints against their employers; and I have moreover pointed out the duty incumbent on a slave in the event of supposed grievance, to represent the same to the proprietor, their master, previous to the immediate application to my office. I feel a pleasure in stating, that I have every reason to believe that the punishment inflicted on them has been deserved. In returning them to plantation Cotton Tree, I flatter myself it will be unnecessary for me to state, that the manager is to receive them again in favour, resting satisfied, that the punishment inflicted by me has been in proportion to the offence committed.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient and humble servant, M.S. Bennett, Fiscal of the Colony.

CASE SIXTY FIVE
C.O. 116/138/app.15

Investigation of a Complaint preferred by the Negroes *Nelson, Milton, Simon, Ned, Cupid, Trim, and Jack*, belonging to plantation Rosehall, to the Fiscal, on 27th May 1819.

Negro *Nelson*: – The deponent, speaking for all the complainants, states as follows: – That they were all engaged by the manager to gin cotton for himself on their Sundays, for which he promised each f.3 a day; after working three Sundays, and receiving no payment, they declined to continue with their work; on demanding the payment, the manager called the driver, and gave them d ____ good payment: That they only got this year for their allowance, each a small blue salepores cap, a jacket, a blanket, and a hat; and that No. 1, the estate belonging to the same proprietor, had checks and osnaburgs added to their allowance; he, the deponent, stating, that all this had been on the estate for their use too; but that the manager disposed of it for his own use and benefit: That they are obliged to bring, every evening, an uncommon large sized bundle of grass (the measure whereof the deponent deposited herewith), and that when the measure is not full, they are obliged in the dark to look for more grass; that in telling his master the hardship of their case, he flew into such a passion, that he broke one of his teeth; that on coming in the negro-houses at night after work, and inquiring after their things, the manager, when hearing this, takes them up directly, and lodges them in the stocks, adding further, that in case they are not satisfied with him, they may go and complain where they please.

To J.G.C. de Nieuwerkerk, Burgher Militia, Berbice, 27th May 1819.

Sir,

I beg leave to inclose you, copy of a complaint preferred by seven negroes attached to plantation Rose Hall, against their manager. Mr. John Cameron, part proprietor of the said property, informs me, that he has received a letter from the manager, Mr. Sutherland, stating, that one or two of the complainants have received a few lashes, which he suspects to be the occasion of their quitting the property; and the driver of the estate, who is present in town, denies any knowledge of the cause of their coming to complain. As it is probable the complaint is

unfounded, and that the detention of the negroes, and the attendance of the manager in town may be attended with inconvenience to the estate, I have to solicit you to visit plantation Rose Hall, and investigate the complaint; and if the grievance does exist, afford redress, or if unfounded, direct such punishment as the case may appear to require.

I am, &tc. *M.S. Bennett*, Fiscal.

CASE SIXTY SIX
C.O. 116/138/app.15-16

Investigation of a Complaint preferred by the Negress *Roosje*, attached to Plantation L'Esperance, to the Fiscal, on the 10th June 1819.

Roosje states, She was sent to pick coffee in the logie, by order of the manager; she represented to him she was too big (far advanced in pregnancy) to stoop. Manager directed her to comply with the order; she went and picked coffee on her knees. "Note," *the picking here alluded to is not in the fields, but sorting of the cured beans in the logie, preparatory to its being shipped.* At eleven o'clock our work was examined, and the manager directed the driver, Sondag, to flog us; it was done with the whip doubled. When Sondag, the driver came to me, he said to the manager, this woman is rather big with child; the manager replied, give it to her till the blood flies out. I WAS FLOGGED WITH CARRACARRAS. This happened on Friday; I went to the field on Saturday; I told the driver I would not work as I had pains in my loins; he directed me to go to the manager. I did go, and was sent to the hospital; remained there a day, the doctor examined me, and said there was nothing the matter with me, sitting down was not good. I went to the field, was put upon a row with another to help me; on Sunday evening I miscarried; I was five months gone with child; the labour was heavy; the midwife had to force the child from me; the child was dead, one eye was out, the arm broken, and a stripe visible over the head, WHICH MUST HAVE BEEN DONE BY THE WHIP DOUBLED. The doctor came to attend me on Monday morning; the child was not seen by him, it was buried; he prescribed for me; the child was seen by Ariaantje, Claartje, Mary Anne; I was assisted by sister Claartje; the regular midwife, Mary Anne, did not attend me, as I was taken suddenly; she was sent for, however, and saw the child.

Evidence of *J.H. Eenhuys*, assistant surgeon to Dr. Westerveld, practitioner and medical attendant of plantation L'Esperance, states, That he visited the woman Roosje early in the morning of the 14th March; she informed me she had miscarried the evening before; I examined and prescribed for her. A few days previous to this occurrence, I saw Roosje in the sick house, she was complaining and pregnant. I thought between three and four months gone with child. I experience that many women miscarry from not taking exercise, and contracting lazy habits; thinking this was the case with her, I directed her to take exercise. I did not see the child; I believe it was buried. I inquired if she had been delivered of the after-birth, and being informed by the midwife and old woman she had, I directed something for Roosje and went away.

Evidence of *Zondag*, driver of plantation L'Esperance, states, That the women were put to pick coffee, a certain quantity was required, which was not got. The overseer told me, by order of Mr. Grade, the manager, I was to range the women out on the plankier, and told me to begin to flog them from one to another; I began, and went on till I came to the woman Roosje, I gave them about 12 or 13 stripes with the whip doubled; on coming to Roosje, I observed to the manager this woman was pregnant; the manager said, go, that was not my business; I did so; she did not get more than the rest; I did not flog her with a carracarra, it had broken before I came to her; she received her punishment with the whip doubled. She miscarried a few nights after this punishment took place; it was inflicted at breakfast time, at eleven o'clock; I did not see the child, Claartje told me the child was in _____. The question being put to him, "Whether the manager on his (driver's) representation, that Roosje was pregnant, he had made use of the words, *never mind, flog her till the blood comes;*" he replied, yes, he did.

Evidence of Jonas, Mary Anne, Ariaantje, George, and Claatrje, all belonging to L'Esperance, having been heard, and corroborating the circumstances in the statement made by Roosje, the Fiscal deemed it his duty to bring the complaint before the honourable court of Criminal Justice, all the evidence and information which could be obtained; he (the Fiscal) filed his criminal demand against C.J. Grade, which, with the honourable court's sentence in the above cause, is hereunto attached.

CASE SIXTY SEVEN
C.O. 116/138/app.16-17

Complaint of *Amsterdam* and *Murphy*, Plantation Philadelphia.

In reference to the complaint of the above negroes, the Fiscal observes, the former negro did not belong to Mr. Katz, but to the proprietor of a task-gang, at the time of his complaint employed by Mr. Katz, on his estate Philadelphia, to relieve the gang of that estate from laborious work. Murphy's conduct was represented by the manager of the estate to have been mutinous, which statement was corroborated by witnesses. He, Murphy, was therefore punished with fifty lashes, and worked in chains attached to his ankle for three months, on the authority of the Fiscal, as appears from a note made in the book of complaints, delivered to his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor.

Peter McCulloch overseer on plantation Philadelphia, saith, That on the night of Saturday the 2d instant, he was awakened by a noise in the negro houses, resembling the beating of drums or tambourines; that I then, in company with the other overseer, immediately proceeded to the house from whence the noise issued, where I there found assembled a number of negroes, which I verily believe were engaged in dancing; but the greater number of them escaped by a back door; but that a negro named Murphy, sat unconcerned in the house, as if no dance had taken place. That on Sunday morning, the manager of the property gave directions to put the said Murphy, together with the other negroes assembled at the dance, in confinement; he became outrageous, and swore, that if a white man dare trouble or lay a hand upon him, he would know what to do with him; but that after some persuasion of the drivers who had him in charge, he permitted himself to be confined in the hospital, where he told me, with great vehemence, and striking his breast, "that before two months expired, I would not be on the property."

That in the forenoon of the following Monday, I, in company with the manager, and the other overseer, had him removed to another apartment in the hospital; that he then again became outrageous and mutinous, and seized a cutlass, which he brandished with great violence, and which, I verily believe, he intended to do the manager, the other overseer, or myself, some serious bodily injury, had he not been immediately overpowered and put in the stocks, where he harangued the negroes to stand out against the orders issued to put him in confinement; and

also said, that he would make blood stream down from the stocks to the hospital door. That from making use of such language, I solemnly declare, that I considered my life in danger, while he remained on the estate; that he that night broke out of the place of confinement, and made his escape.

Plantation Philadelphia, 12th August 1823.

Signed Peter McCulloch.

Francis Macdonald, overseer on plantation Philadelphia, saith, That on the night of Saturday the 2d instant, I was awakened by a noise in the negro houses, resembling the beating of drums or tambourines; that I then, in company with the other overseer, immediately proceeded to the house from whence the noise issued, where I found assembled a number of negroes, which I verily believe were engaged in dancing, but the greater number escaped by the back door; but that a negro named Murphy, sat unconcerned in the house, as if no dance had taken place; and on the following morning, the manager of the property gave directions to put the said negro, Murphy, together with the other negroes assembled at the dance, in confinement; that upon such orders being issued, he became riotous, and made great resistance with the other overseer, but that afterwards he was put in confinement in the hospital with the other negroes. That on the forenoon of the following Monday, I, in company with the manager and the other overseer, had him removed to another apartment in the hospital, considering him a dangerous person to remain with the other negroes; that he then again became outrageous and mutinous, and seized a cutlass, which he brandished with great violence, and with which, I verily believe, from his extreme violence, he intended to do the manager, the other overseer, or myself, some serious bodily injury, had he not been immediately overpowered and put in the stocks; and he afterwards said, that he would make blood stream down from the stocks; that from his extreme violence, and the expressions he made use of, I solemnly declare, that I considered my life in danger, while he remained upon the estate; that he that night broke out of the place of confinement, and made his escape.

Philadelphia, 12 August 1823.

Signed *F. Macdonald*.

CASE SIXTY EIGHT
C.O. 116/138/app.17-18

Investigation of a Complaint preferred by the Negress *Laura*, belonging to a Plantation, No. 6, Canje Creek.

Complainant, with a child at her breast, says the master, meaning the manager, does not allow her to nurse her child in a proper manner; that she is not allowed the liberty to take her child (a very young one) to the field, to give it now and then the breast, but is obliged to leave it with an old woman at home; that when she steals from her work to go to her child, and the manager or overseer discovers her, they punish her directly; that once the driver assisted her in going to her child, for which he was punished and locked up in the stocks. Says, to have brought this child with great pain into life, it being of a weak constitution, requires of course maternal attendance; and she is not allowed to provide fully for the same, she requests therefore assistance in obtaining this natural favour.

Richard White, manager of plantation No. 6, or Reliance, having being required to attend, to answer to this complaint, he stated, When he was first appointed manager of the estate, it was his intention to erect huts in the fields for the women suckling their children; but this was objected to by Messrs. Nieuverkirk and Cameron, the proprietors, who directed the children should be placed with nurses. There are four nurses to attend the children. The women with young children are allowed to remain in till half past six o'clock in the morning; they come from the field at half past ten o'clock, go to the field at half past one o'clock, and return at half past five, but which hours are not attended to in turning out; denies the driver ever to have been punished as stated; says that his attention to children is proved, from the circumstance of twelve children having been raised in two years on this estate.

Note on the above. – There can be no doubt on the Fiscal's mind, that he disapproved of the complaint of *Laura*; the number of nurses on the estate, the time allowed for nursing and caring of children, he deemed sufficient. On complaints similar to this, the Fiscal on all occasions recommends every possible lenity and accommodation be shown to women in a state of pregnancy or nursing children.

CASE SIXTY NINE
C.O. 116/139/195-219

To His Honor the Fiscal Mr J Bennett, Esq.

Sir,

This morning at day break two negroes came to see me from the Waaxhaamheid (Telemachus) and said there was a girl who died in the night and that her death was caused by the Manager Mr Luykens having slept with her and had forced her, she having not yet arrived at the state of womanhood and that the doctor Einhuys had attended her, but that he had managed to hush up the matter. I accordingly wrote an official letter to the doctor demanding evidence immediately from him specifying the cause of her death but he was not at home but gone to Waaxhaamheid, I went immediately there nearby, taking with me Doctors Gibson and Sharp, there being already on the Estate Doctors Einhuys and Westerveldt cleansed the said Girl to be looked into by the whole of the medical men in my presence. I now enclose you the Certificates from the negro Telemachus who is the father of the said child, as the law demands from me and pass to go to you accordingly to tell his own story, but from what I hear from the sick nurse Primo, and others, the Girl has had the same kind of sickness many times before, and it is plainly to be seen the said Girl has never been used in that way by any man tho' the boy Jentye acknowledges he has try'd to do it a short time ago. We all shewd and explained the impossibility of the Girl having suffered such a thing but the Parents do not want to hear it. I therefore give it over to you to do what you may think proper – give order the Girl not to be Buried until an order came from You, ordering the same at least not until however ready. Sir, your most obedient Servt Thomas Hopkins
2d Lieut 3rd Company.

Plantation Warksaamsheid, Sept 18th, 1819

The undersigned being called upon by Lieut Thos Hopkins to examine the negro girl Elizabeth belonging to the Warksaamheid who died on the morning of this day the said girl appears to be between 11 & 12 Years of age.

I am satisfied the Hymen has not been broken by any man and further has not the least appearance of inflammation in or about the external parts of the girl I give it as my opinion the death of said Girl was not occasioned in consequence of any

Man having attempted to violate her Person.

Given under my hand on Pl. Warksaamheid

G. Gibson Surgeon.

Translation

We the undersigned practising on Plantation Warksaamheid at the request of the Burgher Officer Mr T. Jefkins, certify and declare under tender of oath, that this morning (the 18th September 1819) died the Girl Elizabeth 11 or 12 years old belonging to the afore noted plantation, in consequence of Nervous Tremors that the aforesaid Girl in the part of the peoples that she had been and as she was examined by us in her lifetime and that it was found that according to the confession of the Girl she had been deflowered by the boy Jenkye who also does not deny this, That we nevertheless could not trace any the least laceration, violation or any injury, but on the contrary that the confines of the Vagina Uterine was found so narrow that we hardly and then only with difficulty could insert the smallest finger therein, that she was also labouring under debility and weakness of the joints and loins which was always the case in her former sicknesses, and wherein we after examination could not discover any injury or bruises.

Wherein we accordingly after due deliberation conclude as follows. That the Girl Elizabeth was neither ravished, or deflowered, or injured, on her loins or limbs by any Man or Boy but was as formed by nature and accordingly died.

Plantation Waakzaamheid, 18th September 1819.

E. Westerveld

J.H. Einhuys

Translated from the Dutch by J. Thibow Mathews, Govr.
Transl.

Translation

The undersigned declares under tender of Oath that he at the request of the Burgher Officer Mr Jefkins being called upon the plantation Waakzaamheid to attend on the negroe Girl Elizabeth and having minutely examined in the presence of Messieurs Westerveld, Einhuys and Gibson, the corpse of the aforesaid negroe Girl was not able to discern any the least injury or hurt in the private parts, but on the contrary that the opening of the Vagina Uterine was so narrow, that the smallest finger could not be introduced, therein, and that there was also not

the least injury in the joints or limbs.

Plantation Waakzaamheid the 18th September 1819. Insp J. H. Theisin.

Translated from the Dutch by J. Thibow Mathews Govr. Transl.

Examination of the negroe man named Telemachus property of Plantation Waakzaamheid, father of the girl Elizabeth, name of the mother Caroline, dead some time ago.

H. Luthers and the Sworn Translation admitted in Court.

Telemachus deposes that he was employed at work in the Bush, coming home he heard his daughter Elizabeth was in the Hospital confined with fever she was there for a week. I went to see my child, and Primo the hospital negroe informed me that Dr Einhuys told him to state that the Girl had not been forced by any man as such a circumstance had occurred in the Marpoon. Primo did examine Elizabeth and found her private parts much inflamed rip'd open & joined with sticking plaister. Saw the parts of the child swollen but did not myself see any wound. Saw the plaister on her belly and being discovered that the Girl was in this state, I understand that she was questioned by Primo by direction of Dr Einhuys who had done this and she state that it was done by the boy Jentye Dr Einhuys having deduced that this could not have been done by so young a boy as Jantye she Elizabeth was again questioned by Kea, Mr Luykens housekeeper, who the person was that had done this to which she replied the manager Mr Luykens had done it. Kea on this information went to Mr Luykens and informed him of it, and shortly afterwards returned with him Mr Luykens to the hospital, when the child again repeated, that she had been used by him, the manager. Mr Luykens stomped his foot on the ground & said to Elizabeth she must say nothing more. I heard all this from Primo who said he was present at the above information. I was present when the body of Elizabeth was examined by the four doctors in the presence of the Burgher Officer. Saw sticking plaister fastened, with a bandage from the waist to her private parts. The plaister was pulled off by one of the four doctors and thrown aside. This was seen by Nina she is now in attendance and had brought the plaister with her – the child died early on Saturday morn and the manager wanted to bury it in the afternoon. I went very early to the Fiscal Officer & he attended on the Estate that morn and brought two doctors

with him. After examination of the body I applied to the Burgher Officer for a pass to go to the Fiscal and he gave me a letter.

Thus examined and deposed the deponent stating the matter in the Creole language and G. Schwartz interpreter rendering the same into English. Before us at the Court House New Amsterdam, Berbice, 23rd September 1819.

D.C. Cameron G Schwartz.

Plantation Waaxhaamheid 28th September 1819

Investigation of the complaint of the negro Telemachus respecting the death of the negro Girl Elizabeth continued.

Evidence of the negress Nina the adopted mother of the deceased Elizabeth.

States that she attended the child from the death of its mother, the present manager took her into her house soon after her arrival on the Estate to mind her child; on coming from the field at eleven o'clock one day I heard Elizabeth was sick. I went to see her in the hospital. I inquired, what was the matter. I saw her victuals morning and evening for one month but she would not eat. Davie the Hospital negro told me the Doctor elevates her to be examined, as her sickness is not the result of fever. I examined her person and found she had been deflowered. The child could not sit but appeared to be lame, complaining of pain in the lower part of her body and loins. I soaped the lower part of the back with warm water which made her cry out, her private part appeared bruised and matter coming from the part. I asked her who had done this she said during the coffee pluck the boy Jentye had attempted to be connected with her. I said to Elizabeth at the suggestion of Primo, no this cannot be the result of Jentye attempt it must be some one else. After some hesitation she told me it was the master himself (meaning the manager). I enquired how and when it took place. Elizabeth said that one evening whilst she was attending the child who was sick up stairs, the manager wished to be connected with her and for that purpose threw her on the floor. She told him she was not old enough. The manager held an Handkerchief to her mouth, and introduced one of his fingers into her private part which bruised her so much as to occasion her present illness. The Girl could not stand or sit therefore crawled about. I told Primo and Telemachus the father of the child what I had heard from Elizabeth. Primo directed me to shape the part with warm water

which I did. I believe Primo told it to the Dr. (Mr. Einhuys) when I saw the child at evening after coming from the field I found she had a bandage round her waist with this piece of a Plaister in her private parts (it was a piece of lint) which she calls plaister and which she says was in the private part of the child. The child lived about three days after and he told me the above circumstance from being employed in the hospital. I cannot with any certainty say how long he was employed in the Hospital before. She confessed Elizabeth was not more sickly than another child.

Primo was called upon to state the information he obtained from Nina respecting Elizabeth and said that he understood, from her that Elizabeth had had a Handkerchief held before her mouth by the manager and he played with her. He is informed that Nina states the child was forced with the finger, to which he replies; Yes, so John informed me. Inquired why he did not state this in his answers, I said I heard from Nina that Elizabeth said, the master had done it without explaining.

Examination of the negress Davide.

Question: Were you employed whilst the Girl Elizabeth was sick then to take her to the necessary? If so, state the circumstances whether any person was present and the conversation that took place.

Answer: I assisted in January taking Elizabeth to the necessary, it was by order of Primo. I was attending my child in the hospital. Kea came in the necessary and inquired of Elizabeth what big man had been connected with her. Elizabeth replied it was no man (meaning none of the negroes) it was Massa, upon this point Kea became much aroused and went away without asking any more questions. She went to the House and told this to Mr Smyth the manager that the witness had also heard it. I told this to Primo as soon as I heard it was known to the manager. Elizabeth could neither sit nor stand we were obliged to carry her about when it was necessary to move her.

The Hospital Book was examined and the following stated: Sept 11th came in girl Elizabeth. Still there 17th September.

