This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

Google™ books

https://books.google.com



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

456 a 18

AN

ESSAY

ON

COLONIZATION.

PART I.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

AN

ESSAY

ON

COLONIZATION,

PARTICULARLY APPLIED TO THE

WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA,

WITH SOME FREE THOUGHTS ON

CULTIVATION AND COMMERCE;

ALSO

BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS

OF THE COLONIES ALREADY FORMED, OR ATTEMPTED, IN AFRICA,

INCLUDING THOSE OF

SIERRA LEONA AND BULAMA.

BY

C. B. WADSTROM.

IN TWO PARTS.

Illuſtrated with a Nautical Map (from Lat. 5° 30' to Lat. 14° N.) and other Plates.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,

BY DARTON AND HARVEY, GRACECHURCH-STREET.

And ſold by G. NICOL, No. 58, Pall-Mall; W. FADEN, Corner of St. Martin's Lane, Strand; J. STOCKDALE, No. 191, Piccadilly; J. EDWARDS, No. 78, Pall-Mall; E. & J. EGERTON, No. 32, Charing-Croſs; J. DEBRETT, No. 179, Piccadilly; J. JOHNSON, No. 72, St. Paul's Church-yard; and C. DILLY, No. 22, Poultry.

MDCCXCIV.

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

PAUL LE MESURIER, M. P.

LORD MAYOR OF THE CITY OF LONDON,

IN TESTIMONY OF HIS LAUDABLE AND EXEMPLARY ZEAL,

IN PROMOTING THE

CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA,

THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S

OBEDIENT AND VERY HUMBLE SERVANT,

C. B. WADSTROM.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

OF THE

FIRST PART.

INTRODUCTION,

CHAP. I. *Obſtructions to Colonization, particularly in Africa,* - - - Page 1

CHAP. II. *Character and Diſpoſition of the Africans,* 9

CHAP. III. *Civilization in General,* - - 18

CHAP. IV. *Climate, Soil, and Water,* - - 24

CHAP. V. *Produce,* - - - - 31

CHAP. VI. *The means of preſerving health,* - 42

CHAP. VII. *General reflections on Colonies, and the means of promoting them,* - - 57

Commerce, - - - 65

CHAP. VIII. *Hints on the eſſentials of a Colonial Government,* 92

CHAP. IX. *Specific propoſitions applied to the caſe of a new Colony,* - - - 107

CHAP. X. *Colonies in Africa formed on the Principles of Commerce by the Portugueſe,* - 121

Spaniards, - 144

French, - - 154

Dutch, - - 178

Auſtrians, - 187

Swedes, - - 194

New Plan for Exploring Africa, by the African Aſſociation of London, 195

*** A more particular Table of Contents, or an Index, will be inſerted in the Second Part.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

INTRODUCTION.

THE author of the following pages having, in the earlier part of his life, travelled through moſt parts of Europe, and obſerved various modes of civilized ſociety, was deſirous of contemplating human nature in ſimpler ſtates; and, from what he had heard and read, he concluded, that Africa preſented the moſt ample field for ſuch obſervations. Accordingly, in the year 1787, he communicated his deſign to his ſovereign, the late intelligent and enterpriſing King of Sweden, who not only granted him leave of abſence from the office he had the honour to hold under him; but was alſo graciouſly pleaſed to favour with his royal countenance and ſupport, himſelf and his fellow-travellers, Dr. A. Sparrman, known to the public by his voyages to the Cape of Good Hope, and round the world with the celebrated Cook, and Captain Arrhenius, of the Swediſh artillery, a very able and experienced mineralogiſt.

They travelled by land from Stockholm to Paris, with his majeſty's particular recommendation to the court of France, where their views were very cordially promoted. A paſſage was granted to them in a French ſhip from Havre de Grace to Africa, and they carried orders to all the

Digitized by Google

French governors and agents on the coaſt, to give them every kind of aſſiſtance, which accordingly they received wherever they thought proper to land.———Thus the author's opportunities of obſervation were uncommonly favourable, and he flatters himſelf he did not let them eſcape altogether unimproved.

The chief objects of his enquiry and obſervation in Africa were the character of the natives, and the evils they ſuffer from the ſlave-trade, the produce of the country, and above all, how far it ſeemed capable of improvement and of colonization.

The author, on returning to Europe, in 1788, called on ſome friends he had left in England eleven years before. Dr. Sparrman, who went firſt to Paris, ſhortly afterwards joined him in London; Captain Arrhenius going directly to Sweden. It ſoon tranſpiring that they had juſt returned from Africa, they were ſummoned before the Britiſh Privy Council, in whoſe intereſting report their opinions on the ſubject of this work ſtand recorded in theſe words: "The queſtion being put to Mr. Wadſtrom and to Dr. Sparrman, whether they thought that by any and what encouragement the natives of that country might be induced to cultivate the above articles" (viz. cotton, indigo, the ſugar cane, &c.) "ſo as to make them objects of commerce? —Mr. Wadſtrom gave it as his opinion, that the only encouragement would be by ſettling a colony of Europeans there, and though they would proceed by very ſlow degrees, yet they would gradually reconcile the princes and natives of the country to it; and he added, that he ſhould himſelf be glad to be one of the firſt to engage in ſuch an undertaking."—"Dr. Sparrman thinks alſo this might be accompliſhed by planting colonies among them, and paying them for

Digitized by Google

for their labour. They have at preſent ſome ſort of induſtry, which by example might be increaſed. They would not at once be brought to regular and diurnal labour; but by little and little they might be reconciled to it*."

In 1789, he publiſhed a ſmall tract, now out of print, compiled from his journals, and intitled "Obſervations on the Slave-trade in a Voyage to the Coaſt of Guinea." That trade was then under parliamentary inveſtigation in England; and the author was flattered that his little piece might contribute to it's abolition. At preſent the colonization of Africa ſhares the attention of the friends of the ſame cauſe. With renewed alacrity, therefore, he again ſteps forward, agreeable to his promiſe in the above-mentioned tract, in hopes of promoting that grand deſign, by proving that the colonization of Africa is not only practicable, but, in a commercial view, highly prudent and adviſeable.

The reader has no doubt, by this time, diſcovered that the perſon who now addreſſes him is a zealous friend to the Africans. But it is preſumed that his zeal is not inconſiſtent with ſober truth; and that friendſhip to the Africans is not incompatible with friendſhip to the Europeans, and to all mankind. The author has ever thought that the moſt likely way to promote the civilization of mankind, would be to lead their activity into the cultivation of their country, as the beſt exerciſe for their affections, and to diffuſe among them a ſpirit of *liberal* commerce, to exerciſe their underſtanding. Thus, cultivation and commerce eſtabliſhed upon right principles, rendering the mind active, would early diſpoſe it for the reception of pure moral inſtruction: commodities in this caſe could not fail to become the

* Privy Council's Report, Part I. Art. "Produce."

Digitized by Google

vehicles of ideas and inventions; the beſt ſyſtems of morality or religion would of conſequence ſoon prevail; and the human ſpecies thereby would be ultimately improved and exalted.

Thinking thus, the author, particularly ſince he trod the fertile ſoil of Africa, and ſurveyed her rude, but valuable, natural ſtores, has often been grieved and aſtoniſhed that ſuch a country ſhould have been ſo long overlooked by the induſtrious nations in Europe. Of this and ſome other curious circumſtances relative to Africa, he will endeavour, in the enſuing tract, to trace the cauſes. Here he will only aſk, in the words of the celebrated Profeſſor Zimmerman of Brunſwick, "Why have not other mercantile nations long ago opened their eyes, and looked into the benefits that would ariſe from a better knowledge of Africa? It may be anſwered, that, beſides the prejudice that ſo ſtrongly governs the world in general, we muſt not altogether reproach them. One of the fineſt and moſt increaſing Dutch colonies is that at the Cape of Good Hope. France has flouriſhing colonies in the Iſles of France and Bourbon. Portugal has ſeveral important eſtabliſhments, and Denmark has lately given us a proof of what ſhe intends to do. The day, I hope, is not far diſtant when Africa will enrich Europe with the moſt lucrative commerce." Indulging the ſame pleaſing hope, the author moſt chearfully joins his efforts with thoſe of the benevolent and enlightened Britons, who are now endeavouring to form colonies in Africa—happy if his perſonal obſervations, ſupported and illuſtrated by the beſt authorities, ſhould contribute to remove prejudices, and to prevent dangerous miſtakes in thoſe who may hereafter enter upon ſuch undertakings in that quarter of the world.

AN

Digitized by Google

AN

ESSAY

ON

COLONIZATION, &c.

CHAP. I.

OBSTRUCTIONS TO COLONIZATION, PARTICULARLY IN AFRICA.

Plans of the first European coloniſts ill digeſted.

1. WHEN the maritime nations of Europe firſt attempted to found colonies in the Indies, they had prodigious difficulties to encounter. Few of the adventurers ſeem to have been aware of the ſerious nature of ſuch undertakings, and of the neceſſity of proceeding on regular and well digeſted plans. Many of them appear to have embarked with expectations of the ſpeedy acquiſition of wealth; but without well knowing where they were to land, and to reap this golden harveſt. Even the beſt informed of them were unapprized of the inconveniences which they were to guard againſt, and unacquainted with the diſeaſes of hot climates, and the means of prevention and cure; eſpecially with that invaluable medicine, the Peruvian bark. Many of the lower claſs of ſettlers were men of debauched habits, and unaccuſtomed to the labour of clearing land; and all of them but indifferently provided with

Digitized by Google

CHAP. I.

with the accommodations and diet neceſſary to ſupport them under their exertions. Such, except in the caſe of Pennſylvania and one or two others, appears to be a pretty good general ſketch of the characters and conduct of the firſt European colonies. We cannot here be more particular; but, if the intelligent reader will call to mind the various diſaſters and diſtreſſes which the original ſettlers of moſt of the modern European colonies ſuffered, he will not wonder that ſome of them failed, but that almoſt any of them ſucceeded. The liberal ſpirit of enterprize, however, which *then* animated the merchants of ſome nations, and the governments of others, in many caſes, repaired firſt miſcarriages, overcame every obſtacle, and at length founded colonies, ſome of which now emulate powerful nations.

Africa hitherto neglected.

2. While ſuch ſplendid eſtabliſhments have been formed in Aſia and America, "it is melancholy to obſerve that" Africa, a country much more acceſſible to European commerce than either Aſia or America, and, "which has near 10,000 miles of ſea-coaſt, and noble, large, deep rivers, ſhould yet have no navigation; ſtreams penetrating into the the very centre of the country, but of no benefit to it. In ſhort, Africa, though a full quarter of the globe, ſtored with an inexhauſtible treaſure, and capable, *under proper improvements*, of producing ſo many things delightful as well as convenient, ſeems utterly neglected by thoſe who are civilized themſelves*." It may not be amiſs briefly to ſtate what appear to me to have been among the cauſes of the neglect which the reſpectable author here notices.

Cauſes of this neglect.

3. One grand incitement to European enterprize, in the fifteenth century, ſeems to have been the diſcovery of a

* Poſtlethwayt's Dictionary, Article "Africa."

paſſage

CHAP. I.

paſſage by ſea to the Eaſt Indies, which ſhould lay open to all nations the commerce of that country, then monopolized by the Venetians. In 1492, Columbus, in queſt of a weſterly paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, was unexpectedly interrupted in his courſe by the iſlands of America. In 1497, Vaſquez de Gama purſued and accompliſhed the ſame object, by doubling the Cape of Good Hope.

The Slave-trade.

4. Both theſe events appear to have operated greatly to the diſadvantage of Africa. The coaſt of that continent, after having ſerved as a clue to conduct navigators to the Eaſt Indies, was itſelf comparatively neglected; not on account of any natural inferiority in it's ſoil, climate, or productions; but becauſe the Africans, not having advanced ſo far in the arts as the Eaſt Indians, nor having then diſcovered ſuch quantities of the precious metals as the Americans, could not *immediately* ſupply the European demand for thoſe deſirable productions, which the commerce of the Eaſt afforded. Thus Aſia and America became the principal theatres of the ambition and avidity of the Europeans; and happy had it been for Africa if they had ſo continued. But it is diſtreſſing to recollect the rapid progreſs of European iniquity among the ſimple and untutored nations inhabiting the other quarters of the world. Their operations in America were deplorably injurious to Africa. It was ſoon found that the aborigines of the former could not endure the toils impoſed on them by their new maſters. "The natives of Hiſpaniola alone were reduced, in fifteen years, from at leaſt one million to about 60,000*." Hence aroſe the *apparent* or *pretended* neceſſity (for there never can be any *real* neceſſity to commit villainy) of reſorting to

* Robertſon's Hiſtory of America.

Africa

Digitized by Google

CHAP. II.

Africa for a ſupply of labourers, in form of ſlaves. Here commenced *the Slave-trade*, that ſcourge of the human race, which has kept down a great part of the Africans in a ſtate of anarchy and blood, and which, while it's nefarious exiſtence is tolerated, will prove *the* grand obſtacle to their improvement and civilization. Early in the ſixteenth century, this traffic had aſſumed an appearance of ſyſtem; for we find that, in 1517, the Emperor Charles V. granted a patent to certain ſlave-merchants for the annual ſupply of 4000 negroes to the iſlands of Hiſpaniola, Cuba, Jamaica and Porto Rico. It has ſince been cheriſhed with as much care, as if the very exiſtence of legitimate commerce depended on it, and as if, in principle and practice, it perfectly accorded with the feelings and ſentiments of it's patrons.

The Weſt Indies derive their importance from Africa.

5. Without undervaluing the Weſt Indian ſugar colonies, we may venture to obſerve, that their importance, nay, according to the planters themſelves, their very exiſtence, depends on Africa. That continent ſupplies them with ſlaves, whom they call by the ſoft name of "Negro labourers," and who *alone* confer a value on their property. Some affirm, with much probability, that they alſo owe to Africa the very object of their labours. Certain it is, that the ſugar-cane grows ſpontaneouſly in Africa; but whether it be a native of the Weſt Indies, is a controverted point. Be this as it may, it was ſurely ſomewhat prepoſterous to drag the Africans to the Weſt Indies, there to drudge amidſt whips and chains, in cultivating a commodity which, had they been prudently and humanely dealt with, they might have been induced to raiſe, as an article of commerce, upon their own ſoil, and that much nearer to the European markets than the neareſt of the Weſt Indian iſlands.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. I.

iſlands*. But the very vicinity of Africa, which ſhould have recommended it to the Europeans, may have operated to it's diſadvantage; for mankind generally ſet the greateſt value on things diſtant and difficult to be obtained. Diſtance, like a fog, confuſes objects, and lends them a magnitude that does not belong to them; and thus faſcinates and miſleads men of warm imaginations, often to their injury, ſometimes to their ruin.

Oppoſition of merchants and planters.

6. But the ſlave-trade, as carried on in Africa, not only impedes the progreſs of the natives in the arts of induſtry and peace; but alſo now prevents the European merchants concerned in it, or in the ſugar colonies, from countenancing the colonization of that continent, from an ill founded apprehenſion, that ſuch new eſtabliſhments may interfere with thoſe in the Weſt Indies. It is indeed well known, that the Sierra Leona Company experienced very great oppoſition from the ſelfiſh and ungenerous African traders, and Weſt Indian merchants and planters. In juſtice, however, to ſeveral of the more liberal individuals of thoſe bodies, we muſt obſerve, that, diſregarding vulgar prejudices, they ſaw no cauſe of alarm from ſuch eſtabliſhments. They probably conſidered, that ſelf-intereſt is always, in the end, beſt promoted by liberality; and that as all the cotton pro-

* Voyages from England to the neareſt of the Weſt Indian iſlands are performed, on an average, in about thirty days; to the moſt diſtant, in about ſix weeks.---A voyage to Sierra Leona occupies about twenty days; but Mr. Falconbridge once arrived there from England in ſeventeen days. Voyages home both *from* Africa and the Weſt Indies, are longer than thoſe *to* them, from the oppoſition of the trade winds; and homeward bound ſhips from Jamaica, St. Domingo, Cuba, and the Bahamas are farther interrupted by the gulph ſtream.---In 1782, a French frigate arrived at Senegal from Breſt in thirteen days, and returned in fifteen.---The Chevalier de Boufflers told me that he arrived at Senegal from Havre in twenty days, and that the veſſel returned to Havre in the ſame time.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. I.

duced in the Britiſh iſlands is quite inadequate to the demand of the Britiſh manufacturers, ſo the conſumption of ſugar being rapidly increaſing, in Europe and America, and capable of indefinite extenſion, the time may not be very diſtant when all the ſugar that can be produced on the Weſt Indian plantations already ſettled, may be equally inadequate to the ſupply of the European and American markets. I ſay on the Weſt Indian plantations already ſettled; for it is the opinion of perſons well acquainted with Weſt Indian affairs, that thoſe plantations cannot, on the preſent ſyſtem, be profitably extended.

Objections againſt colonizing Africa anſwered.

7. Beſides the foregoing obſtructions to the colonization of Africa, ſeveral well meaning people have ſtated ſome objections which ought to be anſwered.—Firſt, "They fear that the colonization of Africa would introduce, among the ſimple and innocent natives of that continent, the corrupted manners of the Europeans."—I anſwer, that the ſlave-trade has already introduced, into thoſe parts of Africa where it prevails, the manners of the moſt corrupted of the Europeans; but that a colony of ſober, honeſt and induſtrious people from Europe, who will of courſe fix their reſidence where there is little or no ſlave-trade, and who will ſupport themſelves by agriculture, and not by commerce, need not excite any alarm whatever on this head. "But the Europeans, it may be ſaid, corrupted the aborigines of North America, though neither party dealt in ſlaves." This is unfortunately true; but it is equally true that this corruption was the work of European *traders*, and not of European *farmers*. The genius of commerce unfortunately prevailed, more than it ought to have done, in the firſt eſtabliſhment of the European colonies, in the new world. Of the conſequences of this unhappy aſcendancy of commerce over agriculture, many melan-

Digitized by Google

CHAP. I.

melancholy inſtances might be given, were this a proper place. Suffice it to obſerve, what will ſcarcely be denied, that the object of the European traders in America (*as traders*) was not to civilize the natives; but, like the white ſlave dealers in Africa, to turn their rude propenſities for European liquors, gunpowder and baubles, to their own *immediate* profit, without looking forward to the advantages, to legitimate commerce, which, ſooner or later, would have reſulted from their civilization. Nor have governments ſeemed to be ſufficiently ſenſible of thoſe advantages; for while they ſtrictly regulated the commerce of their ſubjects with civilized nations, they left them to puſh their trade with the uncivilized in any direction, and by any means, their own blind avarice ſuggeſted. Hence followed "deeds unjuſt—even to the full ſwing of their luſt." In the Portugueſe colonies, indeed, of Grand Para and Maranhao, a Directorio was eſtabliſhed in 1758, for regulating the dealings of the whites with the native Indians, who are there deſcribed as "uncivilized and ignorant," and "univerſally addicted to debauch in liquors, furniſhed them by the whites." It does not appear what effect theſe regulations have had in eradicating the evil habits which had been previouſly foſtered in the Indians by the Portugueſe pedlars. But they have, in ſome degree, civilized the native Africans in their ſettlements on the coaſt; and the progreſs of the Jeſuits in Paraguay clearly proves that uncivilized nations may be improved, inſtead of being debauched, as hath too often happened, by an intercourſe with the Europeans.

8. Secondly. It is objected, that "Colonies in Africa would prove the means of perpetuating, and not of deſtroying the ſlave-trade." This objection would no doubt have ſome force, if commerce, and not cultivation, were to be

Digitized by Google

CHAP. I.

the primary object of ſuch eſtabliſhments; or even if cultivation were to be carried on by human labour only, unaſſiſted by the labour of cattle. But commerce and human labour are both very capable of limitation and regulation; and in this work I hope to prove that it is very practicable ſo to limit and regulate them in Africa, as to check the hurtful predominancy of the one, and to prevent the oppreſſive tendency of the other.

9. Another objection is "That the defence of colonies in Africa would, like that of moſt of the American colonies, be burdenſome to the European governments, which ſhould favour their eſtabliſhment." To this it may be anſwered, that, if according to the plan I mean to propoſe, the coloniſts cultivate, from the beginning, an amicable coalition with the natives, they will, like the above-mentioned eſtabliſhment of the Jeſuits in Paraguay, ſoon acquire ſuch a degree of ſtrength as to ſecure them from all wanton aggreſſion.

10. It ſeems unneceſſary to ſay more in this place, to ſatisfy objectors who, upon the whole, wiſh to promote the civilization of Africa, if they clearly ſaw how it could be effected: for one great end of this work is, to remove their conſcientious ſcruples; moſt of which, however, appear to me to deſerve attention, more on account of their motives, than of their ſtrength.

CHAP.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. II.

CHARACTER AND DISPOSITION OF THE AFRICANS.

Governments, &c. form national character.

11. CIVIL and religious government is allowed to be the principal cauſe which affects (and even forms) the characters of nations. Climate, diet, occupation, and a variety of other leſs conſiderable cauſes contribute their ſhare to the general effect. It is not, however, by abſtract reaſonings alone, on the ſeparate or combined influence of thoſe cauſes that the character of a nation can be aſcertained; but actual obſervations on their genius and conduct muſt alſo be attended to. Such obſervations cannot be too numerous; nor can general concluſions be too cautiouſly drawn from them.

Miſrepreſentations of the character of the Africans.

12. That this important moral balance may be ſtruck with perfect impartiality, the obſerver ought to diſmiſs every prejudice, and to leave his mind open to a full and fair impreſſion of all the circumſtances. Every well diſpoſed man will allow the neceſſity of ſuch procedure, who knows how groſsly the very people of whom we are treating, have been miſrepreſented by thoſe who firſt made merchandize of their perſons, and then endeavoured, by calumny, to juſtify their own conduct towards them. The accounts of African governors and other ſlave merchants, have been but too implicity followed by authors of no ſmall note, who never were in Africa, and who did not ſuſpect that the writers they quoted were intereſted in miſleading them.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. II.

them. Hence it is to be feared, that many well meaning perſons have been led to believe that the Africans are ſo inſenſible as not to feel their ill treatment, or ſo wicked as not to deſerve better; and have therefore, without farther examination, left them to what they think a merited fate.

13. The author, aware of the difficulty of this part of his ſubject, has all along laboured to obſerve as minutely and extenſively, and to judge as impartially, as he could. But, after all his diligence, he is only able to offer ſome ſhort and imperfect ſketches. Imperfect, however, as they are, he is conſcious they are faithfully copied from the original.

Civilized nations governed by reaſon, uncivilized by paſſions.

14. He believes every man, who has made it his buſineſs to compare the conduct of civilized and uncivilized nations, will admit that the former are governed by reaſon, and the latter by their will and affections, or what are commonly called their paſſions—or at leaſt that, upon the whole, reaſon influences mankind in proportion as they are civilized.

15. This obſervation may be applied very appoſitely to the Africans. Their underſtandings have not been nearly ſo much cultivated as thoſe of the Europeans; but their paſſions, both defenſive and ſocial, are much ſtronger. No people are more ſenſible of diſreſpect, contempt, or injury, or more prompt and violent in reſenting them. They are alſo apt to retain a ſenſe of injury, till they obtain ſatisfaction, or gratify revenge. In this they reſemble other imperfectly civilized tribes, and even the more refined Europeans, in whom that benevolent religion, which teaches forgiveneſs of enemies, has not yet produced it's full effect. For was not ſatisfaction to offended honour; that is, was not a certain mode of revenge a diſtinguiſhing part of the ſyſtem of chivalry? And do not our modern dueliſts, the polite ſucceſſors of the ancient knights, ſtill cheriſh a principle

Digitized by Google

ple which they will not allow to be called revenge; but for which ſober people cannot find a better name? Revenge cauſes wars in Africa: and are there no ſymptoms of its producing wars in Europe? But African wars are never protracted, with cold-blooded perſeverance, to the length of the ſiege of Troy; nor is peace ever negociated with a view to future wars. The Africans have no particular tortures in reſerve for their priſoners, like the North American Indians; nor do they ever devour them, like the natives of New Zealand.

16. But if they be charged with hatred to their enemies, kindneſs to their friends ought, in candour, to be ſtated to their credit; and their hoſpitality to unprotected ſtrangers is liberal, diſintereſted, and free from oſtentation; as I myſelf and many others have experienced. Their kindneſs, and reſpectful attention to white perſons, with whoſe characters they are ſatisfied, ariſes to a degree of partiality which, all things conſidered, is perfectly ſurpriſing. Perſons of this deſcription may, and often do, reſide among them in perfect ſecurity, receiving the beſt poſſible proofs of their good will, namely the moſt preſſing ſolicitations to ſettle among them. This partiality to well diſpoſed Europeans extends alſo to their dreſs, manners, and commodities; in ſhort, to every thing that is European—a diſpoſition which might long ago have been improved to the beſt purpoſes.

17. On thoſe parts of the coaſt and country, where the ſlave-trade prevails, the inhabitants are ſhy and reſerved, as well they may! and on all occaſions go armed, leſt they ſhould be way-laid and carried off.

18. In maternal, filial, and fraternal affection, I ſcruple not to pronounce them ſuperior to any Europeans I ever was among;

Digitized by Google

CHAP. II.

among; but, as they practice polygamy, their paternal and conjugal affections may be ſuppoſed leſs ardent.

Africans corrupted by the European traders.

19. As many of them have not ſufficient employment either for their heads or their hands, they are apt to relieve liſtleſſneſs by intoxication, when they can procure the means. So very ſucceſsful, indeed, have the European ſlave-dealers been, in exciting in them a thirſt for ſpirits, that it is now become one of the principal pillars of their trade; for the chiefs, intoxicated by the liquor with which they are purpoſely bribed by the whites, often make bargains and give orders fatal to their ſubjects, and which, when ſober, they would gladly retract. A deſire for ſpirituous liquors, however, is the failing of all uncivilized people. In particular, it has greatly thinned ſome American tribes, and almoſt annihilated others.

20. Their notions and practices reſpecting property are not more inaccurate or irregular than thoſe of other men in the ſame ſtage of ſociety; as is evident from the general conduct of ſuch of them as are unconnected with this deſtructive commerce. But thoſe who are, may be expected to be tainted with it's concomitant vices. As the whites practice every fraud upon them, in the quantity and quality of the goods delivered, and in trepanning their perſons, the blacks cannot carry on *this* trade, on equal terms, without reſorting to ſimilar practices. As to the injuſtice, cruelty and rapine which, at the inſtigation of the whites, they practice on one another, they are not more diſgraceful than the well known trades of crimps, and kidnappers, and preſs-gangs, carried on, without foreign inſtigation, in ſeveral European countries, and even protected, or connived at, by their governments. At the worſt, theſe practices are not ſo diſgrace-

Digitized by Google

CHAP. II.

disgraceful to uncivilized men as to their *civilized*, European instigators. Menzel gives a horrid detail of the operations of the Zeelverkoopers, (soul-mongers) of Holland, whose infamous trade it is to trepan men for their East Indian settlements. By such means, the author affirms, that the population of the pestiferous city of Batavia is kept from total extinction*.

Instance in the conduct of an African chief.

21. Of the infamous arts of the Europeans, and the consequent intoxication and violence of one of the African chiefs, I have had ocular proof. In order to promote the slave-trade, the French governors at Goree send yearly presents to the black kings, who return a gift of slaves. In 1787, I attended an embassy of this kind to the King of Barbesin at Joal, on the coast between Goree and Gambia. That chief having been unwilling to *pillage*, was kept constantly intoxicated, by the French and mulattoes, till they prevailed on him to issue the dreadful mandate. When sober, he expressed extreme reluctance to harrass his people. He complained that the traders of Goree, after making him trifling presents, came upon him with long accounts, and endless pretensions; that the governor listened too readily to their tales, thought too little of the sufferings of the negroes, and must have been imposed upon, when he allowed his name to be used on such occasions—An allegation which most probably was true; for the Chevalier de Boufflers then governor, I really believe, was ignorant of these knavish proceedings; but, like many other great men, was the dupe of his courtiers. I heard the king more than once hold this language, had it interpreted on the spot, and insert-

* Beschreibung von Cape de Bonne Esperance, (Description of the Cape of Good Hope) Vol. I. p. 351, 357, 369.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. II.

ed it in my journal: and yet he ſoon after ordered the pillage to be executed.

22. On this occaſion it happened that only one captive was taken. This was a handſome young negreſs, who, notwithſtanding her tears, was forthwith carried on board a ſhip then lying off Joal. As ſhe belonged, however, to one of thoſe families who, by the laws of the country, are exempted from ſlavery, this action ſhocked the people ſo much that a commotion enſued. The king having, by this time, come to his ſenſes, and ſeeing the danger, entreated the purchaſer to return the girl. The Frenchman, though ſurrounded by a great multitude of negroes, and though our party, including Dr. Sparrman, Captain Arrhenius, and myſelf, conſiſted but of five white men, was ſo madly obſtinate as to refuſe his requeſt. I ſay madly, for in all the conjunctures of my life, I never was ſo alarmed for the ſafety of it. After much entreaty, however, he reſtored the young woman to her diſconſolate relations, the king promiſing him two ſlaves in exchange, whom he expected to ſeize on a future expedition.

Proofs of the induſtry of the Africans.

23. The oppoſers of the colonization of Africa would have it believed, that the natives are incurably ſtupid and indolent: but I have in my poſſeſſion the means of proving the contrary; for, on a queſtion put to me in a committee of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, I offered to produce ſpecimens of their manufactures in iron, gold, fillagree work, leather, cotton, matting and baſket-work, ſome of which equal any articles of the kind fabricated in Europe, and evince that, with proper encouragement, they would make excellent workmen. All men are idle till incited to induſtry, by their natural or artificial wants. Their ſoil eaſily ſupplies their natural neceſſities, and the whites have never tried

Digitized by Google

tried to excite in them any innocent artificial wants; nor indeed any other wants than thoſe of brandy, baubles, trade-guns, powder and ball, to intoxicate or amuſe their chiefs, and to afford them the means of laying waſte their country.

24. Even the leaſt improved tribes make their own fiſhing tackle, canoes and implements of agriculture. I forgot to mention ſalt and ſoap, and dying among the manufactures of thoſe I viſited, and who are by no means exempted from the evils of the ſlave-trade. If, even while that traffic diſturbs their peace, and endangers their perſons, they have made ſuch a progreſs, what may we not expect if that grievous obſtacle were removed, and their ingenuity directed into a proper channel?

25. The ſlave-trade diſturbs their agriculture ſtill more than their manufactures; for men will not be fond of planting who have not a moral certainty of reaping. Yet, even without enjoying that certainty, they raiſe grain, fruits, and roots, not only ſufficient for their own conſumption, but even to ſupply the demands of the European ſhipping, often to a conſiderable extent. In ſome iſlands and parts of the coaſt, where there is no ſlave-trade, they have made great progreſs in agriculture. At the iſland of Fernando Po, in particular, they have ſuch quantities of proviſions, as to ſpare a ſufficiency for all the ſhipping at Calabar, Del Rey, and Camerones. In ſome places, they bring their produce to the coaſt on their heads, and return home loaded with European goods. Others go in armed bodies even a month's journey inland, with articles for trade. In ſome places, they wood and water the ſhips, and hire themſelves to the Europeans to work for low wages, both in boats and on ſhore. In ſhort, their induſtry is in general proportioned

Digitized by Google

CHAP. II.

to their comparative civilization, to their own wants, to the demand for their labour, to their desire for European goods, and above all, to their total or partial exemption from the slave-trade *.

26. Refined nations form systems, and rise to generals: unpolished tribes dwell on detail, and trifle in particulars. The Africans are unacquainted with the dexterity and dispatch arising from the division of labour, and with the numerous advantages of combined exertions systematically conducted. Except in works which, without united efforts, cannot be performed at all, they do every thing in a solitary, desultory manner. Each individual or family, like the peasants in some parts of Europe, spins, weaves, sews, hunts, fishes, and makes baskets, fishing-tackle and implements of agriculture; so that, considering the number of trades they exercise, their imperfect tools, and their still more imperfect knowledge of machinery, the neatness of some of their works is really surprising.

27. Of their labour in concert, I shall give one example, of which I have been a spectator. The trees on the coast I visited, being generally bent in their growth by the sea-breeze, and wanting solidity, are unfit for canoes. A tree of the proper dimensions is therefore chosen, perhaps fourteen or fifteen miles up the country, which being cut into the requisite length, but not hollowed, lest it should be rent by accident, or by the heat of the sun, the people of the nearest village draw it to the next, and thus successively from village to village, till it reach the coast, where it is formed into a ca-

* See the evidence of Sir George Young, Captain Dalrymple, Captain Wilson, Captain Hall, Mr. Ellison, &c. in Minutes of Evidence before the House of Commons.

noe.

Digitized by Google

noe. For this ſevere labour the villagers look for no other reward than a feaſt and merry-making, which they enjoy in the true ſtyle of rural ſimplicity.

28. The ſame happy mixture of united labour and feſtivity takes place at building their houſes; alſo in cultivating, planting or ſowing their fields, belonging to the ſame village, and in reaping the crop, which is conſidered as the common property of the inhabitants. Such a practice in Europe would generate endleſs diſputes; but among this ſimple people, is the beſt bond of good neighbourhood. Such indeed is the amiable ſimplicity of manners which reigns in the villages remote from the ſlave-trade, that European viſitors are ready to imagine themſelves carried into a new world, governed by the pureſt maxims of patriarchal innocence.

29. But though few of them unite their ſtrength, except on theſe, and a few ſimilar, occaſions, and moſt of them turn their hands to different occupations, we are not thence to conclude unfavourably of their intellects, any more than of the intellects of thoſe European peaſants, (in Sweden, Norway, Scotland, &c.) whoſe practices are ſimilar. On the contrary, Lord Kaimes has obſerved, I think with much truth, that ſuch peaſants are generally more intelligent than artificers, to whom the diviſion of labour, in manufacturing countries, has aſſigned *one, ſimple* operation. A peaſant, who makes and repairs his ploughs, harrows, and harneſs, his houſehold furniture, and even his cloaths, has an ampler ſcope for his underſtanding, and really becomes a more intelligent being than he who ſpends his whole life in forging horſeſhoes, making nails, or burniſhing buttons. Such a being, confined for life to a few ſimple motions, may be ſaid, in ſome degree, to loſe the uſe of all his powers, but that of the

Digitized by Google

CHAP. III.

the muſcles which perform thoſe motions. His intellect lies dormant, for it's uſe is ſuperſeded by a mere animal habit. He becomes, in ſhort, a kind of live machine, in the hands of ſome monied man, to contribute to the pride and luxury of drones, who poſſeſs no other talent than that of turning to their own account the activity of their poor brethren of mankind*.

30. I am unwilling to refine too much; but as the ſituation of the Africans approaches much nearer to that of intelligent peaſants than that of ſtupid mechanics, I am inclined to think that their intellects may have been improved by being ſo variouſly exerciſed; for the natural way of improving the human intellect, is to afford it an ample field of action; and the ſure way to cramp and contract it, is to keep it inceſſantly plodding in *one* dull purſuit. Certain it is, that though, on the whole, paſſion is more predominant in the African character than reaſon; yet their intellects are ſo far from being of an inferior order, that one finds it difficult to account for their acuteneſs, which ſo far tranſcends their apparent means of improvement.

CHAP. III.

CIVILIZATION IN GENERAL.

Will and underſtanding, the leading faculties of the mind.

31. NO one will deny that the *will* and the *underſtanding* are the leading faculties of the human mind. The *will* is actuated by love for, or *affections* to, ſome objects in

* See Lord Kaimes's Sketches of the Hiſtory of Man.

pre-

Digitized by Google

preference to others, and thoſe affections being poſſeſſed by man in common with other animals, he would become a deſtructive being, if in ſociety he had not an opportunity of giving a ſocial bias to his *underſtanding*, which is capable of infinite elevation. But when this latter faculty is matured, it then acquires a right of governing and directing the *affections* and the *will* in the way moſt conformable to ſocial order.

Education and civilization defined and their relations explained.

32. The eſtabliſhment of this dominion of the *underſtanding* over the *will*, as influenced by the *affections*, is the effect of what we call *education* or *civilization*—Education with reſpect to every man in particular, and civilization with reſpect to mankind in general.

33. Societies may be divided into the *civilized* and the *uncivilized*; and the duties of the former to the latter are ſimilar to thoſe of parents to children; for uncivilized nations, like children, are governed by their affections, their underſtanding being uncultivated.

34. If we feel within ourſelves a principle which teaches us to ſeek our own happineſs in that of our offspring; aſcending from particulars to generals, we ſhall alſo find, that civilized nations ought, for their own advantage, ſincerely to promote the happineſs of the uncivilized.

35. As the tutelage of children is a ſtate of ſubjection; ſo it would ſeem that civilized nations have perhaps ſome right to exerciſe a ſimilar dominion over the uncivilized, provided that this dominion be conſidered and exerciſed as a mild paternal yoke; provided alſo that it be ſtrictly limited to acts conducive to their happineſs, and that it ceaſe when they arrive at maturity. Theſe proviſos, it is hoped, will prevent my meaning from being miſunderſtood: for, by this paternal dominion, I am far from intending any ſpecies

Digitized by Google

CHAP. III.

cies of arbitrary power, which cannot be too cautiously guarded againſt, in any form, eſpecially in a diſtant colony. The experience of all ages tells us, that the governors of remote provinces have ever been with difficulty reſtrained within the limits preſcribed to them by the laws.

Africans would be improved by innocent luxury.

36. The active and intellectual principles of the Africans have never been completely unfolded, except perhaps in the caſe of the Foolahs, the natives of Fernando Po, a great part of the Mandingoes, and one or two other tribes. The Europeans have addreſſed themſelves chiefly to the evil affections of their princes, and have ſucceeded to admiration in exciting among them a deſire for gunpowder and brandy. The deſire which ſome African nations have for more uſeful European goods has been accidental, rather than intentional, on the part of the whites. Yet this deſire conſpires with the reaſon of the thing, to point out the method of forming them to the habits of civilized life. In order to improve their intellects, we muſt endeavour to ſet their active powers in motion. New objects muſt be preſented to them, which will excite new deſires, and call forth thoſe faculties which have hitherto, in a great meaſure, lain dormant, merely for want of exerciſe. Thus, to promote their improvement, by ſtimulating them to induſtry, it will be neceſſary to introduce among them a certain degree of what I beg leave to call *luxury*; by which I do not mean effeminacy, but that reliſh for the comforts of civilized life which excites men to action, without enervating them. In other words, by *luxury*, I underſtand all innocent enjoyments beyond the neceſſaries of mere animal life.

Intereſting behaviour of African chiefs,

37. The behaviour of the King of Barbeſin, on an occaſion apparently trivial, may ſerve to exemplify this doctrine, and to ſhew that this beneficial kind of luxury might be introduced

Digitized by Google

troduced with leſs difficulty than one would at firſt ſight expect. I gave his majeſty a pair of common enamelled Birmingham ſleeve-buttons, with which, though ignorant of their uſe, he was infinitely delighted. On my ſhewing him for what purpoſe they were intended, he appeared much mortified that his ſhirt had no button-holes; but obſerving that that of a mulatto from Goree was furniſhed with them, he inſiſted on exchanging ſhirts with him, in our preſence; a demand with which the man was forced to comply. Tranſported with his new ornaments, the king held up his hands to diſplay them to the people. His courtiers ſoon ſurrounded my hut, entreating me to furniſh them alſo with buttons, which I did with pleaſure, reflecting that this fondneſs of the natives for European baubles might one day come to be made ſubſervient to the nobleſt purpoſes.——Another inſtance of innocent luxury in point. The Eaſt India ſhip, that conveyed out a judge to Bengal, touched at the coaſt of Madagaſcar. The king of that diſtrict, being invited on board, became enamoured with the judge's wig, and nothing but the gift in fee ſimple, of that venerable ornament, could ſatisfy the cupidity of his duſky-coloured majeſty. The poor judge, who had but one wig in ſtore, and was reſolved not to diſgrace the ſeat of juſtice in a night cap, refuſed to part with the wig. What expedient could be thought of in this dilemma?—The king was promiſed the wig the next day.—An ingenious ſailor, in the mean time, wove and frizzled up a handful of oakum in the beſt imitation. The hempen ornament was carried aſhore the next morning with due ſolemnity, and his majeſty's pate covered, to the glory and delight of himſelf and all his ſubjects, who attended the ceremony. This anecdote was re-

Digitized by Google

CHAP. III.

lated to an intimate friend of mine by the ſurgeon of the ſhip who was preſent at the inauguration.

38. The conduct of the king (formerly grand marabou *) of Almammy, while I was in Africa, appeared to me more intereſting; as it ſeemed to evince the manly and ſagacious character of the negroes, when enlightened, even by an African education. His underſtanding having been more cultivated in his youth than that of the other black princes, he ſoon rendered himſelf entirely independent on the whites. He not only prohibited the ſlave-trade throughout his dominions; but, in the year 1787, would not ſuffer the French to march their ſlaves from Gallam, through his country, ſo that they were obliged to change their route. He redeemed his own ſubjects, when ſeized by the Moors, and encouraged them to raiſe cattle, to cultivate the land, and to practiſe all kinds of induſtry. As grand marabou, he abſtained from ſtrong liquor, which, however, is not an univerſal rule among that order; for ſome who travel with the whites are not very ſcrupulous in this reſpect. His ſubjects, imitating his example, were more ſober than their neighbours.

ſhewing that luxury would incite them to agriculture, and open their minds.

39. This inſtance ſeems to prove to what a degree of civilization theſe people might be brought, if this noble enterprize ſhould be purſued with prudence and patience; for it will undoubtedly require a great deal of both. But ſome degree of luxury (in my reſtrained ſenſe) appears to me to be abſolutely neceſſary to the ſucceſs of any plan of this kind. Indeed, I cannot comprehend how the human underſtanding can be led on, from it's firſt imperfect dawn-

* The marabous are the chief prieſts among the negroes, and are the only people *I have ſeen* who can read and write Arabic.

ings,

Digitized by Google

ings, to that ſtate of improvement which is neceſſary to the formation of civilized ſociety, without a reliſh for the comforts of life. Mere animal inſtinct impels uncivilized tribes to procure mere neceſſaries: wiſhes for innocent gratifications would ſtimulate them to cultivation, which would furniſh equivalents for the objects of their new deſires. And when they are once brought to beſtir themſelves, and reconciled to regular, but moderate, labour, the improvement of their underſtandings will follow of courſe. For a people who have acquired habits of application, and whoſe induſtry, having ſecured them from want, affords them leiſure for thought, will not be long without a deſire for moral and intellectual improvement: or, at leaſt, many individuals will feel, and haſten to gratify, this deſire, and will gradually impart a degree of knowledge and refinement to the whole community.

Agricultural colonies recommended.

40. To accompliſh this magnificent deſign, in Africa, let us form agricultural colonies on its coaſt, which preſent a variety of ſituations, where we ſhall be little, or not at all, diſturbed in our operations. Let us kindly mix with the inhabitants, and aſſiſt them in cultivating their fertile ſoil, with the view of inviting them to participate with us in it's inexhauſtible ſtores, and in the concomitant bleſſings of improving reaſon and progreſſive civilization. Let us give them a manly and generous education, which will make them feel the nobility of their origin, and ſhew them of what great things they are capable—an education which will teach them no longer to ſuffer themſelves to be dragged, or to conſpire to drag others, from their ſimple, but improveable and beloved ſocieties—which will teach them to avenge themſelves on the blind and ſordid men who purchaſe them, only by becoming more uſeful to them as free-

Digitized by Google

CHAP. IV.

men, than ever they have been, or can be, as ſlaves. Thus, on the wreck of tyranny, let us build altars to humanity, and prove to the negroes that the Europeans, become juſt from ſound policy, and generous from a ſenſe of their true intereſts, are at laſt diſpoſed to make ſome atonement for the irreparable miſchiefs their perverted ſyſtem of commerce has occaſioned in Africa.

41. On principles nearly approaching to theſe, a colony has already been formed at Sierra Leona, and another attempted at the iſland of Bulama, of both which ſome account will be given in the following pages.

CHAP. IV.

CLIMATE, SOIL, AND WATER.

CLIMATE.

42. THE climate of Africa, like that of other countries, varies with the nature of the ſoil, in it's dryneſs or moiſture, it's elevation or depreſſion, the comparative ſtate of improvement, the height of thermometer, and other circumſtances, perhaps, not yet ſufficiently inveſtigated. The latitude of a place is by no means a certain criterion of it's climate, as ſeems to be commonly ſuppoſed *. Even in the midſt of the torrid zone, we meet with all poſſible gradations of heat and cold, almoſt the only circumſtances which enter into the common idea of climate. The lofty ſummits

* See an excellent diſcourſe on this ſubject, delivered in the Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, by B. Ferner, counſellor of the king's chancery.

of

Digitized by Google

of the Andes, in South America, though under the equator, and the high lands of Camarones, on the coaſt of Africa, though within between three and four degrees of it, are covered with everlaſting ſnow.

43. In the temperate zones, the year is divided into winter and ſummer; for ſpring and autumn may be conſidered as tranſitions from each of theſe extremes to it's oppoſite. But, in moſt parts of the torrid zone, nature has diſtinguiſhed the ſeaſons into the wet and the dry. The former is, in Guinea, the ſeaſon of ſickneſs; but during the greater part of the latter, that country is, upon the whole, as healthful as any other whatever. Wet and dry ſeaſons.

44. From what I have ſeen, and been able to collect, the rainy ſeaſons follow the paſſage of the ſun to either tropic, ſo as generally to prevail in thoſe places where the ſun is vertical. Eaſt of Cape Palmas, however, they ſeldom ſet in before June, when the ſun returns from the northern tropic; but to the weſtward of that cape, and up the whole country, thoſe ſeaſons generally commence within the month of May, and continue for three or four months. In the beginning of this ſeaſon, the earth being ſoftened with rain, the negroes till and plant their grounds; and, after the return of dry weather, they gather in their crops; occupations which they ſeldom abandon, even though allured by the moſt advantageous commerce.

45. To give the reader ſome idea of the quantity of rain, which deluges Africa during the wet ſeaſon, I need only mention that, at Senegal, one hundred and fifteen inches in depth of rain were found to fall in four months; a quantity which exceeds that which falls in moſt parts of Britain during four years*. Even during the dry ſeaſon, the dews are Quantity of rain.

* See Lind on the Diſeaſes of hot Climates, p. 43.

ſo

CHAP. IV.

ſo copious as to preſerve young and ripening vegetables from being ſcorched by the heat. It may indeed be queſtioned, whether the rain which falls in ſome countries, equal the dews which diſtil on moſt parts of the fertile ſhores of Africa. But the magnitude and number of the rivers, which riſe and fall, in the wet and dry ſeaſons, are evident proofs that that continent is abundantly watered. In ſhort, the notion of the ancients, that the torrid zone was not habitable for want of moiſture, is perfectly inapplicable to moſt parts of the weſtern tropical coaſt of Africa.

Thermometer and Barometer.

46. The range of the thermometer is but in conſiderable in the tropical regions; and, what is ſtill more remarkable, the barometer remains almoſt ſtationary during thoſe ſurpriſing tranſitions from dry to wet, and the contrary. In Europe, the mercury riſes and falls about three inches; in the torrid zone, ſeldom half an inch. It is even ſaid to be but little affected by the moſt violent hurricane *. But M. Weſt, in a deſcription of St. Croix, publiſhed at Copenhagen laſt year, ſays that in a hurricane, or violent ſtorm, which happened there in 1791, the mercury in his barometer roſe very conſiderably †.

SOIL.

From Cape Blanco down to the River Gambia.

47. The ſoil all along the coaſt is very unequal. From Cape Blanco down to the River Gambia, it is in general very ſandy; but the ſand contains a very large admixture of broken ſhells, and is covered, in many places, with a rich black mould. Even the moſt barren and unpromiſing tracts of this part of the country, except juſt on the ſea ſhore, are covered with buſhes and graſs of a great growth; and

* Lind ibid. † Bidrag til Beſkrivelſe over St. Croix, &c.

where

Digitized by Google

where the black mould is found, the vegetation is luxuriant to a degree unknown in the moſt fertile parts of Europe, and the trees are of vaſt dimenſions.

Baſaltes.

48. I have obſerved that the mountains from Cape Verd to Gambia, are generally compoſed more or leſs of regular baſaltes, exhibiting evident remains of volcanoes, the eruptions of which add greatly to the fertility of the ſoil around them. Hence the lower parts of the mountains and high grounds at Cape Emanuel, Goree, Cape Rouge, and other places lower down, are in general very fertile.

Adanſon's account of the ſoil down to Rio Nunez.

49. M. Adanſon, a celebrated naturaliſt, who was ſent to Africa in 1753, at the requeſt of the French Academy of Sciences, obſerves that the ſoil from Cape Blanco to the Gambia, though by no means bad upon the whole, is not to be compared in fertility with that of the country from that river to Rio Nunez, which is equalled by few ſoils, and excelled by none, on the face of the globe*. His obſervations apply, not only to the coaſt, but to very extenſive tracts of of the inland countries, as the reader will perceive by conſulting my map, in which I have traced his lines of ſeparation between the more and leſs fertile tracts; and which are as accurate as the nature of the thing will permit. The evidence given before the Privy Council abundantly confirms the obſervations of M. Adanſon, my fellow travellers and myſelf, and proves that the large extent of land, juſt mentioned, wants nothing but ſkilful culture to render it more than commonly productive of every tropical article.

Rice Grounds.

50. The coaſt and the banks of the rivers are in many

* When at Paris in 1787, I had daily opportunities of converſing with that reſpectable old philoſopher, and obtained from him many intereſting communications, which were extremely uſeful to me on my arrival in Africa.

places

CHAP. IV.

places interſperſed with marſhes and ſavannahs, which, in their preſent ſtate, are unfit for any other crop than that of rice, which forms a conſiderable part of the food of the natives. But their fertility in this article does not compenſate for their inſalubrity; and unfortunately the Europeans have fixed all, or moſt of, their habitations near them. Yet in almoſt every part of the coaſt, far more healthful ſituations might eaſily have been found; eſpecially on the dry and elevated banks of the Rio Grande. But, ſtrange as it may appear, health is, with thoſe men, an object of leſs conſideration, in the choice of a reſidence, than trade, for which the ſituations of their factories are generally well adapted.

WATER.

Comparative qualities of different waters.

51. Rain-water, I believe, is allowed to be the lighteſt and ſimpleſt of all waters. Next in order, is ſpring water, which varies in purity with the nature of the ſoil through which it percolates. That which iſſues from among rocks, gravel, or chalk is generally accounted the beſt. Similar to this, is the water of draw-wells, the quality of which depends much on the ſtrata at or near the bottom, and it generally improves by expoſure to the open air. But of all waters, that which ſtagnates in ponds, ditches, and moraſſes, is the moſt unwholeſome.

52. The waters at the mouths of the large African rivers, which glide ſlowly through a level country, being mixed with thoſe of the ſea and of the marſhes which it overflows, are impregnated with ſalt, and rendered turbid by various impurities; yet ſome of them require but little preparation to make them fit for common uſe, and the natives often uſe them without any preparation whatever. Dr. Lind had ſamples of thoſe of the rivers Senegal, Gambia, and Sierra Leona

Digitized by Google

Leona ſent him ſealed up in bottles. Although he found them all putrid, eſpecially that from the Senegal, he could not diſcover any animalcules in them, with a good microſcope, nor any uncommon contents, by chemical analyſis. All of them, after being expoſed ſome time to the open air, became perfectly ſweet and good. Hence he concludes that the moſt effectual way of deſtroying the *ova* of animalcules, and of the Guinea worm * (if it be generated, as ſome ſuppoſe, in water) is firſt to let the water putrify, and then to paſs it through a ſeries of veſſels placed under each other, having ſmall holes in their bottoms; ſo that it may fall from one into another in drops, like a gentle ſhower—a proceſs which, he aſſures us, will render it quite pure and wholeſome †.

Guinea worm.

* As the Guinea worm is attended with great trouble and pain, though ſeldom with fatal conſequences, unleſs when much neglected or miſmanaged, I ſhall add Dr. Lind's deſcription of it—"The leſs dangerous diſeaſes," ſays he, "which attack Europeans in Guinea, are the dry belly-ach and the Guinea worm. This is a white round, ſlender worm, often ſome yards long, lodged in the interſtices of the muſcles, commonly in the legs, feet, or hands. When it attempts to eſcape through the ſkin, it occaſions a ſwelling, reſembling a boil, attended with great pain, until it's little black head appears in a ſmall watery bladder, on the head of the boil. When this bladder breaks, the head of the worm is to be ſecured, by tying it to a ſmall roll of linen, ſpread with plaiſter, and part of the worm is, once or twice a day, to be gently drawn forth with care not to break it, and wrapped round this roll, until it be brought away entire; then the ulcer generally heals ſoon: but if part of the worm breaks off, the part remaining in the fleſh can be ejected only, by painful and tedious ſuppurations in different places. Dr. Rouppe obſerves that the diſeaſe of the Guinea worm is infectious. It may at leaſt be prudent in Europeans, not to lie in the ſame apartments, and to avoid too free a communication with ſuch negroes as are afflicted with them. The dry belly-ach and Guinea worm may be obſerved at any ſeaſon of the year, and ſeldom prove mortal." Eſſay, p. 52.—"The dry belly-ach is the ſame diſeaſe here as in the Weſt Indies; but the Guinea worm ſeems peculiar to Africa, and a few parts of Aſia." Id. p. 57.

† Eſſay on the Diſeaſes of hot Climates p. 60.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. IV.

To cool and purify water.

53. Even very foul water may be rendered potable, by letting it drain through a wine pipe, or deep tub, half filled with pure ſand, with a number of ſmall holes near the bottom, covered on the inſide with hair-cloth, or other porous ſubſtance, to prevent the ſand from being carried through by the water.—Theſe methods may be practiſed, when a large quantity of clear water is wanted; but an ordinary family is very plentifully ſupplied by a drip-ſtone, which is one of the moſt elegant methods of obtaining pure water. If the ſtone tranſmit the water too freely, it may be rendered leſs porous, by a mixture of water and lime; if too ſlowly, it's bottom ſhould be thinned, by rubbing it down with another gritty ſtone. The ſand-tub or drip-ſtone, ſhould be placed in the ſhade, where there is a free current of air; and the water ſhould drop from the height of two or three feet into an unglazed earthen jar, not hard burnt, but ſo porous as to allow the water to tranſude pretty freely; and thus the water will be kept conſtantly cool, by the evaporation from the ſurface of the jar. It may be brought to table in ſmall pitchers, of the ſame porous texture. The reader will obſerve, that this mode of keeping water cool depends on the ſame principle with that of refrigerating liquors, by covering the bottles with wet linen cloths, and placing them in a ſtream of air. All the above methods of purifying and cooling water are practiſed in hot countries. But all of them, except that of cooling the water, are unneceſſary in many parts of Africa, for all the high grounds that I have ſeen there contain ſprings of the pureſt water.

54. The following ſimple diſcovery, for rendering putrid water fit to drink, has been lately made by a Mr. Lowitz. Six ounces of charcoal powder, thrown into five gallons of putrid

Digitized by Google

putrid river water, and agitated, is ſufficient to purify and render it wholeſome and drinkable. But the proceſs is rendered ſtill more efficacious, if to one drachm of charcoal be added two drops of ſtrong vitriolic acid, which is ſufficient to make four ounces of perfectly foul water ſweet and clear, on being ſtrained through a linen jelly-bag, containing charcoal powder *.

CHAP. V.

PRODUCE.

55. AS the ſlave-ſhips never return directly to Europe, but proceed to the Weſt Indies with their wretched cargoes, it has never been the intereſt of their owners to bring home much of the produce of Africa.

Slave ſhips bring little produce.

56. Thoſe called wood-veſſels, might be ſuppoſed to deal only in produce. But this has by no means been the caſe. Beſides their frequenting thoſe parts of the coaſt, where the ſlave-trade is briſkeſt, moſt of their commanders traffic in ſlaves on the coaſt; that is, buy ſlaves whom they ſell again to the ſlave-captains. Yet, they have all along brought home ſome gums and gold, bees wax and ivory in conſiderable quantities, a great variety of valuable and beautiful woods, for the uſe of the dyers and cabinet-makers; and of late, ſome palm-oil for the purpoſes of the ſheep-farmers n d wool-combers.

Captains of wood veſſels deal in ſlaves.

* See the Appendix to the Monthly Review enlarged, Vol. 12. p. 606.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. V.

East and West Indian interests oppose the importation of African produce.

57. But I believe the principal cause why a trade in African produce has never been encouraged, has been the irresistible influence of the East and West Indian interests. Those monopolists, unreasonably thought their commerce would be affected by the introduction of African commodities into the markets of Europe. Thus much is certain, that Mr. Norris, one of the Liverpool delegates for supporting the slave-trade, and therefore not to be suspected of partiality to Africa, stated, in his examination before the Privy Council, that he "once saw a quantity of African pepper of the quality of that brought from the East Indies. *It was so good, that the East India company objected to it's importation**." We have before mentioned the formidable opposition made the West Indians to the establishment of the colony at Sierra Leona.

Produce rots in Africa, for want of conveyance.

58. By such means, has the field of commerce been hitherto narrowed or shut up in Africa: and instances frequently occur of valuable commodities rotting on the coast, for want of a sale, or of the means of conveyance, to a foreign market. I myself saw one hundred bullocks hides publicly sold at Goree for about five shillings and three pence sterling; and on another occasion, four bullocks for about fifteen shillings and nine pence sterling. I could mention several other striking instances of the same kind.

59. Little as Africa is yet known, I can, from my own knowledge, assert several articles to be indigenous in that continent, which have hitherto been brought to our markets from the East and West Indies, at an expense far exceeding the price at which they might be cultivated in, and

* Privy Council's Report, Part. I. Article "Produce" Mr. Norris and his two colleagues enumerated many other valuable productions.

con-

Digitized by Google

veyed from, Africa. What a ſtrange inverſion of natural order, to exile from their native ſoil, both men and plants; the one to languiſh as ſlaves, and the other as exotics; the one to periſh prematurely, and the other to fail every third or fourth year*! CHAP. V.

ANIMALS.

60. The cattle, in that part of the country of which we treat, are ſmaller than the generality of European cattle, and not ſo fat as thoſe of England and Holland; but their meat is juicy and palatable, and they give milk in abundance. Their inferior ſize appeared to me to be the effect of the careleſs and unſkilful management of the negroes. They muſt be raiſed on the coaſt, as foreign cattle do not thrive there. Even thoſe from the Cape de Verd Iſlands, being accuſtomed to an uncommonly dry climate, do not well bear a tranſition to the continent.——The horſes are of a middling ſize, ſtrong, hardy, and ſpirited. They are uſed in great numbers, for riding and carrying burdens, in the country between the Senegal and Gambia, and alſo on ſome parts lower down the coaſt; but there they are not numerous, and in ſome places there are none.——Camels, ſo admirably adapted, by the Creator, to aſſiſt the labours of man in hot climates, are not ſo generally uſed by the negroes, as could be wiſhed.——I have not ſeen many aſſes; but there is an excellent breed at the Cape de Verd Iſlands, from whence great numbers of them, and alſo of mules and horned cattle, are exported to the Weſt Indies, for the uſe of the ſugar plantations.——The whole coaſt is abundant- Cattle. Horſes. Camels. Aſſes. Hogs, ſheep, &c.

* On the extreme uncertainty of the Weſt Indian crops, ſee Beſkrivelſe over St. Croix af H. Weſt—and the Report of the Britiſh Privy Council *paſſim*.

ly

CHAP. V.

ly ſtocked with hogs, ſheep, goats and all kinds of poultry, which propagate with aſtoniſhing rapidity.——The

Game. woods afford ſhelter to an endleſs variety of game. The moſt valuable is a ſpecies of deer, a very beautiful animal.

Fiſh. Of the prodigious ſhoals, and numerous ſpecies of excellent fiſh, I could have formed no idea, without having ſeen them.

Whales. Spermaceti whales, in particular, abound ſo much, that, in paſſing between Goree and the continent, diſtant about five miles, I have often been ſurrounded by them, and have been under no ſmall apprehenſions of their overſetting my canoe. Lower down on the coaſt, the Portugueſe carry on a conſiderable fiſhery of thoſe whales; and I have been informed that the Engliſh have lately paid ſome attention to the

Ambergris. ſame object.—That valuable article, ambergris, is found in ſuch quantities on the coaſt, that I have more than once ſeen the negroes pay their canoes with it. Till lately, the learned were not certain to which of the three natural kingdoms this ſubſtance was to be referred; but they ſeem now pretty generally agreed, that it is the excrement of the ſper-

Ivory, bees wax, &c. maceti whale.—Tortoiſe-ſhell may be had in any quantity: and bees wax, oſtrich feathers, elephant's teeth, and the ſtill more valuable teeth of the hippopotamus, or river horſe, found in particular abundance near Cape Meſurado, already form very conſiderable articles of exportation. I do not know that we import ivory from any other part of the world than Africa.

VEGETABLES.

Vegetables and fruits. 61. The graſs is thick, and grows to a great height. The natives are often obliged to burn it, when dry, to prevent the wild beaſts from harbouring near their habitations; but it ſoon ſprings up again, and affords very luxuriant paſturage—

Millet

Digitized by Google

Millet, rice, maize, potatoes, yams, and a great variety of other excellent roots and vegetables, are cultivated on the coaſt with little trouble, and often in a profuſion perfectly aſtoniſhing to an European. There is alſo an abundance of the moſt wholeſome and delicious fruits; articles not leſs prized by the natives, than thoſe juſt mentioned. Such indeed is the plenty which prevails on that diviſion of the country, of which we are ſpeaking, that all the European ſhips are victualled, without the ſmalleſt inconvenience to the inhabitants; and if the demand were increaſed, doubtleſs the production would keep pace with it.

Rice of two ſpecies.

62. It ought to be obſerved, that two ſpecies of rice are produced on that part of the coaſt, and I believe much farther down; one which, like that of Carolina, grows in ſwamps, and another which loves the dry ſoil of hills and ſloping grounds. The huſk of this laſt is reddiſh; but the grain is beautifully white. Though not quite ſo productive as the common kind, it bears a much higher price, and is every way preferable, as an article of food, not only to the other ſpecies, but to every kind of grain I know*.

Wild ſugar-cane.

63. The ſugar-cane grows ſpontaneouſly in many places, with a luxuriance which promiſes great advantages to thoſe who may hereafter undertake it's cultivation. At preſent the natives, ignorant of it's value, make no other uſe of it, than by occaſionally regaling themſelves with it's juice, of which they partake in common with the hogs, cattle and elephants, which are all extremely fond of it.

64. Several ſpecies of cotton are alſo the ſpontaneous produce of this excellent ſoil. One of them is naturally of a nan-

* See Dr. Smeathman's Letters to Mr. Knowles, in the Appendix, alſo the evidence of Captain Hall, in Minutes of Evidence, 1790, page 523,

keen

CHAP. V.

Wild cotton of ſeveral ſpecies.

keen colour, and another parts with the ſeeds ſo freely, that it may be ſpun almoſt without any preparation. The natives manufacture it into durable, though narrow, cloth of various degrees of fineneſs. I have in my poſſeſſion one ſpecimen of it, of ſo fine a quality, and ſo good a fabric, that ſome excellent judges, to whom I ſhewed it at Mancheſter, declared that it would not diſgrace their beſt workmen. Some cotton, which I gathered in it's wildeſt ſtate at Dackard, was ſent by order of the Right Hon. the Privy Council of Great Britain, to Mr. Hilton of Mancheſter, whoſe report concerning it is in theſe words—" The ſample of cotton, from Senegal, is very good and fine, as your lordſhips will ſee by the ſpecimen incloſed, which is ſpun after the rate of one hundred and forty hanks, (each hank 840 yards) twiſt cotton yarn to the pound, and it is thought ſuperior in quality to any of the Brazil cotton, and nearly equal to the Eaſt India*." It is worthy of remark that, *cæteris paribus*, the cotton of large iſlands is preferable to that of ſmall iſlands, and that the cotton raiſed on continents is better than that produced on iſlands.

Wild indigo.

65. Indigo of different kinds alſo grows wild, and in ſuch quantities, as to be a very troubleſome weed, in the rice and millet fields. Engliſh dyers, who have tried the African indigo, affirm that it is ſuperior to any imported from Carolina, or the Weſt Indian iſlands, and equal to that of Guatimala†.

* Privy Council's Report, Part I. Article " Produce." See alſo Chap. X. Article " Bourbon."

† The firſt conſiderable exportation of cotton and indigo, from Africa, as far as I have been able to learn, was made by a Frenchman of Goree, while I was there, in 1787.

66. Gums

Digitized by Google

66. Gums are alſo very valuable articles, and are not, as ſome imagine, produced in the neighbourhood of Senegal only; for they are found on moſt parts of the coaſt, though the negroes have not yet got into the practice of collecting them. Gum Senega, gum Sandarach, gum Copal and ſome other kinds, are commonly brought from the coaſt. But doubtleſs theſe are not the only ſpecies which might be found there: for my companion, Dr. Sparrman, extracted a large quantity of ſap from a ſmall but very juicy tree, which abounds on the coaſt, and having expoſed it to the ſun for a few hours, had the ſatisfaction to find it converted into an elaſtic gum, equal in all reſpects to gum Catouch, or what is commonly known by the name of Indian rubber. Gums.

67. It would be tedious, as well as difficult, to enumerate the African plants and woods proper for the purpoſes of cabinet-work, dying, and ſhip-building. Some of their valuable qualities are already known to European artiſts; but with others even our botaniſts are unacquainted. I brought with me ſamples of fourteen curious kinds of wood: and might have collected many more, had this kind of reſearch been my ſole object. The Damel of Cayor's army is dreſſed in an uniform of cotton cloth, manufactured by his own ſubjects, and dyed yellow with a certain vegetable. And I have now in my poſſeſſion a kind of bean, uſed by the negroes in dying, great quantities of which are annually carried on camels from Senegal to Morocco.—The negroes make very good ropes of the fibres of a large ſpecies of aloe*; Woods, &c.

* The aloe here meant is commonly called ſilk-graſs, the fibrous part of which may be applied to all, or almoſt all, the purpoſes of hemp and flax. Of the fibres of ſilk graſs, or thoſe of the cabbage tree leaf, or both, even lace has been made in Barbadoes.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. V.

and of ſeveral kinds of graſs, roots and leaves, they weave mats and baſkets with peculiar elegance.

Spices.

68. Among the commodities produced in the part of Africa, which is the ſubject of this work, I ought to mention ginger, nutmegs, and a great variety of peppers, particularly long pepper, Malaguetta pepper, or grains of paradiſe, many ſpecies of red peppers, and black pepper, as before mentioned, of the ſame quality with the Eaſt Indian. (See Chap. X. Art. Bourbon.)

69. I have only noticed ſome of the moſt obviouſly uſeful vegetable productions of that part of the country, of which I am giving a ſketch. But my learned fellow traveller, Dr. Sparrman, made a large collection of plants, for the cabinet of natural hiſtory of the Royal Academy at Stockholm; and which contained a great part of the materia medica, drugs for various purpoſes of manufacture, and many plants which had never before been ſeen in Europe *.

MINERALS

* A certain learned traveller, whoſe name I do not *now* think myſelf at liberty to mention, told me that he had ſeen the coffee plant on the coaſt of Guinea, which had been brought from the inland country by the negroes.—Concerning the propriety of cultivating ſpices, coffee, and tea, on the ſame coaſt, ſee Poſtlethwayt's Commer. Dictionary, Article "Guinea," where the author tells us that the tea plant had been tried, and thrived to admiration at Cape Coaſt Caſtle.—The uſe of coffee has been known in Europe ſince the middle of the laſt century; but was not generally planted in the Weſt Indies, till after the year 1727.—It was carried by the Dutch from Mocha to Batavia in 1670. Some years afterwards, a tree was ſent over to Amſterdam; from which in 1718 ſeeds were tranſmitted to Surinam; and it is remarkable that the ſame tree was growing in the Hortus Medicus, in 1774, when it was ſhewn to me by Profeſſor Buhrmannus, during my ſtay at Amſterdam. The cultivation of coffee, however, proceeded but ſlowly in the Weſt Indies, till the French entered upon it, and brought it to great perfection in Martinico, from whence it has been introduced into moſt of the other Weſt Indian Iſlands. See Ellis's Hiſtory of Coffee, printed 1774.—From theſe facts we may eaſily conclude with what advantage coffee might be cultivated in Africa.—Mr. Ernſt, a Daniſh gentle-

Digitized by Google

CHAP. V.

MINERALS AND METALS.

Minerals ſcarcely ſearched for.

70. If we except ſome trifling and unſucceſsful attempts of the Chevalier de la Brue, in the beginning of the preſent century, the Europeans have never made any particular ſearch for metals or minerals in Africa. Of late, indeed, the directors of the Sierra Leona company, ſent out my countryman Mr. A. Nordenſkjold, a very ſkilful mineralogiſt on this buſineſs: but ſorry I am to ſay, he fell a victim to his ſpirited exertions in the wet ſeaſon, before he was able to accompliſh the object of his miſſion. His death is lamented by many of the learned throughout Europe, as a public loſs, and with great reaſon; for I may venture to ſay, that never were greater ability, induſtry, and zeal in the cauſe of ſcience and of mankind, united in one perſon. It is to be hoped, however, that the company will not be diſcouraged by this unfortunate event; but will purſue the ſearch with the attention it deſerves. It is well known that very conſiderable quantities of gold are found near the ſurface, and in the channels of torrents, in the inland parts; although the negroes cannot be ſaid to be ſkilful in collecting it. About the year 1728, the gold brought annually into Europe from Africa was valued, by the Engliſh writers, at £271,732 ſterling. According to the cotemporary Dutch accounts, Africa furniſhed Europe with gold to the value of £230,000 yearly*. The near agreement of theſe eſtimates ſeems to prove that neither of them were very remote from the truth. "Guineas were firſt coined in King Charles II.'s

Gold.

gentleman, who has often viſited the gold coaſt, told me that he had ſeen a very large ſpecies of nutmeg, brought from the interior parts by the negroes, ſome of whom wear ſtrings of it by way of ornament.

* Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis, printed 1728, folio 271.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. V.

reign. They went for twenty ſhillings, and had their name from the gold whereof they were made, being brought from that part of Africa called Guinea, which the elephant on them likewiſe denotes*." "From 120,000 to 150,000 ounces of gold were formerly imported from the gold coaſt of Africa annually; and in one year 400,000 guineas were coined from what was brought from thence†."

Iron.

71. Theſe facts will doubtleſs be intereſting to many readers; but, for my own part, I confeſs that I am more partial to the uſeful, than to what are called the precious metals. Gold and ſilver, as hitherto uſed, or rather abuſed, have occaſioned infinite miſchiefs to ſociety. *Effodiuntur opes, irritamenta malorum.* Theſe words of an ancient poet (Ovid) are but too applicable to modern times. But iron, and the other humbler metals, are ſo indiſpenſibly neceſſary to man, without their aſſiſtance every thinking perſon muſt ſee that civilized ſociety could never have exiſted, and will be diſpoſed to look upon them as peculiar gifts of Providence; eſpecially as the diſcovery of iron, the moſt uſeful of all metals, is ſo very remote from any experiments that we can ſuppoſe uncivilized tribes capable of making. Hence it gives me much ſatisfaction to be able to ſtate, from the beſt authority, that the inhabitants of the mountains of

* Poſtlethwayt's Commercial Dictionary, printed 1763, Article "Coin."

† Treatiſe upon the Trade from Great Britain to Africa, by an African merchant, printed 1772, App. p. 2.—It is worthy of remark that Brazil, while in the hands of the Dutch, as it was for a whole century, produced no gold; becauſe they did not ſearch for it. The Portugueſe, afterwards getting poſſeſſion of that country, opened the gold mines, which are now ſaid to be the richeſt in the world. May not the fate of the African mines be ſimilar?—For an intereſting memoir, relative to the diſcovery of gold up the river Gambia, ſee the Appendix.

Bambouc

Bambouc and Gallam, about 700 miles up the Senegal, poſſeſs this valuable ſecret, or at leaſt poſſeſs plenty of excellent malleable iron*. The Chevalier de la Brue, deſcribes it as ſo malleable, that the natives of thoſe parts, work it into pots with hammers, and ſays they do not value European iron, unleſs it be already formed into ſome uſeful inſtrument †. Whether the natives extract this iron from it's ore, or whether they find it in a malleable ſtate, M. de la Brue does not ſay, and I will not preſume to ſpeak poſitively on a point ſo much diſputed among the learned. Profeſſor Pallas, in particular, affirms that he found malleable iron in Siberia; and a certain eminent naturaliſt, lately flattered himſelf, that he had made the ſame diſcovery in Africa. I confeſs, however, with all due reſpect for ſuch authorities, that I am inclined to think iron, from it's great corruptibility, is of all metals, the leaſt to be looked for, in any other than a mineralized ſtate; unleſs placed by nature in ſuch a particular, and hitherto unknown, *vehiculum*, as has entirely excluded the air from it. Doctor Pallas, indeed, very fairly tranſmitted ſpecimens of this malleable iron to ſeveral chymiſts throughout Europe; but moſt of them were of opinion, that it had undergone the

* During my ſtay at Goree, I often converſed with a negro captive, called Tumaniſiſi, who came from Fouta Jallo (as he pronounced it) a conſiderable diſtance above Gallam, and who was very much regarded and truſted by his maſter, M. Auguſtus Newton of Goree, with whom he had lived ten years. This negro told me, that he had been often down in the mines in his country, which, he ſaid, were very deep, and had alſo many galleries, or horizontal paſſages. Theſe he deſcribed as very long, and, in ſome places, very high and wide, with openings from above, to give air and light. He added, that thoſe mines were wrought by women, who, when they went down into them, always carried victuals along with them.

† Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale par Labat, Tome 4. p. 57.

action

CHAP. VI.

action of fire, and that the matrix, to which it was united, was nothing more than the ſcoria of the metal. However this be, it is certain that the natives of the inland countries, juſt mentioned, dig up and manufacture iron; for I was aſſured of the fact by ſeveral reſpectable officers at Goree.

CHAP. VI.

THE MEANS OF PRESERVING HEALTH.

72. HAVING given ſome account of the climate, ſoil, and produce of the part of the coaſt laid down in the map, it ſeems natural to make a few obſervations on the comparative ſalubrity of different places and ſituations; and to offer to Europeans, who propoſe to reſide in that region, ſome advice reſpecting the preſervation of health, in a country ſo very different from that to which they have been accuſtomed. This appears to me to be a matter of ſuch ſerious importance, that I mean afterwards to propoſe the ſuperintendance of it, as a ſeparate department in the direction of every new colony.

Men and plants ſimilarly affected by being tranſplanted.

73. "Men," ſays Dr. Lind, "who exchange their native, for a diſtant, climate, may be conſidered as affected in a manner ſomewhat analogous to plants removed into a foreign ſoil; where the utmoſt care and attention are required to keep them in health, and to inure them to their new ſituation; ſince, thus tranſplanted, ſome change muſt happen in the conſtitutions of both*."

* Eſſay on the Diſeaſes of hot Climates, Introduction, p. 2.

74. During

Digitized by Google

74. During my ſtay in Africa, I have often obſerved with aſtoniſhment, how little the Europeans, both individuals and public bodies, appear to regard the preſervation of health. They could not act more abſurdly, if they aimed at ruining their conſtitutions, in order to bring upon the climate a degree of reprobation which, with all it's faults, it really does not deſerve. I cannot better expreſs my own ſentiments and obſervations on this head, than in the words of the able and intelligent phyſician juſt quoted.

Africa, if cleared, would be as healthful as the moſt ſalubrious Weſt Indian Iſlands.

75. "It is not uncommon," ſays he, "in many trading factories, to meet with a few Europeans pent up in a ſmall ſpot of low, damp ground, ſo entirely ſurrounded with thick woods, that they can ſcarcely have the benefit of walking a few hundred yards, and where there is not ſo much as an avenue cut through any part of the woods for the admiſſion of wholeſome and refreſhing breezes. The Europeans have alſo unfortunately fixed ſome of their principal ſettlements on low, inland, unventilated ſpots, on the foul banks, or near the ſwampy and oozy mouths of rivers, or on ſalt marſhes, formed by the overflowing of the ocean, where, in many places, the putrid fiſh, ſcattered on the ſhore by the negroes, emit ſuch noiſome effluvia, as prove very injurious to health. Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, I think it will hardly admit of doubt, that if any tract of land in Guinea was as well improved as the iſland of Barbadoes, and as perfectly freed from trees, underwood, marſhes, &c. the air would be rendered equally healthful there, as in that pleaſant Weſt Indian Iſland*."

Inſtance in St. Salvadore.

76. As an inſtance, in ſupport of this poſition, the doctor mentions the Portugueſe town of St. Salvadore, which, "not-

* Eſſay on the Diſeaſes, &c. p. 50.

with-

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VI.

withſtanding it lies 150 miles up the river Congo, or Zaire, and within ſix degrees of the equator; yet, from it's being ſituated on a hill, and the neighbouring country being cleared of the natural woods and thickets, it's inhabitants breathe a temperate and pure air, and are in a great meaſure, exempted from all the plagues of an unhealthy climate*."

Trade preferred to health.

77. Thus we ſee, that the Europeans have their own conduct, more than the climate, to blame for their unhealthineſs in Africa. If the intelligent reader aſk, why their factories and forts have been ſo abſurdly placed? I can only anſwer, that the ſpeedy acquiſition of gain ſeems hitherto to have been the *ſole* object of the European viſitors of Africa, who, intending only a temporary reſidence, have not been very nice as to their accommodation. To trade (as before hinted) every conſideration of health and utility has been fooliſhly ſacrificed: and, provided they could place advantageouſly their factories, for carrying it on, and their forts for protecting it, the ſalubrity of the ſituation was regarded as a matter of ſmall moment, and ſometimes not regarded at all. So univerſally has trade been preferred to health, that I believe it would be difficult to name a ſingle fort or factory on the coaſt, in the ſettlement of which, the convenience of trade was not the ruling conſideration. In eſtabliſhing ſo many ſettlements it could not but *happen*, that ſome ſituations, proper for trade, would alſo be not unfavourable to health; but that this was at beſt only a ſecondary object, is evident from the little pains which have been taken to cut down the woods, drain the marſhes,

* Id. p. 51.—I have often heard St. Salvadore mentioned as the moſt healthful ſpot on the globe, except the Iſland of Ceylon.

and

Digitized by Google

and cultivate the land, in the vicinity of the forts and factories on the coaſt. But why do I mention the cultivation of land, as if I did not know it to be ſo perfectly contrary to the views and habits of the European factors, that even the preſervation of their own lives cannot incite them to uſe ſuch obvious, pleaſant and certain means of improving the climate?

Cauſes of mortality of ſoldiers and ſeamen.

78. When, to the effluvia of marſhes, woods, and the ſlimy beds of rivers, we add bad lodgings, bad cloathing, unwholeſome, and ſcanty food, naſtineſs, both perſonal and domeſtic, intoxication with very bad ſpirits, expoſure to damps, rains, and dews, and other ſimilar cauſes of diſeaſe, we can no longer wonder at the mortality of ſoldiers in garriſon, and other whites, on ſhore. As to ſeamen, the wonder is not that ſo many die, but that any ſurvive, the operation of the cauſes of mortality which are inſeparable from the ſlave-trade. For, beſides the evils they ſuffer in common with ſoldiers, &c. on ſhore, but generally in a much greater degree, they are often, in collecting ſlaves by "boating," expoſed to the weather up the rivers, for days and nights together, as well as to exceſſive fatigues in wooding and watering. And, as if theſe hardſhips were not ſufficient to deſtroy their conſtitutions, very many of the poor men are barbarouſly treated by the ſlave-captains, who, to account for the enormous mortality which enſues, falſely attribute to the climate a malignity which more properly belongs to their own diſpoſitions. I am the more confident in aſſerting theſe facts, as they have been proved, before the Britiſh legiſlature, by the moſt reſpectable evidence. Two other important facts are alſo eſtabliſhed by the ſame evidence, namely, that the wood-veſſels which trade, chiefly for produce, to the ſame parts of the coaſt, do not loſe

Ships of war, &c. exempted from that mortality.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VI.

nearly ſo many men as the ſlave-ſhips; and that ſhips of war make their voyages to that pretendedly fatal ſhore, with as little mortality as to the Weſt Indian Iſlands, and with far leſs than takes place in the Eaſt Indies *.

79. It is not pretended, however, that the climate of Africa is perfectly congenial to the conſtitutions of all European ſtrangers. There, as in other hot countries, new-comers muſt, in general, expect what is called a *ſeaſoning*. All I would be underſtood to attempt, is to vindicate the climate of Africa fom any *peculiar* malignity, never before experienced in other tropical regions, in the like unimproved ſtate.

Comparative ſalubrity of different places.

80. It is the general opinion, that the climates of Senegal and Whidah are the worſt on the whole weſtern coaſt of Africa. The neighbourhood of the mouth of the River Gambia, however, lately much frequented, has been found to be equally unfavourable to health. But the country becomes more ſalubrious as we advance up that river. From Elephant's Iſland to Yanimaroo, the climate is tolerable, and above this laſt place, it may be pronounced healthful. The climates of Sierra Leona, Cape Verd, Cape Mount, and above all Cape Meſurado, are comparatively ſalubrious. The Iſles de Los, the Iſlands of Bananas, Cape Verd, Goree, and Bulama, one of the Biſſao Iſlands, may be ſaid to enjoy a climate inferior to few or none within the tropics. I was aſſured by a French phyſician of Senegal, that the mortality at the Iſland of Goree does not exceed that of

* See the Privy Council's Report, and Minutes of Evidence before a ſelect Committee of the Houſe of Commons, particularly the Evidences of the Reverend Mr. Clarkſon and the Reverend Mr. Newton; alſo thoſe of the ſeven following captains in the navy, viz. Sir George Young, and Captains Hall, Smith, Thompſon, Scott, Hills and Wilſon.

Paris.

Digitized by Google

Paris.—In general, it may be obſerved, that in Africa, as every where elſe, low and marſhy tracts are unfavourable to health; that elevated, dry and ventilated ſituations are to be ſelected as places of reſidence; and that, *cæteris paribus*, iſlands are always to be preferred to continents. To this I may add, that, in moſt parts of Africa, the interior country is more healthful than the coaſt, as I have been aſſured by many perſons, whites as well as blacks, who have reſided in, or viſited the inland parts, particularly by M. Biorn, governor general of the Daniſh ſettlements, in Africa*. I can account for this fact, no otherwiſe than from the land continually riſing as you recede from the coaſt.

81. Having mentioned the climates of Sierra Leona and Bulama, it is but juſtice to ſtate, that the mortality of the firſt coloniſts which took place at the former, and the miſfortunes which happened at the latter, were not owing to the climate, but to very different cauſes, as will hereafter appear.

Hints reſpecting health.

82. I now beg leave to offer a few hints to ſuch of my readers, as may hereafter have occaſion to frequent, or to reſide in, the tropical parts of Africa. Being the fruits of the happy experience of my fellow travellers, myſelf, and many others, I need make no apology for recommending them as excellent preſervatives of health; eſpecially as I know that they are generally approved by the faculty. But, as it would be highly preſumptuous in one who has not regularly ſtudied the healing art, to treſpaſs too far on the province of it's profeſſors, I confine my remarks entirely to the preſervation of health. When diſeaſe is unhappily formed, the patient cannot too ſpeedily have re-

* See alſo Dr. Iſert's Letters to his father, printed at Copenhagen, in 1788.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VI.

courſe to medical aſſiſtance. Even medical gentlemen themſelves cannot be too cautious, when at the commencement of their practice, within the tropics, they are called upon to preſcribe for diſeaſes with which nothing ſhort of actual experience can be ſuppoſed to make them acquainted. I need not inform them of the merit of Dr. Lind's work on this ſubject. He has indeed, with ſingular ability, pointed out the cauſes of the diſeaſes of hot climates, and the means of preventing and curing them. But in this, as in moſt other arts, there is yet great room for improvement. It is to be lamented that but few men of extenſive medical knowledge have viſited the coaſt of Africa, or at leaſt have reſided there long enough to become acquainted with the proper treatment of diſeaſes in that climate*. Much however may now be expected from the genius and diligence of Dr. Winterbottom, the preſent able and ſucceſsful phyſician at Sierra Leona, the choice of whom does infinite credit to the diſcernment of the directors.

HOUSES.

83. On arriving in Africa, the firſt, as being the moſt important thing ſettlers ought to think of, is the erection of houſes, capable of affording a healthful and ſecure refuge from the ardour of the meridian heat, the ſudden change to coolneſs in the evening, the damps and dews of the night, and the heavy and penetrating rains of the wet ſeaſon; from all which it is abſolutely neceſſary for new-comers to be effectually protected.

Their elevation from the ground, &c.

84. The entire conſtruction of houſes immediately on ar-

* See Plan of a Settlement to be made near Sierra Leona, &c. by Dr. Smeathman, p. 11.

riving,

Digitized by Google

riving, conſumes much time and labour, at a juncture when both are peculiarly precious; as the unexpected commencement of the rainy ſeaſon, before proper ſhelter is provided, moſt probably will prove fatal to the ſettlers, and ruin the whole undertaking. I would therefore earneſtly recommend the framing of wooden houſes here in Europe, ready to be put up on landing, and calculated to afford a temporary, but ſecure ſhelter, till a proper ſituation can be fixed on for a colonial town*. No oak ſhould be uſed in ſuch houſes, as the bug-a-bugs, or wood-ants, deſtroy it ſooner than any other timber†. The ſtructure of the dwellings of the negroes about Cape Meſurado, which, although on a dry ſoil, are raiſed ſix or eight feet above the ground, firſt ſuggeſted to me the propriety of houſes in Africa being conſiderably elevated; and reflection on the delicacy of unſeaſoned Europeans, convinced me of the neceſſity of adopting this mode of building.

Temporary and permanent houſes.

85. The bare inſpection of figure A, plate I. will ſufficiently explain the ſtructure of ſuch a temporary houſe, as I would recommend. A tree of a proper ſize and form being choſen, which, in moſt places, it will not be difficult to do, it ſhould be ſo topped and cut as to form a central ſpin-

* The worthy Mr. G. Sharp, has lately given the public a plan for a colonial town, of which, in many reſpects, I very much approve. Another has alſo been propoſed by Mr. Long, in his Hiſtory of Jamaica. To both thoſe plans, however, I have ſeveral important objections; for I have conſidered the matter very attentively: but am ſorry I have neither time nor room to ſtate my ideas on it, *at preſent*.

† Except the bug-a-bugs, I do not know more troubleſome intruders into a houſe, than muſketoes. But Mr. Sefſtrom, in Sweden, has lately diſcovered, that a very ſmall quantity of camphor, ſtrewed on a fire-coal, immediately deſtroys every inſect within the reach of it's effluvia, and no doubt would prove fatal to the muſketoes. See the acts of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, for the year 1787.

dle,

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VI.

dle, leaving at leaſt two ſupporting ſhoulders, perpendicularly above each other; ſo that the houſe may, when neceſſary, be moved round to ſuit the aſpect of the different ſeaſons. The aſcent ſhould be by a ſtair, to be drawn up at night.

86. When the ſcite of the intended town is fixed on, another kind of elevated houſes ought to be erected, of a more permanent ſtructure, and regular ſituation, according to the elevation and ſection B, plate I. The ingenuity and utility of this ſtructure does great credit to the inventor, Mr. Andrew Johanſen, a Swede, and certainly merit the attention of thoſe who are ſo laudably engaged in the colonization of Africa, upon rational and humane principles. One or two of thoſe gentlemen, whoſe perſons and opinions I particularly reſpect, having objected to the expenſe of the buildings here recommended, I might anſwer them with the old proverb—" Better pay the cook than the doctor." But the anſwer which, I am ſure, will come moſt home to their feelings and their underſtanding, is the plain matter of fact, that *the mortality, both at Sierra Leona and Bulama, was, in a great meaſure, owing to the want of good houſes.*

Diet.

87. Europeans, until well ſeaſoned to the climate, ſhould beware of indulging in heavy animal food and ſpirituous liquors. They ſhould eat moderately, eſpecially in the middle of the day, making their beſt meals in the morning and evening, after the example of the natives. French claret and lemonade, temperately uſed, proved to me to be the beſt liquors; and not to me only, for it is worthy of remark that, ſince this kind of wine was ſubſtituted for brandy, which, before theſe laſt eight years, was ſerved out to the French

Digitized by Google

French troops on the coaſt, they have been incomparably healthier. It is of the utmoſt importance always to keep the body open, which may generally be effected, by uſing a light diet, and to have recourſe to the bark, on the firſt ſymptom of illneſs.

Sleep, dreſs, and employment.

88. To theſe hints on habitation and diet, it may not be improper to add a few words on *ſleep*, *dreſs*, and *employment*. —While on the coaſt, I made it an invariable rule to go to bed betimes, and to riſe early, in which, as in ſeveral other inſtances, I prudently and profitably imitated the natives. I would recommend riſing about five o'clock in the morning; and taking gentle exerciſe, either in manual employment or walking, one or both of which I never omitted. But hard labour, eſpecially in the heat of the day, ought to be carefully avoided by unſeaſoned Europeans. The dreſs ſhould conſiſt of a calico ſhirt, a ſhort, white waiſtcoat, and trowſers, with a piece of thin flannel on the ſtomach, and ſhoes with thick ſoles. It is of great importance, not only to keep the head free from the fumes of liquor, but alſo to defend it from the beams of the ſun. In this view, the form and colour of the hat are of no ſmall moment. It ought to be white, deep crowned, and broad brimmed. To theſe properties, I added a contrivance which, though apparently trivial, I found to be ſo uſeful and comfortable, that I cannot but recommend it to every one who viſits hot climates. Near the top of the crown, I cut three little ſquare holes, like valves, opening upwards, which allowed the perſpiration to evaporate, and admitted a gentle ſtream of cool air to circulate above my head, which only filled half the crown. See figure 1. plate I. Thus I was protected from the ſcorching ſun-beams, which, to ſome people, prove a very ſerious inconvenience. I have, however, heard but of few

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VI.

few perſons being ſun-ſtruck in Africa, and theſe owed it to their own imprudence*. But I am informed this misfortune, called by the French *coup de ſoleil*, is not uncommon in the Southern States of America. In the afternoon, I experienced the benefit of putting on a flannel ſhirt; for, after the pores have been opened by the heat of the day, the body ought to be carefully guarded againſt the damps and dews of the evening and night.

89. After what has been ſaid, I need not dwell on the neceſſity of unſeaſoned Europeans avoiding expoſure to the rains in the wet ſeaſon, and keeping the feet dry and warm at all times. When a perſon unluckily gets wet, he ſhould change his cloaths immediately; or, if that cannot be done, keep up the perſpiration by continued exerciſe. Rubbing the body with rum or other ſpirits, is a good precaution, after getting wet.

Cold bath recommended.

90. The cold bath is an excellent preſervative of health, particularly in hot climates, the relaxing effects of which it tends greatly to counteract. It removes the ſordes from the ſkin, leaves the pores open and free, and braces and invigorates the whole conſtitution. It is not, however, to be plunged into by all perſons indiſcriminately. Thoſe who are plethoric or feveriſh, or whoſe lungs are diſeaſed, ought to abſtain from it. Yet it is ſeldomer improper in hot than in cold climates; and in Africa, I have known many benefited, but not one hurt by it. But let thoſe who feel any indiſpoſition take advice before they uſe it, which I the rather admoniſh them to do, as this is almoſt the only inſtance in which I have ventured to ſtep out of the precincts of com-

* M. Adanſon was ſun-ſtruck, by expoſing himſelf without his hat in the extreme heat of the day, and in the hotteſt ſeaſon of the year, at Senegal.

mon

Digitized by Google

mon obſervation into thoſe of the faculty.—The beſt time of the day for cold bathing is the morning. All the purpoſes of it are anſwered by a ſingle immerſion. The body ought to be immediately dried, and exerciſe uſed, for which it is an excellent preparative.

The ſpirits to be kept up.

91. The laſt ſpecific direction which I ſhall offer is, to keep up the ſpirits, and to uſe every *temperate* mean to baniſh anxiety and melancholy. For this purpoſe, I can recommend nothing better than keeping the mind conſtantly occupied with ſome purſuit, either of buſineſs or recreation. Where buſineſs cannot be purſued as a recreation, I have no ſcruple to mention innocent games, even to a young colony. Playing at cards, draughts, cheſs, and above all billiards, for ſuch trifling ſtakes as would agreeably engage the attention, might fill up a leiſure hour with very good effects on the health. Thoſe who have a taſte for reading, writing letters, keeping diaries, natural hiſtory, gardening, drawing, or muſic, poſſeſs ample reſources againſt that liſtleſs *ennui* which preys on the ſpirits of the idle and the taſteleſs. For want of a reliſh for ſuch elegant, innocent, and improving ſtudies, officers of the army, when cantoned in places where there were no public amuſements, have ſometimes been betrayed into deep gaming, drinking and other pernicious exceſſes. It requires but a ſlight knowledge of human nature to ſee, that the mind, as well as the fluids, muſt be kept in conſtant circulation, and that every method ſhould be uſed to keep up a gentle flow of ſpirits. This direction, experience has taught me to believe, to be of the laſt importance to health, particularly in hot climates.

The mind too much neglected by phyſicians.

92. So important does it appear to me, that I will venture to ſay, with due deference to the faculty, that the mental phœnomena have not yet received that medical attention to

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VI.

which they are entitled. If I be not much miſtaken, there has been a little blameable neglect in this particular. I have not lived in the world without obſervation; and I know liberal phyſicians will excuſe me for venturing to hint, that the practice of ſome of their body appears to be formed upon a theory which individuals have avowed, and which, therefore, we may conclude others ſecretly entertain, namely, that all the faculties of man owe their origin to cauſes merely material. Theſe gentlemen ſeem to proceed, as if their patients were compoſed entirely of mechanical powers and chemical properties, combined, in ſome unaccountable way, with a certain myſterious, but material, principle, called *life*. Their language, at leaſt ſeems to indicate, that they conſider ſick men as little or nothing more than modifications of matter and motion—a ſort of chymico-mechanical automata. They *clear* the *primæ viæ*, *empty* the bowels, *brace up* the nerves, &c. *relax* the contracted fibres, *expel* wind, *correct* acidities, and bring about *digeſtions*, and *derivations*, and *revulſions* of various kinds of *matter*. I am far from ſaying that theſe terms are improper; although I fear I may have uſed them improperly. I only mean to remark, that terms taken from matter and it's properties abound much more in the medical nomenclature, than ſuch as relate to mind and it's operations. For aught I know, this may be neceſſary and unavoidable; yet I cannot help ſuſpecting that the more frequent uſe of ſuch terms betrays a degree of indifference to the mind, as combined with, and influencing the body, in the human ſyſtem. If we except the general terms "paſſions of the mind," "depreſſing paſſions," and a few others, phyſicians ſeldom uſe words that imply man to be a being, compoſed of a body, reaſon and affections, diverſified and modified, and acting

Digitized by Google

ing on one another, in a variety of ways. Hence moſt of their preſcriptions relate almoſt excluſively to the body.

93. There is indeed an old book, formerly of ſome authority in Europe, which preſcribes many admirable medicines for a "wounded ſpirit." But our preſent race of phyſicians ſeem to diſregard this antiquated volume, as quite foreign to modern *practice*.

94. Be this as it may, I believe it will be allowed that, in ſome diſeaſes, the ſymptoms of the mind are as much to be attended to, as thoſe of the body. I farther believe, that the exhibition of a deep tragedy, a humorous comedy, a concert of muſic, according to the mood of the patient, or any ſpectacle which would engage the attention and intereſt the paſſions, without agitating them too much, would be of uſe in more caſes than are generally imagined.

Children, women, ſlender perſons, and men above forty ſtand the climate beſt.

95. It has been obſerved that boys, girls, women, and old men, ſtand a tranſition from a cold to a hot climate, better than men in the prime of life. Theſe laſt, it is true, are more expoſed to the cauſes of diſeaſe than girls, women, and old men; but, I believe, upon the whole, not more than boys. May not one reaſon of this be, that men of mature age are more thoughtful than women by nature, than boys and girls, who have not yet arrived at the ſeaſon for anxious reflection, and than old men who have paſſed beyond it? Yet I am not ſure that the anſwer to this query would be in the affirmative. For it ſeems to be certain that perſons of a ſlender habit are generally more healthy in hot climates than thoſe who are inclined to corpulency; though it is commonly thought, that the minds of the latter are more placid and tranquil than thoſe of the former. It is alſo obſerved, that men above forty ſtand the climate of Africa better than thoſe who have not reached that age.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VI.

Apology to the faculty.

96. I ſhould tremble for the incurſion I have made into the domains of the faculty, did I not believe that liberal phyſicians will pardon a few good natured remarks, made with a view to awaken their attention to the influence of mind in very many diſeaſes, where a proper attention to the powerful cauſes, lodged in it, might have the moſt beneficial conſequences.

Utility of theſe hints.

97. To ſuch phyſicians, I would reſpectfully ſubmit the foregoing hints, which being chiefly preventive, do not, like curative preſcriptions, require any great knowledge of medicine. I muſt confeſs, however, that obſervation and experience have rendered me not a little confident of the utility of theſe hints, in guarding againſt the effects of a ſudden change of climate. By obſerving them, the conſtitution can ſcarcely fail to accomodate itſelf to it's new ſituation. And this happy conſequence will be experienced ſooner or later, according to the original ſtrength or weakneſs of the ſtranger's frame; the more or leſs manly education he may have received, or the early habits he may have formed. For the effects of the climate muſt of courſe be different on different conſtitutions. The foregoing rules are general, and the application of them muſt be left to the good ſenſe and prudence of individuals. For my own part, although I arrived on the coaſt, in the moſt unhealthful ſeaſon of the year, I eſcaped all the diſeaſes of the country. This I aſcribe entirely to a cautious obſervance of the preventives above recited. During a mortality, which raged at Senegal, while I was there, ſix out of eleven ſailors, belonging to the veſſel in which I returned to Europe, were carried off in a month; but not a ſingle gentleman or officer on ſhore was ſo much as attacked, owing no doubt, to the temperance and regularity, which their *ſituations* enabled them

Mortality at Senegal, eſcaped by the temperate.

Digitized by Google

them to obſerve. Thus, having both ſeen and experienced, the good effects of the foregoing rules, I may hope to be indulged in recommending them ſo warmly to others. CHAP. VII.

CHAP. VII.

GENERAL REFLECTIONS ON COLONIES, AND THE MEANS OF PROMOTING THEM.

98. "THE idea of glory," ſays the Abbé Raynal, "is inſeparable from that of great difficulty overcome, great utility reſulting from ſucceſs, and a proportionate increaſe of the happineſs of mankind, or of one's country." —"Glory eſſentially belongs to God on high. Upon earth it is the portion of virtue, not of genius; of a virtue uſeful, great, beneficent, ſhining, heroic. It is the lot of a monarch who, during the perils of a boiſterous reign, labours, and ſucceſsfully labours, to promote the felicity of his ſubjects. It is the lot of a ſubject who ſacrifices his life for the good of the community. It belongs to a nation which nobly reſolves to die free, rather than to live in ſlavery. It is the reward, not of a Cæſar or a Pompey, but of a Regulus or a Cato. It is the juſt recompenſe of a Henry IV." Definition of glory, by Raynal.

99. "Thanks to the ſpirit of humanity which now begins to inſpire all ſenſible men; conquerors, both ancient and modern, are ſinking to the level of the moſt deteſtable of mankind*. And I have not a doubt that poſterity, which will pronounce an impartial ſentence on our diſcoveries in the New World, will doom our barbarous navigators to a

* "Heroes are all the ſame, it is agreed,
From Macedonia's madman to the Swede;—
The whole ſtrange purpoſe of their lives to find,
Or make, an enemy—of all mankind."— POPE.

lower

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VII.

lower ſtate of abaſement than even conquerors themſelves. Did the love of mankind, or did ſordid avarice, actuate them? And can enterprizes, even though good in themſelves, be thought deſerving of praiſe, if the motives of them be vicious*."

Colonial policy of modern Europe contracted.

100. But were navigators alone blameable in this reſpect? And can we candidly affirm that the governments of the colonizing nations of Europe have ſeriouſly laboured, as they ought, to give to the ſelfiſhneſs of their ſubjects, a direction favourable to the real intereſts of mankind? I fear not. That enlarged policy which, imitating the ſource of all perfection, endeavours to extract good out of evil, order out of confuſion, ſeems to have had too little influence on the conduct of thoſe ſtateſmen, who took a part in projecting the modern colonies of Europe.—We will ſend our ſuperfluous people to South America, ſaid the court of Spain, to explore it's treaſures, and, by their means, we will poſſeſs ourſelves excluſively of the ſinews of war, and the medium of commerce, and thus render Spain the arbitreſs of Europe.—The court of Portugal held ſimilar language.—We, ſaid the Dutch, will get poſſeſſion of the ſpices of the Eaſt, and not a clove or a nutmeg ſhall the Europeans receive, except through our hands.—The Britiſh, with more good ſenſe, but perhaps not with leſs ſelfiſhneſs, reſolved to form colonies in North America, to ſerve as conſumers of their manufactures, and providers of raw materials and naval ſtores, which, from their bulk, might employ a numerous body of mariners, and give to Britain the empire of the ocean.—France, ſeeing the acceſſion of wealth and power, which Britain ſeemed to derive from her colonies, but

* Hiſt. Phil. & Pol. T. VI. p. 285.

which

Digitized by Google

which ſhe principally did derive from her liberty and conſequent induſtry, at home, was not ſlow in following the ſteps of her rival. The Swedes, the Danes, the Pruſſians, and the Auſtrians, have alſo had their colonizing ſchemes; but not to the ſame extent with the nations already mentioned.

101. All thoſe ſchemes were formed upon a ſimilar principle. Contracted views of commercial and financial advantage, narrowed their foundations, and ſuffered them not to ſpread beyond the limits of a partial and local policy. For, as far as I can learn, the founders of the modern European colonies ſcarcely ever entertained a thought of enlarging the ſphere of human felicity, and extending the bleſſings of civilization and religion to diſtant nations. On the contrary, it is melancholy to trace the progreſs of the modern European colonization, marked, as it is, with injuſtice, rapine and murder, in various ſhapes.

Conſequences of this narrow policy.

102. And what advantages have the reſpective mother countries derived from their plundering ſchemes? Why, the Spaniards and the Portugueſe gained gold, and they gained pride; but they loſt their home-conſumers by exceſſive emigrations; and their remaining people loſt their induſtry, and their enterprizing ſpirit, which before had made them ſo reſpectable in Europe. The Dutch gained the Spice Iſlands, on which indeed they formed ſettlements, or factories, rather than colonies *. But in the Weſt Indies

* I think it right to diſtinguiſh colonies from ſettlements or factories. A colony ſignifies a number of families, formed into a regular community, who have fixed themſelves on an unoccupied ſpot, with a view to cultivate the ſoil, and rear poſterity. The words colony and ſettlement have ſometimes the ſame meaning; but as the latter is very often uſed for the word factory, I wiſh to reſtrict it to this laſt ſignification.—Factories (or ſettlements) having only commercial, temporary ends in view, remove as ſoon as thoſe ends are anſwered, leaving wholly out of ſight every kind of cultivation and improvement, either of the people or the land.

they

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VII.

they formed real colonies, which may perhaps have contributed to fill the bags of the Amſterdam Bank. With money, however, they multiplied drones in their induſtrious hive, acquired a taſte for high living, increaſed their taxes, baniſhed ſeveral of their manufactures, and have brought upon themſelves evident ſymptoms of national decay. The French and the Britiſh gained an increaſed marine which each employed in watching the motions of the other, in taking and retaking Weſt Indian colonies and Eaſt Indian ſettlements, and in deſolating ſome of the fineſt countries in the world with famine, fire, and ſword. We cannot enter into particulars. Suffice it to ſay, that theſe two great nations have, by their quarrels about colonies, well nigh ruined one another. The French politicians ſucceeded in ſeparating the Britiſh colonies from their Mother Country; but, in this enterprize, they ruined their finances. All Europe knows the reſt. All Europe has ſeen the French government ſubverted; and has heard of the national debt of Great Britain. May Heaven avert from this highly favoured nation, any ruinous cataſtrophe!

103. Colonies, as hitherto eſtabliſhed and ſupported, have coſt commercial nations nearly as great a ſacrifice of people as the moſt deſtructive wars. For it muſt be owned, that coloniſts have been too often regarded by the monopolizing companies, or private merchants, who have generally directed them, in the light in which ſoldiers and ſailors are conſidered by ſtateſmen; that is, merely as the inſtruments of their ſchemes. It therefore becomes a matter of ſerious conſideration, when, where and how to form new ones, which, in their commencement, ſhall not be ſo deſtructive to the human race. While the principals are aiming at the acquiſition of wealth, they ought not, as unfortunately has hitherto

Digitized by Google

hitherto been too much the case, to treat with indifference and neglect those whom Providence has placed in the humbler, but not less useful, station of executers of their plans. CHAP. VII.

---

104. Though it be usual to compare nations and their colonies to parents and their children; yet, as things now stand, I apprehend the analogy is very far from being just. In every family, the procreation and education of children are innate principles, and the evident intention of the Creator. Where is the sensible parent who does not strive to give his children an education as good, at least, as he himself has received, and to elevate them into a situation in life equal, or even superior, to that which he himself fills. Acting thus, has he any other end than their good; any other purpose to serve than that of establishing them in society, and enabling them, in due time, to become the provident and beneficent fathers of future families? Comparison of nations and their colonies, to parents and children.

105. From such obligations, it would be a contradiction to infer, that children, arrived at maturity, ought, from a principle of false gratitude, inseparably to abide by their parents throughout life. No! Nature herself then emancipates them from parental authority, and justifies their claim to a separate residence, even though opposed by their parents. Without this procedure, society could not exist, and the human race would soon become extinct.—In a word, children are fruit hanging on the tree: men are ripe fruit, qualified to produce, in their turn, new groups to grace the forest.

106. The gratitude and filial attachment which children preserve for their parents is, or ought to be, proportioned to

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VII.

the care they have taken in their education, and to the tie which has been mutually formed by both, during the ſtate of pupilage.

Nations ſhould provide territory for their ſurplus population.

107. Societies at large *ought* to act preciſely on the ſame principle, in forming colonies, which are no other than their own children, or the ſuperfluity of their population. It is indeed a duty incumbent on the government of every free, induſtrious, and proſperous nation, to look out betimes for unoccupied territory, againſt the period when their population and manufactures ſhall exceed the proportion which they ought to have to the land they already occupy, when fully improved. That proportion certainly has a limit, and commencing emigration will ſhew when that limit is exceeded. Without providing new ſpace for ſurplus population, and ſeeking new markets for manufactures, the progreſs of both muſt ceaſe; or elſe the people will emigrate to countries unconnected with the ſtate. Hence found policy ſeems to dictate, that governments ſhould, with the care of provident fathers, prepare proper receptacles for the exceſs of their population—a principle which few or no mother countries ſeem to have ſufficiently obſerved*.

108. When a large ſociety thus gives birth to a ſmall one, can it act on a nobler principle than that of regarding, in the firſt place, the intereſt of mankind at large, or univerſal ſociety, and ſubordinately, the advantage of it's own colony, or the ſociety deſcended from it in particular? Standing thus between both, will not the happineſs of both centre in itſelf? Does not the father of a family rejoice in, and partake of, the felicity both of the community and of his children?

* See Reaſons for eſtabliſhing the Colony of Georgia, p. 3.

109. But

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VII.

Cauſes of diſcord between nations and their colonies.

109. But is there any colony exiſting, founded on theſe truly humane and enlarged principles? On the contrary, does not the education, or treatment, which the preſent European colonies have received, and do ſtill receive, from their imprudent and intereſted parents, generally prove the ſource of hatred between ſocieties that ought to be united by the the moſt indiſſoluble ties? Whence comes it, that parties and ſects have been firſt driven to diſcontent, then to emigration, and laſtly, to ſeparation from the larger ſocieties to which they belonged; but from perverted ſyſtems of policy, the abuſe of power, civil and eccleſiaſtical, and the provoking attempt to keep mature deſcendants perpetually in leading ſtrings, like infants? Was it thus that the ancient Greeks treated their colonies? And ought not the moderns, in prudence, to have imitated the liberal ſyſtem of thoſe famed ancients, who conſidered their colonies as friends and allies, not as dependent ſocieties or conquered provinces?

110. "The mother Greek city, ſays Dr. Smith, though ſhe conſidered the colony as a child, at all times entitled to great favour and aſſiſtance, and owing, in return, much gratitude and reſpect, yet conſidered it as an *emancipated child*, over whom ſhe pretended to claim no direct authority or juriſdiction. The colony ſettled it's own form of government, enacted it's own laws, and made peace and war with it's neighbours, as an independent ſtate. The progreſs of many of the ancient Greek colonies ſeems accordingly to have been very rapid. In a century or two, ſeveral of them appear to have rivalled, and even ſurpaſſed, their mother cities. Syracuſe and Agrigentum, in Sicily; Tarentum and Locri, in Italy; Epheſus and Miletus, in Leſſer Aſia, appear,

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VII.

by all accounts, to have been at leaſt equal to any of the cities of ancient Greece."

111. "But the policy of modern Europe has very little to boaſt of, either in the original formation, or, ſo far as concerns their internal government, in the ſubſequent proſperity of the colonies of America. Folly and injuſtice ſeem to have been the principles which preſided over the firſt project of eſtabliſhing thoſe colonies; the folly of hunting after mines, and the injuſtice of coveting a country, whoſe natives, far from having ever injured the people of Europe, had received the firſt adventurers with every mark of kindneſs and hoſpitality."

112. Every modern mother-country, has ſecured to herſelf, in one ſhape or another, a monopoly of her colony trade.—"This monopoly, like all the other mean and malignant expedients of the mercantile ſyſtem, depreſſes the induſtry of all other countries; but chiefly that of the colonies, without in the leaſt increaſing, but on the contrary diminiſhing, that of the country in whoſe favour it is eſtabliſhed.—Some nations have even gone ſo far as to give up the whole commerce of their colonies to an excluſive company, of whom the colonies were obliged to buy all ſuch European goods as they wanted, and to whom they were obliged to ſell the whole of their own ſurplus produce. It was the intereſt of the company, therefore, not only to ſell the former as dear, and to buy the latter as cheap, as poſſible; but to buy no more of the latter, even at this low price, than they could diſpoſe of at a very high price in Europe. It was their intereſt, not only to degrade, in all caſes, the value of the produce of the colony, but, in many caſes, to keep down the natural increaſe of it's quantity. *Of all the expedients that can well be contrived to ſtunt the natural*

tural growth of a new colony, that of an exclusive company is undoubtedly the most effectual." "For example, the Dutch East India company, by different arts of oppression, have reduced the population of several of the Molucca Islands, formerly pretty well inhabited, nearly to the number sufficient to supply with provisions their own insignificant garrisons, and such of their ships as occasionally come there for spices*."

COMMERCE.

113. There are two species of commerce different from, and even opposite to, if not destructive of, one another. Some explanation of both forms an essential part of my plan.

