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The Shaping of an Abolitionist: James Stephen 1758-1832
Exploring the Scottish and Caribbean Influences
on Abolition's Chief Strategist

Alex Robinson

At the beginning of Thomas Clarkson's *'History'*¹ is an abolition map. The progression of ideas and people are presented as streams, tributaries of antislavery sentiment in North America and Britain, which flow into rivers and eventually cross the ocean and unite. Were James Stephen to have traced the origins of his own abolitionism, his diagram would have included (like Clarkson) the Scottish Common Sense Philosopher, James Beattie, his former Principal at Marsichal College Aberdeen: but I think he would also have included the Africans, Clarissa, Peter, Billy, Jenny, John Hamlet and a slave called Nobody, whose struggles he had been a part of and from whom he had learned the reality of the slave experience.

Stephen was the architect of the Order in Council of 1805 and the Foreign Slave Trade Act of 1806, which laid the ground for the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. His usefulness to the cause of abolition and the governments of Grenville and Perceval led to his appointment to a government seat in 1808. His experience in the Prize Appeal Court had been of particular importance in the preparation of Abolition of the trade. He remained the abolition movement's chief strategist and polemicist till the 1820s. By this time, however, he had abandoned his Parliamentary career. He resigned in utter frustration in 1815 in the absence of any progress on emancipation; Stephen had been attempting (since 1812) to introduce a Slave

Registration Bill which would at least allow some regulation of slave numbers and he hoped create some leverage for improved conditions.

James Stephen was born in Poole, Dorset but spent his infancy at his father's home in Ardenraught, in the parish of Cruden, Aberdeenshire. When he and his elder brother William rejoined the family after four years separation, their Buchan tone and dialect had made them unintelligible to their mother. Stephen later attended Marischal College in Aberdeen. Here he was a student of the moral philosopher James Beattie. The impact of his Scottish parentage and education, and his eleven year residence in St. Kitts 1783-1794 will be the focus of this paper.

His anti-slavery position was more than a simple antipathy towards the institution of slavery: his position may be explained in part by the example of his father's sense of justice and his tutor's influence on his thinking. I seek to show that Stephen was also influenced by the activism, resistance and expectations of Africans and their descendants. This resistance served to provoke some scrutiny of slaveholding societies feeding into the anti-slavery discourse on both sides of the Atlantic: the reports of abolitionist campaigns in Britain, in their turn fuelled recourse to litigation, resistance and open revolt in the Caribbean. There, the shifting relationships between the colonies and their metropolitan centres were closely observed and exploited by the enslaved Africans and Maroons. In an age of revolution, the detail of the eleven year residence of James Stephen in St. Kitts 1783-1794 reflects how the periphery impacted on the development of abolitionism at an individual and a collective level.

Stephen's residence in St. Kitts spanned three revolutions, two in the Americas and one in Europe— the peace negotiations which ended the American Revolution, the French Revolution and the first three years of the Haiti Revolution, which he supported and believed would succeed. On his return to Britain, Wilberforce was embarrassed by Stephens's radicalism, while Stephen could not forgive Wilberforce's 'improper' silence².

Stephen's close understanding of the slave trade, mercantile law and the practice of slavery itself were crucial to the success of the abolition of the slave trade. What was the context of his analysis? Stephen's early life was quite remarkable and in its own right worthy of scrutiny, but it is not my intention to explore that here, except to say that he had experienced

privation, spent some time with his parents in debtors' prison and witnessed his father's campaign to have imprisonment for debt prohibited. Stephen senior led a prison outbreak with the intention of marching on Westminster to this end.³ His father's inclination for a cause and direct action would be an important influence on Stephen junior.

Although his education was informal and entirely deficient in Latin and Greek, Stephen did finally attend Marischal College in Aberdeen and Lincoln's Inn. In his second year at Aberdeen he came under the influence of the Scottish Enlightenment and the moral philosopher, James Beattie. Unlike other members of the 'Clapham Sect', Stephen always said he came to religion through abolitionism - rather than vice versa. Stephen's opposition to slave holding was firstly based on justice: slavery was not consistent with English law, but an aberration without any legal foundation. Equally his understanding of the reality of the slave experience sets him apart from most of his peers and was possibly prompted by Beattie's use of empathy as a teaching instrument.