Examination of the negress [no name mentioned]

States that the girl Elizabeth was confined to the Hospital [and] was so weak she could neither stand or sit and when she was required to mind her, she was carried about, that she was present in the Hospital when Elizabeth was asked by Mr

Luykens, the manager, who it was that she had been connected with, that the Girl hesitated, the manager promised to give her some sugar lumps which he had been given by Primo the Hospital male and he said he would give her a sound flogging and make her tell, he was not a person to be trifled with, the girl Elizabeth then answered to the manager it was you massa. The manager Mr Luykens then got very vexed and said it is not true and then went out and went away in a passion.

Examination of the boy Jentye apparent 16 or 17 years of age.

States that during the Coffee crop he having worked with the girl Elizabeth had made advances to her to be connected with him, that she consented, that he did endeavour one day to be connected with her, but did not succeed and never made a second attempt, is unassociated with any particulars respecting Elizabeth's late illness more than from hearsay.

Examination of the negroe Primo, Hospital mate of plantation Waakzaamheid.

The girls Elizabeth came of her own accord in the Hospital complaining of fever about three weeks ago she became so weak that I was obliged to take her up and carry her from one place to another. Dr Brownings attended the Hospital. I brought the girl Elizabeth up to him to a table where he was sitting. He inquired what was the matter I told that Elizabeth was very ill with fever, he asked if she had no pains except in her joints of her arms and legs, the consequence of fever. The doctor inquired if she had no pain elsewhere and directed me to examine her person to see whether she had been used by any man, as it often produced indispositions as the girl had an adopted mother. I told her what the doctor had directed to be done and then Nina (the name of the mother) did examine her and told me that Elizabeth had told her she had been connected with the boy Jentye, from the inspection it appeared that the girl had been used although there was no swelling nor lacerations of her parts. Nina told Elizabeth that the boy Jentye could not have done this, it must have been some man and pressed her hard to say who it was. Elizabeth stated that it was Mr Luykens, this information I received from Nina. I therefore sent to assist Dr Winterveld and Einhuys the medical practitioners of the Estate to attend, the former being absent, the latter who attended. I informed Mr Luykens that the girl Elizabeth had been connected with some man, he inquired if she had confessed with whom

but I did not know wishing him to learn it from the girl herself. Kea, Mr Luykens' housekeeper, came to the Hospital in the morning between seven and eight o'clock to see Elizabeth in consequence of my having informed her of the state she was in – she (Kea) questioned the child respecting the person who did it, but she shewed great reluctance in stating the name of the person. Mr Luykens then came to the Hospital and Elizabeth desired to go to the necessary and she was led there, Kea by desire of Mr Luykens followed her there for the purpose of insisting knowing the person who had been connected with her. Kea went and in presence of Davide inquired of Elizabeth – but I did learn of the result of the inquiry from Kea late yesterday from Davide who stated that she was present in the necessary, that Elizabeth on being questioned as to the name of the person who had been connected with her, thrice replied Uncle, and on being hard pressed at last confessed that it had been done by her master. Kea did not mention the result of this matter but went to her house, after the child was brought back from the necessary by January and Davide (who had also taken her there) she was placed in the hall of the Hospital Mr Luykens standing one side of her and I on the other she was questioned by Mr Luykens who had been connected with her, she hesitated a long time. Mr Luykens promised if she would tell he would give her some good soup but I said no give her a good flogging and make her tell, this is not a thing to be trifled with and after the threat and some persuasion she said Master it was you yourself. Mr Luykens then flew in a passion and cried out, saying tell the truth and immediately left the Hospital. I again inquired of her who it was and she said in presence of January and divide and several others that Mr Luykens the manager had done it. I inquired where, she said upstairs in the manager's house: when – the day Mr Luykens' child was sick. I asked where was I (as I was attending Mr Luykens' sick child), she said you were not there. I asked where was Kea, she said she was out also. Elizabeth states that whilst Mr Luykens was in the act of being connected with her, she said see uncle (meaning me) is coming. He replied curse you uncle. Dr Einhuys examined her and said her calabash is merely cracked, she would sustain no harm from it. I was present at the examination, the parts did appear bruised and as if she has had connection with some one, but not swollen or lacerated she complained of much pain in the lower part of

the belly and it was occasionally she [bathed] with warm water which made her scream out from the pain. On being questioned by Mr Einhuys who had been connected with her she said Jentye. I suppose in consequence of seeing Mr Luykens was vexed for [her] accusing him. He, Einhuys, again examined Elizabeth and also Jentye and saw Jentye had the Clap but not severe – Elizabeth confessed on the Wednesday night that she had been connected with the manager, and she died very early in the morning of Saturday following. Last Saturday she had been about a fortnight in the Hospital previous to making the confession. States that Yesterday he had some conversation with Kea who informed him that Elizabeth had declared in the necessary in Plantation Waakyadmheid that it was Mr Luykens who had been connected with her. Dr Einhuys directed the private parts of the Girl Elizabeth to her father, with Soap and Water and keep a piece of lint steeped in the Girl and so also and fastened with a bandage around her waist. This application was applied the day of the examination of the person of Elizabeth. Dr Einhuys on being questioned what medicines had been administered previous to the confession he stated, she was treated as a fever subject. I was present when the body of Elizabeth was inspected by the doctor. I could see she had been connected with a man from the private parts being stretched and enlarged, and from the child having said so.

This deposition was solemnly sworn by the deponent stating it in the creole language and G. Schwartz rendering the same in English before me at the court house New Amsterdam, Berbice, 29th September 1819, in the presence of A.G. Cameron, G Schwartz.

A continuation of former Interrogations presented, to the Honourable Commissioners of the Court of Criminal Justice of the Colony of Berbice by Mr G. Bennett, Fiscal of the Colony re a suit instituted against Luykens of Plantation Waakraamheid on the alleged charge of the Negroe Telemachus that a rape had been constituted by said manager on the girl Elizabeth, the said interrogation to be put unto Dr Einhuys, assistant medical practitioner of said Plantation Waakzaamheid, who had attended the said girl Elizabeth during her illness.

Question 1: For what purpose was the concoction which it appears from the Estate's Hospital book was directed by you to be applied to the Girl Elizabeth administered.

Answer: The Girl was labouring under a nervous debility,

and a peculiar prostration of strength in the loins, and the concoction was applied for that purpose.

Question 2: It has been stated that the Girl Elizabeth had been injured in her private parts and that a piece of lint had been applied by you to her private parts and bandaged over. Is this true and also what was the nature of the disease in complainant?

Answer: There was no injury whatever to the girl's private parts that the concoction was applied, and by me as stated, and that there was of necessity a bandage used.

Question 3: It has been stated by the negro Telemachus that the Girl Elizabeth had been forced and deflowered by the manager Lucken and that You being called upon as the Medical practitioner of the Estate to inspect her private parts which are stated to have been injured or inflamed, and her death caused by such force, an attempt was made by Luykens the manager and yourself to hush up the matter. State the particulars of this and what you have to say about this imputation against you.

Answer: I examined the Girls' private parts. There was not the slightest appearance of any force whatever or any in my evidence. I never attempted to conceal any thing nor did the manager but I said, to several of the negroes who were present at my examination of the Girl, You see the charge is false and therefore any farther proceedings may bring some of you into trouble.

Question 4: State generally the particulars of the unfortunate transaction and your opinion of the real cause of death of the Girl Elizabeth.

Answer: The Girl had, I before stated, laboured under a great nervous debility, and that was the cause of her death, and no other.

Are you ready to make oath as to the truth of Your answers to the question put to You?

Yes.

To His Honor H. Beard, President, and the Honourable Members of the Court of Criminal Justice of the Colony Berbice. From Mr Bennett, Fiscal of the Colony. R.O.

Respectfully sheweth,

That in compliance with the respected commands of this Honorable Court, your memorialist did further investigate before the honourable Commissioners of the Court, the

complaint preferred by the negroe Telemachus against Mr Luykens for a rape committed on the body of the negro Girl Elizabeth.

That from the latter investigation and examination of J.H. Einhuys, the medical practitioner of the plantation Waakqaamheid, and who attended the said girl Elizabeth during her late illness present to her death declared before the Honourable Commissioners on oath, it does appear that the said girl Elizabeth had not been deflowered, and that no rape had been committed, but that she died from great nervous debility.

That this deposition of J.H. Einhuys is strengthened by the certificates of G. Gibson, surgeon, J.W. Theisz and G. Westerveld, who have severally declared and certified at the instance of T. Jefkins. Lieuts of Militia by whose dissection the body of the said negro Girl Elizabeth was examined by them after her death, the said girl Elizabeth had not been violated nor any inflammation visible or injury sustained about the internal parts of Generation.

That Your Memorialist R.O. (with due submission to the wisdom of this Honourable Court) and reference to all the evidence and information collected and that could be obtained in this matter, is of opinion that the charge preferred by the negroe Telemachus against S.B. Luykens manager of Plantation Waakzaamheid, namely that the death of the Girl Elizabeth was occasioned by the manager S.B. Luykens having slept with her and forced her, she not yet arrived at the state of womanhood as set forth in the official letter of Lieut. Jefkins addressed to your Memorialist R.O. dated the 18th day of September unfounded and unsupported by evidence or even from the appearance of the said Girl Elizabeth when examined by the aforementioned Medical practitioners.

That your memorialist R.O. did immediately on receipt of aforesaid letter of Lieut. Jefkins attend on the Estate to investigate the complaint of said negroe Telemachus in consequence of several of the negroes declaring that the Girl Elizabeth previous to her death had stated, she had been forced or used by her master, meaning the manager. He the Fiscal R.O. deemed it a duty incumbent on him, to lay the result of this inquiry and investigation before Your Honourable Court.

That Your Memorialist R.O. takes now the liberty of submitting, for the better information of the Honourable Court,

the late examination of J.H. Einhuys and respectfully referring to the documents laid over requests the further provision of the Honourable Court.

Berbice, 31st January 1820, M.L. Bennett, Fiscal R.O.

CASE SEVENTY

C.O. 116/142/1-3

Berbice, New Amsterdam, Fiscal's Office, 14th January, 1828.

Complaint of the female slave Minkey, belonging to L.F. Gallez.

Since I have belonged to my present Master, I have never had any clothing. I pay him nine dollars twice monthly, on the 1st of December I was taken sick. I went to him to say I was ill. He drove me away, saying, don't bother me. I then went to his medical practitioner, Dr. Theurer. He gave me puke and a dose of salts next day. I became then so ill I could not go to the doctor. My mistress therefore sent my eldest daughter to him for Physic which I took. My owners never sent me a grain of sugar or the least nourishment. My husband George and my sister supported me. When I went to my master to complain, he told me to get in the Corzal to go up Canje. My mistress who was present said the woman looks sick, send her to the doctor. I am now getting better and my master says I must go to work at his House at Canje Ferry. I said no sir, when my mistress, Miss Wencina went to Surinam she gave me a pass to sell myself. Mr Krieger who owned part of my family was inclined to purchase me, but Mr Gallez said no, I don't wish to part with you, remain in my hands, I will never send you out of town. From that time my husband George has hired me at nine dollars a month and has paid the hire punctually, until I got sick. I refuse to pay hire for the time I was ill. During that time my master sent almost daily to say I was to come to the ferry. I wish Mr Gallez to allow me to be hired out as heretofore to my Husband who is a free man. I have been for sometime previous to my illness huckstering goods and I have a good deal of money out, and if I am removed to the ferry I will lose the whole, which would be a great hardship upon me. I come to beg if you will speak to Mr Gallez and get him to consent to my hiring myself.

L.F. Gallez having been required to attend the Fiscal's Office the foregoing statement was read to him. He replied: I hired

out Minkey to her husband and he paid me regularly for some time, but for the last four months I have not received any hire, whenever I ask her for the amount due me, she replies I am sick; in consequence of this conduct I declined hiring her out and told her to go to my House at the ferry which I have duly purchased and where my wife resides and she should be employed as a domestic.

With respect to that part of her complaint, that she is not clothed, I will only remark that the usual hire of female domestics or huckster women is twelve dollars per month. She was hired to her husband at nine dollars a month, under condition she was to feed and clothe herself – the difference I would consider more than adequate. During her illness she preferred her own House to mine, or she would have had every attention from me.

Result: It appeared that the only Cause of complaint arise from the order given to Minkey to return to her owner's Service. The Fiscal recommended Mr Gallez not to insist on this point to which he readily consented. The complainant was made acquainted with her master's compliance to her request and she left the office perfectly satisfied.

CASE SEVENTY ONE

C.O. 116/142/3-5

Complaint of the negress Arientye belonging to Lieutenant and Barrack Master Pultney J.P. Sherbourne.

I come to say I cannot belong any longer to me master. He purchased me and my child from Mr Schwartz. He constantly locks me up in the stocks at night on the most trivial offence, unless it is some boiled plantains cut up in pieces without fish, the plantains are such as he gives his Hind. He is constantly flogging my son January with a horse whip. This morning he gave the boy a severe horse whipping, the marks of which are visible, if Sirs will send for him, you will be able to judge the punishment he has received. No day passes but he punishes us. His housekeeper is just as bad as he is. When she stops the other begins. I beg you to make the man sell me.

The Fiscal directed the undersheriff who was in attendance to go to Lieut Sherbourne's and desire his attendance next day and that of the boy January immediately. In about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour

the undersheriff returned with the boy January. The Fiscal enquired of him if he had been flogged this morning by his master, if so to state why and when he flogged and for what Cause. He, January, replied – My Master told me to clean his shoes. I forgot it, when I was cleaning knives and forks for breakfast, Master found me with a Cat. I was not much flogged (at this period of the Investigation Mr Sherbourne attended the Fiscal's office). The Fiscal examined the boy who was directed to undress himself. No mark of a whip or stripe was to be seen, hi skin was clean and the boy (a youth of about 12 Years of age) appeared to be in good condition.

The complaint of Arientye was read to Mr Sherbourne. He denied having confined this woman in the stocks more than once, and that was on account of her giving him the most abusive language. Her meals were regularly given her, which he could prove. He stated it was probable the plantains she eat were boiled in the same pot with those for the horse, as she had to boil them, but as to their being cut up and given to her, he positively denied ever to have done, or ordered or to know it was done. The Serious charge of her Son having been severely horse whipped being most satisfactorily disproved. He hoped the Fiscal would not consider any part of her statement entitled to relief.

Result: the woman Arientye is rather elderly. She was decently clothed and in good condition. The Fiscal reproved her for mis-representing the correction her Son had received. The complaint was dismissed and the Complainant returned to her owner. No costs or charges were made.

CASE SEVENTY TWO
C.O. 116/142/13-25

14th February

Fifty four slaves Men and Women belonging to Plantation Ithaca, the property of L.F. Gallez, having attended at the Fiscal's Office to complain, he this day proceeded to said Estate to enquire into their grievances. The statements of the following slaves were received, Mr. G. Schwartz, the attorney of Mr. Gallez, being present.

Statement of Midas, an elderly man.

When Mr. Gallez returned from England some time ago he

came here, called up the gang and asked if we would like to have him for an owner. We replied Yes if you take good care of us. He promised us to do so and said he had already purchased the estate as well as Woordsburg with the slaves of both properties. Woodsbury is the Estate opposite to this, the other side of the river and both properties did belong to persons living in Holland. For some time after this we were quiet and Comfortable but of late a Custom prevails of moving us every now and then to Woordsburg (now called Frederickslust) where we are put to work. To this we objected pointing out the many hardships we suffer and the shifts we are put to, but no attention is paid by Mr. Gallez to our complaints. We are removed without any notice. We therefore have to leave our Stock, and provision grounds, and on our return we find we have been plundered during our absence, as every bad disposed negro in the neighbourhood, and passers by, has it in their power to deprive us of our little property. Of this we have complained to Mr. Gallez and his reply is, he does not want this Estate any longer. We complain also that we have no clothing. Every article of clothing we possess, we purchase ourselves, and we cannot continue to do so, after leaving our Stock and provisions. Mr Gallez says he wants to remove us from this property to Frederickslust and to abandon this. We strongly object to his doing so. Here we have lived all our lives, have made ourselves comfortable, and if he intends to abandon this property we desire to be sold. We cannot go to Frederickslust.

Question: when did you receive clothing from Mr. Gallez and in what did it consist of?

Answer: When Mr. Gallez first purchased us, he gave us a red jacket, a cap, some oznaburg checks and calico.

Evidence of the man Noah.

I complain against Mr. Gallez. Last Sunday we went to him to complain. He was not at home. We waited his return. As soon as he saw us and heard we had come to complain he said go to the Fiscal, this was our reason for coming to you. We have belonged to Mr. Gallez five or six years. We have borne his treatment for this time, but can do it no longer. We are put to work here for a few days and then we are removed to Frederickslust where we are employed for weeks, to this we object. We are not afraid of work and are willing to work but Mr. Gallez says he is going to abandon this estate and remove

us to Frederickslust. We will not go there, if he wishes to sell or abandon the estate, we insist upon being sold with it. We dislike being moved about backwards and forwards. We are tired of Mr. Gallez as he gives us no jackets, hats or clothing. Complainant shews a piece of red Penistone, says Mr. Gallez give us as much of this shift as would make a shirt and a blanket. We got three ells of checks, three of oznaburgs, a cap and three ells calico to make caps. This is all the clothing we ever get from him.

Complaint of Carel. I complain against Mr. Gallez for removing us constantly from one Estate to another. Sometimes we work there at Frederickslust for four months without coming home. We are then employed here to do some work in a hurry. By moving us about so we have lost all our property. Of late, he has taken us to market at Canje Ferry which he has purchased. On New Year he told us he had no more to do with us, he had sold us to Mr. Schwartz who intended removing us to Frederickslust. To this I strongly object. On Sunday last I and many others of the Estate went to town to Mr. Gallez to ask him to recall an order which he gave on Saturday evening, that punts and other crafts would be sent on Monday morning to this estate to remove all the people young and old to Frederickslust. On going to town he flew into a passion, saying he was no brother to the negroes, to talk with them, and that if we had anything to say we must go to the Fiscal. This induced us to come to him on the Monday morning and I now complain that since I have belonged to Mr. Gallez I have had no other clothing than a red shirt, as much red stuff as made a blanket, a cap, three ells calico, four ells of checks and five ells oznaburg.

Carel was asked what the Objections were the slaves of Ithaca had against being removed to Frederickslust. He replied in the first place, the loss of our provision fields and many comforts we enjoy here after a long residence; but more particularly because we cannot agree with the negroes of that estate.

Evidence of Prince.

Complains because Mr. Gallez who bought this Estate as well as Frederickslust opposite to it, is constantly removing us from this to that property, where we work for months before returning to our Comfortable homes. After remaining there for a length of time, and when the grass here becomes very high, a few of us are sent here to weed it in the most hurried manner possible to

return to Frederickslust. By these constant removals all our poultry and provisions out of our own ground is Stolen and we are thereby deprived of the means of buying anything whatever. Since we belong to Mr. Gallez, he has given us clothing but once, and we would not complain of this now, if we were allowed to work the Estate as formerly and raise our Stock and ground provisions, which we sold and were able to supply our own wants but we have lost everything. On Saturday evening Mr. Gallez come here and said he would send on Monday Morning punts and curzals to remove the people young and old from hence to Fredericklust. Those who could not walk were to be carried. On Sunday some of us went to him to request he would not remove us, but he got quite vexed and said we could go to the Fiscal. We did so on the Monday morning. Sometimes Mr. Gallez employs us at the Canje ferry.

Question: State what clothing you have received from Mr. Gallez since he purchased Plantation Ithaca.

Answer: A red shirt, as much red stuff as made a blanket, 3 ells Calico, three ells checks and three ells oznaburg.

Question: why do you differ with the man Carel with respect to the quantity of checks and oznaburg?

Answer: I have described the quantity I got exactly. The women receive four ells checks and five oznaburgs. The allowances probably get mixed and some of the men may have got the allowance intended for the women.

Statement of the Negro Kees.

I know as a slave I am bound to work wherever my master sends me, altho' I feel it to be a hardship. The gang of the Estate was working last Saturday at Frederickslust, Mr. Gallez our master came there, without saying anything to us, he crossed over to the Estate and gave orders that all the slaves, old, infirm, and infants were to be removed to Frederickslust, for which purpose he would send the punts and curzals of that Estate. On hearing this, we went early on Sunday morning to beg him not to enforce this order. We did not find him at home. He was at the Canje ferry. We remained in the yard till he returned, which was about 12 o'clock. We went up to him, but as soon as he heard his request, he flew in a passion, said he would have nothing to do with the people of this estate, if we wished to complain we could go to the Fiscal. We said we come to beg you Sir not to remove us. 'Tis to you we make the request and

not to the Fiscal, we belong to you. He shut the door upon us saying go to the Fiscal. We have belonged to Mr. Gallez now for some years, we received clothing but once. It consisted of a red shirt, a red blanket, 3 ells calico, 3 ditto checks and 3 ditto oznaburgs.