114. 1st. *Commission-commerce*, into which, in remote ages, mankind were naturally led by their real wants. An interchange of useful commodities was the only object of merchants in early times. A natural and necessary barter, by

Commission commerce

* Wealth of Nations, edit. 5. Vol. II. p. 344, 360, 375, 397, 434.—At p. 476, the intelligent author mentions the operations of the Dutch East India company, in the Spice Islands, to enhance the price, by burning all the spices, beyond a certain quantity, giving premiums for the collection of the blossoms of the clove and nutmeg trees, &c. He also glances at certain practices of the English East India company's former servants; particularly their ordering the peasants to plough up rice, and sow poppies, and the contrary, just as their interest, in the sale of opium or rice, happened to direct.—Sir W. Temple, in his observations on Holland, says that "a Dutchman, who had been at the Spice Islands, told him, that he saw at one time three heaps of nutmegs burnt, each of which was more than an ordinary church would hold."—But we need not go so far abroad, for instances of such proceedings; for, in the year 1774, I was present at the burning of a large quantity of of saleable spices, at the India House in Amsterdam, for the avowed purpose of keeping up the price.

their

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VII.

their means, diffuſed the produce of every part of the then known world over the whole; and their profits might be regarded more as the wages of neceſſary labour, than as the gains of injurious monopoly. Gold and ſilver were not excluded from this commerce; but they were left to find their way into the general circulation, by their *weight and ſtandard*. Their relative worth was not, like that of *coin*, fixed by artificial laws; but, like the worth of every other commodity, was regulated by the natural demand. And paper credit had, in that early period, no exiſtence. This natural and unreſtrained ſtate of commerce accorded perfectly with the primitive ſimplicity of thoſe ages: and it certainly tended to promote a diffuſion of the comforts of life commenſurate to the wants of mankind, whom it united by the bond of mutual intereſts.

ſhould be encouraged in a new colony.

115. A mixture of ſenſible and virtuous Europeans with ſimple, untutored Africans, may be expected, by the reciprocal action and re-action of their habits and manners, to produce a ſocial character nearly approaching the ancient ſimplicity. It were therefore to be wiſhed, that the beneficial ſpecies of commerce, juſt mentioned, could be ſo fixed in every new African colony, as for ever to exclude that perverted ſyſtem which I ſhall call ſpeculation-commerce, on which it ſeems neceſſary to dwell ſomewhat more particularly *.

116.

* In order to give the reader ſome idea of the extent to which a trade in the productions of Africa may be carried, it may not be amiſs to mention a few facts which ſhow that a communication between very diſtant parts of that continent, is already open. And it will ſcarcely be denied, that this might be made the channel of conveying regular ſupplies of European goods into thoſe central regions which have hitherto ſeldom received any, except when the precarious ſucceſs of the predatory expeditions of their chiefs happened to enable them to make returns in ſlaves;

Digitized by Google

Speculation-commerce.

116. 2d. *Speculation-commerce* produces effects very different from commiſſion-commerce. It does not tend ſo di-

ſlaves; but who, were that traffic aboliſhed, would not fail to find equivalents in the productions of the country.——The Chevalier des Marchais, who viſited Guinea in 1725, 1726, and 1727, by order of the French government, ſays that "Malays came on horſes 90 days journey to trade at Ardra, bringing cotton cloths and muſlins, and receiving ſlaves, ivory and gold duſt."—Captain Fraſer ſays, there is a trade in ſlaves, carried on acroſs the continent by merchants, who come for them from the eſtern parts of Africa to Angola on the weſt, and other witneſſes affirm the ſame thing (See Min. of Evid.)——Lieut. Matthews tells us, that many black prieſts travel acroſs from the Nile, and from Morocco to Abyſſinia, that he ſaw ſeveral of them in the Mandingo country, and that by means of them, and the travelling black merchants, the defeat of the Spaniards before Gibraltar was known 40 days after, at Riopongos (Voyage to Sierra Leona, p. 70.) This report muſt have travelled at the rate of at leaſt 40 miles a day, which proves that the roads are not very bad.—The negro captive I mentioned in the note to § 71, told me that he had travelled much; and, in particular that he had made ſeven journies from Fouta Jallo, conſiderably above Gallam, to Whidah, to buy fire-arms for his king, who having been embroiled with the princes lower down the Senegal, could not as uſual, get them from the coaſt, by that river. From his account Fouta Jallo, lies between the Niger and the Whidah, 10 days journey from the former "towards the ſun-ſetting," as he expreſſed it, and 15 from the latter, "towards the ſun-riſing, but conſiderably below it." But the circumſtance of his converſation which moſt ſurpriſed me was, that in many parts of the interior, he paſſed the rivers on bridges. —For an account of the "trade in the interior parts of Africa," ſee that title in the Privy Council's Report, where it appears that that continent is traverſed in many directions by caravans trading in European goods, ivory, gold-duſt, ebony, ſlaves, ſennah, mannah, caſſia, dates, gums, &c.—See alſo the intereſting publications of the African aſſociation.

It may be ſaid, that, ſeeing the weſtern coaſt of Africa, is reſorted to for ſlaves by the eaſtern nations of that continent, and even by the Eaſt Indians, that the abolition of that traffic does not depend on the Europeans. I anſwer that the ſlave market on the weſtern coaſt does *entirely* depend on the Europeans; and that this is the *greateſt* market, would appear from the dealers coming ſo far to frequent it; for they would not travel acroſs the continent, if they could conveniently buy ſlaves nearer home. If, therefore, the Europeans aboliſh the ſlave-trade, it is plain that the emporium for it would be removed from the weſtern coaſt, and would no longer diſturb legitimate commerce there.

rectly

CHAP. VII.

rectly to ſupply the wants of a community, as to gratify the avidity of individual merchants, whom governments ſuffer to take advantage of thoſe wants. Nay, as if this were not enough, moſt governments have been prevailed on to make formal grants, of monopolies and excluſive privileges to bodies of merchants. Such grants are deſtructive of competition, the very ſoul of commerce, put the conſumers compleatly in the power of foreſtallers, and nouriſh the overbearing wealth and ambition of individuals, at the expenſe of the community.—The merchant who collects the products of diſtant countries in ſuch quantities as have been previouſly ordered by his correſpondents and cuſtomers, may be compared to a ſtream which gently irrigates and refreſhes the fields. The monopolizing ſpeculator in thoſe products not unaptly reſembles a reſervoir which confines the waters till the fields are parched, and at laſt diſtributes them unſeaſonably and partially, overflowing ſome places, and miſerably ſtinting others.

Speculators unconnected with the community.

117. Speculators in exchanges and money-jobbers may, perhaps, love to be compared to conductors which convey the commercial fluid through the world. I ſhall not object to the compariſon, if they will permit me to mention, that the Jews have alſo been likened to thoſe conductors, by an eminent orator*. Like the Iſraelites too, thoſe gentlemen are unconnected with any community; and, like Jew pedlars, can, at any time, put their caſh and bills in their pockets, and flit, with the celerity of their own paper, from one end of the world to the other. For, I would aſk any man who knows the world, what hold any community can have of perſons who, without property in lands, houſes, or commodities, ſit in their counting-houſes, watching the courſe

* Mr. Burke.

of

Digitized by Google

of exchange, or the chance of a job *? I do not mean a miniſterial job; although ſome have ſhrewdly ſuſpected that the gains of ſuch men have been formerly ſwelled by this kind of buſineſs,—a circumſtance which perhaps the illuſtrious Chatham had in his eye when, in the honeſt fervor of his patriotic ſoul, he uttered the following language.

Lord Chatham's opinion of them,

118. "There is," ſaid he, "a ſet of men in London who are known to live in riot and luxury, upon the plunder of the ignorant, the innocent and the helpleſs; upon that part of the community which ſtands in moſt need of, and beſt deſerves, the protection of the legiſlature †. To me, my lords, whether they be miſerable jobbers of Change-alley, or the lofty Aſiatic plunderers of Leadenhall-ſtreet, they are all equally deteſtable. I care but little whether a man walks on foot, or is drawn by four or ſix horſes; if his luxury be ſupported by the plunder of his country, I deſpiſe and abhor him. My lords, while I had the honour of ſerving his majeſty, I never ventured to look at the treaſury but from a diſtance. It is a buſineſs I am unfit for, and to which I never could have ſubmitted. The little I know of it has not ſerved to raiſe my opinion of what is vulgarly called the monied-intereſt; I mean that blood-ſucker, that muck-worm, which pretends to ſerve this or that admini-

* "The capitals," ſays Dr. Smith, "employed in the agriculture and in the retail trade of any ſociety muſt always reſide within that ſociety. The capital of a wholeſale merchant, on the contrary" (and *a fortiori* that of a money-jobber) "ſeems to have no fixed reſidence any where, but may wander about from place to place" (juſt like it's owner) "according as it can either buy cheap or ſell dear." Wealth of Nations, Vol. II. p. 54.

† Dr. Arbuthnot obſerves, that "money-ſcriveners are like your wire-drawing mills; if they get hold of a man's finger, they will pull in his whole body at laſt."

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VII.

ſtration, but which may be purchaſed, on the ſame terms, by any adminiſtration."

and Dr. Johnſon's.

119. "Theſe are the men," ſays Dr. Johnſon, "who, without virtue, labour or hazard, are growing rich as their country is impoveriſhed. They rejoice when obſtinacy or ambition adds another year to ſlaughter and devaſtation; and laugh from their deſks at bravery and ſcience, while they are adding figure to figure, and cipher to cipher, hoping for a new contract for a new armament, and computing the profits of a ſiege or a tempeſt."

120. It is to be hoped, however, that the nation, to which this noble orator and this ſublime moraliſt were ſuch ſhining ornaments, will never experience the evil conſequences with which the influence of the monied intereſt, if it continue to predominate over every other, may one day threaten their liberties.

Their operations tend to enſlave mankind,

121. To ſpeak the truth, it appears to me, that a ſpecies of ſlavery, or dependence, very much like it, has gradually crept, with ſpeculation-commerce and manufactures, into all countries where they prevail. Of this ſlavery or dependence, or whatever elſe it may be called, there are various degrees, from what we are pleaſed to ſtyle a gentle ſtate of ſervice in our families, down to the moſt abuſive and boldly avowed ſlavery in our ſugar colonies. I cannot give a ſhorter inſtance, than the ſtate of celibacy in which our numerous menial ſervants are obliged to live, on pain of loſing their places; as few will employ a married ſervant. Thus the one ſex is ſeduced into proſtitution, and the other has no other reſource than in the annihilation of a natural and neceſſary paſſion, or in whoredom and debauchery for life. This is but one, out of a thouſand inſtances, which might be given of the inverſion of ſocial order

Digitized by Google

der which now, more or leſs, prevails in all commercial nations, and which ought to be particularly guarded againſt, in eſtabliſhing a new colony.

and why.—Money independent of commodities.

122. I have thought much on theſe evils; and, on the whole, find myſelf inclined to attribute them to a cauſe which ſeems never to have been much, if at all, attended to by others. I have great reaſon, however, to ſuſpect, that the degradation of a great portion of every mercantile community, ariſes from the prevailing luſt of accumulating *money** independent of commodities, of the value of which it is become the mere *arbitrary ſign*, inſtead of being, as formerly, circulated and transferred as a commodity itſelf. In this unnatural innovation, I think I ſee the ſource of many of the grievous evils which now afflict commercial nations. *Hac fonte derivata clades!* Money, in early times, was wiſely adopted as the medium of commerce, which gave it it's chief value as a commodity. But it has been evidently diverted from it's natural uſe, which was admirably calculated to promote the free interchange of other commodities, the increaſe of knowledge and virtue, and the wealth and proſperity of nations. This lamentable perverſion appears to have been owing to the Italian invention of bills of exchange, the operations of graſping monopoliſts, the arbitrary interference of governments, in attempting to eſtabliſh between gold, ſilver, and copper, and between theſe metals and other commodities, an unnatural relative value; and, above all, to the modern ſyſtem of public credit and finance. To theſe we muſt add, the enormous augmentation and wide circulation of paper, moſtly of ideal value, re-

* By *money* I mean any thing coined, upon which an arbitrary value has been fixed, entirely unconnected with any commodity, in like manner as it's fabricators, the ſpeculating merchants, are unconnected with any community.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VII.

ſulting from all the other cauſes. Thus money has compleatly ſupplanted commodities, and become itſelf the chief ſubject of commercial ſpeculation, to the excluſion of uſeful productions. The acquiſition of it is the *ſole* purſuit of all men of buſineſs; particularly of individual merchants and monopolizing companies, ſeparate from the general good, to which the production and interchange of uſeful commodities always directly conduces. In this unnatural chaos of money-ſpeculation, where all the concerns of ſociety, and all the abilities of individuals, as well as the produce of their induſtry, are eſtimated, not by ounces and penny-weights of gold and ſilver, but by imaginary denominations of pounds, livres, rix-dollars, &c. I ſay, in this forced and artificial ſtate of things, could it be ſurpriſing that men ſhould find their labours ſpeculated upon, or monopolized, their time engroſſed, their ſocial and domeſtic comforts abridged, their perſons degraded, their minds darkened, and their children brought up, as machines, to ſpin cotton and grind ſciſſars?—And all for what?—but to enable a few monopoliſts to accumulate *money*.

Commercial colonies tend to ſlavery, agricultural to liberty.

123. That colonies formed on the modern mercantile ſyſtem, in which money has uſurped the place of commodities, muſt neceſſarily be ſupported by the degradation of a great part of the community, appears to me the unavoidable reſult of their faulty, commercial conſtitution. On the other hand, liberty muſt be the happy lot of colonies eſtabliſhed on the baſis of agriculture; for natural productions are not nearly ſo liable, as money is, to be perverted to purpoſes incompatible with the benefit of a community at large. Degradation, or a ſpecies of ſlavery, is undoubtedly one of the baneful effects of the abuſed power and influence of money. But liberty flows from the production of uſeful commodi-

Digitized by Google

modities, which leads the labourer or productor to true loyalty, making it his intereſt to ſtrengthen the power of the laws, and to ſecure the peace and good order of the community, without which his bulky and unwieldy property cannot be ſecure.

124. I hope my peculiar thoughts on commerce will have the good fortune to be well received by many diſintereſted perſons, who will excuſe my dwelling on it at as great length as the narrow limits of my work will permit. I flatter myſelf too, that the good-natured reader will interpret ſome warm expreſſions, which have eſcaped me, not as dictated by a rancorous ſpirit, or any diſregard to the reſpectable part of the public, but by an honeſt zeal for guarding all new communities from the baneful effects of monopoly and ſpeculation*.

Neceſſity of caution in forming colonies.

125. The preceding reflections will appear the more important, if we conſider that, unleſs we avoid the errors of former coloniſts, not to mention later attempts, our undertaking certainly will miſcarry, leaving us overwhelmed with ſhame, ſelf reproach, and an irretrievable loſs of lives, time, labour, and expenſe. Let us therefore beware of proceeding on ſelfiſh and avaritious principles; but having made choice of one of the beſt ſituations hitherto known, let us profit by the experience of others; and, guarding againſt their miſtakes and miſconduct, let us act on plans worthy of men of good hearts and clear underſtandings; let us liſten, in fine, to the counſel of experienced and diſintereſt-

* See the queries at the end of this chapter.

ed

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VII.

ed perſons, and weigh matters of ſo great importance, with becoming ſerioufneſs and attention.

How coloniſts ſhould be encouraged.

126. The reſult of ſuch deliberations, we are warranted to hope, would be the formation and adoption of a ſeries of regulations founded on ſubſtantial juſtice and virtuous liberty. If our wealth and enjoyments here in Europe ſhould diſincline us from perſonally executing ſo noble an enterprize, we may contribute eſſentially towards it, and probably increaſe our own fortunes, by giving encouragement to a body of men, poor perhaps in point of property, but rich in activity, probity, fortitude, and other mental reſources. Let theſe give what ſecurity they can for the property advanced, and, if they are, as they certainly ought to be, men of the character deſcribed, their principles will be a ſufficient ſecurity.

127. It is an important, though an obvious, remark, that the zeal, even of the beſt coloniſts, cannot reaſonably be expected to exceed that of the principals in the undertaking. If we riſk a little property, we ſhould remember that they riſk their lives; or, probably *think*, (though perhaps without ſufficient reaſon) that they are riſking them. Without countenancing their groundleſs fears, we ought to open to them proſpects, in ſome degree, proportioned to the ideas of perſonal hazard, which moſt men attach to ſuch undertakings. The beſt way to convince them that thoſe proſpects are not deluſive, will be to furniſh them liberally, in the firſt inſtance, with every accommodation conducive to their health and comfort. And what ſort of proſpects will it be neceſſary to hold out? Shall we tempt them with alluring promiſes of riches and ſplendour? No: men whoſe imaginations love to riot in ſuch dreams would be a curſe to an infant colony: but, to perſons of the proper deſcription,

Digitized by Google

tion, we need only make an honeſt and ſincere offer of our effectual aſſiſtance in obtaining, by their own induſtry, a competency for themſelves and their families.

Choice of coloniſts.

128. The choice of people for an infant colony is a matter of the utmoſt importance, and the niceſt delicacy; for the greateſt care and caution will be neceſſary to aſcertain the real characters of thoſe who offer themſelves as members of an infant community. On this depends it's peace and it's ultimate ſucceſs. Men of reſtleſs, unſteady diſpoſitions, or who indulge in gaming or liquor, or with various women; or who entertain ambitious and ſelfiſh views; or who are apt to dream of eaſy days and careleſs nights, and aërial caſtles and cities like El Dorado*. In ſhort, all men of diſſipated habits of whatever kind, and whoſe views and purſuits are not perfectly agreeable to ſocial order, are to be rejected, as improper inmates for a new colony.

129. A few perſons, of known and approved ſobriety, honeſty and induſtry, ought to be choſen and well provided with houſes, food, cloathing, medicines and, in a word, every neceſſary, and even every comfort, ſuitable to their new and untried ſituation. Should the expenſe of liberally fitting out ſuch a ſelect number of ſettlers prove even double to that of a crowd of people indiſcriminately picked up, the plan would nevertheleſs be found a ſaving one in the end; and it would moreover diminiſh the mortality, and, in all probability, inſure ultimate ſucceſs.

Native chiefs to be conciliated.

130. As an additional argument for the prudent choice of ſettlers, I may mention the footing of good neighbourhood

* The golden city in South America, dreamed of by Sir Walter Raleigh, and which, above a century after that great man's death, a Jeſuit, of the name of Gumila, expreſſed a ſtrong deſire to viſit. But it has never yet been diſcovered!

and

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VII.

and friendſhip, which it will be abſolutely neceſſary for them to maintain with the chiefs of the country. Thoſe chiefs are far from being without diſcernment, and the diſcovery of any thing like a ſelfiſh ſpirit would awaken their jealouſy, and as effectually alienate them from the intereſts of the colony as the moſt flagrant outrage. Since it will be of the higheſt importance to conciliate and preſerve, by ſolid and laſting benefits, the good will of the chief of the ſpot where the colony is intended to be fixed, I would recommend it to the coloniſts to place themſelves, as far as prudence will permit, under his protection; and to conform themſelves, as much as they can, conſiſtently with the great end of the eſtabliſhment, to the innocent cuſtoms of the natives. When the colonial town comes to be built, and the lands divided, a houſe ſhould firſt be built, and a garden laid out, for the chief himſelf; and the garden ſhould be kept in order till his own people have learnt the method of performing that delightful taſk. This would be the eaſieſt and moſt effectual way, at once to reconcile him and his domeſtics to the habits of civilized life, and to ſatisfy him that no kind of injuſtice, or uſurpation was intended. Thus, not only his own intereſt would induce him to protect a colony which had increaſed his enjoyments, but gratitude would inſpire him with cordial ſentiments of regard for his new friends, whom he would ſoon be brought to conſider as his children. All jealouſy on the part of the chief being thus removed, his ſubjects, taught by his example and that of his domeſtics, would ſoon begin to adopt the manners of the Europeans, to imitate their induſtry, and to emulate them in every kind of improvement.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VII.

Men not to be ſubſtituted for cattle.

131. I know not what ſome of my readers may think, but to me, it appears a ſerious violation of natural law to force, or even to allure, men and women to drudge in any kind of hard labour that can be performed by cattle. For, to what purpoſe hath the Creator endowed certain animals with ſtrength, patience and docility, and made them obedient to the will of man, unleſs they are to aſſiſt him in his labours, and to partake of the harveſt? To partake, I ſay, of the harveſt, and to be treated with a conſideration proportioned to their ſervices, and to their various degrees of feeling, which generally correſpond with their different portions of intellect. We are ever to remember, that, of all the external gifts of God, the moſt valuable is the ſervice of labouring animals, over which he hath not granted us an abſolute, but an evidently limited, dominion, for the exerciſe of which we are accountable to him*. If ſo; it follows, *a fortiori*, that he hath not given men abſolute dominion over one another. "Man over men he made not lord; ſuch title to himſelf reſerving†." Having then, ſtrictly ſpeaking, no abſolute dominion over brutes, and ſtill leſs over one another, we never can have a right, either by force or fraud, to make our fellow creatures perform the taſks of labouring cattle, taſks for which God and nature have not fitted them, and which in certain diſorderly hordes acroſs the Atlantic, have deſtroyed more human lives than ever did war, peſtilence or famine, in any other country.

The uſe of the plough recommended.

132. Without entering into the minutiæ of cultivation, I ſhall only endeavour to point out the neceſſity of introduc-

* See Dr. Primatt's Eſſay on the Duty of Mercy and the Sin of Cruelty to Brute Animals——alſo the Adventurer, No. 97.

† Milton.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VII.

ing the labour of cattle and the uſe of the plough, if poſſible, at the very commencement of a new colony. It is not only the quickeſt and cheapeſt mode of cultivation; but is preferable in every other reſpect, to the ſlow and ſlaviſh method of forcing men and women to dig up the ground with hand-hoes, and to carry out the dung in baſkets, as generally practiſed in the ſugar iſlands, and in ſome parts of the American continent. This practice is evidently incompatible with the health and comfort of free labourers in a hot climate, and indeed in any climate; for I believe the hand-hoeing of all the land which is now ploughed throughout Europe, would be found intolerably oppreſſive to the peaſantry, even in theſe temperate or cold climates.

Objections to the plough anſwered.

133. In converſing with many of the Weſt Indians, a little attention will diſcover that one grand, though tacit, reaſon for their preferring hand-hoeing to the plough is, *That it has hitherto been their cuſtom.* This happens to be juſt ſuch a reaſon as men wedded to ancient prejudices, conſtantly give for continuing their errors; and of all men, the cultivators of the earth, from their ſcattered ſituation, are obſerved to adhere the moſt obſtinately to their ancient practices. Monteſquieu remarks that the Turks ſtill employ no other machinery, in their mines, than the arms of their ſlaves; while they daily ſee their neighbours, the Hungarians, who have no ſlaves, abridge their own labour, and ſave much expenſe, by the uſe of machinery. For, ſo infatuating is the practice of ſlavery, that the maſters cannot ſee that the labour of ſlaves which, to vulgar eyes, appears the cheapeſt, is in truth incomparably the deareſt of all labour *.

* This has been ſatisfactorily proved by Dr. Franklin in his Thoughts on the peopling of Countries, by Monteſquieu in the Spirit of Laws, and by Dr. Smith in Wealth of Nations, Vol. I. p. 122, and Vol. III. p. 38, edit. 5.

134. But

Digitized by Google

134. But the Weſt Indians make two objections to the plough which are worthy of more ſerious anſwers. —"In the old ſmall iſlands, many eſtates are too contracted to afford paſturage, and their cattle and horſes have hitherto been fed with graſs and weeds which the ſlaves are forced to "pick" when they ſhould be taking reſt. This ſcanty mode of feeding, gives the cattle barely ſtrength to crawl to the ſhipping places with the produce; but would never ſuſtain them under the labour of ploughing."—I acknowledge the force of this objection, as far as it goes; but it affects only the old, ſmall iſlands, and only the ſmaller eſtates in thoſe iſlands, and even in theſe it might be, in moſt caſes, as in ſome it already is, removed by the culture of Guinea graſs, Guinea corn and other provender. This objection, however, applies not to Jamaica, and the Ceded iſlands, nor even to the larger eſtates on the old ſmall iſlands.—Another objection is, that "ſome eſtates, or rather ſome fields (for it is ſcarcely true of any whole ſugar eſtate) are too ſteep or too rocky to admit of the plough."—But this cannot be urged againſt ploughing land that is *not* too ſteep and too rocky, and ſuch is far the greater part of the cane-land in the ſugar colonies. For few ſugar works, comparatively, were fixed on lands obſtructed with rocks and precipices, and the raſh builders of moſt works that were erected on ſuch ſpots, have been obliged to give up the culture of ſugar for that of cotton, coffee, &c. and, in ſome caſes, have abandoned their works altogether.—On the whole then, it will be found that the objections againſt the plough apply to but a ſmall portion of the Weſt Indian colonies collectivly taken; and it will be the fault of the undertakers of new colonies in Africa, if in a country containing ſuch immenſe variety of ſurface, they make choice of a ſituation where they cannot have the ad-

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VII.

vantage of the labour of cattle, in drawing ploughs and other implements of agriculture.

135. If it be aſked, Why the firſt coloniſts of the Weſt Indian iſlands, did not uſe the plough, as they had been accuſtomed to do, in their reſpective mother-countries? I anſwer, that they had, at firſt, neither paſturage nor cattle, and that, even if they had been provided with both, the roots of the trees were ſo very tough and hard, in ſome of the iſlands, that no plough could have gone among them. What little ſtrength they had, they were obliged to employ, not in grubbing up roots, but in planting among them for an immediate ſubſiſtence. No inſtrument was ſo well adapted for this purpoſe as the hoe, and the hoe having been once uſed, the introduction of ſlavery, which ſoon after took place, did the reſt. For when ſlavery begins, improvement ends; and ſociety, if a collection of maſters and ſlaves deſerve that reſpectable name, ſinks into a torpid ſtate of ſtagnation is congenial to ſlavery, which cramps the powers of invention, and, by deſtroying emulation and reward, arreſts the progreſs of every uſeful art*.

Has been ſucceſsfully uſed in the Weſt Indies.

136. Yet ſome individual Weſt Indians, nobly burſting the bonds impoſed on them by vulgar prejudice and the practice of ſlavery, have happily precluded all ſpeculative arguments in favour of the plough, by the ſucceſsful uſe of it. It has been found, in Jamaica, that "one plough turned up as much ground in a day, and in a much better manner, than one hundred negroes could perform with their hoes, in the ſame time;" and that "the canes planted on the ploughed land turned out near three hogſheads of ſugar

* See Smith's Wealth of Nations, Vol. III. p. 37.

per

Digitized by Google

per acre, which was one hogſhead per acre more than it had been uſed to yield from the common method of culture*."

Why not univerſally uſed there.

137. But, if the plough has been uſed, in ſome caſes, ſo advantageouſly, in the Weſt Indies, it will no doubt be aſked, why it is not there uſed univerſally? This is a very fair queſtion, and the volumes juſt quoted furniſh a very ſatisfactory anſwer to it. "In ſome places, where ploughs have been tried and laid by again, experience, judgement and practical knowledge, were not always aſſiſting in the operations†." "I am convinced," ſays Lieut. General Matthew, Governor of Grenada, "that experiments have not had ſufficient or fair trial, from the want of proper implements, ſuitable to the different ſoils and ſituations, and from the want of intelligent labourers. This matter has been given up on ſlight inveſtigation‡."

138. To account for the "ſlight inveſtigation" of ſo important a matter, will require a few words of explanation. —The proprietors of the Weſt Indian iſlands, like thoſe of moſt other countries, are either independent, or involved in debt. The latter, though chiefly reſident on their plantations, are unable to afford the expenſe neceſſary for the firſt introduction of all improvements; and their creditors,

* Long's Hiſtory of Jamaica, Vol. I. p. 449 where the uſe of the plough is recommended by irreſiſtible reaſoning, and by facts ſtill more irreſiſtible.—See alſo Edwards's Hiſtory of Jamaica, Vol. II. p. 213. Mr. E. likewiſe writes from his own experience.—See farther, the Evidence of Sir George Young, the two Mr. Woodwards, Mr. Fitzmaurice, &c, in the Minutes of Evidence on the ſlave trade before the Houſe of Commons—alſo various pieces of evidence in the anſwers to the 42d, 46th, and 47th, queries in the Privy Council's Report and the ſupplement.

† Anſwer by a planter of 1068 acres in Barbadoes, in the ſupplement to the Privy Council's Report, p. 32.

‡ Privy Council's Report Part. III. Article "Grenada and St. Chriſtophers," anſwer to query 42d.

being

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VII.

being chiefly Engliſh merchants, who never were in the Weſt Indies, are unwilling "to ſpeculate," as they ſay, "in new projects," of the practicability of which they are not competent judges. The independent planters, on the other hand, chiefly reſide in England, committing their affairs in the Iſlands to the care of agents (there called "attornies") who being very often Guinea factors (or connected with ſuch) furniſh the eſtates with imported ſlaves. The uſe of the plough would diminiſh the labour of ſlaves, prolong their lives, and, of courſe, leſſen the demand for more. Add to this, that, by a law of Jamaica, "theſe agents or attornies" muſt be paid ſix per cent. on the value of the produce, which is another reaſon for their not wiſhing to diminiſh the labour of ſlaves; although, if they were not intereſted in the ſlave-trade, this commiſſion would no doubt induce them to increaſe the produce by the plough. Theſe "attornies" appoint the overſeers who reſide on the plantations, and who generally lay out their ſalaries on new negroes, whom they nurſe in their maſter's kitchens, and let out moſt profitably to "hole" cane-land for "weak-handed" eſtates, at from £3 to £5 ſterling the acre. It cannot therefore be expected that overſeers, any more than their patrons, the attornies, will favour the plough, or any other mode of abridging the labour of ſlaves. In fact, the habits, the prejudices and, above all, the intereſts both of attornies and overſeers are combined againſt the uſe of the plough. And ſo powerfully do theſe motives operate, that, a very reſpectable Jamaica planter ſtated in evidence before his Majeſty's Privy Council, that though, by means of the plough, without an additional ſlave, and without injuring the cattle which drew it, he nearly doubled his crop of ſugar; yet, after he left the iſland, in 1785, he could not prevail

Remarkable inſtance of its ſucceſs.

Digitized by Google

vail on his overſeer to continue the uſe of it*. But vulgar prejudice, the *eſprit du corps*, and even the intereſts of particular claſſes of men, though difficult to be overcome, are not invincible: and, from what has already been done in the Weſt Indies, particularly in Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Grenada, we have reaſon to expect, that a more rational and humane mode of culture, will at laſt take place of the waſteful and oppreſſive one, which hath hitherto unfortunately prevailed.

In the Eaſt Indies canes raiſed with it, by freemen.

139. In the Eaſt Indies, the ſugar-cane is raiſed by freemen, with the plough, in very great abundance. Mr. William Fitzmaurice, who ſpent ſeventeen years in Jamaica, ten of them as a ſugar-planter, and who lately went over to Bengal to ſettle a ſugar eſtate, approves of their mode of tillage by the plough; though he diſapproves of their method of manufacturing the ſugar†. But, near Batavia, the culture of the cane, with the plough, held by free people, and the manufacture, by a ſimple and natural diviſion of labour, has been brought to the higheſt perfection by the Dutch and Chineſe. Mr. Botham, who deſcribes it, and who has managed ſugar eſtates in the Weſt Indies, as well as in the Eaſt, gives a decided preference to the Batavian practice. At Bencoolen, he ſuperintended a ſugar eſtate, during the late war, on the ſame plan, and with ſimilar ſucceſs‡. And, in Cochin China, we are aſſured by M. Le

* See the evidence of John Aſhley, Eſq. formerly of Jamaica, now of Cookham, in the Privy Council's Report. This whole pernicious ſyſtem is explained at length by Mr. Long, in Vol. I. p. 189, 391, and Vol. II. p. 405, 406 and other pa ts of his Hiſtory of Jamaica. See alſo the evidence of Mr. Coor, Mr. Clappeſon, Mr. Fitzmaurice, and Lieut. Davidſon, in Minutes of Evidence before the Houſe of Commons.

† See his printed letter to the Eaſt India Directors.

‡ See Mr. B's evidence before the Privy Council, and the Houſe of Commons.

Poivre,

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VII.

Poivre, ſugar is raiſed, for a great part of the Empire of China, by free labourers aſſiſted by the plough*.

Moſt other tropical articles may be raiſed with it.

140. I have dwelt the more particularly on this head, as I deem it of the utmoſt importance to every new colony in the tropical regions of Africa. I refer chiefly to the Britiſh ſugar iſlands, becauſe the evidence, taken by the Britiſh Privy Council and Houſe of Commons, furniſhes a body of information far more extenſive than any that I have ſeen reſpecting the colonies of any other European ſtate. And I have confined my obſervations entirely to the ſugar cane; becauſe, if it can be proved that the very laborious culture of that ſtrong, ſucculent plant can be, and actually is, carried on by means of the plough, it's utility in all, or almoſt all, other kinds of tropical cultivation will ſcarcely be denied. Knowing, as I do by experience, that men cannot ſafely undergo the ſame labour in hot as in cold or temperate climates, I cannot but be ſolicitous that the labour of cattle ſhould be introduced, as early as poſſible, into every new colony that may be formed in Africa. Without it, I am truly ſorry to predict, what every man, acquainted with the circumſtances, muſt foreſee, that the coloniſts, though free and protected from lawleſs violence, will ſoon ſink into a ſtate of degrading drudgery which will ruin their conſtitutions, and, in truth, render them, in one material particular, as wretched as Weſt Indian ſlaves.

141. On the contrary, let the founders of a new colony early provide ſuch regulations, as will proportionably divide the labour between cattle, men, women, and young perſons, and all the lamentable conſequences of it's unequal diſtribution will be prevented. "For it has been comput-

* Obſervations ſur les Arts en Aſie, &c. p. 100.

ed,

Digitized by Google

ed, by political arithmeticians, that if every man and woman would work for four hours each day on ſomething uſeful, that labour would produce ſufficient to procure all the neceſſaries and comforts of life: want and miſery would be baniſhed out of the world, and the reſt of the twenty four hours might be dedicated to leiſure, pleaſure, inſtruction or contemplation*."

QUERIES.

142. To unfold the myſterious and complicated evils of monopoly and ſpeculation, would require volumes, and I have room only for a few paragraphs. But ſo intereſting is the ſubject, that, in addition to what I have ventured to inſert above (§ 116, *et ſeq.*) I cannot help ſubmitting to *deep and liberal thinkers*, and to ſuch *only*, the following queries.—They are neceſſarily brief, and therefore, ſome of them may appear ambiguous or obſcure. But brevity obliges readers to *think*; and I ſhall rejoice, if theſe queries give riſe to a train of cloſe thinking, in any one of thoſe intelligent and candid minds, for whoſe conſideration *alone*, (I repeat it) they, as well as the correſponding part of this chapter, are intended.

N. B. By *money*, or *coin*, in the following queries, I beg leave to underſtand every thing that bears a ſtamp of credit; conſequently including not only *ſpecie*, but every kind of *paper-credit*.

I. In all communities, are there not two things, which have the moſt intimate connection with one another, viz. *money* and *commodities?*

II. Are not commodities *eſſential* to the exiſtence of every community, and is not money merely *accidental:* or in other

* Dr. Franklin's Eſſays, p. 138.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VII.

words, Is it not practicable for a community to carry on it's buſineſs without *money*, but not without *commodities?*

III. Ought not money therefore always to repreſent commodities, and the whole *circulation of money* to be in dependence on the *production of commodities*; but not on the contrary?

IV. But do not commodities, at this day, repreſent money; and does not *their production* depend on the *circulation of money?* And is not money then a production INDEPENDENT of the production of commodities?

V. May not this inverſion ariſe from money having obtained an independent origin and circulation, *uncontroled* by the production of neceſſary and uſeful commodities?

VI. Are not commodities become the *means* for getting rich in money? But ought not money to be the *means* for getting rich in commodities?

VII. Is not the *accumulation of money the chief end*, at preſent, in every occupation, and commodities only the *means?*

VIII. Cannot a community, as well as an individual, as things now ſtand, *circulate* a greater or ſmaller ſtock of money independent of any *production* of commodities?

IX. Can a *producer of commodities*, at this time, extend his circulation in any degree equal to a *monied man?*

X. Is not money ſooner *turned* than commodities, which can only be turned when *worn out or conſumed?*

XI. Does not the quick return of money give the monied man an *undue advantage* over the producer of commodities which cannot be turned ſo quickly?

XII. Are not knowing people, at this day, ſooner induced to enter into *money concerns*, than into the *production of commodities?*

XIII.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VII.

XIII. Granting the affirmative of the foregoing queries to be true, will it not follow, that money is, at this day, *ſeparated from*, and has become *independent on*, commodities?

XIV. Are not all Banks, whether public or private, to be conſidered as *ſtorehouſes of money?*

XV. But ſhould not ſtorehouſes, filled with neceſſary and uſeful commodities, be conſidered as the *eſſential and intrinſic banks?*

XVI. Are not thoſe perſons *independent or free*, in ſhort rich, who poſſeſs ſtorehouſes of money, whether in caſh, bank-notes or bills, and is not their independence in proportion to the quantity of money their ſtorehouſes contain?

XVII. Are not thoſe *dependent* or *poor*, who, although in poſſeſſion of ſtorehouſes filled with neceſſary and uſeful commodities, yet cannot command money when required, without loſs on the diſpoſal of their goods; and are not thoſe perſons dependent and poor, in proportion as their *ſtock of goods* exceeds their *ſtock of money?*

XVIII. Did not the *nature of money* alter, after the eſtabliſhment of the firſt public bank at Genoa, and after the introduction of bills of exchange and other paper-money?

XIX. Is there any other difference between money in *bills of exchange*, and in *coined gold, ſilver, copper or paper*, than that, to the former is granted a limited credit, paying intereſt or diſcount, and to the latter, an unlimited credit which pays no intereſt or diſcount?

XX. Is not *coin*, in form of guineas, louis d'ors, ducats, rix-dollars, ſhillings, guilders, ſtuivers, pence, groſchen, &c. whether ſtamped on metals, paper, leather (or wood,) *acknowledged and received as money, or credit*; and is not this

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VII.

coin different from, and independent of, any ſort of commodities, even of the materials it is ſtamped upon, when conſidered as uſeful ſubjects of manufacture?

XXI. Is not money independent of commodities, in conſequence of *it's coinage* being under a *monopoly*, while the production of commodities is *free?*

XXII. Are not monopoliſts, and eſpecially coiners or *producers of money*, compleatly independent of ſociety; and are not *producers of commodities* ſtrictly dependent on ſociety?

XXIII. Does not the independence of the producers of money on the producers of commodities and on ſociety, naturally lead to an *oppoſition of intereſts*; and does not ſuch oppoſition lead to jealouſy and contention, where there ſhould be, and, but for this unnatural ſtate of things, would be, harmony and mutual dependence?

XXIV. Is not a tradeſman a greater *merchant* than a horſe-dealer—an importer or exporter a greater *merchant* than a tradeſman—a negociator (of bills) a greater *merchant* than an importer or exporter—a banker a greater *merchant* than a negociator—and, in ſhort, is not the producer or coiner of money the firſt *merchant* in every ſtate, in as much as, in all his tranſactions, commodities are totally out of the queſtion; for nothing circulates with him but money which he COINS, AD LIBITUM?

XXV. Does not the facility of coming at money or credit, *ſupport and propagate corruption* and *luxury*, and *occaſion ruinous bankruptcies?*

XXVI. Is not the *real want* of any commodity, in a community, the only natural baſis of the *intrinſic value* of that commodity?

XXVII.

Digitized by Google

XXVII. Ought money to repreſent commodities *arbitrarily*, or ought it to repreſent them *naturally*, by the *intrinſic value* of the material on which it is ſtamped, ariſing from the *natural demand* for that material, when wrought into uſeful articles and utenſils?

XXVIII. Ought not the *natural baſis of money* to be the *ſtaple production* of every community, and not gold, ſilver, copper, &c. in the form of coin, which form creates an artificial demand for thoſe metals, over and above the natural demand?

XXIX. Have not the producers of money and the producers of credit *the ſame intereſts;* or, in fact, are they not the *ſame people?* And is not every one a fabricator of money, in proportion to the *credit* he is able to obtain?

XXX. Has not the true nature of money been perverted or overturned by, and much confuſion enſued from, an *artificial credit?*

XXXI. Is there any mean to check the above confuſion, but by *checking credit?*

XXXII. Is there no other alternative, than that commerce muſt either be *overcharged* with *imaginary paper*, or ſubjected, every eight or ten years, to the calamity ariſing from a *general deſtruction of that paper*, involving in ruin many honeſt and reſpectable individuals? May not theſe evils be leſſened, or avoided, by *checking credit* in general?

XXXIII. Can credit be checked, as long as *coinage* is altogether, and the *production of money* in a great meaſure, under *monopoly?*

XXXIV. Did not the nature of money in it's primitive ſtate approach more to *bartering?* And did not the people of remote antiquity *weigh their money?*

XXXV.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VII.

XXXV. Would not the monopoly of coinage, and of the production of repreſentative money, be taken away by letting every metal circulate according to its *weight* and *intrinſic ſtandard?*

XXXVI. Is not natural credit grounded on the *active abilities, freedom and integrity of men.*

XXXVII. Is not artificial credit grounded on *imaginary property*; does it not give riſe to *fraud and ſwindling*; and is it not ſupported by *arreſts for debt?*

XXXVIII. If arreſts for debt, were aboliſhed, and all metals were allowed to circulate according to their weight and intrinſic ſtandard, whether as money or as commodities, would not *artificial credit* be checked, and *order in œconomical matters,* be reſtored?—(See § 197 Note.)

XXXIX. Is it not probable that the preſent inverted ſyſtem in œconomical matters, in all the ſtates of civil ſociety, originates from this cauſe, namely, the *independence of money* on the *production of commodities?*

XL. Is not he conſidered as a rich man, at this time, who ſubſiſts upon the *intereſt* of his money, independent of any *abilities* and *commodities?*

XLI. Are not they in reality, or comparatively, poor and dependent, who poſſeſs *talents* and *abilities,* and even *ſtocks of goods,* but yet cannot command money, when it is demanded of them in *form of taxes, rents, intereſt,* &c.

XLII. Is there not in general a greater trouble and riſk in *ſubſiſting upon the produce* of land or commodities, than upon money ſafely placed at *intereſt?*

XLIII. Is not a man, who lives without labour, whether on his own income, or by begging, *an uſeleſs drone* in ſociety;

Digitized by Google

ty; and does not he become over ſolicitous about his own intereſt, and proportionally indifferent to the real intereſts of the community?—(See § 151.)

XLIV. Does not intereſt, after a certain time, create a *new imaginary ſtock of money* or credit-paper; and does not ſecurity for money or credit lent (acceptances) alſo circulate as a *new created ſtock of money*, only with the difference of the intereſt or diſcount? And does not all ſuch accumulation of imaginary money cauſe a great *diſproportion* to, and *diſconnection* with, commodities?

XLV. Does not the eaſy acquiſition of money by intereſt, &c. and the *arbitrary diſpoſal* thereof *uncontroled by the community*, cauſe every individual to ſeek more after money than commodities?

XLVI. Does not the ſeeking merely for money, give riſe to *ſpeculation*, independent of *wants?*

XLVII. Does not *ſpeculation-commerce* ariſe from *artificial credit?*

XLVIII. Does not ſpeculation and commiſſion trade differ, in as much as the former has *money for it's end*, and the latter *commodities for the ſupply of wants?*

XLIX. Should not the *raw productions* of the three natural kingdoms be chiefly favoured, afterwards *manufactures*, and laſtly *commerce?* Does not the reverſe, however, now prevail in all civilized ſocieties?

L. May not ſuch a *reform* of the nature of money as will make it the *means*, and commodities the *end*, be neceſſary, previous to all other reforms in old eſtabliſhed ſocieties?

LI. *May not the evils, above hinted at, be effectually excluded from a* NEW COLONY, *by excluding impriſonment for debt, which will check ſpeculation-commerce—and by allowing gold, ſilver,*

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VIII.

ſilver, &c. to circulate freely, by their weight and ſtandard—and will not the eſtabliſhment of theſe ſimple regulations render commerce ſubſervient to manufactures, and both ſubſervient to agriculture—and, in fine, will not the grand object of the whole community be the production of uſeful and neceſſary commodities, and ultimately lead to FREEDOM, PEACE, *and* HAPPINESS.

CHAP. VIII.

HINTS ON THE ESSENTIALS OF A COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

EDUCATION.

Its importance.

143. THE happineſs and ſtability of every ſociety, entirely depends on the virtuous qualities of the individuals who compoſe it; and, if there be no influx of ſtrangers, the continuation or increaſe of the ſociety will depend on the riſing generations, who are ſucceſſively to become members of it. The mind receives it's moſt permanent impreſſions and habits during the period of nonage. The education of youth, therefore, is a matter of the higheſt importance to every ſociety. So very important is it, that, in my opinion, it ought to form a diſtinct department of the adminiſtration of a new colony.

Schools and apprenticeſhips.

144. For the inſtruction of ſuch children, either of the coloniſts, or of the natives, as may ſhew marks of genius and inclination for literature, it will be neceſſary to eſtabliſh ſchools. But, from what I have obſerved, it appears to me, that paternal care during childhood, and ſtrictly regulated appentice-

Digitized by Google

apprenticeſhips afterwards, would be found the moſt eligible mode of education for thoſe who wiſh to purſue the ordinary buſineſs of the colony; and who might receive ſufficient inſtruction, from their parents and maſters, in reading, writing, arithmetic and the principles of religion, as well as in the manual arts which they might chooſe to learn.

Coloniſts ſhould inſtruct natives.

145. And, in order to accelerate the civilization of the natives, every coloniſt ſhould undertake the education, both with reſpect to body and mind, of two negro children, to be received as apprentices, on certain conditions to be fixed by law. Theſe apprentices ought, at ſtated times, to be examined before the ſuperintendants of education, who ſhould be empowered to fix the time of their coming of age, after which they are to be entitled to all rights of members of the community, and to be accountable to the ſame, for their conduct. By ſuch means, a ſmall number of coloniſts might, within a few years, furniſh the community with a valuable acceſſion of negro members, inſtructed in chriſtianity, trained to regular habits and diurnal labour, and who would ſoon ſpread a taſte for ſuch acquirements, and purſuits, among their countrymen.

Schools and apprenticeſhips ſhould join practice with theory.

146. It were alſo to be wiſhed, that a ſchool for the natives of Africa were erected in ſome fertile part of Europe, where the cultivation of raw materials is more purſued than manufactures and commerce. To ſuch ſchool negro children might be ſent to be trained up, till a certain age for an active, ſocial life, and returned to the colony, when their elementary inſtruction may have prepared them for ſuch apprenticeſhips, as have been juſt mentioned. Along with the theory of religion, they ſhould be taught the practice of it, in order to form them for union with

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VIII.

their Creator, and harmony with ſociety.—All their exerciſes, bodily and mental, ſhould be directed to ſocial and religious uſes. Thus their underſtandings would be gradually opened; practice would follow theory, and action ſpring from inſtruction. In ſhort, it appears to me, that the children ſhould be taught, not only the general principles, but the *actual practice*, of cultivating land, making bricks, building houſes, and of the moſt common and neceſſary trades, ſuch as thoſe of taylors, blackſmiths, &c*. Such a courſe would tend much more to form their minds for uſeful, ſocial purpoſes, and for ſpreading civilization in their own country, than the moſt refined literary accompliſhments. Not that I would wiſh book-learning to be excluded from this plan; but, unleſs the pupil manifeſt uncommon talents, and an earneſt deſire for purſuing ſcience or literature, I would certainly confine him to reading, writing and common arithmetic.

African children already ſent to Europe for education.

147. The deſire of the Africans to have their children educated in Europe, appears from their voluntarily ſending them over for that purpoſe. There are generally from fifty to ſeventy of theſe children at ſchool in Liverpool, beſides thoſe who come to London and Briſtol, " to learn ſenſe and

* In the commercial academy of Hamburgh, which I have viſited, and which is now conducted by the very able Profeſſors Buſh and Ebeling, the moſt eſſential mechanical arts are taught, both in theory and practice; and that academy, *mutatis mutandis*, offers an excellent model for ſuch a one as I recommend.—Forſter laments that O'Mai, a native of O'Taheitee, though he ſpent near two years among the *faſhionable circles* in London, was not taught the uſe even of the moſt eſſential mechanical implements. Being unable, therefore, to be uſeful to his countrymen, it was fit that he ſhould be furniſhed with the means of amuſing them; and he accordingly carried out a portable organ, an electrical machine, a coat of mail and a ſuit of armour!—His countryman, Aotourou, whom M. de Bougainville brought to France, died there, after receiving an education equally inſignificant!—Forſter's Voyage, Preface.

get

Digitized by Google

get a good head," as they expreſs it. After receiving a common ſchool education, they return to Africa, where they endeavour to dreſs and live in the European manner; and they value themſelves much, and are reſpected by their countrymen, on account of their European education*. Many African children were formerly ſent to France for the ſame purpoſe.

RELIGION.

148. At a time, when ſuch differences of opinion prevail among all ranks of people, in civilized nations, in conſequence of their unſettled notions concerning God; it might be eſteemed preſumptuous in me to offer any opinion of my own on this momentous ſubject.

African idea of God.

149. I ſhall therefore content myſelf with mentioning what I have been able, with my utmoſt aſſiduity, to collect of the opinion of the Africans on this ſubject. They believe ſimply that there exiſts one God, the Creator and Preſerver of all things; and, in order to fix their ideas, they think on God, in ſome form or other; for, to believe in any thing without form, they ſeem to think is to believe in nothing. Yet, although ſome of them appear to conſider the ſun as the emblem of God, for they turn their faces towards it when praying, they ſeem all to believe, that God muſt be a man, or in human form; as they cannot think of any more perfect or reſpectable form to compare him with. How eaſy would it be to bring a people already prediſpoſed, by their natural diſpoſitions and principles, to receive chriſtianity, the baſis of which is a confidence in one God,

* Privy Council's Report, part I. detached pieces of evidence N. 4.—I received a ſimilar account, by letter, from the late Mr. R. Norris of Liverpool.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VIII.

and that this God is manifeſted in the perſon of Jeſus Chriſt?

Toleration recommended.

150. All that I can venture to offer on this head, to the conſideration of the founders and directors of any new colony, is diligently to look out for the moſt active, ſocial and virtuous perſons, as the firſt coloniſts; taking care to promote early and regular marriages as the very foundation of all ſocial order. For experience ſhews, that the irregularities, which neceſſarily reſult from a celibacy, are the primary cauſes of moſt of thoſe diſorders which too frequently convulſe civil ſocieties.—The reſt ſhould be left to the Providence of the Lord, who is the only ſearcher of hearts; allowing, with a generous toleration, the coloniſts to ſettle this *very delicate* matter among themſelves, free from all external reſtraint or impoſition from any one quarter whatſoever.

EMPLOYMENTS.

Employment prevents vice.

151. It is a trite obſervation, that "people who have nothing to do, will do miſchief." To prevent idleneſs, therefore, is to prevent vice, which may be much more eaſily excluded from an infant ſociety, than eradicated from an old one, where it has already taken root and borne it's peſtiferous fruits. For this grand purpoſe, I can think of no means likely to be ſo effectual as the formation of a diſtinct department, in the government or direction, which ſhall have for it's object, the ſtudy of the characters and inclinations of the youth, with a view to their inſtruction in occupations neceſſary in the colony. It ſhould alſo be the buſineſs of the ſame board, to provide employment for grown perſons, male and female, the frequent want of which, in moſt countries in Europe, gives riſe to many, or moſt, of thoſe vices and crimes which infeſt ſociety. Thus the object

Digitized by Google

ject for this department in the government ſhould be employment for *men*, for *women* and for *children*.

CONTRACTS AND LAWS.

152. All ſocial harmony depends on a ſtrict and faithful obſervance of contracts, which form the true baſis of all laws.

Marriage contracts.

153. The contract between married partners, is the firſt and moſt important, in the order of nature. Marriage is the primary ſeminary of the individuals, or component parts, of ſociety, of which the contract is the elementary bond; and it ought to be held ſacred accordingly. Conjugal fidelity, which is ever accompanied with a parental care of children, is much more intimately connected with ſocial felicity, than many perſons in this depraved age appear to believe. Yet it ſeems to be ſufficiently evident, that the man who violates conjugal and family contracts, will not eaſily be brought to perform ſocial contracts. If he diſregard the ſtrong and natural obligations of huſband and father, the weaker and more artificial bonds of ſociety will ſcarcely be able to reſtrain him within the limits preſcribed by it's laws.

Social contracts.

154. The next ſpecies of contracts is that which takes place between individuals not naturally related, as between maſter and ſervant, maſter and apprentice, employer and employed, buyer and ſeller, &c.

Civil contracts.

155. In order to promote the tranquillity and increaſe of a new colony, the relation between the ſociety at large and it's governors (that is the directors, choſen by the coloniſts and ſubſcribers) ought, in every particular, to be fixed and defined by expreſs contract. Nothing ought to be left to the implied conſent of the governed, or to the mere will, or diſ-

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VIII.

diſcretionary power of the governors; for it is eaſy to ſee, that a looſe and indeterminate relation would ſoon give riſe to mutual uneaſineſs and jealouſy. To dwell on this important ſubject, at the preſent juncture, may be a matter of ſome delicacy. But as our object is nothing leſs than the felicity of, perhaps, whole communities, I venture to ſubmit to the conſideration of perſons, diſpoſed to think deeply on this point, a hint which may be found calculated to preſerve in a new colony, that equilibrium between governors and people which ſeems now to be declining in ſome civilized communities, and in others to be entirely deſtroyed—The hint is this: to lay into the ſcale of the governors (viz. the court of directors) the RIGHTS of *propoſing* and *executing;* and into the ſcale of the people, the RIGHTS of *deliberating* upon and *determining*, every matter propoſed. Propoſitions might alſo originate with individuals; but, come from whomſoever they may, they ſhould be fully and publicly canvaſſed, before they are ſubmitted, by the directors, or colonial governors, to the ſubſcribers and coloniſts. Propoſitions, however, ſhould always come before a general meeting, through the organ of the directors who will be beſt able to place them in a true light, to judge of their general tendency, and of their application to local circumſtances, of which the government alone has the means of being extenſively informed. The governors (or directors) nevertheleſs, ſhould not have the right of concealing any propoſitions from the ſubſcribers and coloniſts, or their proxies, to whom the right of ultimately rejecting or approving them ought to belong.

Political balance.

Laws founded on contracts.

156. All order among men in ſociety depends entirely upon *laws* wiſely formed, and duly executed, and legiſlation, as we have juſt ſeen, is primarily founded on contracts.

Digitized by Google

tracts. Without laws ſo framed and executed, no comprehenſive deſign can be promoted or accompliſhed; nor can the community exert that united ſtrength which it's ſubſiſtence and ſecurity indiſpenſably require. Nothing therefore can be more important than due ſocial ſubordination, which depends eſſentially on the form and organization of it's internal order, and the prompt, impartial and exemplary execution of the laws. Without this, a ſociety (if it would deſerve the name) would be nothing but a chaos of diſcordant elements, and deſtructive paſſions. But in the ſame proportion as vices are prevented or reſtrained, and evil habits corrected or eradicated, by wholeſome laws, the civilization and improvement of the people are promoted, and the deſign of the ſocial union ſecured.

Laws.

157. All *laws* may be reduced to the following claſſes, viz. *judicial, political* and *œconomical.*

Judicial.

158. (1.) *Judicial.* A community without laws of juſtice, may be compared to the body of a man without a head; that is, to ſomething ſo monſtrouſly and unnaturally defective, that it's exiſtence would imply a contradiction. Accordingly no nation, which is more or leſs civilized, is deſtitute of diſtinct ideas concerning *good* and *evil*; however thoſe ideas may be limited and diverſified. Nor does there exiſt any ſuch nation which does not endeavour to encourage the free courſe of moral and ſocial good, and to prevent or eradicate the oppoſite evils; and this in a greater or leſs conformity to the laws of the decalogue, which is the moſt ancient and univerſal code.

Political.

159. (2.) *Political*, or laws of *police.* Every community is compoſed of individuals in greater or ſmaller numbers, and diſtributed into different claſſes or orders, all of which muſt, each in his proper ſphere, co-operate with the reſt, in order

CHAP. VIII.

order to give ſtrength, conſiſtency and regularity to the whole. For a community without political laws, is like a head without a body, or like ſome heterogeneous being, that poſſeſſes neither form nor order.

Œconomical.

160. (3.) *Œconomical.* Theſe reſemble a man's cloaths, for, like them, they may not only be changed, to adapt them to new circumſtances; but a ſociety without them is like a naked man, expoſed to every inclemency of the weather.——I need therefore ſcarcely to add, that a department for the execution of contracts and laws ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the government or direction.

EXTERNAL WORSHIP.

External worſhip.

161. If chriſtianity is to be promoted and encouraged, in a new colony, it ſeems indiſpenſably neceſſary that the order which characterizes this divine religion ſhould be obſerved, in it's outward forms or rites. This order may be reduced to the three following primary articles of external worſhip, under which all the more minute parts may be compriſed.

I. *Baptiſm,* or the firſt ceremony of introduction into a chriſtian community, ordained by the great Inſtitutor of chriſtianity himſelf.

II. *Confirmation,* a ceremony performed when a perſon comes of age, and is thenceforth to be anſwerable, for his own conduct and actions, to the community.

III. *The holy ſupper,* an ordinance of the greateſt importance, on the right and ſincere uſe of which depends entirely the union of every individual with his Creator.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VIII.

HEALTH.

Health.

162. If what has been remarked on the ſubject of health (in Chap. VI.) has had due weight with the reader, he will ſee the neceſſity of inſtituting a diſtinct department, in the government or direction, to ſuperintend it. This department will have under their inſpection,

I. *The practice of medicine,* in curing internal diſeaſes; and, as this is connected with the mental, as well as the corporeal, powers of man, it includes alſo phyſiology and the kindred ſciences.

II. *The practice of ſurgery,* for the external, or the merely mechanical derangements of the human ſyſtem. It may include midwifery and it's ſiſter arts.

III. *The practice of pharmacy,* for the preparation of drugs and medicines.

CULTIVATION.

Cultivation of raw materials.

163. In addition to what has been remarked on cultivation (§ 131 *et ſeq.*) it does not ſeem neceſſary to add more than that there ought to be in the direction, a department for promoting, in a ſyſtematic, œconomical and ſcientific manner, the production of raw materials,

I. *Of the animal kingdom,*
II. *Of the vegetable kingdom,*
III. *Of the mineral kingdom.*

MANUFACTURES.

Colonial manufactures to be encouraged.

164. It is needleſs to exhauſt time in ſhowing that, in every conceivable mode of civilized life, the manufactures ſubſervient to food, cloathing, lodging and domeſtic accommodation, are abſolutely neceſſary.—Thoſe articles muſt either be procured from abroad, or fabricated at home.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VIII.

The former mode of ſupply encourages external commerce, the latter internal induſtry. Commerce ſhould riſe out of, or follow, internal induſtry; but ſhould never be ſuffered to precede it, as it would do, if reſorted to for articles which a country has hands enough to fabricate.—Beſides, external commerce tends to injure, and internal induſtry, properly regulated, to promote morality and civilization. In every African colony, therefore, all the hands that can be ſpared from cultivation, ſhould be employed in the arts neceſſary to prepare apparel, buildings, furniture, tools and ſuch articles of food as require ſome artificial proceſs. The natives, whom I always ſuppoſe mixed with the coloniſts, will thus not only be excited to uſe articles manufactured in the European manner, but will be taught to fabricate them with their own hands; and, having the paths of honeſt induſtry opened to them, will no longer depend, as too many of them have hitherto done, on a pernicious traffic, for a precarious ſupply of foreign goods, baubles and traſh. In ſhort, next to agriculture, their taſte for, and employment in, uſeful manufactures will be the moſt effectual means of promoting their civilization. (See § 36, 37.) It ſeems neceſſary, therefore, that there ſhould be a department, in the government or direction, to ſuperintend and inſpect the manufactures, to deliberate on the introduction of new ones, and to encourage, by rewards, or otherwiſe, thoſe which they may deem it expedient to eſtabliſh.

COMMERCE.

Commerce.

165. This article, like ſeveral of the preceding, has been pretty largely treated of in Chap. VII. (ſee § 113, *et ſeq.*) whence may be ſeen the neceſſity of inſtituting a diſtinct department in the direction to promote,

I. *The*

Digitized by Google

I. *The internal, or colonial, trade.*
II. *The exportation commerce,*
III. *The importation commerce;*

to promote them, I mean, in ſuch a manner, that ſurplus produce may be taken off by exportation, without interfering with the neceſſary and ample ſupply of the colony. By *promoting*, however, I do not mean any thing like an excluſive ſurrender of the colonial commerce into the hands of the directors; but only that they ſhould watch over, or, as the name of their office imports, *direct* the general courſe of commerce to the general good, leaving to individuals the full, free and open exerciſe of all *legal*, commercial purſuits.

DEFENCE.

Internal polity and defence, by frankpledge.

166. On the internal polity and external defence of a new colony, I have beſtowed much thought; and, on the whole, the ancient Engliſh ſyſtem of frankpledge appears to me to be the beſt calculated to ſecure both theſe objects*.

167. In this, as in many other particulars, I ſo entirely agree with the Right Hon. Paul le Meſurier, the preſent worthy and ſpirited Lord Mayor of London, that I hope he will pardon me for taking the liberty to inſert an extract from a few haſty, but judicious remarks, with which he was pleaſed to honour me.—"The common law and polity of England," ſays his lordſhip, "being founded on the ſyſtem offrankpledge, will naturally form the baſis of the internal

* This ſyſtem is explained at large in "An account of the conſtitutional Engliſh polity of congregational courts," &c. by the excellent Granville Sharp, Eſq. who has applied it to the caſe of a new colony, in his "Short ſketch of temporary regulations for Sierra Leona."

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VIII.

government of the colony.—It may be divided into diſtricts, each to contain, as near as can be, 50,000 acres, or 100 grand lots, and be ſubdivided into tythings of 5000 acres, or 10 grand lots each. Every diſtrict to have one head conſtable, and every tything, one petty conſtable, or tything man, who ſhould have power to call the tything together, on every emergency.—The head conſtable to be captain of the militia in his diſtrict, and to nominate ſuch of the tything men under him, as he ſhould chuſe for officers.—Every proprietor, or proprietors, of 500 acres to furniſh one man for the militia, whereby there would, in every diſtrict, be 100 militia; and the civil police there would conſiſt of one head, and ten petty, conſtables.—The tything man to be elected annually in each tything; but the head conſtable to be named annually by the preſident and council, to be poſſeſſed at leaſt of 500 acres, and to be reſponſible, to the preſident and council, for the ſafety and peace of the diſtrict; as the tything men would be reſponſible to him, for that of their reſpective tythings.—In parts of the colony diſtant from the ſeat of government, it may be proper for the preſident and council to name a chief, who might have the power of a juſtice of peace, and be alſo at the head of the militia of the ſeveral diſtricts under his inſpection; and where his command was extenſive, he ſhould be aſſiſted by proper perſons to collect the taxes, if any, ſuperintend the public works, and ſee that the orders of government were duly executed, &c. The chief and his aſſiſtants to have ſome ſalary; but the head conſtable, tything men, &c. to ſerve without ſalary."

168. "Wherever there ſhall be towns eſtabliſhed, that contain 500 or more males, above the age of fifteen, every ſuch town to be conſidered as a diſtrict in itſelf, wherein every

Digitized by Google

every ten families ſhall conſtitute a tything, and ſhall annually chuſe a tything man who ſhall act as conſtable; and, from among the tything men ſo choſen, the preſident and council ſhall annually nominate a mayor and three aldermen, who ſhall preſide over the town, and take charge of the police for the year.—Each family, in every town, ſhall alſo be obliged to find a man for the militia; and they ſhall be enrolled and exerciſed under ſuch perſons, from among their own townſmen, as the preſident and council ſhall annually appoint, who, as well as the mayor and aldermen, ſhall ſerve without ſalary, fee or reward."

169. To theſe valuable hints from his lordſhip, I have only to add, that the defence of the colony ought to be committed to a diſtinct department of the government or direction, in order to protect the colony from hoſtile attacks by *land*, by *ſea* or by *noxious animals*.

FINANCES.

170. Many may think that in a colony or community, where the public good is the intereſt of every individual, a public treaſury would not be a material conſideration. But when the neceſſity of the three following inſtitutions is conſidered, it will ſoon be found, not only that the raiſing of colonial finances will come to be unavoidable, but alſo that a board of the direction muſt be eſtabliſhed for applying them to theſe neceſſary uſes, viz.

I. *Public charities*, ſuch as public inſtitutions for orphan children, for all uſeful perſons after the age of ſixty, or when they become incapable of labour; for hoſpitals, &c.

II. *Public works uſeful, ornamental and recreative*, ſuch as public buildings, highways, bridges, harbours, gardens, &c.

III.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VIII.

III. *Public defence*, such as fortifications, arms, ammunition, &c.

POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS.

Political arrangements,

171. Comprizing also foreign affairs. This is placed the last of all public functions, because it is the link by which every individual within a colony, and every colony with it's mother country, neighbours, and other countries, are connected together in relations whose basis is, or ought to be, mutual friendship and assistance. The order which connects individuals in society is called *police* and *polity*; and that which connects nations and colonies, *politics*. Both are equally necessary, and require specific departments in the direction; the two former, namely *police* and *polity*, are referred to the 4th department in the 1st class, § 179; the fuctions of the last, or *politics*, may be referred to the three following objects.

I. *The political balance*, between the colonists, or subscribers, and the direction, or the government, both in the colony, and in Europe.

II. The political balance, between the colonial establishment, and other mercantile companies, or colonies, in Europe, or elsewhere.

III. The political balance, between the colonial establishment, and the neighbouring African nations, which require a different mode of intercourse and treatment, as being uncivilized.

CHAP.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. IX.

SPECIFIC PROPOSITIONS APPLIED TO THE CASE OF A NEW COLONY.

——————Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum. HOR. DE ART. POET.

172. IN the seventh chapter, I have made such observations as appeared to me useful and expedient, for the first establishment of a new colony in Africa; and in the eighth, I have delivered my opinion respecting some of the permanent regulations. Still some of my readers may perhaps expect a more specific and practical plan than what I have yet proposed; for most men are much assisted in comprehending and deciding upon a subject, by having it reduced to something like a system. It hath been well observed, by Dr. Watts, that method and system, though lately too much neglected, are nevertheless excellent auxilliaries to the mind, in forming an adequate idea of any subject that comprises many mutually dependent parts. And, if there be any subject in which system is *peculiarly* necessary, the science of government is certainly that subject. To gratify (therefore the lovers of order) I insert, with a few necessary alterations, the following Propositions, which I had the honour to lay before the subscribers to the Bulama Association, for their consideration, at a meeting held on the 29th of April 1794.

PROPOSITION I.

173. That those who may be disposed to subscribe to such an undertaking, form themselves into a company

FOR

Digitized by Google

CHAP. IX.

FOR CULTIVATING AND RAISING

TROPICAL PRODUCTIONS

on the weſtern coaſt of Africa, between the 6th and the 14th degrees of north latitude *.

174. That ſuch company ſelect from among themſelves a court of directors to manage the whole concern; to ſell land; to engage coloniſts; to receive money or commodities; to pay money, and diſpoſe of commodities; to appoint their own officers and agents, both in Europe and in the colony; to ſend out veſſels, to trade wherever it may be found beneficial for the whole concern, &c. and to lay a proper and ſatisfactory account of their proceedings, before a general meeting of the ſubſcribers, every year.

175. The directors of this court ought to conſiſt of two claſſes.—*The firſt claſs* ſhould have the care of the cultivation of the people, or the introduction of morals and civiliz-

* My reaſons for ſelecting this part of the coaſt, for the ſubject of my book and map are—1ſt, That it is much nearer to Europe than any equally productive portion of the coaſt.—2dly, That owing to the trade-wind and currents, as well as the ſmaller diſtance, voyages to and from this part, can be performed ſooner than to parts lower down, and incomparably ſooner than to any iſland in the Weſt Indies (ſee § 6, note)—3dly, That the harbours are better on this part, than any known harbours on the Weſtern coaſt of Africa.—4thly, That this part of the coaſt is more fertile than any part convenient for European navigation, and particularly than the tract of coaſt immediately to the northward of it.—5thly, That the inhabitants appear, upon the whole, to be more diſpoſed to peace and induſtry, than on any other portion of the coaſt.—6thly, That very little of this portion of the coaſt is occupied, or claimed, by European powers.—7thly, That this part is leſs infeſted by the ſlave-trade, than any other portion of the coaſt, where that traffic is at all carried on.—8thly, That, on account of navigable rivers and the good diſpoſition of the the inland people, the interior countries are more eaſily acceſſible, from this part of the coaſt than almoſt any other.

ation,

Digitized by Google

ation, together with every thing that regards moral order and regulations.—*The ſecond claſs* ſhould have the care of the cultivation of the ſoil of the colony, or the raiſing of productions, it's management, and the diſpoſal thereof.

176. If ſix directors were eſtabliſhed for each claſs, the buſineſs being more ſyſtematically divided, would be more eaſily managed. Each director ſhould be placed at the head of his particular department, and become anſwerable to the whole court of directors, as the whole court of directors ſhould be reſponſible to the ſubſcribers and the coloniſts at every general meeting.

177. By this mode of arranging the buſineſs, it will become neceſſary to have a general meeting, of the whole court, only once a quarter. Each claſs might meet once a month, and every director, as the head of his particular department, might manage the buſineſs in ſuch a manner as may beſt ſuit his convenience.

178. It ſeems to be the indiſpenſable duty of every director, not to reject any petitions, or propoſitions, that may be preſented to him, but to lay the ſame before the meeting of his claſs, with his own opinion thereon: and all ſuch petitions or propoſitions, preſented before that claſs to which they belong, ſhould be included in a report to the next quarterly meeting of a general court of directors, who are to decide upon the ſame, and which court ſhould direct that all ſuch papers ſhould be properly digeſted and entered in the general reports, which every year ſhould be laid before the ſubſcribers.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. IX.

THE FIRST CLASS,

which regards the cultivation, civilization and order of the people, and their preſervation in the colony and it's dependencies. This Claſs may be divided into the two following diviſions, and each of theſe into three departments.

FIRST DIVISION.

Promotive with reſpect to morals.

1. For promoting *regular marriages* in the colony, as the foundation of all ſocial order and true religion. This head depart. includes three kinds of duties.
   1. The adjuſtment of differences between married partners.
   2. The promoting and encouraging the marriage of young men.
   3. The promoting and encouraging the marriage of young women.

   } See § 150, 153.
2. For promoting *education and inſtruction*, which is the ſecond object of importance, and without which no civilization can take place. This department includes alſo three duties, viz.
   1. The preparatory or family educat. of children under 10 years.
   2. The education of boys, ſeparately, above ten years of age.
   3. The education of girls, ſeparately, above ten years of age.

   } See § 144 & *ſeq.*
3. For promoting *uſeful occupations or employments* in the colony. This is of eſſential conſequence, next to the two before mentioned, in order that the colony may flouriſh. The objects for this depart. are,
   1. Children.
   2. Men.
   3. Women.

   } See § 151.

SECOND DIVISION.

Executive with reſpect to order.

1. The executive department of the *laws*, viz.
   1. The laws of juſtice.
   2. The laws of police, and polity, (ſee § 166.)
   3. The Œconomical laws.

   } See § 152, & *ſeq.*
2. The executive department for the performance of the *healing art*, as comprehending
   1. The Medical.
   2. The Surgical.
   3. The Pharmaceutical.

   } See § 162.
3. The executive department for the performance of *external worſhip*, particularly in the three eſſential ordinances, viz.
   1. Baptiſm.
   2. Confirmation
   3. The holy ſupper.

   } See § 161.

Digitized by Google

THE SECOND CLASS,

which regards the cultivation of the ſoil and the preſervation of the colony. This Claſs, like that on the oppoſite ſide, may be divided into the two following diviſions, and each of theſe into three departments.

FIRST DIVISION.

Promotive with reſpect to practical art.

1. For promoting the *production of raw materials* in the colony from the three natural kingdoms, viz.
   1. Animal,
   2. Vegetable,
   3. Mineral.

   } See § 163.
2. For promoting the *internal trade and manufactures* of the colony, or the formation and the employment of the before mentioned raw productions for, the immediate uſe of the colony, reducible to
   1. Food,
   2. Cloathing,
   3. Building.

   } See § 164.
3. For promoting the *commerce* of the whole colony, viz.
   1. Their interior or colonial trade,
   2. The trade of exportation,
   3. The trade of importation.

   } See § 165.

SECOND DIVISION.

Executive with reſpect to peace.

1. The executive department for the *defence of the colony* when attacked
   1. By land,
   2. By ſea,
   3. By ferocious animals.

   } See § 166, & *ſeq.*
2. The executive department of *colonial finances* for defraying the expences of
   1. Public charities
   2. Public works
   3. Public defence

   } See § 170.
3. The executive department for all thoſe *political* affairs, whereby the colony muſt maintain its connection
   1. With its government or direction,
   2. With other companies or colonies,
   3. With it's neighbouring African nations.

   } See § 171.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. IX.

PROPOSITION II.

180. That the ſubſcribers do agree to ſell, or in the moſt advantageous manner, to diſpoſe of, all the land which they have purchaſed, or may purchaſe in Africa, upon ſuch conditions, and to ſuch perſons, as the court of directors ſhall approve of, as moral, good and uſeful coloniſts, and who ſhall chuſe to go out to ſettle, and to cultivate their purchaſed land within a certain limited time*.

181.

* This is nothing more than what took place in the iſlands of Grenada, Dominica, St. Vincent and Tobago ceded to Great Britain, in 1763. In theſe iſlands 174,000 acres of land were ſold by commiſſioners, authorized by the government, for £640,000 ſterling, or £3 : 11 : 8 per acre, being thirty times the price which the lands at Bulama have coſt the ſubſcribers: yet the purchaſers in the ceded iſlands were bound, under a heavy penalty, to clear and cultivate, at leaſt one acre in twenty, every year, till one half of the land they held was brought into cultivation. (See the evidence of Mr. Campbell and Mr. Greig in Minutes of Evidence before the Houſe of Commons in 1790, p. 166 and 221.)—Cultivation proceeded ſlowly in Antigua, till the colonial legiſlature of that iſland laid a tax of five ſhillings per acre, on all manurable lands that ſhould not forthwith be opened and cultivated. The effect was that every man exerted himſelf to the utmoſt, or ſold ſuch land as he could not cultivate; and thus, in a ſhort time, all the manurable lands in the iſland were bearing canes, cotton or other produce. (See Long's Hiſtory of Jamaica, Vol. I. p. 409.)—In ſhort, bad roads, ſcarcity of proviſions, the obſtruction of population, and the detriment of health, and inability or difficulty of defence, are the certain conſequences of ſuffering purchaſed lands to lie uncultivated in a colony, eſpecially an infant colony. For an account of the evils Jamaica has laboured under, from this cauſe, ſee Long, vol. I. p. 283, 405 *et ſeq.* 598.—See alſo Douglas's Hiſtory of New England, Poſtlethwayt's Com. Dictionary, Art. "Colonies" and "Paraguay."—Reaſons for eſtabliſhing the colony of Georgia, p. 15, 29, and Smith's Wealth of Nations, Vol. II. p. 370.

I know not whether I ought to mention that the iſland of Barbadoes, Antigua and ſome others, though they have been rendered incomparably healthier by being cleared, yet, having few or no *trees* to attract the clouds, have not ſuch plentiful and regular rains as formerly, and ſuffer much inconvenience from the want of timber. Certain portions of the ceded iſlands have, therefore, been reſerved in wood. Whether this conduct will be imitated or not in Africa, is not for me to determine. If it were,

Digitized by Google

181. That the firſt ſubſcribers may have it in their option, however, to go themſelves to the colony, and to ſettle as coloniſts, and then to be ſubject to the ſame conditions and terms as the other ſettlers; namely, to oblige themſelves to cultivate their purchaſed land within a certain limited time, at the expiration of which the land remaining uncultivated, whether belonging to ſettlers, or to ſubſcribers who are not ſettlers, ſhall be forfeited and diſpoſed of by the court of directors*.

PROPOSITION III.

182. That a coloniſt, his heirs, or executors may have equal rights, in every reſpect, with a £60 ſubſcriber, as ſoon as he has brought into a cultivated ſtate, within any ſpace of time, not exceeding three years, thirty-ſix acres of land; and that of a £60 ſubſcriber, who ſhall go out to the colony, and like the coloniſts, cultivate his land, ſhall enjoy the benefit of a double ſubſcription, or that of two ſubſcribers rights, in proportion to every thirty ſix acres of ground cultivated by him.

PROPOSITION IV.

183. That in conſequence of the third propoſition, there ought to be a court of directors in the colony, ſimilar to

were, I would not heſitate, to pronounce that the woods ſhould be ſacrificed to health; eſpecially as all kinds of proviſions and the ſmaller produce ſtill thrive very well in the drier iſlands.—But they are not ſo proper for ſugar-canes.

* To reſide in one part of the world, and to cultivate land in another, will never promote a colonial intereſt, as ſuch cultivation muſt evidently be by agents or managers, who will not have an intereſt in the proſperity of the colony, like ſettled coloniſts, or thoſe who ſuperintend their own buſineſs on the ſpot; and the former caſe, it is more than probable, would, ſooner or later, end in tyranny and ſlave-flogging, to the total diſſolution of all colonial order and ſocial virtue.

that

Digitized by Google

CHAP. IX.

that in Europe, the two courts having a combined intereſt with each other. That theſe two courts, or diviſions of the company, thus acting in perfect harmony or union, one in Europe, and the other in the colony, ſhould be ſo arranged, that the former may have the general adminiſtration of every thing that regards *the deliberation upon, and regulation of, the general affairs;* and that the latter may have the ſuperintendance or direction of ſuch local adminiſtration of the affairs as may regard the *active, practical* or *executive* province in the colony. That only half the directors, both in Europe, and in the colony, ſhould go out at every new election, in order that the court may always be provided with perſons properly acquainted with the affairs of the colony.

PROPOSITION V.

184. That after the firſt election of directors, or after two years, none ſhould be elected but thoſe who have at leaſt once viſited the colony, in order that the directors may be properly qualified, by their knowledge of the local ſituation and practical ſtate of the colony, to manage the direction in Europe*.

PROPOSITION VI.

185. All kinds of oaths to be aboliſhed, from the very be-

* Thoſe who object to the ſhare the coloniſts will, on this plan, have in the direction, will do well to conſider, that the preſent Britiſh colonies in the Weſt Indies lay their own *taxes*, and make their own *internal laws*, which can be reverſed by no authority inferior to that of the King in Council, and that *only when* they are repugnant to the laws and conſtitution of Great Britain.—The late Britiſh colonies in North America enjoyed the ſame privileges.—Abſentees from the Britiſh ſugar iſlands have no vote in the colonial legiſlatures, and thoſe from Jamaica are additionally obliged, by a law of that iſland, to pay their "attornies," or factors, ſix per cent. of the value of the produce of their eſtates, which operates as a heavy tax on them for deſerting their civil and military duties in the Iſland. See Long's Hiſtory of Jamaica, Vol. I. p. 387, &c.

ginning

Digitized by Google

ginning of the colony, as they do not ſeem to be neceſſary, when matters are arranged and managed in ſuch an equilibrium, that there are checks upon every action and proceeding, both of the court of directors, and of the inhabitants of the colony *.

PROPOSITION VII.

186. That commerce may be free, as well that of the company, carried on by the court of directors, as that of the coloniſts; ſo that, on either ſide, there may be an equal right of trade. Any perſon who ſhould be found to deal in ſlaves, to be expelled immediately from the colony.

PROPOSITION VIII.

187. That new ſubſcriptions to the Bulama undertaking may be opened upon the ſame plan as the former, viz. at £60 per 500 acres, in order to avoid unequal ſhares, and that another expedition may be undertaken, as ſoon as the advanced ſtate of their ſubſcriptions, and of the neceſſary preliminaries, conſpire with the ſeaſon to render the ſame adviſeable.

* I have been credibly informed, that there are, in London and Weſtminſter above 30,000 lawyers, attornies, and pettifoggers. And I have been led, by my enquiries, to full conviction, that a great proportion of them is maintained in conſequence of abuſed oaths. But this is not all: moſt people muſt have heard of the practice of Jew-bail and the trade of affidavit-men; and the farce of cuſtom-houſe oaths is not leſs ridiculous than it is ſhocking. Mr. Locke and other great men, here and elſewhere, have lamented the multiplicity of oaths required by the laws of moſt nations; but hitherto, it would ſeem, too much in vain. Sure I am, that, among honeſt men, they are unneceſſary; and that rogues regard them as an empty form. Why then introduce into an infant community, a practice which long experience has proved to be unneceſſary or futile?—But, if oaths are to be adminiſtered, none but men of known integrity ſhould be allowed to make that ſacred appeal.

188. It

Digitized by Google

CHAP. IX.

188. It ſhould be propoſed that ſuch perſons as are willing to ſubſcribe, may do it either in commodities or money, at their option; for I have met with many perſons who would gladly have ſubſcribed in goods, but who could not ſpare the money from their buſineſs. Subſcriptions ſhould therefore be opened in ſuch commodities as are likely to be hereafter the produce of the new colony; ſuch as ſugar, cotton, coffee, indigo, tobacco, rice &c. and the court of directors immediately to take charge of the ſale of theſe articles, at the moſt advantageous price for the company. And in order that thoſe who ſubſcribe in commodities may not obtain more favourable conditions than others, the price of the commodities may be fixed at a par between the buying and ſelling price, to which ten per cent. ſhould be added, as a compenſation for the riſk and trouble of the court in the diſpoſal of them; the company to receive all the benefit, or ſuſtain all the loſs, that may ariſe from the ſale of them. Suppoſe that 2400lb. of muſcovado ſugar is purchaſed at 5d. a pound, and ſold at 7d.—then 6d. a pound would be the average price, and would make out exactly £60. which is the price of a ſhare of 500 acres; but as it would be an additional trouble to the court to convert theſe 2400lb. of muſcovado ſugar into ready money, there ſhould be added 10 per cent. conſequently to pay a ſhare of 500 acres of land, according to £60 per ſhare, with ſugar inſtead of money, it would be firſt — 2400lb.
and 10 per cent. additional — 240lb.

2640lb.

of ſugar to be paid into the company's ſtorehouſe for a ſhare of 500 acres;—the ſame plan to be followed, with reſpect to all other goods.

PRO-

Digitized by Google

CHAP. IX.

PROPOSITION IX.

189. That every aſſociation for forming colonies in Africa, ought to act connectedly and in harmony with the Sierra Leona company, and every ſimilar eſtabliſhment; ſo combining their intereſts, that every reſolution, taken in the general court of directors of any one company, ſhould be generouſly communicated to the others; and, when a general election is held, and new reſolutions taken into conſideration, that two of the Directors of every ſuch company ſhould be invited to be preſent.

PROPOSITION X.

190. That no other currency be introduced, from the commencement of the colony, but that recommended in the judicious plan of that friend of mankind, Granville Sharp, Eſq. founded on *labour**, which will tend to create and encourage an activity for raiſing uſeful productions, better than any other method. This plan, it is evident, may be adapted, or made applicable, to all the pecuniary tranſactions that can take place in the largeſt community.—If gold and ſilver ſhould be ever introduced, they ſhould never appear in the form of any coin; but ſhould circulate according to their weight and intrinſic ſtandard.—See § 142. Query LI.

PROPOSITION XI.

191. In order compleatly to ſecure ſocial virtue and order in the colony, the ancient and venerable Engliſh ſyſtem

* See "Sketch of temporary regulations for Sierra Leona," where the worthy author recommends *day*-labour; but I prefer *piece-work* which in all, or in moſt, caſes, may be as eaſily accommodated to the intended purpoſe as day-labour.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. IX.

of frankpledge ſhould alſo be introduced; but with ſome alteration to adapt it to the preſent ſtate of things *.

PROPOSITION XII.

192. The company ought to keep a compleat ſtore-houſe in the colony, containing a proper aſſortment of articles ſuited to that part of the coaſt: and, in order to give ſpirit and ſupport to every active and uſeful coloniſt, there ſhould be a *diſcounting account* in articles kept for the general uſe of the colony, that thoſe coloniſts who have abilities, but no means, may obtain ſuch articles, to a certain limited extent, under the direction of the company.

PROPOSITION XIII.

193. When in proceſs of time, taxes come to be raiſed in the colony, partly for the maintenance of public order, (ſee § 170,) and partly for raiſing ſuch revenue to the ſubſcribers as may afford them a liberal, but ſpecific, indemnification for riſking and lying out of their property, it is propoſed that the following ground for taxing may be obſerved, by which the overbearing influence of commerce, to the prejudice of more uſeful and neceſſary occupations in the colony, may be prevented, viz.

194. That the inhabitants of the colony may be divided into three diſtinct claſſes: the firſt, *producers*, or cultivators of raw materials, ſuch as ſugar, coffee, cotton, indigo, ſpices, cattle, corn or any other kind of productions in their firſt ſtate. The ſecond, the *tradeſmen or manufacturers* in the co-

* Society is alſo indebted to Mr. Sharp for illuſtrating and recommending the adoption of that excellent ſyſtem. See his Treatiſe on Congregational Courts. —Alſo § 167.

lony,

Digitized by Google

lony, who form the before-mentioned raw materials or productions by means of induſtry into ſome ſhape for uſe; and the third or laſt, the claſs of *merchants* in the colony, who are chiefly occupied in traffic and negociation, both within and without the colony. It is of very great importance, that every inhabitant, from the beginning, may claſs himſelf yearly under either of theſe three, and that the impoſts may be laid by the colonial legiſlature, in ſuch proportion, that the firſt claſs be taxed the loweſt, and the laſt the higheſt, and that the right of voting, in all caſes, ſhall be confined to the firſt claſs only*.

PROPOSITION XIV.

195. That no coloniſt be allowed to poſſeſs more than a certain portion of land, ſay acres†.

PROPOSITION XV.

196. That, in order to prevent certain obvious irregularities, as much as poſſible, every coloniſt that remains unmarried after the age of years, ſhall pay a tax to the community of per cent. on his property, and all married people ſhall be encouraged in that ſtate by an exemption from certain taxes.

PROPOSITION XVI.

197. That no coloniſt be arreſted or impriſoned for debt,

* See the Plan of a free Community on the Coaſt of Africa, entirely independent of all European laws and Government, 4to. 1789, p. 23.

† "Experience has ſhown the inconvenience of private perſons poſſeſſing too large quantities of land in our colonies, by which means the greateſt part of it muſt lie uncultivated; and the inhabitants are thrown at ſuch a diſtance that they can neither aſſiſt nor defend one another." Reaſons for eſtabliſhing the Colony of Georgia, p. 29.—See the Note to Prop. II.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. IX.

at the inſtance of another; but that it may be the creditor's own fault, if he part with his property on truſt *.

PROPOSITION XVII.

198. That every uſeful mechanical invention, eſpecially ſuch as are calculated to abridge and facilitate human labour, in clearing and cultivating the ſoil, be particularly encouraged.—See § 132 *et ſeq.*

* Every individual belongs to the community, and not to any other individual. He cannot therefore be ſold for money, far leſs for credit; becauſe credit is often given by inſidious men, or debts bought up by them, in order to inveigle and confine their competitors; and competition is the very life of an induſtrious community. The number of perſons who are loſt to ſociety, to their families and themſelves, by impriſonment for debt, is very great. Sixty years ago, it was calculated that four thouſand were annually caſt into priſon for debt in England, and that one third of their debts were never thereby recovered.—(See Reaſons for eſtabliſhing the Colony of Georgia, printed in 1733, page 18.) If the number of ſuch victims has increaſed, as it is natural to believe it has, with the trade of the kingdom during that period, few thinking men will be diſpoſed to rejoice at an extenſion of commerce which has brought ſuch an evil in it's train. I am, indeed, credibly informed that, in the beginning of the preſent year (1794) no fewer than 27,000 perſons were confined for debt in the gaols of England and Scotland. What a number to be thus ſhut up from the eyes, and, I fear, too often excluded from the hearts, of their fellow ſubjects!—But it is to be hoped that the promoters of colonization in Africa, will effectually prevent this afflicting evil from entering into any of their eſtabliſhments, always remembering that one of their primary objects is, *the abolition of the ſlave-trade!*—See § 142, Query LI.

CHAP.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

CHAP. X.

COLONIES FORMED IN AFRICA, ON THE PRINCIPLES OF COMMERCE, *by the Portugueſe, Spaniards, French, Dutch and Auſtrians.*

199. MOST men yield a readier aſſent to facts, ſhowing what has already been done, than to arguments, proving what it is practicable to do. For the information then of perſons who may be inclined to ſubſcribe, or to embark as coloniſts, in any new undertaking of this kind, it may not be improper to introduce into this work, a ſhort hiſtory of thoſe modern European colonies which have already been eſtabliſhed, or attempted, in Africa, on the principles of commerce, and of thoſe which are now forming on the principles of humanity *. But it ſeems unneceſſary to deſcribe the temporary ſettlements or factories.

THE PORTUGUESE †.

200. The Portugueſe explored the coaſt of Africa, before

* The intereſts of commerce and humanity were at firſt ſo ſucceſsfully reconciled by the Dutch, at the Cape of Good Hope, that the ſketch hereafter given of the firſt eſtabliſhment of their colony in that part of Africa, deſerves particular attention. Upon the whole, it appears to me to afford a very good model for forming colonies in general.

† The following ſhort account of the Portugueſe colonies in Africa, I have compiled from the Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis, London printed 1728.—Mortimer's and Poſtlethwayt's Commercial Dictionaries, both printed in London, 1766.—Tableau General de Commerce, Londres, 1787.—The Report of the Britiſh Privy Council, London 1789.—And the volumes already publiſhed of the Encyclopædia Britannica, 3d. edition now printing at Edinburgh.—It may be obſerved, however, that the preſent ſtate of Portugueſe Africa is different from what it was at the period which furniſhed the materials for theſe works.

any

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

Portugueſe firſt explored the African coaſt.

any other modern European nation; but from an ungenerous reſerve on the part of their government, or from ſome other cauſe unknown to me, they have been ſo ſparing in their communications, that I cannot pretend to deſcribe their colonies with that certainty and preciſion which I wiſh*. Among other cauſes of confuſion, unſettled orthography is not the leaſt. For example in the kingdom of Congo, we meet with Congo, Kakongo, Cango, Coango, names in the application of which geographers do not ſeem to be agreed. Thus much, however, is certain, that the Portugueſe poſſeſſions in Africa are far more important than thoſe of any other European nation; and that in the hands of an active people, they could not fail to become the ſources of immenſe power and opulence.

201. Portugueſe Africa, as it may not improperly be called, extends on the weſt from about 5 deg. of north lat. to 10, ſome ſay 15 deg. ſouth. Here, inſtead of being cooped up within the narrow limits of trading factories, as they are on other parts of the weſtern coaſt, they are ſettled in colonies, under a regular government, and have built ſeveral large and well fortified towns. The ſoil, which is rich and well watered, they have, in ſeveral places, taught the natives to cultivate; for this kind of inſtruction forms no conſiderable part of the policy of the Portugueſe clergy, who have taken

* I have the ſatisfaction of informing the reader, that ſince the above was written, the following ſketch has had the advantage of being reviewed, and corrected in a few places, by Colonel Bolts, a gentleman whoſe knowledge of the eaſtern parts of Africa is allowed by thoſe who have the honour of his acquaintance, to be very extenſive. Having ſpent many years in the eaſtern parts of the world, he publiſhed in 1772, "Conſiderations on India affairs," in three vols. 4to; and, I believe, he has it now in contemplation to lay alſo before the public the reſult of his perſonal and acquired knowledge of the Eaſt of Africa, not only of the coaſt, but of the inland country.

ſo

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

ſo much pains to convert the natives, that it is thought they have been the means of making many of them better chriſtians than themſelves. Thus much at leaſt appears, that the religion theſe fathers have taught the natives has contributed to ſoften their manners, if not to mend their morals, (See § 36, *et ſeq.* and § 146). As a proof of this, we are aſſured, that in many parts of this country, they are cloathed in the European faſhion, to which they are ſo habituated that, even were the Portugueſe to leave the country, they would not ſoon abandon it.

Awerri.

202. Awerri, though in the kingdom of Benin, is ſubject to the government of the Portugueſe, who have here a caſtle and a garriſon; alſo a church and a monaſtery. It is worthy of remark, that though the river of Benin is very fatal to the Engliſh and Dutch ſeamen who frequent it, yet the Portugueſe, who dwell farther within the country, do not experience any peculiar inſalubrity of climate. This is one inſtance, among many, which might be adduced, to make it probable, that the interior of almoſt all of the weſtern parts of Africa is more healthful than the coaſt. (See § 76, and 80.)

Angola.

203. Angola was firſt diſcovered by the Portugueſe in 1484. They afterwards conquered ſeveral of it's provinces, and rendered the native king tributary for the reſt, as his ſucceſſors have ſince continued. Their acquiſitions may extend 240 leagues along the coaſt, and, in ſome places, 100 within the land. The capital is St. Paul de Loanda, which has a good harbour. It is the ſeat of the government, and, every three years, receives a new governor from Portugal. The country has been cleared, drained and cultivated in ſo many places, as to improve it's climate very conſiderably. Some years ago, a number of people from Biſcay were ſent out to work the excellent iron mines in Angola; but they miſ-

carried,

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

carried, for want of proper ſupport. The Portugueſe in Angola, are ſaid to be able, at any time, to bring into the field 3000 well armed men, of their own nation. Their power is chiefly ſituated in the interior parts; for the trade of the coaſt of Angola, &c. has always been open; and thither the French, Engliſh and Dutch ſend yearly a conſiderable number of ſhips for ſlaves, &c.

Congo.

204. In 1484, Congo was diſcovered by Diego Cam, who, in behalf of his ſovereign, King John of Portugal, formed an alliance, with the King of Congo, which has continued to the preſent day, with ſome interruptions, on the part of the Portugueſe. Their chief town, St. Salvadore, is ſituated 150 miles up the river Congo, or Zaire, upon an eminence, in a country well cultivated and moſt uncommonly ſalubrious. (See § 76.) It is a very extenſive place, but not proportionably populous, as the houſes are intermixed with ſpacious gardens, which, doubtleſs, is one cauſe of it's ſalubrity. Yet it's inhabitants muſt be very numerous, as it is ſaid to have twelve churches and ſeven chapels, beſides the cathedral.

Loango and Benguela.

205. Of theſe countries I do not find any thing particular, except that Benguela is very unhealthful. They are under the power or influence of the Portugueſe; and, I believe, are generally included in deſcriptions of Congo and Angola.—In the interior parts of theſe laſt countries, it appears that the Portugueſe have many preſidios, or garriſons, who, with the aſſiſtance of the natives, have cleared and cultivated the land in their reſpective vicinities, raiſing maize, calavances, yams, bananas and other proviſions and fruits.

206. Many of the Portugueſe at Loando, Colombo, St. Salvadore and other places in this part of Africa are exceedingly rich. It is common for a Portugueſe to poſſeſs 50, 100 and

200

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

200 ſlaves, and ſome of the more opulent are the maſters even of 3000. A religious ſociety, at Loando are the proprietors of no fewer than 12,000 ſlaves, who being blackſmiths, joiners, turners, ſtone-cutters, &c. earn, by their work, from 4 to 500 rees per day, for the ſociety.—How far this ſort of revenue is compatible with the intention of ſuch an inſtitution, it is not my preſent buſineſs to enquire.

Miſſionaries.

207. In Congo, chriſtianity was preached ſoon after the arrival of the Portugueſe; and miſſionaries are ſtill well received there. Encouragements have been offered at different times, particularly in the beginning of the preſent reign, to the religious in the convents of Portugal, to labour in the converſion of the natives of Congo, Angola, and their other African poſſeſſions. Many miſſionaries have accordingly undertaken this pious work, at different times. Their ſucceſs appears to have been conſiderable, and, had they been ſteadily ſupported, there is reaſon to believe it would have been compleat. Many Portugueſe biſhops reſide in this part of Africa, and numbers of the natives have been regularly ordained prieſts.

Portugueſe ſlave-trade.

208. To the farther credit of that nation, it ought to be noted, that they carry on the ſlave-trade from the countries juſt mentioned, with as much humanity as it is poſſible to unite with ſuch a traffic. Great numbers of ſlaves who come from the remote inland countries, are ſhipped from Congo, Angola, &c. None, however, who belong to theſe laſt countries, are ſent as ſlaves to the Brazils, except black convicts; and even theſe, before they are put on board, are catechiſed and receive baptiſm, a rite which has been found to conſole their minds under their unhappy circumſtances. The Portugueſe ſlave-ſhips are never over crowded, and the ſailors are chiefly blacks, called *Negros Ladinos*, who

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

ſpeak their language, and whoſe buſineſs it is to comfort and attend the poor people on the voyage. The conſequences are, that they have little or no occaſion for fetters, ſo conſtantly uſed in the other European ſlave-ſhips, and that they perform their voyages from Angola, &c. to Brazil with very little mortality.

Portugueſe colonies on the Eaſt of Africa.

209. So vaſt are the territories poſſeſſed by, or tributary to, the Portugueſe on the eaſt of Africa, that they may, or might have been ſaid to be maſters of a great part of that whole coaſt. They are never interrupted there by any other European nation, except occaſionally by ſhips in diſtreſs, on their return from India; for, in going out, they ſteer quite another courſe*.

St. Martin, Puado.

210. The Portugueſe poſſeſſions on the Eaſt of Africa begin about 25° ſouth latitude, according to Poſtlethwayt. Here they trade for ivory and gold, and they abound ſo much with cattle, that they yearly furniſh numbers to the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope. St. Martin and Puado are two iſlands in the River Cumana, where the Portugueſe and the natives plant proviſions for the ſhipping, and whence they have ſome trade with the inland negroes.

Sofala.

211. The kingdom of Sofala extends about 30 leagues along the coaſt, and about 80 up the country. It is, or was governed by a Mahometan prince, tributary to the King of

* The Portugueſe, however, do not appear entirely to exclude other nations from a participation in ſome parts of the trade of the eaſtern parts of Africa. For, when I was at Havre de Grace in 1787, ſome ſlave-merchants in that city were ſending a few ſhips to Moſambique for ſlaves. They told me, that, although, in the long, cold and ſtormy voyage round the Cape of Good Hope, many more of the ſlaves died, than even in the paſſage from the coaſt of Guinea to the Weſt Indies; yet that their cheapneſs at Moſambique fully compenſated for their increaſed mortality.—So cooly do merchants talk of ſacrificing the lives of mankind, at the ſhrine of the "Mammon of unrighteouſneſs!!"

Portugal.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

Portugal. The ſands of the river of Sofala have a very conſiderable admixture of gold-duſt. The inhabitants of the town and kingdom of Sofala are a mixture of Mahometan Arabs, idolatrous caffres and bad Portugueſe chriſtians.

Great quantity of gold.

212. From the mines of Sofala, more than 2,000,000 of merigals of gold are ſaid to be yearly extracted, the value of which, M. Savary computes, at 28,000,000 livres Tournois, or £1,166,666 ſterling. Theſe riches are divided between the Portugueſe, the Arabians of Ziden and Mecca, and the native traders of Quiloa, Monbaſe and Melinda. Theſe laſt come in ſmall barks, called zambucks, bringing dyed and white cottons, ſilks, ambergris and ſuccinum, or yellow and red amber. The Arabians exchange goods from the Eaſt Indies and the Red ſea, to the amount of £140,000 ſterling per annum, for ivory and gold. The merchants of Sofala alſo exchange European and Aſiatic goods for the gold of the inland country of Monomotapa, which comes down in ſuch quantities, that the Portugueſe call the Prince of Monomotapa, *the golden emperor*.

Mongas.

213. On the weſt of Sofala, is the kingdom of Mongas, chiefly remarkable for the quantity of gold it yields, particularly at Maſſapa, Maninas, and the mountain of *Ophir*, whence, it is believed, Solomon's treaſures were brought*. At Maſſapa, the Portugueſe are ſettled, under the authority of the Governor of Mozambique.

Mount Ophir.

Mozambique.

214. This emporium, is on an iſland in latitude 15° ſouth (D'Anville.) It is extremely populous, one half of the inhabitants being Portugueſe and the reſt negroes. The iſland abounds with cattle, poultry, fruits and proviſions of

* Some, however, are of opinion that Solomon brought his gold from Sumatra, on the north end of which there is likewiſe a mountain which to this day is called Ophir.—See Bolts on Indian Affairs, Vol. I. p. 6.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

all kinds; ſo that, in this reſpect, it is a very proper place of refreſhment for the Portugueſe Eaſt Indian ſhips, eſpecially as the harbour is very good; but the air is reckoned none of the beſt. At Mozambique are numbers of monks, ſome of whom are frequently ſent, by the governor, to the oppoſite continent; not ſo much, it is ſtrongly ſuſpected, on ſpiritual errands, as to diſpoſe the natives to give his excellency good bargains of their gold, ivory and ebony.

215. When the European goods arrive at Mozambique from Portugal, they are taxed by the king's factor, who ſends them to Chilimani, at the mouth of the Senna, whence they go very far up the river, to a Portugueſe town, whither the Africans come, ſometimes from the diſtance of two or three months travel, to buy, or take on credit, the European goods, for a ſtipulated quantity of gold, and which they faithfully bring or ſend. This barter yields cent per cent, and indeed, may well be called the Chili and Peru of the Portugueſe; gold being ſo common, that, at a month's journey from the coaſt, houſehold utenſils and ornaments are frequently made of it. Of the trade of Mozambique, we may form ſome idea from the governor's duties which annually amount to between 60 and £70,000 ſterling; excluſive of the pay of the troops and garriſons; and of a conſiderable tribute annually remitted to the crown of Portugal.

Zanguebar. 216. Lamo, Pata and Ampaſa, on this coaſt, are, or were, governed by chiefs dependent on the Portugueſe.

Melinda. 217. This large country, was for many years, governed by a prince tributary to the ſame nation. But the circumſtances are now reverſed; for the Portugueſe are obliged to purchaſe by annual preſents, permiſſion to trade, and to explore the country for gold—a revolution probably cauſed partly

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

partly by the declenſion of the Portugueſe power, and partly by the advancement of the natives in the arts of commerce and policy, which made them ſenſible both of their own intereſts, and of their own ſtrength. The capital, likewiſe called Melinda, was wholly built by the Portugueſe, in the latitude of 5° ſouth (D'Anville) with a very good harbour, and a ſtrong citadel. It is a large city, ſaid to contain 30,000 Portugueſe, excluſive of natives, and 17 chriſtian churches, beſides religious houſes. From their ware-houſes, in Melinda, they ſupply the country with European goods to a vaſt diſtance inland, whence they procure ivory, in ſuch quantities as to load ſhips, with that commodity alone. Adjoining to Melinda, are five other kingdoms all tributary to the ſame nation; ſo that, in this part of Africa alone, the Portugueſe, in the zenith of their power, might have been ſaid to hold the ſovereignty of a country as large as Spain and Portugal together.

218. The natives, however, carry on ſome trade with their own veſſels, in which they frequent the Red ſea, and the ports of Arabia. They are alſo ſeen in the Indian ſeas, eſpecially at Cambaya, a maritime town in the territories of the Great Mogul. The Indians and Arabians, on the other hand, ſometimes brings them goods to Melinda. Yet the Portugueſe ultimately tranſact all the trade of Melinda, which is but little inferior to that of Mozambique. Gold from Sofala, ivory, copper, quickſilver, all ſorts of ſilks and cottons from Europe and the Eaſt Indies, ſpices, rice and other grain are the chief articles brought to Melinda.

Brava.

219. The inhabitants of Brava conſume great quantities of European manufactures; for they dreſs in the Portugueſe manner, like the people of Quiloa, and many other parts of this coaſt.

220.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

220. From Brava to Cape Guardafui, extends the coaſt of Ajan, and from thence to Raſbel, at the entrance of the Red ſea, the country is called Adel. Theſe vaſt territories abound in cattle, corn and fruits; and Ajan affords the Portugueſe ſeveral whole cargoes of ivory yearly. The inhabitants are, or were, partly tributary to the Portugueſe and partly ſubject to Mooriſh and Arabian princes*.

Ajan and Adel.

MADEIRA†.

221. The iſland of Madeira, is about 55 Engliſh miles long, and 10 broad, and was firſt diſcovered, A. D. 1419, by Joao Gonzales Zarco. It is divided into two capitanias, *Funchal* and *Maxico* (read Maſhico) each containing two judicatures. Funchal (in latitude 32° 33′ north), beſides the city of that name, contains 7 towns, and 26 pariſhes; and Maxico 3 towns and 17 pariſhes.

222. Madeira conſiſts of one large mountain, whoſe branches riſe every where from the ſea towards the centre, where there is an excavation, from which, and from the greater part of the ſtones being lava, it appears that a volcano has formerly exiſted here.

223. Many rivulets deſcend, from the ſummit, in deep chaſms, or glens. Their beds are in ſome places, covered with ſtones, brought down by the winter torrents of rain and melted ſnow. The water is conducted by wears into the vineyards, where ſome have it conſtantly, and others once, twice or thrice a week. The heats rendering irrigation abſolutely neceſſary, the planters of new vineyards are obliged to pay dear for water to thoſe who have a conſtant

* After all, I find it is believed, that the natives have diſpoſſeſſed the Portugueſe of moſt of their territorial acquiſitions on the *continent* of the Eaſt of Africa.

† Abridged from Forſter's Voyage round the World, Vol. I. p. 13. *et ſeq.*

ſupply.

Digitized by Google

ſupply.—Wherever a level can be formed on the hills, the natives plant eddoes (*arum eſculentum*, Linn.) incloſed by a dyke, to confine the moiſture. The hogs eat the leaves, and the natives, the roots.—The ſweet potato (*convolvulus batatas*, Linn.) is planted for the ſame purpoſe, and is a principal article of diet; together with cheſnuts which grow in extenſive woods, on grounds too high for vines. Wheat and barley are ſown, where the vines are decaying from age, or are newly planted. But, as the crops do not afford above three month's proviſions, corn is imported from America, in exchange for wine. The want of manure and induſtry are partly the cauſes of this defect; but, even were the cultivation perfect, it is believed, the iſland could not afford corn ſufficient for the inhabitants.

224. Where the ſoil, expoſure and ſupply of water admit, vines are cultivated. They are ſupported on a lattice-work of bamboos, about ſeven feet high, from which the grapes depend, and ripen in the ſhade; and hence the Madeira wines are believed to derive their excellent flavour and body. The beſt, called *Madeira Malmſey*, is made from a vine imported from Candia, by order of Don Henry, Infanté of Portugal. Only a ſmall quantity of this rich, ſweet wine is made; and it is ſold on the ſpot, for £40 and £42 ſterling the pipe. The next ſort is a dry wine, ſuch as is exported to London, at £30 and £31 ſterling per pipe. Inferior kinds, for the Eaſt and Weſt Indies and North America, ſell at 20, 25 or £30 ſterling. About 30,000 pipes, from 110 to 120 gallons, are made, upon a mean, every year. About 13,000 pipes of the better ſorts are exported, and the reſt made into brandy and vinegar, or conſumed at home. The vineyards are incloſed with walls, and hedges of prickly pear, pomegranates, myrtles, brambles and wild roſes.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X. MADEIRA.

roſes. The gardens produce all the European fruits, with, now and then, ſome tropical ones, as bananas, goavas and pine-apples.

225. All the domeſtic animals of Europe are found at Madeira. The mutton and beef are ſmall, but well taſted. The horſes, though not large, are ſure footed; and climb with agility, the difficult paths of the iſland. There are no wheel-carriages of any kind; but in the town, they convey heavy goods on ſledges drawn by oxen.—The only wild quadruped here is the grey rabbet.—Many wild birds, common in Europe, are found in Madeira; but very few hens, or other tame birds, owing perhaps to the ſcarcity of corn. —There are no ſnakes whatever in this iſland; but the vineyards and gardens, and even the houſes, ſwarm with lizards.—The ſhores are not without fiſh; but, as they are not in ſufficient plenty, for the Lent ſeaſon, "herrings" ſays Dr. Forſter, "are brought from Gothenburg, *in Engliſh bottoms*, and cod from North America*.—On this head, I cannot

* My author may be right in ſtating that herrings are brought from Gothenburg to Madeira, in Engliſh bottoms; but I have the beſt reaſons to believe that the greater part are ſent there in Swediſh bottoms. It is true, payments at Madeira are not made in money; but in produce, viz. wine, a great part of which the Engliſh very conveniently diſpoſe of in their colonies, an advantage which I ſhould think is more than balanced by the lower rate of Swediſh freight, and the numerous advantages of the free port of Gothenburg; and they are obliged, at any rate, to go to the ſouthward for ſalt; they pack the herrings full as hard, and fit for hot climates, in Sweden, as any where elſe; and, upon the whole, the Swedes can certainly ſend herrings, not to mention other articles, to Madeira, at leaſt as good and cheap as the Engliſh.—I do not mean, however, to ſay, that the exportation commerce of Sweden is in a ſtate unſuſceptible of better regulations. There is in that country a board, called COMMERCE COLLEGIUM, conſiſting of a preſident and eighteen members; and whoſe buſineſs it is, or ought to be, to watch over the commercial intereſts of Sweden. I am ſenſible that this board contains a *few men* of real worth, and who have the good

cannot omit an obſervation of my learned author. "Africa," ſays he, p. 27, "which we viſited during this voyage, in a few weeks, ſupplied us with a great variety of quadrupeds, reptiles and inſects, whilſt all the other lands where we touched, afforded no new diſcoveries in thoſe claſſes."

226. The common people of Madeira are tawny, with dark eyes and black curling hair, which, in ſome individuals, begins to criſp, owing, perhaps to intermarriage with negroes.—The inhabitants of the towns are more ill-favoured than the country people.—The gentry are a ſort of *petite nobleſſe*, whoſe genealogical pride makes them unſociable and ignorant, and cauſes a ridiculous affectation of gravity.

227. The country people are very ſober and frugal; their diet being generally bread and onions, or other roots, with little animal food. Their drink is water, or a fermented infuſion of the refuſe rind of the grape; for the wine, which their own hands prepare, they ſeldom, if ever, taſte.—Their chief occupation is raiſing vines; but as this requires not much attendance, for a great part of the year, they naturally incline to idleneſs. Indeed, warmth of climate, where great proviſion againſt inclemency of weather is unneceſſary, and where hunger is eaſily ſatisfied, will probably produce indolence, where the legiſlature does not counteract it by encouraging induſtry. But, it ſeems, the Portugueſe legiſlators are not thus diſpoſed; for, though they have lately ordered olive-trees to be planted here, on ſpots too dry and barren for vines, they have given the labourers no temporary aſſiſtance, and have offered no premiums, to overcome their reluctance to innovation, and to labour.

good of their country very much at heart; but, whether, upon the whole, it anſwers the end of it's original inſtitution, I beg leave to ſave myſelf the mortification of enquiring.

CHAP. X.

MADEIRA.

Add to this, that the landed property is in the hands of a few ancient families; the vineyards are held only by an annual tenure; and the farmer reaps but four tenths of the produce; four tenths being paid in kind to the landlord, one tenth to the king, and one to the clergy. Such ſmall profits, joined to the thought of making improvements for others, preclude all alterations for the better, under the preſent ſyſtem. But, oppreſſed as they are, they are chearful and contented. Their labours are commonly alleviated with ſongs; and, in the evenings, they dance to the drowſy guittar.

228. The governor is at the head of all the civil and military departments of Madeira, Porto Santo, the Salvages and the Ilhas Deſertas, which laſt contain only the temporary huts of fiſhermen.—The law department is under the corregidor, commonly ſent from Portugal, and holding his place during the king's pleaſure. To him appeals lie from the inferior courts, each of which has a ſenate, and a preſiding judge choſen by them. The merchants elect their own judge, or *providor*, who collects the king's revenue, amounting annually to about £120,000 ſterling, ariſing (1) from one tenth of all the produce of the iſland; (2) from 11 per cent. on all exports; and (3) from 10 per cent. on all imports, proviſions excepted. Far the greater part of the revenue is applied to the ſupport of the civil and military eſtabliſhments, and of public buildings.