Before he attended Marischal College he admitted that he had believed slavery to be worse in theory rather than practice:⁴ He had in desperation, in 1775, considered taking a job as a bookkeeper on a Jamaican plantation but was advised against this in no uncertain terms by his father and his elder brother. In his *Autobiographical Memoir*, Stephen remembers the influence of Beattie's lectures; 'they excited in me a curiosity and interest which I have not yet lost.'⁵ and he refers in particular to his essay 'On the Immutability of Truth'⁶, Beattie's celebrated reply to David Hume's essay 'Of National Characters'. Beattie's position on race and his anti-slavery lectures were well known. Stephen's first recognised publication 'Strictures on the Charges of Cannibalism on the African Race' demonstrates an empathy with Africans and a manner of argument both of which are reminiscent of his tutor. Beattie observes in the 'Essay on Truth', 'That every practice and sentiment is barbarous which is not to the usages of Modern Europe, seems to be a fundamental maxim with many of our critics and philosophers'⁷.

Stephen takes the understanding of this supremacist approach a step further '... the tendency to accept without evidence the charge against another.... enjoying the self-exaltation in the reproach and degradation of others.'⁸ Here Beattie puts himself in the place of Native Americans and Africans: 'If negroes or Indians were disposed to recriminate; if a Lucian or Voltaire from the coast of Guinea or from the Five Nations were to pay us a visit, what a

picture of European manners might he present to his countrymen at his return'⁹ While Stephen speculates 'What would other cultures think had they witnessed' for example, 'the burning of Cranmer at the stake?'¹⁰

Beattie was very aware that many of his impecunious students were driven to go to the West Indies or Africa and he believed that they carried with them the principles he had instilled in them – as Erik Erikson would have it 'A way of looking at things'.¹¹ This way of looking at things, I believe, explains Stephen's ability to get to the bottom of slave holding society, to see how Europeans became inured to practices which would not be tolerated in the metropole, step by step, as they were sucked into the 'social monster' - as he described plantation life. His analysis of this society anticipates behaviourism, while his observations on racism anticipate the writings of the 20th century Negritude School. Take this point, for example, which he makes in a footnote in 'Slavery Delineated':

It may, perhaps, seem a minute remark, but to reflecting minds may suggest some important considerations, that the term slave is not in the West Indies, as in other countries where private bondage has prevailed, a term of obloquy or colloquial reproach; but the bodily designation is substituted for such purposes in its stead. Amidst all the reviling epithets, used in anger towards these poor bondmen, 'you slave' is never heard; but Negro, pronounced with an angry or contemptuous emphasis, is a word of superlative reproach. In the slavery of this country, the case was so different, that the words villain and villainous have survived, as reproachful epithets, the condition that gave them birth.¹²

This style was particularly noted in his first major publication, 'Crisis of the Sugar Colonies'¹³ It was his ability to empathise, to put himself in the place of the enslaved African which distinguishes Stephen from other European commentators of the period and which was certainly a well known instrument used by Beattie. It was this understanding which made him see that the former slaves of St. Domingue would not be re-enslaved by Napoleon in 1802. Stephen's understanding of the situation in the West Indies was to have great impact on the achievement of the 1807 Abolition.

The West India lobby had relied on the dissonance which kept the Atlantic firmly off stage: the revolts in Jamaica, Surinam, Berbice, in the 1760s in Tobago in the 1770s and of the Caribs in St Vincent in 1772-3, proved more than that revolt was endemic in the region: the increased incidence of revolt, the increased number of the enslaved Africans involved and whether they were African or elite slave led, there were multiple objectives.