Statement of Bernardus and George the elder.

We corroborate the statements already made. We object to being removed. When Mr Gallez purchased us he made many promises, saying we should have clothing, plenty rum and fish etc but he does not keep his promise. He is abandoning the property to which we belong. He constantly removes us to Frederickslust, and if late to the Canje ferry. We have lost our poultry and provisions by being absent from the property. We have received clothing but since he bought us we have had a red shirt, as much red stuff as made a blanket, a cap, three ells calico, 3 checks and 3 oznaburgs. Last Saturday an order was given to remove all the people young and old from Ithaca. On Sunday morning we went to town to expostulate with Mr Gallez. He drove us away like dogs. We insisted to be heard, but he would not, telling us if we wanted to complain to go to the fiscal.

Statement of the female slave Phillis.

Mr Gallez came to this estate some years ago and directed the negroes to be called up. He said that he had been in England and had purchased this Estate as well as the opposite one, if we wished to have him for a master. We all said Yes. He said he would take great care and give us every thing we required and endeavour to make us happy. He, however, does not keep his promise. Our estate is nearly abandoned. We are removed from our Comfortable houses to go to Frederickslust to work. We objected to this saying if he chose to take the men to that estate to work, he ought to leave the women here to keep up the property, which we could do as we are not lazy. He refused to do so. The consequence of the gang being removed to Frederickslust for weeks and months is, that all our poultry is stolen, and our ground provisions lost; the gang of this Estate cannot agree with those of Frederickslust. We desire to be sold with it. Since he has purchased us we have had clothing but once, it consisted of a red shirt, a red blanket, 5 ells of calico, four ditto checks and 5 ditto oznaburgs.

Dorothea states: Mr. Gallez's treatment of us is not good. He promised us everything on purchasing us but he gives us

nothing. Since we belong to him, we have had clothing but once. It consisted of a red shirt, a ditto blanket, a Cap, five ells calico, five oznaburgs and four of checks. The children get no allowance. Corroborates the circumstance of being sent off the estate to work at Fredericklust, the loss of their poultry and provisions and of their going on Sunday last to town to expostulate with their Master who drove them away and told them to go to the Fiscal.

Anna states, my complaint is that the negroes are sent off this Estate to work. From the time my child was born I have had no assistance from my husband in consequence of his being removed from here to work at Frederickslust and at the ferry. I was in the Hospital for a considerable time with a bad Ulcer. I had also to attend on my child. He had a bad sore on the toe. I had no one to help me. My husband would have done so, but he was not here I have had Clothing but once since I belong to Mr. Gallez – a red shirt (a man's shirt), a red blanket, a cap, five ells of calico, 5 of oznaburgs and 4 of checks.

The evidence of Houlbourn. Manager of plantation Ithaca. I have been manager of the estate since April 1826. It is customary to employ the Slaves of the Estate on Plantation Frederickslust, the property opposite to this; it is done by order of the proprietor, and on account of this being an old estate, and the land exhausted – Frederickslust Estate had a small cultivation when purchased by Mr. Gallez and the soil being excellent the cultivation has been extended. The negroes from here work there some times for two months, sometimes for shorter periods. They object to go to Frederickslust because they have to cross the river when they wish to come here. I have heard the negroes complain their poultry had been stolen during their absence. They complained of it to Mr. Gallez. He directed in future the driver should be left on the estate to prevent it. I never heard the negroes had lost their provisions.

Questions: Has any clothing been served out to the gang at Plantation Ithaca, since you have had charge of the property? If so, of what did the clothing consist?

Answer: Yes, Sir, the negroes have had Clothing. The men had 4 ells of checks and six of oznaburgs and half a piece of calico each. The invalids get 4 ells checks and 4 oznaburgs. The women get 4 ells checks, eight of oznaburgs and each a piece of calico. The old women get the same allowance as the old men.

Q: When was this clothing served?

A: On the 6th May 1826.

Q: Do you know if they received any Clothing previous to your running the Estate?

A: No, I do not.

Q: Is there a Journal on the Estate containing a list of articles received and delivered previous to your management?

A: I received only one small Journal from the late Manager, Mr Pierman.

A journal loosely kept and only for two months chiefly relating to work performed by the Slaves was exhibited.

Questions put to G. Schwartz.

Q: When did Mr. Gallez take possession of Plantation Ithaca?

A: I think it was in the early part of 1824. I have conducted Mr. Gallez's concerns since March of that year. He then had possession of Plantation Ithaca and Woodsbury now called Frederickslust.

Q: Since you have conducted Mr. Gallez's affairs, how often have the slaves of Plantation Ithaca been supplied with clothing?

A: Only once to my recollection. It was that alluded to by the manager Mr. Houlbourn. The negroes speak, however, of clothing differing from that just described. It would therefore appear they were supplied twice. When Mr Alvens the attorney of Messrs. Combault, the consignee of Mr. Gallez was in the colony in [1825], a list of clothing for the slaves was given him, which he engaged to send, and they ought to have been here before this. Within the last few days I have been desired by Mr. Gallez to procure clothing from the stores in town and this will be done immediately.

J.A. Van Meers, manager of Plantation Frederickslust, was also present and examined. He states: Mr. Gallez employs the men and women of this estate to work occasionally at Frederickslust in consequence of the soil being very superior to that of Ithaca which is an old cultivated estate. The negroes of this estate when with me have comfortable houses in every respect, sufficient to contain them. They are regularly served weekly with two good bunches of plantains, saltfish and a good supply of rum. I never heard of any objections made by the negroes of Ithaca to work on Frederickslust till last Saturday; that afternoon I accompanied Mr. Gallez here, and he gave me a list (I now lay over) and directed me to send a punt on Sunday

evening, or Monday morning, for them, and a curzal for the Sick, as he intended to make the Hospital at Frederickslust the general hospital in consequence of that Estate being on the Same bank of the River with the house where the doctor resided, and where they could be seen three times a day when required. The whole of the gang were not to be removed, as will appear from the list, and had directions to let them, who came over, break off work at four o'clock on Saturday afternoon to return to Ithaca. On Mr Gallez giving this order on the Saturday evening, the gang of the estate positively refused to obey it, and behaved with the utmost disrespect towards him.

RESULT.

The Complaints of the slaves are two fold; first, for being removed from Plantation Ithaca to work on Frederickslust. Secondly, that they were not supplied with clothing. With respect to the first complaint, the Fiscal stated to the slaves that although it was to be regretted they were occasionally removed to work on Frederickslust, it being deemed a measure necessary to the interests of the proprietor, He the Fiscal did not deem himself authorised to Prohibit such occasional removals from the Estate, the more so as he felt satisfied that they had it in their power frequently to return to Ithaca in the evening. The Second charge, that complainants were not furnished with clothing was fully and satisfactorily proven. The neglect was a breach of colonial ordinance and the Fiscal would demand the fine incurred by the Proprietor for this neglect and he informed the slaves that if the clothing which Mr. Schwartz now engaged to procure were not supplied shortly he directed two or three of the complainants to attend to his office to report the Same.

Mr. Schwartz represented that Planters were in the habit of giving clothing to their slaves at the request of their slaves. This had been observed by many at the Christmas holidays to this degree, that it was extremely difficult to procure good Clothing in any store in town, he therefore requested that the Supply of Clothing might be allowed to lay over until the Easter holidays. To this the Fiscal consented; if the difficulty of procuring good clothing at present does exist. And herewith the Complaint was dismissed.

CASE SEVENTY THREE

C.O. 116/142/25

2nd April, 1828.

Plantations Lots Nos. 5 and 7 East Coast.

James Culley, the attorney of James Blair Esquire requested the Fiscal to attend this day at the above stated property, to enquire into certain complaints made to him, the attorney, by the slaves Quaco, Isaac, Charles and Archer, who had been deputed by the gang for that purpose.

Quaco being examined states: I went to my master to complain because the manager who he gave us makes us work on Sunday. Last Sunday morning we asked for passes to go off the Estate. He refused to allow us any pass. He said go and finish your half rows. I and several others did so. We finished our half rows about one o'clock. Manager had finished breakfast. All of us who had been working came up to his door and demanded payment. He refused to pay us, saying he had not sent us to work. We asked him for a pass to go to complain. He gave us one which he said was for all of us. He said we could take the punt in the corral and go to Blairmont. We said, very well. After leaving him, he sent a boy to tell us not to take the punt. We proceeded toward the ferry. Met Mr Simon Fraser, he said it was wrong for so many of us to go away from the Estate at once and that if a few of us were desirous of going to Mr Culley he would lend them a boat to carry us to Blairmont provided the others returned to the Estate. This was agreed upon. We four agreed to go. We did go to Mr Culley to whom we complained. He said he would come to this Estate himself to make Enquiry.

This statement was corroborated by Isaac, Charles, and Arthur who was present.

Questions: Are you in the habit of working by task on this estate?

Answer, by Arthur: Yes, we are.

Q: What task was given to you last Saturday?

A: Three of us were put to weed a bed of Cotton. There is a great quantity of black bulbs in the beds, which we had to pull out by the roots. We are not allowed to cut it down.

Q: What portion of the task given you last Saturday did you and the two other slaves working with you perform and finish that day?

A: Hannah, Plato and myself had the row (or task) on Saturday. The bed is divided into rows marked out by bamboo sticks. We finished all except one bamboo.

Q: Did the drivers of the estate accompany you to the field on Sunday last?

A: No, they did not.

Q: Why not?

A: They were laying out the allowances for the people. The drivers did not come to the field that day.

Q: Did you ever work on Sunday before this?

A: No, never. We were told to do so once, but we did not go. Nothing was said about it.

Peter McCulloch, manager of Lots No. 5 & 7 was called upon to reply to the foregoing complaint. He stated: The gang of negroes was employed last Saturday to weed cotton near the buildings. The task given them was, to weed a bed 2 ½ roods wide, 70 roods deep, which makes little more than half an acre of land. The weeding is by no means heavy. That evening, the drivers reported to me, some of the people had not finished their task. I must observe that the task on Saturday was the same the gang had had for the whole week and that every negro in the field had finished their rows in good time, without a single exception. When the driver made the report above mentioned, I took no notice of it, nor did I intend doing so until Monday morning. The week before this, the negroes had left half rows. I therefore directed that for the future they should work from six in the morning till six at night, taking two hours for breakfast time, and as I had lately come to the estate I would complain to Mr Culley instead of punishing them. After working for a few days, the gang sent the drivers to request I would not complain, and to give them tasks, promising to behave better for the future. I yielded to their request and they worked well till Saturday. Early on Sunday morning the drivers were employed laying allowances of plantains, fish etc. Some of the negroes came up and asked me for a pass to leave the Estate for the day. I refused to give it, observing you are beginning to neglect your work again, and such of you as have left half rows shall not be allowed to go out for the day. After the allowances were laid out, the head Driver came to me and said some of the negroes are working in the field, am I to go with them? I replied, you know very well it is Sunday, it is no working day, if the negroes have

thought proper to go there of their own accord to finish their half rows, it is not by my order and you are therefore not to go to the field. I was sitting in the hall with the overseer about twelve o'clock. I saw a number of the negroes coming to the door. I went to them. They informed me, they had now finished their half rows and demanded a pass to go and complain. I expostulated with them. I told them I had not sent them out to work. They said the second driver had called them up in the morning saying they were to go in the field to finish their half rows; on my assuring them I never gave such order, some of them replied, hold your tongue – give us a pass to complain. I said if you wish to complain, I will certainly give you a pass and I did give them one. I most solemnly declare the negroes never asked me for payment. Neither did they ask or told them to take the punt. After they went from me I understood they intended to go to Blairmont. I had a punt in the Corral with which I was to ship cotton next day. Fearing they might take away the punt, I sent a boy after them, to tell the punt Captain, they were not to take the punt. In the course of the afternoon the negroes with the exception of the four now present took the punt. I understood they had gone to Blairmont.

Jacob, the head driver of Lots No. 5 & 7 was examined. He states, I reported to the manager last Saturday evening some of the people had left half rows. He replied, very well, some time ago when they left their tasks unfinished, I had it completed by the Estates labour but I will not do it again. They shall do it themselves. I will not allow half rows. The next morning, Sunday, I was busy laying out the allowances of salt fish, when some of the negroes came to the manager to ask for passes for the day. He refused to give them. I saw the negroes go to their houses and shortly afterwards come out with hoes, and go to the field. After putting out the fish, I went to the manager and told him some of the negroes were at work in the field and asked if I was to go with them. The manager replied, it is Sunday. You have no business with work today. Go sit down in their house. I went to work my provision grounds, telling the manager of my intention. He said, you will do well. I was not at home when the negroes returned from work but the manager sent to me, to say, the negroes were going to complain, and would carry their hoes with them, which he directed me to prevent. I came from home and found the people ready to go. They had their hoes

with them. I made them return to their houses and leave the hoes. They then went off.

Mr McCulloch stated: When the negroes came for a pass, they had no hoes with them. I went in to write the pass. When I came out, I enquired who would take it. Charles said he would. It was then they proposed taking their hoes. I therefore sent the driver to prevent it.

Adam, second driver on Lot Nos. 5 & 7, states: The four complainants worked in my gang last Saturday. The task they had that day was the same they had had the whole week, and which they finished every day except Saturday. Sometimes they finished at sunset as the field is rather heavy in grass. These four, with many others under my charge, did not finish their task Saturday. The gang under the head driver was working in the same field with us. They finished their work. I therefore called out to my people saying the other gang is done, push on, you know the manager want to have half rows, last time you left half rows, he took his time to finish them for you, but he will not do it again. They did not finish. On Sunday morning I was helping the head driver serve out allowances. Mary Ann came up to the manager and asked for a pass, he refused it. Shortly after this she came to me and said the manager won't give me a pass because I have left a half row. I am going to finish it. I said, very well, that is your story, not mine. Another negro also asked for a pass and it was refused. Mary Ann then went to her house and took her hoe. The other negroes who had left half rows seeing this, and understanding they were not to get passes, joined and went to the field to work. I did not go with them, nor did I report it to the manager, because the head driver had done so, and the manager had said he had not ordered them to work. I did intend to follow the negroes to the field but the head driver told me not to go.

The manager having shared in his statement – “Some of the people said they were directed by the second driver to go finish their half row on the Sunday morning,” he, the manager, was called upon to state the name or names of the slaves who gave this information. He replied: while I was endeavouring to persuade the people to go quietly to their houses instead of going to complain; assuring them I had given no order to work, the men Charles and Thomas said in presence of the overseer, that the second driver Adam had told them early on the Sunday

morning, it was my orders they should go finish their half rows.

Charles was questioned on this subject. After some hesitation, he denied giving the above information to the manager. He says Joe told me I was to go. When I went to the field the manager was standing at the door of the sick house.

The driver Adam denies ever giving such orders to the man Charles or any of the negroes.

The manager Peter McCulloch explains, that on the occasion already mentioned in his statement when half rows had been left and which were finished by the Estates labour (without resorting to punishment or complaining to the attorney as he had threatened to do), he had directed the drivers to inform the gang, that for the future, any of them leaving half rows, or not finishing their task, they would not be allowed the privilege of a pass on Sundays and this information was given to the gang by the driver.

William Whitsell, overseer on Lots Nos. 5 & 7 states: After the allowances were laid out on Sunday morning, the head driver informed me, that some of the people had gone to the field to work and desired to know if he was to go also. I answered it is Sunday and I do not know if the manager will allow it. On reflection, however, I said he had better go. Shortly after leaving me, I heard the manager tell the driver he nor none of the negroes had any business in the field that day. If they had gone to work, it was of their own accord, and not by his consent. This witness corroborates the statement of the manager relative to the directions given to the drivers to inform the gang, that any negro leaving a half row or his task unfinished, should not have a pass to go out on Sundays and he further states he was present when Thomas said he was roused on Sunday morning by Adam the driver to go to the field to work.

The Fiscal questioned several of the slaves to ascertain whether Charles or Thomas had been told by Adam to go to work on Sunday. Their statement proved untrue.

The negro Thomas was examined on this point. He states: I was asleep on a board. The second driver Adam woke me and directed me to go to work. He further adds, I went to the manager on Saturday evening after dusk, and asked for a pass for next day to go to town. He asked me if I had left a half row. If so I must finish it first. I said, what, tomorrow morning Sir, it is Sunday. He said Yes and when you are done I'll give you a pass. Both the drivers were present. They, Jacob and Adam,

admit having Thomas apply for a pass, which the manager refused to give, hearing he had left a half row, did not hear the manager tell Thomas to go finish his row but heard Thomas say next morning he was directed to do so by the manager.

RESULT.

The Fiscal directed the negroes attached to this property to be called up in front of the manager's house, which being done, he acquainted them, that their conduct on Sunday last was very reprehensible. It was evident, the task required of them on Saturday was not oppressive, as they had completed a like quantity of work every day that week. It could not be pretended the field they were clearing of grass on Saturday was heavier work than those on other days, for all the slaves under the driver Jacob had finished their tasks and both gangs were working the same field.

CASE SEVENTY FOUR

C.O. 116/143/152-3

Protector's Office, Berbice, 2nd November, 1826.

Complaint, No. 1.

The negro William, a carpenter, belonging to L.F. Gallez, states:— That having been put up at public vendue for sale, he was purchased by Mr. L.F. Gallez, to whom he refused to belong on account of a pain in his side, and not being able to do heavy work. That when he refused to go with Mr. Gallez's people to Canje Bush, he was put in the Barracks for two weeks; after which time he was taken out by Mr. G. Schwartz (Mr. Gallez's town Agent) and directed to go up to Canje. That instead of going there he ran away, and went into the bush for two weeks, but thinking it would be very hard for any person to lose his money that way, he thought proper to come back, and went up to Canje Creek to Mr. Gallez, where he has now been four weeks; but during that time he has only had two drams. Positively asserts that for the four weeks he has been with Mr. Gallez he has received but two bunches of plantains, without any other food save fish. That he has been subject to a liver complaint for years. That there is no sick house on the estate nor a doctor. He got a dose of salts once from his master. "Mr. Gallez's wood cutting establishment is high up that River, far beyond the

cultivated estates.”

Toris, belonging to Mr. G. Schwartz, corroborates the statement of one bunch of plantains for two weeks being given, and of there being no sick house nor doctor on the estate, and that the man William had been sick.

RESULT.

Referred to his honor the Fiscal for legal investigation, the occurrences having taken place before the new Slave Code came into legal operation. The negro called afterwards on the Protector, and stated that with Mr. Gallez’s consent he was no longer employed on the wood cutting establishment, but was hired out to the Engineer Department at the new Fort.

CASE SEVENTY FIVE

C.O. 116/143/153

Complaint, No. 2. – 8th November 1826.

Complaint of the negro Aaron, belonging to a gentleman in Demerary, whose name he does not know, but is under the care of Thomas White, of Berbice, hired out to Mr. Forsyth on plantation “the Friends,” where he has been about six months.

On Monday last, the day before yesterday, Mr. Forsyth desired me to put a fire under the coppers, which I did and boiled three; but on putting fire under the fourth, I could not light it on account of the megass not being dry (a sample which was rather damp having been produced), for which reason Mr. Forsyth put me in the stocks the whole night, and flogged me on Tuesday morning, giving me sixteen lashes so as not to cut my flesh or leave any marks. I immediately after went to work, and at night, when I came home, I picked up some of the same megass to come show the Protector and lodge my complaint. Since I have been there I have been sick with belly ache, and on applying to Mr. Forsyth for medicines, he told me to go to work in the field, which I refused, when he gave me a dose of physic, telling me again to go to the field, instead of which I went to my own house and laid down.

I have no time for breakfast at eleven o’clock, and the whole estate’s negroes will say the same.

The Manager was present when I was flogged, as also a negro by the name of Pap Tuamina.

RESULT.

Mr. Thomas White was summoned to attend at the office of the Protector tomorrow morning at eleven o'clock, but did not attend in consequence of his being laid up with rheumatism. The negro belongs to one William Chichester of Demerary.

Nov. 10. – Mr. Scott, manager of plantation “the Friends,” having appeared before the protector, acknowledged that the slave was flogged and previously put in the stocks by his order. He was told that he had no right to inflict a double punishment, and that the law did not allow a negro to be placed a whole night in the stocks, and striped afterwards for the same offence. He pleaded ignorance, or that he misunderstood the Clause, and an oath being administered to him, to the truth of his (Mr. Scott) having misunderstood the law respecting the punishment of slaves twice for the same offence, the Protector, acting on his own discretion, declined representing this case to his honor the Fiscal. The manager was ordered to pay the expenses of the slave’s maintenance, and the negro had a considerable rest from labour. The manager was cautioned how he again inflicted two punishments for one offence.

CASE SEVENTY SIX

C.O. 116/143/158-60

Complaint No. 14 – 28th December 1826.