Military.

229. The iſland has but one regular company of 100 men; but the militia conſiſts of 3000, who are annually embodied for one month, under the Sergeanté Mor. Neither privates nor officers receive any pay; and yet the places of the latter are much ſought after, on account of the rank.

230.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

MADEIRA.

230. The ſecular prieſts are about 1200, many of them employed as private tutors; for, ſince the expulſion of the Jeſuits, there have been no regular public ſchools here, except one, where a prieſt educates 10 ſtudents, at the king's expenſe*. Thoſe who intend to go into orders are obliged to ſtudy at the univerſity of Coimbra, in Portugal. There is a dean and chapter at Madeira, headed by a biſhop, whoſe income, which conſiderably exceeds the governor's, conſiſts of 110 pipes of wine, and 960 Engliſh buſhels of wheat, amounting, at a mean, to £3000 ſterling.

Prieſts.

231. In 1768, the inhabitants of the 43 pariſhes of Madeira, amounted to 63,913, of whom 31,341 were males, and 32,572 females. But, in that year, the deaths were exactly 5243, and the births 2198. It is highly probable that ſome epidemical diſtemper prevailed in that year, as ſuch a mortality would ſoon depopulate the iſland: a ſuppoſition which is ſtrengthened by the excellence of the climate†. In ſummer, the heat is very moderate on the higher parts of the iſland, whither the better ſort of people then retire: in winter, the ſnow lies there for ſeveral days, while, in the lower parts, it never continues above a day or two.

Population, births, deaths.

Climate.

CAPE VERD ISLANDS‡.

232. In 1449, Antonio Nolli, a Genoeſe in the ſervice of Don Henry, Infanté of Portugal, diſcovered ſome of the Cape Verd Iſlands; and in 1460, another voyage was under-

* There appears to be a prieſt in Madeira for every 53 inhabitants; excluſive of about 70 friars and 300 nuns.

† My author's ſuppoſition is farther ſtrengthened, by Dr. Heberden's obſervation, that the inhabitants of Madeira double their own numbers, by the births, in 84 years, under all their oppreſſions; for nothing ſhort of *Weſt Indian oppreſſion* can prevent mankind, when once fairly ſettled in a tolerable climate, from keeping up, or increaſing, their numbers by births—See Price on Annuities, p. 204.

‡ Abridged from Forſter's Voyage round the Word, Vol. I. p. 33 *et ſeq*,

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

CAPE VERD ISLANDS.

taken to ſettle them, when the reſt were diſcovered. Santiago, (as Colonel Bolts writes it) is the largeſt of them, and about 17 leagues in length. The capital, of the ſame name, lies in the interior, and is the ſee of the biſhop of all theſe iſlands. This iſle contains 11 pariſhes, the moſt populous of which has about 4000 houſes.

233. The Cape Verd Iſlands are generally mountainous; but their lower hills are often covered with verdure, and have a gentle declivity, with extenſive vales between them. They are ill ſupplied with water; but Santiago has one tolerable river. The hills are covered with ſtones, which are a ſpecies of lava. The ſoil, which is fertile enough in the vallies, is a kind of rubbiſh of cinders and ochreous aſhes: hence it is probable that all theſe iſlands have contained volcanoes; eſpecially as Fogo ſtill conſiſts of a burning mountain.

Oppreſſed by monopoly.

234. Porto Praya ſtands on a ſteep rock, and contains only a few cottages. It's fortifications are old walls towards the ſea, and low fences of looſe ſtones, towards the land. A tolerable building, at a little diſtance, belongs to a company at Liſbon, who monopolize the trade to all theſe iſlands, and keep an agent here. "*The company*," ſays Forſter "*perfectly tyrannizes over the inhabitants, and ſells them wretched merchandize, at exorbitant prices.*"—It is believed, however, that thoſe poor people have lately been delivered from *this* cauſe of their wretchedneſs, by the abolition of that moſt odious and oppreſſive monopoly. May Heaven preſerve every colony in Africa, *eſpecially thoſe profeſſedly undertaken on humane principles*, from the cruel clutches of ſuch unfeeling companies!

Inhabitants.

235. The natives of Santiago are middle ſized, and almoſt black, with frizzled hair, and thick lips, like the ugliеſt negroes.

Digitized by Google

groes. But, whether the change has been wrought in these descendants of the first Portuguese colonists, by the climate acting on their complexion, for nine generations (300 years) or by intermarriage with negroes, Dr. Forster does not decide. He states, however, the opinion of Canon Pauw, the Abbé Demanet, and the Count de Buffon, that "the colours of the human species depend principally on the climate *." At present, there are no whites in these islands, except 12 or 15 at Santiago. Even the governors and the priests in the other islands are blacks. The better sort wear ragged European cloaths: the rest seem well pleased with the partial covering of a shirt, a vest, a pair of breeches, or a hat †. Despotic governors, bigotted priests and the indolence of the court of Lisbon, will always keep those people more wretched than any community of negroes in Africa. They are rather inclined to sloth; and their situation confirms this habit. Beggary alone can protect them from the gripe of tyrants, to increase whose treasures, would be the only effect of their toil. Add to this, that the dry soil is parched up, when the annual rains fail, and famine inevitably succeeds. From these powerful causes, it is reasonable to suppose, that the inhabitants are deterred, from marriage

Causes of their wretchedness.

* See De Pauw Rech. phil. sur les Americ. T. I. p. 186.—Demanet Nouv. hist. de l'Afr. Fran. T. II. p. 224.—Buffon Hist. Nat. 12mo. T. VI. p. 260.—If I might venture to offer an opinion on a subject so much controverted among the learned, I would give it as the result of my observations in Africa, that a black, or a very dark, complexion would be the consequence of *whites living within the tropics, after the manner of the natives.* But the whites, except perhaps at the Cape Verd Islands, have hitherto lived in tropical countries, cloathed and lodged, as in temperate climates; and therefore the complexions of them and their descendants have, in general, undergone but little alteration, especially in individuals not much exposed to the sun.

† I have been credibly informed, that Rag-fair in London supplies the Cape Verd Islands with great quantities of old cloaths.

which

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

CAPE VERD ISLANDS.

which would only bring misery, and perhaps the horrors of slavery, on their offspring*.

Agriculture:

236. After what has been said, the state of agriculture in these islands cannot be expected to be very flourishing. The valley near Porta Praya fort, however, seems to have some moisture, and is planted, here and there, with cocoa-nut-palms, sugar-canes, bananas, cotton, goaves and papaws. But the greatest part of it is over-run with brush-wood; and another is left for pasture.—But we may perhaps conclude, that the Cape Verd Islands, in the hands of an active nation, might be cultivated to great advantage. The cochineal plant, some spices, and coffee, would thrive particularly well in this hot, parched climate. These would supply the natives not only with the necessaries, but the luxuries of life, under the influence of a free and equal government, like that of Great Britain.

Exports and manufactures.

237. Such is the substance of our learned voyager's ac-

* In 1773 and 1774, (as Mr. Forster was told at the Cape of Good Hope, in 1775) a famine destroyed multitudes of people, in the Cape Verd Islands. In the midst of this distress, several of the natives sold themselves for slaves to a Dutch captain, who happened to arrive, and who sold them at the C. of G. Hope. But the government there having been informed of it, ordered the captain to redeem them, at his own expense, to carry them back to their own country, and to bring a certificate from the Portuguese governor, importing the execution of these orders.

From the dates given by Forster, I infer that some of the members of the government to whom this praise worthy action was to be ascribed, were Baron Joachim von Plettenberg, the Governor; M Hemmy, the second governor; M. von Prehn, the major; and M. Berg, the secretary, gentlemen whom Forster, on another occasion, (V. I. p. 74) mentions as valuable members of society, ornaments to their country and friends to mankind; and he gives the same character of M. Christophel Brand, commander of the post at False Bay, and of M. Kerste and M. de Wit, who appear to be private gentlemen.—While I was at Goree, in 1787, a vessel arrived from the Cape Verd Islands, which brought accounts that they had been without rain for three years.—The W. Indian Island of Antigua once had no rain for 7 years.—Privy Council's Report.

count

Digitized by Google

count of the Cape Verd Iſlands, which being ill watered, and their rains uncertain, cannot be ranked among the moſt fertile parts of Africa. But it is not improbable that he viſited them during a drought; for Mortimer (in his Commercial Dictionary, Art. Cape de Verd Iſles) does not repreſent them as very miſerable habitations. He tells us that, though mere deſerts when the Portugueſe firſt ſettled on them, they now produce ſeveral commodities for trade, as raw and dreſſed hides, oil extracted from tortoiſes, honey, wax, ſalt, Turkey wheat, (Indian corn or maize) oranges, lemons, &c. and ſupply veſſels with tame and wild fowls. Cattle are in ſuch plenty, that ſeveral ſhips are employed in carrying them to Brazil, whither they alſo convey quantities of fiſh, caught and ſalted near Cape Verd.—He might have added, that theſe iſlands ſupply the Weſt Indian ſugar colonies with great numbers of cattle, aſſes and mules (See § 60) and that, at Santiago, the inhabitants manufacture cloths of cotton and of ſilk. They are very beautiful articles, and are commonly called in England, "Saint Jago cloths," a name, however, often applied to "Guinea cloths," or thoſe fabricated by the negroes on the continent of Africa.

---

238. Colonel Bolts who was at the Cape Verd Iſlands, in 1781, has obligingly communicated to me the following additional and very intereſting particulars.

239. In September and October, ſhips have often been driven on ſhore in Porto Praya road. In the dangerous ſeaſon, therefore, it is beſt to anchor out in 18 fathoms water; ſo that, in caſe of a gale, the ſhip may be ſure of clearing the eaſtern point, called Mulher Branca, or the weſtern, called Harbours.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

CAPE VERD ISLANDS.

called Tumroſa. Sam Vincent, one of the Ilhas Deſertas, has the beſt harbour in all theſe iſlands; and it is capable of containing the moſt numerous fleet of large ſhips, ſafe all the year round. Sam Vincent has the advantage of excellent air and plenty of good water, but it is uninhabited.

Curious ſtones.

240. The iſland of S. Antam (improperly called S. Antonio) formerly belonged to the Duque Infeliz (de Aveiro.) It was rented by that family to an Engliſh gentleman, whoſe agent, one Stephen Spencer, picked up ſome ſtones, waſhed down from the peak of the iſland, and ſent them to England. The lapidaries gave it as their opinion, that the mountain whence they came certainly contained curious, if not precious, ſtones. All the Iſlands contain iron ore, often on the ſurface.

People enſlaved by the Duque d'Aveiro.

241. The Duque d'Aveiro had partly peopled S. Antam with his own ſlaves; and, in time, he acquired, or uſurped, a kind of property in the perſons of the other inhabitants. The poor, ignorant creatures having ſubmitted to his gradual and artful encroachments on their liberties, their children actually came to conſider themſelves as the ſlaves of this uſurper and his ſucceſſors. And ſo compleatly were they ſubjugated at laſt, that the Engliſh agent exported and ſold a great number of them. On the fall of the Averio family, however, S. Antam reverted to the crown: and, not above ſix months ago (1781) the governor received an order from the court of Liſbon to liberate theſe oppreſſed people, who are computed to be about 1000.—The famine which afflicted theſe iſlands a few years ago (ſee § 235, note) appeared firſt in S. Antam, and was very ſeverely felt in that iſland, 1000 of it's inhabitants having periſhed by it. In Santiago, 15,000 perſons, or about one half of the inhabitants, loſt their lives, in the ſame diſtreſſing period.

242.

Digitized by Google

242. During the adminiſtration of the Marquis de Pombal, about 10,000 of the inhabitants of the Cape Verd Iſlands were ſent to build the preſent fortifications at Biſſao, where moſt of them died.

Sugar-mills.

243. There are at Santiago fourteen Emgenhos, or ſugar-mills, worked by oxen; but only two of them are reckoned good. They make very ſtrong ſpirits there; but, from a defect of induſtry and ingenuity, and doubtleſs of encouragement and capital, neither their ſugar nor ſpirits are ſufficiently cheap for exportation.

Whale-fiſhery, Orchella, manufactures.

244. The late governor, Joaquim Salene Saldanha Lobo, had a ſcheme for fitting out veſſels at the Cape Verd Iſlands, for the whale fiſhery on the Southern coaſt of Africa; and another for extracting from the Semente da purga* an oil which is excellent for burning, and is free from any bad ſmell.—The gathering of Orzella, or Orchella, on the coaſt of theſe iſlands, coſts not 800 reas per quintal. The medium price of that quantity, at Porto Praya, is 3000 reas, and at Liſbon 19,200 reas†.—In theſe iſlands, they might raiſe great quantities of very good cotton, and alſo of indigo which grows wild every where. But the inhabitants do not cultivate more of either, than what is neceſſary for the cloths they manufacture, for their trade to the continent of Africa. Colonel Bolts has ſamples of the following kinds, the firſt of which is in the greateſt demand on the continent, and the reſt in the order of the numbers. The prices are thoſe at which they may be reſpectively bought per piece, at Porto Praya.—1. Pano de agulha, all cotton, about 2500 reas.—2. Pano quadrado, all cotton, about 2000

* Ricinus—Pignon d'Inde. It is believed to be the ſame plant from which the Caſtor oil is extracted in the Weſt Indies.

† 4800 reas are equivalent to a moidore, or about 27 ſhillings ſterling.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

reas.—3. Pano da ley, all cotton, about 1000 reas.—4. Pano de fio de laa, cotton and worſted, 4 to 5000 reas.—5. Pano de retros, cotton and ſilk, 6 to 12,000 reas.—6. Pano de veſtir, 3000 reas.

ST. THOMAS.

245. The iſland of St. Thomas (called by the negroes on the coaſt Poncas) was diſcovered by the Portugueſe, in 1465, firſt ſettled by them in 1467, and here they have raiſed a colony which is, or was, very flouriſhing. It's ſituation (under the line, and in about 27° of longitude Eaſt from Ferro) appeared to the Dutch ſo commodious for the trade of the neighbouring coaſts, that they took it in 1610, and again 1641; but it was both times retaken by the Portugueſe, who ſoon repaired the almoſt incalculable damage their enemies did on abandoning it.

246. The chief products are ſugar and ginger*. Of

* I do not know that the products of any one of the countries, which I have found it neceſſary to ſketch, have ever been explored and diſtinctly enumerated. That they have not, would appear from the new diſcoveries always made, even in the moſt frequented parts of Africa, when naturaliſts happen to viſit them. Of this we have an inſtance, in the following extract from the evidence of A. P. How, Eſq. who was in Africa, in 1785 and 1786, in the Grampus ſhip of war, employed as a botaniſt, by the Britiſh government.—"The witneſs has ſeen *cinnamon* trees at St. Thomas, at the ſea ſide, about 20 feet high; and, from what he heard, they grew inland to a higher ſize. From the bark brought down, he concludes there muſt be a great quantity inland. The cinnamon and caſſia trees are of different genera; the one belonging to the Laurus, the other the Caſſia; but their genera are not quite eſtabliſhed. The leaf of the laurus is oblong, nerved, ſhining, ſimple. Of the caſſia, the leaves are bipennate, not unlike the mimoſa or ſenſitive plant. The witneſs is not poſitive that it is the ſame cinnamon which grows in India; but the bark, leaves and whole ſtructure of the tree are the ſame as thoſe brought from thence to Kew gardens. He has never been at Ceylon; but has ſeen the tree, both at Bombay and Cambay, in private gardens, brought as preſents from Ceylon. The African caſſia is not unlike that which has been ſeen in the Eaſt Indies."—See Minutes of Evidence before the Houſe of Commons, 1790, p. 226.

Cinnamon.

brown

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

ST. THOMAS.

brown ſugar, the common crop is from 6 to 700 charges, of which near 100,000 roves, each 32 Portugueſe pounds, are annually ſent to Portugal. The other products and manufactures of St. Thomas, are different kinds of cotton ſtuffs, proper for the Portugueſe trade on the coaſt, fruits, particularly that called *cola*, a nut, in taſte like a cheſnut, which is advantageouſly bartered in Angola and Congo, whence it is ſent to a great diſtance inland. Indian corn, millet, caſſada, figs, bananas and other tropical produce, grow here in plenty. The ſheep and goats are excellent; but the beef is ſmaller, and not near ſo fat, as in Europe.

Imports.

247. The Portugueſe carry to St. Thomas, linens, camblets, ſerges, brandy, wine, olives, olive-oil, capers, fine flour, butter, cheeſe, ſalt, hatchets, bills, copper-kettles and plates, ſugar-moulds, pitch, tar and cordage.

PRINCE'S ISLAND, FERNANDO PO, ASCENSION AND ANNABONA

248. Of the three firſt, the Portugueſe make ſo little uſe as ſcarcely to claim an excluſive property in them. Ships of all nations occaſionally touch at them for wood and water, and to catch turtles. But at Annabona, the Portugueſe trade in cotton, which they gather there in conſiderable quantities. They alſo raiſe hogs, goats, poultry, and fruits.

Eligible for colonies.

249. Except Aſcenſion, which is covered with ſand and rocks, all theſe iſlands offer to Portugal an excellent opportunity of imitating the liberal and humane example of colonization in Africa, which has lately diſtinguiſhed Great Britain and Denmark.

General reflections on the Portugueſe ſettlements in Africa.

250. The Portugueſe had the advantage of trading to, and eſtabliſhing themſelves in, Africa, earlier than any other

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

modern European nation; and that too at a time when they were actuated by a ſpirit of enterprize which perhaps has never been exceeded in any people. Their power has, indeed, undergone a great, but gradual, declenſion, eſpecially on the *continent* of the Eaſt of Africa. Yet ſuch remains of it are ſtill viſible that a reſpectable modern writer ſcruples not to ſay, that they ſtill poſſeſs more valuable territory in Africa, and have brought more of the natives to live in the European manner, than all Chriſtendom beſides. Hence he concludes, that other nations, and the Britiſh in particular, who can furniſh Africa with manufactures of their own, might make *at leaſt* as great advances in the inland trade of that continent, as the Portugueſe, under the diſadvantage of purchaſing moſt of the goods they carry to it, from other nations. "*But this,*" he obſerves, "*depends on quite other meaſures than what have ever yet been taken.*"

Britiſh progreſs in Africa might exceed Portugueſe.

SPANISH.

CANARY ISLANDS*.

251. The Canary Iſlands, as well as thoſe of Madeira and Cape Verd, were known to the ancients. But their accounts of them are indiſtinct and confuſed; for they appear to have confounded many iſlands together, under the general name of the fortunate iſlands. The Canaries were firſt known to the Europeans, in the middle ages, between the years 1326 and 1334, by means of a French ſhip driven among them by ſtreſs of weather. In 1403, they were granted by Henry III. King of Caſtile, to John de Betancour, a Frenchman.—The ſubſequent conqueſt of them by

* This ſketch is an abridgement from Glas's Hiſtory of the Canary Iſlands, London 1764.

the

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

CANARIES.

the Spaniards, as well as their civil hiſtory ſince, are foreign to our purpoſe.

252. Of the Canary Iſlands, which are ſeven in number, Tenerife is the moſt conſiderable. It is about 36 leagues in circumference. The latitude of it's centre is 28° 30′ N. longitude 16° 25′ W. from London. *Tenerife.*

253. From the varieties of it's ſoil, climate and expoſure, all the valuable vegetable productions, of temperate and tropical countries, thrive in it.—It's animals are camels, horſes, aſſes, mules, cows, ſheep, goats, hogs, rabbets, fowls, geeſe, ducks, &c.—The iſland riſes on all ſides towards the Pike, in it's centre, like a hanging garden, till within a league of the clouds, which are not above mid-way up the Pike. But there are no houſes any where above three leagues from the ſea. The firſt league from the ſhore produces vines, the next corn, the third woods of cheſnut trees, &c. interſperſed with ſome corn. Beyond theſe woods, are the clouds which, in fine weather, come down in the evening, and reſt on the woods till morning, when they retire about a league. Where the clouds reſt in the day, there are many pine-trees, beyond which grows no graſs or vegetable, except a ſhrub called *retama*. The Pike itſelf is, properly ſpeaking, a volcanic mountain, of a conical form, ſituated on the ſummit of a very high Iſland. It is viſible in approaching it 40 leagues, and in departing from it 50*. Productions. Pike.

254. Sainta Cruz, the chief town of Tenerife, may be reckoned the capital of all theſe Iſlands; for, though the epiſcopal ſee and the ſupreme courts of judicature are at Palmas, in Gran Canaria, the Governor General of all the Towns, courts, &c.

* The height of the Pike above the ſea, according to Dr. Heberden, is 15,396 feet; according to M. Borda, 12,340 feet.

Canaries,

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X. CANARIES.

Canaries, reſides at Santa Cruz, which is the centre of the trade of theſe Iſlands with Europe and America, and contains about 7000 inhabitants. Beſides Santa Cruz, there are in Tenerife ſeveral other conſiderable towns and villages; for that ſmall part of the country which is inhabited at all, is extremely populous, the iſland being computed to contain no leſs than 96,000 ſouls. In the large village of Ico, there is a ſilk manufacture, eſpecially of ſtockings, which are ſent to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies.—From the whole Iſland, 15,000 pipes of wine and brandy are annually exported.—The Count of Gomera has about 1000 negro ſlaves employed in Tenerife, in making ſugar; which, however, he does not find a profitable buſineſs. There are very few other negro ſlaves in Tenerife, and ſtill fewer in the reſt of the iſlands.

Population, manufactures, wine, ſugar.

Gran Canaria.

255. This iſland is about fourteen leagues in length and nine in breath; and, for the excellence of it's air, water and productions, well deſerves the name of *the fortunate iſland*. But this muſt be underſtood with an exception, for the S. E. wind, which is hot and ſtifling, and comes fraught with clouds of locuſts that deſtroy every thing green. This calamity, however, happens but ſeldom, and does not laſt long; for the earth ſoon recovers it's verdure. Gran Canaria is well watered, and almoſt any thing planted in it will thrive. Though it be ſo mountainous, that not above one ſeventh of it's ſurface is fit for cultivation, it contains more arable land than Tenerife, Palma, Gomera or Ferro.

Locuſts.

Proportion of arable land.

Wine.

256. Much ſugar was formerly made in Gran Canaria; but ſugar-canes have been abandoned for vines, which are found to be more profitable. The Canary wine is good; but not equal to that of Tenerife. The prohibition of exporting proviſions from this iſland, and fixing a price on them, is a great check to it's induſtry, and tends to produce ſcarcity,

Digitized by Google

ſcarcity, the very evil theſe reſtrictions are intended to prevent. Palmas, the capital of Canaria, is a well built town, containing about 6000 inhabitants. The population of the iſland is eſtimated at 40,000, an uncommonly great proportion of whom live to extreme old age.

Population.

257. Palma is about 8 leagues in length, and 6 in breadth. It is very mountainous, and, except the Pike, placed, as it were, on the top of Tenerife, there is higher land in Palma than in that Iſland. It's produce is much the ſame with that of the other iſlands; but it yields much more ſugar than any one of them. Palma abounds ſo much with fruits, that the inhabitants, not being able to conſume them, and having alſo plenty of ſugar, preſerve great quantities as ſweetmeats which they export.—When corn is ſcarce, they make bread of the roots of a ſpecies of fern, which, Mr. Glas ſays, is not much inferior to wheat bread.—Among the mountains of Palma are pines fit for maſts; but the difficult conveyance of them to the ſhore, renders them too dear, though the labour itſelf be cheap.—The iſland contains about 30,000 inhabitants.

Palma.

Produce.

Fern-bread.

258. Lancerota is 5 leagues long and 3 broad. The latitude of it's centre 29° 8′ N.—Fuerteventura is 27 leagues in length, and 5 in breadth. The air of both theſe iſlands is excellent, as is proved by the longevity of their inhabitants. Both of them are almoſt deſtitute of trees, owing to the violence of the N. & N. E. winds. And, what is a more ſerious want, neither of them have almoſt any other than rain-water, which is preſerved in tanks, or ciſterns, as in the Weſt Indian iſland of Antigua. But they have plentiful rains, and excellent herbage, eſpecially in the ſpring and ſummer; but it is ſometimes ſcorched by the autumnal heats, when the cattle, which had before been fat, loſe their fleſh.

Lancerota and Fuerteventura.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

CANARIES.

Produce.

Orchella.

fleſh. Theſe iſlands produce wheat, barley and Indian corn, not only ſufficient for their own inhabitants, but to afford a very great ſupply to Tenerife and Palma. The ſoil is light, and is ploughed by a camel and two aſſes, which form no deſpicable team; for the aſſes are uncommonly large, and formerly ran wild, in ſuch numbers in Fuerteventura, and became ſo troubleſome, that the inhabitants were obliged, at one time, to deſtroy 1500 of them.—On the ſhores of both iſlands, abundance of Orchella grows among the rocks*. This weed is well known to dyers, for giving

* Orchella—*Lichen Roccella* (Linn. Sp. plant. ed. 2. p. 1622, No. 71.) Muller ſays that the dye of Orchella, is prepared by the urine of men and ſoda, and that women's urine deſtroys it's effect; alſo that the colour is not durable in the air or the ſun. (Linn. Nat. Syſt. nach Houttuyniſchen werk Vol. XIII. Part 2. p. 528.)—M. Hellot ſays, that 20,500 quintals of it are annually exported from the Canaries. (L'Art de la Teinture des Laines, Paris 1750.)—It was ſold as high as 700 guineas per ton, during the American war, but is now about £170 per ton.—Dr. Goſſelin has lately diſcovered it in the Iſland of Guernſey. (Dickſon's Faſcic. 3. Plant. Cryptogam. Britann. 1793.)—Another ſpecies, the *Lichen Tartareus* (Linn. Sp. plant. ed. 2. p. 1608. No. 14.) has been long uſed in Sweden, and in Scotland, for dying red, in a domeſtic way, (See Linn. & Kalm's Weſtgotha Reſor) where the proceſs is deſcribed; alſo Sowerbys Engl. Bot. p. 156. where he ſays, that the Lich. Tart. is prepared with vol. alk. and allum, and communicates a purple colour to wool, but not to vegetables.—J. P. Weſtring, M. D. has made experiments for dying different colours, with a variety of Swediſh Lichens. The ability and induſtry of this learned gentleman promiſe many valuable diſcoveries. See his Memoirs in the Acts of the Roy. Acad. of Sc. at Stockholm for 1791, p. 113, 293, where he ſays, that from 8 to 900 Skd. or about 128 tons of *Lich. Tart.* has been yearly exported from Sweden ſince the year 1770; but this appears too much for the firſt 10 years. It's price has varied from 15 to £30 per Ton, and is now £24.

In 1785, an eminent merchant of Gothenburg, having ſmoothed his way, by means of his MERCANTILE *influence*, obtained an excluſive privilege for exporting this article. How far ſuch privileges are conſiſtent with the public good, ſee § 116 *et ſeq.* Qu. XXV § 142, and § 165.—But praiſe to Heaven, a liberal and patriotic government has ſince taken place in Sweden. The *inſtruments of corruption*

Digitized by Google

giving a colour, thought by ſome to be the Gertulian purple of the ancients.—It is remarable that till within the laſt ſixty years, Lancerota produced no vines: but a volcano which then broke out, covering a conſiderable extent of ground with duſt and pumice ſtones, ſo improved it that it has ever ſince yielded grapes of which a wholeſome wine is made. But it is inferior both in quantity and quality to the wine of Fuerteventura.

Exports.

259. The two iſlands export to the reſt of the Canaries, wheat, barley, Indian corn, cattle, cheeſe, fowls, goat-ſkins, Orchella, ſalt and ſalt-fiſh. Their wheat ſells for one fifth more than any European wheat. Formerly they exported camels to Jamaica, but that trade was prohibited.—The largeſt town in theſe iſlands contains not above 200 houſes; and the population exceeds not 10,000 in Fuerteventura, and 8000 in Lancerota.

Wheat better than European.

Gomera.

260. A ſmall mountainous iſland, not above 17 leagues in circumference. It is bleſſed with excellent air and water, corn ſufficient for it's inhabitants, with every other neceſſary, and many of the luxuries, of life, in ſuch plenty that, if the coloniſts were encouraged to manufacture their own wool and ſilk, they might live almoſt independent on the reſt of mankind. For their iſland alſo furniſhes every material for building, except iron, the only article they would find it neceſſary to import. In addition to the animals common to the other iſlands, Gomera has plenty of deer, and produces more mules than any of them. But it is alſo the only one in which there are any ſnakes, which are, how-

might be almoſt independent of the reſt of the world.

ruption are removed, and the preſent adminiſtration ſeems ſeriouſly intent on the encouragement of agriculture, and the real and laſting intereſts of the nation.—I acknowledge that as things now ſtand *in Europe*, monopolies may, in certain caſes, be unavoidable. In all caſes, however, they ſhould be retained in the hands of the government, who have, or ought to have, the ſame intereſts with the nation.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

CANARIES.

ever, quite harmleſs.—In Gomera are reckoned 7000 inhatants.

Hierro or Ferro.

261. Ferro is about 15 leagues in circumference. It abounds with flowers, from which incredible numbers of bees extract great quantities of honey. But the wine is ſo poor, that the inhabitants are obliged to make brandy of the moſt of it. Water is extremely ſcarce; but inſtinct has taught the ſheep and goats, as well as the hogs, to dig up fern-roots to quench their thirſt. The inhabitants are ſuppoſed not to exceed 1000.—Geographers very often reckon the longitude from the meridian of Ferro.

General obſervations, on the Canaries.

262. The principal differences in the climates of theſe iſlands, ariſe from their different elevations above the ſea. For eight months in the year, the ſummits of them all, except Lancerota and Fuerteventura, are covered with ſnow.

Climate.

Yet, in their vallies and ſhores, the cold is ſeldom ſo great as

Soil.

to render fires neceſſary.—A very great proportion of the ſurfaces of all the Canaries is covered with lava, calcined ſtones, and black duſt or aſhes, formerly emitted by volcanoes, the remains of which are ſtill very viſible in all the iſlands, and ſome of them, among which is the Pike of Tenerife, are not yet extinguiſhed.

Population.

263. The preſent inhabitants of theſe iſlands, who amount to near 200,000, are deſcended from a mixture of the Spaniſh conquerors and the aborigines, on whom the government of that period conferred equal privileges. In conſequence of this wiſe and humane policy, the Spaniards eaſily incorporated with the natives; ſo that their poſterity have long formed but one people*. Hence more good

Humane policy of Spain.

ſoldiers

* "How the Spaniards," (ſays Mr. Glas, p. 344.) "came ſoon after, in America to act in a quite contrary manner, is hard to conceive. Yet the Dutch, French and

Digitized by Google

ſoldiers and ſailors may be raiſed in the Canaries, than in any other Spaniſh colonies, containing thrice their numbers.

Character of the Canarians.

264. The preſent inhabitants of the Canaries are ſtrong and well made, but more ſwarthy than the natives of Spain. The common people wear coarſe woollen cloths, of their own manufacture, except on holidays, when they appear in coarſe Engliſh broad cloth. The gentry, though few of them are rich, are rather proud, but polite and hoſpitable. Some of them are tolerably well educated and informed. The Canarians are blind to the impoſitions of their prieſts and lawyers; but they are extremely averſe to war, becauſe *they plainly ſee*, it ruins their commerce. In the war which ended in 1763, they ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to procure a

Blinded by prieſts and lawyers, but averſe to war.

and Engliſh, far from following the good example of the Spaniards, in the Canaries, have erected, in the ſugar iſlands in the Weſt Indies, the moſt abſurd and barbarous governments that ever exiſted in any part of the globe, and which are by many degrees worſe than the Spaniſh governments in America." ("There are but few negro or other ſlaves in the Canaries; but, if a maſter treat one of them with injuſtice or cruelty, the ſlave may oblige him to ſell him immediately. The ſame law, if I am not miſtaken, takes place in the Spaniſh Weſt Indies," p. 353. Mr. Glas, was not miſtaken; for this and ſeveral other excellent and *efficient* regulations reſpecting ſlaves have ſince been proved to obtain, in the Spaniſh Weſt Indies. See the Report of the Britiſh Privy Council, part VI. article "Spain.") "What improvement or obedience," continues our author, "can be expected in a country where all the labouring people are ſlaves, and have no other principle to excite them to obedience and induſtry but the fear of puniſhment? which, after all, has never yet brought their labour to any degree of equality with that of free indigent people, who have the ſole diſpoſal of the fruits of their labour."—I ſhould rejoice in being able to repel Mr. Glas's charge of cruelty againſt the ſugar planters. But I have the beſt reaſons to believe, it is but too well founded. I muſt add, however, that the humanity of the French to their ſlaves (notwithſtanding their boaſted *code noir*) does not much exceed that of the Engliſh, and that the Dutch are ſtill more brutally cruel than either. The Spaniards, Portugueſe and Danes are undoubtedly the beſt maſters of ſlaves.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X. CANARIES.

neutrality for their iſlands.—The intercourſe between the ſexes, before marriage, is much reſtrained. Hence their love is romantic, and their matches are diſintereſted. Yet

Marriages.

they form more unhappy ones than in countries where the parties are better acquainted, previous to their union.—Their ideas of religion are ſo narrow, that it is extremely

Religion.

uncomfortable for any but catholics to live among them, except in Tenerife, where there are indeed a few proteſtant merchants; but the trade with proteſtant countries is chiefly carried on by Iriſh merchants of the catholic communion. The biſhop reſides in Gran Canaria, and has an an-

Inquiſition.

nual income of about £6000 ſterling. In each iſland is an office of the inquiſition who, till very lately, exerciſed their power, and ſometimes very much abuſed it, independently on the civil magiſtrates.

Diſeaſes.

265. The moſt prevalent diſeaſes are the ſpotted fever, the palſy, and the flatos, a windy diſorder, affecting the ſtomach, bowels and head. There are alſo a few lepers. All the Canarians are very much ſubject to the itch: "The cauſe of which," ſays Mr. Glas, p. 204, "I know not. But it is certain, that people who dwell in countries remarkable for the purity of the air, are more ſubject to the itch than thoſe who live in places where the air is moiſt and damp."

Commerce.

266. The Canary Iſlands import from Great Britain, woollens of various kinds, hats, hard-ware, pilchards, herrings, wheat, when ſcarce, &c.—From Ireland, beef, pork, butter, candles and herrings.—From North America, boards, ſtaves, beef, pork, hams, rice and wheat, in times of ſcarcity.—From Biſcay, bar-iron.—From Holland and Hamburgh, linen of all ſorts, cordage, gun-powder, flax, &c.—From Malta, cotton manufactures; but from every other

Digitized by Google

other place, cottons are ſubject to a duty amounting to a prohibition. The Malteſe are excepted, becauſe they maintain a perpetual war with the Turks and Moors.—The exports have been already mentioned.—The manufactures of theſe iſlands are taffeties, knit ſilk hoſe, ſilk garters, quilts and bed covers.—In Gran Canaria and Tenerife, they make coarſe linens and gauze of Dutch flax. White blankets and coarſe cloths are fabricated in Gran Canaria, from the wool of that Iſland. A very coarſe cloth is alſo made, from native wool, in the other iſlands. In order to encourage the ſilk manufacture in the Canaries, the exportation of their own raw ſilk is prohibited.

Manufactures.

267. The king's revenue conſiſts of (1) The royal third of the church tithes.—(2) The monopoly of tobacco and ſnuff.—(3) Annual acknowledgement of the nobility for their titles.—(4) A duty of ſeven per cent. on imports and exports.—(5) Duty on the Weſt Indian commerce of the Canaries.—The annual revenue of all the Iſlands, after paying the expences of collection and of the internal government, brings into the treaſury of Madrid about £50,000 ſterling.

Revenue.

268. It may be remarked that this ſum exceeds the *clear* revenue which ever came into the treaſury of Great Britain, from all her American and Weſt Indian colonies, in the infinite ratio of *ſomething* to *nothing*. For I do not know that Great Britain ever received any revenue from either of them, except the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duty on ſugar, and ſome other enumerated articles, *granted* by Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſlands to King Charles II. a tax which now very much oppreſſes thoſe poor, old colonies, while the Ceded Iſlands and the opulent colony of Jamaica, pay no ſuch tax. I need not tell the intelligent reader, that all the Britiſh taxes on ſugar, &c. like thoſe on wine, tea and other foreign

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

CANARIES.

reign articles, are ultimately paid by the Britiſh conſumers; not to mention the monopoly-price, often exorbitant, which Weſt Indian produce coſts them. For it is well known that ſugar, &c. is generally much dearer in Great Britain than in France, or any other country in Europe, even in thoſe that have no ſugar colonies. And all this, excluſive of the enormous and endleſs expenſe of defending her colonies, by which Great Britain has incurred a very great part of her national debt.—Lord Sheffield, indeed, in his Obſervations, affirms, that the expenſe of defending the ſugar iſlands, by ſea alone, during the American war, coſt Great Britain more than the fee ſimple of thoſe Iſlands is worth. The only advantage which ſhe ever derived, from her expenſe of blood and treaſure, was the comparatively inſignificant monopoly of the trade of her colonies. But the only effect of monopolies, even when reciprocal and apparently equal, is to enrich ſpeculating individuals, at the expenſe of the nations and colonies which ſtand in this unnatural and impolitic connection. Of the truth of this obſervation, the Canary iſlands, as well as thoſe of Madeira and Cape Verd, appear to afford examples, which ought to be viewed as beacons to warn the undertakers of new colonies in Africa, of the dangers to be dreaded from what a great author calls, "the mean and malignant *expedients* of the mercantile ſyſtem."—Read Smith's Wealth of Nations, B. IV. C. VII.

*FRENCH**

ISLE DE BOURBON.

269. The Iſle de Bourbon, called originally Maſcarenha, after it's Portugueſe diſcoverer, lies about 120 leagues to the

* From Geographie naturelle, &c. de M. Robert, 1777. Tableau de Commerce, 1787, and Walter's Neuſte Erdkunde, &c. New Account of Aſia, Africa, &c. 1785.

eaſt

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

ISLE DE BOURBON.

eaſt of Madagaſcar, in the 21ſt and 22d degrees of South latitude. In circumference, it meaſures about 40 leagues. M. de Flacourt, Governor of Fort Dauphin and the other French ſettlements in Madagaſcar, took poſſeſſion of this iſland, for his king, in 1654, and gave it the name of Bourbon. But his nation made no conſiderable ſettlement upon it till 1672. The Iſle de Bourbon and the adjacent Iſle de France have ſince been fortified, as ſtations of refreſhment for the French Eaſt India ſhips *.

270. The air of Bourbon is ſalubrious, and the ſoil very fertile, and well watered with ſprings and ſmall rivers, abounding with fiſh; ſo that, upon the whole, it is a charming habitation. Beſides ſupplying it's inhabitants and the ſhipping with proviſions, this iſland exports tobacco, coffee, white pepper, aloes, ebony, ſilk, coral, tortoiſe-ſhell, Benzoin and ſome other gums.

Exports.

271. But of all it's productions, the moſt valuable is it's cotton, which of late, ſince the ſpinning Machines, and particularly thoſe called mules, were invented and improved; has been ſpun at Mancheſter as far as to 300 hanks, (each 840 yards) and even more, in the pound, when common Surat cotton was only brought to 20 hanks. This ſtriking diſproportion ariſes chiefly from a difference in quality; but is alſo much owing to the Bourbon cotton being very clean, and that of Surat ſo full of motes and dirt, (ſometimes to half the weight) that it's ſtaple is broken in the violent operations neceſſary to clean it †. In ſhort, I have

Bourbon and com. Surat cotton compared.

* Colonel Bolts, who reviſed this ſketch of the Iſle de Bourbon, and the Iſle de France, ſays that at the former there is only a road-ſtead; but that the Iſle de France contains two good harbours.

† This prodigious difference, as far as it depends on the firſt preparation, might be

CHAP. X.

have known the price of Bourbon cotton as high as 9 shillings per pound, when that of Surat was selling at 9 pence. (See § 64.)

ISLE DE FRANCE.

272. This island, called also the Mauritius, is considerably less than Bourbon. Their air and climate are very similar. The soil of both is equally well watered; but that of the Isle of France is the most stony, though by no means infertile. There is no noxious animal in either, unless we reckon rats such; but with them both islands are so much infested, that the soldiers in the garrisons are sometimes turned out to hunt them *. The station for the French Indiamen is

Rats.

be avoided, if the cotton were cleaned by the producer, before the hard packing has incorporated the dirt and motes with it. I have indeed repeatedly proposed to the cotton merchants to send out cleaning machines to several places, and particularly to Surat, from whence so much dirt is imported at so very dear a rate, and the cotton so much injured by cleaning. But I could never get them to listen to this proposal. Indeed I have been well-informed that cotton has been thoroughly cleaned in the West Indies, by hand-picking, which though a tedious operation, was done at about 2d. a pound; but that, in England, it brought not one farthing more, than if it had not been hand-picked. This is far from being the only instance in which merchants discourage producers from attempting improvements. (See § 138.)

I have not mentioned health, that being a matter of little consideration among most manufacturers. I never understood that the operations on cotton, previous to it's being shipped for Europe, are injurious to health, as they are all performed in the open air, or in sheds, and the people are not, as in Europe, constantly confined to any one of the operations. It is, indeed, allowed that even those negroes, in the West Indies who plant, weed, gather, ginn, clean (*partially*, by beating it with rods, on wooden frames) and sleeve, or pack, the cotton, are generally very healthy.—It is, however, a melancholy truth, that the poor people employed in cleaning and carding cotton in Manchester, seldom live to above 30 years of age. The method of spinning certain coarse numbers, (or sorts) of cotton yarn, in damp cellars, has also proved to be extremely injurious to health.

* The garrisons in some of the West Indian Islands might find similar employment. But premiums are there given for killing rats and monkies, both which are very destructive to the sugar-canes. In Barbadoes, they give 2d. a piece for rats' heads,

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

ISLE DE FRANCE.

Population.

is Fort Louis, which is well fortified. According to an enumeration, in 1776, the Iſle de Bourbon contained 6340 whites, and 26,175 black ſlaves, chiefly employed in agriculture. The population of the Iſle de France then amounted to pretty nearly the ſame numbers of whites and blacks reſpectively.

Spices.

273. The productions of theſe two iſlands are much the ſame. But I have great reaſon to believe, that a very material improvement has, by this time, taken firm root in both. For, during my ſtay at Paris, in 1787, I was informed that M. Ceré procured from Ceylon, and planted in the Iſle de France, of which he was governor, 3000 cinnamon trees, and 10,416 clove trees, 18 of which laſt ſoon advanced in growth; alſo 18 nutmeg trees, 10 of which have ſince produced 1088 fine nutmegs, ſo ripe that the wind ſhook them down. From theſe plants, 60 others have been produced, beſides 20 which were partly diſtributed in the Iſland, and partly ſent to the neighbouring Iſland of Bourbon, and to Cayenne, in S. America. In 1784 there were in the nurſery 124 more young plants, of which 20 were ready to be ſent abroad. In June 1785, 10 young trees, in the Iſle de France, yielded 800 nutmegs, and 9 others had about 500 far advanced. The ſame year 24 were ſent to Bourbon and 260 were planted in the nurſery.—In 1786, the Dutch, in the true ſpirit of monopoly (ſee § 112 note) ſent a vagabond to the Iſle de France, to deſtroy theſe plantations, by corrupting the nurſery men. But prudence, or rather cunning, is not always combined with villainy. The plot was timely diſcovered, and doubtleſs

heads, and 5 ſhillings for thoſe of monkeys. A friend of mine tells me he once received, in behalf of a black watchman, 15 ſhillings cur. for rat's heads.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

would have drawn a deſerved puniſhment on the fellow who was charged with it's execution, if he had not made his eſcape.—It is no wonder, however, that the Dutch are jealous of their monopoly of ſpices; for, when I received the foregoing information, I was aſſured that their trade in theſe articles brings them in 18,000,000 of livres Tournois, or about £750,000 ſter. annually.

MADAGASCAR.

274. "The French," ſays the compiler of the Atlas maritimus et commercialis*, "have carried the diſcoveries in Madagaſcar to the higheſt perfection, both on the coaſt and in the inland parts. The following brief account, by one of their governors, ſeems the beſt yet publiſhed."—"Our people have had a ſettlement on this iſland, ever ſince 1622, and we have now, not only a peaceable poſſeſſion, but ſeveral well fortified houſes, on the coaſt, and flouriſhing plantations within the land. Our principal ſtrength is at the ſouthernmoſt point of the eaſt ſide of the iſland, called Fort Dauphin, with a good garriſon. It is ſituated in lat. 25° 6′ S. We have ſince reduced a conſiderable part of the iſland, the natives being, at peace with us, and very much pleaſed with our religion alſo; ſo that ſeveral of them are converted to the Chriſtian faith."

Former flouriſhing eſtabliſhments there.

275. About the year 1654, the chief ſeat of their power was transferred from Fort Dauphin to the Iſle de France and Bourbon. But they have ſtill retained poſſeſſion of the former; and have made ſeveral attempts to extend, or to regain, their acquiſitions in Madagaſcar. In 1767, a colony was attempted on that iſland, under M. de Maudave.

Colony attempted in 1767.

* Printed, London 1728.

"But

Digitized by Google

"But it was soon perceived that this enterprize was founded on false principles; and it was abandoned, from the impossibility of affording the advances of every kind, which M. de Maudave required for the new colonists*." That the enterprize was founded on false principles, is far from being improbable; and, from the minister's own words, just quoted, we may safely infer that it was given up from false œconomy. We shall make this inference with the more confidence, when we consider the feeble support given by the court of France to their next attempt to make an establishment on Madagascar.

Benyowsky's noble enterprize, in 1772

276. The attempt alluded to was made in 1772, under the conduct of the Count de Benyowsky, a Polish nobleman who, whether we consider the vigour and capacity of his mind, or the astonishing variety and danger of his adventures, must certainly be ranked among the most extraordinary characters that any age or nation has produced. My limits will not contain the minute particulars of the expedition, and, if they could, I am not sure that I should insert them; rather wishing to stimulate than to gratify the reader's curiosity, relative to that interesting piece of biography, the Memoirs of the Count de Benyowsky, translated from the Count's own MSS. and from authentic, official documents, chiefly by the editor, the learned and ingenious Mr. Nicholson.

Is not properly fitted out.

277. I must therefore content myself with stating a few principal facts, relative to this extraordinary enterprize. In

* See the letter from the French minister M. de Boynes, to Messr. De Ternay and Maillart, dated March 19, 1773, in "Memoirs and Travels of the Count de Benyowsky," 2 vols. 4to. from the text of which, together with the preface of the able editor, and the documents and vouchers annexed, this short sketch is chiefly compiled.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

MADAGASCAR.

1772, the Count prevailed on the court of France to enter into his views; and he was accordingly placed at the head of the expedition, with a corps of 300 volunteers under his command. But his preſent ſupplies of every kind were evidently leſs calculated to inſure ſucceſs, in an undertaking of national magnitude, than to inſpire the Count with confidence in the fair miniſterial promiſes he received, of ample future ſupport. In the mean time, the miniſtry, thought proper to refer him to the government of the Iſle of France, who were ordered to furniſh him with ſhips and proviſions, and, in every reſpect, to co-operate with him in the undertaking.

Oppoſed by the government and merchants of the Iſle de France.

278. In September 1773, the Count landed on the Iſle of France, there to experience a ſucceſſion of the moſt mortifying diſappointments. Whether he there betrayed any ſymptoms of that ambition which, though it does not appear to have been ill directed, was certainly an ingredient in his character; or whether, as ſeems far more probable, a vile ſpirit of intrigue, which, as I myſelf have experienced, was perfectly characteriſtic of the former French placemen, tinctured the characters of the governor and intendant, I ſhall not preſume to decide. Neither ſhall I attempt to appreciate the degree of influence which the evident averſion of the jealous traders of the Iſle of France to any eſtabliſhment at Madagaſcar, had on the minds of the government of that colony. I ſhall only mention the ſimple fact, as eſtabliſhed by the proofs before me, that they were, from the beginning, extremely adverſe to the views of the Count.

Lands at laſt in Madagaſcar.

279. After great delay, and a tardineſs ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable from the moſt inſulting oppoſition, and which, in the ſervants of an arbitrary government, ſeems unaccountable

CHAP. X. MADAGASCAR.

able on any ſuppoſition favourable to the French miniſtry, the Count finally took leave of his dilatory coadjutors, on the 2d of February 1774; and, on the 14th, he arrived, with his troop, not 300 effective, in the Bay of Antongil, on the N. E. coaſt of Madagaſcar.

Builds fort and makes road.

280. Before the 5th of September, the Count had conſtructed all the neceſſary works on the lands which he had purchaſed, including a reſpectable fort and a road 6 French leagues (about 21 Engliſh miles) in length, and 24 feet in breadth. His means were certainly very ſlender, and, unaided by his addreſs among the natives, would have been quite inadequate. They were, however, greatly ſuperior to thoſe with which, as we ſhall hereafter ſee, Mr. Beaver lately performed ſimilar wonders at Bulama.

Diſtributes lands and digs a canal.

281. On the laſt mentioned day (September 5th 1774) he began to diſtribute grounds among his troops, for the commencement of a vigorous cultivation, on which he ſeems all along to have been intent.—From the 14th to the 16th of February 1775, he was again employed in diſtributing lands of a ſuperior quality; for they naturally produced ſugar-canes, cotton, indigo and tobacco.—He had already found means to engage about 6000 of the native blacks, whom he found both willing and expert labourers, to join the harbour with the neighbouring river, by a canal, above an Engliſh mile and a half in length, a work which they actually performed in four days; and, on the 9th of March, we find him agreeing with two chiefs, for about the ſame number of their men, to make a road towards Angontzi, 63 Engliſh miles in length.

Oppoſed by ſome chiefs, ſupported by others.

282. Among his other difficulties, the Count unfortunately had to ſtruggle with the hoſtility of ſome of the chiefs. Their jealouſy of independence, was originally excited by that

CHAP. X. MADAGASCAR.

that perfidy and tyranny, which, the Count *officially* observes, ruined all the former French ſettlements in this iſland; and which appears, on this occaſion, to have been inflamed by emiſſaries from the Iſle of France. The Count however, was not unprepared to meet his enemies. After various ſkirmiſhes, which he could not poſſibly avoid, and in which his troops, or rather his allies, conducted by himſelf and his officers, were generally ſucceſsful, we find him (April 2d 1775) at the head of 22,000 armed natives. An engagement ſeemed unavoidable, when the Count propoſed a negociation, in which he ſucceeded ſo compleatly, that the adverſe chiefs took the oath of friendſhip, and the day ended in feſtivity.—On the 14th of October, he purchaſed from the King of the North, the Iſland of Noſſebe on the N. E coaſt, in S. latitude 13° 15′.—November 21ſt. Having yet received no effectual ſupplies, and his remaining brave fellows being almoſt naked, he collected a number of the native women to ſpin and weave cotton cloth; and having ſucceeded in tanning leather, he ſet his ſhoe-makers and taylors to work, and, in a ſhort time, compleatly cloathed his troop.—On the 17th of November, the ſtorekeeper died leaving all his account-books *blank*. He was a man of bad character, appointed by the government of the Iſle of France, with a view to diſcredit and embarraſs the undertaking.—With a ſimilar intention, they ſent the Count, on the 27th of December, only four recruits, and theſe were notorious vagabonds.

Cloaths his troops in the country cloth

283. On the 14th of March 1776, he had yet received no order whatever from France.—Auguſt 23d, he obſerves that the iſland enjoyed perfect tranquillity; that the chiefs of the whole eaſt coaſt were united to the eſtabliſhment; that the weſt was ready to join in the common intereſt; that agri-

Not ſupported by the French miniſtry.

culture

culture had every where been increaſed; and that nothing but ſupport was wanting to improve this happy juncture.

The Count reported to be the ſon of a Madagaſcar princeſs.

284. A circumſtance muſt now be noticed, which explains, in a certain degree, the conduct of the French miniſtry, and which, with ſome, may ſerve to juſtify it.—An aged negreſs, fifty years before, had been ſtolen from Madagaſcar, and ſold as a ſlave in the Iſle of France, together with a princeſs of the royal family of Ramini, the greateſt and the moſt ancient in Madagaſcar, and which, in this long interval, had become extinct. The Count brought back this negreſs to her native country; and, whether by his concurrence or not is uncertain, ſhe reported that he was born by the princeſs—the ſon of her ſorrowful exile. The remembrance of beloved kings, and ſympathy with the ſuppoſed offspring of their unfortunate princeſs, were eaſily excited in the minds of a people naturally ſuſceptible of tender impreſſions; and the chiefs, formerly ſubject to the Ramini family, now wearied out with their diſſentions, were ready to acknowledge the Count, as their Ampanſacabe, or ſupreme chief.—Had this circumſtance been known much earlier, the conduct not only of the Count, but of the French miniſtry, and the government of the Iſle de France, would have been almoſt diveſted of myſtery. It would then have been apparent, that the Count entertained an ambition, which might have called for the vigilance and direction of the other parties. But ſtill it would not have been clear, that his ambition was of that miſchievous kind which ought to be violently counteracted, far leſs totally repreſſed; for it really does not appear, that he had any views incompatible with the peace and happineſs of mankind.

285. This extraordinary affair (if then firſt known to the Count

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X. MADAGASCAR.

Count) was noted in his journal, February 2d 1775, when he mentions his determination to take advantage of it, and to conduct that brave and generous nation to a civilized ſtate, and the eſtabliſhment of a ſolid and a permanent government, founded on national liberty. At the ſame time, he laments the blindneſs of the French miniſter to the true intereſts of his country. Several of the chiefs, ſoon afterwards, actually choſe the Count as their Ampanſacabe, made their ſubmiſſion, and ſwore allegiance.

Acknowledged ſuch by ſeveral chiefs.

286. On the 22d of Auguſt 1776, two commiſſaries, Meſſ. de Bellecombe and Chevreau, arrived from France to take cognizance of the Count's proceedings. They digeſted their buſineſs into 25 queries, to which the Count's replies were ſo perfectly ſatisfactory, that they gave him a diſcharge for his paſt conduct and accounts, certifying that he had advanced to the French treaſury, 415,000 livres*. This done, the Count, on the 28th, delivered them his reſignation, with which they ſailed for the Iſle de France.

Interrogated by commiſſioners from France.

287. The queries and anſwers, I think, may fairly be conſidered as forming an authentic official document; and it contains very intereſting information. Among many other important particulars, the Count ſtates to the commiſſaries, that the ſubſidies he received from the chiefs in 1776,

Intereſting particulars.

* The only ſtatement of receipts and diſburſements, inſerted in the work before me, is that which the Count tranſmitted to the French miniſtry on the 22d March, 1775, viz.

	Livres	*s.*	*d.*
For levying and tranſporting the regt. of Benyowſky, and ſupplies for trade	342,649	12	5
Bills of exchange, drawn to the amount of	113,000	10	3
Total received	455,650	2	8

EXPEND-

Digitized by Google

1776, in ſugar, indigo, cotton, &c. amounted to 940,000 livres, and that they can raiſe 123,000 warriors; that they willingly grant lands to the French, who would be welcome and ſafe throughout the whole iſland, provided no impolitic and *impracticable* attempts were made to deprive the natives of their liberties, of which M. de Laly and other French officers had given them too much reaſon to be jealous; that they are induſtrious, and example would make them more ſo, are imitators and diſpoſed to learn trades, being already tolerable goldſmiths, potters, turners, carpenters, weavers, &c. but their "moſt reſpected buſineſs is the manufacture of iron and ſteel. They are very expert in fuſing the ore and in forging utenſils;" (See § 71) that their houſes are of wood, ſometimes covered with

EXPENDITURES.	*Livres*	*s.*	*d.*
For the troops, in 1772, 1773, 1774 and to 20 March 1775	141,432	0	0
For H. M's ſhips, the Poſtillion and Coureur	396,864	6	4
For the colony. Building the governor's houſe—roads, canals, forts, &c.	315,916	11	8
Supplies to the Iſle of France, in rice and ſlaves	245,412	0	0
Proviſions to ſeveral of H. M's ſhips	41,423	11	7
	1,141,048	12	7
Deduct the ſums advanced	455,650	2	8
	585,398	9	11
And alſo the ſums advanced by myſelf	245,000	0	0
Neat profit*	340,398	9	11

* This ſum is not neat profit. The reſult of this account is, that the colony coſt the French Liv. 455,650 2 8 and Liv. 245,000 (which he advanced) making together Liv. 700,650 2 8. This is not equal to the whole charge or Liv. 854,212 18. But the colony paid the difference, Liv. 153,562 15 4, and alſo ſupplied the I. de France and the king's ſhip's with Liv. 286,835 11 7. This laſt ſum is the only return, and if taken from the whole ſum advanced, will leave Liv. 423,814 10, on the balance due to the French government, at this period of the undertaking.—Note of the editor.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X. MADAGASCAR.

leaves, all neat, and thoſe of the Rohandrians, elegant; that they raiſe good crops of rice, have vaſt numbers of oxen, ſheep, goats and poultry, and trade conſiderably, in produce with the Arabians, &c. that the whole eaſt coaſt affords very few ſlaves, a trade in whom it would be neceſſary to prohibit; that, in ten years, a colony might be eſtabliſhed in Madagaſcar, on the plan ſtated below *. For other particulars, I muſt refer to the work itſelf.

288.

* The Count, in his anſwer to the 25th query of the commiſſaries, ſtates his plan, the ſubſtance of which is, that, if the king ſupply 600 men, and 200 men at the end of each of the two following years, permitting him to chuſe huſbandmen in the troop, to marry with the women of the country, unreſtrained on account of religion; and alſo to import annually 200 foundlings, 12 or 14 years of age, and likewiſe Malabar and Chineſe families: in this caſe, a colony would, at the end of three years, be formed, which, connected with all Madagaſcar, would begin to have ſome value. The expenſe would not exceed a million (of livres) per year, excluſive of the expenſe of a veſſel of 600 tons, another of 200, and 6 galliots, for tranſports and the communication of poſts.—At the end of three years, the colony would ſupport itſelf, and increaſe, by the product of it's united capital of Liv. 3,000,000, till the *tenth* year, when it would be ſufficiently ſtrong to fear no ſudden revolution, and be able, by it's commerce (which the Count ſeems all along to view as a ſecondary object, to be promoted by no other means than the cultivation of the country. See particularly, vol. 2. p. 249, 254) to reimburſe the expenſes of it's eſtabliſhment.

The Count's eſtimate at p. 347 vol. 2. differs from the above; probably becauſe he had not ſufficiently conſidered it. The title of the paper, of which it is a part, ſhows what were his views, and makes it probable, that the paper, itſelf was never preſented officially to any miniſter; for it is not dated.—" Reflections upon the project of a colony at Madagaſcar, in caſe *any power* ſhould adopt *the ſyſtem of civilization, founded on the baſis of an alliance.*" Of the eſtimate, which forms the firſt article, the following is an abſtract.—The colony of Madagaſcar may be formed, in ten years, with Liv. 3,000,000 and 720 military ſent the firſt year; 200 yearly for the 2d and 3d years; and 150 yearly for the 7 following years; excluſive of an annual importation, for the whole 10 years, of 120 European huſbandmen, 30 creoles, and 60 natives of India or China. In all, about 4170 perſons who, ſays the Count, " *will annually produce* 600 *children, the total of whom, at the end of the tenth year, will*

CHAP. X.

MADAGASCAR.

288. But the Count, on quitting the French ſervice, does not ſeem to have abandoned his proſpects in Madagaſcar. Several chiefs, he tells us, required him to aſſume the government. Accordingly, a congreſs was ſummoned, and on the 9th of Oct. 1776, the Count actually ſaw above thirty princes and chiefs, and at leaſt 50,000 of their people proſtrated before him, as their liege lord. The oath (or rather engagement) indited by the chiefs, in their own language, having been thrice read aloud, was ſigned, in name of the nation, by Hiavi, King of the Eaſt; Lambouin, King of the North; and Raffangour, Rohandrian of the Sambarives. Inſtead of an appeal to Heaven, it contained this remarkable ſanction, "Curſed be our children who ſhall not obey our preſent will.—*May the moſt horrid ſlavery confound them.*" They acknowledge, however, and adore one God, the Creator and Preſerver of all things; for Raffangour, an aged chief, opened this meeting, with a ſhort, but truly eloquent ſpeech, which began thus, "Bleſſed be

The C. reſigns his Fr. commiſſion and is declared Ampanſacabe.

Singular ſanction of the chief's oath.

Natives acknowledge one God.

will amount to 6000 *creoles, and* 3370 *Europeans, a ſufficient number to fix the epoch of a colony.*" Theſe laſt are the Count's own words, which I have inſerted, becauſe they *imply* an approbation of the ſoil and climate, which more effectually convince me of their general excellence, than the *direct* encomiums he often beſtows on both. The mortality of his troops proves nothing againſt the climate; for, I apprehend, if they had been landed on any coaſt in the world, and had experienced the ſame ſevere labour, and equal hardſhips, of every kind, the very ſame mortality would have enſued.—For want of time and room, I have omitted many facts; but the Count's bill of mortality I really have forgotten; and the page, where it ſhould have ſtood, being printed off, I hope to be excuſed for inſerting it here. His corps originally conſiſted of 300 men levied in Old France (p. 96) and he appears to have received ſome few recruits from the Iſle de France. In 1774, there died 113 of his men, in 1775, only 11 (Vol. II. p. 289.) In particular, on Oct. 3d 1775, there was not a man ſick. The ſtate of health, in 1776, does not appear.—The Count loſt his only ſon in Madagaſcar, he and the Counteſs narrowly eſcaping.—But the firſt hardſhips experienced there, have ſeldom been exceeded.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X. MADAGASCAR.

Zahanhar (God) who has returned to his people. Bleſſed be the law of our fathers, which commands us to obey a chief deſcended from the blood of Ramini. Our fathers and ourſelves have experienced that diſunion is the puniſhment of God." &c. (See Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 264.) The Count ſeems to have borne his new dignity with moderation; for, inſtead of graſping at the extenſive power exerciſed by former Ampanſacabe's, he propoſed a conſtitution, which ſeems to have been well calculated to promote the happineſs of a people imperfectly civilized, and in which the chiefs unanimouſly acquieſced.

Chiefs empower him to treat with France, &c.

289. On the 23d of Oct. the ſame three chiefs, in name of the "kings, princes, chiefs and people of the north and eaſtern coaſts of Madagaſcar," ſigned full powers to the Count, as their Lord Ampanſacabe, to go to Europe, and from treaties of alliance and commerce, with the King of France; and, in caſe he ſhould not accept the offer, with any other European king, or nation. The Ampanſacabe, on his part, engaged them to acknowledge, in his abſence, Raffangour, the preſident of the new ſupreme council, or, he failing, the Chief Sancé, a mulatto.

He embarks for France.

290. On the 14th of Dec. 1776, the Count, having aſſiſted the French commandant at Louiſbourg* with his advice, embarked on board a French ſhip, for the Cape of Good Hope, on his way to Europe; the native chiefs and he ſhedding tears of affection and regret, and mutually bleſſing each other, in the name of Zahanhar.

The French miniſter's inſtructions, &c.

291. Here the Count's journal ends, and, before we notice his few remaining tranſactions, of which we have ac-

* This place is often mentioned in the Count's journal, being the name of the town he founded, as appears by one of the *plates*, where it would appear alſo, that he firſt impoſed the name, a circumſtance not mentioned, I think, in the journal.

counts

Digitized by Google

counts, it ſeems but fair to inſert a few particulars, from the annexed letters of the French miniſters.—From that of the miniſter, M. de B. to Meſſ. de T. and M. Governor and Intendant, of the Iſle de France, dated Mar. 19th 1773, it appears, that the chief end originally propoſed by forming this colony, was the ſupply of the I. de France, with proviſions. The Count had a duplicate of this letter, as containing inſtructions for him, as well as M. de T. and M. and he is ſtrictly ordered to employ mild negociation *alone*, with the Malgachees, or natives.—The ſubſequent letters are addreſſed to the Count, by the miniſter M. de S. In that dated Verſailes, July 17th 1775, M. de S. admits, that all former attempts have been attended with great violence to the Malgachees. He enjoins pacific meaſures towards them, the preſervation of the Count's own people, and the ſtricteſt œconomy.—March 30th, 1777, M. de S. repeats his pacific injunctions; becauſe the chief objects are agriculture and commerce, which, depending on the exertions of the natives, they muſt, therefore, be conciliated and civilized.—April 6th 1777, The ſame injunctions are repeated; and M. de S. expreſſes his diſapprobation of the Count's acrimonious conteſts with the adminiſtration of the Iſle de France.—Theſe two letters, dated in 1777, the Count could not have received, in Madagaſcar, which he left in 1776 (See § 290.)—The laſt miniſterial diſpatch to the Count, *is not dated;* but it ends with a paragraph, which ſomewhat elucidates the conduct both of the Count and of the miniſtry.—"I have read with pleaſure," ſays M. de S. "your reflections reſpecting *the* COLONY *at Madagaſcar*. I think with you, that the ſlave-trade would be it's ruin, and that all the views ought to be directed to trade and agriculture. I had already conſigned theſe truths, in the particular inſtructions of Meſſ. de Bellecombe and Chevreau (the commiſſaries, ſee § 286) "ſo that you will

Curious paragraph.

CHAP. X. MADAGASCAR.

will not have had any difficulty in bringing them to approve your principles, which do not differ from mine. I do not much differ from you, with regard to the Europeans; but this queſtion will not be entirely reſolved, *till I can poſitively aſſure you, that His Majeſty intends to have a* COLONY *in Madagaſcar.*"—The only comment which this paragraph ſeems to require, I have anticipated, in § 278. But, however inconſiſtently M. de S. *talks* of the Madagaſcar colony, it would be wrong to accuſe *him* of having TALKED, *for ſeven years*, about prohibiting the ſlave-trade; while another European miniſter, without talking about it at all, has actually adopted an effectual plan for it's abolition, as will be ſeen, in the 2d part of this work.

The Count's Decl. and Propoſ. to His Britannic Majeſty.

292. But, to diſmiſs miniſterial *manœuvres*—the laſt papers in the Count's Memoirs are "*A Declaration*," *&c.* and "*Propoſals, &c.*" to the miniſtry of His Britannic Majeſty, *to be* preſented at London, Dec. 25th 1783." But whether or not they ever *were* preſented, does not appear. In theſe papers, the Count reſpectfully repreſents, *inter alia*, That, having ſucceeded in forming a colony for France, in Madagaſcar, the French miniſtry ſent orders to him to change the ſyſtem of alliance agreed upon, into an unlimited ſubmiſſion of the chiefs and people of the iſland, a violation of treaty which induced him to renounce the ſervice of France: (To this change of ſyſtem, the Count alludes in his anſwer to the 25th query of the commiſſaries.) That the chiefs and people, having conferred on him the charge of ſupreme judge and chief of the nation, had empowered him to form connections in Europe, for trade or friendſhip: That, having ſince been violently perſecuted by the French miniſtry, he had entered into the ſervice of His Imperial Majeſty, in hopes of obtaining his aſſiſtance for Madagaſcar; but, that the emperor not being diſpoſed to promote his views,

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

MADAGASCAR.

views, he had, two years before, regularly quitted his ſervice. And, now, in the name of an amiable and worthy nation, he propoſes and ſubmits to His Britannic Majeſty, to acknowledge him *Suzerain* (Lord Paramount) of Madagaſcar; the interior government, and all the regulations of civilization, police, cultivation and commerce, remaining independent; the chiefs and people being only vaſſals to His Majeſty. In this quality, they engage to furniſh His Majeſty with 5000 men, to act in India, under their own officers, ſubject to the orders of His Majeſty's Generaliſſimo, and 2000 ſeamen, to ſerve in India, on board the Britiſh men of war, which they oblige themſelves to victual, &c. &c. (The Count, in his anſwer to the 22d query of the commiſſiaries, ſtates, that the iſlanders are accuſtomed to navigation.)

Offers 5000 ſoldiers and 2000 ſeamen.

293. Being ignorant of the fate of the Count's "Declaration" and "Propoſals," and whether they ever came before the Britiſh miniſtry, I muſt now turn to Mr. Nicholſon's well written preface, where the Count's remaining tranſactions, together with his final cataſtrophe, are recorded. The ſubſtance of both is as follows.

294. The Count and his family, with ſome aſſociates, arrived at Baltimore in Maryland, July 8th 1784, in the Robert and Ann, Capt. M'Dougall, from London, with a cargo, ſuited to the Madagaſcar market, worth near £4000 ſter. This ſeems to have been ſubſcribed in London; for Mr. Nicholſon tells us, that the late celebrated Mr. Magellan, with a ſpirit of enterprize worthy of his name, contributed a very conſiderable ſum*. A reſpectable houſe in Balti-

The C. ſails from London to Baltimore.

* I have been told that Mr. Magellan was lineally deſcended from the famous Portugueſe navigator, who diſcovered the Straits which bear his name.—The Count left with Mr. Magellan, the MSS. of which Mr. Nicholſon formed the Memoirs. See Preface, p. 2.

more

CHAP. X.

MADAGASCAR.

from Baltimore to Madagaſcar;

more, furniſhed the Count with a ſhip of 450 tons, carrying 20 guns and 12 ſwivels; the ſhip and ſtores amounting to above £4000 ſter. excluſive of the goods brought from London. On the 25th of Oct. 1684, the Count ſailed for Madagaſcar, leaving his family in America, on account of the pregnancy of Mme. de Benyowſky. Every one on board was, by agreement or oath, ſubject to his abſolute command; though the captain and ſupercargo were to aſſiſt him, and to bring back the ſhip. He did not put in at the C. of Good Hope, probably for the ſame reaſon which, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, induced Colonel Bolts alſo to paſs by it, namely, the fear of alarming the commercial jealouſy of the Dutch.

lands in Madagaſcar,

295. The Count firſt touched at Sofala, where he remained ſome time, for refreſhment: and, on the 7th of July, 1785, anchored in Antangara Bay, 10 leagues SW. of C. St. Sebaſtian, in Madagaſcar, and the cargo having been landed there, the Count intending to go over land to Antongil Bay, whither the ſhip was to proceed. It appears, by letters, that the Count's old friend, the King of the North, came to pay his reſpects, and the chief of the Seclaves, his former, enemy, with a body of men encamped near the Count, who propoſed to him the uſual oath, which the chief declined. The maſter's proteſt ſtates, that, on the night of the 1ſt of Aug. a firing was heard and ſeen on ſhore, at the Count's encampment; that at day light neither white men nor effects were to be ſeen; that their own danger, and the probability that the Count and his party were cut off by the natives, compelled them to ſet ſail for the Iſland of Joanna; and that at Oibo, on the oppoſite continent, the ſupercargo ſold the ſhip.

296.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X. MADAGASCAR.

296. A letter from a man on board, ſtates that the writer and another perſon, *though not convinced that the firing was from the natives*, were *forced* to ſign the proteſt. A letter from an officer, brought priſoner to the I. de France, after the deſtruction of the Count's party, confirms the preceding, "as far" ſays Mr. Nicholſon, "as relates to the deſtruction of the Count and his party, *by the French.*" The writer mentions the firing in the night; but, contrary to the proteſt, affirms that the ſhip ſailed away in ſight of thoſe on ſhore, who could not overtake her in the country boats. From this letter, it appears, that the Count, at the head of a body of natives, commenced hoſtilities againſt the French, by ſeizing their ſtore-houſe at Angoutzi. Here he began to build a town in the country manner; and thence detached 100 men to ſeize their factory at Foul Point, who deſiſted, on ſeeing a frigate at anchor there. On being informed of theſe tranſactions, the government of the Iſle de France ſent a ſhip with 60 regulars, who landed and attacked the Count, on the 23d of May 1786, in a redoubt he had conſtructed, mounting two cannon, and where he, with two Europeans, and 30 natives, waited their approach. The blacks fled, and Benyowſky, receiving a ball in his breaſt, fell behind the parapet, whence he was dragged by the hair, and expired in a few minutes.

is attacked,

and killed,

297. The laſt mentioned letter, Mr. Nicholſon obſerves, "in many reſpects, ſeems to want explanation;" like the proteſt and the other letters, relative to the Count's unhappy end. From ſuch materials, it was impoſſible even for the abilities of the editor, to extract a conſiſtent account; nor would the Court of France have derived much credit from a fair ſtatement of a tranſaction which, I have good reaſon to believe, could not bear the light. The to-

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

MADAGASCAR.

tal concealment of deeds, of which the witneſſes are neceſſarily numerous, cannot be effected, even by an arbitrary miniſtry; and, to their machinations, the deſtruction of the brave Benyowſky, was univerſally attributed, when I was at Paris, in 1787. But this did not ſatisfy my curioſity, reſpecting the fate of ſo diſtinguiſhed a friend to Africa. I made particular enquiry, and was aſſured that the miniſtry ordered out a frigate to ſecure the Count, alive or dead; but the particular miniſter who iſſued the order was not mentioned. This information I received from Monſ. Hall, one of the firſt painters in Europe, a near relation of the commander of the frigate, who, of courſe, was obliged to execute, and, I have not a doubt, *did* execute his orders. This was what I chiefly wiſhed to know; and it would have been indelicate to trouble a gentleman, ſo connected, with minute queſtions. He ſaid, however, that the Count aimed at the ſovereignty of Madagaſcar, independent of the French; but he was far from impeaching him, in other reſpects, and candidly admitted, that he poſſeſſed conſummate bravery and ability.

by order of the French miniſtry.

Circumſtances deſcriptive of his character.

298. Theſe qualities ſhine conſpicuous in every page of the Count's hiſtory; which alſo exhibits marks of other virtues, more to be regarded, than the vague aſſertions of perſons, who have *obvious reaſons* for wiſhing him to be thought the tyrant and the robber. But a very different character appeared, in his earneſt and ſucceſsful endeavours to induce ſome tribes of the natives, to abandon their criminal practice of ſacrificing deformed children, and thoſe born on unlucky days—a reform, however, of which M^me^ de Benyowſky ought to ſhare the praiſe. The deteſtation with which he ſpeaks (p. 352) of the "avidity, injuſtice and oppreſſion of the uſurpers and tyrants," who conducted former

former attempts in (or rather *on*) Madagaſcar, and his reſigning, rather than violate a treaty, by attacking the liberties of the natives—if theſe circumſtances account, as they partly do, for the number of his enemies, his friends may alſo inſiſt on them, as marks of a noble, humane, and generous diſpoſition. They may inſiſt, ſtill more ſtrongly, on the attachment of his officers and men (" *my poor fellows*," p. 201) in the moſt trying conjunctures, and even when he appeared to be dying of a tedious illneſs (p. 283) and when nothing but an ardent affection to their leader, not to ſay an admiration of his virtues, could have kept them within the limits of diſcipline.—In ſhort, Mr. Nicholſon, who had all the letters and documents before him, declares, that he has " not yet ſeen any thing againſt the Count, which will not bear two interpretations, or which has not been written by men who contradict each other, and had an intereſt in traducing him."—I muſt add, that, for aught I ever heard to the contrary, the Count de Benyowſky, deſerved a better fate. Nay, I am clearly of opinion, that his conduct in Madagaſcar, deſerves no ſmall portion of admiration, and even of reſpect: and, all things duly conſidered, I ſee no reaſon, why a monument might not be erected to his memory, inſcribed MAGNIS TAMEN EXCIDIT AUSIS.—But, after all, I wiſh my readers to peruſe the " Memoirs," and to *judge for themſelves*, of the character there exhibited; eſpecially as I have only examined that part of the work which relates to Madagaſcar. In order to aſſiſt perſons, in forming their concluſions, who may not have time to read this inſtructive piece of biography, I have inſerted the dates in this epitome.

The conduct of the French Miniſtry ſeems unjuſtifiable.

299. Some may think, that I have commented rather too freely on the conduct of the French miniſtry. Far, far be it

CHAP. X. MADAGASCAR.

it from me, to imitate the immediate deſtroyers of Benyowſky, whoever they were, by inſulting the mighty *fallen* (See § 296 at the end). But it was abſolutely neceſſary that the failure of this colonial enterprize ſhould be traced to its true ſource, and not attributed as uſual, to the *climate*, the conſtant excuſe for European perfidy and violence, within the tropics, eſpecially in Africa. The benevolent profeſſions of the miniſtry towards the natives of Madagaſcar, may have once been ſincere†; but miniſterial benevolence is evaneſcent, and, in modern practice, muſt always give way to expediency. It was *expedient* for the French miniſtry, to *change their ſyſtem*, reſpecting Madagaſcar. It is alſo expedient, or *convenient* (ſee Johnſon's Dict.) that, if poſſible, a diſtinction ſhould be eſtabliſhed between the *miniſter* and the *man*. Accordingly it is allowed, by *ſome*, that certain miniſters, whoſe plans have been pernicious to mankind, were yet very good ſort of men; and my opinion of M. de S. though as good as it ſhould be, upon the whole, would be much improved, were it poſſible for me to conceive, that an *arbitrary* miniſter could deviate into *evidently* crooked paths, without carrying the man along with him. Benyowſky ſhowed the miniſter what he ſhould have done, rather than violate a ſacred principle.—The Count dared to be conſiſtent, and *reſigned:* but he was a *ſoldier*, not a *miniſter*.—Yet I ſincerely wiſh it were credible, that the French miniſtry were not concerned in the foul treatment of Benyowſky. But truth and Africa are more dear to me

† I am ſorry that I happened to omit, in its proper place, that M. de S. in his diſpatch to the Count, of April 6th 1777 (and which the Count could not have received in Madagaſcar) expreſſes much concern that he ſhould have loſt ſo many men in filling up a marſh, a circumſtance which the Count alſo mentions in his journal.

than

Digitized by Google

than the reputation, either of the Count or the Miniſtry: and I fear that their conduct to him cannot be even *politically* juſtified, without impeaching their wiſdom.----The American troubles were coeval with the Madagaſcar colony. The miniſtry dropped the ſubſtance, and ſnatched at the ſhadow. Neglecting Madagaſcar, with her valuable and increaſing productions * and her three millions of docile and ingenious people, † they lurked behind the maſk of *profeſſions*, for, what they thought, an opportunity of humbling Great Britain. The conſequences to France have been already hinted at. But Britain, diſencumbered of her *financial* burden, and having her ſtrength concentrated, roſe ſuperior to the blow, and has ſince reſumed, and, if undiſturbed by war, was long likely to maintain, her reſpectability among the nations. Her aſtoniſhing reſtoration, I think, ought, in candour, to be partly aſcribed to the diſtinguiſhed ability and induſtry of the ſtateſman who has

* Having, under the preceding articles, enumerated the moſt valuable productions of the continent of Africa, it did not ſeem neceſſary to dwell on thoſe of Madagaſcar, which are very much the ſame. But, as the natives are far leſs harraſſed by the ſlave-trade, and upon the whole, more civilized; the produce of their labour is proportionably more abundant. This is evident from the great quantities and value of proviſions, &c. exported and ſupplied to ſhipping, by the Count. See the ſtatement of charge and diſcharge above inſerted.

A reſpectable merchant in London, of great experience in the French Eaſt India commerce, aſſures me, that the cotton of the eaſt coaſt of Madagaſcar is fully equal to that of Bourbon; and that a great part of the cotton which comes to Europe, under the name of Bourbon cotton, is either ſmuggled from the Eaſt Indies or brought regularly from Madagaſcar into Bourbon, where it is ſtored and repacked for exportation to Europe. For an account of the Bourbon cotton ſee § 271.

† See Memoirs, vol. 2, p. 397. This, however, can be but a vague conjecture reſpecting the population.

ſince

CHAP. X.

ſince conducted her finances.—What ſhould I ſay more of ſtateſmen and of their abilities or infirmities, but "Alas! poor human nature?"

DUTCH.

C. of Good Hope.

Van Riebeck propoſes a colony there.

300. The Dutch Eaſt India ſhips began to frequent the Cape, about the year 1600; but it was not till 1650, that Van Riebeck, a ſurgeon, firſt diſcovered the advantages that would reſult from forming a regular colony there. On returning to Holland, he preſented a memorial on the ſubject, to the directors of the Dutch Eaſt India company, who approved of his propoſal, and ordered four ſhips to be equipped for the Cape, with ſome artificers, a few coloniſts, and the neceſſary tools and ſtores. Van Riebeck was appointed admiral of this fleet, and governor of the new colony; truſts which he fulfilled with ſuch fidelity and ſucceſs, that he well deſerves to be recorded, as founder of that important eſtabliſhment.

Liberality of the Dutch E. India co.

301. In executing this deſign, the directors acted with a degree of wiſdom and diſintereſtedneſs, too ſeldom found in the repreſentatives of joint ſtock companies, and for which, in many other inſtances, the conduct of their predeceſſors and ſucceſſors have not been very remarkable. They authorized Van Riebeck, to purchaſe territory from the natives, which he did, with goods to the amount of

* This ſketch of the colony at the Cape is compiled from Mortimer's Dict. of Trade and Comm. 1776.—Menzel's Beſchreibung von Cap de Bonne Eſper. 1785.—Das merkwurdigſte aus den beſten Beſchreibungen von Cap 1787.—Tableau de Commerce, 1787.—Forſter's Voy. round the World, 1777, and Sparrman's Voy. to the Cape of Good Hope, Perth edition.

50,000

Digitized by Google

Their choice of coloniſts.

50,000 guilders.—In the choice of coloniſts, their diſcernment and prudence were conſpicuous. They ſuffered no *thieves* and *ſtrumpets* to poiſon the infant ſociety with the vices for which they had been expelled from Europe. But, by advantageous promiſes, faithfully performed, the company induced laborious peaſants, and honeſt artificers to emigrate to the Cape*. They defrayed the expenſes of the voyage; and provided the coloniſts with ſubſiſtence, tools, implements of agriculture and cattle. To each, they gave a portion of land, on condition that, in three years, he ſhould have cultivated enough to enable him to ſupport himſelf, and to contribute to the defence of the colony†. They alſo agreed to bring back to Europe, *gratis*, thoſe to whoſe conſtitutions the climate might be unfavourable, and who had full liberty to diſpoſe of their effects to the beſt advantage. For the reception of the coloniſts, the company erected villages, each containing 30 houſes, a church, an hoſpital, a town-houſe and a public kitchen-garden. To furniſh the colony with females, girls from the orphan-houſes in Hol-

* Since I wrote § 128 and 129, I have heard it objected, that, in time of war, it would be improper to encourage colonization; as the people who might be expected to become coloniſts, are wanted for the armies.—The objectors, however, would do well to recollect, that, of all people, thoſe who are diſpoſed to become ſoldiers are, generally ſpeaking, the moſt unfit for any new colonial undertaking; and that ſuch being taken off by the war, a greater proportion of ſober and induſtrious perſons will be left, from among whom to make a prudent ſelection. Beſides, that the war itſelf, and the general poſture of public affairs, have diſpoſed many worthy people, throughout Europe, to embark in any undertaking, likely to afford them more peace and ſecurity than they expect to enjoy in their reſpective countries.

† The company, however, at preſent, never part with the property of the land; but rent it at the annual rate of about 25 dollars, for every 60 acres.

land,

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

C. of Good Hope.

land, were ſent out, with ſuperintendants to educate them at the Cape; and, on their marriage, the company aſſigned them ſmall dowries.

Expenſe very great.

302. The expenſe incurred by the company, in eſtabliſhing this colony, has been immenſe—not leſs, it hath been computed, than a million of guilders annually, for the firſt 20 years; and in, 1713, above ſixty years after it's firſt ſettlement, it ſtill continued to be chargeable. But ſeldom has the property of a joint-ſtock company been ſo beneficially employed; for all difficulties are *now* ſurmounted, and the colony amply repays the expenſes of it's eſtabliſhment.

Difficulties very diſcouraging.

303. Thoſe difficulties were of a kind which nothing ſhort of cool, Dutch perſeverance could have overcome. This extremity of Africa conſiſts of black and barren mountains of granite, without any volcanic productions. The cultivated ſpots near the town, are of ſtiff clay, with a little ſand and ſmall ſtones; but towards Falſe Bay, the arable ſoil is almoſt entirely ſandy. The colony of Stellenboſh is ſaid to have the beſt ſoil of any at the Cape, but even that produces no very extraordinary proofs of *natural* fertility*.—Lions, leopards, tyger-cats, hyænas, jackals, and ſeveral other wild beaſts, infeſt the Cape, now and then, even to this day.

Climate.

304. Yet this country is not without it's advantages.—The air and water, as in moſt other mountainous tracts, are good, in the ſame proportion as the ſoil is bad. Though the ſummer heats are ſometimes exceſſive, the winters are ſo mild that ice is ſcarcely ever ſeen about the town. But,

* The Dutch have, ſtrictly ſpeaking, four colonies in this part of Africa, namely the Cape, properly ſo called, Stellenboſh, Drakenſtein and Waveren. The farms in many places are very much ſcattered.

on

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X. C. of Good Hope.

on the mountains, eſpecially far inland, there are hard froſts, with ſnow and hail ſtorms. The climate, however, upon the whole, is ſo ſalubrious, that the inhabitants are rarely troubled with any diſorders more ſerious than colds, cauſed by the ſudden changes of air, from the ſtrong winds, to which the Cape is expoſed at all ſeaſons; and ſtrangers ſoon recover from the ſcurvy and other complaints.—The ſupport of ſo many wild beaſts, implies the exiſtence of numerous tribes of milder animals; and accordingly an aſtoniſhing variety, from the mighty buffalo and camelopard, to the leaſt of the beautiful genus of antelopes, and many ſmaller quadrupeds, are common, in this part of Africa. The elephant, rhinoceros and hippopotamus, formerly came within a ſhort diſtance of the Cape; but they have been ſo much hunted, and are ſo ſeldom ſeen at preſent, that the government have iſſued an order againſt killing them, within many miles of the town*.—The neighbouring ſeas and bays abound with excellent fiſh.—I know not whether the metallic ores of the interior mountains ought to be mentioned as an advantage; as it does not appear, that the coloniſts can work them with profit, on account of their remote and rugged ſituation. Some tribes of Hottentots, however, extract both copper and iron from the ores they find in their native mountains. See § 71, 287. But the grand advantage of the Cape, at leaſt that which appeared ſuch in the eyes of the Dutch Eaſt India company, was it's convenient ſituation, as a place of refreſhment for their ſhips; and, in this view, the bare inſpection of a map of Africa, ſhows

Animals.

Metals.

A ſtation for Dutch Eaſt India ſhips.

* The fleſh of the hippopotamus, is eaten at the Cape. In Mr Forſter's opinion, it's taſte is that of coarſe beef, but the fat rather reſembles marrow. It's tuſks are the beſt of ivory.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X. C. of Good Hope.

it's ſuperiority to all other parts of that continent. But it's ſituation and climate are not *now* it's only excellencies, as a port of refreſhment; for it abounds with a variety of the beſt greens and fruits, and, in particular, with ſome of the fineſt grapes and oranges in the world—articles peculiarly proper for ſeamen after long voyages.

Exports.

305. The prodigious expenſe, and the perſevering attention which this colony coſt, during the uncommonly tedious period of it's helpleſs infancy, began at laſt to ſhew their effects, in the exportation of a little ſurplus corn. But, having ſince arrived at a ſtate of comparative maturity, the Cape not only ſupplies the ſhips of all nations, which touch there, with neceſſaries and comforts, in abundance, and at moderate prices; but ſupplies all the Dutch, and ſome foreign, Aſiatic ſettlements, with great quantities of corn, flour, biſcuit, wines of various ſorts, brandy, butter, cheeſe, and ſalted proviſions.—No country feeds a greater number of cattle than this, nor is their fleſh any where cheaper or better. An ox commonly weighs from 500 to 600lb. A farm may make from 1500 to 3000lb. of butter, annually. Many feed from 1000 to 6 or 8000 ſheep, and a few have as far as 15,000, and cattle in proportion.

Farming.

Tenure of lands.

306. The Dutch Eaſt India company ſeem, for ſome time, evidently to have diſcouraged all new ſettlers, by granting no lands in private property, and by prohibiting the farmers from fixing their habitations within a mile of each other; though many parts of the country are ſo barren, that leſs land than a ſquare mile, (640 Engliſh acres) would ſcarcely make a proper grazing farm. The company are certainly more ſolicitous, at preſent, to promote their Eaſt Indian commerce, than the productions of this flouriſhing, but ſtill improveable, colony: otherwiſe, not only the cultivation

Digitized by Google

tivation, but the manufacture, of ſeveral valuable articles, might be introduced with advantage. Dr. Sparrman*, who makes this remark, gives ſeveral hints for the internal improvement of the colony; but, being merely local, it is unneceſſary to inſert them, eſpecially as the company, while they continue to attend almoſt excluſively to commerce, are not likely to put them in practice.

Dutch and Portugueſe policy contraſted.

307. Still the conduct of the company, or, perhaps more properly, of their predeceſſors, has been liberality itſelf, when compared with the extortion and oppreſſion of the Cape Verd company of Portugal. (See § 234.) "We were not a little pleaſed," ſays Forſter, "with the contraſt between this colony and the Portugueſe iſland of S. Jago. There we had taken notice of a tropical country, with a tolerable appearance, and capable of improvement; but utterly neglected by it's lazy and oppreſſed inhabitants. Here, onthe contrary, we ſaw a neat, well built town, all white, riſing in the midſt of a deſert, ſurrounded by broken maſſes of black and dreary mountains; or, in other words, the picture of ſucceſsful induſtry." The town contains many ſtore-houſes of the Dutch Eaſt India company, and tolerable fortifications. Here, as in other Dutch towns,

Cape town.

* I cannot help tranſcribing from Dr. Forſter's voyage, which lies open before me, his account of my friend and fellow traveller, which I can pronounce to be equally liberal and juſt. "We were fortunate enough," ſays he, "to meet with a man of ſcience, Dr. Sparrman, at this place, who, after ſtudying under the father of botany, the great Linné, had made a voyage to China, and another to the Cape, in purſuit of knowledge. The idea of gathering the treaſures of nature, in countries hitherto unknown to Europe, filled his mind ſo entirely, that he immediately engaged to accompany us, on our circumnavigation; in the courſe of which, I am proud to ſay, we have found him an enthuſiaſt in his ſcience, well verſed in medical knowledge, and endowed with a heart capable of the warmeſt feelings, and worthy of a philoſopher." Voyage round the World, Vol. I. p. 67.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

C. OF GOOD HOPE.

their genius manifeſts itſelf in rows of trees and canals; though experience proves the noxious effects of ſtagnant water; eſpecially in hot climates, and moſt fatally at Batavia.—The company's ſlaves are lodged and boarded, in a ſpacious houſe.—The large hoſpital for the Eaſt Indiamen, is generally pretty much crowded. For theſe ſhips ſometimes carry 6, 7 or 800 men, to ſupply the regiments in India; and their confined ſituation, and ſhort allowance of water and ſalt proviſions, make ſuch havock among them, that it is not very uncommon for an Indiaman, ſo freighted, to loſe, between Europe and the Cape, 80 or 100 men, and to ſend 2 or 300 to the hoſpital. It is a lamentable fact, that the facility with which the Zeelverkoopers (Soul-mongers) inveigle theſe unfortunate people, makes the company's ſervants more indifferent than they ſhould be about their preſervation*. They are plentifully ſupplied, however, with an antiſcorbutic diet, which, with the air of the place, certainly contributes more to their recovery than their doctors, who drench them *all*, indiſcriminately, with the *cheap* contents of two or three huge bottles.

Mortality of men kidnapped by Dutch *Soul-mongers*.

No toleration at the Cape.

308. Toleration, which has been ſo beneficial to Holland, is unknown at the Cape and at Batavia. In 1772, even a Lutheran clergyman was not tolerated at the Cape; but the chaplains of Daniſh and Swediſh ſhips, now and then offici-

* I wonder that the Slave-mongers, in their diſtreſs for pretexts to juſtify their traffic, have never mentioned the Dutch Soul-mongers, whoſe practice would have afforded them this notable argument.—The Soul-mongers kidnap men in Holland: *ergo* the ſlave-mongers may lawfully ſteal or carry off men, women and children in Africa, and murder them, if they reſiſt. But this argument will ſcarcely ſatisfy thoſe who reaſon on *different* principles, and who will never be convinced, that many thouſands ought to be *actually* murdered in Africa, *becauſe* ſome hundreds are *virtually* murdered by the Dutch Zeelverkoopers. See § 20.

ated

Digitized by Google

ated there. As in moſt other European colonies, no attention whatever is paid to the religion of the ſlaves. A few of them, however, who are believers in Mahomet, meet weekly, in the houſe of a free Mahometan, and read or chaunt ſome prayers and chapters of the koran.

Government and revenue, ſketched by Forſter.

309. The governor depends immediately on the Eaſt India company, and preſides over a council compoſed of the ſecond, or deputy governor, the fiſcal, the major, the ſecretary, the treaſurer, the comptrollers of proviſions, and liquors, and the book-keeper; each of whom has the charge of a branch of the company's commerce. This council manages the whole civil and military departments. The deputy governor preſides over the court of juſtice, which conſiſts of ſome of the members of the council. But no two relations can vote in either. The governor has a fixed ſalary, houſe and furniture, a garden and a table. He receives, beſides, 10 dollars for every leagre (108 gallons) of wine, exported to Batavia. The company gives 40 dollars for each leagre, of which the farmer receives but 24. Of the remainder, the governor is paid two-thirds, ſaid to be worth 4000 dollars annually, and the other third goes to the deputy, who directs the company's whole commerce here.—The fiſcal is at the head of the police, and ſees the penal laws executed. He is alſo appointed by the mother country, to whom alone he is accountable, as a check on the company's officers. The major commands the garriſon.—The deſignations of the other officers are deſcriptive of their departments.

310. The above is the ſubſtance of the account of the government of the Cape, given by Forſter, whoſe work was publiſhed in 1777. But it would appear that ſome change in it has ſince taken place; for the author of Das Merkwurdigſte, printed

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X. C. OF GOOD HOPE.

printed in 1787, says the government of the Cape is divided into the eight following departments—1st. The Great Council for the company's political and commercial business. It also sometimes represents the States General, and corresponds, at all times, with Holland and Batavia.—2. The Great College of Justice, a deputation of No. 1. and the three burgomasters of the Cape town. This court is independent on the company; but, from it an appeal lies to the similar superior courts in Batavia and Holland.—3. The lesser College of Justice, also a deputation of No. 1. for deciding smaller matters.—4. The Matrimonial Court, which takes care that regular marriages are observed.—5. The Charity College, which has the charge of orphans, and the females cannot marry, without their consent.—6. The Church College, which regulates the concerns of external worship.—7. The Civil Court.—Every colony at the Cape has it's own Burgher Council, chosen from among the most respectable citizens, and changed every second year. This council decides small matters between man and man; and, upon the whole, is represented as somewhat similar to the corporations in England.—8. The Military College, which conducts all military affairs, including the militia.—Of the revenue and expenditure of the Dutch at the Cape, Menzell gives the following statement:

	Guilders
A tax on produce, yielding, *communibus annis*,.....	206,617
Duties on imports from Holland and Batavia.....	206,500
25 per cent. on all cash sent to the Cape from Europe.....	54,520
	467,637
Annual expenditure, civil and military, is estimated at.....	361,330
Clear annual revenue of the company.....	106,307

But

But Kolben ſtates the clear annual revenue, which the Dutch Eaſt India company derives from the Cape, at above 300,000 guilders, annually. He appears, however, to include the profits of that part of their Eaſt Indian trade, which is connected with the Cape.

Military and population.

311. There are 700 regular troops in this colony, including the garriſon, of 400. The fencible white men form a militia of between 4 and 5000, of whom a great number may be aſſembled in a few hours, by ſignals of alarm. Hence we may eſtimate the whites of all ages and both ſexes, at between 16 and 20,000. But a part of the coloniſts are ſo very far ſcattered, as to be able to afford little protection to one another, and to the community. There are in the colony five or more ſlaves to one white man. Theſe ſlaves are chiefly from Madagaſcar, with a mixture of Malays, Bengaleſe and ſome negroes.—The greater part of the coloniſts are Germans, with ſome French proteſtants and Dutch. They are induſtrious, hoſpitable and ſociable; but fonder of good living, than of acquiring knowledge, for which they may plead the plenty of good cheer, and the extreme ſcarcity of good ſchools. Such coloniſts as can afford the expenſe, generally ſend their ſons to Holland for improvement; but the education of their females is too much neglected.

AUSTRIAN.

DELAGOA BAY.

312. The Bay of Delagoa, on the eaſt of Africa (lat. about 26° S.) was diſcovered in 1545, by Laurenço Marquez, a Portugueſe.

Portugueſe ſettle there

In this bay his nation afterwards formed a ſettlement, on the river Manyeeſſa, then the only one in Delagoa, navigable for large ſhips. They built a fort of which the veſtiges ſtill remain; but abandoned it, on the Manyeeſſa becoming unnavigable by an accumulation of ſand:

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X. DELAGOA.

ſand: and their colony of Mozambique having then acquired ſtrength, they did not find it worth while to renew their ſettlement in Delagoa Bay.

and Dutch.

313. The waters of the Mafoômo, in the ſame bay, having, in time, opened a channel of four fathoms over the bar, the Dutch formed a ſettlement there, which they held till 1727, when a ſtrong ſquadron of Engliſh pirates, who had their rendezvous at Madagaſcar, after plundering the Dutch warehouſes, razed them and the fort to the ground*.

Large tracts unoccupied by Europeans.

314. Such was then the increaſing proſperity of their colony at the Cape of Good Hope, and its dependencies, that the Dutch gave up all thoughts of re-eſtabliſhing that of Delagoa; ſo that, from that day to this, a large and fine country, on the eaſt of Africa, from Cabo das Correntes to the moſt eaſtern dependencies of the Cape colony, and on the weſt, a much larger tract, from Saldanha bay to Benguela, have been unoccupied by the Europeans, and abandoned to the peaceable and rightful poſſeſſion of the *unchriſtianized* Africans.

Auſtrian attempt, under *Col. Bolts*.

315. In the ſpring of 1777, however, an eſtabliſhment was made on the river Mafoômo, on behalf of Her late Imperial Majeſty, the Empreſs Queen, Maria Thereſa. The circumſtances and fate of this colony, as far as I have been able to collect them, were as follow:—With a view to recover the trade of the Eaſt, to the Auſtrian dominions in Flanders, Tuſcany and the Adriatic gulph, which had been loſt on the abolition of the Oſtend Eaſt India company, in 1727, Her Imperial Majeſty granted a charter, in 1775, to William Bolts, Eſq. a gentleman who had been formerly employed in Bengal, by the Engliſh Eaſt India company,

* See an account of this ſettlement and its deſtruction, in the Dutch Reiſen na Indien I. de Buckoi, and the Engliſh Hiſtory of the Pirates.

in

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X. DELAGOA.

in whoſe ſervice he had been extremely ill treated*. His charter contained many advantageous ſtipulations in his favour, with full powers from the Empreſs Queen for making commercial and colonial arrangements, with the chiefs of Africa and Aſia. He, at the ſame time, received a commiſſion as Lieut. Colonel.

The Colonel ſails Sept. 1776;

316. Having formed a connection with ſome gentlemen in Antwerp, recommended to him by the Imperial miniſters, Colonel Bolts finally ſailed in Sep. 1776, from Leghorn, in a large ſhip, richly laden and well armed, with ſome ſoldiers to preſerve ſubordination among a numerous body of people, from almoſt all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. Before the ſhip ſailed, the mean oppoſition of commercial bodies had ſhown itſelf. It was again manifeſted at Madeira, and in ſhort, the Colonel was followed to India by ſuch orders from the Engliſh Eaſt India company to their preſidencies, and from theſe to the Nabobs, under whoſe names they act when convenient, as were contrary to the rules of friendſhip between civilized nations, and even to common humanity.

is oppoſed by commercial bodies;

317. As it would have been extremely imprudent to rely on the accidental good reception of any nation actuated by that peſt of ſociety, the jealouſy of commerce, Colonel Bolts, inſtead of touching at the Cape of Good Hope, reſolved to puſh on to Delagoa Bay†. Having arrived there, the ſecurity for ſhipping in the river Mafoômo, the reſources he ſaw in the country, and the facility of treating with the chiefs, through a Mahommedan from Bengal, whom he found ſettled there, convinced him that it was a proper place for forming an eſtabliſhment. After a ſhort reſidence,

arrives at Delagoa bay;

* See his Conſiderations on India Affairs, 3 vols. 4to. in 1772. † See § 294.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X. DELAGOA.

with the help of preſents, and the influence he acquired by performing ſome ordinary operations with an electrical machine, the Colonel was ſo fortunate as to gain the friendſhip of Capell and Matôla, the chiefs of the oppoſite ſides of the river, though declared enemies to each other.

buys land of two chiefs;

318. Theſe chiefs poſſeſſed the country all round, could each raiſe 15,000 men, acknowledged no dependence on any European nation, and had no intercourſe even with the Dutch and Portugueſe, their neareſt neighbours. Colonel Bolts, therefore, in the name of her Imperial Majeſty, purchaſed from them a part of their reſpective territories on each ſide the Mafoômo, and commanding it's entrance. The goods agreed for were delivered, and the Imperial flag hoiſted, in preſence of a great concourſe of people, including the crews of two Britiſh ſhips from Bombay, trading for ivory and commanded by Captains M'Kenny and Cahill.

builds temporary houſes, &c.

319. The ſhip remained in the river four months, during which temporary houſes and a brick warehouſe were erected; when Colonel Bolts, thinking his preſence might, for ſome time, be diſpenſed with, reſolved to make a voyage in the ſhip, to the coaſt of Malabar, which appeared, on ſeveral accounts, adviſeable and even neceſſary. By the good will of Capt. M'Kenny, a retreat on board his ſhip was provided, in caſe of neceſſity, for the reſident, Mr. A. D. Pollet, who was to remain, in charge of the infant ſettlement.

begins a trade;

320. The Colonel, having arrived on the Malabar coaſt, bought and fitted out three veſſels, with cargoes proper for the trade, as well as the neceſſities of the infant ſettlement. One of them remained in the river Mafoômo, as a floating battery, while the others were conſtantly carrying ivory to Cambay, and returning to Delagoa, with articles ſuited to the African barter.—By artificers ſent from

Digitized by Google

from Surat, the houſes and warehouſes were rendered more commodious and ſolid, and a 12 gun battery was erected on the ſouth ſide of the Mafoômo. From Surat, the Colonel alſo ſent a *Mullah*, or Mahommedan prieſt, with his family, in order to convert to his religion, thoſe Africans who were attached to, or connected with, the colony, and whoſe numbers conſtantly increaſed. For, ſeeing that, from their predeliction for polygamy, chriſtianity was not likely to be agreeable to them, he judged (in conformity with the commercial principles on which it was his buſineſs to act) that for the purpoſes of *civilizing*, and then *governing* a rude people, any religion is better than none. Beſides, their intercourſe with the black Mahommedan crews of the veſſels coming regularly from India, ſeemed to facilitate and encourage the attempt, by giving to precept the advantage of example.

Sends a Mahommedan miſſionary to the colony.

321. The natives of this part of Africa are well made, lively, active, intelligent, and imitative. Happily they did not then allow the ſlave-trade, and Colonel Bolts hopes, this barbarous cuſtom has not yet vitiated them. Elephants' teeth were then their only important commodities; but cowries and ſea-horſe teeth were alſo occaſionally exported. The Colonel, however, among other important objects, had in view the cultivation of cotton and ſugar-canes, which are indigenous there, and grow luxuriantly all about the country. In time too, he hoped to open a trade in gold duſt, with the independent inland chiefs, by the river Mafoômo, and particularly with a kingdom called *Quitive*, which, though ſaid to abound in gold, has hitherto been unexplored by the Europeans. Rice and other vegetables grow luxuriantly; though the natives ſeldom cultivate more than they think they want. By inſtructing and encouraging

Natives intelligent.

Wild cotton and ſugar, canes, gold, rice, &c.

CHAP. X. DELAGOA.

couraging them to practiſe agriculture, all the tropical, and many other productions, might in time have rendered Delagoa almoſt as commodious a place of refreſhment as the Cape, and, in ſome caſes, preferable.

The colony thrives.

322. But the Imperialiſts remained only three years in poſſeſſion of this promiſing colony. Colonel Bolts, after ſucceeding in every part of his miſſion, returned to Europe, where he found that the Empreſs Queen had died three months before his arrival; and, with her, vaniſhed all his hopes of ſupport or juſtice. Prince Kaunitz, the miniſter, on a proteſt from the court of Liſbon, had diſavowed the ſettlement; and, in conſequence, a ſhip of war, with 300 troops and two field-pieces, was ſent from Goa to Delagoa, where the Imperialiſts were treated in the ſame manner as we have ſeen the Dutch were, by the pirates, in 1727, their ſhips, effects, and men having been ſeized and carried off.

But, Prince Kaunitz diſavowing it, the Portugueſe break it up.

323. Thus were the extenſive views of this able, enterterpriſing and public ſpirited man, fruſtrated, by the very court, for whom he acted, while he had the full powers of the Empreſs Queen in his pocket; and, at the hazard of his own life and fortune, was *bona fide* labouring to promote the Auſtrian Eaſt India trade—a trade which his indefatigable and well directed exertions had ſo compleatly re-eſtabliſhed, that we have ſince ſeen eight and twenty India ſhips aſſembled at Oſtend, excluſive of thoſe at Leghorn and Trieſte.

Col. Bolts the reſtorer of the Auſtrian Eaſt India trade.

Claims of Spain and Portugal ridiculous.

324. The cauſe of Prince Kaunitz's diſavowal of this colony, never tranſpired. But all Europe is acquainted with the claims advanced by the courts of Portugal and Spain, on ſimilar occaſions. The argument of the former is ſhort and ſimple.—" The natives of the country are *infidels:*

a ſubject

Digitized by Google

a ſubject of the crown of Portugal was the firſt *chriſtian* who ſet foot in that country: ERGO that country belongs to the *chriſtian* crown of Portugal." The logic of the court of Spain, in the affair of Nootka Sound, was equally laconic and concluſive.—" Some Spaniards are ſettled at California, and on the neighbouring parts of America: ERGO the whole northweſt coaſt of America belongs to Spain." Our potent caſuiſts never once hint at the original inhabitants. Theſe are ſavages and *infidels*, whoſe claims merit no attention from *chriſtians*.

Flagrant abuſe of commerce exemplified.

325. But the Spaniards and Portugueſe are not the only Europeans who have hitherto diſregarded ſuch primitive pretenſions, as will appear from the following particulars, which very ſtrongly exemplify *the abuſe of commerce*, one material part of my ſubject. In the year 1672, Charles II. was graciouſly pleaſed to *give* and *grant*, unto the Royal African Company of England, " all and ſingular the lands, countries, havens, roads, rivers and other places in Africa, from Sallee, in South Barbary, to the Cape of Good Hope, for and during the term of one thouſand years; with the ſole, entire and only trade and traffic" (N. B. *in the perſons of the inhabitants*) " into and from the ſaid countries and places." May it not be doubted, whether Swift himſelf, that great maſter of irony, ever penned any thing ſo conſummately ridiculous, to ſay nothing of it's *other* qualities?—But Charles gave and granted to *himſelf* a participation of the above extraordinary privileges; for he and his brother, afterwards James II. were ſubſcribers to this ſame company, and were both largely concerned in the ſlave-trade. Some other monarchs, however, were far from favouring that traffic; for Louis XI. of France, and the renowned Elizabeth of England, *made no ſecret* of their utter abhorrence of the ſlave-

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X. Debaqq4.

ſlave-trade. But this was not Charles's *only* trade; for Sir T. Modiford, then Governor of Jamaica, having, by his ſole authority, declared war againſt the Spaniards, his maſter not only approved of theſe predatory hoſtilities; but, in 1668, ſent the governor an inſtruction, empowering him to nominate partners, to participate with His Majeſty in the captures,' "they finding victuals, wear and tear." Charles was ſeveral years actually engaged in this privateering, or rather *bucaneering*, trade*.—He and his immediate ſucceſſor appear, indeed, to have been *par nobile fratrum*, and to have left the Britiſh nation ſufficient reaſon to remember them, and the *day* when an over-ruling Providence was pleaſed to remove their family from the throne, and to bleſs the nation with a conſtitution which has had conſiderable influence on the arbitrary governments of Europe, and the radical principles of which, it is to be hoped, they will all gradually adopt, as far as their various circumſtances will permit.

Col. Bolts conſulted about a Swediſh colony.

326. The late Guſtavus III. of Sweden, who appeared to favour commerce more than agriculture, having heard of the abilities of *Colonel Bolts*, in colonial affairs, and his great knowledge of mercantile geography, prevailed on him (through his Ambaſſador at Paris, Baron Stael von Holſtein) to go to Sweden, in order to conſult with him about eſtabliſhing a ſettlement for the convenience of the Swediſh Eaſt Indian ſhips. But, when the Colonel arrived at Stockholm, he found the King ſo deeply involved in the late unfortunate war with Ruſſia, that he could attend to no other

* See Poſtlethwayt's Dict. Art. Eng. Afr. Co.—Long's Hiſt. of Jamaica, Vol. I. p. 626, compared with Vol. II. p. 140.—Edwards's Ditto Vol. II. p. 35, 36.—Hill's Nav. Hiſt.—Labat Nouv. Relat. de l'Afrique.

buſi-

Digitized by Google

buſineſs. After a long and fruitleſs attendance, the Colonel returned to Paris, having received, by His Majeſty's order, about £500 ſter. a ſum which, though perhaps as much as an almoſt exhauſted treaſury could well afford, was, however, very inadequate to the expenſe he incurred in collecting materials, not to mention the time and labour which the formation of eſtimates, and the arrangement of an extenſive ſcheme, muſt have coſt him. But though this plan be intimately connected with my ſubject, and may one day be carried into execution, I do not think myſelf at liberty to detail it's particulars, without the Colonel's expreſs concurrence.

NEW PLAN FOR *EXPLORING AFRICA*

327. I have juſt been informed that the gentlemen of the African aſſociation of London, perſevering in their deſign of exploring the interior parts of that continent, which reflects ſo much honour on this age and nation, have equipped two veſſels, for a new expedition, which now wait for convoy; and that they are to be generouſly aſſiſted, by the Britiſh government, with the ſum of £6000 ſterling. The perſons appointed to carry this plan into execution, are a Mr. Park, who is a good natural hiſtorian, and a Mr. Willis, on whom His Majeſty, on this occaſion, has been pleaſed to confer the rank of conſul. Both the gentlemen have the character of being uncommonly well qualified for ſuch an undertaking; and they are to be attended by a captain, 60 ſoldiers, and proper aſſiſtants, of every deſcription. Taking for granted, that

CHAP. X.

that Goree has been abandoned by the French, they are firſt to proceed thither, where they will find a town ready built, and fitted for every purpoſe of health and accomodation, in a hot climate. From this firſt ſtation, I underſtand, they propoſe to ſail for Fatatenda, on the River Gambia, beyond which veſſels of any conſiderable burden cannot conveniently proceed. From Fatatenda, it is ſaid, Mr. Park takes his departure for Bambouk, whence he is to convey back intelligence of his arrival to Mr. Willis, who will then follow him thither. Both gentlemen having arrived at Bambouk, Mr. Willis will remain there, to preſerve a communication with the ſhips, while Mr. Park will endeavour to penetrate to the River Niger, or to the city of Tombuctoo. I have been told farther, that the chiefs of the country are to be engaged to aſſiſt in the undertaking; but, with a precaution which, I believe, has never before been taken: they are to receive no previous douceurs, and no rewards whatever, till they ſhall produce certificates, or other proofs, that they have actually performed their engagements; and then they will be paid the rewards ſtipulated, on board the veſſels, or at the places where the goods are ſecured.—If this be the plan, and I have reaſon to believe that the above are the principal heads of it, I muſt ſay that it appears to me, to be better laid, and conſequently, to be more likely to ſucceed, than any one of the kind that has yet come within my knowledge.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

Digitized by Google

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT would give the author great pain, if in delivering his free, but conſcientious, opinions on ſubjects ſo very intereſting to humanity, his language ſhould unfortunately be miſunderſtood; eſpecially *ſo* miſunderſtood, as to ſuggeſt the repetition of Colonial attempts, on principles, *merely* pecuniary, mercantile, or, in ſhort, *mercenary*. His meaning is to reprobate ſuch principles. The impolicy and the inhumanity of acting, *excluſively*, on them, in colonial undertakings, he hinted at, in his pamphlet publiſhed in 1789, and has endeavoured to ſhow, more at length, throughout the preſent work. The period indeed ſeems faſt approaching, if it has not yet arrived, when *other* principles will be acknowledged and acted upon; when perſons of property, diſcarding all falſe commercial maxims, and adopting thoſe of benevolence, which is but another word for *true* policy, will ſucceſsfully labour to reconcile *ſelf intereſt* with the *intereſts of mankind*.