For some time before the American and French Revolutions, a strong military presence was seen as the only way of preventing slave rebellion and naval supremacy in Caribbean waters the only way of guaranteeing the sugar trade and island provisions. These rebellions and wars were costly to suppress and resulted in questions in Parliament. They were calling into question the nature of imperial government and the practices of the colonials in the Americas and in India. The American Revolution had a destabilising effect on the region as a whole. Christopher Leslie Brown's recent work, 'Moral Capital', identifies the American Revolution not only as a crisis in imperial authority, but also a crisis for British liberty. He takes this further: the crisis 'turned the slave system into a symbol, not just an institution, the source of self-examination as well as a fount of wealth.'¹⁴ The crisis was empire wide. West Indian island Assemblies had many of the same complaints about Imperial government as the patriots in North America. The distributor of stamps, William Tuckett, faced riots in St. Kitts in October 1765, and was forced to resign;¹⁵ in 1784 a revenue officer was tarred and feathered there. Indeed most island Assemblies were on the side of the Patriots in the American Revolution. At the end of the war the British islands were forced to observe a trade embargo on the United States - this caused real shortages.

The St. Kitts which James Stephen reached in 1783 was experiencing those shortages: it was just recovering from a French invasion of over a year's duration and was deeply divided. The first Assembly meeting James Stephen attended in 1784 was caught up with acrimonious discussion regarding the failure of the Militia and the shortages which were the consequence of the trade embargo. A bullying political elite dominated the island's offices and the enforcement of law, the latter having a tendency to break with the English norm. The Governor Generals of the Leeward Islands regularly referred to the recalcitrance of the St. Kitts Assembly – Governor Burt for example called it “a narrow parsimonious Gallo American assembly, on whom the King's instructions are not binding”¹⁶ and Nelson was also critical of its Irish propensities, which included flying the Irish flag on St. Patrick's Day.

In the previous decade of cut throat politics, rivals had bankrupted their enemies and used any means to secure an Assembly majority. The President of the Assembly, John Stanley, refused to accept Parliament's ruling, arguing that the Assembly was answerable only to the King. It was not surprising that in the late 1770s when the vicar, James Ramsay, another Aberdonian,

dared to suggest that the enslaved Africans should be encouraged to attend church and their children educated, he was subjected to intimidation in court and a systematic campaign of abuse and vitriol conducted in anonymous letters to the *St. Christopher Chronicle*. Ramsay would not be silenced; they hounded him off the island, and continued to persecute him in London. He obtained a living at Teston under the patronage of Sir Charles Middleton; Teston soon became a hub for the anti-slavery movement, and Ramsay published ‘An Essay on the Conversion of Africans’ in 1785. A plantation owner James Tobin of Nevis replied with his own arguments¹⁷ and the affair raged on by letter and in the newspapers. Under the strain, supposedly, Ramsay died, and one of the St. Kitts planters, Crisp Molyneux¹⁸ wrote home. ‘Ramsay is dead. I have killed him.’¹⁹

This was the atmosphere in St. Kitts which Stephen encountered when in the mid 1780s he became involved in a series of prosecutions which sought to prove that a master’s rights to his property, in the case of a slave, was constrained by law. These cases precede both the Privy Council commission into conditions in the British West Indies of 1788 and the amelioration initiative which followed. Recourse to litigation, particularly in the form of manumission cases, was increasing, implying that enslaved Africans believed they had some rights, despite the fact that in the British Caribbean they did not exist before the law. Recourse to litigation was another form of resistance which undermined the myth of the contented slave and gained publicity, even became ‘cause célèbres’ in the metropole, such as the case of Maria Calderon of Trinidad 1804 and the Huggins’ case in Nevis 1811.

In St. Kitts they used a law introduced during the French occupation, which was applied in the case of Wadham Strode and Jordan Burke (1785). We should remember the human or African dimension – Burke had cut off one ear and slit the other of a female slave, Clarissa, and Strode the same mutilation on a male slave, Peter. It is clear that enslaved Africans, perceiving an action to be excessive, had aired their grievance and sought redress. In this case the prosecution had failed to have the French ruling allowed and had proceeded on an English custom used against individuals whose correction of their animals caused injury deemed to be ‘contra bonos mores’, against public morals. Burke was fined £50 and Strode £100.