Nancy Scott, belonging to Elizabeth Bennett, free coloured woman, states: – That Messrs. William Bennett, Laurence Redman, and others, all free people, hired the house I live in to make a dance on the evening of the 26th instant, and engaged me to provide for it. After eight o'clock the music commenced. Messrs. Redman and A. Fraser were in the room; Mr. Redman stood up and commenced a reel, when Mr. Simonelli (Under Sheriff) came in and desired the music to stop. Mr. Redman told Mr. Simonelli that it was a dance given by free people and not slaves. Mr. Simonelli replied, that Nancy Scott was a slave, belonging to Mr. Henery, and if I denied it he would put me in the Barracks that night, and answer for it the next day; and attempted three times to take me to carry me to the barracks, when Mr. Redman interfered, and said, that it was no matter whether I was a slave or not, as the people dancing were all free, and that the dance was made in my house to assist me. Mr.

Simonelli then went away, saying he would return at ten o'clock. After he went out I requested Mr. Redman and the other gentleman to quit the house, and let the dance be put off for another time.

The gentlemen all went out excepting Mr. Bennett, who was waiting for his wife and child, with whom I was talking. A little while after, a man named Champaigne, belonging to Mr. Molison, came into the chamber where I was to light a candle. I consequently turned him out of the chamber. After I had turned him out three dienaars came into the house, namely Garrow, Smith, the name of the other I do not know. Garrow and Smith came into the chamber; I asked them what they wanted; they said they were sent in by Mr. Earl to take me out, and all that were in the house, to the barracks. The dienaars told Mr. Earl there were no people in the house making a disturbance; he then said, that if they did not bring me out of the house by G-D he would complain of them tomorrow. Mr. Death was standing outside at the time, and told Mr. Earl, that as I was a slave, and not disturbing him, he ought not to molest me. He said he did not care, and if he could hold me he would kick my a—e. Mr. Death told him that he did not think he was such a blackguard, and he would have nothing more to do with him, for he would bring himself in trouble. He said he did not care any thing about the Fiscal, he may kiss his a—e; and also said he was a true *Barbadian, and true blood*. Mr. Earl then ran into my house and took up a chair, threw it at me, and broke it. I ran into the chamber, and as he was coming after me Mr. Bennett held him, and would not allow him to come in; he then put himself in a posture to fight Mr. Bennett; Mr. Death then came in and prevented him. The dienaars were present but did not interfere; they only told Mr. Earl that he was in the wrong. After great difficulty, Messrs. Death, Bennett, and others, got Mr. Earl out of the gate. This is not the first time that Mr. Earl has molested me. My house was much pelted with stones. I have lost property, consisting of a chair broken, a coverlet, pair shoes, and a Madras handkerchief, and all the provision I had for the dance stolen.

Dec. 29. – William Bennett states: – I was at the house of Nancy Scott, on the evening of the 26th instant, at a dance given by a party of free people. My wife and children were with me. A little before eight o'clock I left the house to go to my own dwelling, and by the time I returned the dance was broken up

by the dienaars. I was present when Mr. Earl sent in a man to light a candle. There was a light in the hall where he might have lighted it, but he went into the chamber to do so. He was turned out of the chamber, and about five minutes after entered the room and said, "Where is the damn bitch (meaning Nancy Scott), I will kick her a—e." Nancy Scott was going to shut the door, but I told her not to. Mr. Earl attempted to go into the chamber to beat her, when I prevented him, and told him he ought to be ashamed of himself. I held him, and he fought very hard to get away from me, and I am confident he would have beat her very much had he got away from me. Three dienaars were there, they told Mr. Earl he ought to be ashamed of himself. In the wrestle I cannot say whether or not there was a chair thrown at Nancy Scott. After much difficulty Mr. Earl was put out of the house.

Maxwell Ward states: – I was going home to my dwelling between the hours of eight and nine o'clock. I saw a man coming out of Nancy Scott's house with a candle in his hand; and soon after Mr. Earl, who had sent the man to get a light, came up to the gate, and seeing the man was turned out without a light, he said he would be G—d damned if there should be any dancing in the house that night (at this time there was no dancing); and seeing the dienaars in the street, he ordered them to go into the house and bring every person that were in it and take them to the Barracks, saying, at the same time, that the woman Nancy Scott, who lived in the house, is a slave. The dienaars went in and turned out everybody. I went up to the dienaars and asked them by what authority they turned out the people. They said, by the authority of Mr. Earl, who had sent them to do so. I asked them if Mr. Earl was a police officer. They said it were their orders from the Fiscal. Mr. Earl then went into the house in a great passion. I asked the dienaars why they did not go and take out Mr. Earl, as he was making a disturbance. They said they could not, as Mr. Earl was the person who sent to call them.

Laurence Redman states: – I was present, with other free persons, at the house of Nancy Scott on the evening of the 26th inst. we having engaged her to provide for a dance which we made; and in consequence of Mr. Simonelli's coming in a little after eight o'clock to stop the dance (I, however, observed no dancing at the time), and to take all the people to the Barracks, as he would have no dancing at all in the house. The dienaars went in, and the people came out. Nancy Scott called Mr. Earl a

hangman. He then ran into the house to beat her; but I cannot say whether or not he struck her. I then told the dienaars that Mr. Earl had sent for them to keep the peace, and he was going to break the peace himself; but they did not interfere; and after much trouble Messrs. Death, Bennett, and Mr. Earl's housekeeper got him out of the house.

Thomas Death, an Englishman, states: – On the evening of the 26th inst. I was in conversation with Mr. Earl, when he sent a man named Champagne into Nancy Scott's house to ask for a light. The man was turned out of the house in consequence of his going into the chamber to light his candle instead of lighting it in the hall where there was a candle burning. Mr. Earl soon after ran into the house, took up a chair, and as he was going to throw it at Nancy Scott it was taken from him but with great difficulty. I went into the house and endeavoured to get him out, which I did with the assistance of others. Mr. Earl made use of very dirty language, and said he was a true Barbadian, and a true blood, and much of that stuff.

There would have been no disturbance at all if Mr. Earl had not gone to the house. He behaved himself, upon the whole, in a most shameful manner. I told him that had no authority in himself to turn the people out of the house if even they were making a disturbance, and that if he wished to have them out he was to apply to the proper authority; but he would not listen to any thing I said to him.

RESULT.

In consequence of the complaint being supported by so many witnesses, the Protector felt it his duty to transmit all the documents to his Honour the Fiscal, for prosecution against Mr. Earl.

To his Honour the Fiscal
Protector's Office, Berbice, 2d January 1827.

SIR,

I beg to call your particular attention to the enclosed documents. They refer to a complaint made before me by a female slave named Nancy Scott; and if true (of which, from internal evidence, I have little doubt), demand from the administration of justice the most prompt and efficient redress. I feel it wholly unnecessary to trouble your Honour with any

comments of mine on the fearful consequences of allowing such a misdemeanour as the complaint alleged against Mr. Earl, if he has thus committed himself, to pass with impunity. I shall therefore satisfy myself with specifying the clause of the Slave ameliorating Ordinance which, in my humble apprehension, he has violated. By that Ordinance the right of property is recognized in the slave, under certain exceptions, and whoever molests or disturbs him, or her, in the enjoyment of it, is guilty of a misdemeanour, to be punished by fine or imprisonment, at the discretion of the Criminal Court. Now the evidence taken before me establishes two points, namely, that the house of the Complainant was forcibly entered, without warrant or authority, by Mr. Earl, and that her furniture was broken, and certain other articles stolen by some of the crowd of persons whom the original outrage of Mr. Earl had collected. In my capacity as Protector of Slaves, I only complain of his conduct towards the slave woman, Nancy Scott. It is for your Honour to weigh the tendency of his proceedings in daring to assume magisterial authority, in intermeddling with the enjoyments of free men of colour, whose rights are secured to them as firmly and as justly as those of Mr. Earl, or any other white man in the colony. The clause to which I refer is the 27th clause, which, after recognizing the right of a slave to possess property, concludes thus: "or if any other person whomsoever shall molest or disturb any such slave in the possession or free use and enjoyment of any land, money, or property so lawfully acquired by such Slave, such owner or other person shall, upon conviction thereof, be liable to restore to the said Slave &c. &c. And be further liable to fine or imprisonment, or *both*, at the discretion of the Court."

As I am preparing for transmissal, through his Excellency the Governor, to his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, a report of the proceedings of my office since the Ordinance has been in operation, I shall feel honoured in being put in possession of the course of proceedings you will be pleased to adopt.

I am, &c. D. Power, H.M. Protector of Slaves.

CASE SEVENTY SEVEN

C.O. 116/143/220-222

Complaint No. 13. – 1st May, 1827.

Complaint of the negroes, Ambrosius, Quami, Amsterdam, Isaac, Cuffey, Nelson, Jan Louis, Hendrik, Frans, Bayman, Boy, Cadet, Frank, and Fortuin, all belonging to L.F. Gallez's wood-cutting establishment.

Mr. Gallez came up in Canje last week, and was not satisfied with the work we had done in his absence, and ordered that we should get no rum for three months. We did not get our Easter holidays yet. When our weekly allowance was shared out, the day before yesterday, we asked the manager when we should get them; he said he would ask Mr. Gallez, who said we were beneath his notice. We never got our two hours intermission, and are obliged to work from six in the morning till six in the evening. Mr. Gallez has destroyed one of our corials.

The complainants, on account of the distance they came from, were sent back to their work, and promised that their complaint would be looked into.

Letter of G. Schwartz, Mr. Gallez's town Agent, Berbice, 2nd May 1827.

To: D. Power, Esq. His Majesty's Protector of Slaves.

Sir, I am sorry to find that some of Mr. Gallez's negroes have found their way to your office with complaints against him, namely, that they have not had their Easter Holidays, as prescribed by law.

I beg leave to acquaint you, that Mr. Gallez only postponed their holidays on account of having continually from five to six punts, and in each punt five negroes, transporting timber to the saw mill establishment, in consequence of which, he would not allow them their holidays until all his people were together.

Previous to Mr. Gallez leaving town, he requested me to send by the first punt two puncheons of rum, and two barrels of pork, saying, that as soon as he reached home, he would give them their holidays, and that there are plenty salt fish, pipes and tobacco on the estate.

The above rum and pork, as well as many articles for himself, were sent by me under the charge of Mr. Buttine, overseer of Fredrik's last.

I have, &tc. G. SCHWARTZ

Mr. W. Reehorst being just in town the day the negroes lodged the complaint, he was sent for to see if he could give any explanation on the subject, which however he denied, saying that he was a manager over the cocoa fields, but that he knew nothing about the wood-cutters.

Letter to Mr. R. Hart, Clerk employed in the Protector's Office, and Interpreter in the Dutch Creole tongue.

Protector's Office, Berbice, 10th May, 1827.

Sir, As the public service requires that I should remain in town, I have to desire that you will have the goodness to proceed to Mr. Gallez's wood-cutting establishment in Canje, authorising you to institute an enquiry, by a written detailed evidence, into all complaints preferred by the slaves of that establishment, to explain to them in the Dutch Creole, the various privileges which the law has given to them, at the same time inculcating on their minds the necessity of industrious, sober and peaceable habits, and above all, of treating their owner and others in authority over them with every degree of respect. As to their property in corials, which they themselves build, you must impress upon them that the materials shall be acquired honestly, and if they should be found using them for pleasure on the water, their owner is at liberty to take them from them, as a security against their endangering their own lives and his property.

I am, &c. D. POWER, His Majesty's Protector of Slaves.

Report of R. Hart on the above Letter, New Amsterdam, Berbice, 18th May 1827.

Sir, In conformity with your letter of the 10th inst. to me, I have the honour to lay before you a statement of my proceedings to Mr. Gallez's wood-cutting establishment in Canje, where I only arrived, on account of the bad weather, on Monday last, the 14th Inst. On my arrival there, the negroes were enjoying their past Easter holidays, which had been so long postponed on account of some of the punts that carry wood from the said establishment to the new Fort being detained, so that the whole gang could not have been assembled before.

The next morning, being Tuesday. I requested that the gang should be called before me, which was accordingly done. I then addressed the complainants of the 1st of May, and stated to them that I was very glad to find them amusing themselves the day before as they did, more so as part of their complaint had been

the delaying of the said holidays, and that therefore, they were satisfied as to that part of the complaint. As to their being obliged to sleep on the bank, and not allowed to come to their homes at night, I asked the rest of the gang present, whether this was a founded complaint; to which they replied that they had their huts at their respective working places, but that they, the complainants, wished to come to their established residence at night, which would nearly be impossible, as they were working a great distance from their residence. I then told the complainants in particular that they should have been satisfied, as well as the other negroes, to lodge wherever they were working; that I had visited the day before, some of those huts which I found in very good order; but if they had wished to make any alteration they may have requested their master to grant them time to do so. Mr. Gallez then said that if they had asked him he would not have refused it, and therefore gave them that whole day for themselves, to do whatever might tend for their convenience. As to their being worked from six in the morning till six at night, was strenuously denied by the overseers and drivers, who stated that they had their regular two hours intermission. I therefore recommended, in order to prevent a misunderstanding on that point, that the drivers should blow a shell at their respective places at eleven o'clock for breakfast, and at one o'clock to recommence their work. I told them as they were entitled by law thereto, I could not think that their master would be so unkind as to deprive them there from; upon which the greatest part of the negroes corroborated what the overseers and drivers had said. And lastly, as to "their not being allowed to keep corials, I impressed upon their minds that they were at full liberty to build corials in their own time, that the materials should be honestly acquired, and then, only for the purpose of selling them; that if they should be found using them for their own pleasure upon the water, that their owner had a right to take them away as a security against their endangering their own lives and his property."

I then addressed the whole gang present, and asked whether they had any further complaint to lay to the charge of their superiors. They said that they had no complaint, but merely requested to observe that it was customary with them, to get one Saturday every other week, for the purpose of working their provision grounds, independent of their Sundays; that this was

not quite sufficient to keep up the said fields, and therefore requested their master to give them some further indulgence for that purpose. This I recommended to Mr. Gallez, on account of his own provision fields not being in bearing as yet. He stated that he had no objection to grant every Saturday for that purpose, until his own fields might be in bearing, as it is hoped they will be in a short time. I then explained to them the various privileges which the law had granted to them, at the same time inculcating on their minds the necessity of industrious, sober, and peaceable habits, and above all, of treating their owners and others in authority over them, with every degree of respect. That as they had occasioned their master great displeasure, by lodging a complaint that was partly an impossibility, and for the rest false, I recommended to them that they should behave better, and not prefer all kinds of frivolous complaints against their master merely to absent themselves for some days from work, which would only bring them in discredit, whereas otherwise, they will be always protected by the law.

You will conceive that all of the above was explained to them in the Dutch Creole tongue, and to my great satisfaction, they returned many thanks for the interference on their behalf, expressed that they were fully satisfied, and promised to obey their superiors in future, as they had always done before.

To D. Power, Esq. His Majesty's Protector of Slaves R. HART

CASE SEVENTY EIGHT

C.O. 116/143/226

Complaint No. 21. – 15th June, 1827.

Henery Cummings, belonging to Mrs. Fraser, states: – Yesterday mistress called for a glass of water, which I gave her. After that my master called for water. I did not hear my name mentioned. There is a white servant who generally brings up water for him to wash. He came down as I was taking up a glass of water to him. He took a horsewhip to beat me. Took the glass of water from me, and placed it on the table, and made out at me with the whip, which I fended off. He then threw me down and put his foot on my belly. When I was trying to get up, he gave me a blow on the head. He held me down, and was squeezing my neck on the ground. He then sat down on the sofa, held me with one hand, and called for a rope to tie me and send me to

the barracks. A rope was brought, and he was going to tie me, but I prevented him from doing so. He gave me another cut with the horsewhip over the jaw.

Commissary Fraser, states: – Yesterday, when I came home from my office, as I was passing through the hall, I passed Henery, and told him to bring up water. I went up stairs. After being there sometime, I found that no water was coming. I called out, why he did not bring the water up. He bent his brows, and looked very sulky in the face, saying that he did not hear me. I said you must be telling a lie. I went and took the horsewhip to him to hit him. As I was in the act of doing so, he laid hold of it. I told him to let go. He would not. I found that he had such hold of it that I could not get it out of his hands. I then gave him a twist, and laid him on the floor to get the whip. I could not effect it. In the struggle, he knocked his head on the floor, which gave him a rising on the brow. I felt determined, from the resistance he made, to have him committed to the barracks. I called for a rope to have him tied and sent him there. This I could neither effect, from the resistance he made. I then told him to remain where he was, until I should write a note. As my back was turned to him, he disappeared.

Miss Maria Broadhead, being examined, corroborated Mr. Fraser's statement as to the water and the struggle which took place. She herself persuaded Henery to let go his hold, which he would not do. Mr. Fraser was going to send him to the barracks, but when he turned his back to write the note Henery escaped.

RESULT.

The Protector reprimanded Henery for offering personal resistance, and not desisting from struggling with his master, when repeatedly advised by Miss Broadhead, who witnessed the transaction.

At the same time he begged to observe to Commissary Fraser, that if he had inflicted any blow without waiting for the due interval prescribed by law, it would have been his duty to call upon the Fiscal to prosecute him for the penalty. He therefore dismissed the complaint.

CASE SEVENTY NINE

C.O. 116/143/227-34

Complaint No. 22.

Investigation taken on plantation Golden Grove, on account of an official communication received from H. Downie, Esq. the civil magistrate of that district, in the following manner: –

Plantation Waterloo, 13th June, 1827.

Sir, I have the honour to report, for your information, that I this day attended on plantation Golden Grove to investigate two complaints preferred from that estate; and I deem it my duty to state to you officially, that the negroes on that estate appear to be in a state of anarchy and disorder that is highly discreditable to all who have the charge of them.

One coloured family on the estate appear to have the whole control over the rest of the gang; and as one of the sisters of the family is kept by the manager, and the other by the overseer, no redress is given when any complaint is made against them.

I have, &c. H. DOWNIE, C.M. 1st Dist. West. Coast.

To D. Power, Esq. H.M. Protector of Slaves.

The Protector sent a copy of the above letter to W. Scott, Esq. one of the attornies, jointly with W. Katz. Esq. of said estate, for their information, to which he received the following answer:

New Amsterdam, Berbice, 15th June, 1827.

Sir, I yesterday had the honour to receive your letter, communicating Mr. Downie's official report respecting the plantation Golden Grove. That estate has been for a considerable time past under the charge of Mr. Katz and myself, and no complaint has ever been made of us by the negroes. When we last visited the estate you did us the favour to accompany us, and I confidently appeal to you, whether there was any appearance of discontent or disorder amongst the negroes at that time. Mr. Downie's charges, however, are of a very serious nature, and certainly require minute investigation. Mr. Katz and myself have therefore to solicit the favour of you to accompany us to the estate at your earliest convenience, to examine into the abuses stated by Mr. Downie to exist, in order that, if proved, the manager and overseer may be both discharged from the estate.

I have &c, W. SCOTT.

The Protector, having proceeded to plantation Golden Grove, accompanied by Mr. R. Hart, the following investigation was

taken on the 19th June 1827, in the presence of W. Scott, Esq. one of the estate's attorneys, and J.S. Usher, Esq. the civil magistrate of the adjoining district, in consequence of Mr. Downie's absence on private business.

The negro Quassie having been called, he was desired to state circumstantially the reasons of his going to complain to Mr. H. Downie, the civil magistrate; when he proceeded thus:—

One morning Mr. Ross told me I should go to the water-side to line ground for draining. I was taken away from there, and ordered to go with the other people to the plantation Ross, to make up the roads. We were two days employed there. On my return I was again ordered to the water-side to work with the boy King, who was to hold the line stick. I commenced working in the morning, and lined three drains before Mr. Hiles, the overseer, came to me and asked what I was doing. I told him I was working. He said, "Give me the line stick," and told King to go with him to the other side. When Mr. Hiles took the line he ordered me to follow with the pins to measure the breadth. When he was lining he called the driver, Peter, who was just bringing a tally, and said, "Look at that fellow: he has been making jobs in the field" (an irregular line, instead of a straight one). When I heard him tell the driver so, I said "No, it is not me who spoiled it, as you, Mr. Hiles, was with me when the pins were put." The driver went away, and the overseer cursed me, saying, "You d—d stupid brute, I would not give a bit for you." I then said, "Mr. Hiles, don't trouble me at my work." He then called the driver again, and ordered him to place another man at my work, and gave me a shovel. The driver sent no man, so that I continued following Mr. Hiles with the pins till nine o'clock, it being about eight when Mr. Hiles came to the field. After he went away, I told the boy King that we should continue working during breakfast-time, in order that we might leave off at the same time with the rest of the gang, who had task-work. I forgot to mention that when Mr. Hiles came to me in the morning, he asked why I had taken King, and not Quassie, to work with me. I said, as I had found King to be the smartest of the two. Mr. Hiles replied, that I had taken King as I thought Quassie would soon line ground better than myself, and that I should then be put to the shovel. I said I could do any work, and that I did not care for lining ground, as I got no extra allowance for it. I then, as stated, worked through eleven o'clock.