The author would reſpectfully intimate, that, from the late commencement of the work, and the *tardy* and *ſparing* communication of materials which he reaſonably expected from perſons, who once appeared to favour his undertaking, he, at laſt, found himſelf very much hurried, and circumſcribed in point of time. Theſe circumſtances, which he could not control, have embarraſſed him much; and, it is hoped, will ſufficiently account for the delay of the publication, beyond the time he propoſed; as well as for ſuch inaccuracies as, he fears, may have eſcaped him. It is hoped, that the candid reader will eaſily perceive, that his ſincere intention, throughout, is to improve, not to offend.—DELECTANDO, *pariter que monendo*, will be allowed to be a more proper motto for a literary eſſay, than for one intended to promote arduous undertakings.

Perhaps the reader will not be diſpleaſed, at finding the ſubject much more fully treated, than was promiſed in the propoſals; nor at the interſperſion of many particulars, perhaps more intereſting than known, in addition to ſuch remarks as aroſe from the author's

Digitized by Google

own travelling experience. On the extenſion of the plan, a change of the title became neceſſary: hence the preſent one ("An Eſſay on Colonization," &c) has been ſubſtituted for that which was announced in the propoſals. The enlargement of the work, alſo gave riſe to it's diviſion into two parts, correſponding to the important diſtinction between the Colonies already eſtabliſhed, or attempted, in Africa and it's iſlands, on the principles of *commerce*—and thoſe now forming there (by the Britiſh and the Danes) on the principles of *humanity*. (See the Contents).

To the whole, will be ſubjoined an appendix, conſiſting of papers and documents, illuſtrative of the work; alſo a nautical map, and ſome other engravings, one of which will include a likeneſs of a gentleman whoſe modeſt and unaffected, but ardent, unwearied, and truly Chriſtian beneficence has long been (and long may it be!) an ornament to the Britiſh nation, and to human nature itſelf.

*** A table of *errata*, &c. will be given in the ſecond part.

Digitized by Google

AN

ESSAY

ON

COLONIZATION,

PARTICULARLY APPLIED TO THE

WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA,

WITH SOME FREE THOUGHTS ON

CULTIVATION AND COMMERCE;

ALSO

BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS

OF THE COLONIES ALREADY FORMED, OR ATTEMPTED, IN AFRICA,

INCLUDING THOSE OF

SIERRA LEONA AND BULAMA.

BY

C. B. WADSTROM.

PART SECOND.

Illustrated with a Nautical Map (from Lat. 5° 30′ to Lat. 14° N.) and other Plates.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,

BY DARTON AND HARVEY, GRACECHURCH-STREET.

MDCCXCV.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

AUTHORS quoted in this WORK.

ADANSON, Voyage au Senegal, § 49, 88.
Anderſon, Dr. (of Edinburgh) his periodical paper, the Bee, § 750.
Annual Regiſter for 1779, § 331.
Anonymous, Daniſh author, Die Handlung verſchiedener Völker auf der Kuſte von Guinea und in Weſtindien. Copenhagen, 1758, Octavo.
Atlas maritimus et commercialis, § 70, 199, 274.
Bell's General Directions for preſerving Health at S. Leona, § 335.
Benyowſky, Count de, his Memoirs and Travels, § 276 *& ſeq.*
Blackſtone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, § 330.
Blane's Obſervations on the Diſeaſes of Seamen, § 936.
Brown's Hiſtory of Jamaica, § 802 note, 871.
Buchannan, Rev. Mr. J. L. his Account of the Hebrides, § 750.
Bolt's Conſiderations on Indian Affairs, § 213, 315.
Buckoi, Reiſen na Indien, § 313.
Buſton's Hiſtoire Naturelle, § 235.
Cath. II. Imp. de Ruſſ. Inſtit. pour un Nouv. Code de Loix, § 750.
Chaſtellux's Travels in America, § 263 note, 598.
Clarkſon's Eſſay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, § 704, 783.
Clarkſon's Eſſay on the Impolicy of the Slave Trade, § 706, 724.
Clarkſon's Eſſay on the Inefficiency of Regulation as applied to the Slave-trade, § 706.
Das Merkwurdigſte aus den beſten Beſchriebungen von Cap, § 300.
Demanet, Nouvelle Hiſtoire de l'Afrique Françaiſe, § 235, 529.
Dickſon's Letters on Slavery, § 745, 775.
Douglas's Hiſtory of New England, § 180.
Edwards's Hiſtory of the Britiſh W. Indies, § 136, 325.
Ellis's Hiſtory of Coffee, § 69.
Elucidations of African Geography, by the African Aſſociation, § 115 note, 505.
Encyclopædia Britannica, 3d. edition, § 199.
Ferner, Bengt, Diſcourſe in the Stockholm Academy of Sciences, § 42.
Forſter's Voyage round the World, § 146, 221, *ſeq.* 235, 300 *& ſeq.*
Fothergill's Works, § 330, 596.
Franklin's Life and Eſſays, § 133, 141, 670, 702.
Glas's Hiſtory of the Canary Iſlands, § 251 *& ſeq.*
Grand Pierre, Relation de divers Voyages dans l'Afrique, l'Amerique, &c. § 975.
Hill's Naval Hiſtory, § 325.
Hiſtory of the Pirates.
Hook's Philoſophical Experiments and Obſervations, § 651 *& ſeq.*
Hume's Eſſays.
Iſert's Letter's to his Father, § 80.
Jöranſon's C. L. Tabeller om mott, mohl och wigt, 4to. Stockholm, 1777.
Kaime's, Lord, his Sketches of the Hiſtory of Man, § 29, 751.
Labat, Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique occidentale, § 71. 115, 325, 528, 534, 946.
Lind's Eſſay on the Diſeaſes of Europeans in Hot Climates, § 45, 46, 52, 73, 75, 693, 997.
Linnæi Sp. Plant. l'Art de la Teinture, Dickſon's Faſciculum, &c. § 258.
Long's Hiſtory of Jamaica, § 84, 136, 138, 180, 184, 325, 635, 702, 753, 936.
Lowitz, in Monthly Review Appendix, Vol. 12, p. 606, § 54.
Matthews's Voyage to Sierra Leona, § 115, 339.
Menzell, Beſchreibung von Cap de Bonne Eſperance, § 20, 300.
Minutes of Evidence before the Houſe of Commons, relative to the Slave-trade, *paſſim.*
Moſely's Treatiſe on Tropical Diſeaſes, § 936.
Monteſquieu, Eſprit de Loix, § 635, 702.

More's

Digitized by Google

Moore's Travels into the Inland parts of Africa, § 669, 783.
Mortimer's Commercial Dictionary, § 199, 300 & *seq.*
Muncaſter, Lord, his Sketches of the Hiſtory of the Slave-trade.
New Account of Aſia and Africa, 1785.
New Jeruſalem Magazine, No. IV. § 621, 693.
Nordenſkiold, (Ulric) afhandling om nyttan för Sverige af handel och Nybyggen i Indierne och pa Africa, 8vo. Stockholm, 1776, § 693, 977.
Ogilby's Account of Africa, § 693.
Plan of a free Community in Africa, independent of Europe, § 194, 606.
Poſtlethwayt's Commercial Dictionary, § 2, 69, 70, 180, 199, 325.
Primatt's Eſſay on the Duty of Mercy, &c. to Brute Animals, § 131.
Price on Annuities.
Purchas's Pilgrim, § 693.
Ramſay's Eſſays on the Treatment, &c. of African ſlaves, § 704.
Raſk's, Reiſe beſkrivelſe til og fra Guinea, § 974.
Raynal, Hiſtoire philoſophique et politique, &c. § 99.
Reaſons for eſtabliſhing the colony of Georgia, § 107, 180, 195, 196.
Report of the Britiſh Privy Council Relative to the Slave-trade, *paſſim.*
Report of the Aſſembly of Barbadoes Relative to the Slave-trade, § 702.
Robert, Geographie Naturelle, § 269
Robertſon's Hiſtory of Scotland, § 339.
Robertſon's Hiſtory of Charles V. § 937.
Robertſon's Hiſtory of America, § 4, 579.
Sefſtrom's Memoir in the Acts of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, § 84.
Sharp on Congregational Courts, 166, 191.
Sharp, Sketch of Temporary regulations for S. Leona, § 84, 190, 740, 978.
Sheffield, Lord, his Obſervations on the Commerce of America, § 268
Smeathman's Account of the *Termites* (wood ants or bug-a-bugs) in the Philoſ. Tranſ. 1781. § 62, 82, 650.
Smith, Dr. A. his Wealth of Nations, § 112, 117, 135, 180.
Smith, W. Eſq. his Voyage to Guinea, § 676.
Snelgrave's Account of Guinea, § 676.
Sparrman's Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, § 300.
Tableau General de Commerce, § 199, 369.
Temple, Sir W. his Obſervations on Holland, § 112.
Tilleman's, Beretning om det Landſkab Guinea, § 973.
Treatiſe on the Trade of Great Britain by an African Merchant, § 70.
Wadſtrom's Obſervations on the Slave-trade, &c. § 483.
Walker's Geography, § 741
Water's Newſte Erdkunde, &c. § 269.
Weſt's Bridag til Beſkrivelſe over St. Croix, § 46, 59, 976, 980.
Wilſon's Effect of Hot Climates on Vegetable and Animal Bodies, § 635.
Winterbotham's View of the United States of America.
Zimmerman, Profeſſor at Brunſwick.

Digitized by Google

E S S A Y

ON

COLONIZATION, *&c.*

CHAP. XI.

COLONIES ATTEMPTED, OR NOW FORMING, IN AFRICA, ON THE PRINCIPLES OF HUMANITY,

By the Britiſh, the Danes, and the Swedes.

328. HAVING, in the firſt part, given brief deſcriptions of the colonies formed, or attempted by the Europeans in Africa, and it's iſlands, on the principles of commerce, I now proceed to offer ſome account of thoſe which the Britiſh, the Danes and the Swedes have attempted, or are now endeavouring to eſtabliſh, in that part of the world, on the principles of humanity, for the noble purpoſe of civilizing the natives. This, I acknowledge, would be to me a pleaſant taſk, if I were provided with *all* the proper materials, and could promiſe to deſcribe the riſe, progreſs and preſent ſtate of thoſe undertakings, with an exactneſs correſponding to their importance. But, unfortunately, neither my materials, nor abilities, are equal to my inclination, to do juſtice to a ſubject, which has long been dear to my heart. Reſpecting the Daniſh colony, my information, though it has both novelty and authenticity to recommend it, is by no means ſo full as I could wiſh; and of the *internal* hiſtory

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

of the Britiſh colony at Sierra Leona, and the late attempt at Bulama, I have not been able, with all my aſſiduity, to collect ſo many authentic particulars as I expected, which have not already been inſerted or touched on in the reports of the gentlemen, who reſpectively preſide over thoſe undertakings. But, of the Swediſh attempt, or rather deſign, I can give a more ſatisfactory ſtatement.—The reports of the Directors of the Sierra Leona Company, and thoſe of the Truſtees of the Bulama Aſſociation, are really inſtructive and intereſting, as far as they go: but, having been chiefly intended to inform the proprietors of the ſtate of their affairs, and of the proceedings of the Directors and the Truſtees, we cannot reaſonably expect them to contain more of the *internal* hiſtory of thoſe colonies, (my chief *deſideratum*) than was conſiſtent with the principal deſign. The truth is, that, conſidering the various calamities which befel thoſe infant eſtabliſhments, and which rendered the keeping of regular journals extremely difficult, I am more ſurprized at the fulneſs than the brevity of the *hiſtorical parts* of thoſe reports: and their defects cannot I think be fairly attributed to any other cauſes than thoſe juſt mentioned. In ſhort, it is but too well known, that early misfortunes checked the colony at Sierra Leona, and overwhelmed, but it is hoped not irretrievably, that of Bulama. The ſame unhappy events could not fail to obſcure the hiſtory of both.

The author obliged to abridge his materials.

329. The reports, I am obliged to compreſs into a compaſs ſuitable to my limits. But I mean to retain all the eſſential circumſtances; and to inſert in the appendix, the additional ones which I have been able to aſcertain, and ſuch remarks as the ſubjects will fairly bear. Thus, a circumſtantial and faithful abridgment of the reports will form the baſis of what I have to deliver reſpecting Sierra Leona and Bulama;

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

and the additions will moſt probably, after all, more than occupy the ſpace gained by abbreviation. By way of apology to the gentlemen concerned, I can only expreſs my hope that, in conſideration of the intention, they will excuſe the liberty I have been obliged to take in abridging their reports, as well as in differing with them in ſome of their opinions. Subjects in their nature controvertible, neceſſarily ſuppoſe and admit diverſity of ſentiments. But ſurely men may entertain different opinions of particulars, whoſe great, primary motive to action is the ſame. The more I conſider the ſubject, the more I am convinced that the motive of the gentlemen alluded to, is a conſcientious anxiety to promote the civilization of Africa; and I am willing to interpret all their opinions and actions, by the ſame rule of candour and charity, which I wiſh to be applied to my own.

Dr. Smeathman's plan for colonizing S. Leona.

330. Before I proceed to abridge the reports, it ſeems proper to obſerve, that, as far as I have been able to learn, the late Dr. Henry Smeathman was the perſon who firſt propoſed a *ſpecific plan* for colonizing Africa, with a view to civilization*. From his letter to Dr. Knowles, dated July

* I ſay, a *ſpecific plan*; for that great ornament of ſociety and friend of mankind, the late learned Dr. Fothergill, had before "ſuggeſted the cultivation of the ſugar-cane upon the continent of Africa, where it ſeems to have been indigenous, and thrives luxuriantly (See § 63;) and that the natives ſhould be employed as ſervants for hire, and not as ſlaves, compelled to labour, by the dread of torture." See "Some Account of the late John Fothergill, M. D. F. R. S. &c. read before the Medical Society of London, in 1782, by John Coakley Lettſom." Fothergill's Works, Vol. III.

I cannot omit that Dr. J. C. Lettſom, who was born to an inheritance of ſlaves, after having trained them, by a long courſe of kind and beneficent offices, to a due regard for ſocial and religious obligations, generouſly declared them free. As far as I have been informed, the Doctor is the only Weſt Indian who has emancipated any conſiderable number of ſlaves; but, in North America, ſuch inſtances have been numerous,

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

July the 21ſt, 1783, (ſee § 621, *et ſeq.*) it appears, that he conceived this noble deſign, in Africa itſelf, where he reſided four years. In 1786, he publiſhed his "Plan of a ſettlement, to be made near Sierra Leona, &c. intended more particularly for the ſervice and happy eſtabliſhment of blacks and people of colour, to be ſhipped as freemen, under the direction of the Committee for relieving the black poor, and under the protection of the Britiſh Government." (§ 648, *et ſeq.*) The principle and object of this plan were ſo congenial with the benevolent views of Granville Sharp, Eſq. that it could not but meet with his *general* approbation. Mr. Sharp had for many years, with great labour and expenſe, maintained the claims and rights of the enſlaved Africans. His exertions in the famous cauſe of the negro Somerſet, are alone ſufficient to immortalize him. After a long litigation, Lord Mansfield, in June 1772, delivered the judgment of the Court of King's Bench, the effect of which is, that *the inſtant a ſlave lands on the Britiſh ſhore, he becomes*, IPSO FACTO, *free:* and the judgment itſelf was a noble effect of the Britiſh Conſtitution, which, ſays another learned judge, "abhors and will not endure the exiſtence of ſlavery, within this kingdom*," Mr. Sharp

Mr. Granville Sharp's exertions.

merous. Indeed the whole ſociety of QUAKERS, in that country, have, in conſiſtency with their principles, "let the oppreſſed go free." But, ſo well had they been prepared for the change, by the care and humanity of their praiſeworthy maſters, that they ſtill, in general, ſerve them, and ſo faithfully, that, even in a pecuniary view, they have no reaſon to repent of their liberality.

For a very extraordinary propoſal, for civilizing Africa, ſee in the Appendix, Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE A.

* Blackſtone's Comm. If it be aſked why ſlavery is endured within the Britiſh colonies? the true anſwer ſeems to be, that, like ſome other abuſes and uſurpations, it *ſtole* into thoſe diſtant dependencies, in unſettled times, when the communi-

cation

Sharp was not only particularly inſtrumental in bringing this important cauſe to a deciſion; but took care that every oppreſſed negro, *whoſe caſe came to his knowledge*, ſhould enjoy the benefit of it; for many negroes, illegally confined, in order to be clandeſtinely conveyed to the Weſt Indies and America, have ſince owed their deliverance to Mr. Sharp's active and ſpirited interpoſition. In ſhort, many years before Dr. Smeathman propoſed, or probably conceived, his plan, Mr. Sharp's exertions and writings, had diſtinguiſhed him as the ſteady aſſertor of the ancient, noble, unſophiſticated principles of the conſtitution of his country, and the indefatigable benefactor of the Africans, and of the "poor and thoſe who had none to help them."

331. Theſe obſervations are not the vile flouriſhes of a ſycophant's pen. By every friend to the cauſe I have the honour to ſupport, they will readily be allowed to contain nothing but literal truth; and Mr. Sharp ought not to be ſurpriſed, that merit like his has become known, notwithſtanding his ingenuous endeavours to conceal it; for, I am perſuaded, he looks not for his reward from men. Neither are

cation with the mother country was comparatively infrequent—as would appear from this remarkable circumſtance alone, *That no law explicitly enacting ſlavery is to be found in any of the colonial ſtatute-books.* Even the Weſt Indian law-makers never ventured on ſo flagrant a violation of their charters, which expreſsly ſtipulate that their internal laws "ſhall not be repugnant, but as near as may be, to the laws of England." Hence all their ſlave-laws *ſuppoſe* the exiſtence of ſlavery, and are confined merely to it's *regulation*. Thus ſlavery, which is repugnant to natural law, has, in the Britiſh dominions, no ſhadow of foundation even in *poſitive* law, the only foundation it can have in any civilized country. In other words, it is in every reſpect, an illegal, unwarrantable, and indefenſible abuſe.—See Mr. Sharp's "Repreſentation of the injuſtice and danger of tolerating ſlavery," and his "Law of Retribution;" alſo the Eſſays ſigned *Common Senſe* in the Morning Chronicle, the Star, and the Diary of Dec. 1791.—So much for Weſt Indian ſlavery. *Another* ſpecies of *mercantile* ſlavery I have touched on in § 121, 197, note.

theſe

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

theſe obſervations made with a view to detract from the reſpect due to the memory of Dr. Smeathman, who will ever be gratefully remembered by the friends of Africa, as the man who firſt laid down a ſpecific plan for it's civilization, and ſupported it with exertions which, in 1787, cauſed, or accelerated, his diſſolution*. For, on his return from Sierra Leona, finding the "Committee for relieving the black poor†," already formed, he appears to have moſt zealouſly co-operated with them, as well as with Mr. Sharp, and to have laboured to derive from their benevolence, ſupport to his grand deſign of civilizing Africa‡.

* Mr. Heathcote, a gentleman who was well acquainted with the late Dr. Smeathman, has been ſo obliging as to promiſe me a ſeries of obſervations on the thermometer made by Dr. S. while on the Coaſt, and which, if I receive them in time, ſhall be inſerted in the Appendix, after the names of the Subſcribers to the Bulama undertaking.

† That committee conſiſted of the following gentleman, viz, Jonas Hanway, Eſq. *Chairman*; Montague Burgoyne, Eſq. Harley ſt. B. Johnſon, Eſq. Liſſon Green; Sir Joſeph Andrews, Bart. Knightſbridge; George Peters, Eſq. Old Bethlem; John Oſborne, Eſq. New Norfolk ſt. J. J. Angerſtein, Eſq. Albemarle ſt. J. P. Andrews, Eſq. Brompton; S. Hoare, Eſq. Lombard ſt. G. Drake, Eſq. Bedford Sq. F. Matthews, Eſq. Bridge ſt. Weſtminſter; W. Ward, Eſq. Fenchurch ſt. Richard Shaw, Eſq. London Bridge; J. Cornwall, Eſq. Portland Place; S. Thornton, Eſq. M. P. King's Arm's Yard; H. Thornton, Eſq. M.P. Bartholomew lane; T. Boddington, Eſq. Mark lane; General Melville, Brewer ſt.

‡ In 1771, that able geographer, Alexander Dalrymple, Eſq. drew up a plan for promoting civilization, by fitting out ſhips to convey uſeful animals and vegetables to New Zealand and other remote regions, which are ſtill deſtitute of many important productions, to which their reſpective ſoils and climates are undoubtedly congenial. The propoſer generouſly offered to take upon himſelf the command of the firſt ſhip which ſhould be equipped for ſuch an expedition, the whole expenſe of which he eſtimated, at £15,000,—a ſmall demand from humanity on the wealth accumulated by commerce! The celebrated Dr. Franklin, being informed of this benevolent ſcheme, wrote a paper to recommend it, which was printed and circulated with Mr. D's plan and eſtimate. It is mortifying to add, that this propoſal, ſo reſpectable in it's origin, ſo moderate in it's means and ſo beneficent in it's end, did not receive the ſupport it merited. But the diſcerning editors of the Annual Regiſter ſaw it's value, and inſerted it among the "*Uſeful Projects*," in their volume for 1779, under the title of "*Plan by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Dalrymple for benefiting diſtant, unprovided countries.*" This philanthropic hint ſeems, however, to have had ſome weight with Dr. F's own countrymen, for in the year 1787, an expedition was fitted out at the expenſe of ſeveral gentlemen in Boſton, in North America, for the laudable purpoſe of diſcovering channels of liberal commerce, and conciliating *civil* intercourſe with the natives of the great ſouth weſtern coaſt of that continent, of which the medal, at the end of this work, is a memorial, and was diſtributed, in ſilver and copper, among the natives for that purpoſe.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

Comm. for relieving the black poor.

332. Reſpect and gratitude are alſo juſtly due to thoſe worthy perſons who, before Dr. Smeathman propoſed his plan, had formed themſelves into the Committee juſt mentioned. But the deſign of ſending them to Sierra Leona appears to have been the ſuggeſtion of Dr. S. The memory of the chairman of that Committee will long be revered; and ſome of the other members (for I have not the honour of knowing them all) have ſince invariably acted the part of generous, enlightened and conſcientious promoters of *the abolition of the ſlave-trade*, and *the civilization of Africa*. I allude particularly to the Meſſ. Thorntons and Mr. Samuel Hoare.

The following is an Abridgment of the Report of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leona Company to the General Court, held at London, on the 19th of October, 1791. Edit. 2.*

333. In purſuance of the Act of Parliament incorporating the SIERRA LEONA COMPANY†, the following thirteen gentlemen have been choſen Directors for the preſent year (viz. the year commencing on the 19th of October, 1791.)

HENRY THORNTON, Eſq. M. P. Chairman.

PHILIP SANSOM, Eſq. Dep. Chairm.	JOHN KINGSTON, Eſq.
SIR CHARLES MIDDLETON, Bart.	SAMUEL PARKER, Eſq.
SIR GEORGE YOUNG, Knt.	GRANVILLE SHARP, Eſq.
WILL. WILLBERFORCE, Eſq. M. P.	WILLIAM SANDFORD, Eſq.
REV. THOMAS CLARKSON, A. M.	VICKERIS TAYLOR, Eſq.
JOSEPH HARDCASTLE, Eſq.	GEORGE WOLFF, Eſq.

* The next General Court, held on the 30th of Nov. 1791, reſolved that £50,000 ſhould be added to the £100,000 capital already ſubſcribed for, (ſee § 354, note.) At the ſame time, ſeveral Reſolutions were paſſed to regulate the recommendations of, and the ballots for, the new ſubſcribers. An Abridgment of thoſe Reſolutions will be inſerted in the Appendix, after the liſt of the original ſubſcribers to the S. Leona Company, with which it is connected.

† An Abridgment of this act will be inſerted at the end of the Appendix.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

334. In 1786, the humanity of ſome gentlemen was excited towards the diſtreſſed blacks, who then ſwarmed in London* Above 400 of them, along with 60 whites, moſtly women of bad character and in ill health, (ſee § 301) were accordingly ſent out, at the charge of government, to Sierra Leona. Neceſſity, it was hoped, would make them induſtrious and orderly; and Capt. Thompſon of the navy, who conducted them, obtained, for their uſe, a grant of land to His Majeſty, from King Tom, the neighbouring chief, and afterwards, from Naimbanna, the king of the country. This land, being about 20 miles ſquare, His Majeſty was enabled to grant by Act of Parliament (1791) to the Sierra Leona Company; and it was confirmed by a direct grant from King Naimbanna.

Their mortality.

335. From the diſorders they brought on board with them, aggravated by debauchery and confinement, theſe people became very ſickly, during their long detention in the Britiſh Channel, as well as during their paſſage, and after their arrival. They were landed in the wet ſeaſon, unprovided with proper ſhelter, without order and without induſtry. From theſe cauſes 50 died before they left Plymouth, and 34 at ſea; 15 ran away and 86 died on the coaſt, in the firſt four months after their arrival. After the firſt year, however, there was no great mortality†. It was

* Reſpecting the firſt rudiments of the colony, the diſtinguiſhed ſupport it received from Mr. Sharp, the character of the original coloniſts, &c. I have been fortunate enough to collect ſeveral authentic circumſtances, which, being too long for a foot note, I intend to inſert in the Appendix, together with ſome other particulars, marking them NOTE A, NOTE B, &c. For, I fear, that, if placed at the foot of the page, careleſs readers might miſtake them for notes of the Directors. See, in the Appendix, "Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama." NOTE B.

† Immediately after the preſent S. Leona Company was formed, Dr. J. Bell, at the requeſt of Mr. H. Thornton, the Chairman of the Court of Directors, drew up a tract entitled "*General Directions for the Preſervation of Health*, &c. for the benefit of the ſettlers at Sierra Leona, printed by J. Phillips, 1791." and which was very properly diſtributed among the coloniſts.

even

Digitized by Google

even ſaid by one Green, who was in England in 1791, and who always lived with them, that in the two ſucceeding years, he did not think above five or ſix died, out of near 200, living in the ſame town. By very ſlight tillage, and a vaſt increaſe of poultry, theſe ſettlers, though far from being induſtrious, maintained themſelves, and poſſeſſed a ſmall and increaſing property, when a circumſtance, not neceſſary to be detailed, entirely diſperſed them, to the number of 180 or 200, who left their plantations and a great quantity of poultry *. their diſperſion.

336. Mr. Falconbridge, who arrived about a year after, found 48 of them living together. But ſome had gone to the W. Indies, others to England, and the reſt feared they would all be made ſlaves. Mr. F. brought them to Fora Bay, about a mile and a half from their former town †. Sixteen ſoon joined them from other parts.—Before Mr. F. left them, (in June 1791) they had cleared and planted about four Engliſh acres of land; and, on the whole, he thought they would ſupport themſelves, as before their diſperſion, with very little labour. Of thoſe 64 ſettlers, 39 were black men, 19 black women, and 6 white women. The men ſeemed determined to defend themſelves, were warmly attached to the ſociety who ſent them out, but ſtill in general turbulent and diſorderly.

---

337. The climate is much the ſame, in point of heat, as that of the Weſt Indies; but there is a very cool ſea-breeze Climate.

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE C.

† See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE D.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SIERRA LEONA.

on the higher grounds; and, in the mountainous parts, it is believed, the air is very temperate. Fora Bay is leſs healthy than the firſt ſettlement; but it may be queſtioned whether a more healthful ſpot than either may not be ſelected.—The information of Mr. Falconbridge confirms the opinion of Lieut. Matthews, in his late publication, as well as that of geographers.—" I believe," ſays Lieut. M. " that Sierra Leona, if properly cleared and cultivated, would be equal in ſalubrity, and ſuperior in cultivation, to any of the Iſlands in the Weſt Indies*."

Population and government.

338. The population on the coaſt, appears to be inconſiderable, and is chiefly on the river ſide, where are ſeveral towns of ſcarcely more than fifty houſes each. A chief, who is a principal ſlave-trader, generally preſides in every town, ſubordinate to King Naimbanna, who lives on Robanna, a ſmall iſland, between the Engliſh ſlave-factory at Bance iſland, and the French one at Gambia iſland. On Robanna are about fifty inhabitants, dependents of the king, who is of a peaceable diſpoſition, and generally reſpected and obeyed. His territory is ſaid to reach three days journey up the country, being much more populous inland; but neither the extent of his country, nor the nature of his juriſdiction, ſeem to be aſcertained. His title is elective; but his eldeſt ſon, now in England (1791) would be likely to ſucceed; as the electing chiefs generally follow hereditary ſucceſſion.

* Voy. to S. Leona, p. 21.—For ſome ſimilar accounts, which I have collected of that part of the coaſt of Africa, ſee in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE E.

339. In

Digitized by Google

339. In religion and morals the natives are wholly uninſtructed. Perpetual feuds ſeem to prevail between families, once hoſtile, and their deſcendants; and to carry each other off for ſlaves is a common retaliation*. They are generally pagans, without prieſts, worſhip or ſtated rites. They are polygamiſts; but their marriage is not indiſſoluble, and they give their children no education. They have ſome ſuperſtitions, chiefly about witchcraft; but in general have no religious prejudices, and appear extremely deſirous of all European improvements. One of the chiefs ſent his ſon to Biſagos, 300 miles off, to learn to read and write: for there is no ſchooling nearer than the Portugueſe ſettlements. Mr. Elliot, King Naimbanna's black ſecretary, was educated in England, through the kindneſs of Mr. Granville Sharp, and has excited a great deſire of education among the king's children.

Religion and morals.

Natives deſirous of improvement.

340. The king ſent one ſon to France for inſtruction, another is under a Mandingo teacher, a Mahometan. The eldeſt, John Frederick, juſt before Mr. Falconbridge went out, had agreed to give 3 ſlaves to a Guinea captain for a paſſage to Jamaica, and thence to England, with a view of obtaining uſeful knowledge. But the king's confidence in Mr. F. induced him, notwithſtanding ſtrong remonſtrances

K. Naimbanna ſends one ſon to Fra. and another to Eng. for education.

* "A vindictive ſpirit prevailed among moſt nations before the introduction of Chriſtianity, or civilization. Dr. Robertſon obſerves, that formerly in Scotland, whoſe preſent inhabitants are not behind any of their neighbours, in the practice of the Chriſtian virtues, "quarrels were tranſmitted from father to ſon, and under the name of *deadly feuds*, ſubſiſted for many generations, with unmitigated rancour." Hiſt. of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 40, edit. 1781. Though the Africans are vindictive to their enemies, Lieut. Matthews obſerves, that to their friends they are hoſpitable and kind, and that he received ſuch treatment from them, in the time of the utmoſt diſtreſs, as he could have expected only from his beſt and neareſt friends."

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SIERRA LEONA.

againſt truſting him in the company's ſhip, to ſend him to London, with a letter requeſting Mr. Gran. Sharp to direct his education. The king and his ſon ardently deſire to reſcue their country from it's ignorance and wretchedneſs; and to put an end to the ſlave-trade, the evils of which they deplore.—The following is an extract of King Naimbanna's letter to Mr. Sharp.

341. " It has been told that theſe people (the free ſettlers fromEngland) would in time drive me by force of arms, back in the country, and take my ports from me. I have received ſeveral accounts, from factories and captains of ſhips, againſt the ſettlement, which I took no notice of, as I conceived it was, in my opinion, ſpite or envy that they had againſt their living in the country; but have ſerved them in any little requeſt they aſked of me, and have endeavoured to keep peace between them and my people, and alſo among themſelves, by ſettling a great many diſquiets between them. It was pleaſure to do it, as I thought they would become uſeful to us all in this country, by teaching us things we know not; and common reaſon muſt tell, that the moſt ignorant people in the world would be glad to ſee their country made good, if they had idea how it might be done. And again I muſt let you know, that if there were no other reaſon for my wiſhing for the welfare of the ſettlement, I ſhould do it, that there might be a ſtop put to the horrid depredations that are ſo often committed in this country, by all countries that come here to trade." He then ſpeaks of the carrying off ſome of his own relations for ſlaves, which we ſhall mention in another part of this report. He adds, " as to the ſettlers, I could only wiſh that you will ſend me over one worthy of taking the care and command of the place, then you need not be afraid of their proſper-

ing

Digitized by Google

ing in this country. Mr. Falconbridge during his time out here, I approved much. I ever was partial to the people of Great Britain, for which cauſe I have put up with a great deal of inſults from them, more than I ſhould from any other country.—My ſon, I hope you will take care of him, and let him have his own ways in nothing, but what you think right yourſelf."

342. Accordingly, the directors, in behalf of their conſtituents, undertook to have King Naimbanna's ſon, who was 24 years of age, educated at the company's expenſe. And they expreſſed great ſatisfaction in reflecting, that, if it ſhould pleaſe God to prolong his life, he appeared likely, from his abilities and diſpoſition, to be inſtrumental in introducing knowledge and civilization into Africa, and in cementing a confidential union between the colony and the natives.

Cultivation and trade.

343. The following general account of the produce of Sierra Leona, was ſubmitted to the general court, &c*.

344. Beſides trading to Sierra Leona, for it's own produce, it appears that a coaſting trade, and, through the rivers, which are more numerous near it than any other portion of Africa, an inland trade may be eſtabliſhed, in ſmall veſſels which may depoſit the produce of other parts of Africa at Sierra Leona.

State of the ſlave-trade.

345. The ſlave-trade is decreaſing very much at Sierra Leona, the price of ſlaves having riſen to 25 or £30 ſter.

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE F,—alſo Chap. V. viz. that on "Produce."

each;

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SIERRA LEONA.

each; and not above 1000 are now annually exported from this river. They are chiefly brought down through a chain of factories, but not through the company's ground, and a great many are children. The kings and chiefs trade in ſlaves; but the principal traders are the French and Engliſh factors. It is cuſtomary to credit the black factors who either travel themſelves, or deal with other factors ſtill farther up, with European goods (chiefly gun-powder and ſpirits) and, if they fail in bringing the ſtipulated ſlaves, they are made ſlaves themſelves; or, if they do not return in a certain time, any one of their families are taken. King Naimbanna's ſon mentions this as a prevailing cuſtom. The ſudden, vindictive temper of the natives ſeems alſo to promote this traffic. (See § 339 note.) If a domeſtic ſlave is impertinent, he is ſold. The children of ſuch are occaſionally ſold alſo. But, with rich traders, this is not common: for domeſtic ſlaves are diſtinct from thoſe for trade, doing little, and being much indulged. King Naimbanna has 120 of theſe, who give him half their earnings, and are much attached to him. It is a point of honour never to forgive injuries; ſo that families will ſeize one another for ſlaves, as opportunity offers, for many generations (See § 339 note.) This practice, however, though partly owing to revenge, may be chiefly aſcribed to the want of efficient government. The offences, real or imputed, which are puniſhed with ſlavery, are chiefly adultery and witchcraft.

Europeans ſupply natives with powder and ſpirits.

Suicide of ſlaves.

346. King Naimbanna's ſon gives a dreadful account of the anguiſh and deſpair of the ſlaves brought down to the coaſt. Unleſs ſecured, they will ſtrike or ſtab any perſon who approaches them. It is common for them to cut their own throats, or otherwiſe deſtroy themſelves. He is perſuaded,

Digitized by Google

suaded, he has known above an hundred commit suicide, before they could be got into the ships.

SIERRA LEONA.

347. That kidnapping prevails at Sierra Leona, the directors have received undeniable proofs; and, if they had not, several circumstances clearly imply that the practice is not uncommon. The inhabitants, to a great distance up the country, all go armed with guns and large knives. The very women are armed with knives. When King Naimbanna's son has gone up to Scassus, he dared not to go to rest, unless in a secure place, lest he should be surprised in his sleep. The people in the little towns on the river, leave the wood growing close to the houses, for refuge, in case of attack, as they told Mr. Falconbridge, who has seen the ruins of two towns which, among others, were broken up by Cleveland, a great mulatto slave-trader * who was educated at Liverpool.

Kidnapping.

348. Mr. Falconbridge one day heard a great shout, and immediately afterwards, the report of a gun. Fearing an attack, he instantly armed forty settlers, and hastened with them to the spot. He found three Mandingoes and two other men, tying the hands of a man, who was shrieking bitterly, He had been caught, in coming from an interior town, and the shout and firing were expressions of joy on the occasion. Mr. F. prudently restrained his feelings, which prompted him to rescue the poor captive; telling them that, if he had been one of his men, he should have put them all to the bayonet. Green, now in England (1791) was one of Mr. F's. armed party.

Instances.

349. One of the settlers, straggling one day a little way from their town, was seized and sold by King Jammy, who

* At the neighbouring I. of Bananas. *C. B. W.*

lives

CHAP. XI. SIERRA LEONA.

lives two miles below. The ſettlers, in return, ſeized one of Jammy's people. A diſpute enſued, in which one man was killed; but it was terminated, by King Naimbanna's mediation, each party giving up his priſoner. The pretext for this outrage, was a charge of adultery againſt another ſettler.

350. Signior Domingo, chief of the town oppoſite King Jammy's, ſuddenly ſold one of his wives to a Frenchman, without any imputation. The young woman had called on Mrs. Falconbridge the day before, quite unſuſpicious, and at her liberty.

351. King Naimbanna, in his letter to Mr. Sharp, after mentioning "the horrid depredations committed here by all the countries that come here to trade," ſays, "There are three diſtant relations of mine now in the Weſt Indies, carried away by one Capt. Cox, captain of a Daniſh ſhip. Their names are Corpro, Banna and Morbour. Theſe were taken out of my river Sierra Leona. I know not how to get them back. I never hurt or deprived any perſon of their right or property, or withheld from them what is their due. So I only let you know of theſe lads, that there will be an account taken of them, one day or another."

352. King Naimbanna's ſon relates, that a couſin of his father's, named Jack Rodney, was aſked to pilot a ſlave-ſhip down from Bance iſland. He begged to be put on ſhore at Robanna; but the captain refuſed, ſaying he would land him at the river's mouth, inſtead of which, he carried him to Jamaica. As he ſpoke good Engliſh, he obtained ſeveral interviews with the governor of that iſland, and was recovered by a ſhip which brought a letter concerning him from Sierra Leona.

353. Bar-

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

353. Barbier Borro, who married King Naimbanna's aunt, was ſeized by Harry, an infamous trader, and ſold to Cleveland, the mulatto merchant before mentioned, and to whom Harry alſo ſold his own father, Nankedabar. But the old man redeemed himſelf, by ſelling twenty-two of his domeſtics. The reſt were ſo terrified, that they all ran away from him, and are now (1791) living among the mountains of Sierra Leona. Harry, after this, falling into debt, was ſold for a ſlave himſelf, his father being unable or unwilling to redeem him.

A reſpectable eſtabliſhment reſolved on, and why.

354. The directors having ſtated the natural advantages of Sierra Leona, and it's preſent miſerable condition, obſerve that they have not merely to eſtabliſh a commercial factory, but that, to introduce civilization, cultivation and a ſafe trade, the company muſt provide for the ſecurity of the perſons and property of the coloniſts. The directors therefore reſolved, that three or four veſſels ſhould ſail at once, with ſuch a number of people as will be able to protect and aſſiſt each other; and with goods for trade, and for the ſupply of the colony. Both reaſon and paſt experience ſhow, that a feeble attempt to ſet up a colony, or a new trade, at ſuch a place as Sierra Leona, is not ſo likely to proſper, as one on a larger ſcale, carrying out a ſtrong body of people, and ſupported by a capital ſo large as may imply a determination to perſiſt. Beſides the general ſecurity ariſing from a reſpectable eſtabliſhment, the directors are alſo of opinion that greater profits may be expected from a large, than a narrow undertaking.—The expenſe of protecting a factory, and of demurrage to ſhips trading about for ſcattered African produce, has been ſo heavy, that the great advantage

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

of barter, has perhaps been not more than ſufficient to repay the trader his high charges, and leave him the ordinary profit of trade. Hence appears the advantage of introducing a great degree of cultivation on one ſpot, by means of a great body of conſumers, and of ſtoring a large, rather than a ſmall, quantity of goods (for the ſtanding expenſe, in both caſes, will be nearly equal) beſides promoting quicker ſales and returns, than have yet been made in the African trade.—To attain theſe objects, a conſiderable capital appears indiſpenſable; on the whole, the directors think, not leſs than £100,000 ſterling *.—They will now give ſome account of their late proceedings, of the plan they propoſe to adopt, and of the probable ſources of profit †.

Council, &c. ſail for Sierra Leona.

355. Five veſſels, one of them armed with 20 guns, have ſailed for Sierra Leona, and two more are ready. On board theſe ſhips have ſailed a council for the government of the colony, and the management of the company's affairs; a number of artificers and other ſervants of the company; ſome ſoldiers, and a very few Engliſh ſettlers. The difficulty of at once accommodating them, unhealthineſs before the land is cleared, the danger of diſcontent and irregularity, before the eſtabliſhment could be formed; and the difficulty, in a preſs of other buſineſs, of examining, with due care, the characters of thoſe who offered to go out as coloniſts, all

Laudable caution in chuſing coloniſts.

* This was extended to £150,000 ſter. at the ſubſequent general court.

† "The directors, in their report of the 19th of Oct. 1791, had here inſerted what information they could then give. But the following is now ſubſtituted as a more correct account of their proceedings, ſince it includes alſo the ſubſtance of a report read to the general court on the 8th of February 1791."—Note in the 2d Edition of the Report, from which this abridgment is taken.

conſpired

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

conſpired to make the directors diſcourage any, but a few ſelect Engliſh ſettlers, from going out at preſent. They have alſo moſtly refuſed a paſſage to blacks, obſerving that thoſe who lived in London were generally far from being regular and induſtrious*. One of the chief dangers to the colony might be the haſty intruſion of looſe, idle or extravagant Europeans, impatient of ſubordination, and ſo poor as to make them burdenſome to the company.—The difficulty indeed of finding Europeans who can work in Africa, in the ſun, without injuring their health, has made the directors think it their duty to diſcourage labourers going from hence; and they truſt to the natives, or the free American blacks who, as will be hereafter mentioned, are expected immediately to arrive.—Perſons indeed of ſome property, and artificers, both of good character, will probably after the firſt rains, be conſidered as a valuable acquiſition. But the directors wiſh the proprietors and the public to conſider it as a fundamental principle, that no perſons ſhall go out in their ſhips, or reſide, in their diſtrict, without the authority of the directors, who purpoſe always to examine their characters, as in the caſe of their own ſervants. The directors diſclaim every idea, that the colony will be a receptacle for perſons of doubtful character, and bad connections. On the maintenance of good order, very much depends the comfort of every reſpectable individual, whom they have induced to ſettle there, and indeed the whole well-being of the colony.

Expenſes.

356. From the nature and extent of this undertaking, the expenſes muſt be great. In procuring the Act of Parliament, extraordinary charges of the outſet, proviſions, ſhip-

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE G.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SIERRA LEONA.

ping, buildings and eſtabliſhment at home and abroad, for the firſt year, above £30,000 has been ſtated, as likely to be ſunk.—The annual eſtabliſhment conſiſts of the ſalaries of the ſuperintendant and council of Sierra Leona, of a militia, of a ſmall ſtanding military defence, the ſalaries of managers of plantations, the charges of commerce and cultivation, and of management at home, altogether amounting, on the preſent ſcale, to about £7000.

Œconomy has been ſtudied.

357. Notwithſtanding the magnitude of this ſum, the directors have been ſtudious of œconomy. For ſervices abroad, they have given no more than their nature, and the neceſſary qualifications, demanded. In the home charges, they have been equally œconomical, confining them to things abſolutely neceſſary. A houſe has been engaged as the ſeat of their buſineſs.—Such part of the ſubſcribers' capital as was unemployed, has been ſafely placed out at intereſt.

Council to promote equal rights, ſubordination, education, religion and toleration.

358. The ſuperintendant and council, were particularly inſtructed to ſecure to all blacks and people of colour, at Sierra Leona, equal rights and equal treatment, in all reſpects, with whites. They will be tried by jury, as well as others, and the council are deſired to allot to the blacks employments ſuited to their preſent abilities, and to afford them every opportunity of cultivating their talents. All practicable means of maintaining ſubordination are directed to be uſed; and the council are eſpecially inſtructed to promote religion and morals, by ſupporting public worſhip and the due obſervance of the Sabbath, and by the inſtruction of the people, and the education of children. But no perſon is to be prevented from performing or attending religious worſhip in whatever place, time or manner he thinks fit, or from peaceably inculcating his own religious opinions.

359. Or-

Digitized by Google

SIERRA LEONA.

359. Orders have been given, in chuſing the ſcite of a town, to conſider health as the firſt object: the firſt town to be called *Free-town*. Articles for building and cultivation have been ſent out, beſides the cargoes for proſecuting the company's commerce.

Town named *Free-town*.

360. It is eaſy to foreſee that the firſt difficulties to be expected muſt ariſe from the tranſition of the coloniſts to a hot climate, clearing the country, want of accommodation, eſpecially in the firſt rains, and the uncertainty of obtaining ſufficient proviſions on the ſpot. Theſe difficulties are the greater from their coming together, and at the very outſet. The directors have anxiouſly laboured to provide againſt them, not only as ſucceſs muſt materially depend on ſurmounting them; but alſo as an act of juſtice to thoſe who have embarked themſelves and their families, on the faith of the company's protection. The expenſe of acting thus has been great, but it was indiſpenſable; and the directors are perſuaded that a ſmall capital would not have carried the deſign, through it's firſt difficult and unproductive ſtages, leaving a ſufficient fund for trade and cultivation. It is hoped that, by the late extenſion of capital, and what is farther to be expected, the undertaking may ſurmount even unforeſeen difficulties; and that ſteady perſeverance will fix a colony, and eſtabliſh civilization, cultivation and commerce in Africa. The directors having reported to the general court of proprietors, that the whole capital of £150,000 was already ſubſcribed, they were empowered to enlarge the ſubſcriptions to any ſum under £500,000, the capital limited by the act of incorporation.

Difficulties to be expected.

Company's capital.

361. For acquainting the princes and chiefs, and the natives in general, with the company's views, and to counteract

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

act misrepresentations, the directors propose sending over this printed declaration.

The company's declaration to the natives.

362. "The Sierra Leona company, established by the British Parliament, do hereby declare, that they will send out goods from England, and take all kinds of African produce in exchange; that they will not deal in slaves themselves, nor allow of any slave-trade on their ground. They will always have a large store of Europeans goods for sale, and a force sufficient to defend it. They wish always to keep peace, and will make no war, unless they are first attacked; but they will suffer no one to be ill treated on their ground, nor to be seized and carried off into slavery; but will themselves punish their own people for any crimes fairly proved to have been committed by them. Black and white settlers will all be equally governed, and will have their persons and property secured, according to the laws of Great Britain. Schools for reading, writing, and accounts, will be set up by the company, who will be ready to receive and instruct the children of such natives as shall be willing to put them under their care *."

Their sources of profit.

363. The probable sources of the company's profit appear to be—First, A land-revenue from quit-rents, and from a gradually increasing tax on the produce of their district, and which, though small at first, may be reasonably expected to become important.—Secondly, The profits from lands reserved by the company, to be either cultivated on their own account, or let or distributed hereafter.—Thirdly, Profits of the company's trade with Sierra Leona and it's neighbourhood, and also with the interior parts of Africa.

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE H.

364. From

Digitized by Google

364. From the foregoing account, it muſt appear, that the directors are endeavouring, in the outſet, rather to lay the foundation of the happineſs of Africa, and of future proſperity to the company, than to graſp at any premature advantages. But they truſt that they are not too ſanguine in looking forward to conſiderable and growing profits, reſulting from, and connected with, the increaſing proſperity of the country under their juriſdiction.

POSTSCRIPT.

Intention of this P. S.

365. Many of the proprietors, ballotted for on the 20th of Dec. 1790, having become members, merely from an idea of the benevolence of the undertaking, are ſtill imperfectly acquainted with it's object. The directors therefore reſolved to ſend each of them a copy of the foregoing report, adding a few particulars which, being drawn up with a different view, it did not contain, alſo an important article of intelligence which they could not then ſtate with certainty.

The company's object.

366. The leading object of the company was to ſubſtitute, for that diſgraceful traffic which has too long ſubſiſted, a fair commerce with Africa, and all the bleſſings which might be expected to attend it.—Conſiderable advantages appeared hereby likely to reſult to G. Britain; not only from our obtaining ſeveral commodities cheaper; but alſo from opening a market for Britiſh manufactures, to the increaſing demands of which it is difficult to aſſign a limit.

Benefits to Africa.

367. From this connection, Africa was likely to derive the ſtill more important benefits of religion, morality and civilization. To accompliſh theſe purpoſes, it was neceſſary for the company to poſſeſs a tract of land, as a repoſitory

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SIERRA LEONA.

ſitory for their goods, and which the Africans might cultivate in peace, ſecure from the ravages of the ſlave-trade. It had been aſcertained, beyond a doubt, that the climate and ſoil of Africa were admirably ſuited to the growth of ſugar, ſpices, coffee, cotton, indigo, rice, and every other ſpecies of tropical produce. The company propoſed to inſtruct the natives to raiſe theſe articles, and to ſet them the example, by a ſpirited cultivation, on it's own account: and the peninſula of Sierra Leona, one of the healthieſt and moſt fertile ſpots on the coaſt, has been ſelected for the experiment*.

Trade and a ſugar plantation ordered to be begun.

368. Directions have been given and ſmall veſſels diſpatched, to the company's commercial agent, to puſh forward a trade, in a mode preſcribed, in the preſent produce of Africa.—Meaſures are taken for cultivating, on the company's account, the moſt profitable tropical produce. In particular, a perſon of long experience in the Weſt Indies, has been ordered to begin a ſugar-plantation.

Mineralogiſt and botaniſt engaged.

369. The directors have beſides engaged a mineralogiſt (Mr. A. Nordenſkiold) and a botaniſt, (Mr. A. Afzelius) both of great ability, to go out and explore the company's diſtrict, and the vicinity, for new articles of commerce†. And, in general, the proprietors may be aſſured that the directors will vigorouſly promote the advantage of their conſtituents; being perſuaded that their intereſts and thoſe of Africa are the ſame.

13 directors, capital, ſhares and votes.

370. The company's affairs are to be managed by thirteen directors, annually elected, for that purpoſe‡. The

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE E.

† See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE I.

‡ See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE I.

com-

Digitized by Google

company's capital, limited to £500,000, is divided into £50 each. Members are to have votes, according to the numbers of their ſhares, in a fixed proportion, and to a certain extent: every one poſſeſſing one or two ſhare or ſhares, and no more, is entitled to one vote; of three or four ſhares, and no more, to two votes; of five, ſix or ſeven ſhares, and no more, to three votes; of eight or nine ſhares, and no more, to four votes; and of ten or more ſhares to five votes. A member may hold any number of ſhares; but no one is to be entitled to more than five votes.

Accounts to be publiſhed.

371. A true account of the debts, credits and capital of the company, ſigned by the Chairman, Deputy Chairman and five other Directors, is to be annually publiſhed, in the London gazette.

Directors and company's ſervants to take no fees, &c.

372. The act of incorporation authorizes the Company to make bye-laws; and it has been, in conſequence, ordained that no Director ſhall be concerned in any contract relating to the Company's buſineſs; or, directly or indirectly, take any fee, preſent or reward; as alſo that no ſervant of the Company ſhall, directly or indirectly, take any fee, preſent or reward, other than ſuch as ſhall have been duly eſtabliſhed by the Directors.

Members anſwerable only for their ſhares.

373. Laſtly, it may be proper to mention, what, but for ſome enquiries on this head, the Directors would have deemed it almoſt ſuperfluous to declare, that no member is anſwerable, farther than to the amount of his particular ſhare or ſhares, for any debts the Company may contract.

Nova Scotia blacks expected,

374. The article of intelligence above referred to, (ſee § 365) reſpects a valuable acceſſion of inhabitants the colony is about to receive. It conſiſts of a number of free black families, a part of many who, at the cloſe of the American war, were carried from the United States to Nova Scotia, in which province they were promiſed lands. The Direc-

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

tors can hardly ſpeak, without reſerve, on this ſubject. Suffice it to ſay, that the rigour of the climate, with the degradation and ill treatment theſe poor people experienced, after many of them had bled for Great Britain, inducing them to wiſh for a change of ſituation, they deputed a black man of their number, to come over and lay their caſe before the Britiſh Miniſtry; and, in conſequence of his expreſs ſolicitations, in which the Directors concurred, it was ſettled, that as many of them as choſe, ſhould be conveyed to Sierra Leona, at the expenſe of Government. The Directors are happy in declaring, from the accounts of a perſon, on whom they can entirely rely, that, under many diſadvantages, they have proved themſelves a ſober, orderly ſet of people, from whoſe domeſtic habits, ability and diſpoſition to labour for their families, much may be hoped*. —As theſe people were obviouſly to be preferred to Europeans, for a new African colony, the Directors have not yet much encouraged ſettlers to go from hence. But they have ſent out the requiſite artificers, and the members of their civil government, and of their other eſtabliſhments.

which will make a large capital neceſſary.

375. The Directors are daily more convinced, that a large capital is to be wiſhed for, and that it may even be deſireable to extend it far beyond the limits already ſuggeſted. It would be tedious to enumerate their reaſons, and ſome of them have been before touched on; but it may not be amiſs to intimate, that the approaching large and ſudden population of the colony, by the Nova Scotia blacks, however ultimately advantageous, muſt greatly increaſe the Company's preſent diſburſements; for, inſtead of providing for a trifling factory, they muſt, at once, incur the

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE L.

charges

Digitized by Google

charges of planting a conſiderable colony, and form their eſtabliſhments on a proportionable ſcale.

376. The Directors truſt, however, that the Proprietors will not be ſo far influenced by the deſire of adding to their capital, as to admit into their body any perſons, on whom they cannot rely for ſincere attachment to the fundamental principles of the inſtitution: nor can the Directors entertain an apprehenſion, leſt the funds of the company ſhould in any degree fall ſhort, from the obſervance of this ſalutary caution. They cannot doubt but that a plan founded on ſuch principles, and directed to ſuch ends, will readily obtain, in an age and a country like ours, whatever ſupport it may require. The number, already great, is daily increaſing, of thoſe who feel for the wrongs of Africa, and are eager to diſcover ſome mode of compenſating to her for the injuries ſhe has ſo long been ſuſtaining at our hands.—Whatever may have been unjuſtly urged againſt any other meaſure that has been brought forward, under this impreſſion, no one can object to the undertaking of the Sierra Leona company. Even conſidered in relation to the abolition of the ſlave-trade, it's operation, though ſlow, is unqueſtionably ſure. Though it may not at once cut up by the roots this inhuman traffic, it tends to divert the ſtream that waters it, and deſtroy the principles from which it derives its nutriment. Filled with theſe animating ideas, the Directors grudge not the great pains they have taken, in the execution of their important truſt; nor will they at all relax in their exertions. It is their joy and their comfort to be thus employed: they are thankful for being allowed to be the inſtruments of the goodneſs of Providence, in the communication of ſuch great and extenſive benefits. Already they anticipate

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SIERRA LEONA.

the happy effects of their labours. They look forward with delight to that joyful period, when, by the influence of the Company's meaſures, and the efficacy of its example, the continent of Africa ſhall have been reſcued from her preſent ſtate of darkneſs and miſery, and ſhall exhibit a far different ſcene, of light and knowledge, and civilization and order, and peaceful induſtry, and domeſtic comfort.

The following is an Abridgment of the "Subſtance of the Report delivered by the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leona Company to the General Court of Proprietors, on the 27th of March 1794."

Lieut. Clarkſon offers to conduct the free blacks from N. Scotia to S. Leona.

377. The Directors having concurred with the black man deputed by the Nova Scotian free negroes, in applying to His Majeſty's Miniſters for a paſſage for them, at the expenſe of Government, and having obtained a favourable anſwer (ſee § 374) they immediately availed themſelves of the ſervices of Lieut. Clarkſon, who very handſomely offered to go to Nova Scotia, to ſuperintend the collecting and carrying over ſuch free blacks as might wiſh to migrate to Sierra Leona*. The terms on which the Company engaged to receive them into the colony were contained in a printed declaration, of which the following is a copy:

The company's declaration reſpecting them.

378. "The Sierra Leona Company, willing to receive into their colony ſuch free blacks as are able to produce to their agents, Lieut. Clarkſon, of His Majeſty's navy, and Mr. Lawrence Hartſhorn, of Halifax, or either of them, ſatisfactory teſtimonials of their character, (more particularly as to honeſty, ſobriety and induſtry) think it proper to notify, in an explicit manner, upon what terms they will receive at Sierra Leona, thoſe who bring with them written certifi-

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE M.

cates

Digitized by Google

cates of approbation from either of the ſaid agents, which certificate they are hereby reſpectively authorized to grant or withhold at diſcretion.—It is therefore declared by the Company, that every free black, upon producing ſuch a certificate, ſhall have a grant of not leſs than twenty acres of land for himſelf, ten for his wife, and five for every child, upon ſuch terms, and ſubject to ſuch charges and obligations, with a view to the general proſperity of the Company, as ſhall hereafter be ſettled by the Company, in reſpect to the grants of land to be made by them to all ſettlers, whether black or white.—That for all ſtores and proviſions, &c. ſupplied from the Company's warehouſes, the Company ſhall receive an equitable compenſation, according to fixed rules, extending to blacks and whites indiſcriminately.—That the civil, military, perſonal, and commercial right and duties of blacks and whites ſhall be the ſame, and ſecured in the ſame manner.—And for the full aſſurance of perſonal protection from ſlavery to all ſuch black ſettlers, the Company have ſubjoined a clauſe contained in the Act of Parliament, whereby they are incorporated, viz.

"" Provided alſo, and be it further enacted, that it ſhall not be lawful for the ſaid Company, either directly or indirectly, by itſelf or themſelves, or by the agents or ſervants of the ſaid Company, or otherwiſe, howſoever, to deal or traffic in the buying or ſelling of ſlaves, or in any manner whatever to have, hold, appropriate or employ any perſon or perſons in a ſtate of ſlavery in the ſervice of the ſaid Company." "

" Given under our hands, London, the ſecond day of Auguſt, 1791.

HENRY

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

HENRY THORNTON, Chairman

PHIL. SANSOM, D. Chairman	JOSEPH HARDCASTLE
CHARLES MIDDLETON	THOMAS CLARKSON
WILLIAM WILBERFORCE	VICKERIS TAYLOR
GRANVILLE SHARP	WILLIAM SANFORD
JOHN KINGSTON	THOMAS ELDRED
SAMUEL PARKER	GEORGE WOLFF

"N. B. For the convenience of thoſe who are poſſeſſed of property which they cannot diſpoſe of before their departure, the Company will authorize an agent, who, on receiving from any proprietor a ſufficient power for that purpoſe, ſhall ſell the ſame for his benefit, and remit the purchaſe money, through the hands of the Company, to ſuch proprietor at Sierra Leona."

1196 Nova Scotia blacks willing to embark. Cap. to be raiſed to £235,280.

379. The Nova Scotians willing to embark for Sierra Leona, proved, to the ſurprize of the Directors, to be no fewer than 1196. So large an acceſſion of people could not but have important conſequences, and give a new turn to the whole undertaking.—The directors firſt attended to their immediate wants; at the ſame time propoſing to raiſe the capital to £235,280, a conſiderable part of it having been ſubſcribed, after the intelligence from Nova Scotia was received.

Whites from England.

380. The firſt veſſel ſent by the Company from England, reached S. Leona, Feb. 1792, and ſhe was ſoon followed by two others. By theſe ſhips, there went out 40 Company's ſervants and artificers, upon ſalaries, 10 coloniſts, 16 ſoldiers, and above 30 women and children—all whites.

1131 Nova Scotians arrive at S. Leona. Mortality on board.

381. In March 1792, 16 veſſels arrived at S. Leona from N. Scotia, with 1131 blacks, many of them labouring under the effects of a fever, contracted in Halifax, of which 65 had died on the paſſage. Mr. Clarkſon, whoſe humanity had

Digitized by Google

had led him to embark on board the hoſpital ſhip, had alſo narrowly eſcaped with his life, from a violent attack of the ſame diſorder. He was extremely weak and ill, when he landed at S. Leona, and he recovered very ſlowly.

N. Scotians clear land, &c.

382. After a delay of two or three weeks, ariſing from a palaver (or council) of the natives, which ended favourably, the ſpot where the blacks, firſt ſent from London, had ſettled, was thought the beſt for the intended colony. In a few weeks more, the ſcite of the town was cleared by the N. Scotians, and the ſurveyor having marked out the ſtreets, each began to build for himſelf a temporary hut, of the country materials; but *ſome were floored* with deals from hence (ſee § 83 *et ſeq.*) To this work they applied moſt eagerly, fearing that they ſhould be overtaken by the rains, which might be expected, in leſs than two months. The town, agreeable to inſtruction, was named FREETOWN.

Houſe frames &c. ſent out.

383. The Directors, anxious to ſhelter the coloniſts from the firſt rains, thought it their duty to buy and ſend out the ſhip York, of 850 tons, which, being fitted up for their accommodation, was loaded with frames of houſes, building materials and various ſtores. They conſidered, that, beſides carrying out a large cargo, ſhe might accommodate the ſick, and thoſe whoſe houſes were unfiniſhed, and might afterwards ſerve as a ſtore. Having been driven back by a ſtorm, ſhe arrived too late to be of much uſe in the ſickly ſeaſon: but ſhe was very uſeful afterwards, as a ſtore and floating factory, in loading and unloading other veſſels, and by accommodating many ſervants of the Company.

Mortality. Bad accommodation.

384. The precautions of the Directors, and the early and liberal ſupplies they ſent out, unhappily did not prevent a con-

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

a conſiderable mortality, in the firſt rains. They began in the third week of May; many houſes, including the ſtore-houſe, were unfiniſhed; the Company's ſervants, eſpecially the lower ones, and the ſoldiers were accommodated extremely ill; and the Engliſh coloniſts were leaſt of all prepared for the rainy ſeaſon. Perhaps the high health which generally prevailed before the rains, by creating too much confidence in the climate, eſpecially among the Europeans, might cauſe ſome ſlackneſs in the preparations.

Land could not be allotted.

385. From this general view of the ſlow progreſs of the colony, it is obvious that no attempt could yet have been made to mark out the promiſed lots of land, building having engroſſed nearly the whole attention both of the Nova Scotians, and of the Company's ſervants; nor had any trade worth notice been yet begun; though, by the advice of the Company's commercial agent, ſome goods for trade had been ſent out by the very firſt ſhips.

Governor and council diſagree.

386. Antecedent to this period, and during the firſt three or four important months, a miſunderſtanding had prevailed between the governor and council; and the ſubſequent calamity was partly owing to their inefficiency. Eight of the principal ſervants had been nominated a council, and the inferior officers had been enjoined to pay the ſame obedience to their orders, which they owed to the Court of Directors. The office of governor having become vacant, Mr. Clarkſon, who had given great ſatisfaction by his conduct in N. Scotia, was requeſted to fill the ſituation, till a ſucceſſor ſhould be appointed, and he had the caſting vote in the council.

Conſequent diſorders. Mr Clarkſon appointed ſole governor.

387. Alarmed by the want of order and energy, betrayed even by the firſt accounts, the Directors adopted the temporary expedient of throwing the whole reſponſibility on Mr. Clarkſon,

Digitized by Google

Mr. Clarkſon, permitting him to aſſume the whole power. Whether they erred, in dividing the authority among ſo many as eight perſons, or, whether the blame lay with the governor and council, it is not perhaps material now to canvas. The Directors acquit the acting counſellors of wilful neglect, except one, not originally appointed by them, but retained, on account of his knowledge of the country. His intoxication, idleneſs and irregularity, with the inaccuracy of his information, were among the cauſes of the firſt colonial and commercial difficulties. To the neglect of this perſon (whom indeed, it was the duty of the governor and council to control) it was chiefly owing, that the colony was not ſupplied with freſh proviſions, before the ſickly ſeaſon. The ſhips were not employed for this purpoſe, as was directed; and the original inſtructions to the governor and council, drawn up by the Directors and read to the Proprietors, received little or no conſideration, till long after this period. Confuſion in the accounts, in the ſtores, in the government, in the information ſent home, and in every operation, aggravated the diſtreſs of the ſickly ſeaſon, and the conſequent mortality.

388. The Directors, without perſonal views, think it their duty to declare their impartial opinion of the cauſes of the diſtreſſes and difficulties of the colony, which having been at their height in the firſt rainy ſeaſon, they think it proper to deſcribe particularly, both the antecedent ſtate of things and this calamitous period itſelf. The contraſt between the firſt and ſecond rainy ſeaſon, will by no means diſcredit the undertaking.

389. The ſickneſs was the moſt ſevere at the beginning of the rains. About 800 blacks were laid up at one time, and very few paſſed through the ſeaſon without indiſpoſition. Sickneſs, and concomitant diſtreſs, and confuſion.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

The diſorder was the fever common to hot climates. It affected, in different degrees, the whites and blacks, almoſt indiſcriminately; but proved much the moſt fatal to the former, eſpecially to thoſe on ſhore, whoſe mortality was once ſuch as might have excited fears, about the practicability of the whole undertaking, in perſons unacquainted with the circumſtances.—In the height of the ſickneſs, all the medical men, but one, were laid up; ſo that a few chief ſervants only could be properly attended. The ſtore-keepers, living in a damp ware-houſe, were the firſt victims; and hence, confuſion in delivering the ſtores. No retail-ſhop had yet been ſet up, nor any money-medium eſtabliſhed*. The doors of the ſtore-houſe were continually crowded; but neither food nor phyſic, though the Directors had ſent a ſufficiency of both, were properly diſtributed. The huts were very ſmall, many damp, and a few unfiniſhed†. Depreſſion of ſpirits generally prevailed, produced a total helpleſsneſs, in ſome caſes, and greatly aggravated the diſorder in all. (See § 91.)—Without anticipating the ſubject of health, it may be obſerved here, that almoſt half the whites living on ſhore, and nearly one tenth of the N. Scotian blacks, were carried off, in this dreadful ſeaſon.

The diſtreſſed Bulama coloniſts hoſpitably, but not permanently, received, at S. Leona—the reaſons.

390. While the colony was juſt emerging from this diſtreſs, a ſhip arrived from Bulama, with a great number of paſſengers, many of them extremely ſick, who deſired to be received into the colony. The Directors had declined propoſals made to them, in England, by many perſons who went to Bulama. For they conceived, that ſucceſs materially de-

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE N.

† and, I apprehend, ſituated on the ground, without any elevation. See § 84. *C. B. W.*

pended

Digitized by Google

pended on excluding all Europeans, thoſe excepted who, being in the pay of the Company, were entirely ſubject to them. They feared that even a few independent coloniſts, of *an improper caſt*, might endanger the colony, by corrupting the people, by diſobeying government, and by exciting diſcontent; and that, if, for ſuch cauſes, they ſhould be excluded from the colony, they might reſort (eſpecially if they had left *debts* in England) to improper courſes among the natives, perhaps turning ſlave-traders at laſt.—By ſuch conſiderations, the Directors had been determined to exclude, for the preſent, all Europeans, except a very few. They had alſo enquired, very ſtrictly, into the character and circumſtances of their ſervants, letting none go to S. Leona who left debts in England. But the principle of theſe important rules muſt have been given up, if the Bulama people, unknown as they were to the S. Leona Company, ſhould be received there. The Directors had previouſly inſtructed the Governor and Council, to give every aſſiſtance to the Bulama colony; but, if they ſhould leave Bulama, and come to S. Leona, not to allow them permanently to ſettle there. The government of S. Leona accordingly declined receiving the paſſengers from Bulama into the colony; but, after accommodating the ſick for a ſhort time, on ſhore, they ſupplied them with a few neceſſaries, and with a veſſel to aſſiſt in bringing them to England, as their own ſhip, the Calypſo, was extremely crowded*.

Company will aſſiſt in all attempts to civilize Africa.

391. And here it may be proper to mention that if either the Bulama Company, or any other ſimilar inſtitution, ſhould hereafter attempt to form colonies in Africa, with a view to civilization, the Directors will gladly encourage ſuch under-

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE O.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

takings, as far as they can, without too much expenſe, and freſh hazard to their own colony; and they are well perſuaded that the Proprietors, ſuperior to every narrow jealouſy, and having the general benefit of Africa at heart, agree with them in this ſentiment.

Difficulties in diſtributing land; tho' Directors eager to effect it.

392. The chief object of the S. Leona government, after the ſickneſs abated, was the diſtribution of the lands, which they found more difficult than was expected. They could not, at once, give each individual his lot of 20 acres, the lands on the water-ſide, or within a reaſonable diſtance of Freetown, being inſufficient. Even the labour of cutting paths, and meaſuring ſo large a tract, would have been too great for one ſeaſon. The N. Scotians were ſo ſenſible of this, that they agreed to accept 4 acre lots for the preſent, of which, however, they were very eager to have immediate poſſeſſion. The Directors, and the colonial government, were not leſs earneſt than they, to effect this work. They were bound by the ſpirit of the promiſes made in N. Scotia, urged by the importunities of the coloniſts; and influenced by œconomy, to attempt a ſpeedy diſtribution of the land; ſince each coloniſt either received proviſions, till his lot of ground was given him, or elſe was employed under the Company, when perhaps there was no great call for his ſervices.

Proviſions allowed.

393. The order of the Directors, reſpecting proviſions, extended only to an allowance for a ſpecified time, for the N. Scotians, the Company's ſervants, and the few Engliſh coloniſts; namely, 3 months full allowance, equal to the common army rations, and 3 months half allowance. But the government, conceiving that the motives for this gratuity, and the equity, and even neceſſity, of the caſe, required an extenſion of it, continued it to thoſe who were kept out of their 4 acre

acre lots, and were not employed by the Company. The Directors, though aware of this great expenſe, on conſidering the circumſtances, could not refuſe their acquieſcence.

4 acre lots diſtributed.

394. The importance of a ſpeedy allotment of the lands was felt ſo ſtrongly, that the Company's ſurveyor of buildings (their land-ſurveyor having returned to England, from ill health) ſpiritedly attempted the work, with a party of Nova Scotians, even before the rains were over; but was repeatedly ſtopped by ſickneſs. Almoſt all the next dry ſeaſon was conſumed in diſtributing the four acre lots; though very great exertions were made, by a large party.

Lands on Bullom ſhore better than near town.

395. The Directors are ſorry that the land near the town has proved not ſo good as they had been led, by every information, to expect. Lieut. Matthews's deſcription is far more favourable than obſervation on *that ſpot* juſtifies. To this ſerious diſappointment, may be aſcribed, many difficulties and many unexpected charges. As the air, water and landing-place at Freetown, are certainly the beſt which can be found, it can hardly fail to be the chief place of trade; though other parts, at a moderate diſtance, eſpecially on the the oppoſite ſhore, will be the beſt for cultivation.

Public buildings, &c.

396. The improvement of the landing-place, the erecting of a church, a hoſpital, warehouſes and other buildings, of which the frames went from hence, the fencing and cultivating of a garden of experiment, and ſome meaſures for defence, have alſo conſtantly occupied a body of the N. Scotians, at a very great expenſe. No fort, however, has been thought neceſſary.

Colony improves. New council.

397. In the ſecond dry ſeaſon, the colony ſeems to have been improving, in all reſpects. The government was altered, a council of three having been ſubſtituted, by the Directors, for the council of eight; and two gentlemen, (Mr.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

(Mr. Dawes and Mr. Watt*) the one uſed to a new colony, the other to a tropical climate, were ſent out as counſellors. From this time, minutes of council, and a journal of every material tranſaction, were kept, and copies ſent to England; as were alſo periodical reports of the progreſs of each principal ſervant, in his department, with the remarks of the government thereon. An indent was ſent home, of all the European goods likely to be wanted, for the year, in the colony: a more correct correſpondence was commenced, and the Court's original inſtructions, and their ſubſequent, were now, for the firſt time, fully anſwered, When the intelligence began to be regularly ſent home, internal order appears to have advanced materially. New plans of police were formed; more general harmony began to prevail; ſome pains were taken to ſettle the Company's confuſed accounts; and more order, of every kind, was introduced. The public works alſo advanced; a plan was formed for rebuilding the town, on a larger ſcale; and the natives often flocked to the colony, viewing it's improvements with increaſing ſatisfaction. (See plate II.)

Colony ſuffers by war. N. Scotians diſpleaſed; but ſatisfied again.

398. The breaking out of the war, indeed, damped the hopes, and interrupted the progreſs, of the colony. An embargo very unſeaſonably delayed ſome of the Company's ſhips. The prohibition to ſend out proviſions, except in armed ſhips, under convoy †, cauſed a temporary want of flour, which excited great murmurs, and the colonial government feared a ſufficiency of rice could not be got. The advanced price of the Company's goods, from the war, aggravating the diſcontent, the N. Scotians loudly objected to that part of the

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE P.

† See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE Q.

plan

Digitized by Google

plan for rebuilding the town, which reſerved ſome ground near the ſhore, for public uſe. This laſt point was ſettled, after ſome conceſſion, on the part of the Company. But the ſecret cauſe of much of this diſſatisfaction, was the conduct of one of the Company's ſervants who, on Mr. Clarkſon's departure, prejudiced many of the labourers under him, againſt the ſucceeding government. They combined, by leaving their work, to raiſe the price of labour, already very high; but, the government remaining firm, they returned, in a week after, to their work, and their inſtigator, who had alſo been very diſreſpectful to the government, having come to England, was diſmiſſed the ſervice.—To ſatisfy the coloniſts, it was agreed, that two delegates from the N. Scotians, ſhould be ſent to England, to lay their complaints before the Court of Directors, a meaſure which appears to have had the expected good effect; for the colony has ſince been tranquil, and has improved, in every reſpect.

Slave-trade obſtructs colony. Chiefs undeceived.

399. Many occurrences of the ſecond ſeaſon, evinced the practicability of introducing cultivation, trade and civilization into Africa; though the ſlave-trade, and the oppoſing influence of theſe engaged in it, almoſt every where impeded, more or leſs, the Company's views.—One of the counſellor's, and another ſervant of the Company made a voyage ſouthward to the Iſland of Bananas, Camarancas river and Plantain Iſland, and happily removed the prejudices, which ſome of the chiefs had imbibed, from miſrepreſentations of the Company's views. The information they gained falls under another head; as does alſo the progreſs of the Company's plantation, worked by free labourers, on the ſide of the river oppoſite Freetown, together with the benefits

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

benefits resulting from the labours of Mr. A. Afzelius, the Company's botanist.

Death of Mr. Nordenskiold, the mineralogist.

400. The Directors are sorry to mention, that the exertions of their mineralogist, Mr. Nordenskiold, who was promising himself great success, were suddenly terminated by a misfortune, which caused his death. His impatience to pursue his object led him, contrary to the opinion of the governor and council, to attempt an incursion into the interior, before the rains were over. He had goods, worth 2 or £300, with which he proposed to trade and buy necessaries, and was attended by one or two free blacks. But, shortly after, he was robbed, in a part of the country where this danger might have been apprehended. On his return to S. Leona, he was too much exhausted by a fever, to give any distinct account of his misfortune and hardships, and he died in a few days *.—Many other interesting circumstances have happened, the recital of which would be too tedious; but would exemplify the unexpected difficulties and dangers to which a new colony is subject; would explain the causes of the large expenditure, and evince the growing strength of the colony, now abler to surmount accidents, than in it's earlier infancy.

K. Naimbanna's son dies 2 days after his arrival at S. Leona, from London.

401. One event deserves to be particularized; the arrival at S. Leona of the late King Naimbanna's son, who had come to England for education, and his death two days after. His character and improvement are interesting, in relation to the civilization of Africa. His father died a few months after the institution of the colony, to which he was the firmest friend, and his death occasioned his son's return. It is not probable, that, if the son had lived, he would have

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE R.

been

Digitized by Google

been choſen king by the electing chiefs; for they generally prefer ſome perſon of advanced age, to all the young relations of the deceaſed. Yet many circumſtances juſtified the hope, that he would have rendered important ſervices to the Company, in his native country. The Directors, therefore, conſider the death of ſo enlightened an African, and ſo ſincere a friend to the Company, as one of the inſtances wherein Providence has been pleaſed to diſappoint their immediate hopes. From the groundleſs ſuggeſtion of a black, his countrymen ſuſpected that he had been poiſoned, by a ſervant of the Company, on ſhip-board. This cauſed a long palaver, by which, though it ended favourably, ſome alarm was excited, and the very unreaſonable expenſe of entertaining a concourſe of natives, was neceſſarily incurred.

402. In this account, now brought down to the commencement of the ſecond rains, trade has been omitted, as being the ſubject of a diſtinct head. The eſtabliſhment of the colony, involving the happineſs of above 1000 perſons, as well as the future intereſts of the Company, has been the chief object. In the ſecond dry ſeaſon, however, the government ſpiritedly followed up the orders ſent to them reſpecting commerce (ſee § 116, 165 and 179, 2d Claſs 1ſt Diviſion.)

The ſhip York burnt.

403. But here the Directors have to mention a very late calamity, likely to incommode the colony, and interrupt the trade; but chiefly to be lamented, for the pecuniary loſs, namely, the burning of the York ſtore-ſhip, with the goods on board of her. Theſe were partly the Harpy's cargo, and partly African produce, valued at £4000, collected by the Company's ſmall veſſels, up and down the coaſt. The fire happened at nine in the morning, and ſpread rapidly; but neither natives nor coloniſts could be induced to

CHAP. XI. SIERRA LEONA.

approach the veſſel, being obſtinate in the belief, that ſhe contained a large quantity of gun-powder. The whole loſs of ſhip and cargo is calculated at above £15,000 all uninſured; for, under all the circumſtances, inſurance, to any great extent, would not have been eaſy. The ſame diſpatches (dated 26th Dec. 1793) which mention this fire, the collection of the African produce, and the arrival of the goods, which were burnt, brought alſo very good accounts of the colony, eſpecially reſpecting health, up to the end of the ſecond rains. In the period correſponding to that of the preceding year, in which one-tenth of the blacks, and nearly half the whites had died, no great mortality happened; and yet the rains in the laſt ſeaſon were unuſually heavy, and the mortality in the neighbouring factories uncommonly great. Contrary alſo to the firſt year's experience, the reſidents on ſhore were healthier than thoſe on ſhip-board. Hence the Directors may venture to infer, that the colony may now be fairly conſidered as progreſſively improving.

Colony healthy, in the ſecond rains.

Petition of the Nova Scotians.

404. The delegates from the N. Scotians already mentioned, preſented, to the Court of Directors, a petition, purporting to be the ſenſe of their body, couched in ſtrong terms, which, however, there is reaſon to think, were not thoroughly approved by many of them; and the petition had never been ſhown to the governor and council. They complained chiefly of the high price of the Company's goods; the low wages for labour; the nonfulfilment of promiſes ſtated to have been made them by Mr. Clarkſon, and many trifling inſtances of ſuppoſed miſconduct in the ſucceeding governor. After fully conſidering the petition, and hearing the evidence of the delegates, the Court of Directors came to the following Reſolution, which was communicated to them:

405. "Re-

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

Reſol. of the Directors thereon.

"Reſolved,

405. "That the Court conſider the petition of the Nova Scotians, as haſty, and the facts therein mentioned, as chiefly founded on miſtake and miſinformation.—That it appears to have been drawn up and agreed to at a time when the unfortunate delay of the Company's ſhips, through the breaking out of the war, had occaſioned ſome temporary diſtreſs and diſſatisfaction, which ſome deſigning perſon or perſons, then in the colony, may have contributed to increaſe.—The Court are of opinion, therefore, that, through the arrival of the large ſupplies, lately ſent from hence, and the continued care and attention of the governor and council to the intereſts of the colony, every material cauſe of diſſatisfaction will have ceaſed before the arrival of theſe reſolutions at Sierra Leona. As it is undoubtedly the intereſt of the coloniſts, ſo the Directors truſt, it will alſo be their general wiſh, to promote harmony, and to diſcountenance all factious attempts to diſcredit the government of Sierra Leona, ſince, on their due obedience to government, under the bleſſing of Providence, their happineſs, their liberty, and perhaps their very lives, depend. It is on this ground that the Directors earneſtly exhort the general body of Nova Scotians, both as freemen and as Chriſtians, to diſcourage all unreaſonable diſcontent, to pay reſpect and obedience to the government, and if, contrary to the Directors' expectations, any actual grievances ſhould exiſt at the time of receiving this reſolution, the Court of Directors recommend it to the Nova Scotians, temperately to repreſent the caſe to the governor and council. But if they ſhould hereafter conceive it to be neceſſary to prefer their complaints hither, that they will, in ſuch caſe, previouſly acquaint the governor and council with the purport of them, in order that the Court may receive their ſentiments

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

thereupon, and may thus have the whole of the ſubject at once before them."

Conſequent remonſtrance.

406. The delegates, on the above reſolution, made a very haſty remonſtrance, which indicated the ſame vehemence and diſreſpect to the Court of Directors, which had occaſionally been ſhown to the government at Sierra Leona. After ſome more interviews with the Directors, during a farther detention of about two months, in which they received a ſmall allowance for ſubſiſtence, they ſet ſail, apparently very well diſpoſed to the Company.

407. The preceding facts, eſpecially the laſt, may have ſuggeſted to the proprietors the difficulty the Directors have had, to ſatisfy the N. Scotians, on the one hand, and to avoid profuſe expenſe, on the other. Indeed ſuch have been the trouble and expenſe cauſed by the N. Scotians, that the general expediency of introducing them into the colony, may have been doubted. It ſeems neceſſary, therefore, to ſtate the advantages and diſadvantages of that meaſure.

Diſadvantages of receiving the N. Scotians.

408. The charge of it has certainly been very great; for the Company's eſtabliſhment has been unavoidably enlarged, in proportion to the number of coloniſts; the ſhips have been neceſſarily employed for their uſe; the grant of proviſions may be eſtimated at £20,000; expenſe has been incurred in diſtributing their lands; and loſs, by employing more of them than were always wanted, and that at wages which, though complained of, were at leaſt double thoſe given to the natives, who yet are nearly equal to the N. Scotians at common labour, though incapable of ſome neceſſary kinds of work at which the N. Scotians are tolerably expert.—Of theſe, which are the principal charges, no juſt eſtimate could be previouſly formed; not only from the nature of them, but from the unexpected num-

Digitized by Google

number of N. Scotians who embarked, and the delays and diſappointments which followed. When the Directors invited theſe coloniſts, they unavoidably acted on probabilities: though aware of incalculable circumſtances, their prompt deciſion was indiſpenſable. They thought it prudent to make the promiſes before ſtated; and, on the faith of which, the N. Scotians have croſſed the ſeas. But the Directors fairly avow, that, beſides a literal compliance with them, they conſider themſelves morally obliged not to let the coloniſts ſuffer any extremities, which the Company can relieve, till they can derive ſupport from their lands, or from ſome other means. Hence they have never heſitated to ſend out ſuch goods, as they had reaſon to believe ſtrictly neceſſary; leaving it to the diſcretion of the government to credit the coloniſts with ſuch neceſſaries.——Had the land round Freetown been as fruitful as was deſcribed, and had the N. Scotians been as manageable and induſtrious as they were repreſented, and, for ſome time, appeared to be, the charges attending them would certainly have been leſs, and the advantages greater.

Advantages.

409. Yet, under every difficulty and diſappointment, the advantages of the migration of this body of coloniſts have been important; but more ſo to themſelves, and to Africa, than to the proprietors. A quicker improvement in point of health, from the extenſion of the town, and of cultivation; a greater facility in inducing valuable men to go out; a farther extenſion of the Company's reputation in Africa, and a quicker progreſs in civilization; but, above all, a far greater ſecurity againſt hoſtile attacks—all theſe advantages evidently belong to a large, rather than a ſmall, undertaking: and, if there be no danger that the funds, which may properly be deſtined to the eſtabliſhment of the colo-

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SIERRA LEONA.

colony, ſhould be prematurely exhauſted, it can ſcarcely be denied, that ſo powerful a body of coloniſts, muſt afford a ſuperior proſpect of ultimate ſucceſs.

410. In diſcharging their important truſt, the Directors have endeavoured to practiſe that œconomy which is connected with ſound policy, and ſubſtantial juſtice,—to the Proprietors; to their ſervants; and to the coloniſts.

Statement of funds and expenſes.

411. In the following ſtatement, though the ſum total of the expenſes of the colony can hardly fail to be tolerably correct, yet many particulars, from the cauſes ſtated, are merely taken from eſtimate.

EXPENSES incurred in eſtabliſhing the COLONY.

Charges antecedent to the incorporation of the Company, conſiſting chiefly of two ſmall veſſels, ſent to explore the country. - £.	1200	
Charges of incorporation - - - - - - - - -	650	
		1850

Charges of home eſtabliſhment, viz.

Furniture and repairs of the S. Leona Houſe - - - - -	450	
Houſekeeper's ſalary, coals, candles, rent, and taxes, &c. for about two years, to Chriſtmas 1793. - - - - -	745	
Printing, advertiſing, poſtage, books, &c. for about 2 years, to ditto -	850	
Officers and clerks ſalaries to ditto - - - -	1480	
		3525
Educating and clothing natives ſent to England, and their paſſages, about ...		500

Charges of the eſtabliſhment at S. Leona, viz.

Temporary allowance of proviſions to all the Company's ſervants, and expenſe of the table of the governor, botaniſt and mineralogiſt, &c. eſtimated at - - - - -	3250	
Paſſage of ſervants and artificers out and home, eſtimated at -	5000	
Their travelling expenſes and other charges in England - -	380	
Amount of ſalaries to S. Leona ſervants, for about two years, to Chriſtmas 1793 - - - - - - -	7500	
		16130
		22005

Incidental

	£.	£.
Brought forward		22005
Incidental expenſes in the colony, viz.		
Medicines, ſurgical inſtruments, books and ſtationary, &c.	1630	
Equipment of botaniſt and mineralogiſt,	400	
Preſents to chiefs, expenſes of palavers, &c.	1500	
		3530
Outfit and Maintenance of SHIPPING employed for the protection, and accommodation of the colony, and in collecting proviſions, &c. about		17840
Proviſions to the coloniſts, before they were put into poſſeſſion of their lands, eſtimated at		20000
Loſſes and gratuities in England, conſiſting chiefly of ſums advanced to the Company's ſervants, which were not recovered, through their dying or retiring from the ſervice, and of gratuities paid according to the terms of the Company's engagement, to the near relations of the deceaſed *		1245
SUPPOSED EXPENSE in ESTABLISHING the COLONY		64620
To which add the loſs of the ſhip York, eſtimated at	15000	
And other loſſes by robbery, damage through expoſure to the climate, and articles that proved unſerviceable	3000	
		18000
SUPPOSED EXPENSE of ESTABLISHING the COLONY, the LOSS INCLUDED		£. 82620

	£.	
The CAPITAL STOCK of the Company is	235280	
The intereſt received thereon is	7619	
Making together	242899	
From which, if the above ſum of	82620	be taken,
There remains	£. 160279,	to be accounted for, which is done in the following manner:

DEAD STOCK at S. LEONA, which, though ſtated as part of the remaining effects of the Company, is not to be conſidered as convertible into money, nor as bearing a value equal to it's coſt, conſiſting of buildings, lands, &c. at S. Leona.

Buildings belonging to the Company, viz.

	£.
Coſt, at S. Leona, of a church, warehouſe, range of ſhops, two hoſpitals, two dwelling-houſes, and four canvas houſes, ſent from England, about	3930
Coſt, at S. Leona, of materials for finiſhing the buildings, viz. bricks, deals, ſcantlings, &c. about	4500
	8430

* I preſume, that no ſalary has been paid to the botaniſt, or to the mineralogiſt, in his life time; nor has a ſingle farthing, as far as I have underſtood, been yet given to the *diſtreſſed* widow and orphans of the latter; though he may be ſaid, with ſome propriety, to have ſacrificed his valuable life in the Company's ſervice. See § 400 and the note on it. *C. B. W.*

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SIERRA LEONA.

Brought forward -	8430	
Putting together the buildings ſent out, and erection of other buildings for the Company's ſervants, about - - - - -	3300	
Improving the landing place, making a wharf, roads, and ſundry public works, about - - - - - -	3000	
A large crane, fire engines, &c. - - - - - -	705	
Furniture for the governor, phyſician, and chaplain - -	500	
		16935

Lands, viz.

Purchaſe of lands at S. Leona, and cultivation on the Company's account	1750	
Allotment of lands to the N. Scotians, on which a rent is reſerved to the Company, about - - - - - -	2500	
		4250

Articles for defence, viz.

Arms, ammunition, and other articles - - - - -	2500	
Labour and conſtruction of works of defence - - - -	2000	
about		4500
Total Dead Stock - - - - -	£.	24685

Capital in Trade, viz.

African produce in England, eſtimated at - - -	1000		
Cargoes of three veſſels now on their paſſage out . £.	16900		
Deduct for goods not paid for -	10400	6500	
Goods at S. Leona, or on board veſſels on the coaſt - -	7900		
Value of dollars in the colony, about - - -	1000		
Debts due from the coloniſts to the Company, much the greater part of which is expected to be recovered, about - -	2000		
Preſent eſtimated value of the Company's ſhipping -	9000		
Total capital now inveſted in trade - - -			27400

Property belonging to the Company placed at intereſt, &c. viz.

	£.	s.	d.			
Placed at intereſt in the Royal Bank of Scotland - -	39000	0	0			
At Meſſrs. Barnett and Co's the bankers, &c.	151	10	9			
				39151	10	9
Inveſted in 4 per cent conſols. Bank Ann.	15140	0	0			
In India bills and bonds - -	23168	12	8			
In Navy and victualling bills - -	30733	16	7			
				69042	9	3
Total property at intereſt and in public ſecurities						108194
Total remaining effects of the Company, the dead ſtock at S. Leona included - - - - - - -					£.	160279

Digitized by Google

Expenſes great, and why;

412. Such is the preſent ſtate of the Company's funds, and of the expenſes, which laſt, certainly very far exceed every expectation, owing to the above-mentioned unforeſeen cauſes, which it may be proper to recapitulate, and bring into one point of view.—1ſt. The inefficiency of the original council, which occaſioned great irregularity, and, it is feared, much prodigality and waſte.—2. The fatal ſickneſs of the firſt rains, which ſuſpended induſtry and greatly aggravated expenſe.—3. The badneſs of the ſoil near the town, which, by denying preſent ſupport, has thrown that expenſe on the Company.—4. The burning of the York.—5. The war, which has rendered additional protection neceſſary; has raiſed the coſt of European goods; increaſed the expenſe of living at S. Leona; prevented the expected decreaſe in the price of labour; and enhanced the charge of neceſſary public works. To the war are alſo to be aſcribed the long and expenſive detention of ſome of the veſſels; the difficulty of procuring, and the increaſed expenſe of maintaining and paying, ſailors; and the uncertainty of intelligence cauſed by the war has been not only a pecuniary diſadvantage, but a very material inconvenience.

but are leſſening.

413. The charge of £. 20,000 for proviſions, and that of £. 17,840 for maintenance of Company's ſhips, in the protection and uſe of the colony, have greatly exceeded expectation. But the former has now entirely, and the latter very nearly, ceaſed. The Directors are alſo uſing their beſt endeavours to confine all the expenſes to the trade, cultivation, and annual eſtabliſhment of the Company; an object which, they truſt, is nearly effected; for, while the chief difficulties of the colony are ſubſiding, the Company's burden is ceaſing.

414. On reviewing the paſt, the Directors own that ſome

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

Colonization arduous.

things, had they been more experienced, might have been conducted more frugally and advantageouſly. But many of the occurrences, no human wiſdom could have foreſeen or controlled; and they attribute many deliverances of the colony, not to the care of thoſe whom the Proprietors have ſet over it, but to that Providence alone, which has protected it. From paſt experience, they may look forward to farther difficulties, impoſſible to be provided againſt; for colonization has, in general, been far more arduous, hazardous and expenſive, than the undertakers at firſt believed. (See § 276 *et ſeq.* and 303 *et ſeq.*) The Directors, therefore, indulge no expectations of rapid, uninterrupted ſucceſs; yet, from the gradual advances of the colony, in the midſt of difficulties, they are not without ſuch hopes of it's eſtabliſhment and future proſperity, as encourage them ſteadily and chearfully to perſevere; but they are conſcious, that, after all poſſible attention, the event is at the ſupreme diſpoſal of Him who can ſuſpend, obſtruct or fruſtrate the beſt ſchemes of men, or can crown them with the moſt ſignal ſucceſs.

Mortality ſtated.

415. The cauſes of the mortality at S. Leona have been already mentioned. (See § 384, 389.) The following are ſome of the particulars reſpecting it.—The Company's upper ſervants, who went out the firſt year, were 26, including eight counſellors, a chaplain, ſeveral medical men, a ſecretary, (Mr. J. Strand *) an accountant and others, all well accommodated. Of this claſs, only four have died, and the deaths of only two can be properly charged to the climate. —Of lower ſervants, ſuch as clerks, overſeers, artificers,

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE S.

&c.

Digitized by Google

&c. there went out 59, including their families. Many of them were often expoſed to the rains; ſeveral were intemperate; they were in general ill lodged; and, from the ſickneſs of the ſurgeons, they could have but little medical attendance: hence no leſs than 29 died.—Of ſettlers, including their families, there went out 18, and no fewer than 13 died. Some of them were very intemperate, and their ſituation was, in all reſpects, worſe than the laſt claſs.—Of ſoldiers 16 went out, almoſt all intemperate, and, circumſtanced as they were, in other reſpects, it is not ſurprizing that 11 ſhould have died.—In all, 119 perſons went out, the firſt year, of whom 57 died.—The ſoldiers and white coloniſts, with their families, having either died or returned home, the whites, in the ſecond year, were reduced to about 40, of whom only 4 or 5 have died.—The deaths in the Company's ſhips are not here included; for they were not always at S. Leona; nor has any compleat return on this ſubject been made. But, from information received from moſt of the ſhips, between 20 and 30 may have died, on board them all. The ſeamen employed have ſeldom exceeded 140 or 150; ſo that their mortality may have been 7 or 8 per cent per annum*.

That of the N. Scotians.

416. The N. Scotians, who arrived at S. Leona in 1792, were 1131, many of them lingering under the remains of a fever, which had carried off a few of their original number in N. Scotia, and 65 more on the paſſage. Of 1131 landed, 40 died in a few weeks after, from the ſame fever. The reſt then became very healthy, and ſo continued till the almoſt

* From evidence of the ſubſtance of the muſter-rolls of the Liverpool and Briſtol ſlave-ſhips, inſerted in the Report of His Majeſty's Privy Council, it appears that of 4080 ſeamen, who formed the crews of 112 ſhips, 858, or 21 per cent, died in one voyage.—See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE T.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

universal ſickneſs of the firſt rains, when 98 of them died.—In the three moſt unhealthful months of the ſecond rainy ſeaſon, for the account extends not to the whole year, their deaths did not exceed five.

Phyſician's report.

417. The Company's phyſician ſtates, in his report of the 14th Oct. 1793, That though the ſickneſs and mortality this year have been comparatively ſmall; yet that the rainy months have been, as uſual, more ſickly than all the preceding; that the N. Scotians have experienced, in the rains, conſiderable indiſpoſition, but generally with trifling complaints; that they now ſeem ſo accuſtomed to the climate, that there is little reaſon to fear any great mortality among them; that there are not many whoſe health is precarious; that few villages, perhaps in England, can ſhow more fine children; that, in this period, fevers have been pretty frequent among the whites; but that the ſick liſt is on the decreaſe, and it is hoped they will all recover; and that the want of flour has, this year, been ſeriouſly felt by the healthy, much more by the ſick.—The diſpatches of the 26th Dec. give a much more favourable bill of health, and ſtate the mortality to be as before-mentioned.

Mortality not chargeable on the Directors.

418. The greateſt mortality having been among the white ſettlers, the ſoldiers, and the lower ſervants and artificers, the Directors reflect with ſatisfaction, that, inſtead of urging any of theſe to go out, they refuſed many of each claſs, whom they were importuned to ſend, and were ſcarcely prevailed on to carry out thoſe who went—a reluctance which gave umbrage to ſeveral who were eager to become African coloniſts, and partly, perhaps, gave riſe to the Bulama Company.—Their indiſpoſition to enlarge the number of ſoldiers, whoſe mortality was next in magnitude to that of the ſettlers, cauſed the reſignation of one or two chief ſervants

Digitized by Google

ſervants, and drew a remonſtrance from ſeveral gentlemen who purpoſed adventuring out. Aware alſo of the probable evils even of their ſmall military eſtabliſhment, they recalled the ſoldiers, when aſſured of the peaceableneſs of the natives; but the order arrived too late.—So ſenſible were the Directors of the dangers to which the artificers were expoſed (moſt of whom, from an accident at ſea, were not likely to arrive, till the eve of the rains) that they offered to diſcharge many of them in England, to indemnify them for loſs of time, and to add ſome gratuity. Of this offer, a few accepted, but many, including all who had families, were determined to make the voyage. This detail will not only ſhow that the Directors were far from preſſing thoſe to go out, who have run the great riſk of their lives; but will alſo point out the extreme danger, to which perſons are expoſed on arriving in a tropical climate, unprovided with proper lodging and ſubſiſtence, or who are likely to fall into intemperance.

Nor the Climate.

419. The Directors, having thus endeavoured to give an impartial account of the health of the colony, leave it's character, in this reſpect, to reſt on the ſimple evidence of the above facts. They know of no reaſon why the climate of S. Leona ſhould prove eventually worſe, than thoſe of other tropical colonies, of which the healthfulneſs is now undiſputed; for ſome of theſe were more fatal to the firſt coloniſts, than S. Leona has yet proved. It ſeems therefore very probable, that, as cultivation and accommodation improve, the health of the colony, will gradually amend, as has been always experienced in ſimilar caſes *.

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE U.

420. On

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

420. On the ſubject of trade, the Directors have rather to mention the orders given, and the ſteps taken, than to report much actual progreſs. Though an aſſortment of goods for trade was ſent out, in the firſt ſhips, by advice of the commercial agent, who knew the coaſt well, and who took charge of them; yet he made no effort to diſpoſe of them.

TRADE.

Many of them remained on board, during the rains. Even many goods intended for immediate uſe, were not delivered out of the ſhips, till after this period. And it is feared, that, from this perſon's miſconduct, added to the inefficiency of the Council, and the conſequent confuſion, while many were loſing their lives, the Company's property was diſſipated. This irregularity was aggravated, by the illneſs of almoſt every perſon employed in the commercial department. The chief ſtore-keeper was obliged, by ſickneſs, to return home; the chief accountant died, as did the chief commercial agent, already mentioned, without rendering up any regular accounts: ſeveral inferior ſtore-keepers ſunk under ſevere duty; and their ſucceſſors, the preſent book-keeper excepted, were little acquainted with mercantile buſineſs.

421. Thus the Directors, who did every thing that depended on them to ſecure punctuality, from the very inſtitution of the colony, are deprived of the means of examining into the application of all the firſt cargoes; and, although one of the Counſellors laboured to eſtabliſh proper book-keeping, his efforts were fruſtrated by the burning of all the moſt material books of the colony, on board the York. It will not excite ſurprize, that the Directors were ſlow in ſending out goods for trade, when confuſion was known to prevail in the colony, and when the commercial ſervants, who had died or returned, were not replaced. The preſent commercial

Digitized by Google

commercial agent, however, carried out a large aſſortment, ſuited to that market. A great part of them were immediately ſent down the coaſt, in the Company's ſmall veſſels: the reſt, as above ſtated, were deſtroyed with the York.

Company's ſhipping.

422. The Company have now one ſhip of 380 tons, another of 200, and ten veſſels each from 35 to 120 tons. One of the ſhips is likely to be uſed as a ſtore-ſhip, inſtead of the York, and the other in carrying goods to and from S. Leona; all the ſmaller veſſels being chiefly engaged in collecting produce on the coaſt, and conveying it to the colony, as the depot.—Various cauſes led the Directors, at firſt, to buy, rather than charter, veſſels; but the vaſt expenſe attending their larger ſhips, has diſinclined them from farther purchaſes of this ſort. Moſt of the heavy expenſes of the ſhipping, enhanced, as they were, by the war, are charged in the account, to the colony, not to the Company's trade. But all the ſmaller veſſels have been ſome time on trading voyages, as is alſo one of the ſhips, the other being uſed at S. Leona for protection, and as a ſtore-ſhip.

Company's factories, &c.

423. The government, with a view to collect produce, have eſtabliſhed ſome ſmall factories, chiefly on the neighbouring rivers, and for a trifling expenſe. The French ſlave-factory at Gambia (iſland) a few miles above Freetown, and commanding one branch of the river S. Leona, has lately been abandoned. Various other openings have occurred, details of which will not be expected; and, though, for the reaſons ſtated, African produce amounting only to a few thouſand pounds has come home, yet, in no way do the government ſtate their proſpects to have more improved, than in commercial openings towards the end of the laſt year, when the declenſion of the ſlave-trade, from the ſtagnation of credit in England, was very viſible on the

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

the coaſt. But on the abolition of that traffic, the commencement of a conſiderable trade in African produce may be expected. When the natives ſhall find, that nothing but the produce of their land and labour will be received for European goods, *that* diſpoſition to cultivation, for adequate encouragement, which they have already ſhown, will be confirmed; and it is natural to expect that thoſe plans of induſtry will be adopted, of which S. Leona will have ſet the example.

424. Even the limitation of the ſlave-trade might promote African induſtry, and, of courſe, the views of the Company. As yet, they labour under diſadvantages which, they truſt, will not always be impoſed on thoſe who refuſe to unite a traffic in their fellow creatures with a trade in produce. They alſo willingly ſuffer ſome preſent loſs, by furniſhing articles rather better, and ſomewhat different in kind, from thoſe generally ſent to Africa; and, in many reſpects, they have endeavoured to purify the dreadfully corrupt African trade. They have reſtrained, or aboliſhed, the preſents of rum to the chiefs. They truſt alſo they have gone to the root of another evil, by introducing a conſiderable quantity of coin into the colony, thus ſubſtituting the plain and certain medium of dollars, in place of the former one of bars *, which having been a medium of calculation that was extremely variable and confuſed, and merely nominal, has occaſioned much trouble and diſpute, and given the opportunity of practiſing perpetual frauds in the African commerce †. On the whole, the Di-

* The word *bar* implied originally a bar of iron, which was one of the moſt common articles of commerce, and might be worth 3s. ſter.

† See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE W.

rec-

Digitized by Google

rectors have reaſon to hope that they have acquired ſome credit in Africa, by the principles of the undertaking, the quality of the goods, and the fairneſs of their ſervants; and, though their progreſs may appear ſlow, they truſt they have laid ſome foundation for an advantageous commerce.

CULTIVATION.

425. Cultivation may be divided into two kinds, that on the Company's account, and that of the N. Scotians or the natives.—The Directors, agreeable to their original plan of cultivation, on their own account, ſent out three managers (or planters) and ſeveral overſeers uſed to tropical cultivation. The diſtreſſes of the firſt rainy ſeaſon, induced one of the planters to return to the W. Indies. Many of the overſeers died: of the two remaining planters, one was, for ſome time, preparing a cotton plantation near Freetown; but, as he returned to England, and the land was much wanted, the undertaking is ſuſpended, and a few N. Scotians, whoſe land proved very barren, have the temporary uſe of this fertile ſpot, on which they have raiſed corps of various uſeful articles.

W. Indian managers and overſeers introduced.

A plantation of ſugar-canes. &c. begun nearly on the W. Indian plan.

426. When the ſoil around Freetown was found worſe than was expected, the remaining planter*, with his uſual ardent and laudable zeal, having viewed the ſoil down the coaſt, along the river, and in the interior country, reported that he had found extremely good land on the oppoſite ſide of the river, and offered to ſettle there among the natives, and to attempt, with their help alone, a regular plantation. A mile ſquare of land (640 acres) was accordingly rented, without difficulty, from it's chief for £16 a year;

* Mr. James Watt, formerly planter in Dominica.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SIERRA LEONA.

and about thirty Grumettas*, or free native labourers, were got together. Their firſt work was to build a houſe for the manager. They next cleared the land of wood, which entirely covered it, and proceeded to hoe the ground, and to plant it with ſugar-canes, cotton, rice and other vegetables. Their wages were four or five bars a month; but, as the valuing of the bars produced ſome altercation, the price of three dollars a month, or about 3s. 6d. a week, is now ſubſtituted. They are alſo found with about a pint and a half of rice, and two or three ounces of meat, daily. They are called to work by the blowing of a horn, which is heard in the ſmall neighbouring towns where they reſide; and, if they are on the ſpot, as they uſually are, at the preciſe time expected, namely ſun-riſe, they receive a ſmall glaſs of rum, which it is intended, however, to commute for a trifle of money. The work under the eye of one of the better ſort of natives, while the planter directs their general operations, ſees them often from his window, and walks occaſionally among them. They go to dinner (which is dreſſed for them in the manager's houſe) and is the only meal they take during their day's work, at eleven o'clock, and return at one, and work till ſunſet, when they have another ſmall glaſs of rum, but they drink only water at their meals. Their labour is thought equal to about two thirds of a common day's work in this country, and is tolerably ſteady, though they ſhow no great exertion in it. Their number and regularity have ſcarcely varied for above a year, except in their abſenting themſelves for a week or two, at the approach of the rains, to work on their own

* *Grumetta* I underſtand to be a Portugueſe word, ſignifying a ſailor's ſervant. *C. B. W.*

plantations,

Digitized by Google

plantations, an interruption which, it is thought, may in future be prevented.

427. When thoſe natives receive their wages, which they claim on the day after the new moon, they ſend to Freetown to *ſell* the dollars*, as they term it, which they do for cloathing and houſehold utenſils; for it does not appear that they apply them to any bad uſe. They may now be diſtinguiſhed from moſt other natives by additional cloathing; they wear hats and jackets, which the others generally do not, and their trowſers are of a better quality. They are evidently diſpoſed to copy the Europeans; though they have as yet adopted but a ſmall part of their cloathing, furniture and mode of living. On Sunday's they are taught to abſtain from work, and attend a Nova Scotia preacher, who, in the week, teaches ſeveral native children.

Native labourers improved by it.

428. The firſt year, they put into cultivation about 15 acres of land, of which about 12 were planted with alternate rows of rice and cotton. A nurſery of ſugar-canes has alſo been planted, and, on the whole, advances; but the ants, or bugabugs, have damaged it much. It is ſuppoſed, however, that this obſtacle to the growth of ſugar-canes will ceaſe, when the roots of the trees, which partly ſupport the ants, ſhall have rotted†.

Canes damaged by the bugabugs.

429. Though little differences may have occaſionally ariſen between the manager and the native labourers; yet, on the whole, the Company's credit has been much improved in that part, and many proofs have occurred of the advances that may be made in civilization, if this object ſhould be purſued, and the ſame ſyſtem conſiderably ex-

Little differences between manager and natives.

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE W.

† See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE X.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

tended. Several towns near the Company's plantation are very much increaſed, by the natives who work for the company, and by many others. The natives are alſo more diſpoſed than before, to ſettle on the ſides of the river. A ſenſe of ſecurity gains ground, and they are leſs averſe to the buſh round their towns being cut down, which they always conſidered as affording a refuge againſt being ſurprized and made ſlaves. The difficulty indeed of landing on the Bullom ſhore, by leſſening European intercourſe, has rendered the natives leſs violent, and kept them more ſober and induſtrious than their oppoſite neighbours. They are generally diſpoſed to enter into the views of the government of Sierra Leona, and give little credit to the ſlave-traders, who tell them that the Company have injurious deſigns. One of them makes it a principle neither to ſell, nor to keep a ſlave. They appear to deſire a ſecond plantation, for which their king has lately ceded another ſquare mile of land. In a ſmall garden of experiment, near Freetown, many native plants and ſeeds are attentively cultivated, under the eye of an able botaniſt (See § 369) from whoſe labours ſome future benefits may be expected to the Company, or colony, as well as to the ſcience he profeſſes. The Directors, with His Majeſty's permiſſion, have obtained from the royal gardens at Kew, ſome valuable tropical plants, eſpecially that important one, the bread-fruit tree.

Yet population and civilization advance.

Natives deſire a ſecond plantation.

430. They cannot yet report any conſiderable progreſs in cultivation, either by the Nova Scotians, or the natives on their own account. Much of the induſtry of the coloniſts has been applied to the building of the town, of which ſome deſcription may be proper. It is ſituated on a dry and rather elevated ſpot, on the ſouth ſide of the river, and occupies between 70 and 80 acres, it's length being about one

Freetown deſcribed.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

one third of a mile, and it's breath nearly the ſame. It contains near 400 houſes, each having one twelfth of an acre annexed, on which a few vegetables are raiſed. There are nine ſtreets, running from N. W. to S. E. and three croſs ſtreets, and they are 80 feet wide, except one, which runs within 50 feet of the river, and which is 160 feet wide. (See the Plan Plate II.) In the broad ſtreet are almoſt all the public buildings, conſiſting of a church, near the middle, capable of containing 800 people; a governor's houſe and offices; a large ſtore-houſe, under which, and the governor's houſe, there are brick ſtore-cellars; a large hoſpital, and 6 or 8 other wooden houſes, offices and ſhops, occupied by the Company's ſervants. The frames of all theſe buildings went from England, as alſo four canvas houſes, or rather rooms *. One public building is compoſed of the country materials; but this and the canvas houſes are decaying, while all the other buildings, being framed of wood prepared in England, ſeem likely to laſt for ſome years. The houſes of the coloniſts were at firſt inferior, but are now far ſuperior, to thoſe of the natives. A few have been repaired and enlarged; but moſt of them have been rebuilt, their general ſcite having been changed by the government. Indeed the firſt huts of the Nova Scotians were merely temporary, wattled, plaiſtered with clay, and thatched with long graſs. On an average, they might be about 18 feet by 12, and the labour might be worth 40 ſhillings.—The ſides and floors of the preſent houſes (for they are all floored) are of country timber; and, to exclude damp, they are raiſed a foot or two from the ground. (See § 84.) Many are already roofed with boards or ſhingles,

and houſes.

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE Y.

as

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

as all of them are intended to be; but moſt of them, for the preſent, are thatched. Only a few have chimneys; yet, during the rains, a fire is commonly uſed, the ſmoke iſſuing through the thatch, or by the door and windows. They are generally from 20 to 30 feet long, from 12 to 15 wide; are moſtly divided into two rooms, and the average coſt of each, for building and materials, may be about £10.

Town land.