After these two successful prosecutions there was now a case with a much higher profile but which would halt them in their tracks. This was *King V Herbert*, January 1786. The indictment named William Herbert, accused of gross cruelty ‘upon one Billy, a Negro Child

of the Age of Six Years, the property of the said William Herbert, that he did gag inhumanely, immoderately, wantonly and cruelly..... beat, wound, bruise and ill treat the child so that of his life was greatly despaired'.²⁰ Again the prosecution case was not based on idea of the rights of the slave, nor the master's cruelty, but that the injuries he caused were offensive to the sight of the public – they offended against public morals. There were in fact two mulatto children, aged six and eight, who had been subjected to a furious flogging with 'a rope or belt or some other obtuse instrument of punishment,'²¹ while a wooden hoop had been used to muffle their screams. Despite the judge's very clear direction it took the jury considerable time to conclude and when they did it was conditional. 'We find the defendant guilty subject to the opinion of the court, if immoderate correction of a slave by the master is a crime indictable.'²²

Herbert did not let the matter rest. He claimed the Deputy Provost Marshall had kidnapped his property and counter-sued for loss of earnings. The affair went on for a month. There was a second trial. The judge directed the jury to find for the Deputy Provost Marshall, but they remained divided after 48 hours. A third trial and new jury went against the judge's direction and found for Herbert. Stephen then presented a motion for another trial. By this time, Stephen records, the island was bitterly divided and at this point pressure was brought to bear on the Herbert faction and a deal was done. Herbert would accept a nominal fine (40 shillings) and drop his suit and the prosecution would drop their second charge which was the case of the mulatto boy Billy's sister, Jenny.

There is no record of the case in St. Kitts court records. The indictment is there in the Court of the King's Bench in January 1786, Herbert is arraigned,²³ but the trial itself and the verdict were never entered in the book. A partial account of the case was made in response to the Privy Council Commission which was set up in 1788 to report on conditions in the West Indian Islands. According to Stephen, this record would indicate that progress was being made in the protection of the rights of the slave which was hardly true. All progress made on that count was halted after this case.

The consequences for Stephen, following in the wake of Ramsay, allegedly led to his withdrawal from island affairs, from the Assembly and ultimately from anything but prosecutions in the Admiralty Courts. According to the oral tradition, Stephen's involvement in the Herbert prosecution alienated him from his European compeers and drove him out of

business and into refuge up in the cave in the hills above Olivees, where he continued however to counsel the Black population. Two years later he returned to England where he met with Wilberforce and agreed to report from St. Kitts on conditions for the enslaved Africans in the island.

The cave itself is of interest. In a region where historical landmarks belong almost exclusively to the Amerindian or, in greater abundance, to the colonial past, the persistence of Stephen's story and the cave site transmits agency to the island's ancestors. About eighty feet below the cave, in the middle of the rainforest is a further curiosity, an oval plunge bath, nine feet long and four feet wide and with three steps down into it. It is made of dressed stone consistent with other late 18th century constructions. According to the oral version Stephen constructed the bath and for a period lived in the cave, walking down to attend the court sessions and returning up to the cave at the end of the day.

Whatever the origin of the story it is clear that Stephen was not paranoid when, after his return to St. Kitts in 1789, the combination of privation because of the trade embargo and a new wave of revolt caused panic among plantation owners. Stephen had met with Wilberforce on two occasions during his stay in London over the winter of 1788-89 and agreed to report to him on conditions when he returned. At this point his involvement with abolition was clandestine. Conditions were certainly deteriorating, and Stephen was right to be cautious. Another wave of rebellions caused panic among plantation owners. In St. Kitts they introduced security measures to search parcels and passengers for inflammatory material and set up a bay watch- this was in 1792, preceding the war with France. They also introduced a news embargo to prevent information regarding rebellions reaching their own enslaved Africans.²⁴

The first outbreak of this period was the Maroon war in Dominica in 1785. In Martinique in July 1789, before the news of the fall of the Bastille could reach the Caribbean, there was a slave revolt which James Stephen referred to in a letter to Spencer Perceval ten years later: 'I was at that revolutionary period in the neighbourhood of that island. I heard a report directly from Martinique that there had been a slave insurrection in St. Pierre. As far as I can piece it together, it began peaceably with an anonymous letter calling for freedom and signed by "Us Blacks".'²⁵ In 1791 a rebellion in Dominica was preceded by a call for the exercise of their rights to three days to cultivate their own provision grounds. These were the rebellions which

would ultimately lead to victory for the former slaves of St. Domingue and the creation of the first Black Republic of Haiti in 1804.