At three o'clock Mr. Hiles came from No. 27 (the next estate) to the field where he had been since one o'clock. When he came to the ground, he passed the other people, and came up to me; he asked me how many drains I lined since he left me. I said, I did not reckon the number, but had been lining all the time since he left me in the morning. When Mr. Ross first came on the estate I was in the habit of having a number of line sticks, but he taught me to do it with three or four, which I found answered to the purpose. Mr. Hiles asked me where the sticks were he had ordered to cut in the morning. I said, as I had continued working, I had not cut them as yet. I said, what was the use of cutting them to lie down; if he had brought a boy to line, I would go and cut sticks for him. He then told me, "Set off and cut them, you d—d rascal." I said, Mr. Hiles, do not trouble me at my work to cut sticks for no use. These were my last words. I was of intention to go and cut the sticks, and was just putting the last in my drain, when he gave me a blow on the side of the head, so that I fell in the trench. I got up, said nothing, and did not even look at him. I went on the dam. On my coming to complain to Mr. Ross, Mr. Hiles followed me. I said to boy King, you have seen that I did not trouble Mr. Hiles, and he has knocked me down. Mr. Hiles said, when we were coming along, that Mr. Ross had told him before, that I was a d—d rascal. When we came to the road near the house, he saw Mr. Ross going out. When he saw us, he stopped. I asked him, whether he allowed Mr. Hiles to beat me at my work. I did not half finish my story, when Mr. Hiles told me to hold my tongue. He then told Mr. Ross, "I can't get this fellow to do any thing, he spoils the field." After I heard Mr. Hiles say so, I wanted to continue my story, to which he would not listen. I said, you will hear Mr. Hiles's story, and not mine; and I was ordered to the stocks. I said, very well, I will go to the stocks. My feet were covered with mud, and I asked Mr. Hiles to allow me to wash my feet before confining me. He said, no. He then took his pocket handkerchief, put it around my neck, and drew it so tight, that I was obliged to get my hands between lest I should be choked. I did nothing whatever to oppose it, as the boy King knows; he was present. When I was trying to loose the handkerchief from my neck, Mr. Ross was just coming, and said, hallo, what is the matter. I said, look how Mr. Hiles tied me, because I wished to wash my feet. He replied, well, the stocks can't eat you, go. I made no

resistance, and was brought in that situation to the stock-house. He put me in at three o'clock on the Saturday and was there until the Tuesday after Whitsuntide, during which time the people were dancing. On the Sunday, whilst I was in the stocks, Mr. Ross came, and asked me, "Quassie, what was the matter between you and Mr. Hiles?" I told him the whole story, as I am telling you (the Protector). On the Tuesday, Mr. Ross came to take me out of the stocks. He said, "Quassie, it is in consequence of your being saucy to Mr. Hiles; the same way you used to be saucy to me, that you have been confined." I replied, "Mr. Ross, do you allow Mr. Hiles to beat me at my work?" He said, "yes, I allow him." When I was released, Mr. Ross ordered me to my work. I said, "No; that as I was such a bad negro, in Mr. Ross's opinion, on the estate, I would thank him to give me a pass to ascertain it." Mr. Ross said, "I told you to go to work, but as you wish for a pass, I will give it to you." Before his giving it to me, he asked where I was going. I said, I would not tell, but wanted the pass. My intention was to come to Mr. Scott, but as my pass was directed to Mr. Downie, I went there. I told Mr. Downie my complaint, who gave me the same pass back, and said I should return to my work, that he would come on the estate in two or three days. Last Wednesday Mr. Downie came, and took down my story, as it is now taken down. He asked me why I did not cut the sticks when ordered by Mr. Hiles. I said I would have done so, if he had brought a boy to line with. I told him that I was struck on the ground by Mr. Hiles.

The examination being thus far conducted, Mr. Hiles requested to be allowed to put a question to Quassie.

"Do you mean to say, that when I came to the field on the Saturday, that I was drunk, and falling down?"

A. - "Yes, I mean to say so."

The boy King, states: - I have listened to what Quassie has stated. I was present, it is perfectly true.

On a question, whether he had seen Mr. Hiles knock Quassie, he said, "yes; he hit him, and threw him down in the trench. When Quassie got up, he picked up his hat, and said not a word. I came with Mr. Hiles and Quassie to the house: when Quassie addressed Mr. Ross, Mr. Hiles cut off his words (interrupted him), and said, that he was spoiling the field. He was ordered in the stocks. Quassie asked to wash his feet. Mr. Hiles said, if he did allow him, he would run away. Mr. Hiles then took out

his handkerchief, and twisted it around Quassie's neck, that he could not blow. When I was going to call the two men, I looked round, and found Mr. Hiles coming with Quassie, with the handkerchief tied round his neck.

Mr. Hiles then put the question, whether he was drunk and falling down when he came to the field.

A. – "I can't say whether you were drunk, but you were nearly falling down."

When Mr. Downie came here on the estate, he did not ask me clean (fully), he only put a few questions. I told him in answer to one, that I saw Mr. Hiles strike Quassie.

On a question put by Mr. Ross, whether, when Mr. Hiles told him the story about Quassie, when they came from the field, if he did not say at the time, that Mr. Hiles's statement was true.

A. – "What regards Quassie's refusing to cut sticks, I did say it was true."

Q. – When I asked you, whether Mr. Hiles pushed or knocked Quassie in the trench, did you not say he pushed him?

A. – "I said he struck him a blow on the jaw."

Mr. Hiles then produced the following certificate from Mrs. O'Connor, of No. 27, the place he had been to previous to his going in the field:

"I certify that Mr. S. Hiles came here on Saturday the 2d June, between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, and remained here about half an hour. He took nothing whatever to drink whilst here. He appeared perfectly sober, and I never saw him otherwise. Quassie, belonging to Golden Grove, came here between twelve and two o'clock in the afternoon, and stated to me that he was lining ground, and I gave him a large wine glass full of strong proof rum on his going away."

Signed MARY O'CONNOR

Quassie was then examined by the Protector:

"Do you know Mrs. O'Connor?"

A. – "Yes, I do."

"Did you go to that lady on the Saturday this business took place, 2d June?"

A. – No; it was the third day after I had been there that the business with Mr. Hiles took place."

The Protector then expressed much dissatisfaction with regard to the certificate, to which, however, Mr. Hiles replied, that the lady had said before, that she could not with exactitude

remember the day she gave Quassie the rum; and begged that this part might be overlooked, as it was not done with any evil intention.

Examination of Mr. S. Hiles

On the morning of Saturday the 2d, I was ordered by Mr. Ross to go in front and line some drains. Quassie was getting on draining very slow, and there were not sufficient lined to give the people a task. On my way down I observed, that the drains dug on a former day were angular, on account of the bad lining. I called Quassie, and told him he had spoiled the field, that he had made job beds. I asked him, if he called himself a liner, and that he could not run a straight line through a bed; that I would not give two bits for him. He said, if they were crooked they had a right to be so, as he got nothing extra for lining, and got no double allowance. I commenced lining, and he stood up talking. I called him to attend to his work. He took no notice, but kept on talking. I then called the driver, and asked if he had seen Quassie's work; that he had spoiled the field. Quassie would persist that I spoiled it, and not himself. That I had measured off the side lines, and he had followed my pins. I told him that the side lines were correct; and if they had not been, the jobs would have come as well in the side line as in the middle of the field. That the sticks I had put in the side lines were regular. He paid no attention whatsoever to what I said to him. I ordered the driver to send a man from the shovel, and put Quassie in his place. I could not get him to do any thing. He afterwards went on a little better, and he was not replaced. I left the field about 10 o'clock, and ordered him to cut more line sticks, which were close at hand, as the ones he had were not such as I approved of. My object was to expedite the work, that the boy would not have to turn round so frequently to take them from me; we might thus gain time. After one I went from this. On my way down I went to No. 27, where I remained for half an hour. I took nothing to drink whatsoever while I was there. I left there about 2 o'clock. I went to Quassie, and asked for the line sticks I had ordered him to cut. He said he had cut none. I asked him why. He said, if I wanted line sticks there they were (pointing to the ones in the drain): this he said in a very insolent manner. I told him to go and cut the line sticks I had ordered him. He said he did not call me; he did not want line sticks. I said I wanted them myself. I told him to go and cut them directly.

He said I don't go cut any I tell you. I then said to him, I'll make you do it. I took him by the shoulders and pushed him in the trench, to go across and cut the sticks. He jumped out of the trench at once, and said, "I thank you, that's what I wanted, I'll now go to the manager," and caused the boy King, to follow him as a witness. The remainder of the gang were within call, about sixty rods from where this took place. We came to Mr. Ross, whom we met on the public road. I told him I could not get Quassie to do any thing. That he had made jib beds in the field. That he had often before been insolent, and that I have been induced to leave the field in consequence; that when I had done so, I generally had found the work spoiled. I believe previous to that, I had ordered him to cut sticks, which he had refused to do. I asked the boy King, in the presence of Mr. Ross, if I had not ordered Quassie to cut sticks, which he had refused. The boy said, yes. Quassie then said I had struck him. Mr. Ross questioned the boy. He said I had pushed him in the trench. Mr. Ross ordered me to put him in the stocks, and turned round to go away. Quassie said, "I'll be d—d if I go in the stocks so high day time;" he turned to go down to the side line, I called him. He gave no answer. I then took him by the arm, and hauled him round; he attempted to get from me. It was with a great deal of difficulty I held him. In the struggle I took my handkerchief from my pocket and put it round his neck to secure him. After he found himself secured, he asked to wash his feet. I told him he would get away. Mr. Ross then said, Quassie, what's the matter, are you afraid of the stocks? It wont kill you; and asked him, why wont you go the stocks? He said, because Mr. Ross would not hear my story. If he had heard it he would give me right. Mr. Ross said, it was no place in the public road to hear stories, but he would hear what he had to say when he came home. I then brought him to the stocks, where he remained confined until Tuesday morning.

Examination of Mr. Thomas Ross.

About 3 o'clock on Saturday the 2d June, I saw Mr. Hiles, Quassie, and boy King, coming up in a great hurry. As they were approaching, I asked what's the matter? Mr. Hiles addressed me, and said he could not get Quassie to do any thing; he would not obey a word he told him; he was very insolent to him. When Mr. Hiles came for breakfast in the morning, he had told Quassie to cut some line sticks. This he did not do. He

ordered him to go and do it then. He said he would not; and as they were close to the trench he pushed him in, to go and cut the sticks across. On my questioning the boy King, he confirmed what Mr. Hiles had said. I asked Quassie why he would not cut the sticks. He said there was no use for any, he had sticks enough. I told him he had no right to question what they were for. That he should obey Mr. Hiles's order. That Mr. Hiles was accountable to me for the work when he was there, and that for his insolence and disobedience of order he should go to the stocks. Quassie then wished to enter into a long complaint as to Mr. Hiles's conduct. I told him it was not the place to make complaints, and I went off.

I went a short distance, and happened to look behind; I saw him and Mr. Hiles in a scuffle. When I came up, I said, hallo! What's the matter? Mr. Hiles said he would not go in the stocks, that he wished to get away from him. I asked Quassie why he would not go to the stocks, it could not kill him. He said I was sending him to the stocks to please Mr. Hiles; that if I had heard all he had to say against Mr. Hiles, I would give him right. I said that had nothing to do with the present business. He was to be confined for insolence and disobedience of orders; if he had any complaint to make against Mr. Hiles, I would hear him another time, and recommended him to go to the stocks. I told Mr. Hiles to use no violence to him. He then went to the stocks, and remained there till after the holidays. When I went to release him, I reasoned with him, and told him it was for insolence and disobedience of orders, that he had been kept there, and as an additional punishment his name would be recorded in the black book. He told me he would not go to work, but wanted a pass to go complain. I told him he could have one, and asked him where he wanted to go. He said, "Never mind; give me the pass Massa." I gave him one to Mr. Downie the Magistrate. He returned with the same pass, endorsed on the back, that he should return to his work, and that the Civil Magistrate would come on the estate in two or three days.

He went to his work; and when the Civil Magistrate came on Wednesday the 13th the complaint was heard. I stated as I have now done. He told Quassie that if he had not already been punished by Mr. Ross, he would have ordered him a severe flogging.

During the time Quassie was confined, he got his regular

allowance of plantains, and fish, and rum. The other negroes had a free intercourse with him.

On a question being put by the Protector, whether Quassie had ever absconded? Mr. Ross answered; he once broke out from the hospital and went to complain.

RESULT.

The Protector observed, that as the Civil Magistrate had already decided on the Complaint, he would not disturb it. However, he felt it his duty to admonish Mr. Hiles not to act on the irritation of the moment, and in checking insolence on the part of the negroes under his charge, to shew himself a good example. He might have sent for the drivers to take the man to the stocks, without throwing a handkerchief round the throat. Quassie was also told, that his duty was not to argue on the nature of the work, but to do it.

Investigation taken on plantation Golden Grove, on a complaint of the woman Dido in pursuance of the same communication from the Civil Magistrate, Mr. H. Downie, as in the preceding case of Quassie.

Dido states: – I begged Mr. Ross, the manager, for a pass, to go to town to complain to the attornies. There are at present no plantains on the estate, and the bunches we get for our allowance are so small that on Saturdays we generally have nothing left to eat of the week's allowance. Three weeks ago, we got our allowance on the Monday evening when we came from the field, and had been without plantations from the preceding Saturday. When I came from work I told my child Emmy to take my allowance when shared out, as I wished to go aback and get some corn and eat it in the mean time. When I returned, the allowance had been shared out. I found Emmy crying. I asked her what's the matter. She said that John had been calling her bad names. I told her get out, don't trouble me with your nonsense. She replied, "Mama, me no tell lies; if you won't believe me you may ask driver Peter." John wanted to beat her, but the driver had prevented him. When the children were going to pick the cotton from the Babricot, John told her again that she might go and tell her mother that she was not her mistress. They had called John's brother to help them picking up the cotton. John asked what they had done so for, if they thought it

was a negro like themselves. He said Emmy's mother was purchased to work on the estate, and that his mother was not; that with whatever little work they did they had to be satisfied. Having heard John say so myself, I went home; but I could not let this pass, so as my name had been made use of, I went to John's mother's house, and asked for him. She said he was not in, but was still in the logie. The boy Hendrick came and spoke to her. John immediately said, don't talk with that girl Emmy, she is Mr. Hiles's wife. Emmy turned round, said, No, I am not Mr. Hiles's wife; you know very well who is Mr. Hiles's wife. Mr. Hiles had made an application to John's mother, to let him have her daughter Betsy as his wife; but she had already promised Mr. John Nicholson, who, after she had been three or four days with him, returned her. As Mr. Hiles was thus disappointed in getting Betsy, he asked me to let him have my child Emmy. I said it was not time yet. He said he did not want her as his wife, but would take care of her provisionally. He was always following me for Emmy, but I said I would not give her to him; but if he might be on the estate when Emmy should be a little older he might have her. This was about four months ago. I went and consulted my shipmates about it; they said I might allow Mr. Hiles to take care of her, and if she was grown he would have the preference of her. I then allowed Mr. Hiles to mind her; and promised to keep her for him if he should remain on the estate; if he was removed from the estate I could not help it. One day at one o'clock Mr. Hiles came in the negro yard to turn us out for work. He met Emmy sitting down in dirty clothes. He told her to come to him for some clothes to go clean in future. I took her myself to Mr. Hiles, and he gave her some stripe. He gave her with his own good will, not to say that he had any connexions with Emmy. Mr. Hiles told me afterwards, that as Emmy would be some time before she would be grown, he would not wait any longer, and was going to ask John's mother for Betsy. He took Betsy, and I thought no more about it until the business in the logie took place. When I was coming from John's mother's house, I, when passing through the negro yard, said that they (John's family) were doing so daily, because their skin was lighter than mine. I was much hurted and I cursed. Betsy followed me and said I was hurted because she had Mr. Hiles, and she cursed me, called me bitch, and other bad language. I then turned round, went up to her, and hit her a

slap. I said that John had no business to curse me or any of my children. Betsy's mother then came, and they both attacked me. Richmond separated us. John is a very troublesome young man. He goes in the negroe's houses and beats them, as happened with Diamond, Bristol, and Quashie. I was then determined to ascertain whether, if a little dispute existed between two people, if the families had any business to interfere with it. If this was the case I would be satisfied, and otherwise I hoped that the attornies would come to explain it upon the estate. My hand being hurt in the scuffle, I went in the hospital; the doctor came and tied it. Next morning I begged Mr. Ross for a pass to town, he would not give it to me immediately, but asked where I was going. I said nothing, thinking it was best to keep it to myself, as Mr. Ross knew very well what happened. He gave me a pass addressed to Mr. Downie. I told him that as I did not intend to complain about work I thought it was better to complain to the attorney, as it was a matter between us. However, he would not give it to me.

On a question put to Mr. Ross by the Protector, whether he knew any thing about the transaction between Mr. Hiles and Emmy, he answered, No, not a word. Mr. Ross nor Mr. Hiles knew any thing of the scuffle having taken place.

On a question put by the Protector, Mr. Ross said that the girl Betsy went away from the estate for three days with Mr. Nicholson, who took her in the chaise one evening; he, Mr. Ross, had a party. It created a misunderstanding between him and Mr. Nicholson a considerable time.

Examination of John, a coloured slave, who states: – Last Monday week I was ordered by Mr. Fork, the estate's carpenter, to grind a chisel. I went in the logie, and called the boys King and Quassie to turn the stone, they both refused to go; there was no other carpenter with Mr. Fork but myself. I went back and told Mr. Fork that the boys refused to go. He said I should tell Mr. Ross. I went again and called the same boys. I did not wait for them but went towards the dam. When I had been standing up, waiting for them some time, I went back to the logie. As I went in Emmy was sitting at the door. I asked her where the boys were; she made no answer. Another boy, Goodluck, came into the logie, and I threatened to take him to Mr. Ross if he did not tell me where these two boys were. He went and looked up stairs. He did not find them. I went out

and looked under the logie, where they were laying; when on returning in the logie Emmy laughed at me. I told her she was an impudent little bitch. One of the boys said he was watching the plantains. I said, let Emmy do this, and told them to come to the grindstone. After grinding my chisel I came back to the logie. I found Hendrik, Emmy, and another girl named Louisa. I told Hendrik not to play with Emmy, as Mr. Hiles was minding her for his wife, and would be vexed if he saw him playing with her. Emmy said she would tell her mother. I said, I cared not for her mother. I came to hear that Emmy was intended for Mr. Hiles's wife, that the mother was in the habit of bringing her in a blanket to Mr. Hiles, and when she was quarrelling about it I heard it. As to what she says, that I said my mother was not brought for the estate, I strenuously deny. King asked me where Edward was, why I did not take him to turn the stone?

In answer to a question put by the Protector to Mr. Ross, he said that Dido refused to give an explanation of the complaint when she asked for a pass. As I expected the attorney of the estate daily, I tried to persuade her to stop. She would not have told me her complaint if it had not been for Mr. McInnes speaking with her.

On a question to Dido, whether she was in the habit of bringing Emmy in a blanket to Mr. Hiles, she said, I only brought Emmy once to Mr. Hiles, but not in a blanket.

In explanation how it happened, that the estate was at times short of plantains, Mr. Ross says, they got their plantains on Monday afternoon. The plantains were ready for them. It happened that the cart was not home as quick as usual, as the watchman had not brought the plantains on the dam (they were taken from No. 16). I was coming from town on the Saturday, and found the cattle that draw the cart loose to graze; they walked home here, so that the boys were obliged to come for them on Sunday.

In answer to, in cases of emergency how they got their food? Mr. Ross states, though it might occur from accident that they did not get their allowance on the precise day, they have the control over fields aback, where there are plenty of ground provisions, and to which they could have recourse when such a recurrence (a thing very rare) took place. He also felt it his duty to state, that Mr. Hiles always bore the character of being a sober man, and that he was not intoxicated, as stated by Quassie.

Certificates were subsequently sent from the managers of the estates with which a contract had been entered into to supply the people on Golden Grove with plantains. That description of food was stated to be of the very best kind, and such as were given to the negroes on the adjoining estates. Certificates from two gentleman were forwarded by Mr. Hiles, which stated that they had known him for many years, and that he was a very sober man. One of them observed, that he was present when Mr. Hiles confined Quassie in the stocks, and that he exhibited no appearance of insobriety.