431. Of the land immediately ſurrounding the town, a portion has been reſerved to the Company. This, excluſive of the remote parts directly ſouth, where the reſerved land has no boundary, but the diſtant one preſcribed in the grant, may be about 200 acres. Part of it is the land before mentioned, that was intended for a cotton plantation, but now occupied by the N. Scotians. Only a ſmall part of theſe 200 acres is cultivated; but the whole was early cleared, which * doubtleſs promoted the healthineſs of the colony; and the prudent reſervation of this land may hereafter be found of importance, eſpecially in enlarging the town, if neceſſary.—The lots given to the Nova Scotians lie on the S. E. of Freetown, all the weſtern diſtrict being poſſeſſed by the natives, and the ſouthern being thought too mountainous for preſent cultivation. The neareſt of theſe lots is about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from the town, and the moſt diſtant about $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles. They occupy in all, about 4 ſquare miles, or 2560 acres, and are each of them acceſſible by a path 10 feet broad, cut with great labour and expenſe. Only a few of the lots neareſt the town have been yet tolerably cleared and cultivated.

* with the elevation of the houſes, mentioned in the preceding § 340. *C. B. W.*

342. To

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

Premiums for cultivation.

432. To excite emulation in culture, the government gave premiums, the firſt year, to thoſe coloniſts who raiſed the moſt rice, yams, eddoes, cabbages, Indian corn and cotton, reſpectively. All the premiums amounted to about £100, and they appeared to have ſo good an effect, that they are intended to be repeated in the ſecond ſeaſon, with a few variations, ſuggeſted by the firſt year's experience. (See § 301, 302.)

Cultivation of natives fluctuating.

433. Of the progreſs of cultivation among the natives, it can hardly be expected that much can yet be ſaid. Indeed the ſize of their plantations has varied ſo much annually, that any appearance of their increaſing induſtry, in one ſeaſon, ſhould not be too confidently aſcribed, either to the new demands of the coloniſts, or to the Company's example. Rice, the chief crop on the coaſt, has varied in price, from 40 ſhill. per ton, to no leſs than £25, or even £30. This is partly owing to the difference of ſeaſons, but ſtill more to the inability of the Africans to compute the probable demand; a plentiful year ſometimes betraying them into neglect of cultivation, and a ſcarce one ſeldom failing to produce ſuperfluous cultivation, the next year.

Factory to buy up ſurplus produce of natives.

434. The eſtabliſhment of a commercial factory on the coaſt, to form contracts with the natives, to obſerve the extent of cultivation, and to buy up the ſurplus produce for exportation, will tend, as the Directors truſt, to excite a more regular induſtry, and gradually to produce the moſt important conſequences.

CIVILIZATION.

435. Under this head, the Directors will ſpeak of the colonial government; of the character of the coloniſts; of civilization, with the miſerable ſtate to which the Africans have been

CHAP. XI. SIERRA LEONA.

been reduced by their intercourſe with the Europeans; concluding with an account of the ſteps taken to introduce Chriſtianity and civilization among the natives, of whoſe capacity and docility ſome ſatisfactory information will be given.

436. The Directors have yet received no expreſs powers from Parliament, for governing Sierra Leona. They have conſidered, as they were bound, that the Britiſh conſtitution, as far as it applies to the circumſtances, is of courſe transferred thither, and equally to black and to white coloniſts. The Nova Scotia blacks, though poſſeſſing very little knowledge of the Britiſh laws, have acted as jurymen, one of the Company's chief ſervants always being the judge. The puniſhments have been mild, rather pecuniary than corporal: the verdicts have been generally very juſt, and, on the whole, the Nova Scotians, as jurymen, have proved the propriety and prudence of extending to them a privilege which they ſo much value. It may be preſumed, that the acquaintance with Britiſh law gained by the Nova Scotians, in the periodical ſeſſions of the peace, will improve their minds, and, in conjunction with other kinds of knowledge, operate as an auxiliary to civilization.

Blacks act as jurymen,

437. To introduce internal police, every ten houſeholders have been inſtructed to chuſe annually a tithing-man, and every ten tithing-men a hundredor (ſee § 167, 191.) Of the laſt there are three, anſwering to about 300 houſeholders in the colony. The hundredors are conſulted by the government, in caſes which concern the intereſts of the Nova Scotians.

and as tything-men and hundredors,

438. The defence of the colony is neceſſarily entruſted to the Nova Scotians alſo. Their arms are always ready; and, though their courage has not been actually tried, their alacrity

and as militia.

Digitized by Google

alacrity, in moments of ſuppoſed danger, has been more than once experienced. Moſt, of them, indeed, carried arms in the late war, and ſome have been practiſed in firing the great guns mounted for the colony's defence.

Spirit of the government.

439. The Directors, convinced that the ſtate of mind and local circumſtances of the governed, muſt be conſidered in forming any plan of government, have hitherto adviſed the governor and council to proceed gradually, to follow experience, as much as poſſible, and to remedy every evil as it aroſe, rather than to form at once, any conſiderable code of new local inſtitutions.—The Directors think it ſufficient to touch here on the general principles of government, the trial of offences, and the colonial police and defence, reſorted to, up to this period: they do not wiſh now to give any opinion of thoſe meaſures, which it may be proper to give hereafter, on this important ſubject.

General character of the Company's ſervants.

440. The general conduct of the Company's ſervants has been ſober, moral and exemplary. The ſuperior ones eſpecially, appear to have promoted Chriſtianity and morality, both by their manner of exerciſing their public truſts, and by their private influence and example. From the labours of the clergymen, the colony has derived ſervices highly important, in every point of view.—In ſpeaking thus favourably of their own ſervants, the Directors, of courſe, except thoſe of whom any implications of a contrary character are mentioned in this report; and they alſo, except a few, who are not individually alluded to. They have been the moſt diſappointed in the lower overſeers of whom it was difficult to get any thorough knowledge, at the time of engaging them, on account of their having reſided in the W. Indies: of the individuals of this claſs, who originally went out, none now remain in the colony. The court will not

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

wonder, if, in ſpite of the moſt cautious choice of perſons ſent out, ſome few, among ſuch a number, ſhould have been found groſsly immoral. But there is reaſon to think, that the regular ſervants, chargeable with direct immorality, have been very few: and it is pleaſing to obſerve that decent manners, and a reluctance to diſgrace ſo good a cauſe, appear now to pervade the eſtabliſhment.

of the N. Scotians,

441. The character of the N. Scotia blacks, who may be ſaid to conſtitute the colony, it will be proper fully to deſcribe. Some judgment may be formed of their morals, from the offences which have come before the periodical ſeſſions of the peace. The higheſt have been adultery and petty theft. From thoſe vices which come leſs under legal cognizance, they are, in ſome reſpects, remarkably free. Marriage being general among them, the evils attending it's diſuſe are, in a great meaſure, avoided. Drunkenneſs and ſwearing they are by no means addicted to. Their attention to the Sabbath is great; they then abſtain entirely from work, dreſs in very good (and ſome in very gay) attire, and repair with their children to church, where their deportment is repreſented to be ſtrikingly decent and ſerious.

which is in ſome reſpects ſuperior to that of the lower Engliſh.

442. From this ſketch it appears, that the Nova Scotians are ſuperior to the generality of the ſame claſs in England, in the practice of the duties mentioned; but this is certainly the moſt favourable view of them. To give a juſt idea of their character, it may be proper to notice their religion, and ſome of their peculiar diſpoſitions and prejudices, eſpecially reſpecting the Company; and then to view their paſt circumſtances.——Beſides being punctual in their worſhip, many of them poſſeſs much regard to religion, in other reſpects. But it is natural to imagine, that, in ſuch a number

Digitized by Google

a number, almoſt all claiming to be thought Chriſtians, ſome will have very inadequate or enthuſiaſtic notions; a few perhaps may be hypocrites; while many, even with defective knowledge, may be conſiſtent and ſincere Chriſtians. There are five or ſix black preachers, of their own body, who have conſiderable influence; and the diſcipline they preſerve in their little congregations, is ſuppoſed to have contributed much to maintain general morality among them.

Their defects.

443. In commanding their tempers, many of the N. Scotians moſt eminently fail. They have often appeared very haſty in their judgments, and vehement in all their diſpoſitions. Their early violence occaſionally gave ſerious anxiety to the government. It appeared in vociferation, ſometimes in the ſtreets, and in marked expreſſions of contumely rudely and publicly uttered againſt the Company's chief ſervants. Symptons of ambition alſo appeared in one or two popular individuals. This violence was ordinarily confined to a very few; but a degree of it occaſionally infected more, and the forward individuals then grew eager to dictate, in the name of the whole. This turbulence has certainly been the greateſt diſcredit to the character of the colony. The Directors truſt that it has now conſiderably ſubſided; yet they have thought it proper to ſend out orders, that, if any individuals ſhould perſiſt in complaining againſt the government, they ſhould be deſired to take an opportunity, which will be afforded them, of returning to N. Scotia.—Their unreaſonable eſtimation of their own merits, and their inadequate ſenſe of the obligations they owe the Company, is another defect in ſeveral of their characters. All this is combined, indeed, with the miſconceptions of the more forward, concerning their rights as freemen, and the nature of their claims on the Company.

 444. When

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

Their unreasonable claims.

444. When the governor and council dismissed one of them, for disrespect to his superiors, a number of them formally applied to have a law established, that no Nova Scotian working for the Company should in future be turned off, unless after a verdict by a jury of his peers. Allowing, at last, that a part of the Company's own land near the shore, should be reserved for public uses, (see § 398) some of them conceded the point, by saying, that they would *oblige* the Company with the piece of land. Their claims for an increase of wages, and for a reduction in the price of articles sold at the Company's store, were very unreasonable; for their wages were then 2s. 6d. per day; and the price of the goods (after paying prime cost, charges and interest) only afforded the Company a profit of about 10 per cent*. It is worthy of remark, that they usually prefer these and all their other claims, though matters of contract between the two parties, emphatically as freemen. If 6d. be not added to their wages, they declare that they shall consider themselves treated as slaves. If the governor be not dismissed, for having ordered water to be mixed with the rum, before it is sold (which, on enquiry, it was proved he did merely to bring it to fair market proof) it is intimated that the colony is going to be reduced to slavery. These expressions are often hasty, are sometimes retracted, and, in whatever name they may be urged, should never be charged on the whole body. But they are specimens of the reasonings the government has often had to combat, and may tend to show the propriety of the conduct of the Directors, in endeavouring to compose the minds of the colonists, by giving a favourable idea of the Company's gene-

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE Z.

ral

Digitized by Google

ral diſpoſition towards them, rather than attempting to ſatisfy them, by reiterated and unreaſonable conceſſions. Their complaints amount in effect to this; that the Company gain unreaſonable profits at their expenſe; for they have uniformly required the points diſputed to be ſettled in ſome way that would be favourable to them, and unfavourable to the Company's finances.

Sum laid out on the colony.

445. It has been ſtated, that out of about £240,000 capital, above £80,000 have been already ſpent upon the colony; and, if the dead ſtock be included (as moſt of it may) above £100,000 (ſee § 302.) If the Company's views had been as intereſted as ſome of the N. Scotians inſinuate, and if they had merely eſtabliſhed a trading factory, a fourth of this ſum might have ſufficed; and about £80,000 (excluſive of the expenſe of their tranſit, paid by Government) might have been ſaved. Theſe facts prove the unreaſonableneſs of thoſe N. Scotians, who complain of the Company's illiberality. Advantages, poſſibly outweighing all expenſes, have accrued from their migration. But theſe have not been advantages to the Company as traders, but as founders of the S. Leona colony, the eſtabliſhment of which hath been chiefly owing to the N. Scotians. This ſum of £80,000 (one third of the Company's capital) has, therefore, been the price paid for the civilization now begun in Africa; it has been ſacrificed to that cauſe which the Company conſider as their own, the cauſe of Chriſtianity and Freedom and Civilization among the Africans; to the cauſe, more particularly, of theſe very N. Scotians and their poſterity.

N. Scotians ſuſpicious of whites, and why.

446. Another defect in the character of many of the N. Scotians, is their jealouſy and ſuſpicion, eſpecially in their intercourſe with whites. They have all profeſſed, indeed, to think favourably of the intentions and principles of the Directors,

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

Directors, who therefore hope that they will readily acquiesce in the decisions of the Court. But few servants have escaped their unreasonable suspicion; yet great allowance will be made for this unpleasant feature in their character, if their past sufferings be considered, and the injustice they formerly received, and are habituated to expect, from whites.

Their faults owing to slavery.

447. In estimating, indeed, the whole character of the N. Scotians, their past condition ought not to be overlooked. It should be remembered, that all of them were once slaves; that, like others in the same state, they were probably little restrained in many branches of morals, not regularly married, destitute of parental and scholastic tuition; and, in short, that no one thought it his duty, to instruct them in religion or morality. Their faculties were then degraded, their opportunities of knowledge small, and they had little inducement to cultivate their intellects. Doubtless they strongly felt their hardships; but they probably knew little of the true nature of civil rights; and, we may suppose, often counfounded the unavoidable evils of life, and the punishments needful in society, with the ills imposed by arbitrary power; for accurate discrimination can signify little to men involved in hopeless capivity. To the want of such discrimination, and not to any moral or intellectual defect, much of their unreasonableness, and some of the absurdest of their claims, are obviously to be traced. And, considering how often the advocates for servitude have, on their part, confounded slavery, and all it's enormities, with the necessary evils of life, and the restraints of civil society, it need not excite surprise, if emancipated slaves, acting also under the bias of self-interest, should seem to labour under a similar dulness and inaccuracy of understanding.

This no argument against *prudent* emancipation.

448. There is some reason to suppose that their servitude was harsher, than that of North America generally is; for they

they were a portion of thoſe ſlaves who, in the laſt war, ran away from their maſters and took refuge in the King's army, a conduct to which, it would ſeem, the worſt treated would be the moſt diſpoſed. If this preſumption of ill treatment (confirmed as it is, by the ſufferings which a few of them recite) ſhould be thought too derogatory from the ſuppoſed humanity of American maſters, it ſeems then fair to conclude, on the other hand, that they were the leaſt ſenſible of mild treatment, the leaſt attached to their maſters, and the moſt prone to diſcontent. On either ſuppoſition, the N. Scotians may be ſaid to furniſh a leſs favourable ſpecimen of emancipated ſlaves, than may generally be hoped for. It is hardly neceſſary to remark, how very unfavourable their ſteps towards freedom will appear, if compared with thoſe of ſlaves prudently emancipated; to whom liberty, having been promiſed, to prepare them for it, might be granted, after a certain period, as the reward of merit; or might be conferred gradually, as local circumſtances might recommend; privilege after privilege being added, as their diligence advanced, and as their property and intereſt, in maintaining ſocial order, ſhould increaſe.

Paſt circumſtances of N. Scotians.

449. But to return: the Nova Scotian blacks, having been born in North America, of African parents or anceſtors (a few imported Africans excepted, who, as they ſay, were kidnapped in their infancy) having paſſed moſt of their lives in ſlavery, probably worſe than ordinary, and having then *emancipated themſelves*, in the way mentioned, they fulfilled, as loyaliſts, the proclamations of the Britiſh generals. Their inſtruction appears to have been chiefly, or entirely, acquired ſince their emancipation; for a few put themſelves to ſchool, to attain religious knowledge, or to improve their condition; and theſe are now the preachers and ſchool-maſters

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

ſters of the colony. After various ſcenes, in following the fortunes of the Britiſh army, often expoſing themſelves in battle, as the wounds of ſeveral teſtify, and always getting credit for courage, though not ſo uniformly for ſome other virtues; being conſiderably thinned by death and diſperſion (a portion of them being ſuppoſed to have fallen into the hands of the Americans) the reſt were brought to N. Scotia, at the peace, to receive, in common with the white loyaliſts, the proviſions and lands, promiſed in the proclamations. They ſtate that they obtained rations of proviſions, but not to the extent they expected; that the white loyaliſts having engroſſed all the valuable lands, they got, in general, only ſmall town-lots of little uſe; and that they were not admitted to the uſual privileges of Britiſh ſubjects, nor, particularly, to trial by jury. Theſe injuries, and the rigour of the climate of N. Scotia, induced them, as has been ſtated (§ 374.) to ſend a delegate of their own body, to ſeek redreſs from the Britiſh Government.

Their reception of the Company's propoſals.

450. When Mr. Clarkſon appeared in N. Scotia, as the Company's agent, and ſtated, in ſeveral public meetings of the free blacks, the propoſals of the Company, and the offer of a free paſſage to S. Leona, made by Government, they expreſſed at once the moſt lively joy, that they were about to be emancipated from a ſituation which they almoſt conſidered as a ſecond ſervitude. Their eagerneſs to migrate appears to have rendered Mr. Clarkſon ſo much the more careful in guarding them againſt unreaſonable expectations. No allowance even of proviſions, after their arrival, was promiſed; and the neceſſity of ſubſiſting on their lots of land, was urged on them univerſally. But theſe declarations repreſſed not their ardour: they ſold haſtily, and for trifling prices, ſuch of their little effects as could not eaſily be tranſported;

Digitized by Google

transported; a few who had property assisted others to pay their debts; and several, who were heads of families, undertook to support the younger and more unprotected females, to whom no passage was granted, except on this condition. They waited at Halifax for the ships, several weeks in tents, where, being exposed to much severe weather, they contracted sickness. In Jan. 1793, they sailed, after adopting every measure suggested for preserving order in the voyage, having thus far shewn gratitude and obedience to Mr. Clarkson and to the Company. And, when their subsequent conduct is considered in connection with their past circumstances, though some expectations, excited by a few first appearances, may have been disappointed, their character may be said to turn out as favourably, on the whole, as could be reasonably expected. Indeed a few of those emancipated slaves have afforded a most favourable specimen of the African character, on whose dispositions Christianity hath had a most benign influence, and who have been, on all occasions humble and contented, the zealous friends of order and of peace.

They ought not to be rashly censured.

451. Let it, therefore, be carefully remembered, that every thing said against the character of the N. Scotians, must be understood with various exceptions and limitations; and that, the turbulence of some, and the unreasonableness and jealousy of many of them, are more or less to be looked for, in any body of men, who have been so unfavourably circumstanced. Their faults are not incident to them as blacks, but as men. And who will say, that, if he had struggled through a like succession of vexations, hardships and disappointments, his character would not have been marked by the same prejudices and untoward dispositions, which belong to some of the present colonists of S. Leona*?

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE X.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

452. The governor and council, as has been ſtated, are endeavouring, as ſoon as poſſible, to ſettle them on their own lands; by cultivating which, there is reaſon to think that, like the former coloniſts, now living at Granville town, they may ſubſiſt comfortably. And if, by the bleſſing of Providence, their families, ſubſtance and general proſperity ſhould increaſe, it can hardly be doubted, that they will eſtimate more juſtly their obligations to the Company.—But it is important to obſerve that, both with a view to their own happineſs, and the Company's great object of civilizing Africa, they ſhould not be left without inſtructors from hence, nor without a government of Europeans*.—Their children, who are about 300, all go to ſchool, and are ſaid to learn quite as faſt as European children; though, till lately, they had not very proper maſters. The Directors propoſe to ſpare no pains nor expenſe, to maintain this important part of their eſtabliſhment on the beſt footing, and to this object, they will direct the peculiar attention of the government. For to this riſing generation of well educated blacks, they chiefly look for the gradual improvement of the colony. To them alſo, it ſeems not preſumptuous to hope, that the more diſtant and even interior parts of Africa, may one day owe Chriſtianity, knowledge and civilization.

Proviſion for their maintenance, government and inſtruction.

---

453. The progreſs, obſtructions, and proſpects of civilization among the natives, are matters ſo very intereſting, that the Directors need not apologize for entering into them freely and particularly. And here the Slave-trade comes directly under conſideration. But, waving all argument on

Slave-trade—it's hindrance to civilization of natives.

* For a time only, I preſume. (See § 443) *C. B. W.*

this

Digitized by Google

this beaten topic, they conceive they ſhall do more exact and ample juſtice to it, by ſimply relating what has paſſed under the view of their ſervants abroad, and by enumerating a few ſtrong, but authentic facts.—As a proof of the inſecurity of the natives, it has been already ſtated that even the king of S. Leona, though peaceable and uncommonly reſpected, had, in three ſeparate inſtances, been bereft of his own relations by the ſlave-trade. Some other ſpecific caſes of kidnapping were alſo ſtated in the laſt report, particularly one inſtance which fell under the immediate obſervation of the Company's agent and another perſon, then both in England. (See § 348, 351.)—The truth and accuracy of the following extracts have been eſtabliſhed by the united teſtimony of ſome of the Company's chief ſervants; and all the quotations were written by one of them, always about the time, generally on the day, and often at the very hour, when the converſations paſſed, or the obſervations were made *.

Recent facts reſpecting it.

454. Of the mulatto trader who depopulated the towns ſouth of S. Leona, (ſee § 347.) and whoſe death has been brought about, as is ſuppoſed, by the natives, the following information has been received; and it is prefaced by intelligence, nearly to the ſame purport, from another quarter.

* The Directors, for obvious reaſons, do not think proper to print the names of all the perſons or places ſpoken of in the journal, and other documents, whence they make the quotations; and they ſhall therefore generally deſcribe them by ſome circumlocution: they ſhall uſe a few other trifling liberties with the language, taking care however, in no inſtance, to alter any material word.

This Report is ſo much longer than I could have expected, that I am reluctantly obliged ſomewhat to abridge the intereſting communications here mentioned, by the Directors; but I ſhall conſcientiouſly endeavour to preſerve their ſenſe and ſpirit, and even the words, as far as I am able. *C. B. W.*

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

Devaſtations of a ſlave-trader.

(1.) ——March 1793. A ſlave trader named ——— has *alſo* mentioned, from his own knowledge, the late mulatto trader's devaſtations. He ſays he lent goods to every inferior chief who requeſted them, and if the chief was ſlow in payment, he would arm 2 or 300 of his grumettas who, being officered by white deſerters from the ſhips, were ſent to ſurprize his debtor's towns. In this way he depopulated all the country from Cape S. Leona to the Sherbro. To ſave himſelf from the general indignation, he formed a *purrah* (or confederacy) by which he united the kings and principal chiefs, engaged in the ſlave-trade, to defend each other.

(2.) ——— A chief told me, that his town was attacked by this mulatto, ſome other chiefs, and an American veſſel then waiting for ſlaves, that, after a ſtout reſiſtance, his town was taken and deſtroyed; but that he and moſt of his people eſcaped to a neighbouring iſland, whence they occaſionally attacked their enemy, on the main land: he ſaid he once took 40 of them, whom he ſold as ſlaves.

455. A principal ſervant of the Company, when on a viſit to theſe parts, adds the following information.

Iniquity of a judge ſet up by him.

A ſlave of this mulatto chief, ſet up by him as the judge in his own diſtrict, is now become too powerful to be thwarted; much court is paid him by the ſlave-traders. It is ſaid, he practiſes terrible cruelties, and that accuſations are multiplied. A neighbouring chief, who was with us on board the cutter, declined going with us on ſhore, with ſtrong indignation againſt this man, apprehending that, if he came within reach, he ſhould ſcarcely eſcape him.—We ſaw a number of creeks, along the river, too narrow to admit above a canoe at once. At the heads of moſt of theſe creeks are towns, which were placed there in the time of this mulatto chief, becauſe ſuch ſituations favoured an eſcape, before an attack could be made. A ſubordinate chief, at whoſe town we landed, confeſſed that ſuch had been his motive for chuſing ſo difficult a ſpot.

456. The two countries neareſt to the S. Leona (or Timmany) diſtrict on the north, are the Mandingo and the Suſee countries: the Foulah country is farther off. Some information will be given from each.

Kidnapping

(1.) ——Nov. Two chiefs from the neareſt towns to Freetown dined with me. They both allowed the frequency of kidnapping, among the Suſees and Mandingoes: one of them had been ~~an eye-witneſs of it~~. As to the Foulahs, he ſays, it is univerſally allowed, that they make war for the ſole purpoſe of procuring ſlaves; and that in bringing ſlaves to market, the Foulahs are often attacked by free-booters who infeſt the country, between the coaſt and their country, and who rob people and make ſlaves of them; ſo that it is not unuſual for the ſame man who ſold others as ſlaves, to be ſold in a few weeks to the ſame factory.

(2.) Nov.

Digitized by Google

(2.)——Nov. A trader, from the Sufee country, related the following anecdote, of which he had been an eye-witneſs. The chief of Quiaport river attacked the chief of Bowrah, and taking ſome priſoners, ſold them to the Britiſh factory north of Sierra Leona. The chief of Bowrah, in his turn, defeated the other chief, and made many priſoners: with theſe he redeemed his own people from the factory, who obliged him, however, to pay two for one. and War.

(3.) Feb. 1794. An intelligent mulatto lady, miſtreſs of a large Mandingo town, called at the colony. She has been in England, and her Engliſh name is Miſs B. Heard. She ſaid ſhe diſliked the ſlave-trade, for it kept her in conſtant terror, and ſhe never knew, when ſhe lay down at night, but ſhe might be aſſaſſinated before morning. She ſaid there had been no wars in the interior country to her's for ſome time, and that wars do not happen, when ſlaves are not wanted. Conſequent inſecurity & terror.

(4.) In the Mandingo and Sufee countries, kidnapping is very frequent. Children are often kidnapped, by people of a neighbouring, or even of the ſame village.—A perſon who has lived ſeveral years in the Mandingo country, told me that mothers there always ſhut up or watch their children at night.—Slave-traders and kidnappers there, bargain for and convey away the ſlaves in the night, and none of the natives around are permitted to ſee them. Many natives and traders confirm this account. A chief factor attributed the frequency of kidnapping among the Mandingoes to their head men getting in debt to the Europeans, and being then confined by them; in which caſe, their people were obliged to kidnap ſome perſon to redeem them. Children ſtolen, &c.

(5.) A chief, on an upper branch of this river, who is conſidered as reſpectable, has given us this information reſpecting the S. Leona trade. The people inland, he ſays, go to war to make ſlaves; there being no great demand now, they do not make war. Whites often encourage palavers, promiſing daſhes (preſents of liquor) if the convicts are ſold to them; and they give ammunition to both parties at war. Formerly this happened very often. He told me he was at war five years, and a Britiſh ſlave-trader furniſhed both him and his enemies with powder; and, that he often waylaid and ſold ſtrangers, to buy arms. But he ſays this was "*a bad thing*," and juſtified only by ſelf-defence: and had there been no ſlave-factories, he would not have done ſo. But lately, the inhabitants being much diminiſhed, and their wars interrupting remoter trade, the factors have endeavoured to preſerve peace, to ſecure the people inland a free paſſage down. For ſome years there have been no wars in his part, but almoſt all the ſlaves have been brought from inland.—He ſaid it was not uncommon for head men, who wanted goods, to hint to their wives to enſnare men in adultery, who were ſold to the factories, on the accuſation of theſe women. Whites encourage depredations.

(6.) Two intelligent native ſlave-traders inform us that kidnapping is general "*among the buſh men*," (the inland people) that the coaſt people not unuſually travel Inland people taken by force or fraud.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

travel into the interior, and lie in wait for ſtragglers; and that almoſt all the ſlaves brought from a diſtance were taken by force or fraud.

Black from N. Scotia reſtored to his mother at S. Leona,

457. It hath been obſerved, that ſome of the blacks from N. Scotia were originally Africans, and that many of theſe were, as they ſay, kidnapped when young. It hath been found that three were almoſt from the vicinity of S. Leona; one of them from S. Leona itſelf, as he uſed to mention at ſea. When landed, he found himſelf nearly on the ſpot whence he had been carried off, and where, he ſays, a woman ſeized him and ſold him to an American ſlave-ſhip, about 15 years before. He recollected the way to his native town, which was only two or three miles off; but, for a time, he dreaded the parting from his companions, to viſit it. Not long after, ſtanding with them among the tents, a party of natives paid them a viſit of curioſity. An elderly native woman ſeemed much affected at the ſight of this N. Scotian, and ſpoke to her companions with much agitation. At length ſhe ran up to him and embraced him: ſhe proved to be his own mother. His father was now dead: the parents had never diſcovered any trace of their child. The female thief remains unknown, and the impunity of the captain, even if diſcovered, is but too obvious: nor is it probable that, if the kidnapper had been known by the boy kidnapped, his redemption and the puniſhment of the criminal would have followed. Having once committed her prey to the hold of a ſlave-ſhip, diſcovery ſeems to have been impoſſible.—The Directors cannot but obſerve, that this incident affords an illuſtration of the ſlave-trade equally applicable to ſlaves kidnapped on the coaſt and farther inland.

458. S. Leona has indeed had her towns laid waſte, and her inhabitants carried off by the ſlave-trade. But by the ſame

Digitized by Google

ſame traffic her mountains have gained a few forlorn wretches who have been driven thither, and who dread the very ſight of their fellow creatures. Other caſes, not unlike that about to be noticed, have been indiſtinctly heard of; but the following is ſo clearly aſcertained, as to deſerve inſertion.—About five or ſix years ago, a Daniſh ſlave-veſſel in the river was cut off by the ſlaves. The head-man of the neighbouring ſhore happening to favour their eſcape, they made their way to the mountains, and there built a town, which is about four or five miles from Freetown, and where they ſtill reſide. But ſo jealous are they ſaid to be of ſtrangers, that they permit them not to approach, and even watch the avenues of their town. This intelligence was received from a chief's ſon, who communicated ſeveral other pieces of the information juſt ſtated. Two ſervants of the Company, in conſequence, have lately penetrated to this retreat, called the Deſerter's town. They ſucceeded in getting into it, without much moleſtation, and have authenticated the above facts. They learnt alſo that theſe deſerters were at firſt about 100; but that, by death and kidnapping, they are now reduced to about 80. A complaint was preferred, againſt the head-man who favoured their eſcape, to the mulatto trader already ſpoken of, as judge. The plaintiff, it is commonly ſuppoſed, ſold his chance of recovery to the judge before the trial: certain it is, that the head-man, with all the people of his town, were ſentenced to be ſold as ſlaves, and all of them that were caught were ſold accordingly, except the head-man, who was ſome time a priſoner, and now lives near Freetown.

Slave-trade drives the natives to the mountains.

459. The preceding facts happened before the formation of the colony: the following, which are more recent, will ſhew

More recent facts.

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

ſhew the ſources of the ſlave-trade, near S. Leona, for the two laſt years, and the private miſery, drunkenneſs and murder which it has cauſed.

Feb. 1793. A native of ſome conſequence applied for the governor's aſſiſtance in redeeming his daughter, whom a creditor of his had juſt ſeized and ſold to a ſlave-ſhip lying off Freetown. The governor offered her price, either in goods or money, to the ſlave-captain, who refuſed both, obſerving that ſlaves were now difficult to be got, and muſt not be eaſily parted with; and that, as the girl ſeemed a favourite, he ought to have two ſlaves for her; but that, in compliment to the governor, he would give her up for one prime ſlave. He added, that he had been much affected at an interview between her and her father, who had been on board that morning to ſee her; but, he remarked again, that ſlaves were ſcarce. The governor, under all the circumſtances, could not farther intereſere. But the father went in queſt of a ſlave, whom he ſeems not to have been able eaſily to get: for he did not return till long after, when the ſhip was gone.

460. The two following are inſtances of the deciſions of the chiefs, in ſuppoſed caſes of adultery between their wives and inferior natives.

Condemnations for alledged adultery,

(1.) One of our ſchool-maſters brought to me a native, who implored our protection, having juſt eſcaped from the chief of the neareſt town, who had confined, and threatened to ſell him, for adultery with one of his wives, unleſs he would pay down a ſum, which he could not command. He curſed the ſlave-factory as the cauſe of his miſery, and declared himſelf innocent.

Here the chief, like ſeveral others who will be mentioned, acted by his own ſingle authority, and ſeems not to have been amenable to any ſuperior for his judgment, between *himſelf* and the people of his town.

(2.) A native of S. Leona who has lived many years as a grumetta (or free labourer) at a neighbouring European ſlave-factory, has been ſold, on a charge of adultery with one of the European ſlave factor's wives. The European ſold him to a ſlave-ſhip, avowing this as his reaſon, without even the form of a trial.

461. The following is a ſtriking ſpecimen of African juſtice.

On one of the neareſt rivers there is a chief and an European ſlave-factor in one town. The king, in his cups, talked of flogging the ſlave-factor, and would actually have made his people do it, if the factor had not got to his own houſe, and barricaded

Digitized by Google

barricaded it. He demanded ſatisfaction of the king when ſober, who by way of reparation, ſold him two of his people.

462. The natural alliance between drunkenneſs and the ſlave-trade will alſo be exhibited by the ſubſequent occurrence, (ſee § 21).

Drunkenneſs

——Six or ſeven of the neareſt chiefs renewed their applications for rum: their perſeverance is aſtoniſhing. By way of forcing us to comply, one of them ſaid he would go and pawn his brother to the ſlave-factory, for liquor. But the governor was firm, and explained to them his motive for refuſal. They ſaid, there was no palaver (or cauſe of quarrel) but they were evidently chagrined. Having, however, dined with us, they were brought into tolerable humour, and I hope theſe applications for rum will at length ceaſe.

463. The following accounts, the Directors deem too important, to be withheld.

Free blacks taken in French ſhips ſold for ſlaves

(1.) A number of black mariners has been hired by ſome French ſhips trading on this coaſt. Six of the ſhips have been captured, and the black ſailors, amounting to 19, though free men and receiving wages, have been all ſold as ſlaves, a mulatto child excepted. It is painful to witneſs ſuch acts. Why are not the French ſeamen put up to auction alſo? Or why is this difference between blacks and whites? The French ſailors were at war with us, and are not ſold; but the blacks are ſent to the ſlave-factory and ſold at public auction, with the goods that formed the cargo. One or two of them were free men of this neighbourhood, and ſome not only free, but ſons of chiefs; one of them ſon of the king of Sallum. Indeed the Britiſh ſlave-factor who bought them, was ſo good as to ſay, he would not ſend them off, ſo that their friends might redeem them with other ſlaves when they thought fit. I am diſpoſed to believe him; yet it is dreadful to think of the contempt of juſtice here. At firſt I would not believe what I heard on this ſubject; but I ſaw them knocked down myſelf, at about £20 a piece.

(2.)——Another French ſhip has been taken, by a different captor, and three or four free natives found on board, have been ſold to the neighbouring ſlave-factory. We remonſtrated with the captain, on the impropriety of ſelling free people. He admitted it, but ſaid he muſt receive money for their ranſom, or he could not part with them. We offered him money, but he then ſaid, No, he muſt have ſlaves for them, as he wanted ſlaves, and they muſt be four foot four inches high.

(3.) Several free women, left as pledges on board a French ſhip, which was captured, were alſo ſold. The captain of the Britiſh privateer, which took the ſhip, was formerly a ſlave-trader.—Moſt of the free people, thus ſold by the ſeveral captors, being natives of the neighbourhood, were eventually redeemed. But the

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SIERRA LEONA.

captors ſeem to have profited by their ſale, and not to have promoted their redemption.

464. The diſguſt which will be raiſed by the next ſtory, of which four different evidences are mentioned, ſeems not a ſufficient reaſon for withholding it; eſpecially as it exhibits another ſource of the ſlave-trade.

Man tried by red water dies: his family made ſlaves.

—A grumetta (free labourer) was accuſed of theft, by his maſter, a Britiſh trader, a little way to the north. The labourer demanded to be tried by the red water (which is ſuſpected to be poiſonous) and the effect of which is ſuperſtitiouſly ſuppoſed to determine innocence or guilt. The trader, after ſome time, conſented. The king of the country was ſummoned and appeared, with all his family and attendants. Preliminaries being adjuſted, the poor man drank one draught, ſwelled and ſoon fell down dead, his belly burſting. The king then ſolemnly gave ſentence againſt him, and condemned all his family to ſlavery, who were ſeized and ſold. During the trial, two men with clubs ſtood on each ſide of the accuſed, ready to knock out his brains, at the appearance of the ſymptoms to which the natives attach guilt. The white trader, juſt mentioned, is conſidered very much as an African chief, by the natives of this part.

465. The following anecdote ſhows the degree of ſuperſtitious ignorance in which the natives are immerſed.

Witchcraft.

——A man in a neighbouring town has been ſold on the charge of having, by witchcraft, changed himſelf into a leopard, and of having, in that ſhape, carried off ſome fowls and goats, from the town of the neareſt chief to us.

466. The ſucceeding relation ſhows the extreme horror which ſome of the natives feel at being ſent into ſlavery.

Man deranged in his mind, by fear of being ſold.

——A free native mariner, on board our ſhip, Providence, ſeeing ſome rice come on board from the factory in Sherbro, while he ſaw no goods given in exchange, was dreadfully terrified leſt he ſhould be ſold for a ſlave, in barter for the rice. Full of this perſuaſion, when the factor from the ſhore was ſtepping on board, he endeavoured to ſtab him, but miſſing his aim, he leapt over-board. After ſome difficulty he was recovered, and being aſked the reaſon of his conduct, he explained it in the way juſt mentioned. He ſtill ſhowed the greateſt fear, and declared he would rather die than be ſold as a ſlave. As it was feared he might commit ſuicide, his hands were bound; but, on his intreaty, and promiſe to be quiet, they were, in a little while, looſed. At midnight, he got into a canoe along ſide, and drifted down the ſtream, to a town at the river's mouth, where he was ſeized and put in irons; but on application to a friendly chief, he got his liberty. The idea of ſlavery having entirely poſſeſſed his brain, he ſoon after jumped overboard, and was

Digitized by Google

was given up for drowned. But getting on ſhore, he was again recovered, and was brought to Freetown, where he is now employed. The phyſicians think the terror of ſlavery muſt have cauſed ſome derangement of his intellects, which may occaſionally return, in ſome ſmall degree. He is now much attached to the Company, and happy in their ſervice. His friends ſay his mind was never in the leaſt diſordered, before this fright.

467. The next occurrences come from an eye-witneſs of them. Their dates are various.

Scenes on board ſlave-ſhips, &c.

(1.)———I have been to day on board a large ſlave-ſhip in the river, with 250 ſlaves. The men were chained in pairs; the women were kept apart. The young ſlaves were chearful; but the old ones were much caſt down. At meals they are obliged to ſhout, and to clap their hands, for exerciſe, before they begin to eat. I could then ſee ſhame and indignation in the faces of thoſe more advanced in years. One woman, who ſpoke a little Engliſh, begged me to carry her home. She ſaid ſhe was from the oppoſite ſhore of the river to Freetown, that her huſband had ſold her for debt, and that ſhe had left a child behind her: at the mention of the child, ſhe wept.

(2.)———I was this morning again on board a ſlave-ſhip, where I ſaw a woman who had been newly ſold, and who ſeemed to have been weeping. On aſking her the reaſon, ſhe pointed to the milk flowing from her breaſts, and intimated that ſhe had been torn from her unweaned infant, which the captain confirmed. She was from one of the towns neareſt us; and ſaid ſhe had been ſold for being ſaucy to the queen of it.

(3.)———In the neighbouring ſlave-yard, I ſaw a man about 35 years old in irons. He was a Mahometan, and could read and write Arabick. He was occaſionally noiſy; ſometimes he would ſing a melancholy ſong, then he would utter an earneſt prayer, and then would obſerve a dead ſilence. This ſtrange conduct, I was told, was from his ſtrong feelings, on having been put, for the firſt time, in irons, the day before. As we paſſed, he cried aloud to us, and endeavoured to hold up his irons to our view, which he ſtruck very expreſſively with his hand, the tear ſtarting in his eye. He ſeemed, by his manner, to be demanding the cauſe of his confinement.

(4.) An American ſlave-captain has been telling us that he loſt a very fine ſlave, a few days ago, by the "*ſulks.*"—"The man (ſaid he) was a Mahometan, uncommonly well made, and ſeemed to be a perſon of conſequence. When he firſt came on board, he was very much caſt down; but, finding that I allowed him to walk at large, he grew more eaſy. When my ſlaves became numerous, I put him in irons, like the reſt, on which he loſt his ſpirits irrecoverably. He complained of a pain at his heart, and would not eat. *The uſual means* were tried, but in vain; for he rejected food altogether, except when I ſtood by and made him eat. I offered him the beſt things in the ſhip, and left nothing untried; for I had ſet my heart on ſaving him.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SIERRA LEONA.

I am ſure, he would have brought me 300 dollars in the W. Indies; but nothing would do. He ſaid, from the firſt, he was determined to die, and ſo he did, after lingering 9 days. I aſſure you, gentlemen, I felt very ſorry; for I dare ſay, I loſt 300 dollars by his death, and to ſuch a man as me, that is a very heavy loſs.

468. The following dialogues ſhow how plainly the enormities of the ſlave-trade are acknowledged, ſometimes even by the perpetrators; and that the Europeans, by familiarity with thoſe enormities, have been brought to tolerate them, to accommodate their feelings to them, and to ſubſtitute, for the real principles of juſtice, a morality of their own—a morality, however, which, diſavowing ſome horrible atrocities, is only a more deliberate ſyſtem of injuſtice, cruelty and oppreſſion.

Shocking exceſſes, encouraged by Europeans, and for what?

I ſhall give the ſubſtance of a converſation with an Engliſh ſlave-factor, who has lived ſome years a little way to the ſouth, and is well acquainted with all the practices of the ſlave-trade. The factor, having mentioned the mulatto trader, (of whoſe ravages the Proprietors have heard ſo much) as a very gentleman-like, well educated, ſenſible and reſpectable kind of man; I was induced to aſk, whether he had not been guilty of many exceſſes all around.—Exceſſes! No. He would make war ſometimes on the head-men that owed him juſt debts, and ſell ſome of their people, if he could catch them; or he might perhaps carry off the inhabitants of a town, when the king or father of it gave him expreſs permiſſion. He was a good man on the whole, and a man of humanity; for he did not ſhed all the blood he might, nor ſell every one he had a right to ſell. For inſtance, the chief now living near Freetown, and all his generation, were adjudged to be his property; but the chief himſelf has never yet been ſold, which is a mere act of forbearance in the mulatto-trader. But I conſider the ſentence ſtill in force againſt him.——Did not the mulatto trader order an attack on the neighbouring iſland, when the proprietor was killed in defending himſelf, and do not the friends of the proprietor conſider this as an act of great injuſtice?——The proprietor well deſerved to be attacked; for there is reaſon to think he was then intending to attack the mulatto trader.——I underſtand this affair is not over, and that the ſucceſſors of this proprietor, intend to retaliate on the ſucceſſors of the mulatto chief, when they have an opportunity.——I believe they do; but it ill becomes them to queſtion the mulatto chief's conduct; for they ſhould conſider how much worſe things their own father did. For example, the old man has been known to ſail up a river, with ſome large craft, to land at a town under a great ſhow of friendſhip. He has has then made a ſpeech to the head-men and people, remarking how ſhamefully all former traders had uſed them, and that he was come to trade fairly

Digitized by Google

fairly with them, as friends and brothers. He has then opened a puncheon or two of rum, and invited them to ſit round and drink. At night, when he had got them thoroughly drunk, he has given the ſignal to his people in the craft, who have ſecured all the party in fetters, and ſold every one worth purchaſing to ſome ſlave-ſhip, all the while waiting at the river's mouth. (See § 21.) This old proprietor did many ſuch things. But the mulatto trader never uſed treachery, nor attacked a town without reaſon; but the other plundered without diſtinction.—Does the mulatto trader's ſucceſſor recover debts by the ſame means that he uſed?—*No, he is too eaſy.*—Is it not unpleaſant to carry on a trade ſo full of enormities, as you deſcribe the ſlave-trade to be?—It is no doubt a bad trade, but it is very profitable. I hate it, and would get out of it to-morrow, if I knew of one in which I could get the ſame money*.

only to obtain *MONEY.*

469. The following converſation occurred with a ſlave-captain, who ſurpaſſes moſt others in effrontery and hardneſs of diſpoſition. The exhibition of the moral effects of this traffic on the Europeans, in the opinion of the Directors, outweighs every objection to the recital of theſe dialogues.

Panyaring deſcribed.

———A ſlave-veſſel, which has waited ſome time in the neighbouring river, arrived here. The captain complains bitterly of this detention, obſerving that, if he had been well manned, he would not have allowed the trader he dealt with to detain him thus; for that he would have carried off ſome of the people from a large town near which his veſſel lay.—I aſked him if this was common.—O, not at all uncommon (ſaid he) we do it every day on the Gold Coaſt. We call it "*panyaring.*" If a native there does not pay ſpeedily, you man your boat towards evening, and bid your ſailors go to any town, no matter whether your debtor's town or not, and catch as many people as they can. If your debt be large, it may be neceſſary to "*catch*" two towns. After this, your debtor will ſoon compleat his number of ſlaves.—But what if he ſhould not?—Why then we carry our priſoners away, to be ſure.—But is this proper?—Neceſſity has no law; beſides panyaring is country law.—Did you ever recover debts, in this way?—Aye, many a time, and I hope to do ſo again. I wiſh we had the ſame law here that we have on the Gold Coaſt, or that the old mulatto trader was alive. He was a fine fellow for buſineſs: he never cauſed any delay. But the preſent man is afraid to make a haul of the people: he wants a proper ſpirit.—How do you contrive to guard your ſlaves, with your ſlender crew?—I put them all in leg-irons; and if theſe be not enough, why then I hand-cuff them; if hand-cuffs be too little, I put a collar round their neck, with a chain locked to a ring-bolt on the deck; if one chain won't do, I put two, and if two won't do, I put three; you may truſt me for that.——He afterwards very gravely aſſured me, that

* See Notes reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE W. alſo § 142, Qu. VII. XII. XVI. XLVI.

he

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

he never knew any cruelties committed.—But are not theſe things cruelties?—O no, theſe are not cruelties: they are matters of courſe; there's no carrying on the trade without them.

470. That the ſlave-trade ſometimes brings ſudden deſtruction on thoſe immediately engaged in it, and that no ſeverities can prevent theſe dreadful evils, the following accounts of the cutting off of ſlave-ſhips, all in the neighbourhood of S. Leona, and moſt of them recent, will ſufficiently teſtify.

Slave-ſhip cut off.

———I have juſt heard that an American brig, commanded by captain ———, who I underſtand was outlawed in England, has been cut off by the ſlaves, 7 or 8 leagues, north of Cape S. Leona. A ſingle ſlave began the attack, ruſhed into the cabin, laid open the captain's face and breaſt with an axe, and ſeverely wounded a a paſſenger. As the ſeamen made no reſiſtance, they were permitted to go off, with the wounded, in the boat. The captain died. The ſhip was retaken by a Liverpool veſſel, after an encounter in which ſome of the ſlaves were killed.

471. It is but candid to premiſe to the following account, (1.) that the extraordinary war here ſpoken of, appears not to have ariſen out of the ſlave-trade.—The Directors cannot approve the pride and diſdain of life which ſeem to have actuated the captive chief, who headed one of the inſurrections, about to be mentioned. The impoſſibility of preventing ſuch bloody ſcenes, not the motives of the actors, is the point to be illuſtrated. One or two other recent inſtances, ſimilar to the following, have been mentioned to the Court; but the particulars have not been tranſmitted.

Bloody inſurrections.

(1.)———I have got conſiderable light into the hiſtory of Mahady, the famous Mahometan prophet, who appeared in theſe parts, with an immenſe concourſe of followers, about three years ago. When he was killed, his generals contended for the maſtery, and one of them, being taken by his antagoniſt, was immediately ſold to a French ſlave-ſhip, lying off a factory near S. Leona. There he behaved with a ſullen dignity, and, even in chains, addreſſed his fellow ſlaves, in his wonted tone of authority. I heard this from a ſlave-trader, who had ſeen him both as a great chief or general, and as a priſoner on board a ſlave-ſhip. The ſlave-trader, and the captive chief, mutually recognized each other. On the ſame day, when the ſlave-trader was on board, it happened that the chief was permitted to walk on deck, without

Digitized by Google

out his fetters. No ſooner had the captain and his friends ſat down to dinner than a ſignal was given. The ſlaves roſe to a man, knocked off each other's fetters, and, headed by the chief, attacked the barricade. But they failed. The guns were pointed at them, ſome were killed, many leaped into the ſea, and the inſurrection was quelled. The captain enquiring for the ringleader, the chief came boldly forward and avowed that he was the man; that he wiſhed to give liberty to all the ſlaves on board; that he regretted his defeat on their account; but that, as to himſelf, he was well ſatisfied with the proſpect of immediately obtaining, what he termed his own liberty. The captain hung him up inſtantly to the yard-arm.

(2.) A veſſel brought an account of the cutting off of a Boſton ſlave-ſhip, by about 40 ſlaves. Being only ſingle-ironed, they cut to pieces the ſecond mate and a ſeaman on deck, while the captain and moſt of the crew were below. They then attacked the cabin; but, being unable to force the door, they pointed the guns at it. The captain and the crew then ſurrendered, on condition that their lives ſhould be ſpared, and the ſhip given them, when they ſhould have navigated her into ſome place, whence the ſlaves might eſcape. The captain and the chief mate, however, were killed; but the men were ſpared to navigate the ſhip. In ſteering towards a neighbouring river, ſhe ran aground. Three ſeamen were ſent in the boat, to drop an anchor aſtern; but, pulling to the ſhore, they brought a ſlave-trader, with as many hands as he could get, in an armed ſchooner. An obſtinate engagement enſuing, the ſlave-trader had 3 men killed and 4 wounded. The ſlaves having expended their ammunition, formed a raft, on which they got on ſhore; and, on taking poſſeſſion of the ſhip, it was found that ſeveral of them had alſo fallen. Of the ſlaves who got on ſhore, ſome were immediately killed; the reſt, being 18, were at length overpowered by the natives, whom the noiſe of the firing had collected, and were ſold again for ſlaves.

Some account of one Ormond, a murderous ſlave-factor.

472. The following is a ſketch of the origin, progreſs and end of an European ſlave-trader, who lately died at an iſland near S. Leona, and who ſeems to have attained to a degree of ferocity and hardneſs of heart, proportionate to his ſucceſs in that bloody traffic. As he appears to have neither friend nor connection left, the Directors need not conceal his name, which was Ormond.

He went from England, about 35 years ago, as a cabin-boy to a ſlave-ſhip, and was retained, as an aſſiſtant at a ſlave-factory on S. Leona river. There he acquired a knowledge, which qualified him for ſetting up a ſlave-factory afterwards for himſelf, in a neighbouring part towards the north, and, though unable to write or read, he became ſo expert a ſlave-trader, that he realized, as is ſuppoſed, about £30,000. His cruelties were almoſt incredible. Two perſons who ſeem to have had good means

of

CHAP. XI. SIERRA LEONA.

of information, give the following account of them.—One of them, who lived for ſome time near Ormond, ſaid he knew it to be a fact, that he uſed to tie ſtones to the necks of his unſaleable ſlaves, and drown them in the river, during the night; and that his cruelty was not confined to blacks; for, being offended by a white agent, one Chriſtmas day, when drinking freely with ſome company, he made his ſlaves tie up the European, and gave him, with his own hands, 400 laſhes, from which he died in a few days.—The other perſon allowed his general character for barbarity, and added that he was told by an eye-witneſs, that Ormond having caught a black wife of his in a criminal converſation with one of his ſlaves, he burnt them both to death with a tar-barrel. This ſavage had attained to the ſame truſt with the Africans, in witchcraft and griſgris, or charms, and was ſubject to ſilly, ſuperſtitious fears Providence having permitted this man to become an abandoned and ſucceſsful ſlave trader, was pleaſed alſo to allow him to experience a reverſe of fortune. A few years ago, having loſt his health, he went to the Iſle de Los, for the ſake of ſea air and medical help, leaving his affairs under the care of a mulatto who was his ſon. Happening to have recently deſtroyed one of the towns of the Bagos, who ſurround his factory, they took this opportunity to retaliate. Ormond's ſlaves, having been little attached to him, favoured the Bagos, and the place being taken, they ſhared the plunder. The buildings were all burnt, and the goods in them, amounting, it is ſaid, to the value of 12 or 1500 ſlaves (near £30,000 ſter.) were either deſtroyed or carried away. Young Ormond and all his adherents were put to death. Old Ormond lived to hear the news; but died in about a month after.—

The character of this man exhibits an inſtance of the great influence of the ſlave-trade in depraving the human heart. It alſo ſhows what crimes have been perpetrated with impunity, by Britiſh ſubjects, in Africa; and what inſtruments Great Britain has uſed, in carrying on this deteſtable commerce.—The Directors, however, did not impute equal atrocities to the generality of ſlave-traders. Yet they think it right to add, that other inſtances might, if neceſſary, have been given, of very nearly the ſame guilt and cruelty.

Account of the diſperſion of the firſt colony at S. Leona.

473. Of the direct hindrance of the ſlave-trade to the civilization of Africa, the diſperſion of the firſt colony of free blacks, affords an intereſting, and indeed rather a diſcouraging, inſtance. (See § 335.) The circumſtances which led to that event are as follow:

A chief

A chief living within half a mile of Freetown (which is on the ſpot, where the free blacks from London originally ſettled, § 382) had loſt, as he affirms, two perſons of his town, by the depredations of an American ſlave-captain, and had been waiting for an opportunity of retaliating on ſome veſſel from that country. This opportunity occurring, he attacked the boat of an American ſhip, paſſing up the river, and plundered her, killing her crew, conſiſting of three or four men, except one, who eſcaped with the news to the ſlave-factory, whither the boat was going. The factor, conſulting with the officers of a frigate then in the river, reſolved to avenge the outrage. After two or three days, in which ſome vain attempts were made to induce the chief to come on board the frigate, the ſlave-factor, with a lieutenant and a body of Britiſh ſailors and marines, ſet out to the chief's town, two free blacks from the new colony being their guides, a ſervice to which, they ſay, they were compelled. On the approach of this armed body, the chief and his people fled, and the town was plundered and burnt. But the party, returning in the evening, were fired on, from among the buſhes. A ſkirmiſh enſued, in which ſome natives are ſaid to have fallen on the one ſide, and the lieutenant and a ſerjeant of marines, were killed on the other, a few alſo being ſlightly wounded. The chief, after this, often vowed farther retaliation: but happily, the principal object of his rage, the ſlave-factor, ſoon after quitted the coaſt. The factory, which is on an iſland at ſome diſtance in the river, and well fortified, ſuffered little from the conſequences of theſe outrages; but they were fatal to the unprotected colony. A palaver of the chiefs was called, who, following the African mode of wild retaliation, determined to burn the town of the coloniſts, becauſe two individuals belonging to it were among the hoſtile party. This dreadful ſentence was executed within three days. It is but juſt to ſay, that the ſlave-factory afforded ſeveral of the coloniſts a temporary protection and ſupport, in the firſt preſſure of their diſtreſs.

Slave-trade threatens every colony with ſimilar dangers.

474. This recital deſerves notice, not only as an explanation of the diſperſion of the firſt Sierra Leona colony, but as a ſpecimen of one of the kinds of danger to which every new colony in Africa muſt be more or leſs expoſed, while ſurrounded by the ſlave-trade. An outrage is, or is ſuppoſed to be, committed by a ſlave-captain; the natives blindly and bloodily retaliate; the ſlave-factory interferes; and the adjoining little colony is involved in the conſequences. Such accidents are inherent in the ſlave-trade; they grow out of it's ordinary enormities; they accord with it's unjuſt and ferocious ſpirit: for the indiſcriminate

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SIERRA LEONA.

ſeizure of each other, is the very leſſon daily taught the Africans by the Europeans, who diſcourage no violence or atrocity, that promiſes to extend their traffick; and who, as far as the Directors are informed, are not accuſtomed to decline buying any man, on the ground of his having been unjuſtly ſeized. Indeed more than one inſtance might be pointed out, in which this ſame ſlave-factory has knowingly purchaſed freemen, from perſons who they knew had no ſhadow of right to ſell them. But the Directors wiſh not to reflect on any one ſlave-factory; for they believe the cuſtom is general; each factor perhaps pleading that, if he ſhould ſcruple to make ſuch purchaſes, others would not; or, if they did, the captains, without the intervention of a factory, would buy the people ſo rejected. And indeed the ſlave-factors can ſcarcely be inſenſible of the great diminution which their trade might ſuffer, from admitting the principle of inquiring, how the ſlaves offered for ſale were procured. But, whatever be the ſophiſms by which the ſlave-dealers juſtify the encouragement of mutual outrages among the natives, it cannot be ſurpriſing if they themſelves, or whites viſiting the coaſt, or any neighbouring European colony, ſhould occaſionally feel the effects of diffuſing theſe principles of injuſtice.—The Court having heard the cauſes of the diſperſion of the firſt colony, will not wonder at the anxiety of the Directors to provide againſt the ſame danger, nor at the eagerneſs they have already expreſſed to enlarge the number of coloniſts, and to form at once a reſpectable eſtabliſhment. (§ 354.)

Some of the firſt coloniſts ſeized & ſold.

475. Another proof of the danger, with which the ſlave-trade threatens any neighbouring colony, is afforded by the annexed relation.

Some

Some time before the eſtabliſhment of the preſent Company, a Britiſh ſlave-factor, then in S. Leona river, but lately removed, ſeized five of the firſt coloniſts, on the ground of his having been wronged by one of their body, ſomewhere at a diſtance on the coaſt, where he was navigating a veſſel belonging to this ſlave-factor, who ſaid the country law warranted this mode of redreſs. But he afterwards was induced to releaſe three of them, thinking the other two, on conſideration, afforded that recompenſe for his loſs which was proper, on the principles of African juſtice. Theſe two men, it was admitted, had no connection with the defaulter, nor any means of catching him (for he had run from the ſhip, when ſhe was ſome hundred miles from the colony) and whoſe only crime was that they had formerly lived in the ſame town with him. Yet they were kept in chains, by this Britiſh ſlave-trader, and then ſold to a ſlave-captain, who was on the point of ſailing; when a Mahometan chief, who happened to come from the interior country, took compaſſion on them, advanced about £50 ſter. for their redemption, and ſent them home. The ſame chief having lately ſent a favourite free boy, with a meſſage to a factor to whom he was in debt, the boy was ſeized by way of payment. The chief, half diſtracted, came to S. Leona, and endeavoured to trace the child from factory to factory. At length he called at Freetown, mentioned his preſent poverty, and the affliction which had brought him to the coaſt, and modeſtly aſked for the £50 which he had formerly paid for the redemption of the two freemen of Granville town. The governor and council very carefully inveſtigated the caſe, and found the main facts were preciſely as has been ſtated. The £50 were repaid to the chief, by the Company, in conſequence of this inveſtigation.

Exemplary humanity of a chief.

476. The Directors have reaſon to think that ſeveral others of this firſt unprotected colony, were ſold and carried off. One is believed to have been kidnapped by a neighbouring black trader; and another turned kidnapper himſelf. But the natives, whom he had ſeized and ſold, were recovered by the Company's intervention, and the kidnapper was corporally puniſhed. Some are alſo ſaid to have been ſold, for crimes charged againſt them. But all theſe incidents (except the detection and puniſhment of the kidnapper) happened before the formation of the preſent colony.

One of the firſt coloniſts turns kidnapper.

477. The inſecurity of travellers, by preventing a free communication with the interior country, is another hin-

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

drance to the views of the Company. This opens a wide field for reflection. It appears, from many recent inveſtigations, that the people of the coaſt, are far more barbarous than thoſe of the interior; that, while the population towards the ſea, is very thin, and the intercourſe dangerous, there are found farther inland, many conſiderable towns, ſome of which, in the very heart of Africa, are ſuppoſed to carry on much internal trade, and to have made no ſmall progreſs in civilization. The intereſts of the Company, therefore, and the benefit both of Africa and Europe, render ſome connection with the interior of this vaſt continent, a deſirable object. But here again, the ſlave-trade banefully interpoſes. The general inſecurity, anarchy and drunkenneſs which it hath introduced; but, above all, perhaps, a dread of the machinations of the ſlave-traders, who, by a chain of factories, have much influence in the interior, and, by their almoſt entire empire of the coaſt, may be conſidered as holding the key of Africa—theſe circumſtances formidably obſtruct every liberal attempt to diſcover and introduce, a mutually advantageous intercourſe with the interior of Africa.

Inſecurity of travellers, from ſlave-trade, prevents inland intercourſe, &c.

478. The proprietors are already informed (§ 400) that, in the very infancy of the colony, the Company's mineralogiſt attempted to penetrate into the country round S. Leona. He was a man who to ſome impatience, joined a very ardent mind, a love of knowledge, and great perſonal reſpectability, and profeſſional experience. He went out to extend his diſcoveries, having voluntarily offered his ſervices to the Company, taking no ſalary, but ſimply ſtipulating, that, if any profits ſhould ariſe from his reſearches, he ſhould have the ſhare which mineralogiſts are commonly allowed, and that the Company ſhould pay the expenſes

exemplified in Mr. Nordenſkiold's unhappy caſe

Digitized by Google

penſes of his paſſage, and living, at S. Leona.——This firſt adventurer from S. Leona, on a journey of diſcovery, was, as before ſtated, attacked and plundered by a native chief, and returned in ſo deplorable a condition, that he appears to have died from vexation and hardſhip. It would not have been unreaſonable to ſuſpect, that the ſlave-trade had imparted ferocity to this chief, even if his poſitive connection with ſlave-traders had not been proved. But the ſame chief has ſince attacked another ſervant of the Company, at the inſtigation of a French ſlave-trader, who told him that a ſhip of the S. Leona Company had been equipped, to make war on all the French ſlave-factories in his territories. On the veſſel's arrival, the natives were alarmed; but the peaceable conduct of the captain, who merely went up to buy rice, ſoon allayed their fears. The chief, however, being very drunk, met with the captain and aſſaulted him. The people then tore off his clothes, dragged him to another town about two miles off, and there kept him priſoner. When the chief grew ſober, he ordered the captain to be ſet free, and made him ſome preſents, by way of compenſation—The Directors will not add here, any more obſervations on the hindrances of the ſlave-trade to the Company's views; as the ſubject will neceſſarily recur, in ſpeaking of the ſteps taken to promote civilization. But the importance of the ſubject ſeems to deſerve recapitulation.

479. It appears then, that the chief ſources of the ſlave-trade are debts, wars, crimes and kidnapping. Debts, in this caſe, may not, on the firſt view, appear very dreadful; but the preceding facts put together, exhibit ſuch a ſcene of wickedneſs and miſery, as a ſlight inveſtigation would not have ſuggeſted.——If an African contract a debt, another

Sources of the ſlave-trade recapitulated. Debts,

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

other perſon commonly pays the penalty, and the ſlave-trader carries off a wife or a child of the debtor, or perhaps an inhabitant of the ſame town, or ſome ſtranger who had ſought protection there. In one caſe, as has been ſhown, a child is torn from it's father by a debtor, and the ſlave-captain ſails, before the parent can bring a ſubſtitute, (§ 459.) A wife is ſold by her huſband, for a debt, and is ſeen weeping in a ſlave-ſhip, for her infant left behind, (§ 467.) A free boy, ſent with a meſſage, is ſeized for his principal's debt, and is carried off, before he can be redeemed, (§ 475.) Among other coloniſts who were captured, two are ſold for the debt of a townſman, who runs away from his captain, on another part of the coaſt, (§ 475.) —In other views, the cuſtom of ſelling men for debt, appears ſtill more dreadful. The ſlave-traders appear to encourage the chiefs to contract debts, for the ſake of the conſequent right of ſeizure. The very large credits, which, being incompatible with ordinary commerce, ſeem peculiar to the ſlave-trade, form, perhaps, one of it's main pillars; for ſome facts that have appeared at S. Leona, unequivocally ſhew, that liberal credit legalizes all kinds of enormities. It ſerves equally to ſubject a country to a ſlave-factor, or to ſecure diſpatch to a ſlave-ſhip. By theſe credits, the mulatto trader acquired his power over the chiefs, and depopulated the whole country around him, without violating the cuſtoms of Africa, or forfeiting his character, as a "*good man and man of humanity*," (§ 468.) It is plain, that ſlave-captains, coming to trade on the coaſt, may make the ſame uſe of this ſyſtem of credit. By diſtributing part of their goods among the chiefs, they eſtabliſh a claim to ſeize both them and their people: and, *if their crews be ſtrong enough* (§ 469) they need not wait long for their cargo;

Digitized by Google

go; for they have only to reſort to *the country law of pany-aring*. (§ 469.) In the Mandingo country alſo, it has been ſhown, that debts cauſe kidnapping; for chiefs getting into debt to Europeans are put into confinement; and hence their people are obliged to kidnap, to redeem them (§ 456.) In ſhort, no proceeding of the S. Leona Company has ſo much offended the chiefs, as the refuſal of the uſual African credit.

Wars.

480. War alſo might ſeem, on a ſuperficial view, to rank with the leaſt objectionable ſources of the ſlave-trade. But, when viewed more cloſely, it is ſeen to involve the moſt horrible enormity. The Africans, afraid to live detached, congregate into towns, under the protection of ſome chief, whom they commonly call their father. He, being corrupted by liquor, is largely credited by the ſlave-factor, who, on this ground makes war on the people. Some are killed, and many more taken and ſold as ſlaves, and thus the chief's debt is paid. Such were preciſely the numerous little wars of the great mulatto trader, againſt all the inferior chiefs around him. From theſe wars others ſpring, and a long train of hoſtilities follows. A chief eſcapes from the mulatto trader, with the reſidue of his people, to an iſland: thence he carries on a vindictive, predatory war; taking 40 priſoners at once, from the mulatto-trader, who would not be ſlow to retaliate; and the ſlave-trade gets farther victims from each ſide (§ 454.) Some of theſe petty wars ſeem eminently productive. The chief of Quiaport attacks the chief of Bowrah, and ſends his priſoners to the ſlave-factory. The latter gathers all his ſtrength, and ſeizes double the number from the former; for he is obliged to redeem his people by paying two for one (§ 456.) Nor are theſe ſmaller wars the only productive ones. Every great nation near Sierra Leona,

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SIERRA LEONA.

Leona, has been involved in war by the ſlave-trade. The female mulatto owns, that the Mandingoes have no wars, when ſlaves are not in demand, (§ 456.) The Foulahs, ſays another evidence, are well known to go to war ſolely to get ſlaves (§ 456.) "The people directly inland, adds another chief, go to war for ſlaves. Our country being very much depopulated, and the paſſage of ſlaves from remote parts being hindered by wars, the ſlave-factors have lately endeavoured to prevent them, and the adjacent country to S. Leona, begins to be at peace." (§ 456.)

Crimes, real or imputed.

481. Crimes, real or imputed, are another chief cauſe of ſlavery: adultery is one of the higheſt. A native chief, in one caſe, (§ 460.) and an European chief in another (§ 460) ſells an inferior African on ſuch a charge; both by their own arbitrary will, and evidently for their own emolument. And here, let the drunkenneſs and depravity of the chiefs, who are thus judges in their own cauſe, be conſidered; let the African polygamy be added; nor let the remark of a native trader be forgotten, that it is common for chiefs, who want goods, to hint to their wives, to encourage adultery. Many of the other crimes have been ſo ſlight, and ſuch the injuſtice of the judges, that the deciſions aggravate the horror excited by this traffic. A whole town, the chief excepted, is enſlaved, for letting ſome runaway ſlaves paſs to the mountains, (§ 458.) A woman from the next town, is torn from her unweaned child and ſold, merely for impertinence, (§ 467.) Two men are ſold by a chief, to compenſate for his having, in his drunkenneſs, ordered a ſlave-trader to be flogged, (§ 461.) A man is ſold for having changed himſelf into a leopard, (§ 465.) The whole family of another is ſold for his ſuppoſed theft, after he had been poiſoned with red water, (§ 464.) The mulatto-

trader's

Digitized by Google

trader's ſetting up a ſlave as a judge, the growing power of this judge, the court paid to him by the ſlave-traders, and the dread of coming near him, are alſo to be remembered.

Kidnapping.

482. The inſtances given of kidnapping are numerous. A Nova Scotian, formerly kidnapped from S. Leona, on landing there is recognized by his mother, (§ 457.) Relations of the king of S. Leona are carried off, at three different times, by kidnappers, (§ 351.) The Company's agent falls in with a party of natives, in the very act of kidnapping, (§ 348.) A free coloniſt from England is kidnapped. Another turns kidnapper himſelf; but is detected and puniſhed, by the governor and council, (§ 476.) No leſs than three Britiſh commanders are infected with the contagion, and ſell, without ſcruple, the free mariners found on board French prizes. In one of theſe inſtances, 19 freemen were ſold, many of them ſons of chiefs, (§ 463.) In a ſecond 3 or 4 others, in ſpite of the remonſtrances of the Sierra Leona government. In a third 4 women left on board as pawns, (§ *ibid.*) The numbers in the Deſerter's town are reduced, partly by kidnapping, (§ 458) Free-booters infeſt the parts between the coaſt and the Foulah country; ſo that he who brings down ſlaves is often kidnapped on his return, and ſold to the ſame factory where he had been ſelling others, (§ 456.) In the Suſee country, kidnapping is frequent. In the Mandingo country, mothers dare not truſt their children out of their ſight, after ſun-ſet, for fear of kidnappers, (§ 456.) The reaſons of it's prevalence are debts; impunity, from the facility of ſelling the victims; and wars, (§ 479 *et ſeq.*) A chief owns that in a 5 years war, he uſed to waylay and kidnap paſſengers; but ſays it was a bad thing, juſtified only by the neceſſity of having ſomething to give to the ſlave-factories for ammuni-

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

tion, (§ 456.) We may add the extraordinary ravages of the proprietor of a neighbouring iſland, who ſwept away the people of whole towns, when he had intoxicated them, and of whoſe indiſcriminate ravages even the ſlave-factor complained.

This account reſpects S. Leona; but inland ſlave-trade cannot be very different.

483. Theſe are the four ſources of the ſlave-trade near S. Leona; nor do the Directors conceive that any conſiderable number have been obtained from theſe parts, by leſs exceptionable means. Indeed it is reaſonable to preſume, that at S. Leona, many atrocities have been perpetrated ſecretly, or at leaſt concealed from the Company's ſervants. The preceding account, indeed, only reſpects the ſlaves from near S. Leona, not the general body ſold in S. Leona river, moſt of whom are brought from the interior. But the Directors conceive that no one can fairly aſſume, that the caſe of inland ſlaves differs eſſentially from that of ſlaves from the coaſt: the injuſtice and treachery practiſed in taking them, and their conſequent wretchedneſs, can hardly fail to be ſomewhat ſimilar, in whatever part of Africa ſuch ſcenes take place *.

80,000 ſlaves annually dragged from Africa, by the above nefarious means.

484. Let then this aggregate of miſery be contemplated; let it be remembered, that the above is but a *ſample* of the manner in which EIGHTY THOUSAND men are annually dragged from Africa by the civilized Europeans, eſpecially by the Britiſh: let all the concomitant enormities, the blood ſpilt in wars, in cutting off ſlave-ſhips, in acts of ſuicide on board, and in ſanguinary vengeance on ſhore, be borne in mind: let the drunkenneſs, the treachery, the unnatural

* That the ſlave-trade is carried on by ſimilar means, and is attended with ſimilar ſcenes, on the coaſt from Senegal to Gambia, and alſo about 800 miles up the former river, may be ſeen in my "Obſervations on the Slave-trade, &c." 8vo. London printed 1789. *C. B. W.*

ſale

Digitized by Google

ſale of wives and children, for debt and for liquor, let the depravity communicated, as by contagion, to Britiſh captains, ſailors and factors, and the atrocities to which ſome of them have been tranſported, be recollected; above all, let the ſtop put to the civilization of one fourth of the globe, and the guilt of hindering that light of revelation, which has ſo long ſhone on Britain, from ſhining on the inhabitants of that vaſt continent, be added to the account: let the miſeries of Africa be contraſted with the bleſſings which *might* have reſulted from a contrary conduct in G. Britain, and from the introduction of Chriſtianity and European knowledge, and from that promotion of induſtry which is the ſure reſult of an honeſt, innocent and peaceful commerce.—Let all theſe conſiderations be put together, and the evil of the ſlave-trade will indeed appear enormous; it's hindrance to civilization, and it's hoſtility to every principle profeſſed by the S. Leona Company, become abundantly evident; and the proſpects of civilization about to be ſtated will appear important, not only from their immediate conſequences, but from their evincing the practicability of reverſing the cruel ſyſtem which yet prevails in Africa.

Sick ſlave-traders, received at S. Leona.

485. The ſubverſion of the ſlave-trade was one leading motive in the inſtitution of the Company; and it is one of the objects to which thoſe who manage it's affairs, profeſs that their beſt endeavours ſhall be directed. But they truſt that they ſhall not allow their deteſtation of that trade, to degenerate into ill-will to thoſe engaged in it; and they feel peculiar ſatisfaction in obſerving, that their government abroad, however their zeal for it's abolition may have been excited by the ſcenes they have witneſſed, have never uſed either violent or underhand means to promote this object; having neither forcibly interrupted the ſlave-traders nor irritated the

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SIERRA LEONA.

natives or the Nova Scotians againſt them; nor have they encouraged ſailors who thought themſelves cruelly uſed, or ſlaves, in the ſhips or factories, to deſert to the colony. Indeed the governor and council have been peculiarly moderate, in ſome trying caſes; labouring to promote peace, to compoſe differences and to prevent private vengeance. They have been juſt towards the ſlave-traders, and have given them proofs of humanity and kindneſs. They have entertained many ſick Europeans from the ſlave-ſhips, whom the known ſalubrity of the air, or the expectation of good medical advice have attracted to Freetown, and who have been lodged in the town, at the Company's expenſe, or gratuitouſly received into the hoſpital.——Their impartiality appeared, when a complaint having been made againſt ſome natives by the ſlave-captain, whoſe cruelties on board, and ſeizure of the natives on ſhore, appear from his converſation before recited, the governor and council induced the neighbouring head-man to obtain a hearing of the caſe. But the accuſed natives exculpated themſelves, the ſlave-captain being wholly to blame.

486. The following is an inſtance of the protection afforded to a ſlave-trader, by the governor and council, and of their prudent care to prevent the outrages of the ſlave-trade from taking place on the Company's diſtrict. It has been ſtated that an European ſlave-factor ſold a free native, in his ſervice, without the form of a trial, on a charge of adultery with one of his wives, (§ 460.) This ſale gave riſe to the outrage now to be deſcribed.

French ſlave-factor protected at S. Leona.

A neighbouring French ſlave-factor having landed on the colony, a native accuſed him of having wrongfully ſold a free grumetta (his brother) who had ſerved him faithfully, many years. The native collared the Frenchman, threatening to drag him to a neighbouring town, that the diſpute might be ſettled. I reſcued him, with ſome difficulty, being determined to forbid all ſuch acts on our ground. But while

Digitized by Google

while I was getting a boat, to convey him out of the colony, he fell again into the hands of the ſame natives. By help of the governor and another principal ſervant of the Company, I reſcued him again, and he got ſafely to his veſſel. He was ſo terrified, that he thought us all his enemies, and begged that we would kill him ourſelves, and not give up to the ſavages. I feared the interference of the N. Scotians, many of whom beheld this ſcene; but they behaved very well; though their feelings leaned ſtrongly to the ſide of the natives. I told them that, before any ſtranger ſhould be forced from our diſtrict, we were reſolved that we ourſelves would be carried off, and this language reſtrained them very much. The next Sunday, our clergyman noticed from the pulpit, how unbecoming it would be if any ſtranger, however, culpable, who had come to the colony for protection, ſhould be ſeized in it: of this the N. Scotians approved. On complaining to the chief of the native who collared the Frenchman, he apologized, and aſſured me that no ſuch outrage ſhould be committed in future. Soon after this, the Frenchman reported, that the aſſault of the native had been inſtigated by us. He was certainly ſo terrified at the aſſault, that he might not have been a judge of what paſſed. Beſides, as a ſlave-trader, he would be prejudiced againſt us. But, I think, I would again ſubmit to ſuch calumny, rather than let any violence be committed on our ground.

His ingratitude.

487. This ſame ſlave-trader, ſoon after his own reſcue, inſtigated the drunken chief to aſſault one of the Company's captains (§ 478.) Though the governor and council have acted upon the pacific principles recommended by the Directors, ſome inſtances of the Company's interference with the intereſts of the ſlave-traders may have been interpreted into acts of hoſtility.

488. To the following incident, it is neceſſary to premiſe, that the legiſlatures of the Northern States of America have prohibited the ſlave-trade, in certain caſes, under heavy penalties.

Americans clandeſtinely purſue ſlave-trade, though prohibited.

An American ſhip arriving in S. Leona river, the ſupercargo, who ſeems to have known little of the Company's principles, went haſtily to the governor and council and offered them his cargo, for a cargo of ſlaves, ſaying he would take no other articles, and hoped they would ſoon favour him with the ſlaves he wanted.——A counſellor aſked him how the American laws ſtood, reſpecting this trade.——He ſaid that, where he came from, it was prohibited, under forfeiture of the ſhip and £1000 penalty on the captain. "But, added he, no body will inform."—Indeed, Sir, replied the counſellor, I myſelf ſhall inform, if none elſe will.—I hope Sir, you will not do

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

do ſo unfriendly a thing.—I would rather prevent evil than puniſh it, (ſaid the counſellor) and I warn you, that if you carry a ſingle ſlave from this coaſt, you ſhall find an information lodged againſt you in America.—The ſupercargo then ſaid, he was not in earneſt, and that he really abhorred the ſlave-trade.

which the Directors are taking ſteps to prevent.

489. This ſhip quitted the river, immediately, to the obvious prejudice of the ſlave-factories there.—The Directors have received from S. Leona, a liſt of all the American ſhips, which have tranſgreſſed the laws of that country, and are taking meaſures for conveying to the ſeveral legiſlatures, whoſe authority hath been inſulted, ſufficient evidence of the circumſtances tending to the conviction and puniſhment of the offenders.

Company generouſly reſolve to redeem ſlaves,

490. Another ſtep of the Directors to limit the exceſſes of the ſlave-trade, may be worthy of mention. The information of the ſale of the free mariners found in the French prizes, came accompanied with an intimation of the doubts of the Company's ſervants abroad, whether they ought to have redeemed thoſe injured men. It was thought that the price paid for their liberty might be recovered in England, by an action againſt the Britiſh ſubjects who ſold them. On the other hand, the expenſe of ſending witneſſes from Africa, the danger of failing in ſome point of legal evidence, and the many uncertainties of ſuch a buſineſs, were ſo obvious, that, on the whole, the governor and council were afraid of adopting this ſtep. But the Directors, on conſidering the advantages of avowing their determination to interfere in future caſes of this ſort, thought it right to ſend inſtructions, that if, in certain ſpecified caſes, any neighbouring native ſhould be unjuſtly ſold, either to or by a Britiſh ſubject, the governor and council were to pay the price of ſuch perſon's redemption, if no other means of liberating him ſhould be afforded. This intelligence

Digitized by Google

gence is said to have been satisfactory to several of the neighbouring chiefs.

491. The obstacles of the slave-trade to the Company's designs will farther appear in describing their direct efforts to set on foot plans of cultivation and industry, and to prepare the way for the introduction of Christianity and civilization. One of the most effectual means of promoting these objects must obviously be, by gaining over some principal kings or chiefs to this great cause. (see § 130.) If any chief possessed of fertile land, and having grumettas under him, could be persuaded to employ them in regular cultivation, under the direction of an European planter; if he could be induced to entertain a school-master or missionary, a friendly intercourse, also, subsisting between such chief and the Sierra Leona government; it can hardly be doubted that civilization would rapidly advance.

and to conciliate chiefs.

492. Among the obstacles to the adoption of any plan of cultivation by the kings or chiefs, near S. Leona, it has been stated that they universally deal in slaves. By the same traffic also many private slave-traders have become chiefs: the difference between a chief or king, who is also a slave-trader, and a slave-trader who has raised himself into a chief, being principally that the king is the less powerful of the two, and is commonly also in debt, and subservient, to an European factory; whereas the slave-trader is often rich and independent, having many chiefs in his debt, and therefore, subject to him. It is obvious that neither kings leagued with a slave-factor, nor chiefs become rich by the slave-trade, can generally be expected to patronize industry and reformation of manners. This traffic, indeed, presents profits often so easy and tempting, that habits of labour seem not likely to prevail till it shall cease.

Sl. trade, obstructs cultivation; by it's profits, &c.

—On

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

(but it has introduced a taſte for Europeangoods)

—On the other hand, the ſlave-trade hath initiated the natives into the uſe of European goods, ſome of which they conſider even as neceſſaries. This taſte may, therefore, be expected to ſtimulate induſtry, as ſoon as ever the produce of the land and labour of Africa ſhall be required, for European goods, inſtead of her inhabitants themſelves, (§ 36 *et ſeq.*)

by it's large credits,

493. The large credits given in the ſlave-trade alſo oppoſe any ſudden dereliction of it; ſince they render it very difficult for chiefs who might be diſpoſed to favour cultivation, to call in their capital.

bygroundleſs prejudices.

494. The prejudices which many chiefs at firſt imbibed againſt the Company, form another obſtacle to cultivation. They ſeem to have been taught to believe, that the Company were to be the general diſturbers of the peace, by changing the cuſtoms of Africa; that they intended to deprive the chiefs of their power, and, in the end, of their territories; and to encourage ſlaves to deſert their maſters and take refuge in the colony. It is obvious, however, that this impediment is merely temporary.

Chiefs, &c. who may be expected to favour the Company's views.

495. Theſe obſtacles were expected to oppoſe, and have in fact more or leſs oppoſed, all the Company's attempts to intereſt the African chiefs in plans of civilization and induſtry; but, though many of them ſtill operate, they have, in ſeveral inſtances, been happily overcome. The means by which this has been effected are eaſily explained. Firſt, a few natives of ſome conſequence, the ſucceſſors of deceaſed ſlave-traders, are growing leſs fond of that dangerous traffic, by which their property was originally acquired. Among ſuch the Company may be expected to make proſelytes. Other chiefs may be thrown into diſtreſs by the ſlave-trade; may loſe a near relation by it; or poſſibly having

Digitized by Google

having been redeemed from a ſlave-ſhip themſelves, may be affected by narrowly eſcaping the fate to which they have too often conſigned others. And circumſtances have already occurred, which give hopes of gaining ſuch perſons. Others again may be led, partly by higher principles, to contemplate the miſeries brought by the ſlave-trade on their country, and, if a fair opening be afforded, and the ſacrifice be not too great, may become favourers of order and induſtry. Laſtly, ſome chiefs, ſtruck with the improvements at Freetown, or having, perhaps, viſited England, may return animated with a deſire to impart the bleſſings they have witneſſed, who may be induced, poſſibly by embracing Chriſtianity, to ſtand forward as promoters of civilization, and friends of the Company. That one or other of theſe principles has actually operated on the minds of ſeveral very conſiderable chiefs, will appear—firſt from a quotation from the journal of one of the Company's ſervants already often reſorted to, and which deſcribes an interview with a neighbouring chief, about a year after the inſtitution of the colony.

An inſtance. YoungCleaveland's prejudices removed.

Having heard of this chief's prejudices againſtus, I firſt expreſſed to him my fear that our engagements in the care of our infant colony, might have afforded time for intereſted men to ſpread reports againſt us; that it was true we were not friends to the ſlave-trade, but that we wiſhed peaceably to draw the natives from it, by ſetting before them other ſources of wealth. Though civil, he was, at firſt, far from cordial. He allowed that we had many enemies, and that he had been alarmed for his property. I then explained ſeveral parts of our conduct, which I found had been groſsly miſrepreſented; aſſuring him particularly, that it was not our purpoſe to decoy ſlaves from their maſters (as he had been told) and that, if we did not ſeize and deliver them up, yet we would neither ſhelter, nor employ them. I offered education, at Sierra Leona, to any of his young people, and hinted that a ſeminary might be ſet up at his own place. I then urged him to ſet his grumettas to cultivation, calculated and ſet before him the advantages he would derive from having his lands covered with cotton and coffee, inſtead of their being depopulated by the ſlave-trade. He was very inquiſitive about this plan, and appeared rather to approve it; but

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

doubted whether he ſhould find a market for his produce. I anſwered that we would agree to take it, at a certain price. He was ſatisfied with my explanation, and wiſhed the Company ſucceſs. I afterwards viewed ſome of his land, which is excellent: cotton grows abundantly, and the true indigo is ſeen in ſeveral places.

and he becomes favourable to cultivation,

496. The Directors have the ſatisfaction of adding, that, by recent advices, this perſon's diſpoſition to quit the ſlave-trade appears to be ſtrengthened, and that he has actually taken ſome meaſures for commencing cultivation. He has been retarded from adopting the Company's ſuggeſtions, by his outſtanding debts, which it has been difficult to collect, except in ſlaves; by the alluring profits of the ſlave-trade; and by his temporary prejudices againſt the Company, (ſee § 492 *et ſeq.*) But his known humanity and liberality, and perhaps the late reduction of the demand for ſlaves, from the war, and the failure of credit here, ſeem at length to have operated on him ſo effectually, as to incline him to favour cultivation.—From what has been ſaid, it may be preſumed that this reſpectable African, when he followed the ſlave-trade, would exerciſe as much humanity as could be reconciled to ſuch a traffic; and that he would probably confine his purchaſes to ſlaves from a diſtance, giving protection to the people around him. The truth of this preſumption appears from the cenſures of the ſlave-traders.

his humanity

He is the very man who made the Britiſh ſlave-captain wait ſo long for ſlaves, being "*afraid to make a haul of the people*" as the "fine fellow" (the mulatto chief) his predeceſſor uſed to do; and whoſe town, therefore, the captain ſaid he would have ſeized "if he had been well manned," in order, doubtleſs, to teach this African "a proper ſpirit." His incapacity for the ſlave-trade has been alſo intimated by a Britiſh factor, who being aſked, "Does the mulatto trader's ſucceſſor recover debts by the ſame means (laying waſte

waſte his debtor's towns) that he uſed," replied "*No he is too eaſy*," (See § 368, 369.) In the journal ſent home, a no leſs honourable teſtimony of this African, and of the peace and ſecurity he has introduced, is implied in the words of a third Britiſh ſlave-factor, who dwelt on a neighbouring iſland.

"I remember the time" ſaid he "when, if I ſent a grumetta up the country, with goods equal in value to one ſlave, I was ſure to have him back with two ſlaves in return, within ſix days: but it will *now* take as many weeks to get the ſame number, and yet ſlaves are dearer than ever."

497. The Company owe their ſucceſs, in this diſtrict, partly to the war *, and partly to the remembrance of the ravages of the mulatto trader. They owe a ſimilar benefit to the experience of the bitter effects of the ſlave-trade, in the following recent caſe.—The Mahometan chief, whoſe humane, modeſt and diſintereſted conduct has been mentioned (§ 475) made the following obſervations.

Humane Mahometan chief undeceived.

He ſaid, he had been taught to look on the colony with jealouſy, and had therefore hitherto kept aloof; but that recent misfortunes, brought on him by the machinations of ſlave-traders, ſome of which he related, added to what he had lately learnt of our conduct, had made him ſuſpect the truth of what he had heard, and that he was come to have his doubts cleared up. He earneſtly entreated my aſſiſtance, in recovering his intimate friend, Famarah, a diſtinguiſhed chief carried off the coaſt, ſome time ago, as a ſlave. He alſo ſpoke to me of the free boy whom he had juſt loſt, and to induce me to exertion in recovering both captives, he named his redemption of our free coloniſts, for which, he ſaid, the ſlave-traders had blamed, as well as laughed at him. Though I could give him little hopes of recovering either of the captives, he was pleaſed, on the whole, with his viſit. He was particularly gratified by ſeeing our ſchools. "If I were younger, ſaid he, I ſhould ſtay here; but, as it is, I ſhall ſend my children." He alſo ſpoke of his having been driven, by the arts of a Britiſh ſlave-trader, to the neceſſity of quitting his native place; but ſaid that he lived now in a country affording ſome produce, which he ſhould be happy to collect for us. His converſation and manners intereſted me much. He is about 60 years old, of a good and benevolent appearance. His mind, which is naturally ſe-

* The interruption of the ſlave-trade by the preſent European war is here evidently meant. *C. B. W.*

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

gacious, being now bowed down by misfortunes, is the more open to impreſſions againſt the ſlave-trade, and I truſt we ſhall attach him to us.

498. The Directors will next add a very encouraging account of an interview with another chief.

Chief of the river makes moſt generous offers.

I waited on the chief of this river, who is ſaid to have great influence over the three neighbouring kings, and to have nominated them all. I was ſurpriſed by the appearance of a man about 90 years old, ſtill ſenſible and active. I acquainted him with the motives of my viſit, and the prineiples of the Company. He very readily aſſured me, that he would protect our traders, and favour us in the cuſtom of his river. He promiſed to ſend one of his boys to the colony for education, and to viſit it himſelf, the next dry ſeaſon. He alſo offered protection to a miſſionary, or ſchoolmaſter, and to make his ſituation comfortable. I have met with no native more liberal in his views, or clear in his ideas or converſation. He has wonderfully diveſted himſelf of African prejudices and ſuperſtitions, and reprobates the cuſtom of ſacrificing to the devil, who, ſaid he, "muſt be himſelf a creature of God." Though occaſionally engaged in the ſlave-trade, he rejoices in the proſpect of it's abolition. Some years ago, his town was deſtroyed by the mulatto ſlave-trader, and many of his people carried off: he ſtill waits for an opportunity of revenge.—We had propoſed to him to build on an iſland of his, a factory and a rice-houſe, veſting in us the right of poſſeſſion, and that he ſhould furniſh a planter, whom we might ſend, labourers to clear and plant the whole. I think it likely that our propoſal will be accepted, and a magazine may be fixed for the produce of the neighbourhood, which is very rich in rice, ſtock and camwood. A ſchoolmaſter, or miſſionary, would find a conſiderable population, if the cultivation ſhould proceed with ſpirit, and would be within one or two hours diſtance of ſeveral of the largeſt villages in theſe parts.

499. A very favourable ſpecimen of the African character, and a moſt pleaſing proof of the practicability of introducing European improvements, are afforded by the following incident.

Chief from the Gambia, zealous for improvement.

Five natives lately arrived, in a ſhip of our's, from the Gambia. One of them, named Cuddy, is a chief and principal trader there. His figure is very prepoſſeſſing. He is well made, and about 6 feet 3 inches high. His manners are civil and eaſy, and his face the picture of benevolence. He is modeſt and diffident, and afraid of offending againſt the truth. He was dreſſed in his country faſhion, neat and clean, but deſpiſed finery. He has riſen much in my eſteem, and that of all the Company's officers, as well as of the coloniſts, during the 14 days he ſpent at my houſe. It was pleaſing to obſerve him contemplating whatever he ſaw, with the view of turning

ing

Digitized by Google

ing it to his country's advantage. He has been aſſiduouſly endeavouring to prevail on ſome of the N. Scotia blacks, to go with him to the Gambia, to inſtruct his countrymen, and has induced a good carpenter to go, who is to build him a houſe and make him ploughs and huſbandry utenſils, and alſo looms; for Cuddy has it much at heart to introduce the broad loom among his people. Another man is to embark with him, who underſtands ploughing, and can make ſhingles, &c. Cuddy has long been partial to the Company, has always been kind to their ſervants, when in the Gambia, and has built, on the Floop ſide of that river, a little town, which he has named Sierra Leona. Being curious in natural productions, he ſhowed our botaniſt ſeveral dying plants growing here, particularly a tree uſed in the Gambia, for making indigo more durable.

Intereſting expedition to the interior.

500. The Directors will next offer ſome information relative to the interior country, gained in a journey lately made into a large neighbouring kingdom *.—The governor and council having been informed by ſome of the Foulahs †, a powerful nation to the N.E. of S. Leona, that their king deſired to form an intercourſe with the colony, two gentlemen in the Company's ſervice, offered to attempt to penetrate, through a large, and as yet unknown country, to his capital ‡. Sailing accordingly, to the Rio Nunez, they obtained inter-

* The account of this expedition, and much other matter, in this and the preceding chap. were not inſerted in the Report read to the Proprietors. Advices from S. Leona, of the 6th Sep. 1794, had been received at time of ſending this Report to the preſs, which have furniſhed much additional intelligence. Their recent accounts are, in almoſt every reſpect, more favourable than any preceding. They convey, nevertheleſs, information of a diſturbance in the colony, from the violence of ſome of the moſt diſaffected N. Scotians. But the ringleaders had been taken up, or had left the colony, the utmoſt tranquillity prevailed when the laſt diſpatches came away, which were dated 7 or 8 weeks after the tumult, and the government are perſuaded that there is no reaſon to fear any permanent or material ill conſequences.

† There ſeem to be ſeveral independent tribes or nations of Foulahs, of which this is probably one of the moſt conſiderable.

‡ Mr. James Watt, already ſpoken of (formerly manager of the eſtate of George Roſe, Eſq. M. P. in Dominica) and Mr. Winterbottom, brother to Dr. Winterbottom, phyſician to the colony.

preters

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

preters and guides at Kocundy, a conſiderable way up that river, and then ſet out on foot, in a party of about twenty perſons. They mention, with much thankfulneſs, their obligations to ſome ſlave-traders, eſpecially to a mulatto trader near Kocundy. Shortly after leaving Rio Nunez, they found that a conſiderable intercourſe ſubſiſted between the interior country, and the upper parts of the river; for 5 or 600 Foulahs were often ſeen in a day, carrying on their backs great loads of rice and ivory, to be exchanged for ſalt. In the numerous ſucceſſive towns, generally diſtant 6, 8 or 10 miles, the travellers were always moſt hoſpitably received; the inhabitants having been agreeably ſurprized at the ſight of white men, of whom none had ever been ſeen even a few day's journey from the coaſt. After travelling 16 days, through a country barren in many parts, but fruitful in others, and remarkably full of cattle, and after paſſing 2 or 3 ſmall rivers, one of them ſaid to empty itſelf into the Gambia, they arrived at Laby, a town about 200 miles, almoſt due eaſt, from Kocundy. Here they ſpent 3 or 4 days, being moſt cordially received by the chief who is ſubordinate to the king of the Foulahs. Laby is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circumference, and is ſuppoſed to contain not leſs than 5000 people. From Laby, they proceeded, in another week, 72 miles farther inland, to Teembo, the capital of the Foulah kingdom, experiencing every where the ſame hoſpitality.

Government, ſtate of civilization, &c. &c.

501. During 14 days which they paſſed in Teembo, they often converſed, through their interpreters, with the king, with a perſon who acts as deputy in his abſence, and with many other principal perſons. This kingdom is about 350 miles long, from E. to W. and about 200 miles broad, from N. to S. The king is very arbitrary, in many points, and he opens or ſhuts up the markets and channels of trade, juſt as he

Digitized by Google

he pleaſes. Teembo may contain about 7000 inhabitants; and the ſuperiority of all theſe interior people, to thoſe on the coaſt, is great, in moſt branches of civilization. The houſes here, at Laby and ſome other places, are occaſionally ſpoken of in the journals as very good. The ſilver ornaments, worn by ſome of the chief women, are ſaid to be equal in value to £20. At Laby and Teembo, they work in iron, ſilver, wood and leather, and weave narrow cloths. The chief men have books, generally on divinity or law; and reading is common, there being ſchools in almoſt every town. Horſes are commonly uſed by the chief people, who often ride out for amuſement; and the king invited the two ſtrangers to ſee a ſpecies of horſe-race. The ſoil is generally ſtony; much of it is paſture: in ſome parts, rice is cultivated, chiefly by the women, the men, many of whom are ſlaves, carrying away the produce on their backs. The ſoil is dry; about one third of it is ſaid to be extremely fertile, and the climate is thought very good. The nights and mornings were ſometimes cold, and the thermometer * was once as low as 51°, at ½ paſt 5 in the morning; but it roſe to near 90° at noon. The religion is Mahometaniſm, and there are many moſques; but neither prieſts nor people ſeem to have much bigotry, though they fail not to obſerve the Mahometan rites, praying five times a day. The king's puniſhments are arbitrary and ſevere, eſpecially for diſreſpect to his own authority; but it appears that no Foulahs are ever ſold as ſlaves, for debts or crimes, and kidnapping ſeldom occurs. Till lately, however, the Foulahs dealt very conſiderably in ſlaves, to procure whom they avowedly go to war. Their religion affords them an apology for this horrible injuſtice, by permitting them to deſtroy all infidels,

* Farenheit's

a term

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SIERRA LEONA.

a term which ſeems to include all their neighbours. Our travellers loſt no opportunity of reprobating theſe wars, and of inculcating the principles of the Company, as appears from the following extract from one of the journals.

Foulahs make war to get ſlaves.

(1.) In the morning, I had a viſit from the deputy king, who told me with a ſhocking degree of openneſs, that the ſole object of their wars was to procure ſlaves, as they could not obtain European goods without ſlaves, and they could get ſlaves without fighting for them. I mentioned rice, ivory and cattle; but he ſaid, the factories would not furniſh them with guns, powder and cloth, which he conſidered as the chief articles, for any thing except ſlaves. I told him that, by a trade in produce, they might become rich, without going to war for ſlaves, which muſt certainly offend that God, to whom they prayed five times a day. "But the people on whom we make war, returned he, never pray to God: we do not go to war with people who give God Almighty ſervice."

In an interview with the king himſelf, the following converſation occurred.

King diſpoſed to abandon the ſlave-trade.

(2.) After ſtating the views of the Company, I took the liberty of remarking, how wicked it was for one nation to deſtroy another. If theſe people, ſaid I, have not ſo much knowledge as you, you ſhould inſtruct them. There were preſent, the king, the head prieſt and the chief miniſter, and they ſtill ſuffered me to proceed without interruption; I was ſurprized at their attention. They all acknowledged the truth of what I ſaid, and the king obſerved, that, if he could get guns, powder and every thing elſe he wanted, for ivory, rice and cattle, he would ſoon have done with the ſlave-trade. I told him, that, if once the Africans knew the S. Leona Company perfectly, I was ſure wars would ceaſe. They all ſaid, they believed ſo too.

The next day, a converſation occurred to this effect.

Religious wars.

(3.) I waited on a head man, by his deſire. I found him writing, but he quickly laid aſide his work. I had much converſation with him, ſimilar to what I held with the king the night before. He defended for ſome time, their religious wars, but at laſt admitted that they muſt be diſpleaſing to God. He ſtill ſaid, however, that their book deſired them to make war on nations that would not do God ſervice. I replied, that there might be many good things in their book; but that I was ſure the devil had put in that paſſage: God was ſo good and merciful that he muſt hate men who deſtroyed their fellow creatures. He ſcrupled not to ſay, that if the Foulahs could get the goods they wanted without war, he would then believe that going to war offended God: but, ſaid he, if we cannot get theſe things without war, God cannot be angry with us for going to war, eſpecially as it is ſo in our book.

Another

Digitized by Google

Another circumſtance, more lamentable than any of the preceding, muſt be added here.

(4.) The king's deputy, after ſtating that the Foulahs made war, ſolely to get ſlaves, ſaid alſo, "*that the old men, and old women, who were captured in theſe wars, and who were known to be unſaleable, were put to death.*" Theſe are the words in Mr. Watt's journal: that of Mr. Winterbottom repreſents the king's deputy as ſaying that they "*cut the throats*" of the elder captives; and mentions, that when this cruelty was condemned, he replied, that it was not ſo cruel as letting them ſtarve to death, adding, that their enemies would not ſcruple to do the ſame. See § 509.

Unſaleable ſlaves, killed by the Foulahs.

502. That this additional and enormous evil is directly chargeable on the ſlave-trade, theſe quotations ſeem to evince: and that no ſimilar effuſion of blood can be ſuppoſed to happen, even among the ſame people, in the caſe of *able-bodied ſlaves*, returned or withheld for want of a market, the following circumſtances clearly prove.—It has been ſtated, that the war with France ſuddenly checked the ſlave-trade on the coaſt. It appears, from the journals of this expedition, that

but ſaleable ones would not be killed, even if the market were ſtopped.

The influence of the European war was as ſtrong in the interior. The wars of Teembo ceaſed about this period: ſlaves at the ſea-ſide fell from 160 to 120 bars. The king of the Foulahs, to bring the ſlave-traders to terms, forbade his ſubjects to carry ſlaves down till 160 bars ſhould be again offered; and the conſequence of the ſlaves being thus withheld (except a few ſmuggled ones) was that the Foulah country had become full of them *.

European war checks inland ſlave-trade.

503. It has been ſtated (§ 456.) that the Foulahs were often ſeized by freebooters, in returning from the factories to which they had been carrying the captives, taken in their predatory wars. This fact is confirmed by the following incident, among others of the kind that occurred in this journey.

An old man called on the travellers at Teembo, and begged them to enquire after his ſon, who with ſix others, ſome of them related to the king, had been ſeized, in returning from Rio Pongos, about four years ago. They had been ſold to the Britiſh ſlave-factor at the Iſles de Los, and, immediately ſhipped off to the W. Indies,

Kidnapping in the interior.

* The journal intimates, though not very diſtinctly, that they were put to work,

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SIERRA LEONA.

except one, who was recovered by the Foulah king. The old man ſaid, he would willingly pay any ranſom for his ſon *. I aſſured him, the writer of the journal adds, that the governor of S. Leona would feel almoſt as much pleaſure in reſtoring his ſon, as he could in receiving him, and that we ſhould ſpare no pains in the enquiry. At hearing this, the old man's eye's gliſtened, and he left me, bleſſing both the governor and myſelf, and aſſuring me that he ſhould pray for me.

Foulah king favours the plough, &c.

504. The Directors have the ſatisfaction of obſerving, that the two travellers appear, by the propriety of their conduct, and by their declarations of the principles of the Company, to have ingratiated themſelves much with the natives, eſpecially the chief people. The king, being aſked, Whether he would encourage any European to ſettle near him, with a view to cultivation, readily anſwered, that he would furniſh him with land, and cattle and men, for the purpoſe. Much converſation paſſed at different times, concerning the introduction of the plough, of which no one had ever heard in the Foulah country. The king of Laby offered to ſend a ſon to England for education, and a principal prieſt ſeemed willing to do the ſame. Diligent enquiry was made at Laby and Teembo, concerning the road to Tombuctoo, an interior town, ſuppoſed of the firſt magnitude, to which ſome adventurers from the African Aſſociation have attempted to penetrate, (See § 327.) It was ſaid, at Laby, that a free communication ſubſiſted with Tombuctoo, though diſtant no leſs than a four month's journey; ſix kingdoms intervening between the Foulah country and that of the king of Tombuctoo, namely Belia, Bouriah, Manda, Segoo, Soofundoo, and Genah. This laſt, the neareſt kingdom to Tombuctoo, and that of Tombuctoo itſelf, were ſpoken of as richer than any of the reſt. The city of Caſhna ſeemed to be

Route to Tombuctoo and Caſhna.

* Two of the perſons ſold bore the name of Omar, another is called Hamadoo, and another Bubacarrie. Two others are mentioned under the name of Hamodoo, one of whom was the ſon of this old man. The Directors have introduced their names, to promote their redemption.

Known

Digitized by Google

known at Laby; but the route was described as hazardous.

CHAP XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

505. From Teembo, the Company's servants returned by a different, and rather more dangerous path. But, by the king's command, they were escorted by a body of Foulahs, amounting, for part of the journey, to 5 or 600. When this body arrived on the borders of the Susee country, a suspicion arose, on the part of the Susees, that the Foulahs were come to attack them, on pretence of conducting white men to the coast. But the latter removed the suspicion, showing that they had goods and slaves with them; and at a meeting of the Susee chiefs, it was determined, not only that the travellers and their party should be permitted to pass to Sierra Leona, but also that the path, which former wars had shut, should become permanently open. Four or five considerable persons from the Foulah, and other kings, with their suite came to Freetown, with the white travellers, passed a few days there, arranged some commercial plans, and returned highly gratified by their visit. It has since been learnt, that when the Foulahs got back to the borders of their own kingdom, their countrymen, who came to meet them, were so much interested with what had been heard and seen at S. Leona, that the conversation lasted till day-break*.

Incidents on the return of the travellers to S. Leona.

506. The success of this journey has suggested a more important one, on which one of the above mentioned travellers, and another servant of the Company were, by the last accounts, likely soon to enter. Their main object will be to penetrate to Tombuctoo, probably by the Foulah country. If they should reach Tombuctoo, it will depend on the information they will there receive, whether they return to

Intended journey to Tombuctoo.

* See the route of the travellers, as traced on the large map, at the end of this work.—For the route of Major Houghton in 1791, see "Elucidations of the African Geography," published by the African Association.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

Teembo and S. Leona, or ſhall go towards the Gambia, or through the continent to the Mediterranean.

507. Since the ſtagnation of the demand for ſlaves, wars have ceaſed near S. Leona, and in other parts of the coaſt.

Wars ceaſe with the ſlave-trade.

That reſpectable chief Cuddy, from the diſtant river Gambia, (§ 499.) mentioned, when at Freetown, that there were now no wars in any part near him, and that the few ſlaves ſold there, whoſe number was daily diminiſhing, came from the remote country of Gallam. He added, "What ſhould a man go to war for now? There is nothing to make people go to war: no price for ſlaves—no ſhip to take them—no goods to give for them! Suppoſe ſhips come plenty, aye, then people go to war again."

Slave-trade diminiſhed $\frac{4}{5}$ near S. Leona.

508. The declenſion of the ſlave-trade near S. Leona, appears to have been very great. The governor and council ſuppoſe that not above $\frac{1}{5}$ of the uſual number of ſlaves are now carried off the adjacent coaſt. The French ſlave-factory, and an individual Britiſh ſlave-factor, have removed from S. Leona river. The ſlave-factory in the Iſle de Los, is on the point of being given up; and that on Bance Iſland, the only one remaining either in or near S. Leona river, is thought to apply more than formerly to the collection of produce, and has begun a cotton plantation, worked by natives, and which the Company's inſtitution appears to have ſuggeſted. A ſlave-factor, of the name of Wilkinſon, declared that he would quit the trade, and transfer his property (amounting to about £2000) to Freetown, offering to conform to the laws, if permitted to ſettle there. But he is ſince dead.

509. The governor and council have taken ſome pains to enquire What has been done with ſlaves withheld or returned, for want of purchaſers, and what would probably be their fate on a total abolition of the ſlave-trade?

Refuſed ſlaves put to work.

(1.) A reſpectable chief from Port Logo, an upper branch of S. Leona river, being aſked if refuſed ſlaves were killed, anſwered "No, never in Port Logo; we carry them home and make them work"—But will they not run away?—If they do, we can't help that, we can't kill them. If a man is too old to ſell, he is too old to do

you

Digitized by Google

you harm; what ſhould you kill him for?—Did you ever ſee any refuſed ſlaves killed?—No: I am an old man, but I never ſaw that: if they do that in another country, I don't know that."

(2.) Two other intelligent native traders, from the interior, mentioned the great numbers of ſlaves now confined on the coaſt for purchaſers: one trader had no fewer than 200. Being aſked why they were not ſet to cut wood, plant rice, &c. they replied that there might be danger of inſurrection from employing ſo many, and that they muſt firſt be diſperſed; beſides, there had been no encouragement to cut camwood: they could not tell what our commercial agent, who was gone down the coaſt, might be able to effect in this reſpect. They obſerved that, if the ſlave-trade continued at a ſtand, no more ſlaves would come from the buſh (inland) and indeed that few came now. They ſaid that the ſlaves would certainly not be put to death; for that nobody was ever put to death, except in war, or for crimes.

(3.) A white factor alſo ſays that ſcarce any ſlaves have been bought, for a year paſt, between C. Vergo and C. Mount, from the traders on the coaſt inſiſting that the price ſhould be reduced £10 or £12; and that the natives, in conſequence, had lately withheld their ſlaves entirely, and had ſet them to cultivate rice, eſpecially in the Suſee and Mandingo countries.

General character of the Africans.

510. The accounts given of ſeveral natives, who have been peculiarly inſtrumental in forwarding the Company's views, ought not to be conſidered as a ſample of the common African character. So far as the Directors are enabled to judge, the Africans, in general, are extremely ſuperſtitious. Their belief in witchcraft, incantations and charms, ſubjects them to groſs impoſitions, and leads them to acts of cruelty and injuſtice. Some learn many additional ſuperſtitions, from the numerous travelling Mahometan prieſts, who trade in charms. The natives of S. Leona, and all the adjacent parts, occaſionally ſacrifice to the devil. They believe in a God; but they appear to render him no ſtated worſhip. They have ſome vague notions of a future ſtate; but their faith ſeems to have little influence on their practice. Polygamy is every where common, and the ſpirit of retaliation and revenge may be conſidered as univerſal. One of the moſt enlightened chiefs, already mentioned, was waiting to revenge

Superſtition.

Polygamy. Retaliation.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

venge an injury he had received many years before, not from the object of his vengeance, but from his predeceſſor. The moſt amiable character perhaps met with in the Foulah country, after allowing Chriſtianity to be good in many reſpects, expreſsly objected to the forgiving of injuries, as a virtue unattainable, and therefore not to be required. The African character is various, ſome nations appearing more crafty, ſome more uncivilized, than others: nor can theſe differences be always traced, either to the ſlave-trade or to local circumſtances. The ſuperiority of the Foulahs, and their great hoſpitality have already ſufficiently appeared; but, on the other hand, the natives of the coaſt in general, eſpecially thoſe near the ſlave-factories, are much given to liquor, ſuſpicious of whites, crafty, ſavage and ferocious: they are ſaid alſo to be ſelfiſh, unreaſonable and encroaching.—They are, however, generally grateful for benefits received; they have much natural affection and feeling; though occaſionally violent, they are not unmanageable; and the energies of their minds (which the cutting off of ſlave-ſhips ſhow to be very ſtrong § 471.) though turned as yet to wrong objects, are capable no doubt of a better direction. They appear eager for knowledge and religious improvement, and readily invite the teachers of Chriſtianity. But this readineſs, though it affords ample encouragement to miſſionaries, is obviouſly owing rather to emulation and ambition, than to any approbation to Chriſtianity, of which they are yet ignorant. They admit the wickedneſs of the ſlave-trade, as much as that of any other criminal practice, purſuing it for it's profits, contrary to ſome glimmering light of conſcience, if not in direct defiance of conviction.—A few circumſtances will illuſtrate certain points in the character of the Africans. To begin with a brief account of

Drunkenneſs, &c.

Gratitude. Affection.

Eager for religious improvement.

Diſapprove the ſlave-trade.

Digitized by Google

of the conſequences of the injurious charge of poiſon, on the death of King Naimbanna's ſon, (ſee § 401.)

(1.) The black who made this ſuggeſtion, had croſſed the ſea with King Naimbanna's ſon, and had been offended by the captain's urging him to do duty as a ſailor. He had ſeen the captain give the deceaſed ſome medicine, which produced a trifling ſickneſs of ſtomach; and it is ſuppoſed his ill-will may have ſuggeſted ſuſpicions of the captain, which, after his arrival, were raſhly communicated to the relations of the deceaſed. The dead body was immediately delivered to a ſkilful necromancer, and being placed erect, was ſucceſſively aſked, Whether the S. Leona Company—the governor—the phyſician—or a ſervant of the Company who attended the patient, had cauſed his death? The corpſe continuing motionleſs, it was then aſked, Whether the captain was guilty? on which it was ſaid to have nodded aſſent. A threatening letter was now written, in the name of the relations, to the governor and council, aſking compenſation for the murder; but it was handſomely intimated, that it was not the Company, but ſome of the ſlave-captains who were ſuppoſed to have inſtigated the Company's ſervant, to put the king's ſon to death. The governor and council reſiſted this claim, but were obliged to permit the calling of a palaver, at which a great concourſe of armed natives attended. The debate was ſolemnly opened, in the name of the mother of the deceaſed, by a neighbouring chief, who ſpoke in the Timmany language (ſtopping to let each ſentence be interpreted) to nearly this effect.—That the queen had no palaver againſt the Company, nor the governor, nor ſeveral others named; but that the queen had a palaver againſt the captain who had poiſoned her ſon with a cup of tea, at ſea; and that ſhe demanded 600 bars (near £100) which, if ſent her immediately, would prevent her making war on the Company, and would terminate the palaver. It was added that, if the captain denied the crime, now clearly proved, he muſt be ſent up to the queen's town to ſtand his trial, by drinking red water, according to the Timmany laws*. The captain felt ſome emotion at the laſt article; but a loud laugh among the natives ſhowed that they did not expect the captain's compliance. The governor and council inſiſted on calling evidence on the ſpot, when the black accuſer explained away all his inſinuations. The captain's innocence was eſtabliſhed by many other witneſſes; the natives became aſhamed of their conduct; and, the next day, the queen

Palaver on the death of K. Naimbanna's ſon.