This wave of revolt is rightly placed in the context of the French Revolution, but it would be wrong to think that it took the news of a revolution in France to provoke enslaved Africans to seek their own liberty. What would make large numbers of Africans and those referred to as Creole slaves make a choice not run away for their freedom, but to stand and fight for it? The idea that it would be more than a damaging wound in the system? That it could bring it down? The evidence is that revolt in the Caribbean took account of particular local circumstances as well as shifts in the international situation. Following the opening of the French Revolutionary Wars the diplomatic position was to be, as Stephen later observed to Wilberforce in September 1797, ‘concerted in the cabinet of heaven to bring forth its long oppressed and degraded children... a heaven sent opportunity for anti-slavery..’²⁶ But the majority of abolitionists viewed the war and rebellion differently; fearing they could be blamed for the wave of revolt they were panicked by the results. Wilberforce writes that ‘People are panic-struck by the transactions in Santo Domingo.’²⁷

Stephen however continued to support the rebels. Anonymously he had replied to Lord Macartney’s ‘Very new Pamphlet Indeed’ in 1793, denying the charge of association with Jacobins, indicting the inhumane conditions of the middle passage and exposing severity of plantation labour.²⁸ Shortly after returning to Britain he published ‘Strictures on the Charges of Cannibalism on the African Race’ in 1795, and contributed to the ‘Morning Chronicle Strictures’ (Feb –March 1797) much to Wilberforce’s consternation: he writes to Stephen, ‘I wish you had not informed me of that you were the author of the strictures...’²⁹

While Stephen continued to rail against Wilberforce’s lack of progress, his argument now became more strategic: in 1802 he published ‘The Crisis of the Sugar Colonies’, originally penned as four letters to the then Prime Minister, Henry Addington. Stephen anticipated Napoleon’s decision to reintroduce slavery and argued that the resistance of the former slaves to its reintroduction would be insurmountable. He also argued that Black victory in ‘Santo Domingo’ would be to the British advantage undermining French colonial interests. In 1804 he takes this a step further, turning the anti-French mood of the country to the advantage of anti-slavery in ‘The Opportunity’. The defeat of the French and the creation of the Republic of Haiti had borne out Stephen’s predictions: he now advised the government ‘You ought,

Sir, to acknowledge without delay, the liberty of the negroes of Santo Domingo and to enter federal engagements with them as a sovereign and independent people, and you ought further, not only to grant, but if necessary to volunteer a guarantee of their independency against the Republic of France.’³⁰ In the same year he published the first biography of Toussaint L’Ouverture in English: entitled *Buonaparte of the West Indies or the History of Toussaint L’Ouverture, the African Hero*, Stephen takes the opportunity to vilify Napoleon, the epitome of dishonour. The pamphlet, published anonymously, initially in three parts, went into four editions in 1804 and Stephen had found a popular audience. Still maintaining the anti French basis of his argument in his next publication ‘War in Disguise or the Frauds of Neutral Flags’ in 1805, he appeals to patriotism not principle; he lays the ground for the destruction of the slave trade (which is only mentioned once, obliquely, in the text³¹) arguing that Britain’s enemies had transferred their trade to and from the ports of their colonies. ‘The Truth is that a large proportion, perhaps nearly all the ‘American’ slave ships that are now fitted out in our ports are owned by British subjects,’³² Stephen wrote to Lord Grenville in 1806. He would reveal this to be disloyal. There could be no arguing against a ban on the ‘foreign trade’ in time of war.

The association of abolitionism with a patriotic anti-French position was not Stephen’s only strategy; the other was to try to separate the West India lobby. Since the British acquisition of Trinidad in 1797 Stephen had been attacking the supply of new African slaves to the new territories. He vents his frustration on Wilberforce:

I still clearly think that you have been improperly silent; and when you see the government loading the bloody cutlass of commerce...with an increase of human victims...you are bound to cry aloud. And to do so because those high priests of Moloch, Lord Liverpool and Mr. Dundas are your political, and Mr. Pitt your private, friends.³³

The eventual ban on the future supply of new slaves to Trinidad was introduced by George Canning in 1802; it was not just a step in the right direction, it demonstrated that it was possible to divide the slave traders and the West Indian planters:

It is not the slave trade *and*, but the slave trade *or*, the old West India interest that you must support –slave trade in all its naked charms without the cloak of the pretended West India interest to support them.’³⁴

With the opposition now losing ground, the next move was the Order in Council of 1805 banning the slave trade to recently acquired Guiana –drafted by James Stephen and the Attorney General, Spencer Perceval. His plans for Trinidad and his proposed administrative

reforms - a registration scheme and the use of free labour - represent a radical and fundamental shift in colonial policy.