DECISION. The Protector observed, that it was with great surprise, he had received the letter from the Civil Magistrate, asserting that the people of that estate were in a state of anarchy and confusion, particularly as that was his, (the Protector's) third visit there, not however officially. He had never received a single complaint from a negro belonging to it before; and he well recollected, that when he visited it the last time, in company with the two attornies, Mr. Scott and Mr. Katz, they particularly questioned the gang on their treatment, when no complaint was made. He however could not conceal from the manager and overseer, that there was very reprehensible irregularity, arising, first from the very licentious habits and propositions of the latter, especially in an endeavour prematurely to debauch the mind of such a child as Emmy, through the instrumentality of her parent; and Mr. Ross was culpable to a degree in not knowing that such proceedings took place amongst any of the people, for whose well-being he was responsible. It was true, that such licentiousness as that of Mr. Hiles, did not fall within the penalties of the law, but he should speak to the attornies. These gentlemen anticipated his application, as both manager and overseer had previously received notice of dismissal.

CASE EIGHTY
C.O. 116/143/235-36

Betsy Ann, belonging to Elizabeth S. Bannister, states: – I have served my mistress for the last twenty years as a huckster, and have not had occasion to complain before. My mistress about two years ago sent me to Demerara with twenty joes to buy goods; she told me when I was going, that if my sister, (who is

free, and living in Demerara) would buy me for the good of myself, she would sell me. My sister agreed to do so. I went to England with my mistress. After we returned she told me she intended to give me over to my young master, but instead of which she gave my son John, and told me she was still willing to sell me to my sister. I understood a letter was written to my sister on the subject. After an answer was received I was told by my mistress that my sister was to give 2000*l.* for myself, and 1000*l.* for my son Archibald. After it concluded as I thought, that my sister was to purchase me, my mistress told me one day that it would cause a great deal of displeasure if my sister did not come forward to purchase me; for if she did not, she would put me to work in the field which she accordingly did. I was put in the field on plantation Lewis Manor, the property of my mistress. I was never in the field before. I told her I could not work in the field. She insisted on my doing so. I wrought in the field a week, and finding I could not do it, I now come to crave the assistance of His Majesty's Protector of Slaves.

Miss E.S. Bannister, being summoned, appeared and states: – I have owned the woman Betsy Ann 20 years, and have never had any fault to find with her until her sister offered to buy her. I told Betsy Ann if her sister would give me a servant as good as herself I would sell her. Her sister had not the means of doing so, and she, Betsy Ann, absconded from me for nearly two years. She came back to me in very bad health, as much so that I was obliged to send her to Barbadoes at a very great expense, for the recovery of her health. After she returned from Barbadoes she conducted herself very well for some time. I took her to England, when her behaviour there was so bad that I twice threatened to turn her out of the house. I brought her back to this Colony, and on my arrival here told her again, that if her sister was willing to buy her I would sell her; and in order that she might see her sister herself, I sent her to Demerara. On her return she told me that it was the intention of her sister to write me on the subject, but I never heard any thing from her satisfactory. About this time I told Betsy Ann that in consequence of her being so impertinent, and that her sister was not coming forward, I would put her up at vendue. She then told me, if I sold her to any other person excepting her sister, it would be the grave for one and the gallows for the other. In consequence of her very rude reply, I had her put in the field, where she remained about a month, when my son

begged for her, and she was released. On the 17th Sept. 1826, I again wrote to her sister, stating my price for herself and her son, namely 1800f. for her, and 600f. for her son. This letter was given to Betsy Ann to forward to her sister. Betsy Ann told me at this time, that if her sister or her niece did not buy her for the good of herself, she would rather remain my property. She very lately absconded from me with a trunk of goods, and was away better than three months. When she returned I took away the goods, and had her about me as a domestic, but on account of her being so irritable a disposition, I was obliged to send her to the estate (which is a cotton one), with a letter to the manager, requesting him to employ her as a domestic; but should he not be induced to change his present domestic, to work her about the logie.

I beg to add, that during the period I owned this woman, I have never flogged a slave, which she can confirm (Betsy Ann confirmed this assertion) and since these new regulations I have withdrawn the goods from all my hucksters, and sent them to the above cotton estate.

The Protector impressed upon the complainant the injustice of her accusation against so kind a mistress, and a woman much respected in the Colony. She had been pardoned for transgressions which had frequently subjected other slaves to the severest punishment. She could not deny any part of the statement of her mistress. He (the Protector), could not comply therefore with the wish; in fact he possessed no power to say to an owner, "Such a slave must be sold merely because he or she desires it." The truth was, she had a most ungovernable temper, and did not wish to quit her comrades in town.

Miss Bannister said, that she had no objection to make an offer of selling her and her son to her niece in Demerara, as was originally promised. If that offer was not received, then they should be sold at public vendue here. On this arrangement the complainant was ordered to attend her mistress, and obey her lawful orders.

CASE EIGHTY ONE

C.O. 116/143/240-45

King's House, Berbice, 29th May, 1827.

To: His Honour M.S. Bennett, Fiscal.

Sir, It has been represented to me that two slaves named Klaas

and Hendrick, the property of J.L. Nixon, Esq. Receiver General of the Colony, have lately been sold by him, the one by private sale, and the other by public vendue, under circumstances of peculiar hardship and oppression.

It is stated that Klaas has, without his knowledge, been separated from an aged mother, residing in town, and sold to a sugar planter on the other side of Berbice river, a distance from town of at least twenty-five miles; and that Hendrick, the domestic servant of Colonel Nixon, and who at one time accompanied his master to the United States of America, where he might have claimed his freedom but who chose to return with his master to this Colony, has been separated from his family in town, and individually (and to him unexpectedly) sold to a person on the other side of the Berbice river, and some distance in the country.

These proceedings are so much at variance with what I have always considered to be the usage of the Colony, and must be so prejudicial to its interests, that I deem it necessary to call your immediate attention to them, if they have not already (as I am induced to hope that they have) attracted their notice.

You will, therefore, without loss of time, inquire into this case, and make a detailed report in writing to me of the circumstances of it, and inform me what is the Law and usage of the Colony in respect thereof.

I am &tc H.BEARD, Lieut. Governor.

Fiscal's Office, Berbice, 1st June, 1827.

To: His Excellency H. Beard, Esq.

Sir, I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 29th May, directing me to inquire into the case of the two negroes belonging to Colonel Nixon, Receiver General of this Colony, who were sold under circumstances of peculiar hardship and oppression, and to make a detailed report thereof in writing to your Excellency. In reply I take leave to state that I trust it will appear to your Excellency, from the accompanying examinations which I have taken, I have omitted no necessary point of inquiry to derive the information required by your Excellency; from said examinations, it appears that the slave Hendrick was sold at public vendue on the 25th May, and separated from his aged mother (whom Colonel Nixon is now manumitting) and family, without their consent or knowledge;

a circumstance which, although not prohibited by any specific Ordinance, is *nevertheless, contrary to the usage and custom of the Colony.*

The negro slave Klaas appears to have been sold many years before Colonel Nixon became his owner, also separate from his mother. In this instance, however, it will appear to your Excellency, that it took place with consent and at request of parties. I have not as yet been able to ascertain, if the statement of the negress Fietje, that he had paid six joes towards the purchase of herself is correct, or not. I will lose no time in applying to Mr. de Goeje for information on this subject, and will report the result to your Excellency.

I trust herewith to have complied with the respected commands of your Excellency; and request to be favoured with your Excellency's further orders herein. I beg the examinations may be returned to me after perusal.

I have, &c. M.S. BENNETT, Fiscal of the Colony.

Fiscal's Office, Berbice, 31st May, 1827.

Examination of the negress Fietje, an elderly woman, mother of Klaas, Jacobus, and Peter:

My two youngest sons are dead. Jacobus went to England with Mr. Chapman, where he died. Mr. Downer bought Peter, and freed him. He got a fit by the water-side, and was drowned. Klaas and Bill were given by my mistress, Mrs. Busie, to her grandson Sanders Kreiger; but as he went to Holland, and did not return to this colony, Mr. Krieger purchased Klaas and Bill. After Klaas had belonged for some years to Mr. Krieger, he sold him to Colonel Nixon. Mr. De la Court, executor to Mrs. Busie, said that whoever purchased Klaas, my eldest son, was to purchase me also, the two other sons being provided for. Peter, my son, wanted to get Mr. Downer to purchase me, and he would repay him, but Miss Mietje Chambon, who was half-sister to Klaas and Jacobus, said it was better she should take me, and Peter would repay her. After Peter's death I found six joes in his desk, which were intended for Miss Mietje, and I paid them to her, and her husband, Mr. Hartien, gave me a receipt for the same. This receipt Peter's wife, Abaniba, belonging to Mr. Brankener, kept. Her house kept fire, and every thing in it was burnt to ashes, some time after Mr. Hartien's death. Mr. Nicolay put me up at vendue, and Mr. Broer, the carpenter, bought me,

and I still remain with him.

Question. – When you knew you had paid for yourself, and found you were going to be sold at vendue, why did you not come to the Fiscal to complain?

Answer. – I had never been before the Governor or the Fiscal before, and that was the cause of my not coming.

The above examination taken 31st May 1827.

Examination of the Negro Klaas.

I was informed by my owner, Colonel Nixon, that I was to be sold at vendue, as he was going to England; but I was purchased by Mr. William Munro, of plantation Foulis, near Mary Creek, and where he intended to take me. To this I objected, as I would be removed a very considerable distance from my aged mother, and I am the only child she has remaining. Mr. Munro said I must go. However, I persisted in refusing to do so, and he has consented that I should be sold at vendue, to try and find an owner in town, which I hope I shall be able to do.

Klaas was called upon to state how he came to be separated from his mother after the death of Mrs. Busie, and his mother's statement was read to him; to which he replied, Mr. De la Court consented that my mother should be sold at a low price, to enable my brother Peter, who was then free, but remaining in the service of Mr. Downer who is gone home, to purchase her. For the reasons stated by my mother, Miss Mietje Chambon paid the sum required by Mr. De la Court, but I do not know the amount. My mother did get from Peter's savings six joes, which she paid to Miss Mietje, for which she got a receipt from her husband, Mr. Hatrien, but it was destroyed when Peter's house was burnt. Mr. De Goeje, however, knows the receipt did exist. My mother is an old woman, and infirm, and that is the reason for objecting to be sold at so great a distance from her. Colonel Nixon has since told me he is to stop three weeks longer in the Colony, and that I am to wait upon him. After that I am to be sold. I was sent with some things to the vendue office this morning, and I have heard I was to be sold to-day, but if it is true or not I do not know.

Colonel Nixon was called upon to state his reason for disposing of the negroes Klaas and Hendrick separate from their families. He states, "I purchased the negro Klaas at public vendue. He was sold by Mr. Krieger, and I did not know he had

a mother. The evening previous to my vendue Mr. Munro, the proprietor of plantation Foulis, understanding that Klaas was a good cooper, and knowing I had purchased him as a single negro, offered to purchase him to be employed as cooper, and he gave me f.1600 cash for the negro. The day of the vendue I told Klaas I had sold him to Mr. Munro. He said nothing to me, but I understood from Dr. Munro that Klaas objected to go to his estate, or to go out of town. Mr. Munro left him with me until I quit the Colony, and being unwilling to purchase a slave contrary to the slave's inclination, he told me, if any person would give me a small advance, or, I think I may take upon myself to say, the same amount he gave, he would willingly part with him. Having purchased this slave as a single negro, I considered myself authorised to dispose of him. Klaas never hinted of his having requested any person to purchase him, or I would have given that person the preference. He objected as much when I purchased him as he has done now. Perhaps it is necessary to remark, that this man, Klaas, whilst in my service, was very sick. I hired a nurse to attend him. I sent to his mother, to say how ill he was, and wished her to come and stay with him, but she did not come. Her excuse was, she belonged to another owner. Klaas is much addicted to drinking, and I think that is one of his chief reasons for wishing to remain in town. With respect to the slave Hendrick, I purchased him, with his family, at the vendue of the effects of the late Governor Bentinck; the family consisted of the mother Peggy, Betsy, her children Jacob and Francis, and the boy Hendrick. I have advertised Peggy to be emancipated. I take home with me the boy Jacob, whom I mean to free. I have put Francis to school during my absence, and have given Betsey liberty to work for herself during my absence; with an intention, if she behaves well, to free her if I do not return, and in the event of my return, to keep her in the service of Mrs. Nixon, as her confidential servant. It had been my intention to free Hendrick, but his conduct has been so violent and brutal towards his family, and insolent to myself and family, that I revoked that intention, and sent him to Mr. Munro's estate to be worked for some time, attending horses and the field. His conduct there was so mutinous, that Mr. Munro, at the request of his manager and overseers, returned him to me, fearful that he would contaminate the gang. I then gave him a paper, authorizing him to find an owner, which he

had for about a month, but no one would purchase him. I then sold him at vendue on the 20th instant. He was purchased by Mr. McDougald, manager of plantation Cotton Tree, for f.1,100; he objected to belong to him, and I understand he is now transferred to Mr. Ross, manager of Golden Grove, where I hear he is contented. Hendrick is 19 years of age, as appears by his registration.

I never knew Klaas had a mother until he was taken sick, and I must do him the justice to say that he has conducted himself to my satisfaction, with the exception of being addicted to strong drink, in which he indulges to that degree, as to be incapable of doing any thing.

Signed J. LYONS NIXON

Examination of the mulatto woman, Peggy, an old infirm woman, unable to walk otherwise than on crutches.

Colonel Nixon bought me and my family at the vendue of Governor Bentinck, and we have been living in his service ever since. He is going to free me. He called me up stairs about three weeks ago, and asked if I should like to go and see my two daughters in Demerara, who were made free by my old master, Mr. Droughteven. I said "Yes." Massa said very well, I will get you a paper, and you will be a free woman, and then you can go, and I will pay your passage. I said, "God bless you, Sir;" but I did not think the Colonel was going to send me away, and to divide my family by selling Hendrick, and taking away Jacob. He ought to have told me he intended selling Hendrick. I live in the yard, and never knew he was to be sold till Hendrick told me his name was in the paper, to sell. I said no, child, the Colonel bought us in a family, and he cannot sell you without the rest. Asked if the Colonel had not given Hendrick a pass to look for an owner, says no, Sir; massa and he had a quarrel, and Hendrick got a paper to go and hire himself; but this has been a very long time ago. It was before Mrs. Thistlethwaite went home. It is my intention to go to my daughters in Demerara for some time. The one is lawfully married. They are both in good circumstances, but I cannot abandon the poor slaves here; consequently I cannot eat and drink there, but must remember those here, and come and look on them also. One of my thighs is withered up. I must be maintained, I cannot do the least thing to earn my livelihood. Betsy told me this morning, massa told her to look for some one

to hire her whilst he was in England. Her child Francis is to remain at school, where she has been about five months. Hendrick was purchased by the manager of Cotton Tree. He objected to go there. After the vendue was over, Mr. Ross, manager of Golden Grove, sent for him, and said, I am sorry to see you so dissatisfied. If you will consent to belong to me, I will purchase you, and if the Colonel will sell Betsy and your old mother, I will purchase them also. Hendrick not being able to help himself; and finding Mr. Ross was inclined to befriend him, consented to go with him; and I cannot help myself, although I do not wish or like to be separated from my child.

Examination of the woman Betsy, daughter to the invalid woman Peggy.

My master, Colonel Nixon, is going home, and is to take my son Jacob with him. He told me he would leave me to work out, and maintain myself and child Francis, who is at school at Miss McIntosh's. I am to pay six guilders a month for the schooling. He pays the schooling now for Jacob and Francis. My mother wished to go and see her daughters, who are free persons living in Demerara. Massa said there is a new law that slaves could not go there. He would make my mother free, and then she could go. Should my mother return to this Colony to live with me during my master's absence, I do not know I could maintain her and keep my children at school.

Hendrick was advertised in the newspaper for sale, with Klaas, Nelson, and Smith. The morning of the vendue Klaas went up and asked what was going to be done with him. Massa told him he was sold to Mr. Munro of Foulis. He refused to go unless his mother went also. Hendrick was not told he was going to be sold, only his name was put in the newspaper. By that means only he became acquainted that he was to be sold. None of the negroes were put up for sale but Hendrick, and he was sold at public vendue. I could say nothing against it, fearing the Colonel might say that he was doing good to me and my children. We felt dissatisfied, as he was the only one sold at vendue. The Colonel said he sold Hendrick because he was very insolent, and had taken up all the bad habits and customs of Sam, whom the Colonel sent back to Barbados. Witness admits that Hendrick was occasionally extremely rude in his behaviour and answers to master and mistress.

Friday Morning, 1st June 1827.

Mrs. Hantzen, the person alluded to in the examination of the negress Fietje, and the man Klaas, having been desired to attend at the Fiscal's office, appeared this morning, and being required to state how the afore-mentioned negress Fietje came into her possession, and to give an account of the amount paid by the said negress towards purchase of herself, she, the appearer, replied, "Mrs. Busie left me a legacy of four thousand guilders." The woman Fietje was at that time living with a negro man named Deve Jan (John the Deaf), who was manumitted by desire of Mrs. Busie. When the effects of Mrs. Busie were to be sold at vendue, Fietje was desirous of being purchased by her husband Deve Jan, who was a cooper, and in the habit of making a good deal of money. Mr. De la Court and Van der Brock limited her price at f.600. At the day of the sale Deve Jan could not effect the purchase. He had some of the old Dutch Berbice bills, which he took to Dr. Broer, to see if he had means sufficient to purchase her, but he had not. Fietje went to Maria Lucia, who was Deve Jan's sister, to beg her to lend her money, but she stated that she had exhausted her funds in repairing her buildings on her lot on town. She then came to me, and wished me to purchase her. This I declined, saying, "You have three sons, all grown up people. Two of them are to be sold, and if I had the means I have not the inclination to purchase them." Fietje replied, "My sons and I have never agreed. You have always been living in the same house with me. We know one another, and I shall be much better taken care of you than by any one else. My sons are grown up and do not require me any more." I then consented to purchase her. She told Mr. De la Court of the arrangement. He sent for me, and deducted the f.600, the amount of her purchase-money, from the amount left me by Mrs. Busie. The balance my husband received. After I bought her she went to Mrs. Busie's yard to get her goods, and she remained there upwards of a year, continually sending to tell me she was sick. I went myself, and finding how much she imposed upon me, I said she must go home instantly with me. She however begged I would allow her to hire herself, and I agreed. After some considerable time I received two joes for hire, which were paid me by Abaniba (Peter's wife,) and I am ready to make oath this is the only money I ever received from her, and that was not on account of purchase money, but hire. Her son Peter wanted to

purchase her; to this I gladly consented. He spoke to Mr. Downer, and I believe Mr. Downer was inclined to assist him. He (Peter) died very suddenly; and after his death Mr. Downer declined the purchase. Maria Lucia, and Dr. Broer, are both aware of all the circumstances I have related to you. After the death of my husband, when the slaves were to be sold, Fietje, who was then residing with me, insisted on being sold also. I told Mr. Nicolay, who was my husband's executor; and he, having ascertained it was her wish, sold her also at vendue. She was purchased by Fritz Broer. I bought this woman for the sole purpose of serving her, and I sold her at her own desire.

Thus examined before me on the 31st May and 1st June 1827.
(Signed) M.S. Bennett, Fiscal of the Colony.

Permission is hereby given to the slave Klaas to look for a purchaser within the town of New Amsterdam until the 18th instant; any person who will give sixteen hundred guilders cash to his owner for him, a bill of sale will be made out accordingly, and if any purchaser, who the same Klaas may fix on, cannot conveniently pay down cash, he or she may have the same Klaas, on getting the vendue master to guarantee the payment of the above sixteen hundred guilders by four equal instalments of four hundred guilders each, payable in three, six, nine, and twelve months, with interest and *all* vendue expenses.

(Signed) J. LYONS NIXON, for WILLIAM MUNRO, Esq.

Return of a slave sold by the undersigned on 19th June 1827, to William Munro, Esq.

Klaas, male, 42, yellowish colour, employed as an ostler, born in Berbice and hairy on the chest.

CASE EIGHTY TWO

C.O. 116/144/159-61

Complainant: – Champagne, about 46 years old, a jobber residing in New Amsterdam, owned by Thomas Cottam in New Amsterdam. Complained 24th July 1830, by himself.

The substance of the complaint: – Complains, the night before last he was sitting up with a white man, who is sick at Mr Cottam's. Yesterday he was cleaning knives and doing other jobs until he was tired, he laid down to rest for an hour. Mr Cotton said Champagne was drunk and ordered the stocks to

be got ready. Champagne got his blanket and was prepared to be confined. Mr Cottam got a rope and beat complainant with it, and then ordered him to dig a trench. Complainant said he was not able to do it, as his leg hurt him from the bite of a dog.