* This conſiſts in making the ſuſpected perſon drink a quantity of water ſuppoſed to be poiſoned. If he be affected, as he often is, in the way conſidered to imply guilt, his brains are knocked out on the ſpot. But he often dies immediately from the poiſon, as in the caſe mentioned § 464. In either caſe, all his family are ſold as ſlaves. Natives of the higher claſs are ſaid often to ſurvive theſe trials, and it is ſuppoſed they find means to prevent the poiſonous ingredient from being put into the water.

came

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

came to Freetown, profeſſed the utmoſt confidence in the governor and council, and deſired them to take another ſon under their care†.

(2.) It is not eaſy to conceive how their imaginations have been filled with ridiculous extravagancies. They believe that one of the iſlands in the river would ſink, if the king of the neighbouring ſhore were to land on it. It is ſuppoſed, that another iſland higher up, is the habitation of a legion of devils, and that if any man carry off from it the leaf of a tree, his boat would ſink, and he would be drowned ‡.

Ridiculous ſuperſtitions.

511. The following quotation preſents a lamentable picture of extraordinary ſuperſtition and ignorance in the headman of a neighbouring town.

Popiſh black chief offers to promote Chriſtianity.

I waited on him and found him at dinner, along with a chief of the upper country, and a Mahometan prieſt, who is now making griſgris (charms) for him and the neighbouring chiefs, and aſſiſting at their ſacrifices to the devil. After dinner the headman produced his maſs-book, and prayed devoutly ſome time. He expreſſed great concern that he had not met with a popiſh confeſſor for ſome years; but told me that he had left orders, that at his death, two of his ſlaves ſhould be ſent to St. Jago, to urge the Romiſh prieſt there to ſmooth his way to heaven. He doubts no more of the power of an abſolution, than of his exiſtenee, and he appears well acquainted with all the Romiſh ſuperſtitions; but his tenets are ſtrangely diſguiſed with the idolatory of his country. He expreſſed much anxiety to promote the goſpel in Africa, offering to engage in any plan that would promote it, and propoſed to give a houſe and land to a ſchoolmaſter, and to protect him. He ſhowed a conſciouſneſs of the criminality of the ſlave-trade. "What more, ſaid he, have I to do with the ſlave-trade: it is time that I ſhould leave it off, and ſettle my account with God. I am old, and ought to think only of heaven."

512. The ſucceeding extracts will confirm ſome points already touched on, and will ſhow the deſire of inſtruction which prevails among the natives, and the good underſtanding between them and the Company.

Mandingo lady ſhocked at W. Indian ſlavery.

(1.) The mulatto lady enquired much, when at the colony (§ 456 (3.) about the ſtate of the ſlaves in the W. Indies, and was much affected at hearing that ſlavery deſcended to the children of the ſlaves ſent from Africa. She added "you muſt

† The Directors wiſh not fail in acknowledging any inſtance of friendly conduct in the ſlave-factories towards the Company. They are therefore deſirous of remarking, that, on occaſion of the injurious charge againſt their captain, they were befriended by the agent of the neighbouring Britiſh ſlave-factory; and they take this occaſion of adding, that they have in general experienced every civility, from the proprietors of ſlave-factories *reſident in England.*

‡ See in the Append. Notes reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE Y.

think

Digitized by Google

think me very bad; for I have juſt taken two ſlaves to the factory, where I have left them; but I wiſh I could give up the trade altogether."

It appears that the travellers who went to the Foulah country, profited much by her civility, their route on returning having lain through her town. She is learning the Arabick language, in order to extend her influence.

Chiefs encourage ſchools.

(2.) Some of the chiefs who came to Freetown, to the palaver (ſee § 510) were carried to the ſchools, and were much pleaſed at ſo novel a ſight as 3 or 400 children, at their books. A headman of ſuperior information, began immediately to treat with one of the teachers to go up the country, to inſtruct the youth of his town.

Some other applications, almoſt exactly ſimilar, are mentioned.

Coloniſts, plant land, up the river.

(3.) Three or four N. Scotians, ſettled up the river, have large plantations of rice, land having been given them gratuitouſly by the natives. One of them can read, and a native, who came down to Freetown, has been taught by him to read a little alſo.

513. The following extract from the official letter of the governor and council, ſhows the meaſures they have taken to inſtruct the natives.

Chiefs ſend children to Freetown ſchool.

(1.) You will ſee, by the directions given to the maſters of our veſſels, that we have miſſed no opportunity of inviting all the chiefs of the neighbouring coaſt, to ſend their ſons hither for education, and the invitation has been uniformly well received. A chief in the Rio Nunez has already ſent his ſon hither, and ſeveral others only wait the approaching dry ſeaſon to accept our offers. In the towns of the chiefs, in this river, with whom we are connected, there are few children fit for ſchool; theſe few are with us, and ſome of them conſiderably improve in reading. We are promiſed many more from the chiefs in the Bunch and Kokelle, the upper branches of this river, and who are to come, the next dry ſeaſon. We had anticipated your advice reſpecting a ſchool at the plantation on the Bullom ſhore, a teacher reſides there with his family, both as miſſionary and ſchoolmaſter; and the labourers already univerſally abſtain from work on Sunday.

Above 40 children.

The Directors underſtand, that there are now in the ſchools at Freetown, about 20 native children in all, many of them ſons of chiefs. Above the ſame number of native

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

children are under inſtruction, on the Bullom ſhore.

514. The following very unhappy incident, ſhows the remarkable confidence of one of the natives, in the Company.

A chief's ſon accidently killed. The father's good ſenſe and reſignation.

Soon after the war with France commenced, ſome ſhells were preparing for the acting engineer, who ordered a N. Scotian, working under him, to dry them by the fire. Having done thus, the man proceeded in the ſurveyor (or engineer's) abſence, to load them, and a ſpark having got into one of them, it burſt as he was filling it, and killed him, and the ſon of a neighbouring chief, left but a few days before for education. His father was ſent for, who, though affected, was quite reſigned. Some of his words are ſaid to be nearly theſe.—Gentlemen, he was my only ſon. I thought to have had him with you for his good; but God hath thought otherwiſe. I ſee it was an accident; I do not blame you. Be not concerned about it's happening here: had God wiſhed him to live, he would have lived. To ſhow you that I feel no ill will, I ſhall ſend you my daughter, to be educated.

515. A very ſatisfactory proof of the friendſhip of the natives to the Company, ſhall now be added.

Natives turn out to defend the colony.

Two ſtrange veſſels, ſuſpected to be French, having appeared in ſight, the ſame king or chief who cauſed the diſperſion of the firſt colony, and alſo ſet on foot the palaver which impeded the former eſtabliſhment of the preſent, ſent a party to aſſiſt the governor and council, with a meſſage that he was following with a further force, and that, if neceſſary, he would raiſe the country in the colony's defence. When the veſſels were found friendly, being French prizes, the natives departed, ſaying, Well, your friends are our friends, and your enemies our enemies.

The Directors have the ſatisfaction of adding, that the Company have hitherto been on very friendly terms with the ſurrounding natives in general.

J. H. Naimbanna's deſign in coming to England.

516. To the preceding information, reſpecting the general diſpoſition of the natives, the Directors will join ſome obſervations on the character of an African who was, for 18 months, under their care in England.—The late John Henry Naimbanna*, ſon of the former king of S. Leona, when

* I underſtand, he aſſumed the name of Henry, as a laſting remembrance of the gratitude he owed, both on his own account and that of his country, to Henry Thornton Eſq. M. P. the worthy, liberal and diſintereſted Chairman of the Court of Directors. *C. B. W.*

at

Digitized by Google

at the ſuppoſed age of 24, was induced, by the ſuggeſtions of one of the firſt black coloniſts from London, to determine on coming to England for education; intending to commit himſelf to the liberality of an Engliſh gentleman, to whom that free black owed ſome ſchooling. (ſee § 339.) He was on the point of agreeing to give three ſlaves to a ſlave-captain, for his paſſage, through the W. Indies hither, when a ſhip ſent out by the Company, to explore the country, arrived in the river. Being brought by this ſhip to England, he was placed under the care of two clergymen ſucceſſively, who have furniſhed moſt of following information concerning him.

His character.

517. A deſire of knowledge predominated in his character. He continually urged his teachers to prolong the time of inſtruction. He was grateful to every one who aſſiſted him in his ſtudies, regretted the being led into any company which interrupted them; and, when left to himſelf, he read not leſs than 8 or 10 hours of the day. Though the diſadvantages of the long neglect of his mind were apparent, he poſſeſſed very good natural ſenſe. He had alſo the faculty of diſtinguiſhing characters, and his mind, as might be expected, readily received impreſſions from thoſe of whom he had a good opinion. With few advantages of perſon, his manners were uncommonly pleaſing, courteous and even delicate, and his diſpoſition was kind and affectionate. All his feelings were quick, and his temper occaſionally warm. A degree of jealouſy alſo entered into his character. In particular, he was indiſpoſed to anſwer the queſtions of ſtrangers, reſpecting his own country; for he ſuſpected they meant to draw unfavourable compariſons between England and S. Leona. He

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

would therefore, turn the converſation by remarking, that the attainments of a country, ſo neglected as S. Leona had hitherto been, was not to be ſuppoſed worthy of converſation in G. Britain.—The following anecdote will ſhow his extreme ſenſibility, when the honour of his country was touched, and will account for his peculiar jealouſy on that head.—A perſon having been mentioned, who, he underſtood, had made a public aſſertion very degrading to the African character, he broke out into ſome vindictive language againſt this perſon. Being immediately reminded of the Chriſtian duty of forgiving his enemies, he anſwered nearly as follows,

His patriotiſm.

" If a man," ſaid he " ſhould rob me of my money, I can forgive him; if a man ſhould ſhoot at me, or try to ſtab me, I can forgive him; if a man ſhould ſell me and all my family to a ſlave-ſhip, ſo that we ſhould paſs all the reſt of our days in ſlavery in the W. Indies, I can forgive him; but (added he, riſing from his ſeat, with much emotion) if a man takes away the character of the people of my country, I never can forgive him." Being aſked why he would not forgive thoſe who took away the character of his countrymen, he replied, " If a man ſhould try to kill me, or ſhould ſell me and my family for ſlaves, he would do an injury to as many as he might kill or ſell; but if any one takes away the character of black people, that man injures black people all over the world; and, when he has once taken away their character, there is nothing which he may not do to black people ever after. That man for inſtance, will beat black men, and ſay, O, it is only a black man, why ſhould not I beat him? That man will make ſlaves of black people; for when he has taken away their character; he will ſay, O, they are only black people, why ſhould not I make them ſlaves? That man will take away all the people of Africa, if he can catch them; and, if you aſk him, But why do you take away all theſe people? he will ſay, O, they are only black people, they are not like white people, why ſhould not I take them? That is the reaſon why I cannot forgive the man who takes away the character of the people of my country."

His improvement morals, &c.

518. His improvement in England was in all reſpects conſiderable. Though, when he arrived, he knew but little Engliſh, he learnt, in the 18 months he paſſed here, to read very fluently, and to write a letter, without much difficulty.

Digitized by Google

ty. When he firſt landed, he had moſt of the peculiarities which have been aſcribed to the Africans in general. He believed in witchcraft, and had no idea of forgiving injuries. He had even endeavoured, when in Africa, "to make himſelf," as he expreſſed it, "as proud as he could." Before he left England, pride and revenge were become odious to him; his belief in witchcraft had entirely left him, and he appeared fearful reſpecting his own future conduct. His morals were pure; even at S. Leona, he had carefully abſtained from drunkenneſs, and in England he ſhewed a ſtrong abhorrence of profaneneſs and every kind of vice; as appeared, more particularly about the time of his departure, from ſeveral ſtriking facts. He paid great reſpect to the teachers of Chriſtianity, whom he wiſhed much to invite to his country; he had the utmoſt reverence for the Scriptures, with which he had become very converſant; he diſcourſed, on religious ſubjects, with much openneſs and ſimplicity; and was free from enthuſiaſm. He appeared to be improving, in all reſpects, when the news of his father, K. Naimbanna's, death, called him ſuddenly to S. Leona. The deplorable ſtate of his country, when he left it, with the change in his own diſpoſitions and views, muſt have ſuggeſted to his mind many new duties, and have excited peculiar anxiety, when he was on the eve of his return. A few days before his embarkation, he converſed much with ſome of his friends, concerning the conduct which it would be his duty to adopt at S. Leona, and it appeared that there was no perſonal ſacrifice which, if Chriſtianity required it, he was not prepared to make.——The following extract from the diſpatches of the governor and council deſcribe ſome occurrences during his paſſage, and give an account of his death.

A ſervant

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

SIERRA LEONA.

A ſervant of the Company, who was in the ſame ſhip, ſays, he left Plymouth in perfect health; but, as ſoon as he reached a warm climate, he began to feel a ſlight complaint in his throat and occaſional pains in his head. He was anxious and uneaſy, being evidently diſmayed at the proſpect of the difficulties he expected. Many were the plans which he amuſed himſelf with deviſing, for ſpreading Chriſtianity among his rude countrymen; but he ſeemed conſtantly to be tortured by the idea that ſomething would obſtruct his deſigns, and this dread ſeemed to increaſe as he approached his native ſhores. The heat alſo affected him very violently, and a fever enſued, attended with a delirium. In a lucid interval, he deſired the perſon who gave this account, to aſſiſt him in making his will, by which he entruſted his property to his brother, for the uſe of his young ſon, and, in the will, he earneſtly requeſted his brother to exert every endeavour to put an end to the ſlave-trade. When he reached S. Leona, he was inſenſible. His mother, with ſome younger branches of the family, came to the governor's houſe, where he was laid, and, after a few hours attendance on his dying bed, ſaw him breathe his laſt. The governor and council mention, that nothing could exceed his mother's diſtreſs at this event. (§ 14.)

The circumſtances of his death.

519. Thus died this amiable and enlightened African, from whoſe exertions, had he lived, the Company might have expected the moſt important ſervices. He has, however, rendered one important ſervice to his country: he has furniſhed a memorable inſtance of the effect of education on an African, and a moſt encouraging omen in favour of his benighted countrymen*.

520. Two Africans, the eldeſt about 18 years old, are now in England, receiving their education under the Company's directions: the one is the ſon of the preſent king of S. Leona, the other of a neighbouring chief. They advance regularly in their learning, and, though their tempers be different, in capacity they appear to be fully equal to Europeans of their own age.

Two ſons of chiefs now in England.

521. The Directors have now laid before the Court all the information they have to offer. They have ſtated

Som of this report.

* See § 146, and alſo in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE Z.

briefly

Digitized by Google

briefly the history of the colony, the expenses of establishing it, and the general situation of the Company's funds. They have also spoken distinctly of the climate, of the progress of cultivation, and of the opening prospects of civilization. They have had the satisfaction of showing, that many African chiefs are disposed to promote the Company's designs; that the Foulah and other nations court a connection; that some paths into the interior, which the wars had closed, have been opened; that farther discovery is attempting; and that the slave-trade is materially declining, several factories having been broken up, and many slaves, returned or withheld for want of a market, added to the productive labourers of Africa.

Advantages expected from the abolition of the slave-trade.

522. The advantages of this temporary declension of the slave-trade, naturally lead to the contemplation of the blessings which are to be expected from it's abolition. When that happy period arrives; when the peace of Africa, instead of depending, as now, on the event of the war in Europe, shall be better secured by the termination of this traffic, similar, but far more important, consequences, than those arising from it's suspension, are obviously to be expected: the chiefs, having no other means of obtaining European goods, will resort to regular trade and industry, not partially, as at present, but generally and of necessity; and the European slave-factories, hitherto the greatest impediments to civilization, the chief rivals of the Company, and the principal support of the more dissolute kings, will altogether cease.

523. When this æra, which the Directors cannot consider as distant, shall arrive, the S. Leona Company will probably acquire much additional importance, and the advantages of a British colony in Africa, may prove extremely great.

It

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SIERRA LEONA.

It will then be the duty of the Directors to embrace the opportunities which will ariſe of extending commerce, of ſuggeſting plans of cultivation to the chiefs, and of eſtabliſhing ſchools, and promoting Chriſtianity, as far as the Company's influence may reach.

Concluſion.

524. The Directors truſt that, all the circumſtances ſtated in this report being duly weighed, they ſhall not be thought to have failed eſſentially in the requiſite exertions, or to have made an improper uſe of the confidence of the proprietors. The anxiety of the Directors, and indeed their labour, have been occaſionally conſiderable; but theſe have been amply compenſated by reflections on the magnitude of their cauſe, and by the continually improving proſpect of being able, by the bleſſing of Providence, to lay ſome foundation for the future happineſs of a continent, which has hitherto derived nothing but miſery from it's intercourſe with Great Britain. (See § 376.)

---

525. To the Report (of which the foregoing, I truſt, will be found a circumſtantial and faithful abridgment,) the Directors have ſubjoined the ſubſtance of two reports of Mr. Afzelius, their botaniſt, reſpecting the natural productions of S. Leona, and which I intend to inſert in the Appendix to this work*.

526. I had Capt. Thompſon's plan of S. Leona engraved; but on conſidering how inceſſantly that gentleman, however able, was engaged, during his ſhort ſtay there, I was induced to prefer the plan publiſhed by the Directors, from the ſketch of Governor Dawes, which, however, I believe that gentlemen does not authorize as perfectly accurate: And I went to the expenſe, of altering the plate accordingly. I hope it will now be found an uſeful auxiliary to the large map, in illuſtrating the correſponding parts of this work.

---

527. When the foregoing Abridgment was nearly printed off, intelligence was received that, in Sept. laſt (1794) when the colony at S. Leona was in a very thriv-

* See Notes reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE A A.

ing

Digitized by Google

ing ſtate, a ſquadron of French men of war arrived in the river, ſeized the ſhips and ſtores, and deſtroyed all the buildings belonging to the Company. I cannot now ſtop the preſs; neither have I ſpirits to enquire into the melancholy particulars; but I intend to collect them, with all poſſible fidelity, and to give them a place in the Appendix *. In the mean time, I ſhall inſert an account of the ſtate of the colony, in May 1794, by my accurate friend Mr. Afzelius, and which, as far as I have learnt, is perfectly deſcriptive of its remarkable improvement, at a period preceding this moſt lamentable cataſtrophe. It will alſo ſerve to illuſtrate a part of the foregoing abridged report.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. A. Afzelius, to Baron Silverhjelm, Secretary to the Swediſh Embaſſy in London, dated Freetown, May 11, 1794.

Mr Afzelius's account of the colony.

"I thrive now much better at S. Leona, than I did before. Indeed not only myſelf, but the whole colony begins now to flouriſh, under our ſenſible leaders. It's advancement, during my abſence, is aſtoniſhing. We have now a regular town of at leaſt 200 houſes, ſome of them very decent; but, as yet, the ſtreets are ſomewhat obſtructed by the roots of trees. The land is cleared of wood, for ſeveral miles around the town, and in many places cultivated, which has rendered the climate ſo ſalubrious that, at this moment, there is not one ſick in the whole colony, conſiſting of 1400 perſons; and the deaths, during my abſence, did not amount to 20. The fame of the colony begins now to ſpread throughout Africa; and we had lately an embaſſy from the powerful nation of the Foulahs, whoſe king reigns over ſeveral millions of ſubjects, and whoſe land flows with milk and honey, &c. Such is the account of two of our officers who were ſent to open a friendly intercourſe with this great prince, and who were the firſt Europeans ever ſeen in Teembo, his metropolis. I am now ſo well ſeaſoned to this climate, that I am almoſt determined, if I live till next year, to undertake an expedition through the whole of this unknown part of the globe, an enterprize which no man has yet performed, but I no longer entertain any doubt that it is practicable."

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE BB.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

BULAMA.

BULAMA.

Recommended as a colony, to France, by M. de la Brue,

528. The iſland of Bulama, in the mouth of the large and beautiful Rio Grande, was recommended to the French government, as a proper ſpot for a colony, by M. de la Brue, Director General of the French Senegal Company, who viſited the Iſland, in the year 1700, and deſcribed it minutely *.

a ſecond time by M. Demanet.

529. A ſimilar propoſition was made to the French miniſtry, by the Abbé Demanet, who reſided for ſome time, on the adjacent coaſt, and has given a map of Bulama and Rio Grande, in his Nouv. Hiſt. de l'Afr. Franç. 2 vol. 12mo. publiſhed in 1767, in which he ſpeaks of that Iſland, in the following words. (Vol. I. p. 211.)

His deſcription of Bulama.

" The entrance of the Channel, between the Iſland of Bulama and the Peninſula of Biafaras, is a great league broad, (3 nautical miles, or about 3½ Engliſh miles.) On the ſhores, which are pretty high, the ſea beats with the more violence, as the flood tide is very rapid. In the entrance, viz. between the E. point of the Iſland of Formoſa, or Warang, and the W. point of Biafaras, there are only from 2 to 7 fathoms of water; ſo that to avoid the ſhelves, which contract the channel conſiderably, it will be neceſſary to keep exactly in the middle of it, till the N. E. point of Bulama has been gained, where the anchorage is excellent †. From thence to the S. E. point, the anchorage is every where good, even for large ſhips; when the tide is known, and the advantages or diſadvantages it may cauſe in ſituations, where a very ſtrong current, rendered uncertain and irregular by the violent conflict of the two oppoſite tides, makes it neceſſary to come to an anchor, in order to ſecure the ground already gained. The anchorage is excellent from the N. E. point

* Relat. de l'Afrique Occident. par Labat. Vol. V. pag. 91. & 141.

† The author ſeems here to mean the channel between the Iſland of *Arcas* and the Biafara coaſt. If ſo, his account of the ſoundings may be pretty near the truth. But it will not apply to the channel which extends *in length* from Formoſa to the W. end of Biafaras. (See the map.) The truth is, that the ſoundings, &c. on that part of the coaſt, were not then ſo minutely ſurveyed as they have been ſince; though *they are by no means, yet to be implicitly relied on.*

to

Digitized by Google

to that of the S. E., where there are from 12 to 20 fathoms of water; the ground muddy and free from rocks. There is, in ſhort, an excellent harbour, for all ſorts of veſſels. The ſhore of Bulama is level and covered with large trees, and the iſland preſents a moſt beautiful landſcape.—The land riſes almoſt imperceptibly, for about 2 leagues from the ſhore, to the foot of the high grounds in the centre of the iſland. Theſe are all covered with fine large trees, and might be eaſily cultivated.—In the numerous vallies among theſe eminences, there are many rivulets of very good water.—The S. point is a natural meadow, where the paſturage is excellent. This iſland is ten leagues in length from E. to W. 5 in breadth from N. to S. and about 30 in circumference. France may form there a conſiderable eſtabliſhment for all ſorts of commerce; for the iſland being fertile, will furniſh all the neceſſaries of life, and plenty of timber, even for large ſhips. This iſland might become a convenient emporium for European and African commodities, particularly for ſuch as might be produced on the ſpot, viz. ſugar, rum, cacao, indigo, cotton, coffee, roucou, and in general all the objects of the rich and important commerce with the W. Indian iſlands; for here all theſe commodities would grow almoſt ſpontaneouſly. The ſoil is ſurpriſingly fertile; the air here is much more ſalubrious than on any other part of this coaſt. The black inhabitants are partly Chriſtians, and partly Idolaters and Mahometans. The natives of Biſſao, who at preſent poſſeſs the iſland, having expelled the Biafaras, will willingly co-operate with the Europeans in making ſuch eſtabliſhments as it might be proper to form on this iſland. In ſhort, every thing concurs to facilitate the ſucceſs of one of the grandeſt deſigns that could be formed by any European nation*."

530. M.

* The above is a pretty good *general* deſcription of Bulama: but from his manner of mentioning the rivulets, it would ſeem that the Abbé viſited the iſland during the rains, or ſhortly after their ceſſation; and his account of its extent appears to be merely conjectural. It is true that the whole of it has never been regularly ſurveyed; but Mr. Beaver's profeſſional experience and ability, may be fairly ſuppoſed to have rendered him more competent than the Abbé, to deliver an opinion on ſuch a ſubject; eſpecially as he ſurveyed the whole eaſtern end of the iſland, and the channel which divides from the Biafara coaſt. According to Mr. Beaver, then, the iſland of Bulama is between 17 and 18 Engliſh miles in length, and from 4 to 5 in breadth, at the eaſt end. He found the lat. of it's centre to be 11° N. long. 15° W. from the meridian of London.—The land in general riſes gradually towards the centre of the iſland, to between 60 and 100 feet above the level of the ſea. The ſmall hill, on which the Blockhouſe is ſituated, riſes to nearly the ſame elevation.—The landing is remarkably eaſy and ſafe, there being no ſurge. The tide ebbs and flows regularly; and ſpring tides riſe 16 feet. See the map, plate III.—From Mr. Beaver's daily obſervations at noon, between the 20th July, 1792, and the 28th April, 1793, it appears that the medium heat was 85° of Farenheit's ſcale, in which the range of the mercury was from 74° to 96°, except that it once roſe to 100°, in a calm which intervened between the N. E. breeze in the morning, and the S. W. breeze in

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

BULAMA.

530. M. Demanet proceeds to deſcribe the articles of commerce, with which the adjacent continent abounds. He mentions further, that the Rio Grande, in the mouth of which Bulama is ſituated, is navigable above 150 leagues, and finiſhes with the following remarkable expreſſion. '*It is mortifying to ſee countries ſo fine as theſe, ſo rich and luxuriant, ſo well adapted for commerce, and ſo advantageous for the ſubſiſtence of a colony, totally abandoned and neglected.*'

a third time by Mr. Barber.

531. This beautiful iſland was in 1787, during my ſtay in France, propſed a third time to that government as proper for a colony, by a Mr. Barber, an Engliſhman then reſiding at Havre de Grace, with whom I had much converſation, and whoſe knowledge of that part of the coaſt, was at leaſt equal to that of any man I ever met with : and had not the French revolution taken place, a colonial expedition to Bulama would certainly have been undertaken, by order of the Government of that nation.

But it's colonization actually undertaken by the Engliſh.

532. But, this " little paradiſe," as Mr. Beaver calls it in his laſt diſpatches from Bulama, appears to have been reſerved for a people better acquainted with the commercial utility of ultramarine eſtabliſhments, I mean the Engliſh nation; for, in the beginning of the year 1792, above £9000 were raiſed by ſubſcription, which enabled

the afternoon, of the 19th Feb. 1793. The difference between the meridian heat and that of the morning and evening, is from 20° to 30°.—Oct. 23d 1792, hail of the ſize of a pin's head fell for two minutes; but not a cloud was to be ſeen during this phœnomenon. The mercury then ſtood at 85°. The wind was at N. E. in the morning, and at S. W. in the evening.—The rains ſet in about the end of May, or the beginning of June, and continue till Oct. or Nov. They do not fall every day; for there are many intervals of clear weather. In the firſt and laſt months, the ſhowers are neither very frequent nor very violent; but ſometimes, on the other hand, they reſemble torrents, eſpecially about the middle of the ſeaſon. — In the beginning and cloſe of the rainy ſeaſon, the air is frequently purified by thoſe ſtrong gales called *tornadoes*, which ſeldom laſt above an hour, and are eaſily foreſeen. But hurricanes, which are ſometimes ſo deſtructive in the W. Indies, are unknown in this climate.

Digitized by Google

275 perſons to ſail from London (in three ſhips) with a view to form a colony on the iſland of Bulama*.

533. Preparatory to this expedition, various papers and propoſals, ſome of them, perhaps, rather haſtily drawn up, were printed and circulated. But, as moſt of them were afterwards altered, it ſeems unneceſſary to quote them; and I ſhall therefore proceed to lay before the reader, an

Abridgment of the Report of the Inſtitution, Proceedings, Preſent State, and Future Purpoſes of the Bulama Aſſociation, as laid before a General Meeting of the Subſcribers, at the Globe Tavern, in Craven Street, on Tueſday, the 11th Dec. 1792, by

PAUL LE MESURIER, ESQ. M. P.

SIR JOHN RIGGS MILLER, BART.
JAMES KIRKPATRICK, ESQ.
MOSES XIMENES, ESQ.
DAVID SCOTT, ESQ. M. P.
GEORGE HARTWELL, ESQ.

Truſtees of the ſaid Aſſociation.

534. Towards the end of the year 1791, ſeveral gentlemen formed themſelves into a ſociety, for endeavouring to eſtabliſh a colony, on or near the coaſt of Africa, and fixed

Aſſociation, 1791.

*My ſituation in England was ſuch, at that time, as to enable me to apply my perſonal knowledge of Africa, to the benefit of this undertaking. When the ſubſcription was propoſed in Mancheſter, where I then reſided, I had the ſatisfaction to ſee my repreſentations of the nature and object of the enterprize ſo much attended to, that I believe, any reaſonable ſum might, in conſequence, have been raiſed in Lancaſhire and Yorkſhire alone, from whence many perſons came to take my opinion, before they ſubſcribed. But after about £3000 had been contributed in that quarter, I was induced by the uncertainty of the enterprize, and the delicacy with which that uncertainty inſpired me, to recommend a ceſſation of the ſubſcriptions, till the undertaking had been fairly ſet on foot. For I thought that the Mancheſter ſubſcriptions added to thoſe of London, would then be ſufficient to defray the expenſes of the firſt eſſay, eſpecially on the ſmall ſcale which appeared to me the moſt eligible; and the eventual ſucceſs of which, I thought, would not fail to bring forward more ſubſcribers to ſupport the undertaking in its maturer ſtages,

on

CHAP. XI. BULAMA.

on the iſland of Bulama, at the mouth of Rio Grande, as a place fit for their joint purpoſes of cultivation and commerce. Among other deſcriptions, oral and hiſtorical, that of the Sieur de la Brue, particularly contributed to fix their choice on Bulama *.

influenced by Le Brue's deſcription.

535. The truſtees have the ſatisfaction of informing the meeting, that they have found La Brue's deſcription tolerably accurate, upon the whole; and they think they can reaſonably join him in opinion, as to the eaſy culture of the valuable productions he enumerates, and the facility of trading with the neighbouring natives.

536. The views of thoſe concerned, having been thus directed to a particular ſpot, the next object of the gentlemen, who then conducted the buſineſs, was to deviſe the means of defraying expenſes; and, after ſeveral meetings, they reſolved to receive ſubſcriptions on the following terms, viz.

Original terms of ſubſcription.

537. (1.) That each ſubſcriber, willing to become a coloniſt, ſhould receive, as ſoon as poſſible, after the purchaſe and poſſeſſion of the territory, a grant of 500 acres for £30, payable before the embarkation, and in that proportion for fewer or more acres, as far as 2000 †.

(2.) That each non-reſident purchaſer of land, ſhould have a grant of 500 acres for £60, and in that proportion, for fewer or more acres.

(3.) That the lands of purchaſers ſhall be allotted in the ſame manner, and at the ſame time, as the lots of coloniſts; the ſcite of the town, and the town-lots to coloniſts and purchaſers, excepted.

* In the correſponding part of the Report, follows La Brue's deſcription of Bulama (publiſhed in 1700) which very much agrees with that above extracted from Demanet, publiſhed in 1767, and which I have preferred, becauſe it is much later than La Brue's; and I dare ſay, it would have been alſo preferred by the truſtees, if they had happened to meet with it. *C. B. W.*

† As it was not certain, that Bulama, in particular, could be purchaſed, it was agreed that if it could not, or if the coloniſts, after having formed a temporary ſettlement, ſhould think proper to abandon it, the engagements were to be underſtood to extend to any other ſpot, that it might be choſen by the coloniſts, on or near the coaſt of Africa; all the concerns and engagements of the purchaſers of lands, and of the coloniſts, to be thereto transferred.

(4.) That

Digitized by Google

(4.) That each purchaſer ſhall have one acre within the town, for erecting ſtores, &c*.

(5.) That all lands which ſhould not be ſubſcribed for, or granted to purchaſers, or given to yeomen†, on the day of the ſailing of the expedition, ſhould be conſidered to belong to purchaſers and original coloniſts, according to the proportions ſubſcribed for by coloniſts, or granted to purchaſers; provided ſuch purchaſers did not renounce their right, to be ſo expreſſed in their grants; and that ſuch ſurplus land ſhould not be cultivated as a joint concern, but be left till ſold or divided, ſave and except 35,000 acres of the ſaid ſurplus land, to be exempted from ſuch ſale or diviſion, to accommodate future coloniſts‡.

(6.) That every perſon, entitled to 125 acres, or upwards, ſhould have a right to obtain a grant for a coloniſt, on the reſerved land, in the proportion of 30 acres to each individual, for every 100 acres ſo ſubſcribed for by him, provided no expenſe to the colony be thereby incurred.

(7.) That every purchaſer of land be allowed to ſend out an agent to ſuperintend his intereſts, through whom he ſhall have liberty to cultivate or not, traffic or not, as he may think fit, and be legally competent to any act which a coloniſt may do; except that he be not permitted to draw goods from the public ſtore for the purchaſe of labour‖.

(8.) That no power in the colony be competent to levy any tax on the uncultivated property of abſentees, which ſhall not equally affect the property of coloniſts."

* It was afterwards agreed, that the town lots of the coloniſts ſhould be in the proportion of one-tenth of their land, provided ſuch lots exceed not 100 acres.

† To induce labourers and yeomen to embark, and become coloniſts, every married man was, at the ſame time, offered 40 acres of land for himſelf, 20 for his wife, and 10 for each child, provided ſuch grants exceeded not 100 acres, to one family; and to every unmarried yeoman, or labourer, 40 acres.

‡ The clauſe reſtricting the coloniſts from cultivating the ſurplus land, before it was allotted, was introduced to prevent the abſentee purchaſers, from becoming liable to a joint reſponſibility with the coloniſts, for any debts they might contract. In order farther to exonerate the abſentee purchaſers, an advertiſement was publiſhed in the London Gazette, &c. to the following purport, viz.

"BULAMA COLONY.

"Notice is hereby given, That the *ſubſcribing coloniſts* are alone reſponſible for articles purchaſed, and expenſes incurred by the Aſſociation, and that the purchaſers of land from the coloniſts, are not liable to any reſponſibility whatever; alſo that the ſubſcribing coloniſts do not intend to have any dealings upon credit, or any joint commercial concerns, beyond the amount of the firſt inveſtment: and all whom it may concern are deſired not to credit any perſons whatever, in the name, and on the faith of the Aſſociation."

No. 103, *Hatton Garden, Feb.* 9th. 1792. (Signed) J. HERIOT, Sec.

‖ See in the Append. Notes, &c, reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE C C. alſo § 180, 181.

538. Pre-

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

BULAMA.

£9000 subscribed, goods bought, colonists engaged, trustees appointed.

538. Previous to the publication of the preceding terms, the society's intentions were respectfully submitted to the Prime Minister *. In a few weeks, near £9000 were subscribed and paid in; and a committee of subscribers immediately bought a considerable investment of merchandize for purchasing, from the neighbouring natives, the property of Bulama, for the purposes of trade, and for the hire of labourers. The committee, at the same time, "engaged a number of yeomen and labourers to go out from England†," chartered two vessels of about 300 tuns each, and purchased a sloop of 34 tuns. On board of these were shipped an ample supply of stores, provisions, arms and ammunition, for the use of the colonists.—

H. H. Dalrymple, Esq.

John Young, Esq.	*Francis Brodie, Esq.*
Sir William Halton, Bart.	*Charles Drake, Esq.*
John King, Esq.	*John Paiba, Esq.*
Philip Beaver, Esq,	*Richard Hancorne, Esq.*
Peter Clutterbuck, Esq.	*Robert Dobbin, Esq.* and
Nicholas Bayly, Esq.	*Isaac Ximines, Esq.*

were appointed to manage the affairs of the Society abroad; and *P. Le Mesurier*, M.P. *Esq.* Lord Mayor of London, 1794,

Sir *J. R. Miller*, Bart.	*George Hartwell, Esq.*
David Scott, Esq. M. P.	and
James Kirkpatrick, Esq.	*Moses Ximenes, Esq.*

Trustees for the concern in England. The vessels finally sailed from Spithead, on the 11th of April; but having been separated, in a storm, the Calypso, after touching at Tene-

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE DD.

† See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE EE.

rife

Digitized by Google

rife and Goree, arrived firſt at Bulama, about the end of May. Mr. Dalrymple, having landed 30 men, intended to wait for the Hankey, on board of which was the inveſtment for purchaſing the iſland, and trading with the natives. In the interval, an event happened, fatal to ſome individuals, but, in it's conſequences, beneficial to the ſociety *.

Coloniſts attacked by the Canabacs.

539. The Canabacs, inhabiting a neighbouring iſland, and to whom Bulama belonged, having been prepoſſeſſed againſt the Society, landed a party on the iſland. After lurking ſome days in the woods, on the 3d of June, they took advantage of Mr. Dalrymple's abſence, who had gone with four men, to explore the iſland, and ſurpriſing the remaining coloniſts, killed five men and one woman, mortally wounded two men, and carried off four women and three children. Upon this, Mr. Dalrymple judged it prudent to draw off his men, and to proceed to the Portugueſe ſettlement on the neighbouring iſland of Biſſao, where he found the Hankey and the Beggar's Benniſon, ſafely arrived, after having touched at Tenerife and St. Jago.

Coloniſts well received by Portugueſe.

540. The Portugueſe at Biſſao received them with great kindneſs, and aſſiſted by Mr. Sylva de Cordoſa, a Portugueſe merchant, they diſpatched a ſloop to the Canabacs, for the women and children they had carried off, and who were brought back in perfect health, having been, in every reſpect, well treated †.

Priſoners well treated by Canabacs.

Tranſactions relative to the purchaſe of Bulama.

541. On the 10th of June the king of the Papels, who reſides on the iſland of Biſſao, ſent a meſſage by his brother to the ſettlers, of which the following is an explanation.

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE F F.

† See in the App. Notes, &c. reſpect. S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE G G, No 7, 15.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

BULAMA.

(1.) The King of the Papels ſent to me; he told me, he was given to underſtand, that you wanted to ſettle; but the Portugueſe would not allow you to ſettle here. But it is not as they chuſe. The King of the Papels wants to know, whether the country belongs to them? The king wiſhes much you would ſettle here, though he doth not know what terms you may have come upon. He wiſhes much you may ſettle here, though the Roman Catholics wiſh you to go elſewhere. The king wiſhes you would let him know any part you would like to pitch upon, provided you could agree, and come upon good terms, as at this time, they wrote ſome other government was here. He has ſent his cane as a proof of his fidelity and attachment. Yeſterday, don't you recollect my hailing for a boat? There were then Papels on ſhore from the king to ſettle this affair, as they ſay themſelves, that the inhabitants of Biſſao do not wiſh for any other company but themſelves; but it is as I, the King of Papels, chuſe.

K. of Papel's meſſage.

You may depend on the king's word, as he declares he is ready to take up any cauſe againſt the Portugueſe, that may hinder you from landing on any place you may wiſh to ſettle on. This is the buſineſs thoſe Papels are upon, to know if you are willing to buy any ground, from the point as far down as you pleaſe. You may rely the King of Papels will protect. If you do mean to purchaſe the ground, I will go on ſhore with you to the king's to-morrow, and ſhow you the ground.

T. BIRCHALL, INTERPRETER.

Received on Board the Hankey, the 10th of June.

Anſwer.

(2.) To this meſſage Mr. Dalrymple returned the following anſwer, viz.

"The Britiſh ſettlers, now at Biſſao, gratefully return thanks to the King of the Papels, for his hoſpitable offer of a ſettlement in his dominions; but as they are deſirous of avoiding all occaſions of offence to their friends the Portugueſe, that may tend to weaken the firm and faithful alliance that has long ſubſiſted between their reſpective ſovereigns; and, as the object of theſe ſettlers is to make an eſtabliſhment elſewhere, that cannot interfere betwixt the claims or intereſts of any European power, they beg leave reſpectfully to decline the invitation, at the ſame time profeſſing their wiſh to remain on terms of perpetual amity and alliance with the King of the Papels, and his ſubjects, and in peace and friendſhip with all men.

"Signed for myſelf and the reſt of the ſettlers, on board the ſhip Hankey,

"June 11, 1792."

"H. H. DALRYMPLE."

542. The friendly diſpoſition of the Canabacs being now aſcertained, the ſhips returned to Bulama, from whence Meſſrs.

Digitized by Google

Meſſrs. Beaver and Dobbin were ſent to Canabac, where they readily ſucceeded in purchaſing Bulama for 473 bars, agreeable to the Deed of Ceſſion; executed by the kings of that nation, of which the following is a copy, viz.

(3.) "*Deed of Ceſſion of the Iſland of Bulama, by the Kings Jalorum and Bellchore, to the Britiſh Coloniſts.*"

Conveyance of Bulama.

"Whereas certain perſons, ſubjects of the King of Great Britain, conducted by H. H. Dalrymple, J. Young, Sir William Halton, Bart. J. King, Philip Beaver, Peter Clutterbuck, Francis Brodie, Charles Drake, J. Paiba, Richard Hancorne, Robert Dobbin, Iſaac Ximenes, and Nicholas Bayley, Eſqrs. as a committee to manage their affairs, having arrived on the windward coaſt of Africa, adjacent to the river Grande; and the ſaid committee having inveſted P. Beaver and R. Dobbin, Eſqrs. two of their members, with full power to treat with, and purchaſe from, us our Iſland of Bulama: we the Kings of Canabac, being fully convinced of the pacific and juſt diſpoſition of the ſaid perſons, and of the great reciprocal benefits which will reſult from an European colony being eſtabliſhed in our neighbourhood, and being deſirous of manifeſting our friendſhip and affection to the King of Great Britain and his ſubjects; do hereby, in conſideration of four hundred and ſeventy three bars of goods by us received, for ever cede and relinquiſh to the ſaid King of Great Britain, all ſovereignty over the Iſland of Bulama, which ſovereignty our anceſtors have acquired by conqueſt, and have ever ſince maintained undiſputed in peace."

"We do further ſolemnly guarantee to the ſaid perſons, their heirs, and aſſigns, againſt all enemies whatever, the full and peaceful poſſeſſion of the ſaid iſland: and, by theſe preſents, do bind ourſelves and our ſubjects to aid and aſſiſt them againſt all their enemies whatever; and the ſame ſhall have all the force of a firm and faithful treaty of defenſive alliance between the king of Great Britain and ourſelves: and, together with the iſland aforeſaid, we do relinquiſh all claim to any future treaty, ſubſidy, or compoſition whatever."

"And of all the premiſed conditions, we, the two parties, do bind ourſelves to the mutual obſervance, in the preſence, and in the name of the Omnipotent God of truth and juſtice, and the avenger of perfidy; and we have hereunto ſet our hands, this 29th of June, 1792.

P. BEAVER.
R. DOBBIN.

his
JALORUM ⋈ KING.
Mark

his
BELLCHORE ☞ KING ‡.
Mark

‡ Captain Moore, who afterwards brought home Mr. Beaver's important diſpatches of March 16, 1793, ſigned this paper, as a witneſs.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

BULAMA.

543. It having been alſo deemed expedient to purchaſe the Iſland of Arcas, and the adjacent land on the continent, application was made for that purpoſe to the kings of Ghinala, who very readily, and in conſideration of three hundred bars paid them, ceded the ſame to His Britannic Majeſty, as appears by the deed executed by the ſaid kings, of which the following is a copy, viz.

(3.) "*Deed of Ceſſion, the King of Ghinala to the Britiſh Settlers of the Bulama Aſſociation.*

Conveyance of Great Bulama.

"Whereas certain perſons, ſubjects of the King of Great Britain, conducted by Philip Beaver, J. Munden, Charles Aberdein, and J. Reynolds, Eſqrs. as a committee to manage their affairs, having arrived upon the windward Coaſt of Africa, adjacent to the Rio Grande, and the ſaid Committee, having inveſted Mr. Philip Beaver with full power to treat with and purchaſe from us certain land adjacent to the ſaid river, we, the Kings of Ghinala, and the Rio Grande, being fully convinced of the pacific and juſt diſpoſition of the ſaid perſons, and of the great reciprocal benefits that will reſult from an European colony eſtabliſhed in our neighbourhood; and withal being deſirous of manifeſting our diſtinguiſhed friendſhip and affection for the King of Great Britain, and his ſubjects; do hereby, in conſideration of the value of three hundred bars of goods, by us this day received, for ever cede and relinquiſh to the King of Great Britain, all ſovereignty over our territories lying to the ſouthward or weſtward of a line extended from Ghinala, Weſt N. Weſt, until it reach the ſea, together with the iſland, and all other iſlands whatever, adjacent to the aforeſaid territories*; which ſovereignty our anceſtors have enjoyed from time immemorial: We do further ſolemnly guarantee to the ſaid perſons, their heirs and aſſigns, againſt all enemies whatever, the full and peaceable poſſeſſion of the ſaid territories and iſlands aforementioned; and by theſe preſents, do bind ourſelves and ſubjects to aid and aſſiſt them againſt all their enemies whatever; and the ſame ſhall have all the force of a firm and faithful treaty of alliance between the King of Great Britain and ourſelves: and, together with the territories and iſlands aforeſaid, we do relinquiſh all claim to any future tribute, ſubſidy, or compoſition whatever; and of all the premiſed conditions, we the two parties do bind ourſelves to the mutual obſervance, in the preſence of, and in the name of, the Omnipotent God of truth and juſtice, and avenger of perfidy: in witneſs whereof, we have hereunto ſet our hands this 3d day of Auguſt, in the year of our Lord, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-two.

P. BEAVER.
Wit. J. W. PABIA.

his
NIOBANA ✕ KING.
Mark

his
MATCHORE ☞ KING†.
Mark

* See the large Map at the end of this work.

† See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE H H.

544. Poſ-

Digitized by Google

544. Poſſeſſion was taken of theſe purchaſes, in His Majeſty's name, and the ſhip Hankey and the ſloop were left at Bulama, with 49 men, 13 women and 25 children, abundantly ſupplied with proviſions, ſtores, plantation tools and goods for the payment of labour.—The whole under the conduct of Philip Beaver, Eſq. a lieutenant in the royal navy.

Poſſeſſion taken in His Brit. Majeſty's name.

545. Some of the ſociety quitted the ſhip at Biſſao, and others went to America and the Weſt Indies. The reſt, dreading the rainy ſeaſon, reſolved to return to England, in the Calypſo, and firſt to proceed to S. Leona, hoping to find there, accommodation for ſome of their number, who wiſhed to return to Bulama, at the ceſſation of the rains. But, from the want of accommodation and proviſions at Sierra Leona, added to the protraction of the voyage, diſeaſe was generated on board the Calypſo, and many deaths took place, which probably would not have happened, had the ſhip returned from Bulama directly to England*.

Different deſtinations of the coloniſts.

546. Of the 275 coloniſts who embarked, 6 died on board the Calypſo and 3 on board the Hankey, in the voyage outward; 8 were killed; 13 died on the coaſt; and 42 on board the Calypſo, in the paſſage home from Sierra Leona. Some of the deaths, on the coaſt, were owing to drinking, and the reſt to fevers, contracted at Biſſao, before the purchaſe of Bulama; for we are ſo far happy, as to be able to aſſert with truth, that *not one death can be attributed to the climate of Bulama*†.

Mortality out and home.

* See § 390, and the NOTE thereon.

† See in the App. Notes, &c. reſpect. S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE G G No. 1, 9.

547. The

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

BULAMA.

Ship of war ordered to call and aſſiſt the colony.

547. The Calypſo returned on the 14th. Nov. 1792, in 9 weeks, from Sierra Leona, with between 80 and 90 of the coloniſts. And the truſtees, conſidering that, from the unparalleled length of her paſſage, the coloniſts remaining at Bulama, would probably be mortified at not hearing from England; and, being informed that a man of war would ſoon ſail for Africa, immediately applied to the Lords of the Admiralty, who were pleaſed to order Commodore Dod, of the Charon, to viſit Bulama, and to give the coloniſts every aſſiſtance conſiſtent with His Majeſty's ſervice.

Reaſons for additional ſubſcriptions.

548. The ſubſcriptions, it has been already obſerved, amounted to near £9000. The amount of the charges is about £10,000; not that there is a balance of £1000 againſt the concern; for it's effects are much more than adequate to the laſt ſum; nor would there have been any immediate call for money, ſo nearly was the expenſe of the firſt expedition eſtimated, had not the voyages of the Calypſo and the Hankey been unexpectedly protracted. But the truſtees had anticipated the want of farther ſupplies, (1.) *for ſoliciting an Act of Parliament*,—(2.) *for conveying to the ſubſcribers their lands*,—*and* (3) *for future ſupport to the colony*, and propoſed to the General Meeting,

(1.) That a ſubſcription be opened for a participation of the benefits to ariſe from the Iſlands of Bulama and Arcas*, and a part of the adjacent coaſt, at the mouth of the Rio Grande, all purchaſed by the Aſſociation; at the rate of £50 for every 200 acres, and not leſs to be ſubſcribed.

(2.) That the ſubſcriptions remain unappropriated, till a charter, or an Act of Parliament, be obtained; except a ſum adequate to the payment of the balance

* Mr. Beaver, in his letter from Bulama of the 10th Oct. 1793, ſays, "People ſhould not be taught to believe that the Iſle of Arcas is of any value; for, I believe, no water has ever yet been found upon it. Beſides it is very ſmall and marſhy, and environed with mangroves that extend a great way. The other purchaſe, I think much more valuable than people are aware of." See the Map, Plate II.

owing

Digitized by Google

owing on the firſt expedition, to the ſupply of Bulama with ſtores, and to the ſolicitation of a charter*.

549. To theſe propoſitions the General Meeting unanimouſly conſented, and a ſubſcription is now opened for £10,000, to proſecute the preſent plan.

550. In corroboration of the preceding account of the climate and ſoil of Bulama, and the probability of eſtabliſhing cultivation and commerce on and near that Iſland†, the following extracts are adduced from letters, to the truſtees‡.

From Mr. Dalrymple's, to the Truſtees, dated the 7th of November, 1792.

"At Goree, I had frequent converſations with Mr. St. Jean, ſon of a former governor, who informed me that his father had often viſited Bulama, and that he, (governor St. Jean) conſidered it as the moſt eligible place, on the coaſt of Africa, for a colony; and, in conſequence of that opinion, had endeavoured to prevail on the French Senegal company to purchaſe that iſland. As at the time I quitted Bulama, none of us had ſailed round it, I cannot exactly aſcertain it's dimenſions; but I ſuppoſe it to be about 25 miles in length, and 20 in breadth. The middle part of it conſiſts of ſmall hills, none of which are more than 100 feet above the ſea. Theſe hills are covered with very large trees, with little underwood; and yams, edoes, and other tropical roots, grow in great abundance, under the ſhade.

"The north end of the iſland is one continued Savannah, covered with long graſs, with a few trees interſperſed, but without any rocks or ſtones. The ſoil of this plain is deep and rich; and in order to cultivate it, it is only neceſſary to ſet

* The diſparity between theſe terms, and the original ones, will not, it is preſumed, be thought greater than is juſtified by the difference of circumſtances. Originally, even the ſmalleſt ſucceſs was extremely doubtful. It is now certain, that a valuable territory has been fairly purchaſed, and taken poſſeſſion of. In compenſation of the advanced price, the right to a lot in or near the town, the right of ſending a ſettler to have 30 acres *gratis*, and a ſhare in the neat profits of lands to be ſold in future —in ſhort, all the collateral advantages of the firſt purchaſers, are underſtood to extend equally to new ſubſcribers, except indeed a priority of allotment of land in favour of the former, which from ſome ſteps already taken, and engagements made, is become unavoidable.—The land purchaſed appears to be at leaſt 400,000 acres, of which about 110,000 are ſubſcribed for.

† The Iſland of Bulama is one in an Archipelago, known by the name of the Biſſaos, or Biſſagos, called by the ancients the Heſperides. Few of theſe fine iſlands are inhabited at preſent, owing to the ravages made by the ſlave-trade in their population.

‡ I have taken the liberty ſomewhat to abridge the language of theſe extracts, carefully retaining the ſenſe, and every material circumſtance. *C. B. W.*

fire

CHAP. XI.

BULAMA.

fire to the graſs, after which the plough may be immediately uſed. Horſes are cheap; the beſt may be purchaſed at Goree for 1l. 10s. a head; and cattle, in any number, may be had, within a few miles of Bulama, at 10 or 12s. a head. Hence cultivation might be carried on at a ſmall expence; eſpecially as the Papels and Biafaras may be hired for a great bar (about 5 or 6s.) per month.

"On the ſouth-eaſt end of the iſland, there is one of the fineſt bays in the world. The land is here covered with wood, and there are great varieties of excellent timber for cabinet work and furniture, alſo dying woods, &c. There are buffaloes and elephants on the iſland, and the ſeas abound with fiſh."

From a Letter to the Truſtees, dated Bulama, 18th July, 1792, and ſigned by Meſſrs. Dalrymple, Young, King, Paiba, Brodie, Drake, Munden, Reynolds, Hancorne, Ximenes, Beaver, Aberdein, and Clutterbuck.

"We find the air remarkably ſalubrious, and the climate of the coaſt, as far as we have been, beyond expectation temperate: the channel, called the Biſſaos entrance, is ſpacious and ſafe: the harbour in which we live is, in the opinion of our nautical people, the beſt they ever ſaw, and capable of containing the whole Britiſh navy: the channel to it being ſufficient for the largeſt ſhips.

"The people have been employed in fiſhing with the ſeines. This has proved a ſucceſsful and ſalubrious labour*. This ſituation is admirably calculated both for inland and maritime commerce. The ſhore, riſing gradually from the ſtrand, extends to a plain that affords a commodious ſcite for a town. There is freſh water in the vicinity; whether ſupplied by the rains or the ſprings, remains to be aſcertained†: but from the concurrent teſtimony of thoſe who have penetrated into the iſland, it contains many ſtreams. The iſland appears to be between 5 and 6 leagues in length, and as much in the broadeſt part. The ſoil, as far as we have ſeen, is a red loam, and ſo luxuriant, that the garden ſeeds we ſowed came up vigorouſly in two days. The iſland, we learn from the gentlemen who have explored it, has extenſive ſavannahs of a deep black mould. The animals we have ſeen are buffaloes, deer, antelopes, wild hogs, monkies, and tigers. We have alſo ſeen frequent and palpable veſtiges of elephants, and have found the ſkeleton of one. The Bijugas of Canabac often come over to Bulama, to hunt and cultivate, but there are no inhabitants ſettled on it.

"Had we not been unavoidably interrupted, we are perſuaded that we ſhould have been ſheltered, and have had our grounds prepared before the rains ſet in.

* They took at one haul of the ſeine, as much as ſupplied the whole ſettlement (three hundred in number, including the ſhips companies) with a good and hearty meal.

† An entry is made in the public journal of the colony on the 29th of July, that many ſprings were on that day diſcovered, within the diſtance of a mile from the ſhip.

We

Digitized by Google

We ſhould have laboured with that cheerfulneſs which the alluring proſpect of the land is calculated to inſpire. But few enterprizes ſucceed in all their extent, and though ours has failed in part, we have abundant reaſon to think, that if the colony be ſeaſonably ſupported, there will be ſecured to it a rapid and permanent eſtabliſhment."

From Meſſrs. Beaver, Munden, Aberdein, and Reynolds, to the Truſtees, dated Bulama, 7th Auguſt, 1792.

"WE have now to enter on a ſubject of great importance to all concerned. Having learned that there might be a poſſibility of purchaſing the oppoſite iſland belonging to the kings of Ghinala, (a diſtrict of the Biafara country,) who were formerly the ſovereigns of Bulama, but driven from it by their more warlike neighbours the Canabacs, it was thought adviſeable that Mr. Beaver ſhould proceed with the ſloop up the Rio Grande, to negociate the buſineſs, which he accompliſhed in a manner far beyond our moſt ſanguine expectations. The original Treaty, No. IV. accompanies this (§ 543); and we beg to refer you to the following copy of his letter from Ghinala, for a further explanation.

'*Gentlemen*,

'FINDING the ſhore, called the Greater Bulama, not an iſland, it was my intention to return without purchaſing it*: but, at my firſt interview with the two kings of this country, they claimed Bulama, having, as they ſaid, inherited it from their anceſtors. As I know there is ſome juſtice in their claim, I thought it abſolutely neceſſary to ſtop and ſatisfy them, and I expect them on board every minute, to talk the palaver.

'Now conceiving it to be a favourable opportunity, when purchaſing Bulama, to purchaſe alſo the adjacent ſhore, which I think may be done for very little more value, I ſhall endeavour to buy all the uninhabited land which lies between them and us; that is, all the territory ſouth of a line drawn from this place to Goly, which territory you will ſee is bounded to the E. by Ghinala creek, to the S. by the Rio Grande, and to the W. by a branch of the ſea, which ſeparates it from Biſſao*. The ſides, bounded by Ghinala Creek and the Rio Grande, are elevated and cleared in many places, forming a chain of fine bays and creeks, with deep water, through their whole extent. Should our colony flouriſh, which I have no reaſon to doubt, this will be found an invaluable acquiſition, as there is no one part of its banks where a town may not be built, with every advantage for commerce. I hope to leave this place in two days, and to bring with me refreſhments for the ſick.

'I am, Gentlemen, your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

'P. BEAVER.'

Ghinala, 2d Aug. 1792.
To the Gentlemen of the Committe, on board the Hankey, Bulama.

* See the large Map.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

BULAMA.

"We congratulate you, Gentlemen, and all concerned, on the poſſeſſion of a country equally fertile, and much larger than Bulama, together with the ceſſion of that iſland from the Biafaras, as well as the Canabacs, the only nation that could claim it, for a ſum not exceeding 95l. ſterling.—The rains have not yet proved ſo terrible, as we were taught to believe; and our ſick liſt has been owing rather to the imprudence of individuals, than to the climate. Every opportunity has been embraced of procuring freſh proviſions, of which the colony ſtood much in need; for, though the iſland abounds with buffaloes and deer, we are too few, and too buſy, (in planting and building) to ſend parties to kill them, and Mr. Beaver will ſail for Biſſao to-morrow, to contract with Mr. Cordoza, for a regular ſupply.

"P. S. We conceive that, (if neceſſary,) a large ſum may be raiſed by the newly purchaſed land, but we wiſh it may not be ſold under forty ſhillings an acre."

Extract of a Letter from Mr. George Fielder, to Colonel Kirkpatrick.

"THE iſland is well wooded and watered round the coaſts, and the inland parts entirely clear, except the ſmall diviſions of trees, which form the exact appearance of fields, and their fences in England. It abounds with buffaloes, elephants, deer, Guinea fowls, pigeons, &c. and, on the whole, ſeveral gentlemen, well acquainted with the Weſt-Indies, judge it ſuperior to any of the Weſt-India iſlands. I have enjoyed uninterrupted health ſince I left England.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"GEORGE FIELDER."

Extract of another Letter of Mr. Fielder's, dated S.E. End of Bulama, July 3d, 1792.

"SOME of us ſurveyed part of the iſland, which we found covered with wood all round, and for about two miles inward; but within the woods is open land, covered with high graſs, and divided into ſmall fields by narrow ridges of high trees, like hedges in England. The ſoil is a rich black mould, ſeveral feet deep, and capable of producing any thing; the woods abound with Guinea fowls, doves, and other ſmall birds; alſo with elephants, and the Aſiatic buffalo; and are interſperſed with ſmall ſprings of fine water; in ſhort, Mr. Aberdein, who has lived in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, ſays it is the fineſt iſland he ever ſaw, and that it is ſuperior in ſoil and water to any of the Weſt India iſlands.

"I have lived principally on the fruits, of which there are abundance of a very fine flavour, have worked hard, and never was better in my life.—My conſtitution perfectly agrees with the climate, having undergone as much fatigue as any; and though the rainy ſeaſon has ſet in theſe three weeks, I am yet as well as ever I was in England: and my hopes are ſanguine of our ſucceſs, from the excellence of the ſoil

Digitized by Google

ſoil and water; there being ſeveral thouſand acres perfectly clear, and partly cultivated by the Biſagoas.—There are on the coaſt people called Grumettas, who work for the Portugueſe, and other Europeans, at the rate of 6s. 8d. a month in goods.—We bought oxen of his people (the Papels) at the rate of about one Guinea each in goods, and many cheaper."

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Francis Donnelly, to James Mangles, Eſquire, dated Eaſt Harbour of Bulama, 18th July, 1792.

"MANY of the Subſcribers return to Europe to diſpatch more ſhips, and to obtain a charter.—Some of the interior part of the iſland is a clear and beautiful paſturage, where there has been millet, and other grain cultivated, about two thouſand acres in one ſpot, and many more Savannahs, equally good; ſuppoſed 40,000 acres of excellent clear land. The appearance of the iſland is really beautiful beyond deſcription, with woods of valuable timber, plants, and fruits of different ſorts; wild yams, and caſada in abundance: little difficulty will be found in clearing the wood lands. It is worthy remark, that no brambles, &c. annoy us in going through the woods; the land could be ploughed with facility, there not being any ſtones. In ſhort, every appearance inſpires the hope of our being able (by proper exertions) to eſtabliſh an advantageous ſettlement here. We hope moſt ſincerely, that the ſtricteſt attention may be paid to the character and abilities of the tradeſmen and labourers next ſent out; we find that the lands can be cultivated with eaſe and ſafety by European labourers.—Our proviſions come on apace. It is expected the rains will continue till September.—The climate is pleaſant, not intenſely hot any time of the day; the morning and evening I think as moderate as the climate of England. My health is perfectly re-eſtabliſhed; and the voyage and the climate agree very well with my conſtitution."

An Abridgment of the Report, which the Truſtees of the Bulama Aſſociation intend to lay before the next General Meeting of the Subſcribers, and with a M. S. Copy of which I have been favoured.

551. The Truſtees of the Bulama Aſſociation, purſuant to the directions of the General Meeting at the Manſion-houſe, June 25th, 1794, proceed to lay before the members, the

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

BULAMA.

transactions at Bulama, as stated by Mr. Philip Beaver in his letters, and since confirmed by him in person *.

The Hankey leaves Mr. Beaver with only 20 men.

552. From the 2d Aug. 1792, to which the first report brings down the proceedings at Bulama, nothing material occurred there, till the 22d Nov. following, when the ship Hankey sailed from thence, leaving Mr. Beaver as chief of the colony, with about 20 men (including the crew of the sloop Beggar's Bennison) 4 women and 4 children.

Bijugas meditate an attack.

553. Immediately on the Hankey's departure, it was reported, that the Bijugas meditated an attack. As the rumour was not without foundation, we cannot wonder at it's casting a damp on the spirits of the colonists; but it is mortifying to add, that even the heroic example of Mr. Beaver, was ineffectual in recovering them from this panic.

---

* "BULAMA ASSOCIATION,

"At a general meeting of the subscribers to this Association, convened by public advertisement, at the Mansion-house, London, the 25th June, 1794,

The Right Honourable Paul Le Mesurier, Esq. M. P. Lord Mayor, in the Chair.

"*Resolved unanimously*,

"That the thanks of this Meeting be given to Philip Beaver, Esq. Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, late chief of the settlement on the island of Bulama, for the ability, zeal, activity, and perseverance, with which, under many difficulties, he conducted the affairs of that settlement, and for his constant attention to the interests of the Association; and to assure Mr. Beaver that the members of this Association will ever hold his services in grateful remembrance."

"That a gold medal be presented to Mr. Beaver, expressive of the sense entertained by the Association, of his very meritorious services."

"That the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. John Hood, for the spirit and resolution with which he supported Mr. Beaver, during the whole of his stay at Bulama, and that he be assured the Association will ever gratefully remember his services."

"That these resolutions be fairly transcribed, signed by the Chairman, and respectively delivered to Mr. Beaver and Mr. Hood, and that they be published in some of the daily papers."

A true Extract from the Minutes.

I. K. MALLESON, *Secretary*.

554. Mr.

Digitized by Google

554. Mr. Beaver's firſt object was to give ſecurity to the people, by compleating the block-houſe, begun before the Hankey ſailed. The ſtrong hold formed a quadrangle of 116 feet by 115, and contained two ſtore-houſes 53 feet by 14 each, a governor's houſe, and ſmall houſes ſufficient for a conſiderable number of people. Mr. Beaver, with the help of two, and ſometimes three, coloniſts, compleated the logging, by the 28th Nov. There were four gates into the quadrangle, one on each ſide, ſecured by Tambours; and as the logging, though muſquet proof, was but 6 feet high, Mr. Beaver began to board the upper 6 feet of the outer wall, which, with the ſame aſſiſtance, he finiſhed on the 21ſt Dec. (See plate IV.)

Block-houſe, &c. erected.

555. At this time, a general deſpondency prevailed, and ſuch was the ſickneſs, that, on the 30th Nov. every man except Mr. Beaver, and every woman and child, was ill. (See § 84, 86, 91.) From the 1ſt Dec. to the 21ſt, there died 9 men, 3 women, and 1 child, being nearly half of the colony.

General deſpondency and ſickneſs.

556. To add to this calamity, Bellchore, one of the kings of Canabac, remarkable for his exploits and his treachery, having heard of the departure of the Hankey, loſt no time in viſiting the colony. On the morning of the 5th Dec. he was ſeen coming round the point, with two canoes. Mr. Beaver immediately beat to arms, ſaluted him, and loaded the great guns with grape-ſhot. By this time, Bellchore had landed, and marched up in battle array, at the head of 32 well appointed men, to within 40 yards of the eaſt gate, where he halted. Mr. Beaver's whole force then conſiſted of only 4 coloniſts, whom he could not call well, and 7 grumettas. Having placed two centinels at each gate, with orders to kill the firſt man who ſhould attempt to enter by force, Mr. Beaver went out to meet Bellchore, who knew and

Suſpicious viſit of the Canabacs.

CHAP. XI. BULAMA.

and embraced him very cordially. As the only defence of the place was a cannon covering each gate, of which the Bijugas were much afraid, Mr. Beaver informed Bellchore that he never admitted any one into the ſquare; but that he would give up to his people the grumettas' hut, which were under a large tree, and that he himſelf would live with him in his tent, which was pitched a little way without the gate. Appearing contented, after he had dined with Mr. Beaver, he begged to be admitted into the block-houſe, in which he was gratified, and then returned to his own people. A grumetta ſoon after reported to Mr. Beaver, that he heard Bellchore ſay to his men, That moſt of the white men were dead, that thoſe living were all ſick, except the captain, and that they were his people whenever he pleaſed; that he put them there, and whenever he choſe could take them away; adding that *they were his chickens*, an expreſſion which Bellchore applies to the Biafaras, to ſignify the eaſe with which he takes them.

which alarms and haraſſes the coloniſts.

557. This alarming language induced Mr. Beaver to divide his ſmall force into two watches, 2 coloniſts and 3 grumettas in each. One watch was commanded by himſelf, and the other by Johnſtone, a grumetta; for not one of the coloniſts was well enough to execute the order with vigour. Mr. Beaver took other precautions, and, reſolving to periſh rather than yield, he took out the heads of two barrels of powder, and kept a match burning between them all night, ſignifying to the coloniſts, that there was no alternative between preſerving the place, or blowing up himſelf and them. Only one of the ſloop's crew then remained, and he was on board, with orders to fire into the huts, if he ſhould hear the report of two muſquets. The night paſſed quietly; but two of the people were much worſe in the morning, from the

the cold dews and the fatigue of watching; and two of the grumettas, ſtill leſs able than the whites, to bear ſuch hardſhips, were taken ill.

Mr. Beaver gets rid of them.

558. Mr. Beaver, ſeeing his force thus diminiſh, intimated to Bellchore, in the morning, that "there was much work to do; that the people would not attend to it while his men were on the iſland; that he would be happy, if he would ſtay with him, and ſend his men away." Bellchore, pauſing, replied, "My ſon has reaſon: I ſee that you have a great deal to do, and we are in your way—we will depart." Mr. Beaver made him ſome handſome preſents, and he quitted the iſland an hour before dark. Bellchore undoubtedly came to act with hoſtility or peace, according to the weakneſs or ſtrength he might obſerve; and it muſt be attributed ſolely to the preſence of mind, firmneſs and vigilance of Mr. Beaver, that this alarming viſit terminated ſo happily.

The colony reduced to extreme weakneſs.

559. He was employed in putting the place in a ſtate of defence, till the 11th Dec. when the grumettas, dreading another viſit from the Bijugas, determined to leave the colony. Mr. Beaver told them, that every man in the iſland was free to go where he pleaſed; that they had voluntarily come to work for him, and that he would not detain them a minute againſt their inclination; adding, that though he wanted a few grumettas, if they did not like their ſituation, they might depart in the firſt boat. Accordingly, a canoe arriving on the 14th, they were paid their wages, and all went away, except Johnſtone and another grumetta, who remained to aſſiſt in navigating the pinnace to Biſſao, in queſt of more men. Mr. Beaver alſo permitted Harriſon, one of the coloniſts, to depart in the pinnace, agreeably to his maxim, "never to aſk a man to ſtay in the iſland, who wiſhed

CHAP. XI.

BULAMA.

wiſhed to leave it."* When the pinnace left Bulama, there remained with Mr. Beaver *only one man*, fit for duty. They ſlept in the eaſt gate-way, having the ſick, 7 in number, in the adjoining birth, to be ready to act in a body, in caſe of an emergency. In this critical ſituation, hourly expecting another viſit from the Bijugas, they remained till the 21ſt, when a Biſſao canoe arrived with five grumettas, "a cargo," (as Mr. Beaver calls it) "more valuable than gold." The whole colony was then ſcarcely able to dig a grave. The grumettas were immediately ſet to perform that duty, for two ſubſcribers who had died in the morning. The loſs of one of them, Mr. Aberdein, was ſeverely felt. Of that gentleman, Mr. Beaver writes thus: "In him the Aſſociation loſt one of it's beſt members, the king loſt a good ſubject, the weak loſt an advocate, ſociety loſt an ornament, and I loſt a friend. He was unfortunate in this world: may he be happy in the next."

Another viſit from the Canabacs.

560. On the 27th, Johnſtone returned in the pinnace, with 18 grumettas, 3 women and 2 children, among whom were all who had before left the colony, except one. This proved to be a very ſeaſonable reinforcement; for, on the ſecond day after, two Bijuga canoes arrived, with two ſons of Jalorum, the other king of Canabac, and about 40 men. Mr. Beaver ſaluted them, kept under arms, and giving the men the outſide huts, as when Bellchore was there, kept Jalorum's ſons with him. In the middle of the next night, they departed, owing to one of the men having, in diſcharg-

* "On the contrary," adds Mr. B. "when the Hankey left us, I adviſed them all to go home; for ſo many lazy and cowardly people were never, before, I believe, collected together, in ſo ſmall a number."—See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE GG. No. 5, 8, 16.

ing

Digitized by Google

ing his piece, accidentally lodged a ball in the foot of another.

561. Till Jan. 1ſt, 1793, the colony was employed in finiſhing the upper part of the outer wall of the block-houſe, in logging the tambours, and in making plaiſter for the logging. On this day, they began to ſet up the inner poſts for the houſes, on the north ſide, and to dig up the roots of the trees, cut down during the rains. Employment.

562. Jan. 3d, a cutter arrived from S. Leona, bound to Biſſao, for ſtock; and the maſter reporting that ſalted, as well as freſh, proviſions, were wanted at that colony, Mr. Beaver ſent them 10 barrels of pork, and 6 tierces of beef, promiſing 5 bullocks, if a ſufficient number could not be procured at Biſſao *. Mr. Beaver aſſiſts S. Leona with proviſions.

563. Jan. 4th, Mr. Beaver was informed, by a Biſſao canoe, that a ſhip bound to Bulama, with a number of coloniſts on board, had got on ſome ſhoals between that iſland and Arcas, and wanted a pilot. He therefore went, in the two-oared boat, to conduct her in, leaving the block-houſe with a ſtrong band of grumettas, and ſtrict injunctions to Mr. Hood, the only ſurviving ſubſcriber, to preſerve good order and a ſtrict watch. On the 8th, he found the ſhip, which was the Scorpion ſloop of war, having orders from the admiralty, to give every poſſible aſſiſtance at Bulama, and to report to them the ſtate of the colony. She had not been in any danger, but had only got into the wrong channel, and the captain, not thinking it prudent to proceed, had, ſince Mr. Beaver's leaving the block-houſe, ſent his boat thither, for the neceſſary information, and which returned an hour before he got on board. Man of war arrives in the offing.

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE G G. No. 2, 12.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

BULAMA.

564. Had not Mr. Beaver joined the Scorpion when he did, Capt. Ferris would immediately have returned to his commodore, at C. Roxo. Mr. Beaver's viſit was therefore fortunate, as it prevented the captain from returning without viſiting Bulama, when he might have ſaid, and very properly, that there was not water for large ſhips. His miſtake was owing to a very bad chart. Mr. Beaver obſerves, that "the charts are all erroneous; but the one publiſhed by Sayer, in Fleet ſtreet, with draughts and obſervations by Woodville, is the beſt, and it is ſufficient for the purpoſes of navigation *."

Bad charts miſlead the man of war.

565. The officer from the Scorpion, ſaid that, at daylight, when he landed at the block-houſe, he ſaw 12 canoes cloſe to the S. W. point of the harbour, and that they immediately retired to the other ſide. This intelligence made Mr. Beaver very uneaſy, as he had never ſeen above two canoes there, and that very ſeldom. He was indeed convinced, that they were Bijuga canoes, and on a hoſtile errand. But perverſe winds prevented his return till the 10th, when the Scorpion anchored before the block-houſe, having, the preceding day, ſpoke with an Engliſh merchantman, commanded by Mr. Moore, who piloted the expedi-

Formidable viſit of the Bijugas.

* At this place, in the original Report, the Truſtees have been pleaſed to introduce a note, expreſſing their approbation of the large map at the end of this work, as well as of the author's general exertions in the cauſe of the Africans. Were he inſenſible of the kind attention paid to him, in this inſtance, he would be unworthy of it. He certainly has ſpared no pains or expenſe, to render his map the beſt, upon the whole, hitherto publiſhed. Yet he would by no means be underſtood to offer it to the public, as incapable of improvement, being ſenſible how much remains to be done, before our geographical and nautical knowledge of that coaſt is compleat. See the remarks on the map itſelf.

tion

Digitized by Google

tion, when Bulama was purchaſed. He was bound to Biſſao, and ſaid he ſhould, in three weeks at fartheſt, ſail for England. Mr. Hood corroborated the account of the Scorpion's officer; and ſaid that they thought the block-houſe in great danger, and had been under arms ever ſince the 5th.

Capt. of man of war muſters the colony. His kindneſs.

566. On the 11th, the fort ſaluted the Scorpion, which being returned, Capt. Ferris came on ſhore to muſter, and receive a ſtate of, the colony. This was the firſt holiday the people had enjoyed on the iſland. On the 12th, the Scorpion ſailed, after an interchange of the kindeſt offices between Capt. Ferris and all his officers, and Mr. Beaver and the coloniſts. Unfortunately, Mr. Beaver did not think of writing by the Scorpion, which, in her way home, was to call in the W. Indies. He depended on Moore bringing his diſpatches directly to England; but he alſo, ultimately reſolved to take the ſame circuitous route.

Bijugas 150 ſtrong. Cauſe of their retreat.

567. Jan. 17th, Mr. Beaver turned away, and ſent to Biſſao, 7 grumettas, and the boat brought back 9, who confirmed the ſuſpicions reſpecting the errand of the Bijugas on the 5th. There were at leaſt 150 of them, in 12 canoes, 7 from the Iſland of Warang, or Formoſa, and 5 from the Iſland of Canabac, all commanded by Bellchore who, that night landed his men, and at 8 o'clock, came ſo near the block-houſe as to diſtinguiſh the words of the grumettas, who were all at play in the ſquare, and luckily making much noiſe. Bellchore then halted and ſaid, "I hear too many tongues; beſides they all ſpeak Portugueſe, and if we attack them, that will bring on a palaver with that nation and the Papels." He alſo knew that there was an Engliſh ſhip at the back of the iſland, and had twice heard

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

BULAMA.

her evening gun. While he hesitated, by good Providence, the Scorpion's boat came into the harbour, and fired two musquets, which were answered both by the cutter and the block-house. Bellchore, thinking that he was discovered, and that these were concerted signals, thought it prudent to decamp; and thus ended the third expedition, which, in six weeks after the departure of the Hankey, the Bijugas had made to Bulama. They twice afterwards visited the island; but retired peaceably, owing doubtless to their being discouraged by their three former failures, and to the state of vigilant preparation in which they found the colony.

568. By the 3d of Feb. 1793, the block-house was compleatly plaistered, and on the 26th the gates were finished. Since Sept. the clearing of the land had been suspended. But, from Jan. to March, the grumettas were chiefly employed in that labour. By that time, they had cleared 50 acres, by which is meant, the cutting down, and burning the branches of all the trees, except the very large ones, leaving the roots in the ground. But 4 acres round the block-house were compleatly cleared, and the roots taken up. This spot Mr. Beaver intended to *plough* (see § 132 *et seq.* 499) and plant with yams, at the beginning of the rains*. About this time, he had finished the tambours, and erected a tower over each gate, to cover the tambours, and to flank the block-house. (See plate IV.)

Land cleared and ready for ploughing.

569. Till Sunday, Feb. 10th, self-preservation had obliged the colonists to work on the Sabbath; but, from that time, they discontinued that irregularity; and Mr. Beaver, on those days, read prayers to the colonists, and in the evening, taught them the use of artillery and small arms.

Sunday first observed, Feb. 10th, 1793.

* See in the App. Notes, &c. respect. S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE G G, No. 3.

570. Feb.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

BULAMA.

570. Feb. 17th, the Nancy, Capt. Moore arrived, with a ſchooner he had taken from under the Portugueſe fort at Biſſao; and complaining of ill uſage, Mr. Beaver ſent his boat to that place, with a letter to the Governor, whoſe anſwer convinced him that he had been impoſed on. Moore returning to Biſſao, ſettled his affairs very amicably, and ſent his boat to Bulama, when he was ready to ſail for the W. Indies. In his veſſel, Mr. Beaver procured a paſſage for two labourers *, who wiſhed to leave the iſland, alſo for the widow of another, and for a girl, the only ſurviving females. Mr. Beaver wrote by Moore very fully on all the particulars before ſtated, and incloſed a variety of papers. But though Moore had a very good paſſage to the W. Indies, and thence to Liverpool, he did not ſend the truſtees theſe important diſpatches. What could be his motives, or who his adviſers, to this act, the Truſtees ſhall not ſay; but certainly his ſuppreſſing this letter has kept them in abſolute ignorance of the ſtate of affairs at Bulama, and thus has prevented them from taking meaſures which might have preſerved the colony †.

Capt. Moore quarrels with the Portug. at Biſſao; and detains Mr. B's diſpatches which ruins the colony.

571. The letter juſt mentioned was dated the 16th of March, when there were 5 men and 2 boys, with 20 grumettas on ſhore at Bulama, and 3 men on board the ſloop.

* Mr. B. in his letter ſeems to call them *labourers* ironically; for he immediately adds. "They are both indolent, worthleſs people, and have not done a day's work ſince they landed. I conceive their land is forfeit, and have told them ſo." —See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE G G, No. 5, 8.

† The Truſtees did not receive the letter mentioned in the text, till Sept. 1794, above 3 months after Mr. Beaver himſelf arrived in England, and conſequently long after the evacuation of Bulama was publicly known! *C. B. W.*

Mr.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. BULAMA.

Mr. Beaver thus concludes that letter, "If you ever give a thought to this iſland, you muſt perceive that, if we are to be ſuccoured, it muſt be ſoon. I am juſt as liable to death as any other man, and the moment I die, the colony is loſt. I have had ſerious converſation on that head, two or three times ſince the departure of the Hankey; and every man is determined to go, as ſoon as I may be in the ground. The grumettas too have always ſaid the ſame; and, without them, our people, even if they were inclined, could not keep the place. Therefore, as you prize this iſland, ſend out a ſufficient number, at leaſt to keep it†."

Harmony between the colony and it's neighbours.

572. During Mr. Beaver's ſtay at Bulama, the moſt perfect harmony ſubſiſted between the colony and the Portugueſe at Biſſao. Reciprocal good offices were interchanged; and the colonies conducted themſelves as became the ſubjects of two allied monarchs. Indeed no miſunderſtanding took place between the coloniſts and any other ſet of men; but Europeans, Americans and natives were all received in ſtrict amity and confidence (except the Bijugas.) It is pleaſing alſo to reflect, that no perſon was put to death; but that all who died fell by intemperance or diſeaſe.

573. Having thus ſtated the proceedings at Bulama, to the 16th March, 1793, it is neceſſary to remind the Aſſociation, that, about that time, the ſubſcribers here had ſeveral meetings, to conſider what could be done for their friends at Bulama, for whoſe ſafety, the want of information had excited ſerious apprehenſion. About the ſame time, the

† Here Mr. B. adds, "But, for Heaven's ſake, keep from us ſuch ſubſcribers and ſuch labourers as the firſt embarkation brought out."

Hankey,

Digitized by Google

Hankey, Capt. Cox, arriving from Grenada, with ſugar, cotton, &c. an extravagant, unfounded and malicious clamour was raiſed, that this ſhip had brought the plague from Bulama to Grenada, and thence to England. It might eaſily have been aſcertained, that the mortality at Grenada, while the Hankey was there, was owing to one of thoſe diſorders to which the W. Indian iſlands are unfortunately ſubject. But, ſo flaming was the zeal of the Grenadians againſt the Abolition of the Slave-trade, and the *free* colony at Bulama, that they employed every illiberal art to prevent Capt. Cox from getting a cargo at Grenada. But their malice did not end here: they ſent home repreſentations, or rather miſrepreſentations, reſpecting his ſhip, which were ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported by the W. Indians, that government thought it proper to put the Hankey under quarantine, and to have her cargo unloaded and examined, before it was brought up the river. *Every examination proved the falſehood and malignity of the report.* Yet ſeveral months elapſed before the owners could unload their ſhip. Lightermen, wharfingers and lumpers, all had caught the Weſt India fever: all believed, or pretended to believe, the impoſture. Grave citizens and official men were not aſhamed to countenance the wild opinion. Magiſtrates and members of the corporation of London were applied to, for their influence with Government, to avert the impending peſtilence. And, ſo ſucceſsfully was the deception managed, that, on the famous 9th of November, a citizen of the greateſt reſpectability, then maſter of one of the firſt city companies, forgetting that his ſole province on that day was to diſpenſe mirth and good cheer, ſent to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, then on board the city barge, a repreſentation of

Hankey falſely reported to have brought the plague from Bulama,

and put under quarantine

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. BULAMA.

of the alarming conſequences that would enſue, if this terrible ſhip and her cargo were not deſtroyed! The *alarmiſts* gravely aſſerted, that *all the Hankey's crew had died, and that the captain was dying*. It is true, that Capt. Cox had almoſt died with grief, from the report cruelly circulated reſpecting his ſhip. But it is equally certain, that *not one of the crew had died*, either on the paſſage from Grenada, or in the river *. The calumniators, however, had in view another object than truth; and their ſucceſs was ſuch as might gratify the moſt malignant ſpirits; for they had nearly cauſed the death of a man who never offended them, materially hurt the property of the ſhip's owners, and, what muſt have been ſtill more pleaſing to *them*, greatly injured the Bulama Aſſociation.

This calumny prevents application for a charter.

574. The prejudices thus induſtriouſly raiſed againſt the colony at Bulama, and which, from the want of information, it was impoſſible to repel, deprived the Truſtees of all hopes of ſucceſs in *then* applying for a charter. They preferred waiting till the torrent of malicious, or ignorant, clamour had ſpent itſelf, and till time and undoubted intelligence ſhould confirm or contradict, the reports. The prejudices againſt Bulama rendered it extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to ſuccour a colony, *then deemed peſtilential*; and there can be no doubt that this was one great object of the calumniators.

* Meſſ. Henry and Samuel Cox, of Great Preſcot-ſtreet, the owners of the Hankey, have been ſo good as to favour me with a peruſal of her log-book, which juſtifies the above ſtatement. It alſo confirms Mr. Beaver's letters reſpecting the tranſactions at Bulama, up to the time when the Hankey left that Iſland; and contains numerous proofs of his unremitting exertions and attention to the intereſts of the infant colony. *C. B. W.*

575. But

Digitized by Google

575. But the Truſtees omitted nothing that depended on them, towards the relief of the colony. One of the ſhips belonging to the Sierra Leona Company having been then ready to ſail, application was made to The Honourable the Court of Directors of that Company, to order their ſhip (the Fecility) to touch at Bulama, which was granted with the greateſt readineſs and liberality. (See § 391.) A ſupply was accordingly ſent by this ſhip, with a credit to Mr. Beaver, on the officers of the Sierra Leona Company, for any articles he might want, to the amount of £100, and aſſurances of farther ſupplies of ſtores, and an additional number of coloniſts.

S. Leona Co. kindly order the Felicity to call at Bulama, with ſupplies.

576. The Subſcribers, however, having a general meeting, empowered the Truſtees to raiſe 10 per cent. on the ſubſcriptions, for relieving the colony, the ſum of £403 : 5 : 0 was collected, including £140 remitted from Mancheſter, and £144 paid by the ſix Truſtees. An aſſortment of cloathing, medicines, proviſions and ammunition was accordingly put on board the ſhip John, Capt. Clouſton, who engaged, for £150, to land the ſtores at Bulama, together with ſuch paſſengers as might come on board. The Truſtees offered every reaſonable encouragement to good men to embark as coloniſts, and ſix were engaged; but, from the bad accounts induſtriouſly propagated againſt the colony, only one man, a black, had the courage to embark. The John was cleared at the cuſtom-houſe, in June 1793; but, having been obliged, from the war, and her having proviſions on board, to wait for convoy, it unfortunately happened that ſhe did not finally ſail till October *. French flying ſquadrons and

Greater ſupplies ſent; but did not arrive in time.

Coloniſts prevented by the calumny from going out.

* The preſent war, ſo injurious to the S. Leona colony, contributed to the entire ruin of that of Bulama. I ſhall afterwards notice the baneful effects of war, on the Swediſh deſign to form a colony in Africa. *C. B. W.*

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

BULAMA.

contrary winds prevented the convoy, the Diadem of 64 guns, from getting ſooner out of the Channel. The ſupply thus ſent to Bulama, by the Felicity and the John, amounted to £387 : 17 : 8, including freight and primage.

577. We now return to Mr. Beaver's tranſactions at Bulama, ſubſequent to the 16th March, 1793. The Fecility brought a letter from him to the Truſtees, dated July 24th. He writes that, ſince the 15th March, he had been particularly employed in the tedious and laborious work of grubbing up roots; that he had made ſome encloſures, and was making more; that he had built two houſes, each 34 feet by 21, one for the ſick, and the other, divided into three, for the grumettas, (ſee plate IV.) No material occurrence had taken place; and the reſt of the letter, being confined to the ſtate of the colony, it will be beſt to give it nearly in his own words. "With hens and goats I am plentifully ſtocked, and, in a few days, I ſhall have cattle in abundance. All our garden ſeeds, that came out laſt year, throve very well; but, from our cattle breaking though the hedge, and our building afterwards over a great part of the garden, every thing in it was deſtroyed. This ſeaſon, our European ſeeds, which are not only old (at leaſt 3 or 4 years) but mouldy, could not be expected to produce. Some few I have procured from Biſſao, and they do very well. Oranges, limes, pawpaws, malaguetta, goavas, ground-nuts, yams, Guinea corn and cotton thrive to admiration—Towards the end of the dry ſeaſon, moſt of the rivulets near us dried up; but the ſpring whence we have always taken our water, though it was never dry, yielded not more water, at it's loweſt ebb, than would ſupply 50 men. About two miles from us, there is a run of water ſufficient for at leaſt 2000 ſouls, and it is alſo convenient for watering ſhips.

Landscleared, encloſures, buildings.

Hens and goats in plenty.

European and tropical vegetables thrive.

I am

Digitized by Google

I am induced to think that there are many other ſprings near us; as, for the laſt 3 months of the dry ſeaſon, elephants were continually ſwimming acroſs the river, from the Biafara to this ſhore; but I never yet ſaw one ſwim from this iſland to the oppoſite land. This I can only account for, by ſuppoſing that, on this ſide, there is plenty of water, and, on the other, little or none. One of theſe fleets of elephants I attacked, and killed two. The proboſcis is excellent food.—The rains, which ſet in between 7 and 8 weeks ago, are much more violent this ſeaſon, than the laſt, and have damaged ſome of our ſtores. I have therefore been obliged to cover our wooden roof with thatch, which, for ſecurity from fire, I ſhall take off at the commencement of the dry ſeaſon. Wooden roofs * will never keep out the rains in this country."

578. At this time, Mr. Beaver had with him 23 grumettas, 5 women and 1 boy, as many as he wiſhed for, with the Europeans he had; but, had the number of the latter been increaſed, he would have employed 100 of the former, and he was, at any time, ſure of obtaining double the number.—He had then 27hhds. of bread, 46 bls. of pork and 33 tierces of beef. But the bread was very bad, and the ſalted proviſions ſpoiling, which had induced him to receive 10 bls. of pork which the Sierra Leona Company had generouſly ordered the captain of the Felicity to deliver him, if he deſired it.—The goods with which Mr. Beaver paid the grumettas, were then nearly exhauſted; but he had about 300lb. of

Number of labourers.

S. Leona Co. generouſly furniſh 10 bls pork.

* Mr. Beaver muſt here mean *boarded* roofs; for ſhingles, or thin pieces of board, in the form of tiles or ſlates, make excellent roofs in any climate; and I am aſſured, are very commonly uſed in all parts of the W. Indies. Their only diſadvantage is their being combuſtible; but they are much leſs ſo than thatch. *C. B. W.*

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

BULAMA.

ivory, which he meant to exchange, with ſome trading veſſel, for cloth.—Mr. Beaver concludes this intereſting letter with obſerving, that he could defend the place againſt any force of the natives; that the iſland only wanted coloniſts; that, to ſuch as would come out, ſucceſs was certain; that, with one tenth of the ſupport given to the Sierra Leona colony, he could ere now have eaſily acquired lands ſufficient to maintain 500,000 ſouls: that the Biafaras often requeſted him to build at or near Ghinala; and that a ſimilar invitation had come from Bulola, about 70 miles up the Rio Grande, but that, having neither goods nor (European) men, he was tied down to a few acres, and was inactive from neceſſity, not from inclination*.

Colony defenſible, and only wanted men.

Biafaras, &c. invite Mr. B. to build.

579. In Sept. a cutter belonging to the Sierra Leona Company went to Biſſao; and by her Mr. Beaver received tea, ſugar and molaſſes. From the great damps, owing to the want of medical aſſiſtance, dry and elevated houſes, and proper drains to carry off the water, accumulated by inceſſant rains, the colony was then very ſickly. They were indeed ſo reduced as to be obliged to have the mate of the ſloop to act as cook, not another man, either on ſhore or on board being then equal to the taſk. On the 20th Sept. the men, obſerving that the time when they were to expect the veſſel with new coloniſts had elapſed, and their ſpirits having been depreſſed by ſickneſs, all agreed to quit the colony, when they could†. Mr. Beaver, with his uſual ſpirit and preſence of mind, told them that the time in which the veſſel was expected, had barely elapſed; that ſhe might have been detained by

Mr. B. ſooths the impatient coloniſts.

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE G G, No. 5, 8, 10.

† See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE G G, No. 11.

contrary

Digitized by Google

contrary winds, or might then be refitting, after a gale, in ſome harbour; but that, if they would ſtay ſix months longer, they would undoubtedly be reinforced*." To this propoſition they aſſented: Mr. Beaver concluded that the veſſel was taken; but hoped that, by Feb. or March, he would receive ſuccour. He then found ſome difficulty in engaging grumettas; for the prime articles with which he paid them were exhauſted, and he could offer them nothing but powder or tobacco.

580. While in anxious expectation of a reinforcement, a report was received from Biſſao that the Bijugas meditated a formidable attack. This rumour operated ſo ſtrongly on the minds of the coloniſts, now enfeebled by ſickneſs, that, on the night of the 22d. Oct. the mate (then commander) of the ſloop, and another man ran away with the boat. Mr. Beaver the leſs regarded this loſs, as he had ſtill two white men left who, he hoped, would remain till more arrived. Two days after this deſertion, a Mr. Lawrence, a factor in the Rio Nunez, touched at Bulama, in his way to Bulola. The next day he ſailed, and was to return in a week to Bulama, and thence to ſail for Biſſao. Four days after his departure, the coloniſts delivered to Mr. Beaver a written requeſt, that he would not only permit them to leave the iſland, but that he would leave it with them. The latter requeſt he poſitively refuſed, and, again ſucceeded in perſuading them not to urge the former. But, 15 days after, Lawrence not having returned, they delivered

But they perſiſt in their intention to leave Bulama.

* The reſemblance of Mr. Beaver's ſituation, at this trying juncture, to that of Columbus, in the voyage, in which he diſcovered America, is too ſtriking to eſcape the notice of intelligent readers. May the magnanimous perſeverance of this able officer, inſpire the ſupporters of this undertaking with ſimilar zeal! May his ſucceſs be equal, and his reward ſuperior to thoſe of the diſcoverer of the new world! (See Robertſon's Hiſt. of America.)

him

CHAP. XI.

BULAMA.

him a ſecond paper, exhorting him to conſider their dangerous ſituation, and ſignifying their reſolution to ſeek their own ſafety, by quitting the iſland, as ſoon as poſſible. Mr. Beaver, repeatedly and earneſtly expoſtulated with the people on "the folly of leaving a place where they had laboured ſo hard, at a time when all difficulties were over," But finding that ſuch was their poſitive determination, he was under the painful neceſſity of yielding *. "I did not quit the iſland," to uſe his own words, in his letter from S. Leona, of Jan. 19th, 1794, "becauſe I could not keep it; for I might ſtill have retained 20 grumettas with me in the block-houſe, a number ſufficient to maintain ſuch a ſtrong hold not only againſt the Bijugas, but all the Iſlanders of Africa†. But their pay would have been much. They would not have wrought; and inſtead of labourers, I ſhould have been paying 20 maſters, who would beſides have plundered me. The cutter too, I muſt inevitably have loſt, having no mooring-chains, nor a ſingle man to take care of her." To preſerve her, therefore, and the remaining ſtores, Mr. Beaver conſented to carry the people to S. Leona; and, by letter, he chartered Lawrence's ſchooner for that colony, to carry the goods which the cutter could not contain. He ſent Mr. Hood to Biſſao to inform the governor of his reſolution; and tranſmitted to Jalorum and Bellchore, kings Canabac, Matchore, king of Rio Grande and Woody Toorey, queen of Bulola, preſents of 20 bars each, informing them that he was going home, but ſhould return after the next rains.

Mr. B. rèluctantly yields. His reaſons.

Mr. B. arrives at S. Leona. His opinion of the undertaking.

581. Mr. Beaver having ſhipped almoſt all the goods, in three ſmall veſſels, on the 29th Nov. "had," as he ſays, "the

* See in the App. Notes, &c. reſpect. S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE G G. No. 4.

† See in the App. Notes, &c. reſpect. S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE G G, No. 9.

mortification

Digitized by Google

mortification to see that spot abandoned, which the labour of a year and a week (from the Hankey's departure) had rendered a little paradise." Dec. 23d, he arrived at Sierra Leona, where he sold the sloop Beggar's Bennison and the goods. "The hospitality and attention," says he, in his letter of the 19th Jan. 1794, "which I have experienced from Mr. Dawes, the Governor, Mr. Macauley, the Lieut. Governor, and all the gentlemen of the colony, demand my grateful acknowledgments *." The Governor and Council kindly gave him and Mr. Hood, a passage to England, where they arrived in May 1794, with a few hundred pounds, "the only remains of £10,000 raised to colonize Bulama. Yet," says Mr. Beaver, "the scheme cannot be called a bad one. I have a better opinion of it now, than ever I had; and am confident that a very small portion of industry and perseverance on Bulama, will answer the expectations of our most sanguine subscribers. We have not miscarried, but we have been unfortunate, &c." See his letter from S. Leona, of 19th Jan. 1794.

Supplies arrive a month after the evacuation.

582. Having thus finished the history of this first attempt to form a colony at Bulama, we must add, that the John, which sailed in October, got to Bissao about a month after the evacuation; and finding a letter from Mr. Beaver, advising any ship that might arrive, to return home, Capt. Clouston sold a part of the goods at Bissao and the C. de Verd islands, and invested their value in salt, with which and the remaining goods he arrived at Corke, where they are now selling for account of the Association.

* I feel the greatest satisfaction in joining Mr. Beaver in a similar acknowledgment to Mr. Dawes, to whose liberal communications I owe several interesting particulars in this work, especially in the maps. Though I have not the happiness of Mr. Macauley's acquaintance, I have been so fortunate as to procure, and have taken the liberty to insert, some of his valuable remarks.

583. The

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

BULAMA.

583. The Truſtees will now give a general ſtatement of the accounts of the Aſſociation.

General ſtatement of accounts.

Dr.		Cr.	
To the amount of outfit, &c. to the 7th June, 1792, paid, is	£7155 12 10	By ſale of 42,000 acres to purchaſers	£5040 0 0
To paid ſince, freight of ſhips to 21ſt Aug. 1792	897 0 0	By Do. of 41,875 Do. to coloniſts	2512 10 0
To balance of Do. of the Calypſo paid	633 0 0	By extra ſubſcriptions of coloniſts, after time	15 0 0
To Ditto Ditto. of the Hankey, paid	640 0 0	By ſtamps on grants received	13 16 0
To bills drawn on the Truſtees, and ſmall charges	211 7 0	By ſubſcriptions raiſed by the Truſtees	1336 4 0
		By advances made by Do.	619 9 10
	£9536 19 10		£9536 19 10

The aſſets of the Aſſociation, as laid before the general meeting, on the 25th of June, 1794, are as follow, viz.

By value of ſloop, &c. to be remitted from S. Leona	£300	0 0
By Caſh in the hands of the Lord Mayor (Paul Le Meſurier, Eſq.)	234	14 5
By Do. in the bank of England	77	9 6
By Do. in the hands of Meſſrs. Biddulph and Co.	93	18 6
By Do. in the hands of J. K. Malliſon	4	7 2
By eſtimate of goods at Corke	150	0 0
By Do. of books, and ſurveying inſtruments	20	0 0
By debts due in Africa	259	9 11
By debts due of no value, or not aſcertainable	140	7 6
	£1280	7 0
Debts owing by the Aſſociation	360	6 9
Balance, in favour of the Aſſociation	£920	0 3

Truſtees' opinion of a future undertaking.

584. The Truſtees having now fulfilled, as well as they can, the directions of the General Meeting, reſpecting paſt proceedings, are now to give "their opinion as to the probability of future ſucceſs." By this, they underſtand that the General Meeting wiſh to know, What would be the probable expenſe of colonizing Bulama, and how the ſame could

Digitized by Google

could be raiſed.—And here the Truſtees muſt take for granted, that a charter from His Majeſty, ſanctioned by Parliament, will be obtained; for, without ſuch authority, they could not recommend a renewal of the colony.

If in war, a ſmall ſcale recommended.

585. Suppoſing then a charter obtained, the ſcale of the undertaking will much depend on the ſtate of Europe, at the time; if, during war, the Truſtees would recommend a ſmall ſcale; and they have Mr. Beaver's opinion, in his letter of the 10th Oct. 1793, that 20 Europeans, would at firſt be ſufficient, namely, a governor, a ſtore-keeper, two ſurgeons, a ſurveyor and his aſſiſtant, with 14 labourers, who ſhould have regular pay, keep guard, if neceſſary, overlook the native labourers, accompany or head them in excurſions through the iſland, &c *. To theſe whites, 50 natives might be attached (and we know that any number may be hired) who ſhould perform all the hard labour of building and clearing land, this having been one chief cauſe of the mortality of the former coloniſts†. It might be proper alſo to encourage ſome proprietors of lands to go over. About 50 ſeem an eligible number, who might have a free paſſage, and an allowance of proviſions, for the firſt year. None but healthy, ſober, induſtrious men of a proper age, ſhould be permitted to go, nor any (ſpeculating) "merchants or traders‡." They ſhould be adviſed to hire at leaſt one native labourer each: and thus, barring accidents on the paſſage, the governor would enter upon his charge with 70 Europeans

* See in the App. Notes, &c. reſpect. S. Leo. and Bula. NOTE GG. No. 6, 8, 10.

† See in the App. Notes, &c. reſpect. S. Leo. and Bula. NOTE G G. No. 1, 5, 8, 16.

‡ I am happy to find that the opinion of the Truſtees ſo perfectly agrees with my own.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

BULAMA.

and 100 natives, a ſtrength ſufficient for defence, as well as to erect buildings and clear land for future coloniſts *.

586. As the Truſtees are inclined to think that an undertaking, on this ſmall ſcale, will be moſt generally agreeable, they will confine their eſtimate to it's probable expenſe.— If the war continue, they think it will be neceſſary to purchaſe faſt ſailing packets, of between 70 and 100 tons, of which three may be ſufficient for the firſt expedition.

Eſtimated expenſe.

	£.
Theſe, copper-bottomed and fitted for ſea, may coſt about £1200 each	3600
Wages of 9 men for each will be about £162 per month, or for 6 months	972
Inſurance out and home, 20 per cent on £5000	1000
Goods for trade	1000
Arms and ammunition, about	500
Dry and wet proviſions, for twelve months	2000
Plantation and building tools, ſeeds, &c.	1000
Salaries for one year for Governor £300, Store-keeper £200, two Surgeons £400, Surveyor and aſſiſtant £400, and 14 others £40 each, is †	1860
Caſh to pay port charges, &c.	500
Expenſes at home	500
Total eſtimated expenſe	£12,932

Means of defraying it.

587. The means of defraying this and all future expenſe, are obviouſly to ariſe from the ſale of lands, of which millions of acres may be advantageouſly purchaſed. Beſides Bulama iſland, and the large diſtrict, called Great Bulama, purchaſed by Mr. Beaver, and which, together, may contain 500,000 acres, he might, with equal eaſe, have bought the

* See in the Append. Notes &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE G G. No 14.

† In my opinion all theſe ſalaries ſhould be doubled; for it cannot be expected that men of *real* worth and ability, will *chearfully* enter on the laborious duties of a new undertaking, in a new and untried climate, for incomes which, (except thoſe of the labourers,) are ſcarcely equal to what ſuch men can obtain at home. In particular, I think £300 a year for a Governor, £400 for *two* ſurgeons, by far too little for perſons, on whoſe abilities and exertions, under Providence, the ſucceſs of a new colony, in a great meaſure, depends. See § 125, 127.

oppoſite

Digitized by Google

oppoſite ſhore of the Rio Grande, and the valuable territory of Ghinala, and, in ſhort, any lands belonging to the Papels and Biafaras that he choſe. (See the large map.) It is therefore perfectly within bounds to calculate that 1,000,000 of acres may be bought by the Aſſociation, and ſold again to Europeans, which at £60 for 500 acres (the reaſonable rate of the firſt ſubſcription, ſee § 180, n.) would raiſe £120,000 ſter. a ſum which the Truſtees deem amply ſufficient to colonize any lands which His Majeſty may, by his charter, be pleaſed to authorize the Aſſociation to purchaſe *.

Lands ſhould be divided, at the beginning of ſecond year.

588. The Truſtees are farther of opinion, that if an expedition, on the ſmall ſcale they have pointed out, ſhould be thought adviſable, and ſhould ſucceed, the lands ſhould be divided at the beginning of the ſecond year, and the proprietors be called upon to locate their purchaſes. (§ 181.) The ſurveyors will then have had ſufficient time to make ſuch ſurveys, as will be neceſſary for the diviſion of the lands: and it is obvious, that the ſooner this takes place, the ſooner may a vigorous cultivation be expected to commence.

Truſtees' opinion of the ſoil, &c. of Bulama.

589. The Truſtees are fully warranted in entertaining the moſt favourable opinion of Bulama and it's neighbourhood. They are convinced that the country, when cleared, will be healthful for Europeans; that the ſoil is rich; that, even in it's preſent neglected ſtate, the country abounds with valuable woods, plants, fruits and animals, with a great variety of ſpices; that the harbours are excellent and ſwarm with fiſh; that the native tribes are few, and, except the Bijugas, friendly; and the Rio Grande, and other navigable rivers in the neighbourhood, afford a proſpect of opening a moſt advantageous commerce with the interior parts of Africa.

* See in the Append. Notes, &c. reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE H H.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

590. It only remains for the Truſtees to apologize for the length of this report, and to beſpeak the ſame candour and regard to truth in judging of it, which have guided them in diſcharging the delicate taſk of it's compilation.

Petition for a charter for Bulama prepared.

591. TO the above (abridged) Report, andthe notes and papers in the appendix therewith connected, I have only to add, that a petition for a charter to incorporate the Bulama Aſſociation, has been prepared, and will, no doubt, be communicated to the Britiſh Miniſtry, as ſoon as circumſtances ſeem to promiſe ſucceſs to the application. But, in the preſent poſture of public affairs, Miniſters are of courſe ſo much occupied in concerns of a more preſſing nature, that they cannot reaſonably be expected to conſider this propoſition with that collected attention which it deſerves, and which, it may be hoped, the return of peace will ſhortly enable them to beſtow on this and ſimilar ſubjects.

African facts not yet publiſhed.

592. As to that part of the Appendix which relates to Sierra Leona and Bulama, I would obſerve, that it contains every paper and document, which can with propriety be given to the world, at this time, from my African collection, the whole contents of which I hope to be, one day, at full liberty to communicate to the public. Not wiſhing to excite expectations which I have not ſome proſpect of gratifying, I can only ſay, at preſent, that I have long been, and now am, engaged in collecting every kind of information reſpecting Africa; and that, when all obſtacles to publication are removed, I may be able to contribute my ſhare towards convincing the Europeans of the value of that neglected quarter of the globe.

593. From what has been ſtated in the four foregoing (abridged) Reports, reſpecting the Britiſh colonies at Sierra Leona

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

Leona and Bulama, every intelligent and candid reader will eaſily collect, that the leading principle, in both undertakings, has been a ſincere deſire to communicate to the injured nations of Africa, the bleſſings of civilization. Not that mercantile conſiderations have been entirely excluded. The reader will perhaps trace a few ideas of this kind, which, like tares among the wheat, have intruded into both inſtitutions. But he will alſo diſcover that, far from having been ſuffered to predominate, they have been, on every occaſion, rendered as ſubſervient to the generous views of both the Aſſociations, as circumſtances would permit. He will candidly remember too, that the minds of the preſent generation of Europeans have been ſo entirely *pecuniarized* (if I may venture to coin a word) that no enterprize, quite free from the baſe alloy of mercantile ſpeculation, can be expected ſuddenly to be undertaken. So violent a tranſition could ſcarcely be permanently beneficial, and might ultimately be very injurious. Social improvement is, in it's nature, progreſſive, and though it's advancement may not be perceptible to vulgar eyes, the philoſopher will trace it by comparing the preſent with the paſt; and the Chriſtian will reſt ſatisfied, that every real improvement which, in the courſe of Providence, has once been begun, will in due time, arrive at perfection.

Civilization the great object of the Britiſh colonies in Africa.

The preſent generation of Europe PECUNIARIZED

594. Some perſons, I know, who are apt to doubt the exiſtence of diſintereſted motives, becauſe, perhaps, they do not feel them ſtirring in their own boſoms, have not ſcrupled to attribute to the promoters of the grand enterprizes we have been deſcribing, *the ſame* ſelfiſh views which actuate all commercial adventurers. I believe few of my readers will ſuſpect me of partiality to commercial ſpeculation: ſeveral of

CHAP. XI.

of them know that I have been jealouſly watching the riſe, progreſs and objects of theſe intereſting enterprizes; and, ſo fully am I convinced of the general purity of the motives which actuated the Directors of the S. Leona Company, the Truſtees of the Bulama Aſſociation, and the Subſcribers to both, that I cannot deny myſelf the pleaſure of adorning my Append. with their reſpectable names. I wiſh it were in my power to convey them to the moſt diſtant regions, and to nations yet unborn. But I can at leaſt indulge the pleaſing hope, *that their meritorious exertions will be attended with the reſpectful imitation of their cotemporaries, the grateful remembrance of poſterity, and above all, with the bleſſing of Providence.*

Names of Subſcribers to African colonization.

I am ſure I cannot better employ the remainder of this page, than by reſpectfully ſubmitting to the benevolent in general, eſpecially to the promoters of African colonization, the following

Caſe of real and preſſing Diſtreſs:

A reſpectable tradeſman in this metropolis, whoſe imprudent zeal in the Bulama undertaking, had filled his mind with high expectations of *immediate* ſucceſs, embarked for that Iſland, with his wife and three unmarried daughters, and his and their whole property, leaving behind him two daughters married in London. The diſappointment of *ſuch* expectations, added to the hardſhips and loſſes he experienced, in the unfortunate cataſtrophe which befel the colony, preyed ſo much on his health and ſpirits, that he died at S. Leona, ſhortly after the Calypſo arrived there. (§ 545.) Having loſt their protector and their property, the diſconſolate females returned to England, filled with anxious cares reſpecting their future ſubſiſtence. They have ſince ſtruggled hard to maintain themſelves by needle-work, which their good education both enabled and diſpoſed them to execute. But, unfortunately, they have never been able to procure a regular ſupply of this kind of employment. While ſubſiſting thus precarioufly, ſometimes with, and ſometimes almoſt without, the neceſſaries of life, the huſband of the eldeſt married daughter was impriſoned for debt, and, after languiſhing for 10 weeks in the Fleet priſon, in a damp cellar, laid with flag-ſtones, and crowded with 8 other perſons, he expired in a galloping conſumption. The huſband of the other married daughter, who was his ſurety, has lately been alſo arreſted, and is now confined. Thus, to this diſconſolate family are now added, the two married daughters, with their two children. In ſhort, theſe ſix helpleſs females and two infants, are now pining with want, in the houſe adjoining to that in which I live.

Thoſe who are diſpoſed to relieve them with money or needle-work, may receive fuller information reſpecting their caſe, from DARTON and HARVEY, No. 55, Gracechurch-ſtreet.

N.B. I was unwilling to commit the above to the preſs, till I had fully ſatisfied myſelf of the truth of this ſtatement. But, in addition to other enquiries, I have ſince viewed the wretched apartment above mentioned, and was informed by the perſon who attends it, that the debtors confined in it, are generally ſeized with a galloping conſumption, which ſoon carries them off. (See § 197.)

DANISH.

Digitized by Google

DANISH.

595. While the ſlave-trade was under a tedious and hitherto ineffectual inveſtigation in the Britiſh Parliament, the Daniſh Government, convinced, by a much ſhorter enquiry, of it's impolicy and barbarity, determined that their part of it ſhould be aboliſhed in the year 1802: and, preparatory to this meaſure, they reſolved forthwith to open their African ports to all nations, and to eſtabliſh a colony in ſome eligible part of that country*.