The death of Pitt in January 1806 offered a further opportunity. In February 1806 Stephen proposed approaching the new government to win support for Abolition and on March 5th he persuaded Wilberforce to try this new strategy - instead of putting all his faith in another Abolition Bill, to look instead at a ban on the foreign slave trade. It is clear Stephen worked closely with the new Prime Minister, Lord Grenville, on this bill which had, according to Stephen, three objectives:

...to prohibit the supply of conquered countries with slaves; to prohibit the supply of foreign colonies by the British slave trade; to prohibit the carrying on or assisting in any foreign slave trade by British subjects, British capital or use of British ports.³⁵

Stephen was able to furnish Grenville with evidence of contraventions of existing legislation. Presented as a war measure, the Foreign Slave Trade Act passed with little demur, although Banastre Trelton did recognise its implications, remarking that the abolitionists 'were now coming by a sidewind on the planters'.³⁶ According to Roger Anstey, what it achieved was the prohibition of two thirds to three quarters of the British Slave Trade.³⁷

In 1807 'War in Disguise' went into its fourth edition, while Stephen further established his credentials with a blatantly chauvinistic polemic 'Dangers of the Country' which listed the consequences of French victory - 'Yes Englishmen, your children would become in morals as well as allegiance, Frenchmen. I can say nothing worse.'³⁸ When the Bill to abolish the rest of the slave trade was introduced the outcome was no longer in doubt.

The part played by Stephen in the achievement of the abolition of the slave trade was signally absent from Clarkson's '*History*'³⁹ and down played in the Wilberforce brothers' life of their father.⁴⁰ His value to the movement was born of his close knowledge of plantation slavery, his analysis of its economic and social implications and a strategic approach to bringing about its destruction. His observations were informed by his encounters with enslaved Africans and free Blacks as David Geggus recognized:

He based his case on the nature of slavery itself and particularly on its mental dimension. Europeans, he argued, knew slavery only as a metaphor, and little understood how harsh it really was, and how fiercely, therefore, its re-imposition would be resisted.⁴¹

This way of looking at things he had imbued from Beattie's teachings in particular, and the outcome we may attribute to his father's attitude to struggle: when informed his illness was terminal, he declared that 'I have had many troubles in my coffer but I have never accepted any of them.'⁴²

Notes

¹ Clarkson, Thomas, *The History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishment of the African Slave Trade by the British Parliament*, London 1808.

² Wilberforce, Robert and Samuel, *Life of William Wilberforce*, London 1838, Volume II, Stephen to Wilberforce, April 1798, 265. "I still think you have been improperly silent..."

³ Annual Chronicle, November 19th 1770.

⁴ *Memoirs of James Stephen*, B.L. Add Ms 46443-46444 and in transcription, Bevington, Merle M. ed London 1954, 166. 'Of Negro slavery I had never thought and never enquired, but had imbibed the common ideas carefully propagated by West Indians here and fatally believed that the system was bad rather in theory than in practice.'

⁵ *ibid*, 290.

⁶ Beattie, James, *An Essay on the Immutability of Truth in Opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism*, 1770.

7. *ibid*, 467.

⁸ Stephen, James, *Strictures on Charges of Cannibalism on the African Race*, Part I, 1. BL, 1609/3508.

⁹ Beattie, *On Truth*, 465

¹⁰ Stephen, *Strictures*, Part I, 7.

¹¹ Erikson, Erik H, *Childhood and Society*, (dedication) New York, Norton, 1950.

¹² Stephen, James, *The Slavery of the British West Indian Colonies Delineated as it exists Both in law and in practice and compared with the slavery of other Countries Antient and Modern*, Butterworth & Son, 1824, 31. Hereafter *Slavery Delineated*.