Witnesses for prosecution examined:

Charles, a slave, says Champagne came in the shop, where he was at work, and complained that Mr Cottam had beaten him, he had marks on his back; witness did not see Mr Cottam beat Champagne.

Joe a free boy called and sworn, says he was at Mr Cottam's, did not see any person beat Champagne. Mr Cottam ordered witness to prepare the stocks to put Champagne in; but Mr Cottam afterwards altered his mind and told witness to go on with his work.

Joseph Thompson a free lad called and sworn. Says he was working in the shop at Mr Cottam's and heard a noise outside, immediately after Champagne ran in and said Mr Cottam had beat him with a rope; and exhibited his back which bore marks; shortly after Mr Cottam passed thro' the shop with a rope in his hand and ordered Champagne to go and dig a drain. Witness did not see Mr Cottam beat Champagne but Isaac says he saw it.

Isaac a slave, says he was planing boards and saw Mr Cottam beat Champagne with a rope; Champagne begged and at last ran away from Mr Cottam to avoid the licks. Mr Cottam ran a few steps after Champagne, but he then stopped. When Mr Cottam returned he observed he had beaten Champagne because he was drunk; witness on a question put to him said Champagne might have been slightly intoxicated at the time he saw Mr Cottam pass thro' the shop with a rope in his hand.

Substance of defence by accused party: July 29: Thomas Cottam states; he found Champagne lying down drunk in the yard and ordered some of his people to get ready the stocks: the stocks were got ready. Champagne went and laid down close to the stocks, and observed Mr Cottam might put him in and, be da—d to him. Deponent ordered Champagne round to the point of the shop and threatened to beat Champagne but did not do it, he then ordered him to dig a drain but, Champagne instead of doing so, leaned against one of the seats, saying he was unable—he afterwards went out upon the wharf and laid down close to the River for about ½ an hour, after which he set out to complain.

Witnesses in support of defense.

Hendrik, says he was at Mr Cottams on Friday last: Champagne was sent in the morning to buy fowls, he did not return till 10 o'clock. Mr Cottam ordered him to get breakfast; he got it on the fire and then left it: he did not return till 2 o'clock. Mr Cottam asked him where he had been, Champagne made no reply. Mr Cottam said he deserved a flogging. Champagne seated himself under the Calabash tree and was quarrelling. Mr Cottam asked who he was speaking to. Champagne cursed Mr Cottam. Mr Cottam ordered Champagne to the stocks. Champagne went and laid down close to the stocks and said he would not work any more for Mr Cottam. Mr Cottam who had gone upstairs came down and told Champagne to go to work. Champagne again refused to go and insisted on being placed in the stocks. Mr Cottam pushed Champagne telling him to go and Champagne who was intoxicated fell upon the spring of a chaise. Mr Cottam went upstairs. When Mr Cottam again came down he found Champagne in the same place and took up a small piece of rope and hit Champagne twice with it. Champagne then ran out in front of the shop. Did not see Mr Cottam strike him afterwards.

Result: Upon conferring with the acting King's advocate, and considering the whole of the circumstances attending the complaint, it was not considered advisable to commence a criminal prosecution against T. Cottam; he was therefore admonished and warned to refrain from inflicting chastisement of this description again.

CASE EIGHTY THREE

C.O. 116/144/90-91

Complainant: Susannah, about 14 years of age, female, residing in New Amsterdam, a domestic.

Owner: Betsey Brandes, residing in New Amsterdam.

Time of Complaint: 6th October 1830, by the negress Minkey, the mother of Susannah.

The substance of the complaint: On last Monday evening she was at her aunt's house with Winkels. A little after 8 o'clock the slave boy John Quashie came there and told Susannah he was sent by Miss Brandes to call her and that he was to accompany her. Susannah set out with John Quashie, when she and John Quashie got opposite to the market place, John Quashie

whistled and immediately the slaves, William Cox, Adam, Bentinck, Jesse and the free man Thomas Alembly and John Walden ran up. John Quashie told the rest to hold her down, Bentinck and Adam threw her down. Susannah began to cry out, when Jesse put his hands over her mouth and stifled her cries. John Quashie then violated her person and was followed by John Walden, William Cox, Adam and Thomas Alembly. Susannah by struggling succeeded in getting loose and ran toward home, pursued by the slaves and free men; when opposite Dr Beresford's, the slave William belonging to Dr Beresford was standing on his master's bridge and stopped them.

Witnesses for prosecution: Lucretia, a slave belonging to the Winkel department called and sworn, says she is the cousin and not the aunt of Susannah. Last Monday evening Susannah was at the house of witness in the Winkel village. A little before eight o'clock the slave John Quashie came to say that Miss Betsy Brandes had sent him to conduct Susannah home. Lucretia told Susannah to go to her mistress and she got up and set out with John Quashie. Witness attended a wake kept on the death of a child that night and she saw Susannah there; witness asked Susannah how it was she had returned, to which Susannah said John Quashie had told her on the road to go back.

Result: This case was handed over to His Honor the Fiscal for prosecution and afterwards withdrawn by him when brought before the Commissary Court of Criminal Justice.

CASE EIGHTY FOUR

C.O. 116/144/111-112

Complainant: Felix, Sampson and Hendrick, Males from 20 to 30 years of age, attached to Zuydevyel, field labourers.

Owner: A. Melville Manager: A. Nicolson

Time of complaint: 11th November 1830, by the slaves themselves.

Complaint: About two months ago they were working in the Koker trench and their dogs killed a small pig which they divided amongst themselves, thinking it was a wild hog. A few days after the manager missed one of the pigs out of the pen and accused complainants of having killed it. Complainants said they were not aware that the pig belonged to the manager but

before any blame should attach to them, they would pay f.3, or buy a pig in its stead. The manager was not satisfied with their offer, but said he must have f.22 for the pig; not having the means of complying with this order, they were flogged by the manager's direction. Complainants laid their case before Mr McCulloch, the assistant protector, who gave them a letter to the manager. Yesterday the manager took them before the Civil Magistrate and they were again flogged for the hog killed by their dogs.

Substance of the defense: Mr Nicolson, the manager of Plantation Luidwyk: – On the 29th September the Complainants killed his pig, which they acknowledged themselves but never offered any payment; he ordered that they should be flogged for killing the pig, but before this order was carried into effect they started and complained to the assistant protector Mr McCulloch. Cannot say what was the nature of their complaint. On the 8th October Mr Nicholson called the assistance of the Civil Magistrate to punish the parties but as he was unwell he could not attend until the 10th of November when the three complainants were flogged. Mr Nicolson further states that the same parties on a former occasion killed two sows belonging to him. He at the same time undertook to procure the proceedings of the Civil Magistrate in this case.

Result: The civil magistrate reported that he had acted upon the complaint of Mr Nicolson, not wishing to enter into a re-investigation of the slaves complaint which had been dismissed and rejected by the assistant protector of slaves of the district. With regard to their having been twice flogged, the complainants themselves, admitted to be false, and as the case has been previously examined by the assistant Protector of the district the acting Protector deemed any further interference in the matter unnecessary. He at the same time admonished the complainants for having uttered such a deliberate falsehood.

CASE EIGHTY FIVE

C.O. 116/147/93-96

No. 1. The Name – Age – Sex – Residence – and mode of Employment of the Slave whom, or on whose behalf the complaint was preferred.

Annie, Grieta, Leentz, Bella, Juliette, Santye 1st, Philis, Santye

2nd, Maria, Aurora, Brunetta, Lucy, Christina, Premiere, Katye, and Sara, females between 25 and 40 years of age, field labourers, attached at Plantation Highbury.

No. 2. The Names of the Owner or Owners, and Manager or Managers of the Slave – their places of abode – their callings or profession.

Davidson's Barkly & Co. John Ross, Manager. Plantation Highbury.

No. 3. The Time when, and the Persons through whom, the complaint was first preferred to, or first reached the Protector.

21st October 1830, by the slaves themselves.

No. 4. The substance of the complaint.

On Tuesday last they were employed cutting canes. At eleven o'clock they sat down to cook their victuals and rest. The driver said he could not permit them to do so, because the manager had punished him, by locking him up in the darkroom on Monday night for not making the complainants' work at eleven o'clock. Complainants said, no, they had a right to the two hours between 11 and 1, and they would not work for the manager during that period. The driver upon hearing this took down some small rope out of his hat and said he should tie the first who persisted in refusing to work at 11 o'clock and take her to the manager to be punished and that Mr Ross had instructed him to do.

No. 5. The proceedings taken upon the complaint, with the date of each successive proceeding.

The Deputy Protector proceeded to Plantation Highbury on the following day (22nd) to investigate this complaint.

No. 7. Substance of the defence made by the accused party or parties.

Mr John Ross, the manager, after hearing the foregoing complaint stated, so far from its being founded in truth he had no longer since than last Monday night when giving orders for the ensuing day to the overseers particularly mentioned and explained to them, that if the task which was given to the slaves in the morning was finished before night it was all he expected from them. That in task work the slaves were at liberty to begin their work at what hour they pleased and rest whenever they felt fit during the day. That after giving these instructions publicly, he, Mr Ross, conceives the slaves ought at least before quitting the Estate to have complained to him of the conduct of

the driver which by their account is so perfectly at variance with what they had heard him say. Mr. Ross further states it to be his firm belief that the accusation against the driver is perfectly false.

January, driver, an old man, in answering the accusation states, he was in the field on Tuesday with the woman Gano. They broke off work at 11 o'clock and sat down to cook. About 12 o'clock January observed to them that as they were doing task work they had better now go on with it and get it done soon, so that they might all go home soon. The complainant, however, paid no attention to what he said and he January knowing he had no right to prevent them from taking their two hours, said no more on the subject. At one o'clock January went again to the complainant and told them it was now time to recommence their work. They went into the canes and January had supposed they had gone to work, but he afterwards found they had run away. January denies most positively that he attempted in any manner to force them to go to work at 12 o'clock or that he threatened to tie or take any one of them to the manager.

No. 8. The names of the Witnesses, if any, examined in support of the *defence*, and the substance of the Evidence of each Witness.

Mr. Veitch, Overseer, deposes, he was in the field on Tuesday morning, he quitted at about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 to go to breakfast and returned to it about 12. January the driver went up to him and Mr. Veitch asked him if the people had carried out their canes, by this he says he meant if they had done a fair proportion of their days' task. January said some of them had, others had not. January, after he had made this communication did not go near the complainants. Mr. Veitch saw him afterwards bathing in the canal. January did not go to put the complainants to work until one o'clock. Did not see January take a rope out of his hat or threaten to tie any of them. Mr Veitch states if he had seen January do so, he should have interfered to prevent it. Corroborates the manager's statement with regard to the Instructions issued by him on Monday night.

Malcolm McLean, overseer, deposed that he was present when Mr. Ross gave the instructions on Monday night.

No. 9. The result of the proceeding, if terminated.

The deputy Protector told the female slaves who came to complain, that they had not only acted with precipitation but

with obstinacy and impropriety in not communicating any complaint they had to make against the driver, to the manager in the first place and more especially so, because the identical slaves who now complain had been recently informed both by the deputy protector and the assistant protector when applied to by them for such information, that no person could interfere with the two hours allotted them for rest. That with regard to the assertion of the driver having exhibited a rope with the intention of tying any of the Complainants and taking them by force to the manager, it could scarcely meet with the least credit, for the driver was an old man whose strength was perfectly unequal to such an undertaking unless with the consent of complainants, independent of which there was the testimony of the overseer upon Oath flatly contradicting such statement. The complainants were also told they had taken up a most unnecessary length of time on their journey to town. They might easily have reached New Amsterdam on Tuesday evening instead of Thursday morning.

CASE EIGHTY SIX
C.O. 116/147/118-125

No. 1. The Name – Age – Sex – Residence – and mode of employment of the Slave by whom, or on whose behalf the complaint was preferred.

Champagne, about 40 years of age. Male. Residing in New Amsterdam. Jobber.

No. 2. The Names of the Owner or Owners, and Manager or Managers of the Slave – their places of abode – their calling or professions.

Thomas Cottam; residing in New Amsterdam, plumber.

No. 3. The time when, and the Person through whom, the complaint was first preferred to, or first reached the Protector.

November 15, 1830, by the slave.

No. 4. The substance of the complaint.

Says, yesterday morning, Sunday, the cotton was cut and Mr. Liddell ordered him to clean the house. Complainant refused to do it, it being Sunday. He went and prepared breakfast for Mr. Liddell. Mr. Liddell afterward came into the kitchen and said complainant appeared to be drunk. Champagne said, No, but Mr. Liddell insisted he was, and began to beat him. After

giving him several blows with his fist, he took up a stave and knocked complainant twice with it on his back and then placed him in the stocks. Complainant broke out and got away. Names as witnesses Mr. J.F. Costenbader, the slave Cudjoe, Mr. McGregor and Fredrica Broer.

No. 5. The names of the Witnesses, if any, examined in support of the complaint, and the substance of the Evidence of each Witness.

J.F. Costenbader, lives next door to Mr. Cottam's, did not see or hear anything complained of by Champagne, on Sunday; there being at all times a noise at Mr. Cottam's it might not have attracted his notice on that day.

Fredrica Broer, called and sworn, says she left the house on Sunday at eleven o'clock. Champagne appeared then to be intoxicated – did not return till night and therefore knows nothing of what occurred in her absence between him and Mr. Liddell. When she returned Champagne was gone.

Joyce alias Cudjoe says he was in Mr. Cottam's yard on Sunday, heard Mr. Liddell order Champagne to get dinner. Mr. Liddell a short time after came into the kitchen and said Champagne was drunk. Champagne denied it. Mr. Liddell said he was, and took Champagne to the stocks. Witness did not see Champagne in the stocks but heard him Halloo in Confinement.

S. McGregor sworn states: Champagne got articles for dinner on Sunday from Mr. Liddell. When they entered the kitchen Mr. Liddell told Champagne he was drunk. Champagne with a knife in his hand and broke out in very insolent words against Mr. Liddell. Did not see Mr. Liddell strike Champagne nor use any violence towards him. Champagne was locked up in the working shop and witness saw no more of him.

No. 7. The substance of the defence made by the accused party or parties.

John Liddell attended and denied the charge preferred by Champagne. Says that Champagne was intoxicated and behaved so impertinent that he ordered him into solitary confinement and when he attempted to lay hold on Champagne, he resisted and shoved defendant down; that he was merely locked in the store as there is no solitary cell on the place, and the stocks having no hinges so that he could not have been confined there, had it been his wish to do so.

No. 9. Result. Champagne's complaint dismissed as

groundless.

No. 10. Explanatory remarks upon the case which could not properly be comprised under any of the preceding heads.

The acting Protector proceeded to the premises of Mr. Cottam and examined the place of confinement alluded to by the witnesses; and found the same to be a large and airy working place; but there were no stocks there as stated by Champagne.

The acting Protector saw the complainant on the day that he appeared at his office, laying on the public dam in a drunken state.

CASE EIGHTY SEVEN

C.O. 116/147/126-130

No. 1. The Name – Age – Sex – Residence – and mode of Employment of the Slave by whom, or on whose behalf the complaint was preferred.

June, about 36 years male, a Carpenter residing upon Prospect.

No. 2. The Name of the Owner or Owners, and Manager or Managers of the Slave – their places of abode – their callings or professions.

C. Falcon: – Thomas Williams, manager.

No. 3. The time when, and the Person through whom, the complaint was first preferred to, or first reached the protector.

24th November 1830, by the slave himself.

No. 4. The substance of the complaint.

On Saturday a slave named Samson died on the estate and I was ordered to make a coffin about 9 o'clock in the morning. I had first to make a working bench and then commenced the coffin. The coffin was ordered to be ready by four o'clock. At the time appointed the coffin was finished and Mr. Maxwell the overseer came in the shop and saw it, and ordered June to take the coffin to the house of the deceased and bury the corpse immediately. June took the coffin there and the man John assisted him in placing the corpse in the coffin; he then went toward the grave but found it had not yet been dug and therefore returned to the overseer and told him that the grave was not ready. I said there was no person besides myself and that I could not manage it alone. He then sent to call Harrison the head carpenter, and ordered him to assist with the other carpenters

at the funeral and after that bring me to him to be placed in the stocks. I answered, well, Massa, if you think proper to place me in the stocks for not performing what I am unable to do, I will go and seek redress elsewhere. He then ordered Harrison to put me in the stocks at once where I remained until 8 o'clock am on Sunday when I was released. On Monday morning Mr Williams asked me what I had said to the overseer on Saturday. I repeated that I told him if I was confined to the grave quite alone, which I could not possibly do, I would go to the Big Man to see if he was justified in thus punishing me. Mr. Williams then said, Well, I will now have you flogged, and you may then go to the Big Man to complain. I was flogged at 11am on Monday and kept in the hospital to dress the lacerations of the whip till this morning. I was during my confinement in the Hospital with one leg in the stocks.

Mr. Williams and Mr. Maxwell, the overseer, were summoned to attend the following day but on account of bad weather was prevented until the 26th November 1830.

No. 3. The names of the Witnesses, if any, examined in support of the complaint, and the substance of the evidence of each Witness.

Harrison, Head Carpenter.

Q: Do You recollect June making a coffin on Saturday? A: Yes

Q: Were you sent to bury the corpse when the coffin was ready? A: Yes

Q: Was June present? A: No.

Q: Was June placed with stocks before or after the funeral? A: Before the funeral.

Q: What took place when Mr. Maxwell ordered June to the stocks? A: June told Mr. Maxwell, Very well, if you place me in the stocks I will go to the better place.

Q: Were you present on Monday morning when June was brought to Mr. Williams? A: Yes.

Q: Did you flog him? A: Yes. Mr. Williams ordered me to flog him.

Q: Did you take him to the Hospital afterwards? A: Yes

Q: Did you place him in the stocks? A: Yes, with one foot.

Q: Who ordered you to put him in the stocks? A: No-one. I placed him there myself, being afraid that he would get away, after having asked Mr. Williams for a pass.

Q: Were you present when he asked for the pass? A: No. After flogging him I was ordered to take him to the Hospital but June said he would ask for a pass and I therefore left him and went to my work. After he had spoken to Mr. Williams, I was sent for to take him in the hospital.

Q: Did you tell Mr Williams that you had placed him in the stocks? A: No.

Question by Mr. Williams: Did June in addressing Mr. Maxwell say that he would carry him, Mr. Maxwell, to a better place or that he would go to a better place? A: June said he would go to a better place, which I consider to be the same.

No. 7. Substance of the defence made by the accused party or parties.

Mr. Williams stated. – I was absent on business on Saturday and returned on Monday, when Mr. Maxwell, the overseer, represented to me that the man June had been indolent, and for a considerable time absented himself on Saturday and having repeatedly done the same on former occasions in my absence and June not giving a satisfactory account of himself, he organised him a night's confinement, on which June became quite outrageous. Swore he would not go in the stocks, made use of the most improper language and finally in a menacing manner told him he would carry him to a better place, that he however succeeded in having him confined for the night in the stocks and liberated him next morning, with an assurance that he would not fail to represent his insubordinate conduct to me on my return. I accordingly sent for June and investigated the complaint professed by Mr. Maxwell, which June did not altogether deny. On enquiring what he had meant by the better place, a very improper word, he hesitated for a considerable time and at last said he would carry him to town and subsequently said, that he said he would bring Mr. Maxwell to me on my return, thus prevaricating and demeaning himself during the investigation in the most violent manner, but at the same time denying that he had been insolent. I, however, assured him that his opinion of insolence and mine differed exceedingly and in order to convince him that he must pay proper respect to respectable young men placed in authority over him in my absence, he should be punished, that he and others had been repeatedly told to bow to the authority on the estate, and if wrong, on my return they would have satisfaction. I therefore ordered

him 21 stripes. After he was flogged, he was ordered to the hospital to which he said nothing, but about ½ an hour afterwards asked for a pass to complain. I told him he should have one in a day or two upon which he again got in a violent passion, clinched his fists and swore he would not submit to such punishment, for which fresh offence I assured him he should have three days confinement. I then ordered him in the Hospital and on Wednesday morning furnished him with a pass.

Q: Was he confined in the stocks during that time? A: He was confined the day in the Hospital in the stocks.

27th November 1830. Mr. Williams requested to be added to the above reply; that June is a notorious bad character. Some months since he was detected in robbing the estate of articles to the amount of £50 to £60, and that on that occasion Mr. Williams would have had him prosecuted, had it not been for the enormous expenses. I, however, had him banished for six months by hiring him to an estate remote from this, by which time he appeared some what reformed, but I am sorry to find he is no better.