596. Dr. Iſert may be regarded as the founder of this Daniſh colony†. He had accumulated a maſs of information reſpecting Africa, which appeared ſo intereſting to the Daniſh miniſtry, that they ſent him out to make obſervations on the country. Having made a very ſatisfactory report, he was then empowered to look out for the moſt

Dr. Iſert founds this colony.

* See His Daniſh Majeſty's Edict, of the 7th November, 1792.

† It is worthy of remark, that medical men have contributed much to remove the prejudices which have ſo long obſtructed the civilization of Africa, by the uſeful obſervations which their liberal education enabled them to make. Not that we can ſuppoſe the doctors of the ſlave-ſhips to be generally men of liberal education. But it is certain, that ſeveral excellent ſurgeons and phyſicians, have viſited the coaſt in this diſagreeable ſituation, and that others have gone there to increaſe their fund of natural knowledge.—Van Riebeck, a ſurgeon, founded the colony at the Cape of Good Hope, and Doctors Lind, Smeathman, Sparrman, Iſert, Trotter and Falconbridge have all recommended the eſtabliſhment of colonies in Africa—Dr. Fothergill's extenſive information ſuggeſted to him the ſame meaſure; though, I believe, he never viſited that part of the world.

eligible

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI.

AQUAPIM.

eligible ſituation for a colony, and even to make the experiment, if he judged it adviſable or practicable. This was juſt the enterprize in which, above all others, the doctor wiſhed to be employed. He intended to make his firſt attempt on a large and beautiful iſland in the river Volta. But, having been oppoſed by the natives, or rather by the influence of the white ſlave-traders, he was induced to look out for a more ſecure ſituation, among the mountains of Aquapim (which he had before viſited) 10 Daniſh miles (60 Engliſh) above Arca, about the ſame diſtance from the weſtern bank of the Volta, which is navigable to the latitude of the colony, and about 5 Daniſh miles from the river Pony, which is only navigable for canoes. Such a ſituation cannot be ſuppoſed very convenient for commerce. But this diſadvantage, if it be a diſadvantage, is more than compenſated by the ſalubrity of the air; and the fertility of the ſoil appears, from the ſucceſs with which cultivation, particularly that of Guinea corn, millet and cotton, has been already attended.—It may be worth while to remark, that the Caboceer, or chief, at Aquapim, ceded as much territory as the colony at preſent occupies, or might hereafter occupy, for a monthly quit rent of 8 rix-dollars, or about 16s. ſterling.

Daniſh government ſupport it.

597. The Daniſh miniſtry, purſuant to their general plan of eradicating the ſlave-trade and introducing civilization, ſeem determined to ſupport this eſtabliſhment. Among other coloniſts whom they have ſent out, and who continue very healthy at Aquapim, is a ſkilful farmer who has gone there to introduce the plough, and there is little doubt but he will ſucceed.

598. Unfortunately, however, that kind of mercenary cultivation which prevails in the Weſt Indian iſlands, has not

Digitized by Google

not been excluded from this eſtabliſhment; for the Daniſh government has thought it adviſable to permit a few ſlaves to be ſent from Chriſtianſburg to perform that hard labour which would injure the health of the unſeaſoned Europeans. But it is to be hoped they will be recalled to Chriſtianſburg, when the colony ſhall have ſurmounted the firſt difficulties; and, in 1802, the year fixed for the termination of the Daniſh ſlave-trade, their ſyſtem of ſlavery will probably undergo ſome reform. It muſt indeed be allowed, that if ſocial and political evils are once tolerated, even in the ſmalleſt degree, there is danger that they may take ſo firm a root, as not to be eaſily eradicated, eſpecially out of colonies very diſtant from the ſeat of government. But perſons who, from contemplating the enormities of perſonal ſlavery, juſtly dread it's introduction, will remember, that many of it's evils are moderated by the vigilant ſuperintendance of an arbitrary government; eſpecially when adminiſtered ſo ably and faithfully, as that of Denmark is acknowledged to be, at preſent, by the great and humane Count Bernſdorff*.

Colony begun with ſlaves.

599. Dr. Iſert's indefatigable exertions having unfortunately terminated in his death, Lieut. Colonel Roer, who to great botanical knowledge, adds much experience in W. Indian cultivation, was appointed to ſucceed him; but I know not whether he has yet arrived at Aquapim.—M. Biorn, the Governor General of the Daniſh ſettlments on the coaſt,

* I hope I need not caution my readers againſt ſuppoſing that I mean to juſtify arbitrary power, which I abhor. I only ſtate the fact, that ſlaves are more moderately treated by maſters who are themſelves reſtrained by arbitrary power, than by free maſters, whoſe bad paſſions are not under ſuch control. (See Hume's Eſſays.) Accordingly, Chaſtellux, in his Travels in America, reckons the Spaniards and Portugueſe the moſt humane maſters, the Danes ſomewhat more rigorous, the French more rigorous ſtill, and the Engliſh and Dutch the moſt rigorous of all.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. AQUAPIM.

who paſſed through London, in Auguſt 1793, on his way home from Africa, where he had reſided above twenty years, aſſured me, that the colony was in as great forwardneſs as could be expected. He added that it was the more likely to ſucceed, as the ſpot, which he had viſited himſelf, is one of the moſt fertile in that part of Africa, that the native inhabitants are of the beſt diſpoſitions, and, above all, that the country, at that diſtance inland, is much more ſalubrious than any part on or near the coaſt, (ſee § 80.)— Dr. Iſert, in his letters to his father, publiſhed in 1788, ſays the natives of Aquapim, where he afterwards fixed this colony, live in a ſtate of ſocial harmony, which inſpired him with the idea of paradiſaical happineſs and ſimplicity; and that the ſoil yields them moſt luxuriant crops, with very little labour*.

* I expected to be enabled, by the letters of ſome reſpectable correſpondents, at Copenhagen, to give a fuller account of the Daniſh Colony at Aquapim; but the unaccountable and unprecedented detention of the mails from Hamburgh, 23 of which are now due, has deprived my work of the benefit of thoſe communications. If they arrive, however, before the Appendix is printed off, I ſhall certainly give them a place in it.

While the foregoing imperfect ſketch of the Daniſh colony was in the preſs, I was fortunate enough to diſcover another ſource of intelligence; having been informed that M. Moe and M. Hanſon, two gentlemen of ability, ſent by the Daniſh Government, to the Gold Coaſt, to inveſtigate ſome affairs of national importance, had arrived at Dublin, and were ſhortly expected in London. Such additional information reſpecting the Daniſh colony as they may think proper to communicate ſhall be inſerted in the Appendix, if not printed off before they come to London.

SUPPLE-

Digitized by Google

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAP. XI.

SWEDISH DESIGN or ATTEMPT.

600. Although the execution of the Swediſh deſign of forming a Colony in Africa, has not hitherto been carried farther than the exploration of ſome part of that continent; yet, as I can take upon me to affirm, that it originated in the pureſt and moſt diſintereſted motives, and had for it's object the advancement of the happineſs of mankind, ſome account of it ſeems to deſerve a place, at leaſt as a ſupplement, in a chapter, ſet apart for brief hiſtories of ſimilar inſtitutions.

Meeting at Norkioping, in 1779.

601. Some members of a Society, formed for the purpoſe of diffuſing thoſe principles, and that ſpecies of civilization, which appeared to them beſt calculated to promote ſocial order and happineſs, met at Norkioping; in Sweden, in the year 1779.

602. Among other matters which were conſidered on that occaſion, was an objection commonly made to emigration in general, namely, That as all reforms ought to originate in our own boſoms, ſo colonies or aſſociations might be formed within Europe itſelf, where waſte land and degenerate morals too much abound, and from which, as from the

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SUPPLEMENT.

heart in individuals, the vital principles of philanthropy, might be propelled to the moſt diſtant extremities.

Propoſe to form a new Community,

603. A full inveſtigation of this momentous ſubject, led them to a firm conviction, that though ſeveral of the preſent European governments even ſhould be diſpoſed to grant, yet not one of them could ſecure and guarantee, to a little community, however uſeful, (exiſting in their dominions as a STATUS IN STATU,) the privilege of *enacting their own laws*, of *coining their own money* and of *exemption from impriſonment for debt.* (§ 142, Qu. 51.) privileges which appeared to form an indiſpenſable part of their plan.—For being placed, as it were, in the great current of the prevailing ſelfiſh principles and fluctating politics of Europe, it was eaſy to ſee, that what ſuch a community might build up to-day, was liable to be ſwept away to-morrow.

604. The gentlemen, therefore, ſoon agreed that the chaos of jarring intereſts, involved in the preſent politics, finances and commerce of Europe, oppoſed a formidable obſtacle to their deſign: and they were clearly of opinion, that the only meaſure which promiſed any reaſonable hopes of ſucceſs, would be the eſtabliſhment of a new community,

out of Europe,

ſome where out of Europe, in the *original organization* of which, ſuch regulations might be adopted, as would effectually exclude every political, financial and mercantile principle, which was not deemed conſiſtent with the happineſs of mankind. But the queſtion was, to what part of the habitable globe they were to turn their views?—Though many large tracts of Aſia and America were unoccupied, few of them were unclaimed, and ſtill fewer were within

and in Africa.

a convenient diſtance of Europe.—To the weſtern coaſt of Africa alone, theſe weighty objections did not apply.—Abounding with tracts, neither occupied nor claimed by European

Digitized by Google

European powers, sufficiently near to Europe to afford an *infant* society the advantages of her fostering care, yet sufficiently remote to place a *mature* community beyond the reach of her influence, particularly, her commercial influence:—in *these* respects, the Coast just mentioned appeared the best adapted for the proposed undertaking.

Their opinion confirmed by Des Marchais.

605. Such were the general considerations, which among others, directed the hopes of these gentlemen to the western coast of Africa; and farther enquiry convinced them, that, upon the whole, their plan would be more easily practicable in that, than in any other, quarter of the globe. Their opinion was particularly influenced by the Chev. Des Marchais' interesting Voyage to the Coast of Guinea, made by order of the French Government, some passages of which, together with extracts from other authors, not generally known, I have considered so much connected with this work, that I have inserted them in the Appendix*.

606. It was concluded then, that there was a probable prospect of establishing in Africa, with little opposition, either from European claims or from the natives, a colony on their own principles, which might serve as a basis for a new and free community. In order, therefore, to give the reader an idea of their plan, I shall here insert the general principles on which they proposed to form their association†.

* See in the Appendix, Documents, &c. respecting the Swedish Colonial Design, No. 1.

† The following articles are *general* articles, there being no room for particular explanations, which indeed would not be very amusing to most readers. It is also necessary to observe, that various circumstances occasioned various little deviations to be afterwards made from the articles inserted at p. 45 *et seq.* of a "Plan for a free Community, &c. printed in 1789, and which were found applicable to a later period.

Outlines

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SUPPLEMENT.

Outlines of a Plan for forming an Aſſociation, in order to eſtabliſh a new and free Community out of Europe, and beyond the ſphere of it's political, financial and (eſpecially) commercial influence.

Outline of the Plan.

(1.) A certain number of friends to this undertaking (ſay 10 heads of families) to aſſemble, in order to make choice of members to form the firſt elements of this new community. Each of theſe 10, to recommend 9 others, and the whole 100 ſo choſen, to ſelect from among themſelves a certain number, (ſay 40 families) to embark.

(2.) A committee to be choſen to provide for the embarkation, and to manage all the concerns of the community, (ſee the whole of Chap. IX. and particularly § 179.) This committee to be furniſhed with maps and every other neceſſary information.

(3.) This whole Aſſociation to divide themſelves into three Claſſes, viz.

PRODUCTORS, MANUFACTURERS and MERCHANTS, (See § 194 †.)

Their political influence in the community to be in a certain definite proportion (ſay Productors to have 12 votes, Manufactures 8, and Merchants 4.)

(4.) To prevent all undue influence, the repreſentatives in the Legiſlature to be ballotted for by each head of a family ſeparately, and without aſſembling for ſuch purpoſe.

(5.) When the (40) families have determined to embark, they are to give up a certain part of their property to ſuch public uſe, (§ 170) as may be found proper by the committee mentioned in article 2d.

(5.) In order that no prejudice may ariſe to that country, from which one or more of theſe (40) families may emigrate, all the 100 heads of families are to bind themſelves as ſureties, that ſuch property of thoſe individuals as may be employed in this undertaking, ſhall be reſtored to that country from which he removes, within a ſtipulated term of years, together with a certain annual intereſt.

(7.) This new community to make an agreement with thoſe nations, where they

† The preſent European communities appear to be all more or leſs infected with prejudices, not eaſily eradicated, ariſing from the unnatural claſſification of ſtates into Nobility, Clergy, Burghers, Peaſants, &c. The whole community except the two firſt claſſes, are called *Roturiers* in France, *Commons* in G. Britain, and *Ofrelſe*, (that is UNSAFE) in Sweden. Theſe diſtinctions appear to have encouraged pride and idleneſs in the firſt claſs, bigotry and intolerance in the ſecond, money purſuits and an artificial credit in the third, and to have increaſed the miſery and poverty of the whole laſt claſs, who form, however, the greateſt part of the ſtate.

are

Digitized by Google

are going to eſtabliſh themſelves, and which agreement, for the ſafety of both parties, ſhall not be inconſiſtent with any of the articles herein mentioned*.

(8.) Perſons of any nation, who may be diſpoſed to emigrate on theſe conditions, may apply to any of the members in the committee, mentioned in the 2d article, from whom they may receive all neceſſary information; and, upon ſatisfying the committee, reſpecting their characters, may ſubſcribe the Social Contracts (ſee § 152 *et ſeq.*) and receive certificates of their having become members of the community†.

(9.) The government of the community to be organized, from the very beginning, according to ſuch ſyſtem, as they may adopt among themſelves; (ſee § 179,) and to be changeable or permanent, agreeable to the determination of the community, (ſee alſo § 154 and 171.)

(10.) That the Chiefs, in every Department of Government, be anſwerable to, and checked by, the whole Community, in the execution of it's *will*. In like manner, the *underſtanding* of the Members of the Community, relative to the public happineſs, to be enlightened by the knowledge and example of the government; and, if theſe prove ineffectual, the evils ariſing from error to be checked by the exiſting laws‡.

(11.) All the Members wiſhing to emigrate, who poſſeſs property, and are unacquainted with the commodities neceſſary to be procured, may depoſit ſuch property in the hands of the Committee (Art. 2.) who will give ſecurity for the application thereof, according to the proprietor's deſire, conſiſtent with the regulations agreed upon. Members not reſiding in that country where the embarkation may take place, and not able to be preſent till near the time of the ſailing of the expedition, may impower the Committe, or any number of the Aſſociation, to tranſact their concerns, and to vote in their behalf.

(12.) All humane perſons of property who may be inclined to contribute to the formation of a capital, for the ſupport of this undertaking, may depoſit ſuch ſums as they think proper with the Committee, for which they will receive a bond, ſigned by all the 100 members. By this bond the ſubſcribing members will oblige themſelves,

---

* The emigrating coloniſts to agree about a tract of land ſufficient for the maintenance of an increaſing community. (§ 196.)

† With reſpect to the cautious choice of the coloniſts, ſee § 1, 125, 128, 145, 355, 398, 404, 408, 446, 476, 559 note, 570 note, 571 note,—and without ſigning ſuch contracts no body to embark.

‡ That nothing may obſtruct the improvement of the underſtanding, it is here meant that every individual may ſpeak, write or print whatever he thinks proper, ſubject to no other reſtraint than the known laws exiſting *before* ſuch ſpeech or publication. For the ſame reaſon, it is farther meant that news papers and other prints, calculated to diffuſe public information, ſhall be circulated, and the poſtage of letters defrayed, at the expenſe of the public.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SUPPLEMENT.

ſelves, in behalf of the whole community, to pay a certain annual intereſt till the whole principal is diſcharged, which, however, muſt not be done before the expiration of 10 years, after the arrival of the coloniſts on the ſpot fixed on. In the ſame bond, the community ſhall bind themſelves, after the expiration of the 10 years, beſides paying principal and intereſt of the ſums advanced, to convey and make over to the lenders, a certain quantity of cultivated land, as a gratification, for every ſum (ſay £ 1000) with which the undertaking may have been aſſiſted in its infancy.

(13.) Differences ariſing among members of the aſſociation to be decided by the arbitration of 12 perſons, choſen equally of each party, till other regulations may be agreed upon; and any difference, that may ariſe between the community and other communities or nations, to be decided, if poſſible, in a ſimilar manner.

(14.) As ſoon as this community increaſes to 100 families above 10,000, they are to purchaſe more land, in order to ſettle a freſh community, upon the ſame principle.

(15.) That all kinds of private monopoly ſhall be excluded; or, if any monopoly be allowed, it ſhall reſide in the community, and be exerciſed by the government. Conſequently coining, hitherto monopolized, will be in the power of every individual.

(16.) That no individual in this new community, ſhall ever be liable to be arreſted for credit given to him.

(17.) That there ſhall be in this community, public checks to prevent any individual from employing his property in any manner that may be found deſtructive of, or inconſiſtent with, good morals.

(16.) It is the deſign of this plan, that our free community ſhall be erected in Africa, conſequently among the negro nations; not for any of the baſer purpoſes of uſurping dominion over them, diſturbing their peace, enſlaving their perſons, or debauching their manners; but for the nobler purpoſes of civilizing, and gradually incorporating them into our community, by every gentle means, as by regular marriages, the education of their children, &c. It will therefore become the indiſpenſible duty of every member to ſpare no pains for promoting this beneficial purpoſe, particularly by educating one or more of their children, under control of the whole community.

Oppoſition of the ſlave-trade

607. The more the local ſituation of the intended colony was conſidered, the more the gentlemen were perſuaded that no part of the weſtern coaſt of Africa, would admit of being peopled by a body of men actuated by principles, which, in their view, promiſed to eradicate corruption, unleſs the ſlave-trade, the chief commerce purſued in thoſe regions, could be removed to ſuch a diſtance from the ſpot where the colony might be fixed,

as

Digitized by Google

as would ſecure it from all future intruſion of that formidable enemy.

608. The reſult of theſe deliberations, (in which I had the honour to aſſiſt) was a reſolution to explore that part of the weſtern coaſt of Africa to which our attention was directed. But the execution of this plan was, at that time, retarded by the American war which, though it threatened ruin to ſome of the parties engaged in it, relieved Africa, by interrupting the ſlave-trade, and has ſince appeared to be the harbinger of an event which, it may be hoped, will terminate in real and rational liberty in Europe. Yet this obſtacle, though then inſurmountable, never induced us for a moment to loſe ſight of our object.

The King of Sweden grants a charter to 40 families.

609. Previous to that period U. Nordenſkiold, (a brother of the late A. Nordenſkiold, ſee § 400) a zealous and well informed traveller, had publiſhed an intereſting treatiſe * on the ſubject of the preſent work, and which, ſeaſonably ſupported by his influence and activity, at the Court of Stockholm, promoted the buſineſs ſo far as to induce His late Swediſh Majeſty to grant a charter to 40 families to emigrate to the weſtern coaſt of Africa. By this deed, they were empowered to organize their own government, to enact their own laws, and to eſtabliſh a ſociety in all reſpects independent on Europe, and even of Sweden itſelf, by which, however, they were to be protected, during the infant ſtate of their community. The only conditions annexed to theſe privileges were, that the Society ſhould defray every expenſe attending their expedition and eſtabliſhment; and ſhould abſtain from all infringement on the territories poſſeſſed, or claimed by every other European power †. But theſe preparatory

* See in the Append. Documents, &c. reſpect. the Swediſh colonial deſign, No. 1.

† The obſtacle mentioned in the note to § 599, namely, the detention of the mails, puts it out of my power to preſent the reader with a copy of this ſingular charter, as alſo of ſeveral other documents relative this Swediſh undertaking.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SUPPLEMENT.

steps, however important, could, in fact, avail but little, while no systematical plan had been devised for carrying the scheme into execution, and while the two most powerful, not to say the most enlightened, European nations (France and Great Britain,) were tinging the ocean with human blood, and, in various ways, preventing the intended enterprize.

Plan for searching for gold.

610. Knowing, however, that the eminent mercantile house of M. Chauvell of Havre de Grace, was embarking in various enterprises to Africa, we offered to engage in an expedition to that part of the world, on his account; and accordingly he drew up a plan for exploring the interior parts of Africa, which was communicated to us *. But, as we soon found, that M. Chauvell had *no other end* in view than the discovery of gold, *the sole object of the merchant's pursuit*, and that his plan was better accommodated to the *financial* interests of Gustavus III. than to our particular object, it was immediately laid before the Senator Baron Lilljencrantz, then Secretary of State in Sweden. But though it did not excite in us any very sanguine expectations; yet, by keeping alive the attention of the Swedish ministry, it contributed to give rise to a more interesting enterprize; and no time was lost in calling for the co-operation of several friends to our design in different countries, and applications were even made to certain governments

The author's petition granted.

611. At length Providence was pleased to grant me a nearer approach to the bourne of my wishes, by giving me an apportunity of embarking, on a voyage so long meditated and so anxiously desired. For, having again petitioned His Swedish Majesty, he was pleased to favour my views, not only by granting me leave of absence from my

* See in the Append. Documents, &c. respect. the Swedish colonial design, No. 2.

public

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SUPPLEMENT.

public office, but alſo to intereſt himſelf in my behalf with the Court of France.

612. It may here be obſerved, that Guſtavus III. in granting the Charter before mentioned, obeyed a kind of warm and generous impulſe which indeed ſeemed congenial to his character, and often operated inſtantaneouſly and viſibly on his conduct. But without any diſrepect to His Majeſty's memory, I may venture to add, that when he came to conſider the propoſition coolly, he allowed ſome private intereſt to blend itſelf with his generoſity; for it was very apparent that one of his views, in giving his conſent to, and encouraging, this expedition, was the diſcovery of natural productions, eſpecially gold, which, it is well known, His Majeſty eſteemed above all the curioſities in the three kingdoms of nature. Hence it was, that thoſe able naturaliſts, Dr. Sparrman and the Chevalier Capt. Arrhenius, were alſo ordered on the expedition. But, had His Majeſty's great natural talents been more engaged in promoting the happineſs of mankind, than the partial intereſts of the ſycophants who ſurrounded him, he would probably have paid leſs attention to *metallic* diſcoveries, and more to the original object of the undertaking; the ſucceſs of which, however, would have aſſigned to that unfortunate monarch a ſingularly diſtinguiſhed place among the benefactors of the human race.—But the truth is, that the King loved gold, my worthy companions loved natural ſcience, and I loved colonization. It muſt be confeſſed too, that ſo warmly did we proſecute our reſpective purſuits; that a phlegmatic obſerver would not perhaps have ſcrupled to pronounce each of us an enthuſiaſt in his way; eſpecially if he had known that we had alſo ſeriouſly de-

Objects of the voyage to Africa.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SUPPLEMENT.

termined on an attempt to traverſe the continent, and to return home by the eaſtern coaſt of Africa.

613. Animated by our different proſpects, we left Sweden, in May 1787, and our journey to Paris, through Denmark, Germany and a part of France, we took every opportunity of collecting ſuch kinds of information as had any connection with our undertaking. Though our reception at Paris, fully anſwered the expectations we had formed from the letters of introduction with which we had been favoured; yet we ſoon began to feel the effects of an excluſive commerce, in the ſelfiſh ſpirit which actuated the Senegal company, in common with all other monopoliſts, and which very much retarded our buſineſs in that capital. This circumſtance the Swediſh ambaſſador, Baron Stael von Holſtein, had but too much reaſon to remember from the repeated applications he had occaſion to make to the miniſtry, in our behalf. To our difficulties in Paris I may add thoſe we afterwards experienced at Havre de Grace. Theſe formidable obſtacles, however, were at length removed by the Marechal de Caſtries, then miniſter at war and of the colonies, who expreſsly ordered the directors not only to give us a paſſage, but to inſtruct their agents on the coaſt, to give us every poſſible aſſiſtance, and to place all the expenſe to the acoount of government. He, at the ſame time, furniſhed us with ſimilar orders to the ſuperintendants of thoſe French factories, on the coaſt of Guinea, which were independant of the Senegal company, and to the conſuls at Sallee, and other places on the coaſt of Barbary *. Thus, after ſome delay, unavoidable perhaps in ſuch buſineſs, our

Difficulties in France ſurmounted.

* See in the Appendix, Documents, &c. reſpecting the Swediſh colonial deſign, No. 3, 4 5, 6.

views

views were promoted with that liberality which certainly forms an amiable feature in the national character of the French.

614. All our difficulties in Europe, having been happily ſurmounted or eluded, we ſailed from Havre de Grace in Aug. 1787, in a ſhip belonging to the French Senegal company; and arrived at the coaſt, at the end of the rainy ſeaſon. We intended to touch firſt at Senegal; but, from the lowneſs of the coaſt, the ſtrength of the currents, and perhaps the ignorance of the captain, we miſſed the entrance of the river. We therefore proceeded to the Iſland of Goree, where we delivered our diſpatches, from the Marechal de Caſtries, M. de Malſherber and others, to the Chevalier de Boufflers, then Governor of French Africa, and who, I muſt gratefully acknowledge, received us in a manner that needs not be explained to thoſe who are acquainted with the amiable character and various accompliſhments of a man who does real honour to his country, and to civilized ſociety.

Arrival in Africa.

615. During our ſtay at Goree, we made ſeveral excurſions to different parts of the adjacent continent, and met with many whites, negroes and mulattoes, who were extremely well acquainted with the whole coaſt, and ſome whoſe knowledge extended to very diſtant parts of the interior country. The Chev. de Boufflers promiſed us a veſſel, in which we might ſurvey the whole coaſt, and particularly S. Leona, where he had been himſelf, and which he deſcribed as one of the moſt beautiful places he ever ſaw. But, to our great mortification, theſe agreeable expectations were diſappointed, by events which it was impoſſible for us to foreſee or control.—(1.) Unfortunately for us, our worthy benefactor, (for ſo I may well call him) the Chev. de Boufflers, reſigned his government and returned to France; and with him

Diſappointments there, and their cauſes.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SUPPLEMENT.

him every idea of liberality ſeemed to have departed from Goree: for (2.) After this inauſpicious event, we were very uncivilly treated by the agents of the Senegal company, who would neither grant us a veſſel to proceed along the coaſt, nor furniſh us, as they were ordered, with thoſe goods which they well knew were abſolutely neceſſary, for our propoſed journey into the interior parts. (3.) A French corvette which arrived at Goree, brought the diſagreeable news, that hoſtilities had commenced between Great Britain and France. Though this report afterwards proved to be groundleſs, it greatly increaſed the difficulties in our arrangements with M. Blanchau, the new governor. (4.) The general war, which the moſt powerful negro nations were provoked, by the oppreſſive monopoly exerciſed by the Senegal company, to declare againſt the French, rendered it impoſſible for us to penetrate to the interior, through the extenſive maritime territories of thoſe juſtly irritated princes *.

Return to Europe.

616. Controled by theſe irreſiſtible cauſes, we were obliged to return to Europe, and to content ourſelves with thoſe obſervations on the adjacent coaſt, and that intelligence reſpecting remoter parts, which our opportunities enabled us to make and to collect; and which, though not ſo extenſive as we wiſhed, afforded my fellow travellers no mean ſpecimens of the natural treaſures of Africa, and fully convinced me of

* The late Senegal company of France, had contrived to obtain perhaps the moſt extenſive privileges ever enjoyed, by any ſimilar eſtabliſhment. Every article from which a mercantile profit could be ſqueezed, not excepting the natural curioſities of the country, fell under their gripe. As an inſtance, I may mention that I could not get a parrot, without it's paſſing through the hands of the company's agents. In ſhort, ſuch was their unconſcionable rapacity, as not only to rouſe the vengeance of the negro nations, but alſo to excite the ſilent but deep felt reſentment of the mulattoes of Goree and Senegal, whoſe very exiſtence depended on their commerce with the neighbouring continent.

the

Digitized by Google

the practicability of eſtabliſhing European colonies, on ſeveral parts of that coaſt.

617. Of all the places we viſited, Cape Verd appeared to me the moſt eligible ſituation for a new colony*. The natural advantages of this promontory, are indeed ſo numerous, that nothing but the general inattention to Africa, which has ſo long prevailed in Europe, can account for the neglect of ſuch a ſituation. (See § 2 *et ſeq.*) Being nearly ſurrounded by the ſea, and abounding with bold elevations, and rich vallies, watered with excellent ſprings, it is undoubtedly as healthful, fertile and defenſible, as any part of that coaſt, within a convenient diſtance from Europe. Beſides an eaſy intercourſe with Europe, this Cape has an advantage altogether peculiar to itſelf, in the vicinity of the cleanly, airy and healthful town of Goree, where the coloniſts might be well accommodated, till they could erect houſes on the adjacent continent, and from the ſame town the colony might derive occaſional aſſiſtance, during the delicate period of it's infancy. But political conſiderations forbade me to cheriſh any hope of forming a colony at Cape Verd. The French had twice purchaſed that whole peninſula, from King Damel, for that expreſs purpoſe†. The laſt bargain was made by the

C. Verd, &c. eligible for colonization.

* I might have obſerved, in the text, that Joal, Portudal, Cape Rouge, and one or two other places which I viſited, are all more or leſs proper for colonies. But it may be neceſſary to add, that the whole country adjacent to Fort Louis, in the river Senegal, is ſo unfavourable to health, as to be an unpleaſant, not to ſay an unſafe, habitation for Europeans. See § 80, 97.

† The neceſſity of ſometimes re-purchaſing the ſame tract of land from the negro princes, may ariſe, (1.) from their ſimple idea of property, which appears to depend intirely on immediate occupancy. If the purchaſer do not reſide on the land, and cultivate it, they conclude that, having no uſe for it, he has given it up, and conſequently

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SUPPLEMENT.

the Chev. de Boufflers himſelf, the liberality of whoſe ſentiments led me to think that he would have countenanced our ſcheme, if the communication of it to him had been then proper. But, in ſtrict conformity with the terms of the King of Sweden's charter, I directed all my views and enquired to places neither occupied, nor claimed, by any European power, of which there were ſeveral about Cape Mount and Cape Meſurado. I alſo thought it my duty to ſubmit the reſult of my obſervations and enquiries to that monarch, in the firſt inſtance. But, in caſe he ſhould not accede to ſuch propoſitions as our Society might, in conſequence, make, and which I feared would be the caſe, my intention was to recommend to them an application to the Court of France, through the Chev. de Boufflers, for permiſſion to eſtabliſh a colony at Cape Verd, on the principles of our aſſociation.

Cauſes of the author's ſtay in England.

618. Having thus given a ſhort ſketch of our expedition, the attention I owe to a certain claſs of my readers, induces me to ſtate briefly, the cauſes which have obliged me to remain ſo long in England, and which I hope, will convince thoſe worthy perſons, that I have never, for a moment, forgotten the great end and aim of all my labours.—(1.) One of thoſe cauſes has been anticipated in the introduction (p. 2.) in which I obſerved, that Dr. Sparrman and myſelf, on coming to London, were ſummoned to attend the Privy Council, where we were examined (as I was afterwards, in a Committee of the Houſe of Commons) reſpecting the ſlave-trade, the abolition of which has been agitated ſo long, and apparently to ſo little purpoſe, in the Britiſh Parliament.—

conſequently that it reverts to the former occupier, or proprietor;—or (2.) from the unfaithfulneſs or ignorance of the interpreter who aſſiſts in making the agreement, whence the prince may miſtake the price paid, for a periodical preſent;—or (3.) from the mere forgetfulneſs of the negroes, who do not record ſuch tranſactions.

(2.) About

Digitized by Google

(2.) About the same time, an Association was formed in London, for exploring the interior parts of Africa, a design in which the knowledge acquired by Dr. Sparrman, in his former travels in another part of that continent, was found of great use*.—(3.) The same period was distinguished by the commencement of the colony at S. Leona, for which Mr. G. Sharp was fitting out a vessel, at his own expense, when I arrived in London.—(4.) The emancipation by purchase, of a son of the King of Mesurado, from his *pretended* friend, and which I had then the happiness to effect in London, seemed likely to induce his father, to favour the establishment of our intended colony in his territories †.—(5) In case such of our society as might determine to emigrate, should chuse to form a part of the new colony at S. Leona, Mr. Sharp endeavoured to facilitate their reception, by recommending it to the colonists to reserve lots of land for them ‡.

The author's promising prospects in England.

619. These nearly cotemporary events certainly afforded, upon the whole, no unpromising prospects of obtaining effectual support to our plan, in Great Britain, where science, liberality and wealth seemed to conspire with a laudable zeal to promote philanthropic undertakings. At least it will be acknowledged, that I had much greater reason to hope

* See the Resolutions of the "Association for promoting the Discovery of the interior Parts of Africa," dated June 9th, 1788.

† See in the Append. Notes, &c. respecting S. Leona and Bulama, NOTE Z.

‡ In the same recommendation, Mr. Sharp included the King of Mesurado's son, to whom, it was obvious, a little possession at S. Leona might prove serviceable. Nor was it improbable, that Mr. Sharp's grand design might be advanced, by giving land and privileges at S. Leona, to an African who was receiving his education in England, and was likely one day, to possess both lands and power, at Cape Mesurado, and thus might be able to promote civilization in two parts of the coast, at the same time.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SUPPLEMENT.

for ſupport in this, than in my native, country, where the abſurd war with Ruſſia was abſorbing the attention, the treaſure, and the blood of a nation *then* ſuffering under the influence of ruinous councils*. Nor were my hopes ill founded, though they have hitherto been deferred; for my applications to the Britiſh Miniſtry, were ſo effectually ſupported by perſons of the firſt reſpectability, that, in 1789, a veſſel was ordered to be equipped, for an expedition to diſcover the moſt proper ſituations for colonies, on the Weſtern coaſt of Africa.

620. The command of this veſſel was, undoubtedly with great propriety, conferred on Captain Roberts of the

* I am ſorry to obſerve, that I myſelf have, in more than one inſtance, been made the dupe of ſuch councils. In particular, in the year 1774, I was ſent to Sollingen in Weſtphalia, by order of the late King of Sweden, to engage ſword-cutlers to come over to that country. M. Sandels, counſellor of the board of mines, who was at the head of this political, or rather warlike, manœuvre, hinted to me, in confidence, that the King even then, (viz. ſo early as 1774,) meditated an attack on Ruſſia, and was determined to have ſwords made in Sweden, without the knowledge or aſſiſtance of any other European power. Young and inexperienced in court machinations, I was prevailed on to undertake this buſineſs, without being well apprized of the hazard to which I expoſed myſelf. For, after engaging ſome cutlers, I found that a ſlaviſh law in *that* place, prohibited thoſe poor creatures from endeavouring to better their condition, by emigrating to other countries. I was therefore arreſted, and confined for ſeveral weeks in the citadel of Duſſeldorf. But this did not make me abandon my object, in which I at laſt ſucceeded ſo well, that I brought over with me 27 perſons, who were eſtabliſhed at Eſkilſtuna in Sweden, where their deſtructive manufacture is now carried on, in as great perfection as at Sollingen, an acquiſition to my country, which I now bluſh to have been the inſtrument of introducing; and, for which I have nothing but the inexperienec of youth, and miſtaken notions of patriotiſm and honour, to offer in excuſe. When engaging therefore with Guſtavus III. in the African expedition, I ought to have recollected how little reaſon I had to depend on the philanthropy of a monarch inveſted with unlimited power, and beſet, as he was, on all ſides, by wicked and intereſted courtiers.

Royal

Digitized by Google

Royal Navy, whoſe nautical education under the great Cook, whom he accompanied in his voyages round the world, eminently qualified him for ſuch an undertaking. I had the daily ſatisfaction of ſeeing the equipment proceed, under the able inſpection of Capt. Roberts, when a *mercantile* diſpute about a paltry cargo of ſkins, purchaſed by a Britiſh ſhip on a barbarous coaſt, *claimed* (forſooth) by Spain, had nearly ended in a war between the two nations. Ridiculous as was the cauſe of this conteſt, it's conſequences to my ſcheme were ſerious; for the ſhip having been equipped, Capt. Roberts waited a conſiderable time for orders; and, after all, I had the mortification to ſee him commanded to proceed on a ſecret expedition, which I had every reaſon to believe, was connected with this Nootka Sound buſineſs. (ſee § 324.) From the year 1790, to the commencement of the preſent war, the peace of Europe was too precarious for me to hope for attention to any application on this ſubject; and the deſtroying ſword muſt be ſheathed, before I can rationally think of renewing them*. Thus has this undertaking been four ſeveral times interrupted by preparation for,

Diſappointed by a threatened war with Spain;

* When in Africa, I was much ſtruck with the inclination I every where obſerved among the negroes, to ſpin and weave cotton; and was often ſurprized at their perſeverance under all the diſadvantages which attend imperfect machinery. I brought home, however, one of their ſimple looms, and ſeveral ſpecimens of their cloth, of different qualities, ſome of which are even elegant enough, to have convinced every Engliſh manufacturer, who has ſeen them, that the fabricators want nothing but inſtruction and encouragement, to make them excellent artizans. As I had hopes of returning one day to Africa, I thought I could not better employ that time, during which I was obliged to wait for the final determination of the Britiſh Government, than in endeavouring to obtain a competent knowledge of the cotton manufacture. Accordingly, I entered into that buſineſs at Mancheſter; and, I truſt, the knowledge of it I there acquired, has qualified me, in one reſpect, to contribute to *give* the natives of Africa, that inſtruction, which has hitherto been denied them by civilized nations.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XI. SUPPLEMENT.

or the actual ravages of war, that ſcourge of the human ſpecies, that invariable diſturber of every enterprize, calculated to advance their moral improvement, or their ſocial happineſs.

yet not hopeleſs.

621. Yet I do not think theſe diſcouragements, ſhould make me deſpair of the ultimate ſucceſs of the propoſed plan; though it muſt be confeſſed that, in any preceding century, *ſuch* a plan would probably have been regarded as an inſtance of enthuſiaſm, approaching to inſanity. But the cruel reign of prejudice, eſpecially reſpecting the war-ſyſtem, appears to be drawing faſt to a period, and mankind are apparently advancing to a new and exalted degree of improvement. Thoſe great, yet ſimple truths, which craft and ignorance have hitherto concealed, begin to be unveiled by a light, which, though occaſionally intercepted by lowering clouds, ſeems deſtined to diſplay Social Harmony, in all her lovely proportions, to the admiring and obedient nations.

APPENDIX.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX,

Containing explanatory Notes, Quotations and Original Documents; ſome of which, had the Author obtained them ſooner, would have been, with more Propriety, inſerted in the Body of the Work.

Subſtance of two Letters addreſſed to Dr. Knowles, of London, on the Productions and Colonization of Africa.

BY DR. HENRY SMEATHMAN. See § 62.

SIR,

621. TO poſterity it may perhaps appear extraordinary, that the Europeans ſhould for near 200 years, have carried on a briſk trade with Africa for little elſe but ſlaves. A ſhort reflection on the ſituation of Africa muſt certainly countenance this opinion. It lies in climates, which in the other continents produce the richeſt materials of commerce: and it's productions are actually ſimilar. The principal are gold, ivory, dying wood, gums, honey, wax, ambergreaſe, &c. and probably there are few of the riches of the eaſtern or weſtern hemiſpheres which may not be found in this middle region.

622. This is not mere conjecture. I have, by obſervations made in a 4 years reſidence, a moral certainty, that on a proper plan, a moſt lucrative, ſafe and honourable traffic may be carried on to that quarter, from Europe. The Grain Coaſt, from it's fertility in rice, would, if a proper vent was opened, in a few years produce of that commodity alone, and the fineſt in the world, an immenſe quantity. And nothing is wanted but encouragement, to procure great quantities of cotton, as fine as the E. Indian, and tobacco as the Brazilian; alſo ſugar and a ſpecies of indigo infinitely ſuperior to that of the weſt, and various drugs, ſome peculiar to Africa, others the uſual reſult of induſtry in thoſe climates. Among the former we may reckon various gums, ſpices, and woods; and of the latter the ſpirit of ſweet potatoes, wild grapes, &c. from which I have made excellent brandy, various kinds of flax and hemp, Produce.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

hemp, &c. To theſe may be added palm oil, equal to olive oil, for food and other purpoſes; and of which an infinite quantity may be got merely by collecting the fruits or nuts, and boiling them. The coaſt abounds with fiſh and turtle, and would be an excellent ſituation for a whale fiſhery. But an enumeration of it's various productions would be tedious.

Tendency of the Doctor's plan.

623. My plan would tend to emancipate and to civilize every year, ſome thouſands of ſlaves, to dry up one great ſource of that diabolical commerce: and if not to produce liberty to the ſlaves in the W. Indies, at leaſt to meliorate their ſituation. The ſtopping ſome ſource would not only encreaſe the price of ſlaves, but alarm the W. India planters, leſt they ſhould ſoon have no freſh ſupply. This would make them more tender of thoſe they already poſſeſs. And of this be aſſured, the planters will always buy ſlaves as long as they can calculate, that each will, in 7 or 10 years, repay his price. If ſuch a plan would be agreeable to the ſociety of FRIENDS, I ſhould have pleaſure in laying it before them, and to diſcloſe, under a promiſe of ſecreſy, the latent hinge on which it will aſſuredly ſucceed. If they ſhould find my propoſals expedient, I will gladly dedicate the chief part of my future life to the carrying them into execution.

624. I conceived this project in Africa, where an induſtrious cultivation of the ſoil, with various excurſions, made me well acquainted with the genius, cuſtoms, agriculture, trade and arts of the natives. My ſtay in the W. Indies was with a view to inform myſelf of tropical cultivation, previous to my return to Africa. I accompliſhed my intention, and have ſince, by ſtudying various branches of philoſophy and uſeful arts, qualified myſelf ſtill further.

625. By the encloſed letter you will ſee, I had, previous to your ſpeaking to me on the ſlave-trade, begun to ſeek out a method of executing my plan. Mr. Wilding is my particular friend, and though engaged in the ſlave-trade, is in other reſpects a man of great ſenſe, honour and candor. But I ſhould be glad to have no connection with any concerned in the ſlave-trade, and therefore, if no gentleman, in your truly reſpectable ſociety, will take it up, I have been adviſed to make overtures to a foreign power.—I am, &c,

H. SMEATHMAN.

LETTER II.

SIR,

626. Not to take up much of your time in foreſeeing and anſwering little objections, I ſhall only obſerve, that ſolicitations for employment on the coaſt of Africa are indeed extraordinary; ſince thoſe who have concerns there, find it difficult to prevail on perſons of abilities to reſide in Africa, at any rate. And yet I am deſirous to reſide there, on a plan in which I muſt meet more difficulties, and hardſhips,

and

Digitized by Google

and receive leſs emolument, than on one to which I am ſtrongly recommended, wherein I ſhould have every kind of ſupport, and handſome commiſſions.

Produce.

627. The part of the coaſt I would recommend for this plan, poſſeſſes every advantage. Large, fertile and unoccupied tracts of land, adapted to all tropical productions, but now covered with endleſs foreſts of the fineſt gums, ſeeds and ſpices, and an endleſs variety of plants, and animals of known and unknown value. Among the former are gum copal, malaguetta pepper, cotton, capſicum, tobacco, ſugar canes, an aromatic ſeed called monkey pepper, oſtriches, elephants, buffaloes, antelopes and monkies, Ethiopian hogs, &c. Some of thoſe lands are mountainous, but the greater part are flat and ſandy within 10 or 15 miles of the ſea; but the ſoil, from the frequent ſucceſſions of vegetables, is very rich, and improves the farther we go inland. They are all watered with prolific rivers and refreſhing brooks, having numerous fine creeks and ports, profuſely ſtored with turtle and fiſh.

Government and ſtate of the ſlaves.

628. The country is governed by a kind of elective kings, who have a power ſimilar to our mayors, and not much greater, though farther extended. It is but thinly inhabited, and is moſtly ſubdivided into little independent ſtates, rather headed than governed by chieftains. Theſe ſtates are ſeldom founded either in wiſdom or juſtice. They have no law but cuſtom, and no policy but to preſerve their independence. Wealth is the moſt common means of becoming a chief; for as the children do not inherit the power or riches of their fathers, it is very rare that power continues in the ſame family for generations: and, while the wretched deſcendants of kings and chieftains cultivate the ſoil of cruel maſters in the W. Indies, the deſcendants of their ſlaves rule the land in Africa. The ſubjects of many black chieftains have been moſtly enſlaved in the inland or neighbouring countries, by purchaſe, fraud or violence. After having been domeſticated for a few years, they gain a kind of freedom, inſomuch that the chief dares not ſell them, without firſt convicting them of ſome real or imaginary crime, which he finds no difficult matter: yet he muſt be cautious, ſince theſe people, having only a precarious liberty, make a point of combining againſt ſteps that may affect their common ſafety. They find their principal protection in the cuſtoms of the country, bad as they are; hence they ſcrupulouſly ſupport them; and as faſt as ſlaves are domeſticated, take care to acquaint them with their intereſt, which, among other things, is not to aggrandize their maſter over much: hence a chief gains no internal, and very little relative power, by encreaſing his people, neither does he add much to his wealth, whatever he may to his reputation. Excluſive of what redounds from riches, the chiefs obtain their power ſurreptitiouſly, ſeldom exert it for the advantage of their ſubjects, and govern rather by force and chicanery, than by juſtice and equity. They have rarely any view but to gratify their own appetites, and often by abuſing power, ſacrifice the liberties, and ſometimes the lives, of individuals to their own bad paſſions. Hence it is evident their

government

APPENDIX.

government is neither calculated to promote the happineſs, nor the increaſe of the community.

White traders become chiefs.

629. A white trader who can get 2 or 300 people about him, becomes virtually a Chief in Africa. Embaſſies have been ſent to them, and they have often entered into the political diſputes of the inhabitants. As theſe traders are generally illiterate, diſſolute ſeamen, as ignorant and improvident as the black themſelves, they ſeldom or never make a proper uſe of the power granted them by the courteſy of the country; and calculate only for a little more than to acquire luxuries, and a fortune to ſubſiſt on, or rather, perhaps, to diſſipate, at home. It is then very obvious, that by a regular *Code of Laws*, a well concerted plan of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, and with little more money than would buy a cargo of ſlaves, a free commonwealth might be founded, which would be a ſanctuary for the oppreſſed people of colour, and gradually aboliſh the trade in the human ſpecies. In ſhort, if a community of 2 or 300 perſons were to be aſſociated on ſuch principles as conſtitute the proſperity of civilized nations, ſuch are the fertility of the ſoil, the value of its products, and the advantages of ſuch an eſtabliſhment, that it muſt, with the bleſſing of the Almighty, increaſe with a rapidity beyond all example; and in all probability extend it's ſaving influence in 30 or 40 years, wider than even *American Independence*. The ſources of this increaſe would be numerous: there is no ſtate in the country, which gives not a certain protection to the unfortunate; and there are all over the country little communities, beſides individuals, who have not been regularly emancipated. Theſe people live in continual fear of their former maſters, who often revive their claims, and continually ſqueeze out of them the chief produce of their little induſtry, and often make palavers*, and ſell them or their children. A free ſtate conducted with prudence, and exerting but a little regular induſtry in agriculture and commerce, would be enabled to redeem great numbers of ſlaves yearly.

Free ſociety might eaſily be formed.

630. The laws being at firſt ſettled, every number gained to the community would be an addition to the internal, as well as relative, ſtrength of the ſtate; and there is the greateſt probability that it would, in the natural courſe of things, very ſoon civilize the country, and gradually abſorb all the petty tyrannies, and change them into ſubordinate free ſtates, by offering advantages to all ranks too inviting to be reſiſted. The *Code of Laws* for ſuch a community ought to be ſhort and ſimple, and the police ſtrict, but not ſanguinary.

631. Succeſs will depend, in a great meaſure, on the goodneſs of a plan of public education, which I hold, to be the beſt adapted to form valuable citizens, to

* *Palaver* means a quarrel, diſpute, oration, amuſing ſpeech, &c.—Here it means actions at law. Theſe are generally carried on to all appearance equitably; but in ſome of *theſe* caſes they reſemble tribunals of foxes trying geeſe.

make

Digitized by Google

make men as happy as the nature of things will admit, and conſequently to make proſperous and happy ſocieties.

Cultivation and trade.

632. Rice is the ſtaple of the country, which they cultivate with moſt care. But they alſo cultivate caſſava, yams, ſweet potatoes, a little Indian and Guinea corn, and a grain as ſmall as muſtard, called pine, plantanes, ſome kinds of beans, peas and greens. Their trade at preſent is in ſlaves, ivory, camwood, rice, palm oil, fiſh, veniſon, fowls, goats, and other proviſions. Their manufactures are cotton cloths, which they rarely ſell, matting and baſket-work. They make alſo their own wood-knives, hoes, and other little implements of huſbandry, fiſhing lines, ſmall nets, &c. In their labours, however, they meet little advantage from being in ſociety: the ſame man who weaves in the morning, forges in the afternoon; at one time makes a baſket, at another thatches his houſe; to-day he works at his plantation, and to-morrow traverſes the woods or the waters for animal food; or, takes his canoe, and with his young men rows and ſails by the help of a rice-mat, 10 or 15 leagues, to buy of the neareſt ſhip or factory, 4 or 5 pounds worth of European neceſſaries and luxuries. A pot or kettle, two or three pewter baſons, cargo knives (18d. the dozen at Birmingham,) a gun, powder, ſhot, flints, a filt hat, a ſhirt, a ruffled cap, fiſh-hooks, needles and thread, coarſe woollen, linen and cotton cloths, ſilk handkerchiefs, tobacco (though it grows round his door,) rum, brandy, &c. induce his voyage. He often gets drunk as ſoon as he gets on board, and ſells not only his own goods, but thoſe he had on commiſſion from his neighbours, for rum, tobacco and gun-powder.

They unite not their exertions.

633. They ſeldom unite their ſtrength and their ſkill, but in making a plantation for the town, in rowing a canoe, and in building a houſe, in drawing an alligator or a ſhark on ſhore, and in poiſoning a piece of water to draw the fiſh. Their ſtrength is in general exhauſted upon ſolitary and trivial exertions, and two-thirds of the produce of their little induſtry is often, through a pernicious cuſtom, or a diſinclination to combine their powers at a critical moment, abandoned to the birds and beaſts, or left to rot for want of ſtores and caſks, of mechanic powers to clear it, or of Europeans to purchaſe it. Not knowing the uſe of wheels in ſpinning, they make lines and nets between the finger and thumb, or by rolling on their thighs. Hence perhaps it is they never have a ſeine of any tolerable ſize, though they often aſſiſt the ſeamen in drawing thoſe of European ſhips; neither do they unite to make a weir in the ſea, by which they might eaſily procure a conſtant ſupply of fiſh. They even hunt the elephant in ſolitude, juſt as they ſet a ſnare or a fiſh-pot.

634. From this improvidence, they are never bleſſed with any great ſuperabundance, and ſometimes not finding articles ſufficient to barter with the Europeans for indiſpenſible neceſſaries, they ſell ſome friendleſs ſervant. And, as a ſlave will buy more neceſſaries than they want, they get more rum, which is apt to produce ſuch a rage for it, as to induce them to ſell another and another. Hence the country is ſo thinly inhabited, that we rarely find a town containing 2 or 300 inhabitants,

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

within 10 or 15 leagues of another of the ſame population. The fineſt rivers will not have towns upon them, where perhaps there are 100 perſons within a long tide's diſtance of each other.

635. As they draw very little ſubſiſtence from hunting, and have every where good fiſhing places, and grounds for plantations, every little community chuſes where to pitch its tents, without any regard but to the vicinity of good water; the land itſelf becomes of no value. From theſe accounts of this people, it may be conceived, that they want ſpirit and abilities, and that they have ſuch a propenſity to indolence, that no mode of legiſlature or education will inſpire them with ingenuity and induſtry. But this is not a juſt opinion. This unhappy race have continually ſuffered by miſrepreſentation. While our moral and philoſophical writers* have ſacrificed them to ſyſtem, and our travellers to prejudice, our merchants and planters, regarding them as mere beaſts of burden, have devoted them to their avarice and cruelty †.

Their character miſrepreſented,

636. Whatever may be ſaid of the effects of local ſituation and the extremes of heat and cold, it will probably be found hereafter, that all men, in their diſpoſitions and conduct in life, are formed more by artificial than natural cauſes, by the laws which impel, and the education which trains them; in ſhort, by cuſtom and habit. A very ſingular juriſprudence, and cuſtoms, which in ſome reſpects are wiſe, but in this pernicious, enchains the inhabitants of this part of the globe, and, till the charm is broken, muſt keep them in indigence, indolence and contempt. Theſe are a juriſprudence, which renders improvement unacceptable to the public, and ingenuity dangerous to the poſſeſſor; which make reformers criminal, and takes away all merit from hoſpitality and generoſity. Under this diſpenſation, cuſtoms, which are impolitic and degrading, have as ſtrong a ſanction, as thoſe which are wiſe and improving. This cannot be better illuſtrated than by two ſimple facts:

and might be improved.

637. The cultivation of rice muſt always, according to their cuſtoms, be practiſed in a certain manner, and it is reaped by cutting the ſtalks 6 or 8 inches below the ears, one or two at a time, if they grow ſo near as to come within the graſp of the knife and right thumb. Thus 1, 2, or 3 ears are cut off and leiſurely transferred to the left hand, till it is almoſt full, when they tie it up like a noſegay, and put it in a baſket. When I ſallied out to reap my firſt crop of rice, I was quite diſappointed to ſee my labourers reaping it in this idle way, and expected to pleaſe them by ſhewing them how we reaped corn in England. Though I cut more in a few minutes, than 7 or 8 had done in half an hour, and though I begged them to ſave the ſtraw for thatch, they diſregarded my information and deſire; and I was obliged

Cuſtoms againſt induſtry

* See Monteſquieu's Spirit of Laws, and Wilſon's Effect of hot Climates on animal and vegetable Bodies.

† See Long's Hiſtory of Jamaica *paſſim*.

to

APPENDIX.

to compel them to uſe my method. The chief, who had been brought up in England, told me, that ſuch an innovation would have coſt a native his life. He would have been accuſed of intending to overthrow the cuſtoms (or laws) and would have been obliged to drink the red water, which ſeldom fails to find the culprit guilty: Thus there is a ſtop put to public improvement.—The law of hoſpitality is obſtructive of induſtry. If there is proviſion in the country, a man who wants it has only to find out who has got any; and he muſt have his ſhare. If he enter any man's houſe during his repaſt, and gives him the uſual ſalutation, the man muſt invite him to partake. Thus, whatever abundance a man may get by aſſiduity, will be ſhared by the lazy; and hence, they ſeldom calculate for more than neceſſaries. Hence alſo they ſeldom live in large communities. Induſtrious men, who have wives, children, and domeſtics about them, retire to ſome ſequeſtered creek to avoid thoſe interlopers, who lounge in every ſmall town. Here they may thrive; but are often expoſed to the dangers of ſlavery, from ſome neighbouring tyrant. But the laws of hoſpitality are not reſtrained to diet. A common man cannot quietly enjoy a ſpare ſhirt or a pair of trowſers. Thoſe who are too lazy to plant or hunt, are alſo too lazy to trade, and begging is not diſgraceful; ſo that if an induſtrious man gets a ſpare ſhirt or utenſil, he will be teazed to death for it, and he muſt not refuſe; but he muſt talk the palaver. Whatever reaſons the beggar offers for the want of any thing, he muſt give others for detaining; and ſuch is their patience, that they will palaver as long as ſome gameſters will play—long enough for the detainer to have worn out the ſhirt or matter in diſpute. A man in thoſe caſes muſt ſometimes give of neceſſity, that he may keep with ſafety. The rich are continually plagued with ſuch requeſts, and are in fact but ſtewards for the reſt. As they are conſtantly drained by their dependants, and are themſelves both improvident and extravagant, they often ſuffer a total want of European luxuries. A great chief who ſells 20 or 30 ſlaves for cloths, laced hats, beads, rum, tobacco, gunpowder, (chiefly for ſalutes) ſalt beef, pork, hams, butter, flour, buiſcuits, porter, wine, tea, coffee, chocolate, ſugar, ſpices, &c. as they affect very much to live in the European manner, ſhall, in 6 or 8 weeks, be entirely exhauſted, and be obliged to live on rice and caſſava, and take his chance of fiſhing or hunting. What a dreadful trade, and how weak muſt be ſocieties, where they part with thoſe who conſtitute the wealth of other countries, for articles, from which they derive as little benefit as we do from the Weſt Indian turtle!

might be reformed by good laws

638. From what has been ſaid, it appears, that the indolence and ignorance of theſe men ariſe not from the climate; and that good government and education would change them wonderfully. Thoſe Europeans, indeed, who are brought up in indolence and ignorance, generally remain at leaſt uſeleſs to ſociety. But many of the Gentoos, in a climate as warm as that of Africa, are, by wiſer laws and a better education, rendered ingenious and induſtrious. We have then every reaſon

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

to imagine, that by a ſmall encouragement to African productions, and by degrees introducing habits of induſtry, we might open a current of commerce, which would increaſe like one of their rivers, to which " our floods are rills." For hitherto we have been as little acquainted with Africa, as we were with America, during the firſt 20 years of our connection with that continent.

639. " I have now ſtated on what grounds a new and profitable trade to certain parts of Guinea, without dealing in human bodies, ſeems very practicable. I could have mentioned many more, but they appeared unneceſſary, ſince I have particularly deſcribed the produce of the country, and the manner in which it might be cultivated to greater advantage. Referring to that account, I ſhall conclude with ſubmitting to better judgments an outline of the methods, which the information obtained ſeems to indicate as neceſſary to the ſucceſs of a new and natural commerce to a country, which, for theſe 200 years, we have only drained of it's population, without increaſing our own, or that of the colonies, in any manner adequate to our own expenſe of men and money, or the deſolation of a prolific continent.

The Doctor's plan of colonizing.

640. " From what has been ſaid, it might ſeem, that nothing but princely fortune, or the power of government, is adequate to this undertaking. But this is not the caſe, ſince any two ſhips of 150 or 200 tons each, ſlaving on the coaſt, always carry more men, and coſt a greater outfit, than would be neceſſary for our purpoſe; and at a time like this, (viz. in 1783,) when ſo many want employment, it will not be difficult to procure proper perſons. Theſe are chiefly tradeſmen, as carpenters, joiners, coopers, ſmiths, rope-makers, ſail-makers, weavers, taylors, maſons, gardeners, men bred on Weſt India plantations, viz. planters, diſtillers, &c. Many ſuch having been preſſed, or otherwiſe introduced, into the naval or military ſervice, are now become ill-qualified to reſume their occupations at home, or are ſupplanted by younger labourers. We very often find men of moſt of theſe profeſſions on board of one Guinea ſhip, where they generally are very uſefully employed; and, when at work under the awning, make the deck appear like a manufactory.

Whites to be choſen as coloniſts

641. " Succeſs would much depend on the conduct of thoſe men. But I would alſo recommend the procuring of a great number of black men. There are, I conceive, now in this country, hundreds, and many of them perſons of character, poſſeſſed of a little property, who under the ſanction of a reſpectable company of Quakers, and the proſpect of an independent ſettlement, would gladly engage. And if it once takes place, there are vaſt numbers of people of colour in the Weſt Indies, who though *called free*, labour under ſuch intolerable oppreſſion, that they would almoſt to a man unite themſelves to ſuch a community. Even thoſe of America would not be backward in emigrating to a country where colour would be no reproach, and where they would enjoy thoſe privileges never allowed them in governments framed ſolely by white people. How far it might be prudent to acquaint the coloured

and blacks.

Digitized by Google

coloured people on the other ſide of the Atlantic of ſuch a project, previous to it's execution, is not eaſy to determine.

642. "Suppoſing one large or two ſmall ſhips, ſufficiently manned and provided, I ſhould propoſe ſailing firſt to Madeira, to take in live ſtock and wine, for medical uſes. From thence it might not be amiſs to call at the Canaries, where we might probably procure volunteers. If it might be permitted to purchaſe a few ſlaves at Senegal, Goree, and Gambia, it would be political: many of the ſlaves from thoſe parts have as juſt a ſenſe of the value of liberty, as either Britons or Americans, and are brave and ingenious men. We ſhould by theſe means vary our new ſubjects very uſefully; for, not to mention their different kinds of knowledge, one great advantage is obvious. Theſe people could not have the ſame cuſtoms and language, which they would give up for liberty, and readily agree to be governed by what they term *White-man's faſhion*. Upon this every thing would depend; for by the ſingular, as well as the uſeful, difference, we ſhould be enabled to exclude the bad cuſtoms of our ignorant neighbours. For the ſame reaſons it would be proper alſo to call at the Weſtern Iſlands, where the fine cloths are made, of which I have ſpoken in my account of cotton. The inhabitants were ſo oppreſſed formerly, as to offer by hundreds to emigrate with our Guinea captains, ſome of whom have been villains enough to ſell them in the Weſt-Indies. Here it has alſo been uſual for Guinea ſhips to take in ſalt, live ſtock and freſh proviſions, which we might probably want in that part of our voyage. When we arrive at that part of the coaſt deſtined for our ſettlement, we ſhould immediately agree with one of the kings or chiefs for a ſequeſtered port and tract of land. In a month or ſix weeks, we ſhould have compleated ſufficient habitations, and be advanced a great way in clearing land, and that without much impediment to our trade. In a few months we might not only buy quantities of rice, but ſee the indications of plenteous harveſts of our own. All ſorts of plants will vegetate merely from the genial influence of the climate. Hence the loftieſt mountains, which, at leaſt moſt of thoſe I have ſeen, are nothing but rocks, are covered to their ſummits with ſtately trees; and we often ſee fine rice flouriſhing on the ſteep ſides of thoſe mountains a mile and a half high. (§ 62.) Here then is the fineſt field for exerting that ſpecies of induſtry, which is the ſureſt foundation of national proſperity. "Agriculture, as Dr. Johnſon obſerves, not only gives riches to a nation, but the only riches we can call our own, and of which we need not fear either deprivations or diminutions." And again, "the nation which can furniſh grain and wool, may have her ſhips welcomed at a thouſand parts, or ſit at home and receive the tribute of foreign nations, enjoy their arts, or treaſure up their gold."

A mixture of people eaſieſt formed into a ſociety.

643. "As rice there is the fineſt and moſt nouriſhing of all grain, and cotton comes into univerſal demand; we ſhall have two ſolid objects of commerce on which to exerciſe our induſtry. I have two deſerted rivers in my memory, enjoying all the neceſſary advantages. In either place we could have excellent ſituations for water-mills for

Propoſed ſituation.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

for the cleanſing rice, grinding corn, and ſawing timber, good ports for ſmall craft, and fiſh in plenty. If I was to conduct this enterprize, I would lift the firſt axe and the firſt hoe myſelf; and may ſay without vanity, ſince it is ſaid from experience, ſet an example of labour and induſtry in cultivation. For huſbandry, far from being to me a drudgery, is the moſt delightful amuſement. I attribute all the extreme good health I enjoyed by intervals in Africa, with the ſoundneſs of my conſtitution at this hour, to the hard labour I then ſuſtained with infinite pleaſure, often contemplating with how much greater enjoyment I could labour, in proſecuting ſuch an attempt of civilization. It would be our buſineſs to take not only the ſeeds common in the climates, but alſo all the ſeeds to be procured from warmer regions, of uſe in food or medicine. Our own hot-houſes would furniſh us with coffee, American indigo, aloes and other uſeful plants; and I ſhould think the chocolate tree *(theobroma cacao,)* might be procured. Theſe are not indeed primary objects, but by the time they increaſe, will be very worthy of attention. As this ſettlement would require frequent ſupplies of European neceſſaries, our firſt endeavours would be to obtain ſuch remittances, by trade or cultivation, as would at leaſt ſupport our credit. In the firſt year, the erection of ſtore-houſes and other public works, would neceſſarily abridge our efforts in agriculture. Elſe by that we might hope to make very important remittances. Probably 3 or 4 blacks might, by that branch alone, in one year, pay for their redemption, which will not probably coſt us above 10 or £12 each; and our land will coſt us nothing. The Weſt India planters pay about four times as much for their ſlaves, and exorbitantly too for their grounds, with taxes and other expenſes: and yet ſome few who have borrowed their capitals at 8 and 10 per cent, have made pretty fortunes.

Seeds, &c. to be carried out.

644. "Beſides artificers, I ſhould propoſe taking out naturaliſts, to collect ſubjects in natural hiſtory, and draughtſmen to delineate them, &c. The collection I ſhipped under innumerable diſadvantages, had they all arrived ſafe, would have ſold for a very great amount.

645. "It would perhaps be the moſt prudent method, if practicable, to give the perſons employed ſmall wages, and allow them ſhares of the profits, as in diſtributing prize-money in ſhips of war. In theſe inſtances ſuch a mode may increaſe rapacity, in our's it will promote induſtry and œconomy.

Preſervation of health.

646. "Among many other regulations which I have yet to propoſe, are the methods of preſerving the health of our people. The diſtrict I propoſe, is as healthy as any between the tropics. And ſuch is my confidence of that circumſtance, and the knowledge I have of tropical diſeaſes, that, let me have the care of 100 perſons of good conſtitutions for 3 years, barring accidents and obſtinate refuſal of medicines, I would engage to bring them all home again. The mortality of Europeans on this coaſt may be objected; to which I ſhall oppoſe other facts and plain reaſoning, in my account of the diſeaſes of thoſe climates.

647.

Digitized by Google

647. "Here I ſhall only obſerve, that the Britiſh ſeamen and ſoldiers ſeem to be ſent thoſe coaſts, as if with a view to make them a ſacrifice; ſo that the wonder is not that ſo many die, but that ſo many return. But by proper precautions, it may probably be as little ſurpriſing in a few years, that 100 perſons ſhould return hearty and well, from a 3 years reſidence on the coaſt of Guinea, as after a 3 years circumnavigation, which, till governments condeſcended to conſult men of ſcience, were generally attended with the loſs of three-fourths of the ſeamen.

648. "Should any thing herein offered want elucidation, I ſhall be obliged to you for your remarks.

Hammerſmith, I am, &c.

21ſt July, 1783. HENRY SMEATHMAN."

"*Subſtance of a Plan of a Settlement, to be made near Sierra Leona, on the Grain Coaſt of Africa, intended more particularly for the ſervice and happy eſtabliſhment of Blacks and people of colour to be ſhipped as freemen, under the direction of the Committee for relieving the black poor, and under the protection of the Britiſh Government. By Henry Smeathman, Eſq. who reſided in that country near four years.*" *London printed* 1786, *in* 8vo. See § 338.

Head's of Dr. S's plan.

(1.) "ANY perſon deſirous of a permanent and comfortable eſtabliſhment, in a moſt pleaſant, fertile climate, near SIERRA LEONA, where land is cheap, may do it on the following advantageous conditions.

(2.) "They will be carried out at five guineas each perſon, and ſupplied weekly during the voyage, with 5lb. Bread, 1 ditto Beef, 3 ditto Pork, ¾ ditto Molaſſes, 1½ ditto Flour, 1 ditto Pot Barley, ½ ditto Suet, ½ ditto Raiſins, 1 pint Oatmeal, 1½ ditto Peas, 2 ditto Rum for grog; with Pimento, Ginger, &c.

(3.) "They will alſo have the ſame allowance, for 3 months after their arrival, and which will coſt 3l. 15s. ſter. for each perſon.

(4.) "Thoſe who can afford to go as ſteerage, ſteward-room, or cabin paſſengers, will be accommodated accordingly.

(5.) "On their arrival in Africa, a convenient tract of land will be purchaſed for the community, to be their joint property. A townſhip will then be marked out, and houſes run up by the joint labour of the whole, for immediate ſhelter: this may eaſily be effected there, as materials are ſo near at hand, that 10 or 12 men may erect very comfortable habitations, in a few days.

(6.) "Each perſon will be allowed, by common conſent, to poſſeſs as much land as he or ſhe can cultivate, to which they may always add as much more as their neceſſity, or convenience may require.

(7.) "It is propoſed to take out proper artificers, for erecting the neceſſary buildings, and dividing the lands.

(8.) "Beſide the produce obtained from their own lands, individuals, by moderate labour, will have other eaſy means of procuring, not only the neceſſaries, but alſo

APPENDIX.

alſo the comforts of life. Fowls, hogs, goats, and ſheep, are very cheap, being propagated with a rapidity unknown in Europe; plenty of fiſh may be eaſily caught; and the foreſts abound with veniſon, wild-fowl, and other game.

(9.) "Such are the mildneſs and fertility of the climate and country, that a man poſſeſſed of a change of cloathing, an axe, a hoe, and a pocket knife, may ſoon place himſelf in an eaſy ſituation. All the cloathing wanted is what decency requires; and the earth turned up of 2 or 3 inches, with a ſlight hoe, produces any kind of grain.

(10.) "Theſe favourable circumſtances, combined with the peaceable temper of the natives, promiſe the numerous advantages reſulting from the quiet cultivation of the earth, and the exportation of it's productions, which may be very advantageouſly exchanged for European manufactures.

(11.) "The climate is very healthy to thoſe who live on the productions of the country. The cauſe why it has been fatal to many whites, is, that they have led moſt intemperate lives; have ſubſiſted chiefly on dried, ſalted, rancid and other unwholeſome proviſions; and have indulged beyond all bounds, in the uſe of ſpirits. They have been alſo cooped up in ſhips, ſmall craft, or factories, ſtationed for the advantage of trade, in cloſe rivers or creeks, not chooſing healthy ſpots, as is now propoſed. Add to this, that the ſurgeons of ſhips trading thither, have hitherto been generally ignorant of the proper mode of treating diſeaſes in that climate; or they have not been ſufficiently ſupplied with medicines. Many perſons have periſhed for want of good diet or nurſing, and not a few from the total neglect of that mutual aſſiſtance, which the ſettlement propoſed will furniſh. (See § 74 *et ſeq.*)

(12.) "The adventurers on this new eſtabliſhment will be under the care of a phyſician, who has had 4 years practice on the coaſt of Africa, and as many in the W. Indies; and who being well provided, accompanied by ſkilful aſſiſtants, in ſurgery, midwifry, &c. and by ſeveral experienced women, they will enjoy every neceſſary aſſiſtance.

(13.) "It is alſo intended that the adventurers ſhall be accompanied by a clergyman, and a ſchoolmaſter and miſtreſs, at the expence of the whole community.

(14.) "Such will be the ſituation of thoſe, who cultivate their plantations for their own advantage: but, as many, inſtead of working wholly for themſelves, may chooſe occaſionally to ſerve the agent, or any other individual, for hire: ſome will employ their money in cultivation and trade: in that caſe the labourers will be ſupplied with proviſions, and paid for their daily labour in the currency of the country.

(15.) "Only 8 hours of fair labour each day will be required, in ſummer or winter; and on Saturday's only 6 hours. The ſabbath will be ſet apart as a day of reſt, inſtruction, and devotion.

(16.) "The coloniſts being under the protection of the Britiſh Government, will conſequently enjoy both civil and religious liberty, as in Great-Britain.

(17.)

Digitized by Google

(17.) " Diſputes relative to property, or offences committed among themſelves, will be ſettled according to the laws, by their own peers, in a town meeting.

(18.) " Offenders againſt the natives, in neighbouring diſtricts, will be amenable to the laws of the country, unleſs the agent ſhall be able to compound for the penalty.

(19.) " In addition to thoſe perſons who are able to pay for their paſſage, it is intended to conduct this enterpriſe, on the moſt humane principles: it will be extended to others who have not money, on condition of agreements for their reſpective hire, to be calculated according to the ages and abilities of the parties; ſo that every one may be ſure of having a comfortable proviſion made, after a ſhort period, on the reaſonable terms of moderate labour.

(20.) " And whereas many black perſons, and people of colour, refugees from America, diſbanded from His Majeſty's ſervice by ſea or land, or otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed objects of Britiſh humanity, are at this time in the greateſt diſtreſs, they are invited to avail themſelves of the advantages of the plan propoſed.

(21.) " The committee, appointed for the relief of the Black Poor, having repreſented their unhappy ſituation to the Right Hon. the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, Government has agreed to furniſh them, not only with a paſſage and proviſion, but alſo with cloathing, proviſions for 3 months after their landing, together with all ſorts of tools and implements of huſbandry, neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of a new colony, according to the ſchedules annexed. (See § 129.)

(22.) " Such perſons will be alſo entitled to the neceſſary allotment of land, and other benefits, in as great a latitude as will render their lives eaſy.

(23.) " An opportunity ſo advantageous may perhaps never be offered to them again; for they and their poſterity may enjoy perfect freedom. Settled in a country congenial to their conſtitutions, and having the means, by moderate labour, of the moſt comfortable livelihood, they will find a certain and ſecure retreat from their former ſufferings.

HENRY SMEATHMAN."

SCHEDULES ABOVE REFERRED TO.

(24.) The Weekly Allowance of Proviſions for the Voyage, and for 3 Months after their Arrival, the ſame as above.

Cloathing at the rate of 2l. 15s. *for each Man.*

1 Blue Jacket,
1 Striped Flannel ditto.
1 Pair of Canvaſs Trowſers
1 Pair of Flannel ditto.
2 Pair of Shoes,
4 Shirts,
2 Knives,
1 Razor,
1 Hat,

Bedding,
Cloaths for the Women in proportion.

Tools and Utenſils at the rate of 19s. 2d. *value for each perſon.*

1 Hoe,
1 Wood Axe,
1 Pewter Baſon of 2lb.

1 Wooden Cann and drinking Horn.

For a Company of twelve perſons.

1 Iron Pot of 5 Gallons,
1 Ditto. 2 Galls.
1 Ditto. 1 Gall.
1 Iron Water Ciſtern of 20 Galls.
2 Pails,
1 Iron Crow,

1 Whip

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

1 Whip Saw,
1 Croſs Cut ditto,
2 Hand-Saws,
1 Caſſava Grater,
2 Meſs Baſons of 4lb.
1 Wheelbarrow,
3 Spades,
3 Shovels,

Medicines, &c. for a Company of 100 Perſons.

A Medicine Cheſt at 16s. for each perſon, including 80lb. of Bark.
Wine, Porter, Vinegar, &c. for the Sick, for 100 Perſons, at 9s. 10d. each Perſon.

Tool Cheſt, and ſteel Tools, for 100 Perſons.

6 Broad axes,
3 Falling ditto.
6 Adzes.
5 Dozen Chiſſels and Gouges,
6 Claw Hammers, ſorted,
6 Raſps and Files,
6 Pair of Pinchers,
2 Pair of Pliers,
1 Dozen Augers,
1 Chalk Line and Rule,
1 Tenon Saw,
3 Hand Saws,
12 Files and 2 ſets,
2 Rules,
2 Iron Squares,
1 Bevil and Square,
3 Pair of Compaſſes,
4 Draw Borers,
6 Brad Pinchers,
2 Whetſtones,
6 Dozen Gimlets, ſorted,
1 Doz. Brads, Awls and Handles
1 Mallet,
6 Drawing Knives,
Glue and Glue Pot,
1 Bench Screw,
2 Screw Drivers,
1 Philiſter,
1 Plough,
3 Smoothing Planes,
1 Jack ditto,
2 Fore ditto,
1 Jointer,
1 Grindſtone,
6 Pick and Matt Axes,
2 Mauls,
6 Splitting Wedges,
6 Hatchets,
3 Screw Jacks for Timber,
6 Trowels.

649. To Dr. Smeathman's plan is annexed the following hand-bill, which throws ſome light on the hiſtory of the Colony at Sierra Leona.

BLACK POOR.

"IT having been very maturely and humanely conſidered, by what means a ſupport might be given to the Blacks, who ſeek the protection of this government; it is found that no place is ſo fit and proper, as the Grain Coaſt of Africa; where the neceſſaries of life may be ſupplied, by the force of induſtry and moderate labour, and life rendered very comfortable. It has been meditated to ſend Blacks to Nova Scotia, but this plan is laid aſide, as that country is unfit and improper for the ſaid Blacks.

"The Committee for the Black Poor* accordingly recommended Henry Smeathman, Eſq. who is acquainted with this part of the coaſt of Africa, to take charge of all the ſaid perſons, who are deſirous of going with him: and to give them all fit and proper encouragement, agreeably to the humanity of the Britiſh Government.

Batſon's Coffee-houſe,
17th May, 1786.

By deſire of the Committee,
JONAS HANWAY, Chairman.

"Thoſe who are deſirous of profiting by this opportunity, of ſettling in one of the moſt pleaſant and fertile countries in the known world, may apply for further information to Mr. SMEATHMAN, the Author of the Plan, and Agent for the Settlement, at the Office for free Africans, No. 14, Canon-ſtreet."

* A liſt of that reſpectable Committee is inſerted at § 331, note.

650 Dr.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

650. Dr. Lettſom, to whoſe liberal communications I have been much indebted, has favoured me with the peruſal of a great number of Dr. Smeathman's original letters to him, ſome of which are, in many reſpects, very intereſting. From them it appears, that Dr. S. while in Paris, was much engaged in the improvement of air balloons, a purſuit natural enough to his philoſophic mind: but I believe his propoſed application of it was altogether peculiar to himſelf; for he declares his reſolution to appropriate all the profits, which might reſult from his intended aeronautic adventures, to his African ſcheme. Men of a ſportive fancy, may perhaps deride this idea, as little elſe than a project to build one aerial caſtle upon another. But a little reflection will remind them, that ſome of the greateſt diſcoveries were originally projects. They will remember, that Galileo was not only derided, but perſecuted; that Columbus was treated as a projector; and that even Newton, though ſupported by demonſtration, was ridiculed and contradicted, before he was underſtood. Without ranking Smeathman with ſuch names, it ſeems but juſt to allow him the praiſe due to that generoſity, capacity and perſeverance which prompted him, under many diſcouragements, to purſue an arduous enterprize, only as the means of attempting one ſtill more arduous, and far more uſeful.—But my limits will not admit any farther particulars reſpecting this ſingular genius. This is the leſs to be regretted, as Dr. Lettſom well knew, better than I, how to apply Smeathman's letters, and the other valuable MSS. in his poſſeſſion, to the benefit of mankind, which I am perſuaded he ardently wiſhes to promote.——For a proof of Dr. Smeathman's taſte for Natural Hiſtory, eſpecially the more uſeful parts of it, ſee his account of thoſe deſtructive inſects the *Termites*, (Wood-ants, Wood-lice, Bug-a-bugs,) in the Phil. Tranſ. for 1781.

Dr. S's letters to Dr. Lettſom

The following intereſting Paper is taken verbatim *from a ſcarce Book, entitled, "Philoſophical Experiments and Obſervations of the late Dr. Robert Hook, "S. R. S. &c." publiſhed by Mr. Derham, London, 1726.*

"*Tranſcript of a Paper of a Quantity of Gold up the River Gambay, in* 1693.

651. "YOUR importunity, together with my gratitude to you, for your moſt curious informations and inſtructions in the mechanics (without which, I confeſs my labour had been in vain) has extorted that from me, which, I confeſs, the reſolution I had a-new taken to the contrary, by reſolving never to divulge, either for love, or force; to which end I expect, according to your faithful and ſolemn vows of ſecrecy, both of the buſineſs itſelf, and likewiſe of which I would not ſhould be known to the King for £10,000, being content with what proportion it

The writer requires ſecrecy.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

hath pleaſed God to aſſign me, as well as with the King's revenues. Nor ſhall I wholly, or fully, diſcover the vaſt proportion of gold I diſcovered there, being ſo much, not fit to be communicated to paper, as not knowing to whoſe eyes, or through whoſe hands this may come. I ſhall only tell you, I was more troubled to obſcure its abundance from my fellows, than to bring down what I got; and I am confident, that if yourſelf go upon this deſign, and follow the directions of my journal, and attain your purpoſe, you yourſelf will be of my opinion; for, as it is ſaid, "what will the whole world profit a man, if he loſe his ſoul?" ſo I ſay, what will the riches of both the Indies advantage, if thereby you forfeit your ſecurity, life, and freedom? And how will you be aſſured of any of theſe, if theſe things ſhould come to knowledge of ſuch as have power of you, and to command you in what they pleaſe: that I do truly tell you, did I not value my own peace and quiet at ſo high a rate as I do, I ſhould come willingly, and manifeſt it to his Sacred Majeſty; though I am not ſatisfied in that neither, as not knowing whether the information may prove good or bad to the public; however, I conjure you a-new, that, whatever you attempt, you conceal me, ſo that directly or indirectly I be not diſcovered.

The quantity of gold great.

Directions reſpecting the boat and apparatus.

652. "If you go on the buſineſs, let your boat be flat-bottomed, for mine being ſome ſeven tons, or thereabout, and made after the common faſhion, was extremely troubleſome, both at fords and at falls, where we were forced to unlade her; and having unladed her, to heave her, or launch her over land: you ought alſo to have a little boat for common uſe, which you will find extreme uſeful. You adviſed me to take 20 pounds of quickſilver, for trials; if you go, take at leaſt 100 pounds, for ſome in working will be loſt, as you know better than myſelf: your advice alſo, for 50 pounds of lead, is too little, take 150 pounds, much more you cannot well carry, for the peſtering of your boat.

653. "The Sal Armoniac I uſed little of, for it I can give you no advice: the Borax I uſed all, wiſhed for more, if you go, carry 50 pounds; my ſand ever did me rare ſervice, I uſed it all, better have 10 pounds too much than too little, therefore take 40 pounds. I am confident, if I had carried the philoſophers bellows, I had done very well; I was ſo troubled with fitting the other, though I confeſs them better when a-new placed. Antimonia Horn did me little ſervice; I believe it rather from my ignorance, or wanting the perfect uſe and inſtruction you gave me. Ingots I would take two, I carried but one, I wanted another for expedition.

Wedges 12, with a ſledge or two, or beetle; for about 12 Engliſh miles from the firſt fall, or ſomewhat more to the ſouthward, in the ſide of a barren rock, looking weſtward, there is a cliff in the rock, rather moſt rich between the ſtones, almoſt half a handful thick in ſome places. Our pick-axes did here ſtand us in no great ſtead, but having with us ſome iron tools, that we could hardly ſpare, with much ado made a ſcurvy iron wedge, and preſently we found the benefit of that, for ſome 12 or 14 days, till improvidently one of us driving the wedge

Digitized by Google

wedge up to the head, and not having another to relieve it, we were forced to leave it behind us, to our great loſs and grief. Wooden bowls from England, ſix or eight, are very neceſſary, and will do better than gourds, that I was forced to make uſe of; you may take ſtore of them, it is no ſore.

654. "For the crucibles I muſt inform, that four large melting pots, in our large work, will ſtead you much, and make better diſpatch than ſix neſts of crucibles; though you cannot well ſpare thoſe, I was forced to make uſe of a broken earthen pot, that I carried along with me; I made uſe of it till it broke, had I had crucibles, and pots enough, I had brought ſo much gold in ſand or Tyber.

655. "For the ſeparating and diſſolving waters, I uſed but little, becauſe their uſe was troubleſome, neither had I conveniencies to erect a ſtill a-ſhore; but for the Aqua Regis I uſed it all, and could have done more, if I had had it; yet, in my opinion, the trials of quickſilver are better, had I had it. But I carry coals to Newcaſtle; you know better the operation than myſelf. Let your mortar be of iron, and large; I wiſh I had followed your directions in that, for my braſs one put me to a double trouble, and I was enforced to leave the refining of much, till I came into England, for the Mercury got a *ſpurca* from thence, which is communicated to my gold, which no art, I underſtand, could free it from; in this particular you left me lame, or my memory much failed.

656. "There is a tree much like our cornels in England, but very large, which we felled, and made a ſhift to make charcoal of, which we did thus; we cut off the boughs, for we wanted a ſaw, and therefore could not meddle with the body of the tree, and cut them into ſhort pieces; then we digged a good large pit, or hole in the ground, about a yard wide, and ſo deep, or deeper; in the bottom we kindled a fire, and filled it with wood, and when it was well burned, threw earth upon it, and damped it; and when it was cold, we took out the coals: you will eaſily find the place, if you obſerve but the cautions; you will come to a broad gathering together of waters, not much inferior to Ronnander Meer, in the edge of Lancaſhire: here we ſpent a week in ſearching many creeks and in-falls of rivers; but we followed that which points ſouth eaſt and by eaſt. My miſerable ignorance, in the mathematics, cannot direct you, neither for longitude or latitude. Up the buſſing ſtream, with ſad labour, we wrought, and ſometimes could not go above two miles in a day. You muſt paſs the firſt fall; yet there my exceed of gold was 47 grains from 10 pounds of ſand. When we, or you come to the upper fall, you will be much troubled, I believe, as well as I, to get your boat over land; but being up, proceed till you come to the in-fall of a ſmall ſtream to the ſouth, directly thence liſten, and you ſhall hear a fall of waters; you cannot get your boat thither, by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of the brook; you will there find our reliques on the ſide of the rock, with many of our names, I mean, letters of our names, cut with our knives. Here, though the ſand, by the waſh, yield plentifully, yet do you aſcend the top of the rock, and, pointing your face

The writer makes charcoal.

Marks to find the place.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX. face directly weſt, you will obſerve a ſnug of rocks ſomewhat to the left hand of you; and, under that, if the rains and force of weather have not waſhed away the earth and ſtones, you will diſcover (they being unmoved) the mouth of the mine itſelf; where being provided with materials fit for that work, you will not deſire to proceed any further, or with a richer vein.

657. "Take this, all along, for a conſtant rule, which I, in my ſearch, obſerved up the river, that in the low, and woody and fertile country, I could never find either metal or rich mine, but always among barren rocks and mountainous countries, and commonly accompanied with a reddiſh kind of earth. Other inſtructions I ſhall not give you, being (as I conceive) a thing needleſs to you, unleſs I ſhould return you your own principal, this being but only the intereſt of what is due, beſides that obligation which tieth me unalterably to remain, &c.

Crew & cargo

658. "I began my voyage up the river, December the 4th, about two hours before the ſun ſet; in my company no more than ſeven men, beſides myſelf, all Engliſh, and four blacks, whereof one was a Maribuck, who, being acquainted with the Portugal language, I intended for an interpreter, if I ſhould ſtand in need; but the main was, to help us in our labour againſt the ſtream. My proviſions were chiefly of two ſorts: for my voyage and for accommodation, three barrels of beef, ten gammons of bacon, two barrels of white ſalt, beſides bay ſalt for trade; alſo two hogſheads of biſcuit, beſides rice; half a barrel of gunpowder, and ſhot proportionable; ſtrong-water, vinegar, paper, beads, looking-glaſſes, knives 18d. per dozen, ſome iron, little braſs chains, pewter rings, and a deal of ſuch like ſtuff, as occaſion permitted: the other ſort of proviſions were a pair of goldſmith's bellows, crucibles four neſts, ſcarnelles two neſts, quickſilver, borax, ſal-armoniac, aqua regis, aqua fortis, a mortar and peſtle, and leather ſkins to ſtrain, braſs ſcoops and ladles with long handles, to take up ſand, and other implements for my private deſign: all which had laden my boat far deeper than I deſired; for thereby I drew much water, which, I was jealous, might hinder our progreſs over the flats, if we ſhould meet with any.

659. "December the 7th, we arrived near Settico, being 14 or 15 leagues above where our men ſtaid; but paſſed one half league further up where we anchored, the river there being broad, we always chuſing the middle, as being freeſt from diſturbance, though it oft fell out otherwiſe; for our ugly neighbours, I mean the ſea-horſes and crocodiles (it ſeems) ill pleaſed, or unacquainted with any co-partners in theſe watery regions, did often diſturb us in the night, not only with their ugly noiſes, but their vicinity to our very boats, which cauſed us to keep watch.

Sea-horſes and crocodiles troubleſome.

660. "December the 23d, we were much troubled that day with getting over a flat, under the waſh of a ſteep and high mountain bearing ſouth. Here I firſt put in practice my deſign, and took up ſome ſand at the firſt trial of the ford, and out of five

five pound weight of that ſand, got three or four grains of gold. I tried alſo in another place of the ſame ford, but did get leſs. I ſaw neither town, nor houſes, nor people, ſince we left Baracunda.

661. "January the 14th, at a ford between two high mountains, I tried again; and out of ten pounds weight of ſand, I waſhed 30 grains of gold. I made a trial likewiſe with mercury, and found out of five pounds, 47 grains. Here my hopes increaſed, yet reſolved to try higher. 47gr. gold from 5lb. ſand.

662. "January the 27th, we were much troubled with great trees that lay in the water upon the ſide of a rock, on a craggy, barren mountain adjoining. I aſcended, with three men with me, to make diſcovery; and carrying a pick-axe with me, which, as we were digging up a piece of ore, as I conceived, we were aſſaulted with an incredible number of monſtrous great baboons; whom, no oratory, but our guns, could perſuade to let us retreat to our boats; for, having killed two or three of them, ſo incenſed the reſt, that had not the report of our guns terrified them, I verily believe they would have torn us to pieces: having attained our boat, I fell to try my ore; which proved but a ſparre.

663. "February the 6th, I made a trial of a certain glittering ſand, which I took up from the ſide of a rock, the river here inclining ſouthward, with a ſudden turning like an elbow. The waſh of this, afforded 41 grains from 10 pounds weight of ſand: by other trials, from five pounds weight of ſand, 57 grains. Here I thought to make a ſtand; yet, upon more ſerious advice, had reſolved to proceed. 41gr. from 10lb. 57gr. from 5lb.

664. "February the 15th at night, a ſea-horſe ſtruck our boat through with one of his teeth, which troubled us ſore, being all bad carpenters; which cauſed us to unload her on a ſmall pinnacle to mend her; and, to prevent the like miſchief for the future, I invented this device, to hang a lanthorn at our ſtern; and thereby we were freed from all after-troubles of that nature, they not daring to come within three or four boats length of light ſhining in the water.

665. "February the 24th, I tried the uſe of Virga Divina, upon a high, barren and rocky mountain: but, whether it afforded no metal, or whether my rod, being cut in England, and being dried and carried far by ſea, had loſt it's virtue; or whether it hath no ſuch quality (which I rather believe) I am not certain. However, my companions laughed me out of the conceit. *Virga Divina* tried.

666. "March the 16th, between two mountainous rocks iſſued a creek; and, putting up therein, diſcovered a fall of waters from the ſouth of the river. Here, making trial by the way, I found 63 grains of gold from five pounds weight of ſand. Other trials, more exact, afforded very large proportions; ſo that here we ſpent 20 days; and, plying hard our work, in that time had gotten 12 pounds Troy, five ounces, two penny-weights, 15 grains, of good gold. 63gr. from 5lb. Above 12lb. 5 oz. gold got in 20 days.

667. "March the 31ſt, our materials waſting apace, I was willing to try further, here beginning our greateſt toil; for, often in a day, we were conſtrained to ſtrip ourſelves,

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

River ſhallow, water bad.

ſelves, and leap into water, with main ſtrength to force our boats and the flats. Nor was this our greateſt affliction; for the river water ſmells ſo ſweet and muſky, that we could not drink of it, nor dreſs our meat with it; and, as we conceive, by reaſon of the abundance of crocodiles, which have the ſame ſcent.

668. "April the 7th, we perceived the in-fall of a ſmall river ſouth, the current quick, the land all rocky and mountainous, and, in the ſilence of the night, could hear the noiſe, perfectly, of a great fall of waters; and before the mouth of it, anchored that night.

669. "In the morning, into that we put, and came as near the fall as we well could. Our water failed; but our indefatigable induſtry overcame all difficulties; for, what I could not by water, I did attempt by land: where arriving, I found the long expected end of our moſt toilſome and long voyage; for, I believe, never any boat, nor any Chriſtians, have been ſo high in that river, as we. Here, upon the firſt trial I made, the exceed of gold was ſo much, that I was ſurpriſed with joy and admiration: however, here I was reſolved to lay down my ſtaff; and to that end, the firſt thing I did, was to go the boat; and, about a league and a half thence, I found wood. Here we practiſed to turn colliers, and laded our ſmall boat with as much as ſhe could well carry back; we went and fell to work, for which I hope (to God alone be praiſe) none of the company hath cauſe to repent, for the great pains and labour he took, though we choſe the worſt time of the year almoſt, the waters being then at the very loweſt; but had we gone immediately after the rains, which is June, July and Auguſt, or before the waters were fallen ſo low, we had been free from much of that trouble, at fords and falls, by having water enough to carry us over.

Gold in an aſtoniſhing quantity.

"*At the end of the paper are theſe words.*

"Tranſcribed *verbatim* from a paper manuſcript, lent me by *Mr. Fr. Lodwick*, Octob. 2, 1693, by

R. HOOK."

"This paper (which I have here publiſhed exactly as I found it) I not long ſince lent to a perſon of great quality, for the ſervice of the African Company (then ſetting out for an expedition into thoſe parts) and I hope it hath, or will prove as much for their benefit, as my wiſhes are. The paper ſeems to have been written by one that had gotten great riches, in King Charles the IId's time, by his progreſs up the river Gambay: and his deſcriptions of the openings, and turnings of the Gambay, the inlets of other rivers into it, the adjacent mountains, &c. may be a good guide to undertakers, how to find out the place, where our author met with gold, even to ſatiety. Who he was, can ſcarce be known, he conjuring his friend, Mr. Lodwick (to whom I conceive this letter was addreſſed) to the greateſt ſecrecy, being, I ſuppoſe, afraid to be known, or talked of, leſt he ſhould be commanded away, by the King and government, upon another expedition, from that peaceable and ſatisfactory retirement he enjoyed, after his acquiſition of ſufficient wealth.

W. DERHAM."

The above curious paper is inſerted in F. Moore's "Travels into the inland Parts of Africa." But he does not ſay from whence he copied it; and has not mentioned the year, (1693) nor the names of Lodwick, Hook, or Derham. *C. B. W.*

From

Digitized by Google

From Dr. Franklin's "Essay on Luxury, Idleness and Industry," in his letter to B. Vaughan, Esq. written in 1784. *Franklin's Works, Vol. II. p.* 133.

See § 36, 37.

670. "I have not yet thought of a remedy for luxury. I am not sure that in a great state it is capable of a remedy; nor that the evil is in itself always so great as it is represented. Suppose we include in the definition of luxury all unnecessary expence, and then let us consider whether laws to prevent such expence are possible to be executed in a great country, and whether, if they could be executed, our people generally would be happier, or even richer. Is not the hope of being one day able to purchase and enjoy luxuries, a great spur to labour and industry? May not luxury therefore produce more than it consumes, if, without such a spur, people would be, as they are naturally enough inclined to be, lazy and indolent? To this purpose I remember a circumstance. The skipper of a shallop, employed between Cape-May and Philadelphia, had done us some small service, for which he refused to be paid. My wife understanding that he had a daughter, sent her a present of a new-fashioned cap. Three years after, this skipper being at my house with an old farmer of Cape-May, his passenger, he mentioned the cap, and how much his daughter had been pleased with it. "But (said he) it proved a dear cap to our congregation."—"How so?"—"When my daughter appeared with it at meeting, it was so much admired, that all the girls resolved to get such caps from Philadelphia; and my wife and I computed that the whole could not have cost less than a hundred pounds."—"True (said the farmer,) but you do not tell all the story. I think the cap was nevertheless an advantage to us; for it was the first thing that put our girls upon knitting worsted mittens for sale at Philadelphia, that they might have wherewithal to buy caps and ribbons there; and you know that that industry has continued, and is likely to continue and increase to a much greater value, and answer better purposes."—Upon the whole, I was more reconciled to this little piece of luxury, since not only the girls were made happier by having fine caps, but the Philadelphians by the supply of warm mittens.

Innocent luxury promotes industry.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

From Dr. Franklin's Essay, entitled "Precautions to be used by those who are about to undertake a long Sea Voyage." Franklin's Works, Vol. II. p. 128.
See § 141.

Navigation, when useful & when noxious.

671. "When navigation is employed only for transporting necessary provisions from one country, where, they abound, to another where they are wanting; when by this it prevents famines, which were so frequent and so fatal before it was invented and became so common; we cannot help considering it as one of those arts which contribute most to the happiness of mankind.—But when it is employed to transport things of no utility, or articles merely of luxury, it is then uncertain whether the advantages resulting from it are sufficient to counterbalance the misfortunes it occasions, by exposing the lives of so many individuals upon the vast ocean. And when it is used to plunder vessels and transport slaves, it is evidently only the dreadful means of increasing those calamities which afflict human nature.

672. One is astonished to think on the number of vessels and men who are daily exposed in going to bring tea from China, coffee from Arabia, and sugar and tobacco from America; all commodities which our ancestors lived very well without. The sugar-trade employs nearly a thousand vessels; and that of tobacco almost the same number. With regard to the utility of tobacco, little can be said: and, with regard to sugar, how much more meritorious would it be to sacrifice the momentary pleasure which we receive from drinking it once or twice a-day in our tea, than to encourage the numberless cruelties that are continually exercised, in order to procure it us?

Sugar may be said to be tinged with human blood;

673. A celebrated French moralist said, that, when he considered the wars which we foment in Africa to get negroes, the great number who of course perish in these wars; the multitude of those wretches who die in their passage, by disease, bad air, and bad provisions; and lastly, how many perish by the cruel treatment they meet with in a state of slavery; when he saw a bit of sugar, he could not help imagining it to be covered with spots of human blood. But, had he added to these considerations the wars which we carry on against one another, to take and retake the islands that produce this commodity, he would not have seen the sugar simply *spotted* with blood, he would have beheld it entirely tinged with it.

dearer in Paris and London than in Vienna.

674. These wars make the maritime powers of Europe, and the inhabitants of Paris and London, pay much dearer for their sugar than those of Vienna, though they are almost three hundred leagues distant from the sea. A pound of sugar, indeed, costs the former not only the price which they give for it, but also what they pay in taxes, necessary to support those fleets and armies which serve to defend and protect the countries that produce it.

Notes

Digitized by Google

Notes and Documents, respecting S. LEONA and BULAMA.

NOTE A. See § 330.

675. I have already given some instances of the desire of improvement which animates the Africans, and have mentioned with the respect it deserves, the manly and humane policy of an African chief, in asserting his independence on the whites, in prohibiting the slave-trade, &c. (See § 16, 23, 38, 147, 497 *et seq.*) But notwithstanding these instances, and the very numerous proofs of African genius and docility, contained in the Evidence before the British Privy Council and House of Commons, as well as in the Reports of the S. Leona Directors, some persons may still entertain that kind of doubt on this head, which, even in well disposed minds, often arises from involuntary prejudice. Such persons will be surprised to find that an overture for civilizing Africa should have come from a prince of that country, and especially from one of those princes whose barbarity, having been first *purposely exaggerated*, has been largely insisted on, by *some self-contradictory* slave merchants, as an argument for their traffic. (See Lord Muncaster's Sketches of the History of the Slave-trade.)

Africans desirous of improvement.

676. It appears, however, that about the year 1726, after that great, and consequently bloody, conqueror, Trudo Audati, King of Dahomy, had subjugated the maritime kingdoms of Ardrah and Whydah, he sent Bulfinch Lambe, a servant of the English African Company, whom in 1724, he had made prisoner at Ardrah, to the Court of Great Britain, to propose the establishment of a British colony in his dominions. Lambe, it seems, was the first white man Trudo had ever seen, and he was so charmed with his accounts of the arts and policy of Europe, that, thinking to make him instrumental in introducing them into his own country, he had endeavoured, for above two years, to attach him to his interests, by a profusion of favours. On Lambe's departure, the king presented him with a number of slaves and 320 ounces of gold. In order to know whether Lambe's accounts of England were true, he sent along with him a negro, called Tom, whom he had also taken at Ardrah, who was a man of address, spoke good English and was to return with Lambe. The latter, however, like a true slave-dealer, sold poor Tom in Maryland. He afterwards traded among the W. Indian islands till 1728, when he heard at Antigua, that Capt. Snelgrave had said, that the king, notwithstanding his long absence, still spoke of him with regard. He then went to Maryland and redeemed Tom, whom he brought to London, in 1731. There he found Capt. Snelgrave who told him that, after so long and unaccountable an absence, it would be imprudent in him to return to Dahomy. Thinking, however, to profit by Tom's address and his own, Lambe had the impudence to announce him, under the title of "His Excellency Adomo Oroonoko Tomo, ambassador from His Majesty Trudo Audati, King of Dahomy, Ardrah and Whidah." In this character, Tom delivered to King George II. his credentials, which having been referred to the Lords of Trade,

Colony proposed by an African chief, in 1726,

but frustrated by a slave-captain's villainy.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

were declared ſpurious; as well they might, for Lambe had drawn them up in London. Capt. Snelgrave, however, having explained the whole matter, His Excellency Adomo Oroonoko Tomo had his titles docked, and was reduced to plain Tom: but having been ſtill looked upon as a perſon actually ſent by the King of Dahomy, though in a very humble ſtation, he was not a little noticed by the great. After ſpending ſome time in viewing the curioſities and enjoying the amuſements of London, (ſee § 146 n.) he became impatient to return home, and having received ſome conſiderable preſents for the King his maſter, he was ſent over in His Majeſty's ſhip the Tiger, Capt. Berkley; but Lambe did not think proper to accompany him. The king received the preſents very courteouſly, and made a valuable return; but it never reached England, for Capt. Berkley, not having had time or patience to wait for a meſſenger from the inland country of Dahomy, had ſailed before the King's preſent reached the coaſt.—See Smith's Voyage to Guinea, p. 83, 125, French tranſlation, and Snelgrave's Account of Guinea, p. 9, 78, French tranſlation.

NOTE B. See § 334.

Moſt of the firſt coloniſts of S. Leona an abandoned crew.

677. During the American war, many negroes entered on board the Britiſh ſhips of war, or repaired to the Britiſh ſtandard, and were formed into regiments of rangers; and they generally behaved well, both by ſea and land. At the peace in 1783, part of them, as well as of the white loyaliſts, were conveyed to the Bahama iſlands, part to Nova Scotia, and others to G. Britain, chiefly to London. Theſe laſt, having been indigent, unemployed, deſpiſed and forlon, ſoon added to the vices of common ſoldiers and ſailors thoſe of the numerous beggars who, notwithſtanding the prodigious ſums *levied* for maintaining the poor, diſgrace the police of this capital. Such, together with a few whites, chiefly ſtrumpets, were the firſt coloniſts of S. Leona! Their ſubſequent conduct was ſuch as might naturally be expected from perſons of their deſcription. But it was neceſſary they ſhould be ſent ſomewhere, and be no longer ſuffered to infeſt the ſtreets of London.

Provided with neceſſaries by Government, and with comforts by Mr. Sharp.

678. Accordingly tranſports, proviſions, tools, arms, &c. having been furniſhed by the Britiſh Government, many of the black poor embarked, in the river Thames before Chriſtmas 1786; and, by confinement and living entirely on ſalt proviſions, they began to be ſickly, even before they left the river. Others delayed going on board till Jan. and Feb. 1787; having been deterred by an apprehenſion that they were to be ſent to Botany Bay; for ſhips with convicts on board then lay at Portſmouth, where the ſhips for S. Leona were alſo to wait for orders. Many having pawned their cloaths, refuſed to go on board till they were redeemed. Mr. Granville Sharp, however, not only took up their pawns, at his own expenſe, but alſo furniſhed them with many comforts, in addition to the neceſſaries allowed by Government.

On

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

679. On arriving at Portſmouth (20th Feb. 1787) it was found that, of 700 blacks who offered themſelves, only 441 had embarked on board the three tranſports appointed to receive them. On the 22d Feb. they ſailed from Portſmouth, under command of Capt. Thompſon of His Majeſty's ſloop the Nautilus; but, having been immediately ſeparated by a ſtorm, they did not all rendezvous at Plymouth till the 19th March. Thus the beſt part of the ſeaſon was loſt; and many of the poor people had been on board above three months, and were very ſickly. The rum furniſhed for their comfort proved their greateſt bane. Many were daily intoxicated, by drinking their whole day's allowance at once—an irregularity which, with ſalt proviſions, and a ſituation rather crowded, increaſed the ſickneſs ſo much, that above 50 had died before they reached Plymouth. The rum alſo cauſed mutinous behaviour, for which 24 were diſcharged; and 23 ran away. But, having received ſome recruits, 411 finally ſailed from Plymouth, on the 9th of April 1787, and having experienced the mortality ſtated in § 334, the ſurvivors arrived at S. Leona on the 9th of May.

Sail, under Capt Thompſon. Their numbers and mortality in England.

680. After ſeveral conferences with King Tom, Capt. Thompſon obtained his permiſſion for the black poor to land, which they began to do on the 14th. Divine ſervice was performed on ſhore, on the Sunday following, and a ſuitable ſermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Frazer, Chaplain to the colony. But very few of the coloniſts ſeemed to pay any attention to the ſervice, or to the duties inculcated. As Capt. T. could not learn who was the true poſſeſſor of the land, the purchaſe was not compleated till the 12th of July, when the grant was ratified by King Naimbanna, his vaſſal King Tom, &c. Lots of land, of one acre each, were next drawn for, the ſcite of the town choſen, and a ſtore-houſe founded. But no ſooner were theſe meaſures, taken than the worthleſſneſs of the coloniſts (if they deſerved the name) began to appear. The immediate proſpect of labour produced it's uſual effects on indolent and depraved diſpoſitions. Inſtead of that harmonious exertion which their critical ſituation demanded, lazineſs, turbulence and licentiouſneſs of every kind ſo entirely pervaded this wretched crew, that ſcarcely a man of them could be prevailed on to work ſteadily, in building the hut that was to ſhelter him, or even to aſſiſt in landing the proviſions by which he was to be ſupported. The rains ſet in on the 28th of June, and the mortality became dreadful: yet the infatuated ſurvivors perſiſted in their exceſſes.

Land allotted, &c. but the coloniſts would not work.

681. On the 12th of July, Mr. Irwin, the agent-conductor died, leaving the whole weight of the undertaking on Capt. Thompſon, whoſe well-directed, animated and humane exertions might have been attended with the beſt effects, if the people themſelves had heartily co-operated. By the 25th of July, he got the ſtore-houſe finiſhed, and the proviſions and ſtores landed from one of the tranſports (another which had but few ſtores on board having before ſailed.) The rains now became ſo violent, that it was impoſſible to ſtir out with comfort, or even ſafety. The huts

Store houſe built: mortality dreadful, from bad huts.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

huts of the coloniſts were neither wind nor water-tight, which increaſed the mortality ſo much that, though in June only 9 died, no fewer than 42 were carried off in July. Such was the general diſtreſs and indolence, that the remaining tranſport, which had in the greateſt quantity of ſtores, was not cleared and ready to ſail till the 21ſt of Auguſt.

Neceſſity obliges the coloniſts to plant.

682. Her departure brought the coloniſts to ſome ſenſe of their condition; for they then plainly ſaw that, without exertion, they muſt inevitably periſh, when their preſent ſtock of proviſions ſhould be exhauſted. In the intervals of fair weather, therefore, they began to plant rice, Indian corn, &c. which throve very well. Stock was very ſcarce and dear; yet ſome of them had poultry in their yards, which they had brought with their ſpare cloaths, &c. and others had ſaved a part of their weekly allowance of proviſions; for ſeveral individuals had all along been induſtrious and temperate.

Proviſions&c. finally ſerved out.

683. By the 13th of Sep. the proviſions, the cloathing, tools, &c. were entirely ſerved out to the coloniſts, and, on that day, the arms and ammunition were ſent on ſhore. From the mortality which had taken place, there remained ſeveral ſurplus articles which Capt. Thompſon ſtored on ſhore as public property, for the benefit of the community.

Capt. T. leaves S. Leona. Colony reduced to 276

684. On the 16th of Sep. (1787) Capt. Thompſon, in the Nautilus, ſailed from the colony, which mortality and deſertion, chiefly the former, had reduced to 276 perſons, namely 212 black men, 30 black women, 5 white men and 29 white women. Capt. Thompſon having witneſſed the reformation which the ſailing of the tranſports and the approach of his own departure had wrought in the poor people, was not without hopes of their final ſucceſs; for he conſidered that the ſurvivors were then ſeaſoned to the climate, and that neceſſity would oblige them to plant the ground and to build comfortable houſes in the approaching dry ſeaſon.

But, by Capt. T's care, his ſhip loſt but one man.

685. Moſt of the above particulars are extracted from the journal of Mr. T. D. Woodin, kept on board the Nautilus; and ſome of the moſt material of them were confirmed by Capt. Thompſon, in his evidence before the H. of Commons (Minutes of Evidence on the ſlave-trade 1790, p. 171.) It is a remarkable fact, that the Nautilus, ſurrounded as ſhe was by the ravages of death, for above 4 months, loſt only one man, the reſt of the ſhip's company enjoying perfect health, though confined entirely to ſalt proviſions, and on a ſtation where a ſlave-ſhip would moſt probably have loſt the greater part of her crew. This circumſtance muſt ſurely be admitted as a proof, not only of Capt. T's prudent care, but that the mortality on ſhore was not ſo much owing to the climate, as to *want of ſhelter*, and to intemperance which had debilitated many of the poor wretches, long before they ſaw S. Leona. This, however, is far from being the only inſtance of King's ſhips being perfectly healthy on the coaſt of Africa (ſee § 78.)--Mr. Woodin mentions bad water as a frequent cauſe of diſeaſe on the coaſt, and affirms that, in two former voyages he made,

Bad water.

Digitized by Google

made, " the water lower down the coaſt, gave the people Guinea-worms, ſome of which did not appear out of the fleſh for 8 months after leaving Africa. Theſe, continues he, " the company of the Nautilus were not troubled with, and is a convincing proof that S. Leona is the moſt eligible ſituation on the coaſt for a ſettlement, having plenty of wood and excellent water." (See § 52.)

In Mar. 1788, coloniſts healthy, but many had emigrated.

686. In March, 1788, the Rev. Mr. Frazer returned, on account of ill health. Before his departure, many of the coloniſts had ſold their muſkets, &c. for rum. The ſickneſs had entirely ceaſed: but ſo many had emigrated to the ſlave-factories, &c. as to reduce the number of the coloniſts to 130, whom he left in perfect health, he himſelf having been then the only ſick perſon among them. The emigration he attributed partly to the fickleneſs of the people, and partly to the want of live ſtock, which even the more induſtrious, who remained, were too poor to purchaſe.

Mr. Sharp ſends a veſſel to relieve the colony;

687. In May 1788, Mr. Granville Sharp chartered a veſſel of 160 tons, at his own expenſe, in which he ſhipped two months proviſions for 50 perſons who had engaged to go out, with cloathing, arms, tools, &c. and a ſum of money to buy live ſtock on the coaſt. On Mr. Sharp's application, Government furniſhed £200 ſter. more, for the purchaſe of ſtock. On the 6th of June, the veſſels ſailed with 39 perſons on board, the reſt having deſerted. The veſſel touched at St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd Iſlands, and did not arrive at S. Leona till the 6th of Aug. But the captain, who was alſo the *owner* of the veſſel, took in no live ſtock at Saint Jago, or any where elſe; but, contrary to his own expreſs contract, he delivered to the coloniſts *goods* to the value of a *certain number* of cattle. Thoſe goods he doubtleſs carried out with him from England, in the way of a *job*, a ſpecies of *frugality* which the captain certainly had as good a right to practiſe as any other man. He appears indeed to have made a profitable job of this whole buſineſs. My reaſons for ſaying ſo are, 1ſt, His being *owner*, as well as captain, of this *chartered* veſſel. 2dly, The *unconſcionable* length of his voyage outwards. 3dly, His having goods ready, cut and dry, to deliver in lieu of cattle; for it is not likely that he carried thoſe goods from England for any other purpoſe, as he well knew the poor coloniſts were unable to pay for them. 4thly, Part of the money intruſted to him was *Government-money*, which was alone a ſtrong temptation to a *job*. 5thly, I have heard perſons of ſtrict veracity, well acquainted with this whole buſineſs, declare that Capt. T—l-r acted as a ———. Thus did an unprincipled fellow dare to fruſtrate the benevolent intentions, not only of Mr. Sharp, but of the Britiſh Government itſelf.—I have been well informed that this expedition *alone* coſt Mr. Sharp between 5 and £600 ſter. excluſive of the £200 given by Government, and of 150 guineas, ſent him by a worthy perſon whoſe name, if I could diſcover it, ſhould accompany that of his friend; for, I think, all ſuch examples ought to be made public, for the imitation of the rich, and the conſequent comfort of the poor. Mr. Sharp, I know, is of a different opinion; but, from the nature of the tranſactions, his generoſity, on this and ſimilar occaſions,

but the captain deceives him.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

occasions, could not be concealed: and, indeed, I knew most of the circumstances of this expedition, at the time, having been often on board the vessel, while she lay in the Thames, and having taken care to inform myself of the result of this business.