¹³ Stephen, James, 'Crisis of the Sugar Colonies, Or an Enquiry into the objects and Probable effects of the French Expedition to the West Indies And the connection with the Colonial Interests of the British Empire', London, 1802.

¹⁴ Brown, Christopher Leslie, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism*, Chapel Hill, 2006, 27.

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- ¹⁵ O'Shaughnessy, Andrew Jackson, *An Empire Divided: The American Revolution and British Caribbean*, University of Pennsylvania Press 2000, 90-91.
- ¹⁶ Governor Burt to Lord George Germain, November 25th 1778, CO152/59
- ¹⁷ Tobin, James '*Cursory Remarks upon the Revd. James Ramsay's Essay*' London 1785
- ¹⁸ Crisp Molineux, St.Kitts Plantation owner and MP for Garboldisham, Norfolk.
- ¹⁹ Wilberforce, Robert and Samuel, *Life of William Wilberforce*, London 1838, Volume I, 236. Stephen to Wilberforce, May 21 1789.
- ²⁰ House of Commons Accounts and Papers Volume xxxvi(1789)No 646a,Part III, St. Kitts Appendix
- ²¹ Stephen, James, *Slavery Delineated* Volume I, Appendix, Case 2
- ²² *ibid.*
- ²³ House of Commons Accounts and Papers Vol xxxvi(1789) No 646a, Part III St. Kitts Appendix.
- ²⁴ St. Kitts Court Records A1 Volume 1, 1788-1795, 5.7,1792
- ²⁵ Stephen to Perceval, October 20, 1810,Spencer Perceval Papers, BL, Volume XI (ff196), 49183,
- ²⁶ Wilberforce, Robert and Samuel, *Life of William Wilberforce*, London 1838, James Stephen to Wilberforce September 28 1797, Volume II, 256
- ²⁷ *Ibid.* Wilberforce to T.Babington , 1792 Vol I, 340
- ²⁸ Macartney, Lord, *A Very New Pamphlet Indeed! Being the Truth addressed to the people at large. Containing some strictures on the English Jacobins*, London,1792.
Stephen's reply, *Old Truths and Established Facts, Being an Answer to a Very New Pamphlet Indeed, London 1792.*
- ²⁹ Wilberforce, Robert and Samuel, *Life of William Wilberforce*, London 1838, Wilberforce to James Stephen August 30,Vol II p 230
- ³⁰ Stephen, James, '*The Opportunity*', London 1804, 11. He continues 'A new order of things has arisen in the West Indies to which former precedents are inapplicable. An unprecedented revolution has rent asunder the basis of our old colonial policy.'
- ³¹ Stephen, James, *War In Disguise*, London 1805, p.75-76, identified by Ann M. Burton, 'British Evangelicals, Economic Warfare and the Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1794 – 1810, Jeremy Black ed. *The Atlantic Slave Trade, Volume IV*, 117-145.
- ³² James Stephen to Lord Grenville May 10, 1806, Dropmore Papers, B.L. Add Ms 58988.

33. Wilberforce, Robert and Samuel, *Life of William Wilberforce*, London 1838, James Stephen to Wilberforce April 1798, p.265.

³⁴ Cited in Anstey, R., *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition 1760 -1810*, London 1975, 337.

³⁵ Stephen to Grenville, May 10, 1806, Dropmore Papers.

36..PD.Series I,vol 6,col.919 cited in Hochschild, Adam, *Bury the Chains*, 303.

³⁷ Anstey, R, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition*, 375.

³⁸ Stephen, James '*Dangers of the Country*' London 1804, Part I, 43.

³⁹ Clarkson, Thomas, *The History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishment of the African Slave Trade by the British Parliament*, London 1808.

⁴⁰ Wilberforce, Robert and Samuel, *Life of William Wilberforce*, London 1838

⁴¹ Geggus, David Patrick, 'British Opinion and the Emergence of Haiti, 1791-1805, in *Slavery and British Society 1776-1846*, ed. J. Walvin, Baton Rouge 1982.

⁴² Memoirs of James Stephen, 354