At Plantation Prospect, 27th November 1830.

Mr. James Maxwell, overseer on said estate states: June was ordered on Saturday to make a coffin at six o'clock in the morning. Mr. Williams had left home and given orders that the coffin should be buried at 4 o'clock but it was very improperly done. When the coffin was required, June was not to be found. Search being made for him in the Negro houses, in consequence of which I was obliged to call Harrison the Head Carpenter to have the corpse interred. The funeral was attended by several others. After June had been absent some time he was found and brought to me. I asked him where he had been and he could give no satisfactory answer. I then ordered that he should be confined one night in the stocks. He refused to go, and said that if I put him with stocks he would carry me to a better place and made use of other improper language. The head carpenter got him secured in the stocks, but on his way there he stopped and repeated his abuse. He then said when in the stocks that I had better flog him on Monday morning and he would then let me see. I told him that when Mr. Williams should come home, I would complain of his insolence, which I did, and also complained of his having treated me in a similar manner, when Mr. Williams had been absent before. Mr. Williams on Monday

morning investigated the matter, the negro being present and June was flogged by Mr. Williams' directions. Mr Maxwell further says that when Mr. Williams investigated the case, June told several falsehoods. He was ordered into the Hospital, after being flogged.

Q: Were you present when he asked Mr. Williams for a pass?

A: No, I was at a distance from them.

Q: What time after he was ordered to the Hospital did he address Mr. Williams? A: Shortly after

Q: Was June in the Stocks, whilst in the Hospital? A: I did not see him in the stocks. When I saw him in the Hospital he was out, while being taken out twice a day when under confinement in the stocks.

Q: Were you present when June was released from the Hospital? A: No, I was not, but I gave him a pass to come to complain. This was on Wednesday morning. The punishment of flogging took place on Monday at noon.

Q: Did you send a person to relieve June? A: I gave Harry a pass and he went to the Hospital to take June to town after releasing him.

No. 8. The names of the Witnesses, if any, examined in support of the defence, and the substance of the Evidence of each Witness.

Betsy, sick nurse.

Q: Do you remember when June was taken to the Hospital?

A: Yes, on Monday morning till Wednesday morning. Harrison brought him there.

Q: Were his stripes dressed? A: Yes.

Q: Was he placed in the stocks? A: Yes.

Q: How was he thus confined? A: With one foot only.

Q: How long was he in the stocks? A: From Monday morning till Wednesday morning.

No. 9. The result of the proceeding, if terminated.

Denounced for prosecution.

No. 10. Explanatory remarks upon the case which could not properly be comprised under any of the preceding heads.

On reference to the Estates' punishment Record Book it appeared that on the 20th November June was one night confined for neglect of duty. On the 22nd, June received 21 stripes for contumacious and insubordinate conduct and on the 24th June was confined two days for disobedience of orders and Insolence.

CASE EIGHTY EIGHT

C.O. 116/148/112-13

No. 1. The Name – Age – Sex – Residence – and mode of Employment of the Slave by whom, or on whose behalf the complaint was preferred.

Hendrick about 35 years of age, attached to plantation D'Edward, a field negroe.

No. 2. The Name of the Owner or Owners, and Manager or Managers of the Slave – their places of abode – their calling or professions.

Mrs. D'Hankar, proprietor and J.S. D'Hankar, manager.

No. 3. The time when, and the Person through whom, the complaint was first preferred to, or first reached the Protector.

7th January 1831 by the slave himself.

No. 4. The substance of the complaint.

Complains; he was in the Hospital with fever until Sunday the 2d instant. He went to the manager and reported that he was better and would go to work. Manager said he should stop in the Hospital till next morning. Complainant said he wished to sharpen his tools and Mr D'Hankar consented to this. Hendrick went home to visit his friends (matees). Mr. D'Hankar seeing him dressed sent to call him, but he went away till next morning. Manager then threatened to have him flogged, to which he objected. He then said that he would send for the civil magistrate to have complainant punished and had him provisionally placed in the stocks. Mr Prass did not attend until Friday and until then refused to interfere saying that Mr D'Hankar might flog him upon his own authority.

No. 5. Substance of the defence made by the accused party or parties.

8th January. Mr D'Hankar states: Hendrick came into the Hospital on the 28th of last month and remained there till the 2d instant Sunday last. On Sunday he asked permission to leave the Hospital to cut Bush rope for his next day's work. I said he might do it the following day but eventually gave him leave for 2 ½ hours. Shortly after, I saw Hendrick dressed, going towards the public road. I sent to call him, but he refused to come and went away. At 8 o'clock in the night I sent to look for him but he was not on the estate. The following morning at half past six, he made his appearance, and I told him he should be punished for having left the Hospital; I called one

of the Men to flog him; but he would not submit to it; I then told him I should take him before the Magistrate. I was going in the Boat, Hendrick refused to accompany me to the Magistrate and jumped into the River. I then wrote a letter to Mr Prass the civil Magistrate, complaining of Hendrick's conduct; who in answer, desired me to keep Hendrick confined till Thursday when he should attend on the estate. On Thursday Mr Prass investigated the case and directed Hendrick to be flogged 25 lashes. I however only gave him 20 lashes.

No. 6. The result of the proceeding, if terminated.

This case having been investigated by the civil Magistrate, and the punishment having been inflicted by his Order: – This case was dismissed.

CASE EIGHTY NINE

C.O. 116/148-123-130

No. 1. The Name – Age – Sex – Residence – and mode of Employment of the Slave by whom, or on whose behalf, the complaint was preferred.

Mary Gordon about 22 years of age, female, residing in New Amsterdam.

No. 2. The Names of the Owner, or Owners, and Manager or Managers of the Slave – their places of abode – their callings or professions.

Crown property. Manager Mr H.E. Hockin, residing in New Amsterdam.

No. 3. The time when, and the Person through whom, the complaint was first preferred to, or first reached the Protector.

31st January 1831 – by Mary Gordon.

No.4. The substance of the complaint.

Complains: – On Friday week Charlotte was placed in the Bedstocks in an upper room of the Hospital, where I was lying sick. In the evening Charlotte called the Sick nurse to release her for a moment from the stocks to perform an act of nature. The Sick nurse said the Key of the Stocks was at the Manager's house, and Charlotte was in consequence obliged to answer nature's call. I said, oh Charlotte you ought to be ashamed, there are sick people below. Queen who heard me speak thought I said something about her and came upstairs to beat me but was prevented by the Sick nurse. She went to complain to the

manager, who had me taken from the Hospital and placed me in the darkroom. I remained there till Saturday 21st. I then returned to the Hospital and was attended by the Doctor. She mentioned to the Doctor that she had been confined and got much worse than she was before this happened.

No. 6. The names of the Witnesses, if any, examined in support of the complaint, and the substance of the Evidence of each Witness.

Charlotte, the person who was confined in the Bedstocks, corroborates Mary Gordon's statement of her having asked for the Key of the Stocks, and that Queen afterwards quarrelled with her which caused Queen to complain to the manager: – that Mary Gordon was taken into Solitary Confinement by the Manager; and that since her release she has been under the doctor's care in the Hospital.

Dr John Beresford states: – he visited the Hospital on Monday the 17th. He found Mary Gordon very unwell so much so that he administered Degitales;- her complaint was Catarrh. She never mentioned to him that she had been ill treated, if she had done so, he certainly would have made some enquiries in the matter.

No. 7. The substance of the defence made by the accused party or parties.

1st February 1831. H.E. Hockin, manager of the Winkel department states: – on the 13th January Mary Gordon had been complained of by her father in Los Corida of abuse to him; I had on a former occasion that should a similar complaint be made I should have her punished. On investigation I found she was wrong in this case and therefore ordered her in solitary confinement that night. Next morning on being released she complained of being unwell and I ordered her to the Hospital. Some time after going to bed on the night of the 14th I heard a noise in the Hospital and soon after Queen came and complained of Mary Gordon abusing her in the Hospital. I sent an order to the sick nurse to place Mary Gordon in the stocks. She resisted and I had to go down to put her in solitary confinement which I could not do without calling the assistance of three men. She remained there till 2 o'clock next day. Whilst being taken there, she accused me of stealing plantains and fish for my own people and from the Winkel department and appropriating money which I received on account of the Winkel,

to my own use. Mr Scott promised to have her punished by the Fiscal for this assertion.

No. 8. The Names of the Witnesses, if any, examined in support of the defence, and the substance of the Evidence of each Witness.

Queen corroborated the Statement which relates to Charlotte and that her master who was lying sick below, got wet by water, which ran down upon her bedding from upstairs. Charlotte, however, had previously asked the sick nurse to be released from the stocks. Mary Gordon said something upstairs about her; and she went up to enquire what it was. Mary Gordon refused to repeat what she had said but cursed Queen's mother. Witness then went to the manager to complain, who directed the sick nurse to confine Mary Gordon in the stocks. Mary Gordon refused to be put in the stocks, unless witness was also confined. Mr Hockin then came and on account of Mary Gordon refusing to be put in the stocks he called three men to take her to the darkroom. Whilst being taken there, she behaved very insubordinate. She hit two of the men and tore her clothing in struggling to get loose. She remained confined until the following day.

Elias corroborates the foregoing statement and on a question Whether the manager on coming to the Hospital made any enquiry in the cause of the quarrel said No.

Harry Benjamin and Fredrik were called by the manager to take Mary Gordon to the darkroom. They say that she behaved very obstreperous and tore her clothes. The manager told her to put her clothes afterwards which she refused to do.

Elias was again called and asked if Mary Gordon had taken any Physic, on the day of her confinement. He said Yes, the manager ordered me to give her salts and Tartar Emetic, when she came to the Hospital in the morning.

No. 9. The result of the proceeding, if terminated.

11th February 1831. The acting protector having Interrogated Mr Hockin informed him that he thought his conduct was highly reprehensible for having ordered Mary Gordon in the stocks on the mere ipse dixit of Queen without making an enquiry into the cause of the disturbance in the Hospital, and on her resisting, confining her in the Solitary Cell after she had taken Salt and Tartar Emetic during the day for it is evident that on her release she was much worse, as Doctor J.B. Beresford says that her complaint was Catarrh. In consideration of the

disruption which Mr Scott has given of some mild treatment to the slaves under your charge I am induced simply to reprimand you for this improper conduct towards Mary Gordon and I trust you will be more circumspect in your management for the future.

CASE NINETY
C.O. 116/148/163-65

No. 1. The Name – Age – Sex – Residence – and mode of Employment of the Slave by whom, or on whose behalf the complaint was preferred.

Romeo about 45 years, Male, residing at Plantation Prospect, a carpenter.

No. 2. The Names of the Owner or Owners, and Manager or Managers of the Slave – their places of abode – their callings or professions.

Thomas Williams and Campbell Falcon, proprietors. Thomas Williams, manager.

No. 3. The time when and the Person through whom, the complaint was first preferred to, and first reached the Protector. 19th March 1831 by the slave himself.

No. 4. The substance of the complaint.

Complains, that Thomas Jansen, head carpenter of Prospect, ordered him to be fetch boards from Smithson's place at 1 o'clock. Complainant fetched 11 boards before dark. Jansen said it was not enough and unless the Boards were there in the morning he would have Romeo flogged. Romeo was named as watchman that night, and told Jansen of it. At night complainant went and fetched 10 boards that were left and brought them as far as the negro yard. He continued to be a watchman till midnight, when he was called to pot sugar, and continued till morning. Jansen asked if he had brought the boards, complainant said, they were lying in the negro yard; that did not satisfy him and he ordered Romeo to be flogged. Romeo was flogged.

No. 7. The substance of the defence made by the accused party or parties.

Thomas Jansen states, that on Friday at eleven o'clock he went to Smithson's place and selected 6 back ridge boards which he required. At one o'clock he ordered Romeo to fetch them to Prospect, and he even assisted in carrying them to the yard, from where Romeo might take them on his back. There were

about 12 boards. A man was dead at Prospect and Romeo went to that house instead of obeying his (Jansen's) order. At three o'clock Jansen met Romeo there, and told him if he did not bring the boards to the working place by six o'clock, he would have him punished. The next day Romeo did not bring the boards but stopped away from the estate till next morning. Romeo was not flogged but was ordered to fetch the boards, instead of which he left the estate to complain. John afterwards fetched the boards in half an hour.

No. 8. The names of the witnesses, if any, examined in support of the defence, and the substance of the Evidence of each Witness.

Harry belonging to Plantation Prospect states, that he placed the Watchmen on their posts at night. Friday night Romeo was placed as Watchman to the dwelling house. Romeo said he had work to do. Witness told him to leave that alone as a Watch. When Mr Williams came home about 9 o'clock Romeo was not to be found. He called John the officer of the Watch and inquired after Romeo. Romeo was on the Estate between 3 and 4 o'clock in the morning, he was potting sugars. It is customary that the Watchman after being up the whole night return to their work next morning with the rest of the gang. When the Engine is at work the watchman come round twice a week – otherwise it is but once a fortnight.

John was officer of the Watch on Friday night. Romeo was placed as watchman to the dwelling house. He absented himself from his watchplace and did not return till 4 o'clock in the morning. Witness asked where he had been; he said he had fetched boards. Romeo only fetched half, and the next morning witness was ordered by Mr Jansen to bring the remainder. Romeo was put to pot sugar when he came early in the morning, Witness was asked by the acting protector whether after being a watchman during the night, he was to pot sugar during the night, he was to pot sugar without any rest. He said, Yes, the watchmen always went to work without rest.

No. 9. The result of the proceeding, if not terminated.

The case was dismissed.

CASE NINETY ONE

C.O. 116/148/174-75

No. 1. The Name – Age – Sex – Residence – and mode of employment of the Slave by whom, or on whose behalf the complaint was preferred.

Sam, about 24 years of age, male, residing on Plantation New Forest.

No. 2. The Names of the owner or Owners, and Manager or Managers of the Slave – their places of abode – their callings or profession.

J.A. Warner, Sam's proprietor, hired to Plantation New Forest, where Mr B. Farrell is manager.

No. 3. The time when and the Person through whom, the complaint was first preferred to, or first reached the Protector.

By Sam – on the 20th April 1831.

No. 4. The substance of the complaint.

Sam asked Mr. Farrell, a pass on the Saturday before Easter to go to his Master, who lives at his Plantation Bloomshoff. Sam and his brother got leave and they went. On the Tuesday following they returned to New Forest about 10 o'clock. Complainants' legs were swelled from walking and could not go to work. His brother went to the field. Manager ordered him in the Hospital. He remained till Saturday night and then requested to be released. Manager said No, Sam must be flogged on Monday morning. On Monday morning Sam absconded and went to Mr Campbell the attorney to complain. Mr Campbell told him to return to New Forest, he would not be flogged. Sam was not satisfied with this, but went to his own Master, who kept him in the Hospital till the 14th when he came down with his Master. He arrived at New Forest in the morning of the 16th and went to work. The two drivers came to Sam with Ropes to tie him. Sam made off at nine o'clock he was caught and taken to the manager's. He was there stretched on the ground and flogged. After being flogged he was pickled and put in the hospital.

No. 7. The substance of the defence made by the accused party or parties.

B. Farrell manager of the Plantation New Forest states: – The Complainant and his brother got a pass for the Easter Holydays, with orders to be back on Tuesday morning, so as to be at work. I went to the field at 10 o'clock and they were not there. When I returned to the Buildings, I met Sam, stating he was unwell. His

leg hurt him. I ordered him in the sickhouse, and applied spirits to the parts complained of. In the evening Sam left the Hospital against my orders. Next morning he was so sick that he could not move. I ordered Sam's father and brother to fetch him from the Negro house to the Hospital, where he remained till Saturday when he again left the Hospital, without my permission. On Sunday morning I saw him passing with a packall on his head. I called out to the Watchman to bring Sam to me but he ran off without a pass. On the night of the 15th he returned to the Estate. The Watchman had orders to arrest Sam. He, however, told the Watchman he had a letter from the Fiscal for me. In the morning I sent the driver to call him with the letter, and should he refuse to come, to lay hold of and bring him to me – Sam escaped. About nine o'clock the driver took him in front of the Estate, and after a severe struggle succeeded to bring him to me. I ordered him to be flogged for repeated disobedience in leaving the Hospital. After he was flogged he was rubbed with Salt and washed with Rum to prevent any ill affects from the laceration of the whip, which is customary after flogging. Sam received 25 lashes.

No. 8. The names of the Witnesses, if any, examined in support of the defence, and the substance of the Evidence of each Witness.

Andrew the driver, says, that when Sam and his brother came to the Estate on the Tuesday after Easter, they came to the field after 10 o'clock when the Manager had left. Sam complained of his leg and witness sent him to the manager. Corroborates the Manager's statement with regard to Sam leaving the Hospital that same night against the Manager's order, and that he together with Sam's father and brother fetched Sam from the Negro yard to the Hospital.

No. 9. The result of the proceeding, if terminated.
The case was dismissed.

CASE NINETY TWO
C.O. 116/148/177-79

No. 1. The Name – Age – Sex – Residence – and mode of Employment of the Slave by whom, or on whose behalf the complaint was preferred.

Catherine, about 20 years of age, female, residing in New Amsterdam.

No. 2. The Names of the Owner or Owners, and Manager or Managers of the Slave – their places of abode – their callings or profession.

Caroline Threlfall, residing in New Amsterdam.

No. 3. The time when and the Person through whom, the complaint was preferred to, or first reached the Protector.

On the 22nd April 1831 by Caroline Threlfall on behalf of the Negress.

No. 4. The substance of the complaint.

States, that Polly, a negress belonging to Mrs Dammott had severely beaten Catherine who is far advanced in pregnancy, and after throwing Catherine is very ill and there is great apprehension this treatment will produce a miscarriage. William Read took Polly away from Catherine and two slaves Elizabeth belonging to Miss Brandes and Bess belonging to Mr Mathews witnessed the assault.

No. 6. The names of the Witnesses, if any, examined in support of the complaint, and the substance of the Evidence of each Witness.

23rd April. William Read states: – On Monday last he found Catherine and Polly quarrelling opposite Mrs. Brandes's and presently saw them fight. Polly knocked Catherine down, who is in a high state of pregnancy, and sat on her belly, thumping her and saying she would make Catherine bring her child before its time. Witness went up and pushed Polly off and took Catherine home to her mistress. Witness thinks had he not separated them that Polly might have killed Catherine on the spot.

Elizabeth belonging to Mrs Brandes says she was passing and found Polly and Catherine fighting. She attempted to check them but they would not hear and witness passed on. When she returned all was over.

Bess belonging to Mrs Mathews, says she met Catherine on the road who told her she was waiting for Polly to ask her what she meant by calling her a negro woman. Did not see the fight, but saw Catherine afterwards with her clothing torn. Catherine went into Captain Lukes's yard to look for John Kemp who keeps both these women.

No. 7. The substance of the defence made by the accused party or parties.

Polly belonging to Mr Dummott states, she was at Kitty

McRae's house, Catherine was passing on the road. Something occurred which occasioned Polly and Miss Kitty to laugh. Catherine must have thought she was laughed at and called out to Polly to come down. She (Catherine) would wait on the Road. When Polly was going home she met Catherine who abused her. Polly made no answer. Catherine followed Polly and they ultimately came to blows. Catherine tore her clothes to rags and bit her breast. Denies positively having thrown her down and having sat on her belly. When Read separated them they were standing up against the railing where they got in the scuffle. Calls as witnesses Margaret La Rose and John Oldfield.

No. 8. The names of the Witnesses, if any, examined in support of the defence, and the substance of the Evidence of each Witness.

Margaret La Rose; states; Polly and Catherine first quarrelled and then fought. They tore one another's clothes. In the struggle they fell and Catherine kept hold of Polly's clothes. Polly got up. She did not see Polly sit on her belly. Mr Read parted them and told them to go home.

John Steward alias Oldfield, says he heard a quarrel on the Rod but did not come out of his room to see who the parties were. Knows nothing of the fight.

No. 9. The result of the proceedings, if terminated.

June – Catherine, the property of Joseph Thomson and in the employ of Caroline Threlfall, deposed. That she had been prevented attending the acting Protector's office before, from confinement in child bed. That she was on an errand for her mistress when she met with Elizabeth at the corner of Miss Brandes's lane; whilst talking with her, Polly commenced to abuse her; Catherine afterwards went up the lane and on her return she again met with Polly who abused her a second time. That she replied and they came to blows. Polly pushed her down, when Billy Read, and others separated them. When she got up she went to La Rose's to look for John Kemp to tell him that Polly had been ill-treating her for sake of him. That she then proceeded home. She did not fall sick that night but the following one. Denies that Polly sat on her.

It turning out that this quarrel originated from jealousy and that both the parties cohabited with a man named John Kemp.

The acting Protector dismissed the case with a suitable reprimand.