Many colonists emigrate, & sold as slaves. Man of war ordered to call at S. Leona.

688. By a letter from Mr. Weaver, the Chief Magistrate, dated S. Leona April 23d, 1788, which arrived after Capt. T—l-r had sailed, it appeared that most of the colonists had then emigrated, some to the slave-factories, and others on board slave-ships; also that King Tom, presuming on the weakness of the remainder (whose numbers Mr. Weaver did not specify) had sold two of them for slaves, and threatened to sell more. The surgeons and other whites, tempted by large salaries, had entered into the service of the slave-merchants, at the neighbouring factories. This disagreeable intelligence, Mr. Sharp immediately communicated, by letter, to Mr. Pitt, requesting that directions might be given to the captain of the ship of war, then under orders for the coast, to represent to King Tom the impropriety of his behaviour, and to secure the people from farther injury. Orders to this effect were accordingly given to the captain.——But I am sorry that the want of materials prevents me from pursuing this narrative.

St. George's Bay Co. afterwards incorporated into S. Leona Co.

689. I think, however, I ought not to omit that, previous to the incorporation of the present S. Leona Company of Act of Parliament, in 1791, a number of gentlemen, anxious to promote the civilization of Africa, which, from the Report of the British Privy Council, seemed very practicable, and to collect the surviving, and really most deserving colonists, had associated, under the name of "the St. George's Bay Company." Of the minute made at their first meeting, the following is a copy.

690. "At a meeting of the Gentlemen disposed to encourage a free trade to St. George's Harbour, on the coast of Africa, held this 17th of Feb. 1790.

Present,

Mr. Alderman Clark, in the chair,	Mr. Pritzler,
Mr. Granville Sharp,	Mr. R. Hunter, (*per* proxy,)
Mr. Hardcastle,	Mr. Rayner,
Mr. H. Thornton,	Mr. Ludlam,
Mr. W. Sharp,	Mr. Whitbread,
Mr. Corsbie,	Mr. Sanson,
Mr. Geo. Sharp,	Mr. W. Moore.

Members absent,

Mr. Heyman,	Mr. Shaw,
Mr. Wilberforce,	Mr. J. Philips,
Mr. Alderman Le Mesurier,	Mr. Vickeris Taylor*.
Mr. Morland,	

* Several of the above gentlemen were chosen Directors of the S. Leona Company, Oct. 19th 1791. (See § 333.) Indeed the S. Leona Co. was formed out of the St. George's Bay Co. or rather, it is the same association, incorporated (for 31 years) under a different name.

"RESOLVED,

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

(1.) " RESOLVED, That the erection of a Company, for the purpoſe of opening and eſtabliſhing a trade in the natural productions of Africa, to the Free Settlement in St. George's Harbour, is a meaſure highly proper."

(2.) " RESOLVED, that the thanks of the Meeting be given to Mr. Sharp, for the pains he has taken in the buſineſs: and he is hereby requeſted to take to his aſſiſtance, ſuch profeſſional and other advice, as he may find neceſſary to the project." Reſolutions.

" In caſe the propoſed eſtabliſhment ſhould take place, we agree to take the ſhares of £50 each, ſet down againſt our reſpective names.

	Shares.		*Shares.*
Granville Sharp	2	Philip Sanſom	1
W. Sharp	2	William Moore	1
R. Clark	2	Joſ. Reyner	1
W. Wilberforce, Eſq. (by letter, ſhares not ſpecified.)		W. Long, for Robert Hunter	1
		Mr. Pritzler (*per* W. Ludlam)	1
S. Whitbread	4	W. Ludlam	1
H. Thornton	2	Ab. Harman (*per* Mr. Whitbread)	2
Joſ. Hardcaſtle	2	H. Heyman (by letter)	1
Joſ. Corſbie	1	Geo. Sharp	1

" Theſe undermentioned gentlemen were not preſent; but they have ſignified their deſire to ſubſcribe, viz. Mr. Alderman Le Meſurier, W. Morland, Eſq. Mr. J. Phillips, Mr. Jo. Shaw, and Mr. Vickeris Taylor."

NOTE C. See § 335, 473.

691. The circumſtances attending the breaking up of the firſt colony at S. Leona, in Nov. 1789, are ſtated in the ſecond report of the Directors, (ſee § 473.)—The coloniſts having loſt their houſes and their little property, took immediate refuge in Bob's Iſland, belonging to the factory at Bance Iſland, where, however, they do not appear to have remained long. Mr. Alex. Kennedy, in a letter " to the St. George's Bay Company," dated Bance Iſland, Feb. 9th, 1791, writes thus concerning them. " Some ſettlers paid me a viſit laſt week. When I gave them Mr. Granville Sharp's letter, they ſeemed very much overjoyed; and the thoughts of not being forgot in England ſeemed to give new life to them. About 50 of them live at Pa Boſon's, about 12 miles above Bance Iſland, and a few live and ſometimes work on Bance Iſland. The others are ſcattered up and down the country. I cannot get any exact account how many there are, &c. I have been up where they live, and I underſtand, the chief, Pa Boſon, expects a conſiderable preſent for the time they have been living with him. They bear a very bad character among the ſlave-merchants here; but I am rather apt to believe it is not ſo bad as they ſay; for I ſaw every thing very regular; and they have a kind of church where they ſay prayers every Sunday, and ſing the pſalms very well. I attended, when there, perſonally, with ſuch of my people as were with me, and they all ſeemed to pay great attention." Situation of the coloniſts, after their diſperſion.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

—Without obtruding my own reaſonings concerning their character, I cannot help obſerving, that ſuch an account of them as the foregoing might naturally be expected, after repeated calamities had carried off the incorrigibly vicious and improvident, and doubtleſs had alſo improved the ſurvivors. Beſides, ſtrong neceſſity would at length effectually recommend the examples of thoſe who had all along been regular and induſtrious.

NOTE D. See § 336.

Mr. Falconbridge fixes them at Granville town.

692. At the palaver held on this occaſion, Mr. Falconbridge, in behalf of the St. George's Bay Company, repurchaſed, from King Naimbanna, and the ſubordinate chiefs, for goods worth about £30 ſter. all the land which had formerly been purchaſed by Capt. Thompſon. But it was agreed that the coloniſts ſhould not build on the former ſpot. Mr. F. therefore took poſſeſſion of a village, conſiſting of 15 or 16 good huts, which the natives had recently abandoned, from a notion of it's being haunted; and he rightly thought that their ſuperſtitious fears would tend to prevent their hoſtile attempts, eſpecially in the night. In about 4 weeks, he erected ſome additional huts, and a houſe in which he depoſited the ſtores and ammunition he had brought out for the relief of the coloniſts. But, not truſting to the honour of the natives of the place, he regularly appointed a guard every night. This new village he named *Granville Town*, in honour of it's benefactor Granville Sharp, Eſq.

NOTE E. See § 337, 367.

Accounts of the climate of S. Leona.

693. Lieut. Matthews is not the only author who has given a favourable opinion of the climate of S. Leona.—Old Purchas (Vol. I. p. 44.) gave a good account of that place, from the obſervations of a Mr. Finch, made in 1607.—In Ogilby's Africa, printed in 1670, we read that "Serre Lions, according to Jarrick, many take for the healthfulleſt place in all Guinea," and that "the air is better for a man's health, than, in many places of Europe, &c."—"We ſhall only mention," ſays Dr. Lind, "the high hills of S. Leona, upon whoſe ſummits the air is clear and ſerene, while thick miſts and noiſome vapours overſpread the lower grounds: yet, even at this place, the Engliſh inhabit a low valley, merely for the benefit of a ſpring of good water, the carriage of which, to any part of that hill, might be eaſily performed by ſlaves," (Dif. of hot Clim. p. 158.)—And if by ſlaves, why not by freemen, eſpecially blacks? for I do not believe that the Doctor would have recommended any labour that could injure either freemen or ſlaves. Is it not probable that the benefit of *trade* (which the Doctor elſewhere alludes to as the cauſe of the unhealthful ſituations of "trading factories," (ſee § 75,) may have partly dictated this moſt abſurd and pernicious choice of the Engliſh reſiding, *in his time*, at Sierra Leona? And may we not hope that ſuch *preference of trade to health*, is now at an end, in that river?—But farther: Mr. U. Nordenſkiold, brother of the gentleman of that name who lately died at S. Leona, among other places in Africa proper for coloniz-

ation,

Digitized by Google

ation, mentions C. Meſurado, C. Monte, Rio Sherbro and Bance Iſland, in Sierra Leona river. "Treatiſe on the Utility of Commerce and Colonization in both the Indies and in Africa, Stockholm, 1776."—Sir Geo. Young of the Navy has a good opinion of the climate of S. Leona, eſpecially (like Dr. Lind) of the higher grounds; and, before the black poor ſailed in 1787, he gave Capt. Thompſon, of His Majeſty's ſloop Nautilus, particular directions where to place the town.—That excellent man, Mr. Harry Gandy of Briſtol, who made two voyages to S. Leona, where he remained a conſiderable time, writes thus: "Gambia is a much deeper river, yet for want of a harbour near the ſea and good water, it is, on theſe accounts, rather inconvenient; and, though ſome other parts of the coaſt may juſtly boaſt of their ſeveral beauties, richneſs and fertility, yet, for want of a good river, a ſafe harbour and fine water, they can, for colonies, by no means ſtand in competition with Sierra Leona; which has alſo this concomitant advantage, beyond a leeward ſituation, or any near the line, that being ſo far to windward, a paſſage from thence, (viz. S. Leona,) to England, might be made in half the time that is commonly done from the Gold and Slave Coaſts." See his letter of the 3d Dec. 1788, in the N. Jeruſalem Mag. No. IV. —See alſo the opinion of Mr. Woodin in Note B.—Thus it appears, that the gentlemen concerned had very good reaſons for chuſing S. Leona as a proper place for a new colony; for it is natural to ſuppoſe, they conſulted moſt of the above authorities, and perhaps others which I may not have ſeen. But unfortunately, the intemperance of many of the firſt coloniſts, and the hardſhips ſuffered by them all, from the want of proper ſhelter and food, were ſuch as no human conſtitutions could withſtand, in any climate whatſoever.

NOTE F. See § 343.

694. The moſt uſeful products of that portion of Africa which I have included in the map, as the beſt adapted for colonization, have been already enumerated. S. Leona is a part of that tract of country; and an abridgement of thoſe paragraphs of the report which deſcribe it's productions, would be little elſe than a repetition of all or moſt of the contents of the fifth chapter, to which, therefore, I beg leave to refer the reader—alſo to Note B B.

NOTE G. See § 335.

695. The blacks living in London are generally profligate, becauſe uninſtructed, and vitiated by ſlavery: for many of them were once ſlaves of the moſt worthleſs deſcription, namely the idle and ſuperfluous domeſtic, and the gamblers and thieves who infeſt the towns in the W. Indies. There are ſevere laws againſt carrying, or enticing, ſlaves from the Iſlands, without the knowledge of their owners. Yet ſome of thoſe fellows contrive to conceal themſelves, or are concealed by others on board ſhips on the point of ſailing; a better ſort come to attend children and ſick perſons on board, and others are brought by their maſters, in the way of parade. Many of them,

Cauſes of the profligacy of blacks in London.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

them, naturally enough, but perhaps without ſufficient reflection, prefer "a cruſt of bread and liberty," in Old England, to eaſe, plenty and ſlavery in the W. Indies. For, excepting the too frequent exceſſes of capricious, tyrannical, or drunken owners, the treatment of *ſuch* ſlaves is as good as that of the truly uſeful field-negroes is bad. In London, being friendleſs and deſpiſed, on account of their complexion, and too many of them being really incapable of any uſeful occupation, they ſink into abject poverty, and ſoon become St. Giles's black-birds. Unhappily moſt of the firſt coloniſts of S. Leona, compleatly anſwered this deſcription, before they embarked; though their original circumſtances were different. (See note A.) The Directors, therefore, did right in rejecting a new embarkation of *ſuch* London blacks; and it is to be hoped, they will always adhere to their reſolution of ſtrictly examining the characters of thoſe, of whatever complexion, whom they ſend out as coloniſts. See § 127, *et ſeq.* and, above all, § 301.

NOTE H. See § 362.

First terms offered to coloniſts by the S. Leona Co.

696. The Directors alſo publiſhed a paper entitled "Terms of the Sierra Leona Company, to all ſuch Settlers as ſhall ſail from England, within three months from the date hereof, in order to go to Sierra Leona." Of this paper, which is dated Nov. 3d, 1791, it does not ſeem neceſſary to give more than an abridgment, which I ſhall do, by copying its marginal contents.

(1.) "Each ſettler to have twenty acres of land for himſelf, ten for his wife, and five for every child." Mines, &c. reſerved for the Company.

(2.) "No rent on the land to be charged till midſummer 1792. A quit-rent of one ſhilling per acre to be then paid for two years. A tax, not exceeding two per cent on the produce, to be chargeable for the next three years, and afterwards a tax of four per cent." (See § 193.)

(3.) "A ſettler, by depoſiting fifty pounds for each ten acres, may have, beſides his own proper lot, as far as forty additional acres, and ſhall have ſtores from the Company to the amount of his depoſit."

(4.) "Every ſuch ſettler to be carried out at the Company's expenſe. To have three months allowance of proviſions, and three month's half allowance, and baggage, if leſs than one ton, to be carried free of freight."

(5.) "Lots to be forfeited, except thoſe of women and children, if one-third is not cleared in two years, and two-thirds in three years. The clearing of lots of women and children, muſt, after three years, be proceeded upon, according to the ſame rate of progreſs."

(6.) "No one to buy more than 20 acres, in the town diſtrict, till three-fourths of his land is cleared."

(7.) "Settlers to give £50 ſecurity for their paſſage, and to be allowed thereupon, to borrow £30 worth of goods, from the Company's ſtores."

*

(8.) "Paſ-

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

(8.) " Passage-money out never to be called for, if the settler stays 12 months, nor passage money home, if the settler or his wife is obliged to return on account of health."

(9.) " The settler may pay £50 in money, if he pleases, instead of giving a joint bond for it: the £50 so paid, to be returned him at the end of one year."

(10.) " Bond, or payment of £50 to be dispensed with in the case of artificers and husbandmen well recommended, and in similar cases, at the discretion of the Directors."

(11.) " Houses to be built by the Company, each settler paying ten per cent rent, or purchasing his house at prime cost."

(12.) " Settlers to assist jointly in clearing the ground for the town, or to pay a commutation in money."

(13.) " The Company to sell goods to the settlers at a profit of 10 per cent."

(14.) " The Company to buy the produce of the settlers, or to convey it for them at 2½ per cent. commission, and customary charges, giving them a credit for two-thirds of the value."

(15.) " No duty on articles imported or exported, ever to exceed 2½ per cent."

NOTE I. See § 369

697. It gives me no small satisfaction to find that some attention has been paid to these my very able and worthy countrymen; especially as I had the honour to introduce them both, as well as the late Mr. Strand, another Swede, to the acquaintance of some of the Directors; and this I did at their own particular desire. Mr. Nordenskiold and Mr. Strand, while they lived, did the credit I expected, to the character given of them, a character which Mr. Afzelius still supports, with honour to himself and satisfaction to the Company.

NOTE K. See § 370.

Danger of enemies to the colony becoming Directors,

698. In the very outset, the whole undertaking at Sierra Leona was in great danger of being ruined by the secret efforts of slave-merchants, and slave-holders, to get their friends into the Direction. Had they succeeded, they would doubtless have proceeded in a manner very analogous to the too common practice of Mortgagees-in-possession of West Indian estates, and who frequently reside in England. Such a gentleman, by means of a *proper* agent, has perhaps buildings erected which are not immediately necessary, and, in short, increasing expense by various methods which I have not room to detail, at the same time, neglecting the crops, he, in a few years, makes an estate his own; while the unfortunate owner, in an island perhaps where few of the residing planters can help one another, hath not the means of contending at law with his powerful oppressor, nor even dares to murmur, for fear of exasperating him and making things worse. By such arts, are most of

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

of the ſuddenly overgrown Weſt Indian fortunes accumulated. By ſimilar means, would *W. Indian* Directors have conducted the affairs of the S. Leona Company. They would have appointed *proper* agents, to make a feint of cultivation and commerce. Theſe agents would have deſignedly failed; and yet would have made it appear, perhaps by witneſſes examined *on oath*, (ſee § 185.) that they had in vain exhauſted all their ingenuity and induſtry in the ſervice.

to be avoided by giving the coloniſts a ſhare in the government.

699. In order, therefore, to exclude for ever all ſorts of enemies to this eſtabliſhment, enlightened and induſtrious coloniſts ſhould be encouraged to go out, and be allowed to take part in their government, and to give their votes at the election of the Directors. For annual elections, by the ſubſcribers independent of the coloniſts, as practiſed at preſent, expoſe the undertaking more or leſs, at every new election, to the machinations of it's enemies, who, in ſpite of every precaution, may ſucceed at laſt, and then the ruin of the colony will be ſealed. The preſent ſyſtem lodges the *whole power* in the Directors, who reſide in Europe, and whoſe orders the Governor and Council in the colony are bound to obey. The coloniſts can only petition or remonſtrate; and remonſtrances are commonly generated in, and ſeldom fail to increaſe, ill humour. Having no other means of defence againſt incroachment and oppreſſion, it appears to me, that the coloniſts muſt inevitably be ruined or cruſhed, if ever a majority of the Directors, (which Heaven avert!) ſhould be ignorant of, or adverſe to, their real intereſts. But in my humble opinion, ſome ſuch conſtitution as I propoſed at § 181 *et ſeq.* would have greatly tended to ſecure the colony from ſuch ſerious dangers. Indeed, when I conſider, that, beſides the dangers juſt mentioned, the preſent Directors may be removed by death and other cauſes, and that it is poſſible, they may be ſucceeded by perſons leſs diſpoſed, or leſs qualified, to watch over and promote the intereſts of the colony—I ſay, when I conſider theſe circumſtances, I certainly do wiſh, and even hope, that the coloniſts may obtain the exerciſe of the undoubted right of every free community, to elect their own government; and that this government and the Court of Directors may be incorporated into one body. For, as the intereſts of the coloniſts and ſubſcribers, are, or ought to be, the ſame, their repreſentatives ought not to be ſeparated. See § 181, 182, 183.

NOTE L. See § 374.

Ill uſage of black American loyaliſts.

700. I have already mentioned that, at the peace of 1783, many white and black American loyaliſts were conveyed to G. Britain, the Bahamas, and Nova Scotia. A few alſo went to Jamaica and other W. Indian iſlands; and, I believe ſome to Canada, and other places. The fate of the blacks who came to England, has been noticed, (Append. Note B.) Their brethren in the Bahamas fared far worſe. The laws of thoſe Iſlands, like the other ſlave-laws, preſume all blacks to be ſlaves, unleſs they can prove the contrary, and *admit not their evidence againſt white men.* Hence free blacks are very often reduced to ſlavery, eſpecially in the more

Digitized by Google

more extenſive colonies, by unprincipled whites; for ſuch have only to ſwear to their property in any free negro, who cannot produce formal proof of his freedom, and he becomes *ipſo facto* the ſlave of the ſwearer. Two very notorious inſtances of this practice, in Jamaica, one of them in the caſe of the wife and children of a free black loyaliſt, from Carolina, were ſtated in evidence to the Houſe of Commons, by Capt. Giles of the 19th regiment of foot, who humanely interfered, and ſucceeded in a public trial, attended with much trouble and expenſe, the greater part of which, by the way, I am well informed, he never was repaid. In the other caſe, Major Neſbit of the ſame regiment, after a ſimilar trial, delivered a free woman from a white villain who had ſeized her as his ſlave. And, but for the interpoſition of thoſe worthy officers, theſe women and children, though really free, would, like many other free blacks, have been retained in ſlavery. (Min. Evid. 1791, p. 105.)

Iniquitouſly reduced to ſlavery.

701. In Bahama this iniquity was practiſed by the white loyaliſts againſt the black ones, to ſuch a degree, that the late worthy Governor Maxwell was obliged to take public notice of it, a ſtep which rendered him extremely unpopular, *among the guilty*, and was ultimately ineffectual. The white loyaliſts carried the ſame diſpoſition with them to Nova Scotia; but I have not ſpecifically learnt that they proceeded to ſuch flagrant exceſſes. The *diſpoſition*, however, they certainly ſhowed, and even indulged, to a certain extent. In particular, they in ſeveral inſtances, deprived the blacks of the houſes they had built, and the lands they had cleared; and, at laſt removed many of them to an inhoſpitable part of that inhoſpitable country, ſo very diſtant from any market, that it was impracticable for them to ſell their produce, and to procure neceſſaries. In ſhort, a Chief Juſtice declared publicly from the bench, That the climate of Nova Scotia was too cold for whites to ſubſiſt there without the help of ſlaves,—a very ſignificant hint to the blacks, what they were to expect. The fact is, that men who have once been ſuffered to indulge in the practice of ſlavery, muſt ſtill have ſlaves. The W. Indian iſlands are too *hot*, and Nova Scotia too *cold*, for them to do without auxiliaries, whom the pride and lazineſs generated by ſlavery, have rendered neceſſary to their very exiſtence.

Slavery enervates and corrupts maſters.

702. Among other writers, Monteſquieu, in his Spirit of Laws, and Dr. Franklin, in his Thoughts on the peopling of Countries, have noticed the tendency of ſlavery to vitiate the minds of maſters, as well as ſlaves. I have been ſeriouſly aſſured, that it is common in the W. Indies to deſcribe the diſtreſs of a ruined planter by ſaying, "Poor man he has but one negro left to bring him a pail of water," an expreſſion which, in the phraſeology of that country, ſignifies the deepeſt diſtreſs. And indeed it muſt be no ſmall hardſhip to be ſuddenly deprived of the attendance of 20 domeſtic ſlaves, or even double the number, who, Mr. Long aſſures us, are not unuſual in a Jamaica family. Hiſt. of Jam. Vol. II. p. 281. By comparing account No. 3 in the Privy Council's Report, Part IV. with the Report or Anſwers of the Barbadoes Aſſembly, we find that on an average, every white man, woman and child,

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

child, rich and poor, in that Iſland, keeps a domeſtic ſlave in waiting!——Theſe facts, I preſume, require not the aid of arguments to prove the neceſſity of abſolutely excluding from every *new* colony, the practice of ſlavery which, in every view, hath been ſo deſtructive of the peace, the proſperity, the morals and the happineſs of the *old*.

NOTE M. See § 337.

703. I ſhould be inexcuſable, were I to omit this opportunity of paying my little tribute of reſpect to the diſtinguiſhed merit of thoſe worthy brothers, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Clarkſon, A. M. and John Clarkſon, Eſq. Lieutenant in the Britiſh Navy.

704. In order to appreciate the extent and importance of their ſervices, it might not be amiſs to enter a little into the hiſtory of the grand and important queſtion of *the Abolition of the Slave-trade*. But my limits will ſcarcely permit me to mention the public and hazardous expoſtulations of George Fox, the founder of the reſpectable ſect of Quakers, with the planters of Barbadoes, where, in defiance of perſecution, he preached againſt ſlavery, in 1670: or the early and humane labours of Morgan Goodwyn, or thoſe of Woolman and Benezet, Whitfield and Weſley; and Mr. Sharp's valuable exertions have been already hinted at (ſee Note B.) I muſt therefore content myſelf with obſerving, that, in 1784, the late Rev. Mr. James Ramſay, Vicar of Teſton, in Kent, publiſhed his excellent "Eſſay on the Treatment and Converſion of African Slaves, in the Britiſh Sugar Colonies." This work was the reſult of the worthy author's perſonal obſervation, during a long reſidence in the W. Indies; and, although it rather extenuated than exaggerated, the horrors of ſlavery; yet it very much alarmed the planters, whoſe retainers, in order to deſtroy it's effect, attempted to ruin the reputation of the author. But they were diſappointed; for Mr. Ramſay's character was too well eſtabliſhed to ſuffer any permanent injury from their attacks, and their clamour excited that very enquiry which they ſo much dreaded. Mr. Ramſay, in his various replies, ſo ably maintained his ground, as to make on the public mind, a very conſiderable impreſſion in favour of his cauſe; and in 1785, the Univerſity of Cambridge, to the application of whoſe eminent learning the liberties of mankind have, at various times, been ſo much indebted, propoſed a queſtion reſpecting the ſlavery and commerce of the human ſpecies. This produced a Latin eſſay on the ſubject, from Mr. Thomas Clarkſon, which was honoured with the firſt prize of the Univerſity, for that year: and of which he ſoon after publiſhed an Engliſh tranſlation.

705. About that time, Mr. Wilberforce, one of the Members for Yorkſhire, appears to have formed his reſolution of introducing the ſubject into the Britiſh Parliament, of which he is ſo diſtinguiſhed an ornament. This noble deſign, which he

Digitized by Google

he has ſince proſecuted with ſuch ability and perſeverance, I believe, was firſt ſuggeſted to his mind by the work of Mr. Clarkſon, who was his cotemporary at the Univerſity; and the formation of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave-trade can be diſtinctly traced to the ſame excellent publication.

Mr. T. Clarkſon's exertions,

706. The merit of a performance thus diſtinguiſhed, and thus perſuaſive, may be ſuppoſed to have been great; and it is but doing it juſtice to ſay, that it has always preſerved a decided ſuperiority over all the numerous tracts which ſucceeded it. His next works were "An Eſſay on the Impolicy of the Slave-trade," and another on "the Inefficiency of Regulation as applied to the Slave-trade" both which contain a moſt valuable fund of information, then entirely new, but which, as well as Mr. Ramſay's writings, has ſince been fully confirmed by the Evidence delivered before the Britiſh Legiſlature. But Mr. Clarkſon's active benevolence was not ſatisfied with merely writing in favour of the Abolition. His unremitting exertions, ſometimes attended with great perſonal hazard, primarily contributed to drag into light the dark ſecrets of this horrid myſtery of iniquity; and, it is to be hoped, will ultimately contribute to it's annihilation.

and thoſe of Mr. J. Clarkſon.

707. His amiable and worthy brother all along participated, more or leſs, in his labours; and, when the tranſit of the Nova Scotia blacks to Sierra Leona was reſolved upon, he generouſly offered his ſervices to the Company, or rather to Government; though he was perfectly aware of the difficulty of the undertaking. The manner in which he performed it, is mentioned by the Directors in terms of approbation; and indeed it would have been very difficult for them to diſcover a perſon, whoſe amiable manners and ſtrict integrity, ſo eminently qualified for uniting the minds, and ſatisfying the ſcruples, of a ſet of men who had but too much reaſon to diſtruſt the profeſſions of white men. His ſubſequent conduct, in the more delicate taſk of governing a mixed multitude, during a period of awful mortality and alarming diſcontent, appears to me, very meritorious, and ſo diſintereſted, that I verily believe the only reward to which he looked (certainly the beſt he ever received) was the conſciouſneſs of having done his duty—the only idea that can ſupport the mind under unmerited neglect, in a world where it often happens,

> "That Virtue, from preferment barr'd,
> "Gets nothing but her own reward."

NOTE N. See § 389.

708. When a colony may have been begun, upon ſuch a ſyſtem as I recommend, and is incorporated into *one ſocial body*, of which the government is a part (§ 182, 183, 194,) they will conſequently have *one common intereſt*; in which caſe, the government may be empowered to keep a ſtore of *neceſſaries*, to be bought with the public money, and ſold for prime coſt and charges; for to require a profit on *ſuch* articles, would, in my view of it, not only be unreaſonable but inhuman. The income or revenue of the community ought *alone* to ariſe from taxes, and profits upon

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

luxuries. Perhaps alſo upon a certain moderate quit rent, for ſuch land, as may be bought on account of the community. (See § 696 No. 2.) The Government of a new colony, whoſe object is civilization, ought to be empowered to regulate and controul the uſe of luxuries, with a view to moral improvement; and that, not ſo much perhaps by compulſive laws, as by example and influence. The government alone can be ſuppoſed competent to judge, whether or not any particular luxury be compatible with the happineſs and improvement of the community; and if it be, when and how it ought to be introduced. In an infant colony, therefore, the government alone ought to be authorized to keep a public retail ſhop, or rather *ſample-room*, where ſpecimens of all approved articles of luxury ſhould be diſplayed, with the prices, including a *determinate* profit, affixed. Having previouſly eſtimated the probable demand for ſuch luxuries, by the orders lodged at the ſhop or ſample-room, the government might then import them, in ſuch quantities as would be likely rather to fall ſhort of, than to exceed, the expected demand. (See § 114, *et ſeq.*) Thus there would be few or no luxuries imported on ſpeculation, to wait for cuſtomers, till they are probably ſpoiled. It appears to me that, ſome ſuch plan as this, executed with proper caution and management, would greatly conduce to civilization, which, as I before obſerved, the gradual and prudent introduction of of innocent luxuries very much contributes to promote, (ſee § 36, 670.)

Public ſample-room recommended.

709. Reſpecting the "money-medium" mentioned in the text, I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to offer ſome remarks (ſee NOTE W. to § 424.)

NOTE O. See § 390.

Bulama coloniſts wiſhed not to intrude into S. Leona.

710. It appears from § 545, that moſt of the Bulama adventurers, who arrived at S. Leona in the Calypſo, intended to return to England, and that their chief view in touching at the latter place, was to procure accommodation for ſome of their number who wiſhed to return to Bulama, after the rains. But there ſeems to be no reaſon for ſuppoſing, that any of them wiſhed to remain permanently at S. Leona. Owing to various cauſes of delay, the rainy ſeaſon had overtaken them at Bulama, before proper houſes were built. Such of them as were diſpoſed to perſiſt in the undertaking, but dreaded the rains, againſt which they were not provided, naturally enough expected to find accommodation during that dangerous period, in the S. Leona colony, which had then been ſome time ſet on foot. In this expectation they were diſappointed; but the readineſs with which the government executed the inſtructions of the Directors, by aſſiſting thoſe diſtreſſed people, as well as the liberal declaration of the Directors (§ 391) certainly call for the grateful acknowledgments of every friend to the civilization of Africa.

711. That among the Bulama coloniſts there were many perſons of *an improper caſt*, for ſuch an undertaking, is evident from Mr. Beaver's letters (See NOTE G G, No 5.

Digitized by Google

No. 5, 8, 16.) But I think I can take upon me to affirm, that the Directors do not here mean to inſinuate that all the Bulama coloniſts were of this deſcription; for, not to mention Mr. Dalrymple, Mr. Beaver, Mr. Hood and Mr. Aberdeen, (§ 551, 559) it is certain that ſeveral other perſons, of the beſt characters and the pureſt intentions, embarked for Bulama. In like manner, it is evident from the context, that, by perſons who might have "left *debts* in England," the Directors do not mean *unfortunate*, but *fraudulent*, debtors; and it would be the extreme of raſhneſs to affirm, that there were none of this deſcription among the adventurers both in the S. Leona and the Bulama undertakings.

Some of them perſons of worth.

NOTE P. See § 397.

712. The ſevere diſcipline, neceſſary to preſerve order among the convicts at Botany Bay, probably diſguſted Mr. Dawes with the reſpectable ſtation he held in that new colony, the principles of which are ſo diametrically oppoſite to thoſe of S. Leona and Bulama. For the ſame cauſe, Mr. Watt and Mr. Macauley may have been diſpleaſed with their ſituations in the W. Indies, where the diſcipline is ſtill more ſevere. For a more ſevere diſcipline is certainly neceſſary to compel ſlaves to drudge inceſſantly for the *ſole* benefit of other perſons, than to maintain tolerable order among the moſt abandoned convicts.

Mr. D. Mr. W. and Mr. M. how employed before they went to S. Leona.

NOTE Q. See § 398.

713. The circumſtances intended to have been inſerted in this Note have a very cloſe connection with thoſe which form NOTE BB (§ 527) to which I beg leave to refer the reader.

NOTE R. See § 400, 478.

714. I have already hinted at the merits of my late friend Mr. Nordenſkiold, (§ 70) but this melancholy paragraph (400) ſuggeſts the propriety, or rather the neceſſity, of inſerting, though I cannot well ſpare the room, ſome acocount of the circumſtances which preceded his death. But I ſhall leave to an abler pen the taſk of doing juſtice to the memory of a man whoſe abilities were ſo well known in his native country, and whoſe penetration of mind was ſo uſefully employed in the inveſtigation of truth, and in the improvement of his friends. This perſonal detail I hope my readers in general will excuſe; as ſome circumſtances convince me, that I owe it to my friend's relations, eſpecially to his poor diſconſolate widow and children, and to his reſpectable brothers*. Something ſeems alſo due to my own feelings.

Reaſons for inſerting an account of Mr. N's expedition and death.

* Otto Nordenſkiold, Chief Admiral of the Swediſh Navy, Adolph Nordenſkiold, Colonel of the Swediſh corps of Engineers, Charles Fredrick Nordenſkiold, Secretary to the King's Chancery and Ulric Nordenſkiold, Chamberlain to the King.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

I recommended Mr. Nordenſkiold to ſeveral of the Directors, as well as Mr. Afzelius, and the late Mr. Strand. But this recommendation was in conſequence of their own expreſs requeſt, as Mr. Afzelius can teſtify; and I think I cannot take a more effectual method of convincing Mr. Nordenſkiold's relations, that I acted both as a friend and an honeſt man, than by ſhowing that I have no objection to *publiſh* the following particulars, in a country where many creditable perſons can confirm or contradict them.

Mr. N's ſickneſs and diſtreſs before he embarked.

715. Mr. N's beſt friends muſt confeſs, that his attention to his health was by no means proportionate to his many good qualities. Before he ſailed for Sierra Leona, he was ſo much weakened by a dangerous illneſs, that I endeavoured to perſuade him to poſtpone the voyage, till his health was perfectly re-eſtabliſhed; but in vain. His reſolution was fixed, and he embarked at Briſtol on the 10th of Jan. 1792, to endure the hardſhips of a ſtormy paſſage, of no leſs than 16 days from that port to Corke, which ſo affected him, that he was moſtly confined by ſevere ſickneſs, during the ſhip's ſtay of 7 weeks at that port. I need not conceal that pecuniary difficulties, occaſioned by his *unexpected* delay and ſickneſs, increaſed his diſtreſs. But he was moſt generouſly aſſiſted by Mr. Wolff (for I muſt mention his name) one of the Sierra Leona Directors, who really knew and valued his talents, and, but for whoſe friendly and *individual* aid, he muſt have been left, probably to die, in a place where he had not a ſingle friend to cloſe his eyes. The gratitude he felt and expreſſed for this act of liberality, no doubt contributed to agitate his mind; and, every thing conſidered, he muſt have been then very unequal to the proſecution of the voyage. But the voyage he would, and did, proſecute. At S. Leona, he was again taken ill, and before his recovery was perfected, and after his conſtitution had ſuffered ſeverely from repeated attacks, he ſignified an ardent deſire to penetrate immediately into the country, where he always hoped to find an innocent, hoſpitable people, among whom he could purſue his reſearches, to his own ſatisfaction and to the emolument of the Company. His honeſt mind, too, could not brook the idea of living at the Company's expenſe (though he had no ſalary) while he remained inactive; and it muſt be acknowledged, that diſſention and confuſion rendered the colony a very uncomfortable habitation for a perſon of his habits. The remonſtrances of his friends, chiefly Mr. Afzelius and Mr. Strand, againſt ſuch an attempt, in his weak ſtate, and during the rains too, were ineffectual. His mind was ſo ardently bent on uſeful purſuits, that he often neglected that caution which is ſo neceſſary a concomitant to reſolution in all hazardous enterprizes; and there is no doubt that this defect in his character was one chief cauſe of his death.

Some account of his expedition & death.

716. The following is the beſt account of his percipitate and fatal expedition that I have been able to collect.--Having, by repeated ſolicitations, obtained, the conſent of the Governor and Council, together with the moſt proper goods the ſtores then contained,

Digitized by Google

tained, for his diſburſements on the journey, he took his departure about the 25th of Aug. 1792, (the middle of the rainy ſeaſon) for Robanna, the iſland on which King Naimbanna reſides. There he was detained ſome time by bad weather, when, hearing of the arrival of the York, he returned to Freetown, in hopes of obtaining ſome articles which he could not procure when he firſt ſet out, but which he thought had probably arrived in that ſhip from England. In order to take a more compleat view of the country, he now reſolved to go to the town of Port Logo, by the river Scaſſos (or Scarcies.) Accordingly he ſent to Robanna for the goods which he had left there. He received, however, but a ſorry account of them. King Naimbanna's courtiers, it ſeems, like others of that privileged order in every part of the world, thinking themſelves intitled to make free with every thing they found within the walls of the palace, had converted to their own uſe moſt of the articles, eſpecially the liquors, which Mr. N. had depoſited there. The ſmall remnants of them which were returned, together with the goods he had obtained from the York, he put on board a ſloop belonging to and commanded by a white ſlave-trader, who had agreed to perform the voyage for 100 bars. They proceeded up the Scaſſos, to the place where it was agreed they ſhould land, and convey the goods acroſs the iſthmus, which ſeparates that river from the river of Port Logo, and 12 miles diſtant from the town of this name. A part of the goods were landed from the ſloop; but whether they were ſent along with Mr. N. and the white man and the negro, who conſtantly attended him, or preceeded, or followed them, does not diſtinctly appear. It is only certain, that in walking this ſhort diſtance, moſt of them were ſtolen. Circumſtances ſo adverſe, added to the fatigue and bad accommodation, muſt have operated on his ardent mind with a poignancy deſtructive of the little health he then poſſeſſed.

APPENDIX.

His goods ſtolen.

717. At the town of Porto Logo, which is between 70 and 80 Engliſh miles above S. Leona*, he was taken ill; and being deprived of the means of proſecuting the journey, he was under the neceſſity of returning to the colony, which he did in a canoe belonging to King Naimbanna's people, who brought him very carefully to Freetown. They arrived, in a very unwholeſome, foggy night, and carried Mr. N. who was entirely wet and in a delirious ſtate, to his friend Mr. Strand's hut, where he was accommodated and attended, as well as circumſtances would permit, but was afterwards removed to that of Mr. Afzelius which it ſeems was larger. But his caſe was by that time beyond the reach of human aid. In ſeveral ſhort intervals of recollection, his mind ſeemed intirely occupied with the awful concerns of futurity, and he was too weak to ſpeak much; ſo that his friends could not think of troubling him with minute enquiries reſpecting the expedition. But he repeatedly complain-

He is taken ill.

* The reader will ſee by the map, that the river of Port Logo is a branch of the river S. Leona, ſo called from the town of Port Logo, ſituated on it.

ed

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

ed of the conduct of the maſter of the ſloop; adding, that if he could hope to live to make a ſecond attempt, he would carry no goods, but would depend for ſupport on the hoſpitality of the natives, in whom he placed much confidence. A little before his death, he requeſted Mr. Afzelius and Mr. Strand to ſend all his papers to his Brother Adolph, in Sweden, and to none elſe. Theſe were ſome of the laſt words he ſpoke; and he expired, in a very peaceful ſtate of mind, about 14 days after his return to the colony.

and dies.

Who it was that probably ſtole his goods.

718. The white attendant and the black ſervant came back with Mr. N. but neither of them could give any account of the theft; which makes me think that the goods landed from the ſloop were ſent on before them and Mr. N., or were to follow them. That they were not privy to the theft, would appear from the bare circumſtance of their adhering to Mr. N. to the laſt. Indeed the white man never quitted his bed ſide till he expired. Yet, for aught they knew, he might recover and give a diſtinct account of the whole affair. Beſides both of them always had, and ſtill preſerve, very good characters, in the colony *. It is true, that the captain of the ſloop alſo returned to the colony, with the ſmall part of the goods that were not landed with Mr. N. and was paid the 100 bars, for which he had agreed to perform the voyage. Whether or not he was concerned in the theft, it is impoſſible poſitively to aſcertain. But I have very good authority to ſay, that *he was a ſlave-trader*, and not one of the beſt character; and that, from Mr. N's repeated complaints of his conduct, he was ſuſpected in the colony of being privy to the whole of this dark buſineſs.

719. I am not inſenſible that this is but a lame and imperfect account of this unfortunate expedition, and the myſterious circumſtances attending it, which will probably never be fully explained. But it is the beſt account I have to offer, and imperfect as it is, has coſt me no ſmall trouble to collect.

Mr. N. received no ſalary, and his family no proviſion.

720. I need not mention the diſappointment which the company have ſuſtained by the death of a man ſo zealous in their cauſe, and ſo able to promote it; and indeed the Directors ſeem not to be inſenſible of his worth. It is no doubt generous to acknowledge a man's merit after he is dead: but I cannot help thinking it is ſtill more generous, as well as more juſt, to pay him for his labour, while he is alive. At leaſt it might have been expected that the Directors would not have permitted a man of Mr. N's merit, eſpecially a foreigner, and one who had a wife and family, to undertake a hazardous enterprize without a regular ſalary. Indeed, conſidering the circumſtances, and the manner in which the Directors mention their engagements with Mr. Afzelius and Mr. Nordenſkiold, (§ 369) I never could have dreamt that they had undertaken their laborious reſearches without any emoluments. I lived

* The white man came from N. Scotia with Mr. Clarkſon. The black man, whoſe name is London, came alſo from N. Scotia.

Digitized by Google

at Mancheſter, when they ſailed for S. Leona, and I confeſs I never gave them credit for any ſuch romantic exceſs of diſintereſtedneſs, till Mr. Afzelius aſtoniſhed me, by mentioning it the laſt time he was in England. Suppoſing then, as I did, that Mr. N. received a regular ſalary, I ſtill thought that, as he might be ſaid to have fallen a victim to his *too forward* zeal in the Company's cauſe, it was but reaſonable to expect, that ſome proviſion would be made for his widow and orphans, as had been done in at leaſt *one* leſs urgent caſe*. Full of this reaſonable expectation, as I then thought it, and ſtill think it, I who had, what I may well call the *miſfortune* to introduce Mr. N. to the Directors, addreſſed to them the following letter, which, of courſe, would have contained an additional and forcible argument, had I known, at the time, that Mr. N. received no ſalary. To the many mortifications I have endured in this buſineſs, I have to add, that the Directors never deigned to return any anſwer whatever to this letter†.

"GENTLEMEN,

The author's letter to the Directors on that ſubject.

"Having lately received the unfortunate news, of the unexpected death, of your mineralogiſt and my moſt intimate friend, Mr. Auguſtus Nordenſkiold, whoſe abilities and knowledge, I am convinced (had his life been ſpared,) would have proved of the higheſt utility to the Company, in the department to which he was appointed; permit me, Gentlemen, from the ſame attachment I always entertained to the general proſperity of the new colony, and it's ultimate object, the abolition of ſlavery, in which I have been ever ready to dedicate my life, property and ſervices, to recommend to your notice another Swediſh gentleman, Mr. Ekholm, of great experience and capacity in mineralogy and chemiſtry, to ſucceed Mr. Nordenſkiold. This gentleman is at preſent in Stockholm, but would, on due notice from the Company, come over to England to prepare for his poſt, and attend your further orders.

* The caſe alluded to, was that of the late Dr. B. who died from drunkenneſs about a fortnight after his arrival at S. Leona. Dr. B. was a man of merit in his profeſſion, before he contracted this fatal habit, which he had ſo ſucceſsfully concealed, that it did not come to the knowledge of the Directors, till he had been appointed. When informed of it, they took immediate ſteps to prevent his ſailing for S. Leona: but he had ſailed, before their reſolution to that effect could overtake him. The Directors, however, not only allowed his widow one year's ſalary, (£250) but alſo made up a ſum, out of their private purſes, ſufficient to purchaſe her an annuity of £50, during her life.

† If the reader ſhould think me a little warm on this ſingle occaſion, I hope he will excuſe me when I remind him, that Mr. Nordenſkiold was my countryman and my intimate friend, whom, with a view to gratify all the parties concerned, I became inſtrumental in introducing to the Directors: and the ſituation in which I ſtand with reſpect to his diſconſolate family, is too delicate to allow me to be ſilent.

"As

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

" As an additional motive for this appointment, I have authority to ſa , that Mr. Ekholm, out of friendſhip and attachment to the memory of the deceaſed Mr. Nordenſkiold, his brother in law, is willing to appropriate a part of the ſalary that may be allowed him, towards the ſupport of his unfortunate widow and four children, who are left deſtitute by his death; and I truſt this humane conſideration, in addition to his real qualifications, will have weight in his appointment, eſpecially when I can aſſert for fact, that the deceaſed Mr. Nordenſkiold, excluſive of the ſacrifice of all his own property in the expedition, and that of his friends to the amount of £300 and upward, alſo loſt by his death, a conſiderable and lucrative poſt in his own country, amounting to no leſs annually than 1500 Rix dollars*, which his widow is, of courſe, now deprived of.

" Should this recommendation, Gentlemen, meet your wiſhes, in acquiring a uſeful member to your community at Sierra Leona, I truſt the conſideration of Mr. Ekholm's humane and liberal acceptance of the arduous ſervice, will alſo induce you in the appointment, to make him an allowance of ſalary equal to your excellent and learned botaniſt Mr. Afzelius; as his ſervices, excluſive of the ſuperior danger in his line of purſuit, cannot be leſs.—Suffer me alſo, Gentlemen, ſo far to plead for the deſtitute widow and children of the deceaſed, as to ſuggeſt, that, in caſe of the death of Mr. Ekholm, a part of the ſalary you may intend for that gentleman, may be continued for the ſupport of the late Mr. Nordenſkiold's wife and children.

" In the diſcharge of this duty to the Company, and to the merit and misfortunes of my friend, I have the honour to remain,

" GENTLEMEN, Your devoted friend and ſervant,

" *C. B. WADSTROM.*"

NOTE S. See § 415.

Mr. S's death and character.

721. Mr. Strand, the late Secretary to the Council at Sierra Leona, was probably as anxious about his health, as Mr. Nordenſkiold was careleſs. At leaſt ſomething of this kind ſeems to have appeared, from his very free uſe of opium, of which he had always a quantity by him, and which could not but affect his health. As he has not, like his friend Mr. Nordenſkiold, left a widow and orphans to deplore his death, it ſeems unneceſſary to add any thing more concerning him, than the following extract; eſpecially as it contains an account of his character, which cannot but afford his reſpectable friends in Sweden as much ſatisfaction as it did to me, who recommended him to the Directors.

* A Swediſh rix-dollar bears the proportion to an Engliſh crown, in pure ſilver, as $534\frac{8}{9}$ to $579\frac{3}{100}$ See Jöranſſon's Tabeller, 4to. 1777.

Extract

Digitized by Google

Extract of a Letter from the Governor and Council at S. Leona, to the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the S. Leona Company, dated Freetown, 6th Nov. 1794. APPENDIX.

722. "It is with real grief we inform you that the Company have ſuſtained an irretrievable loſs, by the death of Mr. Strand, on the 30th ult. after an illneſs of four days continuance. We dare not flatter ourſelves that the Court of Directors will find one ſo eminently qualified as Strand was, for the confidential ſtation he held.

"Examined, London 24th Jan. 1795.

"J. R. WILLIAMS, Solr. & Secr."

NOTE T. See § 415.

723. The mortality, of about 21 per cent. here noticed, by the Directors, is *annual*; for the voyages of ſlave-ſhips average exactly 12 months, and 12 days. The 88 ſlave-ſhips returned to Liverpool and Briſtol, in 1786, and up to Sep. 1787, when an abſtract of their muſter-rolls, lodged in the cuſtom-houſes of thoſe towns, was given in to the Privy Council, by Mr. Thomas Clarkſon, M. A. In 1790, thoſe documents were brought to London, by order of the Houſe of Commons, and 4 perſons, (2 for, and 2 againſt, the abolition) were appointed to examine them; the 2 delegates of the abolitioniſts, of whom Lieut. J. Clarkſon was one, having been enjoined not to debate with the 2 others, but merely to ſee that they took no unfair advantages. The reſult was, that, of 12,263 ſeamen, in 350 ſlave-ſhips, which ſailed from Liverpool and Briſtol, from Sep. 1784, to Jan. 1790, there died 2643, or 21½ per cent. in every voyage, (*i. e.* in about a year,) were upon the dead liſt, excluſive of *very great numbers* who die on ſhore, in the W. Indies. For, when the ſlaves are ſold there, from $\frac{1}{7}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the ſurviving ſeamen, ſuffice to bring the ſhips home. By way of leſſening expenſe, therefore, the ſlave-captains barbarouſly treat thoſe whom they wiſh to get rid of, to make them forfeit their wages, by deſertion; or if too ſick to deſert, they land them, in the night, before they ſail. The deſerters wander about, friendleſs and forlorn, till moſt of them periſh with hunger, and diſtreſs in various ſhapes. The ſick, worn out with fevers and fluxes, or entirely diſabled with tumours, ulcers and Guinea worms, (ſee § 52.) languiſh on the wharfs and beaches, till welcome death ſeals up their eye-lids.—Such are the effects of a trade, to which certain men, who would be thought adepts in what are called the ſciences (as they certainly are in all the *arts*) of political œconomy, finance and commerce, have not ſhuddered to lend their ſecret favour, or their avowed ſupport. If ſuch be, *as they pretend*, the foundation of the commerce of Europe, "My ſoul come not thou into it's ſecrets!" Mortality of ſeamen in the ſlave-trade.

724. Having given this ſample of the *policy* and *humanity* of the ſlave-trade, and of its ſhameleſs and inſidious abettors, I muſt add, that the muſter-rolls are documents of the moſt unqueſtionable kind, being lodged in the cuſtom-houſes, by the Muſter-rolls teſtify the truth of this ſtatement.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

ſlave-captains themſelves; and that the near agreement of the two abſtracts of them made out, for different periods, by order of the Privy Council and of the Houſe of Commons, is at once a proof of their accuracy, and of the ſyſtematical deſtruction of ſeamen in this moſt iniquitous traffic.—It is alſo worthy of remark, that in the ſhips of the S. Leona Company, the mortality, *under all the paſt diſadvantages*, appears not to have exceeded what takes place in the W. Indian trade, which is generally allowed to be a nurſery for ſeamen; and, there can be no doubt, that the health of the Company's ſailors will improve with that of the colony.—For a full and accurate ſtatement of the mortality of ſeamen in different trades, eſpecially in the ſlave-trade. See Mr. Clarkſon's Eſſay on the Impolicy, &c.

Compared with mortality at S. Leona.

NOTE U. See § 419.

725. Of theſe obſervations of the Directors all the modern European colonies afford examples, more or leſs appoſite; and every eſtabliſhment of the kind, made or attempted, in the W. Indies, gives the ſtrongeſt evidence of their truth. The climate of Barbadoes, in particular, *now* juſtly reckoned (that of Bridge-town excepted) one of the moſt healthful tropical climates in the world, was extremely fatal to it's *early* inhabitants.—When I came to the mortality experienced at Bulama, I intend, if adequate materials can be procured, to ſhow, by a comparative view, of the infant and mature ſtates of different colonies, that neither that iſland nor Sierra Leona have been *peculiarly* fatal to human life; and that, as the Directors intimate, their climates may be confidently expected to improve, in the ſame proportion as the ſoil is cleared and cultivated.—See in this Append. Note GG. No. 18, *et ſeq.*

Climate improves with cultivation.

NOTE W. See § 408, 424.

726. I muſt confeſs myſelf pleaſed with every opportunity of drawing the reader's attention to the opinions which I wiſh to inculcate reſpecting money; and very little attention ſeems neceſſary to convince every thinking man, that the ſubject is of the higheſt importance to mankind. In conformity, therefore, with what has been already intimated in § 122, 142, (eſpecially in qu. XXVIII.) I beg leave to offer a few candid remarks, ſuggeſted by the following paſſages where money is mentioned by the Directors, as connected with the affairs of the Sierra Leona colony.—But firſt it may be proper to obſerve, that in entering on a plan of no leſs magnitude than the civilization and conſequent happineſs of the inhabitants of a whole quarter of the globe, we ſhould ſeriouſly labour to avoid thoſe evils which are found to concur in rendering our preſent ſocial connections ſo diſagreeable. "The firſt ſtep," ſays a great author, "to do good, is to leave off evil." It is plain, therefore, that we cannot too carefully inveſtigate the nature of all ſocial abuſes, if we really mean to avoid the inſemination of them into a new and uncorrupted community.

Reaſons for reſuming the conſideration of money.

Well

Digitized by Google

Well apprized, however, of the pure intentions of thoſe who are now exerting themſelves in this great cauſe, I muſt repeat my conviction, that the Directors of the S. Leona Company, earneſtly wiſh to introduce *real* civilization into Africa, and to exclude thoſe ſocial abuſes, which too many miſtake for civilization itſelf. They and I aim at the ſame end: we only differ as to ſome of the means.

727. *The wages, ſay the Directors, given to the Nova Scotians, were at leaſt the double of thoſe given to the natives.* (§ 408.)

Cauſes for increaſing the N. Scotian's wages.

If it be allowed that our wants impel us to ſeek the means of ſupplying them, and that thoſe wants increaſe as we advance in civilization or refinement, then it will appear, that as the Nova Scotians had adopted more European cuſtoms than the natives, they had more wants to ſatisfy; or, in other words, were more civilized. But this is not all: thoſe people muſt have been uſed to money before they came to Sierra Leona; and thus had imbibed the deſire of accumulating money, for the ſole purpoſe of ſatisfying their artificial wants, independent of their natural ones*. From theſe cauſes combined, they could not but be continually ſtriving, againſt the intereſt of the Company, to increaſe their wages.

728. "*The Directors truſt they have gone to the root of another evil, by introducing a conſiderable quantity of coin into the colony, thus ſubſtituting the plain and certain medium of dollars, in place of the former one of bars, which having been a medium of calculation that was extremely variable and confuſed, and merely nominal, has occaſioned much trouble and diſpute, and given the opportunity of practiſing perpetual frauds in the African commerce.*" (§ 424)

Bars a confuſed medium to the whites, as is money to the blacks.

If this paſſage ſhould be cloſely examined, I fear it's contrary would appear to be the true ſtate of the caſe. For the African idea of bars is founded on an article (iron) which is of primary and indiſpenſible neceſſity to the negroes; whereas dollars are founded on an article (ſilver) which is neceſſary only to thoſe who deal with thoſe negroes: conſequently the *confuſion, trouble, diſputes*, and *frauds*, here attributed to the calculation by bars, muſt be on the ſide of the white people. But we ought alſo to take into the account, the *confuſion, trouble, diſputes*, and *frauds*, which the changing of bars into dollars, (money) muſt neceſſarily occaſion to the African inhabitants. But perhaps we are not ſo ready to conſider the conſequences of our meaſures, to thoſe poor ignorant people, as the convenience of our commerce.

European money would be injurious to the Africans.

729. If ever it ſhould happen, (which may Heaven avert) that *the nature* of European money, (artificial credit,) ſhould be permanently eſtabliſhed in any new African colony, and money ſhould become the only object of induſtry, independent

* Civilization neceſſarily produces wants. But, in my opinion, there are two kinds of civilization and two kinds of wants,—the *artificial* and the *natural*. The leading principle of artificial civilization is diſſimulation, and it's conſequences a ſelfiſh activity, and an increaſe of artificial wants, in an undue proportion to natural wants. The leading principle of natural, or innocent, civilization is integrity, and it's conſequence, a ſocial activity, and an increaſe of natural wants, prior to and independent of artificial wants.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

of commodities, as has been unfortunately the caſe in Europe, then it appears to me, that the ſeeds of the ſame abuſes and corruptions will be ſown, which have led Europe, and are now leading America, with a celerity proportioned to her progreſs in ſpeculation commerce, from ſocial to ſelfiſh intereſts. From that moment, I would give up all hopes of real civilization, or moral improvement. On the contrary, I ſhould not be ſurprized to find a flouriſhing commerce introduced, at the expenſe of the morals and civil happineſs of the poor Africans, who, inſtead of being carried as ſlaves to the W. Indies, would be ſubjected to impoſition and fraud, and would virtually become ſlaves in their own country, to the ſame Europeans whoſe *ſole object*, at preſent is, the accumulation of money, whether it be in Africa or in the W. Indies.

730. That the demand for bars is derived from the natural want of the commodity (iron) will ſcarcely be diſputed; and that the value of this natural money riſes or falls, as it is more or leſs wanted, will appear equally true*.

781. But coined money has an artificial or arbitrary value; inaſmuch as it is founded on a commodity, (gold, ſilver, copper, &c.) which, if allowed to circulate, uncoined, by it's weight and ſtandard, would certainly not be demanded nearly ſo much as (iron) bars. Indeed, that coined money is not demanded at all, by the Africans, but obtruded upon them, appears evident from their expreſſion, "*ſelling* the dollars," (§ 427.) that is, they get rid of a commodity they do not want, in order to *re-introduce* their old bars, which they conſider as a repreſentation of one of their real wants, and which, as a money medium, the Directors are taking ſo much pains to diſcredit and eradicate †.

They ſell the dollars.

782. From what has been ſaid, it is evident that coined money will be much more productive of confuſion and diſputes with the negroes, than ever were bars; eſpecially when it is conſidered that thoſe ſimple nations are not nearly ſo expert in fine mercantile calculations, as the Europeans.

733. Before a nation attain that degree of moral improvement, which qualifies it to partake of luxuries without endangering ſocial order, it appears extremely impolitic to introduce an article of luxury, which no man can procure without ſubjecting himſelf to a kind of ſlavery.

European money a luxury,

734. That ſpecies of luxury, (or ſuperfluity, gold, ſilver, &c.) which is prematurely introduced, in any character whatſoever, and even that of money, previous to articles of primary neceſſity, and left to the *arbitrary* diſpoſal of individuals, ought

* The reader may recollect Q. XXVI. § 142. "Is not the real *want* of any commodity in a community, the only natural baſis of the intrinſic *value* of that commodity?" If ſo, it's value can never be fixed.

† I grant that the preſent African bar is nominal; but it is demonſtrable that the dollar is alſo nominal. Who cannot ſee that the preſent pound ſterling, or livre Tournois, does not convey the idea of a pound Troy of ſilver, which however it originally contained?

to

Digitized by Google

to be checked by the whole community, through its government. For this liberty, independent of any check or order, appears to tend directly to deſtroy the uſeful and moral character of individuals, and, paradoxical as it may ſeem, to reduce them ultimately to ſlavery. This poſition reſts on that irrefragable principle, drawn from uniform experience, namely, that luxuries, when once they get firm root in a community, change their nature, and partake ſo much of the nature of neceſſaries, that they cannot be eradicated without doing violence to liberty, and bringing human nature into ſome degree of ſuffering*.

which tends to enſlave mankind;

735. The diſpoſition of man, naturally tends to DESPOTISM, not only in *accumulating power*, to influence and govern others, which too often leads to the deprivation of life; but alſo in *accumulating money* or wealth, which too often terminates in the forcibly depriving others of their property; in both caſes unchecked by the community in which he lives†.—This kind of independence is at preſent generally called *liberty*, and is aimed at and ſought after by all thoſe, who do not wiſh to be ſubjected to any ſocial check. But this inclination is diametrically oppoſite to order, which, it were eaſy to prove, requires each individual, in every ſocial reſpect, to be governed by the will of the whole, or of the majority, and not *vice verſa*.

but real iron bars have not that tendency.

736. For the foregoing reaſons, I cannot but think, that *real*, iron in bars, ſhould have been introduced even into the colony. They would have had all the eſſential uſes of a money medium, without being liable to the abuſes of European money, the nature of which they would have kept out of ſight, as being themſelves compoſed of (iron) the moſt uſeful of all metallic commodities. They would therefore have tended to keep the production of commodities conſtantly in the view of both the natives and the coloniſts. But, perhaps, it would not be yet too late to change the colonial money ſyſtem, before the ſelfiſh ſpirit, encouraged by European money, has entirely debauched the minds of innocent Africans.

Credit natural and artificial.

737. It is evident that the Company wiſhes to eſtabliſh a certain *credit* in the colony; and that is as right and neceſſary as that they ſhould endeavour to give a proper *energy* and firmneſs to the colonial government. All that I wiſh to obſerve is, that they cannot be too much on their guard againſt the introduction of an ARTIFICIAL CREDIT, which will as certainly end in an *unlimited credit*, as the inveſtiture of the colonial government with an UNCHECKED POWER, will terminate in *deſpotiſm*.

* I do not mean that kind of luxury, which a man produces by *means of his own labour* or induſtry, either for the neceſſaries, the conveniences, or the enjoyments of life, but ſuch luxuries only as are procured by *means of money*.

† It has been hitherto confeſſed, that abuſes and tyranny ſpring from an arbitrary or *unchecked power of governing*, and I think it is not leſs certain, that an arbitrary or *unchecked power of diſpoſing of wealth* leads to abuſes of another kind. Both terminate in a ſpecies of perſonal ſlavery. To prove this aſſertion, plenty of inſtances might be produced.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

738. "*But as the valuing of the bars produced ſome altercation, the price of* 3 *dollars a month, or about* 3s. 6d. *a week, is now ſubſtituted.*" (§ 426.)

Price, depending on demand, cannot be fixed

To what has been ſaid, I need only add here, this ſimple queſtion.—Is it poſſible to fix the price of any article whatever, without deranging the natural proportion between commodities, which ariſes from the natural and variable want and demand of them, in a community?

Three objections anſwered

739. I ſhall paſs over ſeveral other parts of both the Reports, which are connected with money matters. But, before I diſmiſs the ſubject, it may be proper to add a few words to juſtify and elucidate ſome opinions advanced in the firſt part of this work. For, as men at this day commonly infer their objections and arguments, on ſuch ſubjects, from facts and particulars, and cannot be expected to contemplate the (*civil evils*) cauſes of diſorder in the communities of the preſent age, from the ſame identical point of view, I may very naturally ſuppoſe that the following objections will be made to the opinions implied in § 142, qu. XXXVII, LI.

(1.) It may be aſked, *How buſineſs can be conducted in ſociety, without credit, that is to ſay, without coined money?*

740. I anſwer, that ſuch credit, being only an artificial credit, ought to be entirely baniſhed and removed; but not that kind of credit which is founded on a real knowledge of uſeful *ability* and *activity* of men. This laſt kind of credit, which may be manifeſted in any form whatever, may be ſafely ſubſtituted for money, and will never diſturb or diminiſh any buſineſs of real utility in ſociety*. An induſtrious, active, and uſeful farmer, for example, will be known and accredited by his labourers; a tradeſman or a manufacturer by his cuſtomers, and the merchant by thoſe who entruſt him with their orders for ſupplying their wants †. Thus a character for ability, induſtry, ſobriety and integrity, is the true ſtandard for all natural credit, which needs not the barbarous and impolitic ſupport of arreſts and impriſonments for debt; but directly tends to encourage the excellent moral qualities on which it is founded. In a word, *artificial credit* tends to diſſolve, or *enſlave*, civil ſociety; and natural credit to conſolidate and improve it.

(2.) *If gold and ſilver, were to circulate according to their weight and ſtandard, would not many be impoſed upon by baſe metals?*

741. But are not gold and ſilver, even at this day, bought and ſold, in every poſſible ſhape, both ſtamped and unſtamped, and conſequently are not baſe metals current, even on the preſent ſyſtem?—It is true, that if money were altered from *coin* (or credit) to *weight* and *ſtandard*, the buyer would be obliged to examine the

* If the reader will conſult Mr. Sharp's "Sketch of temporary Regulations for S. Leona," he will find that a currency of any extent, and for the largeſt community, may be moſt advantageouſly founded on day labour, regiſtered in a public bank.

† In the preſent order of things, however, the contrary is the caſe.

quality

Digitized by Google

quality of the commodity rather more minutely than he does at preſent. Such examination is, indeed, now, in a great meaſure, out of the queſtion; as the buyer, like a creditor, depends on the artificial laws enacted to relieve and protect him, in all caſes*.

742. But on the natural ſyſtem of weight and ſtandard, every able, and of courſe, accredited aſſayer would become a natural banker; or the banker, from an ignorant money-holder, would be obliged to become a ſcientific aſſayer of gold and ſilver; and his note would be taken in payment, within the circle of his connections, as money, and it's validity or eſtimation would be proportioned to the natural credit ſuch an aſſayer had obtained.

(3.) *If there were no ſpeculation commerce, how would ſocieties be provided with neceſſaries?* (See § 114.)

743. I anſwer, that all ſpeculation, in articles of the firſt neceſſity, ought, in a *well regulated* community, to make a part of the duty of the government: or, if that ſhould be found difficult or impracticable, a commiſſion-commerce might eaſily be organized ſo univerſally, that, from the moſt diſtant individuals, orders might be conveyed from one commiſſion tradeſman to another, even to the laſt commiſſion merchant. All theſe might in ſuch caſe obtain a decent and *ſecure* living, proportioned to their different degrees of trouble and riſk. This commercial ſyſtem, indeed, might eaſily be introduced even into our preſent ſocieties; ſince all kinds of property may be effectually ſecured by the eſtabliſhed modes of inſurance.

---

744. A repreſentation of the ſilver and copper coin, introduced into the colony of S. Leona, is inſerted in the large Map. Weight and denominations of S. Leona coin.

Fig. 1, repreſents the Dollar, which is called a Cent piece.

Fig. 2, the half Dollar or half Cent.

Fig. 3, the 20 Cent, and Fig. 4, the 10 Cent.

Fig. 5, the copper coin of which 100 makes one Dollar.

One Dollar contains 400 grains of pure ſilver.

100 coined copper Cent pieces weigh 3lb.

* This would certainly be a very great, and, I ſhould think, a very proper check on ſpeculation commerce, which at preſent hurries on buſineſs with the tumultuous celerity of a hunting match. One man puſhes another, he a third and ſo on, whether they can bear puſhing or not, with ſuch diſorderly eagerneſs that many tumble and trip up others, while the leaſt deſerving often ſhare the greateſt prizes in this mercantile ſcramble. In the mean time, intellectual improvement, and every other kind of improvement, perſonal, domeſtic or ſocial, is entirely neglected: for when a man's whole time and attention are engroſſed by one low ſordid purſuit, every nobler purpoſe of his being muſt be overlooked.—See alſo that excellent work, *Walker's Geography*; Second Edition, 1795, § 150.

NOTE

APPENDIX.

NOTE X. 1. See § 423 *et ſeq.*

745. If the reader has given that attention, which the ſubject ſo well deſerves, to what is ſaid on cultivation (from § 131 to 140 incluſive) he will not ſuppoſe me a very warm admirer of the ſyſtem adopted; or rather, I would fain hope, only *under trial*, at S. Leona. The part of my book juſt quoted, which touches on cultivation, was printed ſeveral weeks before I had an opportunity of peruſing the article on the ſame ſubject, in the ſecond report of the Directors (ſee § 425 *et ſeq.*) and at which, I confeſs, I was both grieved and ſurprized. I was grieved at obſerving ſo much ſimilarity between the ſyſtem of cultivation adopted, or tried, at S. Leona and that practiſed in the Sugar Iſlands: and I was ſurpriſed that any thing like an imitation of that *mercantile ſyſtem of cultivation* ſhould be tolerated at S. Leona, after it's oppreſſive conſequences to the unhappy ſlaves on ſugar eſtates, in the W. Indies, had ſo clearly appeared in evidence, before the Britiſh Privy Council and Houſe of Commons*. The ſimilarity which I lament, appears in the following particulars:

Cultivation at S. Leona, ſimilar to the W. Indian.

(1.) As on Weſt Indian ſugar eſtates, the grumettas, on the Company's plantation, have a ſtated, though certainly a more liberal, allowance of proviſions; and their dinner is dreſſed for them in the manager's houſe, as for weakly negroes, and for children on moſt plantations in the ſugar iſlands. This mode will ſave time; but I much doubt if it will tend to improve the natives in the arts of houſehold œconomy.

* That oppreſſion is *inſeparable* from the preſent mode of cultivating the ſugar cane in the W. Indies, appears by inference from Long's Hiſt. of Jamaica, and explicitly in Dickſon's Letters on Slavery. This laſt writer (p. 23) particularly deſcribes the manner in which the cane-holes are dug and the dung diſtributed. "I have ſeen," ſays he, "land lined off into ſquare ſpaces 4 feet each way, which I believe, is the general rule in Barbadoes. The cane holes, therefore, may be about 3 feet ſquare, and 7 or 8 inches deep, with a ſpace or "*diſtance*" between each, and another ſpace or "*bank*" at right angles to the diſtance, to receive the mould. The holes are dug, with hoes, by the ſlaves, in a row, with the driver at one end, to preſerve the line. They begin and finiſh a row of theſe holes as nearly at the ſame inſtants as poſſible; ſo that this *equal* taſk muſt be performed in *the ſame time*, by a number of people who it is next to impoſſible, ſhould be all equally ſtrong and dexterous."—"The weak, therefore, from the very nature of this mode of turning up the ſoil, muſt *neceſſarily* be oppreſſed. The driver is often obliged to ſet ſuch negroes as cannot keep up with the reſt, to work, in a ſeparate corner by themſelves; but I am ſorry to ſay he too often firſt tries the effect of flogging."——"In diſtributing dung, each negro carries on his (or her) head a baſket full of it, the driver with his whip bringing up the rear of the gang. Here then, is another *equal* taſk, to be performed in an *equal* time, by people of *unequal* ſtrength. In diſtributing dung, therefore, as well as in holing, the weak are *unavoidably* oppreſſed."——"In this work, the negroes have no help at all from cattle or implements of huſbandry, the hoe and the baſket only excepted." &c.——The baſkets are all of the ſame ſize; inſomuch that a *dung-baſket* has become a kind of meaſure for potatoes, &c. as a *traſh-baſket*, which is much larger, is for other things.

(2.) *They*

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

746. (2.) *They are called to work in the morning by the blowing of a horn.*—On ſome W. Indian plantations a ſhell is uſed for this purpoſe, and on others a bell. "Shell-blow," as the ſlaves call it, rouſes them about 4 o'clock. In half an hour after, more or leſs, the driver ſallies forth bawling "Turn out! Turn out!" at the ſame time loudly ſmacking his cowſkin, which he ſmartly applies to the naked bodies of thoſe who come too late into the field.—May no W. Indian overſeer or negro-driver*, ever find means to ſubſtitute a flogging for the dram, *now* given at S. Leona!!

Labourers on the Co's plantations called out with a horn,

747. (3.) *They work under the immediate eye of one of the better ſort of natives, while the planter directs their general operations, ſees them often from his window and walks occaſionally among them.*"—If, for "one of the better ſort of natives," an overſeer, or driver, with his whip, ſhould ever ſteal into the fields of S. Leona, and whether or not ſuch an event is to be dreaded we ſhall preſently ſee, then this paſſage might be indifferently applied to that colony or to the W. Indies. But, in the Southern ſtates of America, the negroes have certain taſks aſſigned them, which when they have finiſhed, they are at liberty to fiſh, hunt, work in their own grounds, or amuſe themſelves for the reſt of the day. In this way, they do more work and perform it ſooner, better and more chearfully, without the ſuperintendance of a driver than the negroes in the W. Indies who drudge all day long, not only under the eye, but literally under the whip, of the driver. A Mr. Douglas, ſome few years ago, carried 60 negroes from Carolina to Jamaica, where he continued his taſk work, with the ſame ſucceſs as in America; but as things now ſtand in the W. Indies, improvements cannot be introduced without much difficulty. (See Min. Evid. 1790 p. 183, and 1791 p. 218, 250.) I am, therefore, clearly of opinion, that taſk work, or rather piece-work, would tend, much more than day-labour, to call forth the activity of the native Africans, and conſequently to promote their improvement: and I would fain hope that as ſoon as the grumettas on the Company's plantation become tolerably expert, that piece-work will be aſſigned them, inſtead of drowſy, lifeleſs day-labour.

and work under a planter's eye,

748. (4.) The company's labourers appear to be employed from ſun riſe to ſun ſet, except about 2 hours for dinner, and, as I am told, a ſhort ſpace for prayers, which may be about equal to the breakfaſt-time allowed to the ſlaves in the W. Indies. Thus the former ſeem to be employed nearly as many hours as the latter are, *out of crop*. I ſay nearly; for the latter are generally obliged to "*pick*" a bundle of graſs, and to carry it to the cattle on the penns, and thus are deprived of a great part of their dinner-time; and at night they have to ſerve the cattle with a ſecond bundle of graſs, which they can ſeldom do till a conſiderable time after ſun-ſet. This is *out of crop*; but *in crop-time*, which laſts 4 or

from ſun-riſe to ſun-ſet, except about 2½ hours.

* Theſe words are very often uſed ſynonymouſly in Barbadoes and the other windward iſlands, where the chief of an eſtate is generally called the Manager. But in Jamaica commonly called the Overſeer.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

5 months in the year, the W. Indian ſlaves are obliged, after their hard work in the day, to continue their labours in the mill and boiling-houſe, every ſecond or third night, according to the ſtrength of the gang. Thus I would by no means inſinuate that the negroes on the Company's plantation are *yet* wrought ſo hard, or for ſo many hours, as thoſe on W. Indian ſugar eſtates. But it is to be remembered that in the W. Indies, no other improvement than that of the maſter's property is ſo much as pretended to; whereas at S. Leona, the ſocial and intellectual improvement of the natives is the declared end and aim of the whole eſtabliſhment.

10 hours daily labour, too much in a tropical climate.

749. Now I think it may fairly be queſtioned, whether the 10 hours daily, though moderate, labour, performed by the Company's negroes, under a tropical ſun, be compatible with any conſiderable improvement, either by inſtruction or ſtudy, or by what, in one view, is equally improving, I mean, attention to their own little concerns in the houſe, in the field, or at the market or other ſocial meeting. (§ 471 n.) In my opinion, the Creator has put this matter out of doubt, by furniſhing the tropical regions, not only with a profuſion of almoſt ſpontaneous vegetable food, but with gourds, calabaſhes and other elegant, vegetable veſſels to put it in. In Europe, before corn can be uſed, it muſt be threſhed out, winnowed, kill-dried, ſhelled, ground, ſifted and baked. In Africa, moſt of theſe operations are unneceſſary; and when the maize is ripening, a hungry man may go and pluck two or three ears of it and roaſt them for his ſupper. Yams, ſweet potatoes and other roots require not much labour, and the numerous and excellent fruits ſcarcely any. Were it neceſſary to corroborate this argument, I would only aſk any man who has been, for any length of time, obliged to labour or buſtle under a tropical ſun for 10 hours every day in the week, except Sundays, whether, in the evenings, he felt himſelf moſt diſpoſed to make an addition to his day's work, or to go to ſleep? Dr. Smeathman, who was as active as moſt men, and as well acquainted with tropical climates, I am pretty ſure, would have ſent ſuch a man to bed; for, in the plan he publiſhed, he propoſed only 8 hours labour for 5 days in the week, 6 hours on Saturdays, and the Sabbath to be ſet apart, as it now very properly is at S. Leona, for reſt and inſtruction. (See § 648, No. 15.) Upon the whole then, I cannot but think that 10 hours daily labour, in that climate, is more than what is compatible with any conſiderable improvement in the labourers, eſpecially when I recollect that this labour is dull, mechanical day-labour, in the ſucceſs of which the labourer is only indirectly intereſted, through his wages, and not *directly*, by reaping the produce for his own behoof.

750. (5.) "*Their number and regularity have ſcarcely varied for above a year, except in their abſenting themſelves for a week or two, at the approach of the rains, to work on their own plantations, an interruption which it is thought may in future be prevented.*"—Here I am conſtrained to acknowledge, that if the W. Indians forced or encouraged their negroes to work on their own grounds, on any other day than Sunday,

Digitized by Google

I ſhould certainly, in ſo far, prefer their ſyſtem to that of S. Leona. But encourage, or rather force them, to this work, the W. Indians certainly do; and I never heard that they reckoned it an interruption to the plantation work. The truth is, that this paſſage, combined with the reſt of § 426, ſtrongly excites my jealouſy for Africa, and raiſes in my mind very unpleaſant ſenſations; for I cannot but think that it betrays a greater regard to the Company's planting concerns, than to the civilization of the natives. I allow that the abſence of the native labourers from the Company's plantations at the approach of the rains, or the planting ſeaſon, may be inconvenient to the Company. But is the abſence of the native labourers, from their own little plantations, at the ſame period, no inconvenience to them? In countries where rents are paid by perſonal ſervice, the abſence of the vaſſals, in ſeed time and harveſt, is doubtleſs inconvenient to the landlord. But the inconvenience felt by the poor vaſſal, when he loſes his ſeed-time, or when his little crop rots upon the ground, while with a heavy heart, he is performing his landlord's work, the haughty landlord little regards*. Now it is impoſſible that civilization can proſper where perſonal ſervice, or any other ſyſtem, that tends to leſſen the labourer's intereſt in the produce of his own toil, generally prevails. This is evident from the rude ſtate of thoſe countries where ſuch ſyſtems are ſtill adhered to†. And, without ſuſpecting that any ſyſtem obſtructive of civilization is *deſignedly* meant to be introduced into S. Leona, I will venture to ſay, that, while the native labourers are confined ſo cloſely to day-labour, as to prevent them entirely from tilling portions of land for their own *immediate* advantage, their civilization will advance but ſlowly. For wherein does civilization (excluſive, I mean, of higher conſiderations) conſiſt, but in ſuch an improvement of the intellect, as enables a man to conduct his own affairs to the beſt advantage, and to interchange good offices with his neighbours. But how can a man learn to conduct his own affairs who has, properly ſpeaking, no affairs of his own to conduct; who is rouſed from his morning ſlumbers, by an overſeer's horn; who labour's almoſt all day under his eye, and is fed with food ready dreſſed from his kitchen; who has little time to look after his family, and ſtill leſs to ſpend in neighbourly intercourſe‡? In ſhort, how can *any* ſet of beings be expect-

Civilization cannot advance where labourers are not intereſted in produce,

* I mention perſonal ſervice merely for illuſtration, without intending any invidious reference to S. Leona; particularly as I am ſorry to ſay that *ſuch* ſervice is very frequently abuſed in my own native country Sweden.--I had always ſuppoſed that this kind of perſonal ſervice had been long annihilated in *one* European kingdom at leaſt. But I was miſtaken; for I have been credibly informed that, whatever the *law* may be, the *practice* ſtill exiſts in two counties in the North of Scotland—not to mention the wretched degradation of the poor *Scalags* in the Hebrides.—See a very well written paper in a periodical work entitled the Bee, publiſhed at Edinburgh, by the able, intelligent and patriotic Dr. James Anderſon—alſo the Rev. Mr. Buchannan's account of the Hebrides, lately publiſhed.

† Even the Empreſs of Ruſſia, deſpot as ſhe is, ſanctioned, and perhaps dictated, this noble ſentence "L'agriculture ne pourra jamais proſperer là où l'agriculteur ne poſſede rien en propre." Agriculture can never flouriſh in a country where the huſbandman has no property--Cath. II. Imp. de Ruſſ. Inſt. p. 83.

‡ The time, ſays a great philoſopher, which a *country* mechanic ſpends in going from one job to another, is what prevents him from degenerating into a brute. (§ 122.)

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

ed to improve, if they have little or no ſcope for the exerciſe of their faculties, and if every avenue, which directly leads to ſocial or intellectual improvement, be, in a great meaſure, ſhut againſt them?

exemplified in the cotton manufacture,

751. Lord Kaimes ſomewhere obſerves, that on public roads being carried through ſome of the leſs improved parts of Scotland, the neighbouring cottagers were ſeen gradually to transfer the regularity, neatneſs and patient labour with which they ſaw the work conducted, ſucceſſively into their gardens and little ſpots of land, their cottages, their furniture, and their apparel; inſomuch that at laſt the improvement reached their very minds. But, I apprehend, this ſalutary progreſſion could not have taken place, if thoſe cottagers had had no property of their own except money, no gardens, or ſpots of land, nor any time to cultivate them. Had his Lordſhip, however, lived but a few years longer, he would have had the mortification of ſeeing this laſt caſe, and it's conſequences, verified in ſome parts of his native land. He would have ſeen multitudes of males and females, promiſcuouſly crowded into certain modern manufactories; cloathed indeed in cottons, inſtead of their home-grown and home-ſpun linens and woollens; drinking tea inſtead of butter-milk, and whiſky inſtead of water or ſmall-beer; eating, perhaps, wheaten bread inſtead of oaten bread and potatoes; and, above all, the very children earning ſo much money, as to render them completely independent of their parents, and conſequently not very well prepared for ſocial reſtraints. But I fear he would have looked in vain, for the wonted bloom of health or bluſh of innocence on their faces, or for that ſobriety, intelligence and decency, which diſtinguiſhed the converſation and behaviour of their immediate progenitors. His Lordſhip would have found, however, that they conſume and fabricate a great many exciſeable commodities; that their labour, though deſtructive of their health and morals, cauſes a great circulation of money; and that thus, in a *financial* and *commercial* view, they fulfil what ſome politicians ſeem to conſider as the great ends of their creation*.

and in that of ſugar.

752. Now every ſugar plantation, in the W. Indies, is no other than a great manufactory, in which 2 or 300 people are collected, and avowedly conſidered and treated as mere paſſive implements of labour, that have no intereſt whatever in the produce; and this is *one* cauſe of the ignorance, vice and diſorder which prevail in the W. Indies. In this reſpect, therefore, the ſimilarity of the Company's plantation at S. Leona, to a W. Indian one, is likely, if continued, to lead to very bad conſequences. But I would fain hope, that when the culture of ſugar comes to be

* The evils here hinted at, are perhaps not ſo explicitly ſtated, in the ſtatiſtical account of Scotland, as could be wiſhed. But their introduction is well remembered, and much lamented by many worthy and truly patriotic perſons in that country.——In Manchester, the evils alluded to are of longer ſtanding, and more inveterate. To enumerate inſtances would be endleſs; but I ſhall mention one, which fell within my own notice. I knew a workmen there, who, when trade was briſk, earned his guinea a day by cutting fuſtians. He regularly worked 4 days in the week, and, accompanied by his wife, ſpent the reſt of his time, and all his money in the neighbouring public houſe.

ſeriouſly

Digitized by Google

ſeriouſly purſued at S. Leona, ſome ſuch plan as the annexed one deſcribed, by Mr. Botham, which intereſts the labourers in the produce, and does not collect and keep together ſuch numbers of them, will be finally adopted by the Company.

Differences between manager and labourers at S. Leona.

753. (6.) In the W. Indies, there is an inceſſant conflict between the managers and the ſlaves, the former being intereſted in getting as much labour done, and the latter in doing as little, as poſſible. At S. Leona too, it appears that "*little differences may have occaſionally ariſen between the manager and the native labourers.*"—Far be it from me, to inſinuate there is any *preſent* danger of ſuch differences, being ſettled in the *forcible* W. Indian mode. I have too good an opinion of the preſent governor and council, eſpecially of him who conducts the plantation, to harbour ſuch a thought. Still I cannot diſſemble the fact, that ſome gentlemen at S. Leona, have for years, been accuſtomed to ſee the mode alluded to practiſed in the W. Indies; and we all know the laſting force of education and habit, as well as the general frailty of human nature, when urged by ſtrong temptation *.

Extreme danger of W. Indian ſyſtem being compleated there.

754. (7.) I come now to what I think by far the ſtrongeſt objection to the preſent mode of cultivation at S. Leona, namely, the handle that it may one day afford to deſigning men, for the introduction of Weſt Indian abuſes.—In truth, the S. Leona plan already ſo nearly reſembles the W. Indian, that if any future governor and council could find means to withdraw the pittance of wages from the labourers, and to ſlip the whip into the hand of the overſeer, the two ſyſtems would not only be ſimilar, but actually the ſame. And indeed there are too many reaſons to fear, that the W. Indian ſyſtem may, at ſome future, convenient time, be really *compleated* in that ill-fated colony. A ſtrong tendency to abuſe, has ever invariably prevailed in provinces diſtant, as S. Leona is, from the ſeat of ſupreme Government, a truth exemplified in all the Britiſh ſugar colonies; in one inſtance ſo recently as 12 or 13 years ago, when a governor, in open defiance of all law, wreſted a conſiderable ſum of money from a certain ancient and reſpectable W. Indian colony, conſiſting of 18 or 20,000 white people,

* The accounts I have uniformly heard of Mr. W. are highly favourable to that gentleman's general character, particularly for humanity. It is not denied, that a conſiderable number of men, who well deſerve the ſame character, preſide over W. Indian plantations. But I own it ſomewhat ſurpriſed me, to find the Directors expreſſing diſappointment in the character of the *lower overſeers*, (§ 449.) whoſe general depravity has been ſo often mentioned as *one* cauſe of the ſufferings of the poor ſlaves. Without ſhocking the reader with their numerous babarities, ſtated in evidence, I ſhall refer him, for their general character, to Beckford's Hiſt. of Jamaica, printed in 1788, but which I have not now at hand. Mr. Long, however, tells us, that "many of them are the very dregs of the three kingdoms;" that "they have commonly more vices, and much fewer good qualities, than the ſlaves over whom they are ſet in authority;" in particular, that "they exhibit deteſtable pictures of drunkenneſs," for which reaſon he adviſes their "rum to be ſerved out to them ready mixed with water." Hiſt. of Jamaica, Vol. II. p. 289, 409, 471.

many

APPENDIX.

many of them men of property, education, and knowledge of the world*. The arts by which W. Indian attornies or agents, and managers or overſeers, defraud and ruin abſentee planters, are too numerous and intricate to be here particularly explained, if not too well known to need explanation †. Now if theſe things can, and very often do happen, to the property of individuals, whoſe all is at ſtake, what ſecurity can there be, that ſimilar arts ſhall not be employed in defrauding a joint ſtock company, where the ſhare of each partner, is too ſmall to intereſt him much in it's ſucceſs? Or, which is more to the purpoſe, what ſecurity can the *unrepreſented* coloniſts have, againſt the *completion* of the W. Indian plan, already begun at Sierra Leona? Indeed, when I conſider the various cauſes which may call the preſent Directors from their benevolent labours; that they may be ſucceeded by men leſs attentive or leſs diſintereſted; that future Subſcribers may become more indifferent than the preſent, to the grand objects of the inſtitution, and leſs inquiſitive as to it's management; that the affairs of the Company will naturally become more and more complex, and that the accounts ſent home may be *deſignedly* perplexed (one of the W. Indian arts,) that the governor and council may find it to be their *intereſt* to

* It is however but juſtice to the memory of the then Miniſtry to ſay, that this governor was recalled, with evident marks of diſapprobation, not to ſay diſgrace.

† "If we judge from experience, and the common conduct of Managers, in the abſence of the Proprietors, an eſtate yields not half as much when the owner is abſent, as when he is living on the ſpot." Anſwer to the 53d qu. of the Britiſh Privy Council, by Governor Orde of Dominica. See alſo the Anſ. of Lieut. Governor Matthew of Grenada to the ſame query, with many ſimilar paſſages in that valuable body of information, and in Min. Evid. before the Houſe of Commons.—Mr. Long very explicitly deſcribes *one* grand cauſe of theſe enormous defalcations.——"It is well known," ſays he, "that a great many eſtates of different *abſentees*, and lying in diſtant parts of the iſland, are often given up to the charge of one agent only, who cannot poſſibly reſide at them all, or viſit them very frequently. Matters are then left to the diſcretion of overſeers, whoſe chief aim it is, to raiſe to themſelves a character as able planters, by increaſing the produce of the reſpective eſtates;" (on which produce a law of the iſland ordains, that their patrons, the attornies or agents, ſhall be paid a commiſſion of 6 per cent.) "This is too frequently attempted, by *forcing the negroes to labour beyond their abilities. Of courſe they drop off*, and if not recruited inceſſantly, the gentleman ſteals away, like a rat from a barn in flames, and carries the credit of great planterſhip and vaſt crops in in his hand, to obtain advanced wages from ſome new employer," (very often an attorney) "in another diſtrict of the iſland. The abſentees are too often deceived, who meaſure the condition of their properties by the large remittances ſent home for one or two years, without adverting to the heavy loſſes ſuſtained in the production of them; and they find too late their incomes ſuddenly abridged, and the ſinews of their eſtates waſted far below their expectation." Hiſt. of Jamaica, Vol. II. p. 406. ——"While by imprudent exertions, there may be a viſible increaſe of crop, perhaps to 4 or £500 annual value, there is, at the ſame time an annual decreaſe of working negroes, to more than double that value." Anſ. by a Planter of 1068 acres in Barbadoes, in ſupp. to the Privy Council's Report, p. 32.

force,

Digitized by Google

force, inſtead of *paying*, the labourers; that not ſo much as a private letter can be ſent to England without their knowledge; and that the coloniſts, being without repreſentation, will be without remedy*—I ſay, when I conſider all theſe circumſtances, not as an airy train of poſſibilities, but as events which ſeldom fail to happen in ſimilar caſes, I cannot help expreſſing my fears, that, at ſome future period, the labourers may come to be paid their *wages*, with *whips* and *chains*, and thus the finiſhing ſtroke be given to the W. Indian ſyſtem at S. Leona.

Deplorable effects of *forcing* ſugar cultivation.

755. I have no fault to find with any of the articles planted, except the ſugar-cane, the cultivation of which is unqueſtionably too laborious for any new colony; eſpecially for a new colony, intended to civilize a rude people, whom the ſight of ſuch exertion as is neceſſary on a ſugar plantation, would be apt to diſguſt with regular labour. Indeed, the cultivation of ſugar engroſſes ſo much attention and labour, that I am clear, it ſhould never be attempted, on any ſyſtem, till a colony abound with people, and cattle, and food for both. (See §727 n.) The premature introduction of that plant into the Britiſh colonies, eſpecially into the Ceded Iſlands, about 30 years ago, deſtroyed ſuch multitudes of ſlaves and cattle, in *Dominica* particularly, that it has been clearly proved, no capital was ever, upon the whole, ſo diſadvantageouſly employed, as that veſted by the Britiſh in W. Indian eſtates†. In ſhort, in no age or country, was ever avarice more compleatly diſappointed, or humanity more ſhockingly outraged, than in the flattering but ill-judged introduction of the ſugar cane into all or moſt of the Britiſh W. Indian Iſlands, eſpecially the Ceded Iſlands. It has indeed been a root of bitterneſs to thoſe colonies; and it's premature and forced cultivation has, within our own memory, ſwept maſters and ſlaves, the oppreſſors and the oppreſſed, into one common grave. It was difficult for me to ſuppoſe, that the Directors were uninformed of theſe deplorable facts, or would ſuffer themſelves to be miſled by the alluring eſtimates which the W. Indians ſo well know how to fabricate, when they wiſh to diſpoſe advantageouſly of a loſing property‡. My aſtoniſhment therefore was great, when I was ſeriouſly aſſured, that a compleat apparatus for making ſugar, had been ſent to S. Leona, by one of the firſt ſhips.

756. If

* I hope what I have ſaid reſpecting repreſentation, may not be miſunderſtood. I only mean, that coloniſts, who are ſufficiently enlightened to form a proper judgement of their own ſocial intereſts, ſhould chuſe repreſentatives. (See § 161, II. 699.)

† This has been irrefragably demonſtrated, from the *data* of the preſent planters, and of their predeceſſors, in Mr. Ramſay's Anſwers to Objections againſt the Abolition of the Slave-trade, and in a ſeries of eſſays ſigned *Terentius*, publiſhed in Woodfall's Diary, in May, 1789.

‡ In ſuch eſtimates, the *apparent* profits of large crops are explicitly ſtated; but the loſſes, if mentioned at all, are too often couched in general terms, from which perſons inexperienced in W. Indian affairs, can draw no juſt concluſion. Yet the loſſes are at leaſt as capable of explicit ſtatement as the profits. Thus ſome eſtates require 6 new negroes, others 8, and othere even 10 or more, to keep up the gang,

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

756. If this laſt meaſure was dictated, as I am perſuaded it was, by a wiſh to ſupply the humane demand for ſugar raiſed by freemen, the motive was laudable and excellent, but the attempt was nevertheleſs premature; and ſo, I will venture to ſay, it was conſidered, by a few of the Directors, who, though quite unconnected with the W. Indies, are known to be particularly well informed reſpecting the laborious culture and manufacture of ſugar, but who, I preſume, were in the minority when this reſolution was taken.

The author recommends another plan.

757. Having thus taken the liberty to ſtate my chief objections to the plan of cultivation introduced, or under trial, at S. Leona, it may be expected that I ſhould offer my ſentiments reſpecting the plan which ought to be adopted. This I ſhall do, with all the deference juſtly due to gentlemen of whoſe good intentions I am ſo fully convinced, (ſee § 329, 593, 594.) I ſhall do this the more readily too, as I believe the plan of cultivation is not ſo far advanced, or ſo unalterably fixed, as not to admit of any change or modification which the Directors may deem expedient. Or, if my hints, which (excluſive of the Batavian plan of cultivating ſugar, inſerted below,) are few and ſimple, ſhould not have the good fortune to be attended to by the Directors, they may perhaps be uſeful to others who may hereafter attempt cultivation in Africa.

Deſires of a rude people to be excited, and gratified with innocent luxuries.

758. It appears to me then, that all human exertions are excited by human deſires, or wants, natural or artificial, and conſequently that *real* civilization is beſt promoted by raiſing and properly directing, the deſires or wants of a rude people. (See §33, 708.) When every individual of a community can, independently of others, exchange his labour for the articles he wants, he is then happy and free. In other words, the happineſs and liberty of the individual depend on the opportunities he has of uſing his own perſonal reſources, to procure neceſſaries or luxuries. (See § 734 n.) Hence, I think, it follows, that, if we intend to make a rude people happy, by training them to the innocent habits of civilized life, we ſhould firſt enquire, whether they deſire, or feel the want of thoſe articles, which in the civilized world, are thought abſolutely neceſſary to comfortable ſubſiſtence. If they do not, thoſe deſires ſhould, in the firſt place, be excited; and this being done, ſome innocent luxuries ſhould be exhibited to their view, for obtaining which they have no other means than their labour. (See § 36,

gang, and a proportionable number of cattle. I am happy, however, to add, that a conſiderable number of eſtates require no new negroes; but ſuch ſeldom or never come into the market, becauſe the humanity and prudence of their proprietors and managers, precludes *the* grand cauſe of the ruin of thoſe eſtates, namely, the deſtruction of the negroes. Whether ſomething of the obſcurity alluded to, does not appear in the eſtimates given by certain W. Indian hiſtorians, let thoſe, who are capable, judge. Yet certain it is, that large crops have been made and even ſworn to, purpoſely to enhance the price of eſtates offered for ſale, and on ſuch crops ſome W. Indian eſtimates are evidently founded. But neither affadavits nor eſtimates, contain any account of the negroes murdered, by producing ſuch forced crops, nor of the cattle deſtroyed by conveying them to the ſhipping places.—See the note, p. 354.

Digitized by Google

37, 670.) New articles of cultivation, or a more vigorous proſecution of the old, ſhould, at the ſame time, be encouraged; ſo that they may always have objects on which to exert their activity, in order to procure the offered luxury.

759. The firſt thing, therefore, to be encouraged in a new African colony, (and through the colony among the ſurrounding natives,) is the raiſing of an abundance of proviſions, provender, and cattle. This point being gained, which, upon every ſyſtem, muſt be the foundation of all ſolid improvement, ſome new luxury might be introduced, and the cultivation of cotton, ginger, coffee, or other eaſily raiſed article for exportation, at the ſame time, encouraged by premiums (if neceſſary,) conſiſting of the new luxury.

Native chiefs to be conciliated.

760. I have already intimated the neceſſity of engaging the co-operation of the native chiefs, in the great work of civilization. Though the colony at S. Leona is not ſo cloſely connected with thoſe chiefs, as I think could be wiſhed, (§ 130.) yet the Directors ſeem greatly and juſtly to value their friendſhip, and it is pleaſing to obſerve their ſucceſs in cultivating it. (§ 495, *et ſeq.*) They appear indeed to be ſo ready to adopt the improvements they ſee at Freetown, that, *if they ſhould not be, in the firſt inſtance, frightened or diſguſted at obſerving the intolerable manual labour attending the* W. INDIAN *mode of cultivating the ſugar-cane*, there cannot be a doubt, that the S. Leona government, by encouraging cultivators and artiſts from the colony, to go and live with ſuch chiefs as Cuddy, (§ 499.) will ſucceed in gradually reconciling the natives to all ſorts of regular induſtry.—Proviſions of *all kinds*, and alſo cotton and ginger, may be raiſed by any man of common ſenſe, even if he had never before ſeen them planted. That they require leſs labour than ſimilar articles in Europe, has been already mentioned; and the bare ſight of the plants will point out, how they are to be treated. Thus I think any man who has ſeen the potato planted in Britain, where it is exotic, may, if he pleaſe, raiſe yams, eddoes, ſweet potatoes, ground nuts, ginger, &c. in Africa, where thoſe roots are indigenous. The culture of Indian and Guinea corn, is as ſimple as that of peaſe and beans in England. Plantains and bananas, are certainly as eaſily raiſed in Africa, as cabbages and greens are in Europe. Oranges, limes, cocoa-nuts, &c. &c. require far leſs attention, than any kind of fruit in this part of the world. And, had there been any myſtery in the cultivation of cotton, we ſhould not have ſeen it ſo ſuddenly ſupplant ſugar, as it lately did, in ſeveral W. Indian iſlands; eſpecially in Barbadoes, where, after the ſugar-works were deſtroyed by the hurricane in 1780, cotton was planted with great ſucceſs, by many perſons who had never before attempted it. Thus every kind of proviſions, and even ſome articles for exportation, may certainly be cultivated, without the tuition of W. Indian *artiſts**: and their culture may be carried

Proviſions, &c. eaſily raiſed;

* If any man ſhould doubt his ability to raiſe cotton, ginger, and even coffee, without any particular courſe of inſtruction, he may look into Mr. Long's Hiſt. of Jamaica, and Edwards's Hiſt. of

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

carried on by manual labour, till the roots of the trees are removed, and till cattle can be raiſed to draw the plough.

alſo provender

761. If the natural graſs ſhould not afford ſufficient or proper food for the cattle, Guinea-graſs, Scotch-graſs, and other kinds, may be raiſed by hand, as in the Weſt Indies. Theſe, with the blades of Indian and Guinea corn, potato vines, the leaves and ſtocks, or trunks, of plantain and banana trees, not to mention cane-tops, ſupport cattle ſo well, that were they cultivated with proper care, in the ſugar-iſlands, the negroes would not be much harraſſed with graſs-picking; eſpecially as the artificial graſſes, and the blades of Indian and Guinea corn, may be converted into hay, as in ſome parts of Jamaica, where they alſo cure the wire graſs and the ſour graſs, which when green, the cattle will not taſte *.

but not ſugar, indigo, &c.

762. Sugar, indigo, and one or two leſs conſiderable articles, are the only tropical productions that require any great art or experience, either in the cultivation or the manufacture. As to indigo, the manufacture of it is ſo deſtructive to human life, that I would as ſoon think of introducing the plague into any country. But when the ſugar-cane comes to be cultivated, ſome inſtruction from a perſon well ſkilled in the boiling of ſugar, and the diſtillation of rum, will be abſolutely neceſſary. I ſhould think that ſuch inſtruction might be obtained from ſome perſon poſſeſſing the proper qualifications, of humble proſpects and a manageable diſpoſition, who might be ſent out in a ſubordinate ſtation. In order to prevent bribery, and to intereſt him in the undertaking, he ſhould have a liberal ſhare of the neat produce. But by no means ſhould he be intruſted with diſcretionary power, in any ſhape; for, however low his education and condition, and however ſubmiſſive he may be to white ſuperiors, he has moſt probably been habituated to deſpiſe every man with a black ſkin, and to abuſe his authority, in ſome land of ſlavery, where authority, though frequently abuſed, muſt be ſupported; and where the ſuperiors on eſtates, though ever ſo well diſpoſed, have too much on their hands to attend minutely, to the complaints of every individual ſlave.

the Brit. Col. in the W. Indies, where, *to gratify the curioſity of European readers*, the cultivation of theſe articles, among others which require a far more complex proceſs, is deſcribed. Several other books and pamphlets contain ſimilar deſcriptions. But the culture of *proviſions* of all kinds, is reckoned too plain a buſineſs to require particular explanation.—By Mr. Beaver's planting and gardening journal now before me, it appears that he was very ſucceſsful in raiſing Indian corn, yams, ground-nuts, pine-apples, bananas, oranges, limes, goavas and pepper. He not only raiſed, but dreſſed and eat caſſada, which is rather a delicate proceſs. Cotton alſo throve with him to admiration. Yet a knowledge of planting cannot be added to that gentleman's other excellent qualifications. In his journal he not only declares his total ignorance of cultivation, but ſhows it, by ſowing ſeveral European ſeeds, which could never yet be brought to thrive within the tropics; but others failed from being muſty.

* Some of the natural graſs, in the Savannahs, yields 4 tons of hay annually.—Long, Vol. I. p. 453.

763. Thus

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

763. Thus I have endeavoured to clear the way for the introduction of the ſugar-cane, the ſucceſsful cultivation of which, at S. Leona, I will venture to ſay, I am as anxious to promote as any one member of the Company. But, in order to inſure the ſucceſs of that important ſpecies of agriculture, I wiſh it to be introduced with due precaution and preparation, and proſecuted in ſuch a manner as may improve and preſerve, inſtead of deſtroying, as it has uniformly done in the W. Indies, the morals, the happineſs and the lives of the poor labourers. I muſt, therefore, repeat my opinion, that, after the cultivation of proviſions, provender, cotton, ginger, coffee, and perhaps ſome other *minor ſtaples**, ſhall have taken firm root, after cattle ſhall abound—in ſhort after the colony ſhall, by the bleſſing of Providence, have become populous, and, in all reſpects vigorous and flouriſhing—*then*, it appears to me, *but not before*, may the cultivation of the ſugar cane be ſafely introduced, and proſecuted by the following method practiſed near Batavia, and at Bencoolen (but not in Bengal, ſee § 139.)

When ſugar ſhould be introduced.

Mr. Botham on the cultivation of a Sugar Plantation at Batavia and Bencoolen. From Abridg. Min. Evid. before the Houſe of Commons, 1791, *p.* 133. *See alſo Privy Council's Report, Part* III.

764. "Having been two years in the Engliſh and French W. India iſlands, and ſince conducted ſugar eſtates in the E. Indies; it may be deſirable to know that ſugar, better and cheaper than that in our iſlands, and alſo arrack, are produced in the E. Indies, by the labour of free people. China, Bengal, and the coaſt of Malabar, produce quantities of ſugar and ſpirits; but, as the moſt conſiderable ſugar eſtates are near Batavia, I ſhall explain the *improved mode* of conducting thoſe eſtates. The proprietor is generally a rich Dutchman, who has built on it ſubſtantial works. He rents the eſtate (ſay of 300 or more acres) to a Chineſe, who lives on and ſuperintends it, and who re-lets it to free men, in parcels of 50 or 60, on condition that they ſhall plant it in canes for ſo much for every pecul, (133½lb.) of ſugar produced. The ſuperintendant collects people from the adjacent villages to take off his crop. One ſet of taſk-men, with their carts and buffaloes, cut the canes, carry them to the mill and grind them. A ſecond ſet boil them. A third clay and baſket them for market, all at ſo much per pecul.

Cultivation of Sugar eſtates at Batavia,

765. "Thus the renter knows with certainty what every pecul will coſt him. He has no unneceſſary expence, for when crop is over, the taſk-men go home, and, for 7 months in the year, there only remain on the eſtate the cane planters, preparing the next crop. By dividing the labour, it is cheaper and better done. Only clayed ſugars are made at Batavia, which are equal to the beſt from the W. Indies, and

by free labourers,

* So called in the Weſt Indies, in contradiſtinction to Sugar.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

ſold at 18s. per pecul. The Shabander exacts a dollar per pecul on all ſugar exported. The price of common labour is from 9 to 10d per day. But the taſk-men gain conſiderably more; not only from extra work, but from being conſidered artiſts in their ſeveral branches. They do not make ſpirits on the ſugar eſtates; the molaſſes and ſkimmings are ſent for ſale to Batavia, where one diſtillery may buy the produce of 100 eſtates. Here is a vaſt ſaving in making ſpirits; not as in the W. Indies, a diſtillery for each eſtate. Arrack is ſold at Batavia at about 8d. per gallon; the proof of the ſpirit is about 5 tenths.

alſo at Bencooleu.

766. "After ſpending two years in the Weſt Indies, I returned to the Eaſt in 1776, and in the laſt war conducted ſugar works at Bencoolen, in Sumatra, on nearly the ſame principles as the Dutch; I confined my expences to what they had done, allowing for the unavoidable charges, on a new and ſole undertaking.

Plough and other implements uſed.

767. "The cane is cultivated to the utmoſt perfection at Batavia. The hoe, almoſt the ſole implement of the Weſt, is there ſcarcely uſed; the lands are well ploughed by a light plough with a ſingle buffalo; a drill is then ploughed, and a perſon, with two baſkets filled with cane plants, ſuſpended to a ſtick acroſs his ſhoulders, drops plants into the furrow alternately from each baſket, covering them at the ſame time with earth with his feet. Young canes are kept often ploughed as a weeding, and the hoe is uſed to weed round the plant when very young; but of this there is little need, if the land has been ſufficiently ploughed. When the cane is ready to earth up, the ſpace between the rows is ploughed deep, the cane-tops tied up, and with an inſtrument like a ſhovel, with teeth at the bottom, a ſpade-handle, and two cords fixed to the body of the ſhovel, ending by a wooden handle for a purchaſe, is uſed by two perſons to earth up the cane, the ſtrongeſt holding the handle of the ſhovel, preſſing it into the ploughed earth, while the other on the oppoſite ſide of the plant, by a jerk of the cord, draws up to the plant, all the earth that the plough had looſened. Two perſons, with this inſtrument, will earth up more canes in the day than 10 negroes with hoes. The canes in India are much higher earthed than in the Weſt Indies; in moiſt ſoils, they, with little labour, earth them as high as the knee, at once making a dry bed for the cane, and a drain for the water.

Manufacture of the Sugar.

768. "The improvement in making the cane into ſugar, at Batavia, keeps pace with that in its culture: evaporation being in proportion to the ſurface, their boilers have as much of it as poſſible. The cane juice is tempered and boiled to a ſyrup; it is then thrown into vats, which hold one boiling, there ſprinkled with water, to ſubſide its foul parts. After ſtanding ſix hours, it is let off by 3 pegs of different heights, into a copper with one fire; it is tempered again, and reduced to ſugar, by a gentle fire; it granulates, and the boiler dipping a wand into the copper, ſtrikes it on the ſide, then drops the ſugar remaining on it, into a cup of water, ſcrapes it up with his thumb nail, and can judge to a nicety of the ſugar's being properly boiled. The vats I mentioned are placed all at the left end of a ſet of coppers. After running

Digitized by Google

ning off, for boiling all that is clear, the reſt is ſtrained on the outſide of the boiling-houſe; what is fine is put into the copper for ſugar, the lees kept for diſtilling.

769. "Claying of ſugar is as in the W. Indies. The cane traſh is not, as in our iſlands, carried into ſheds, where it loſes much of its ſtrength before it is uſed; but is laid out immediately to dry, then made into faggots, ſet up in cocks, and uſed immediately when dry; hence its force of fire is much greater, and the carrying it to and from the traſh-houſe is ſaved.

W. Indian cultivation in its infancy.

770. "The culture of the cane in the Weſt Indies is *in it's infancy*. Many alterations are to be made, expenſes, and human labour leſſened; the hoe, now uſed to turn up ſoils of different texture, is of one conſtruction, cheap and very light; ſo that the negro, without any help from its weight, digs up the earth, (and the cane roots, on replanting) by the ſevereſt exertion. In the Eaſt, we plough up the cane roots.——Having experienced the difference of labourers for profit, and labourers from force, I can aſſert, that the ſavings by the former are very conſiderable.

How to be improved.

771. "The Weſt India planter, for his own intereſt, ſhould give more labour to beaſt, and leſs to man; a larger portion of his eſtate ought to be in paſture. When practicable, canes ſhould be carried to the mill, and cane tops and graſs to the ſtock, in waggons; the cuſtom of making a hard-worked negro get a bundle of graſs twice a day, aboliſhed; and in ſhort a total change take place of the *miſerable management* in our Weſt India iſlands. By this means following, as near as poſſible, the Eaſt India mode, conſolidating the diſtilleries, I do ſuppoſe our ſugar iſlands might be better worked than they now are, by two-thirds, or indeed one-half of the preſent force. Let it be conſidered, how much labour is loſt by the perſons overſeeing the forced labourer, which is ſaved when he works for his own profit. I have ſtated, with the ſtricteſt veracity, a plain matter of fact—that ſugar eſtates can be worked cheaper by free perſons than ſlaves.—Whether the ſlave-trade can be aboliſhed, and the blacks freed, is for the conſideration of Parliament. In my judgment, theſe deſirable purpoſes, may be effected without materially injuring the W. India planter. He has but to improve his culture, and leſſen human labour, and the progeny of the preſent blacks will anſwer every purpoſe of working Weſt India eſtates.

French negroes better treated than Britiſh, and why.

772. "The ſlaves in the French iſlands, appeared to be better cloathed, better fed, and better behaved, than in the Britiſh: and their being well fed is chiefly owing to the French planter putting a great proportion of his eſtate in proviſions. Whether it might or might not be ultimately for the intereſt of the Britiſh planter, and the benefit of his ſlaves, if he were to allot to proviſions, more of the land now deſtined to ſugar, is a queſtion that can only be decided by experiment in the different iſlands, as the ſame anſwer to it would not ſuit each. In iſlands that ſeldom fail in rains, it is no doubt for the planter's intereſt, to ſacrifice a part of the ground

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

ground allotted for ſugar, to proviſions; as theſe feed his negroes better than any dry or other proviſions imported: but in iſlands ſubject to droughts, I do not think the planter can, without materially leſſening his crop of ſugar, give up any portion of ground to proviſions."—Thus far Mr. Botham.

A modification of Mr. B's plan.

773. The grand *principle* of the foregoing plan, is the direct and immediate intereſt with which it animates every individual, concerned in it's execution. This principle being ſtrictly adhered to, *the adaptation of the plan itſelf to local circumſtances, indeed, muſt be left to thoſe who are beſt acquainted with thoſe circumſtances. This ſuppoſes ſome little modifications which will always be found neceſſary in reducing to practice any general ſyſtem.* It is with great diffidence, that I would venture to mention any ſpecific deviation, from a plan propoſed by a gentleman who has ſo fully experienced it's practical utility. But it ſeems worthy of conſideration, Whether the coloniſts and the natives, at S. Leona, might not be ſtill more intereſted in the produce, if they were encouraged to cultivate the ſugar-cane on *their own* lands; and, as their property may not *at firſt* be very adequate to the erection of ſuch expenſive buildings as mills, boiling-houſes, curing-houſes and ſtill-houſes; Whether the Company might not build thoſe works in convenient ſituations, to take off the crops of all the little ſurrounding planters, they paying the Company a certain proportion of the produce*. This mode is now occaſionally practiſed in Barbadoes, by a few of the ſmall proprietors, whoſe *places*, as they are called, are ſufficiently near to ſugar-works.—I am aware, however, of ſome objections to the general adoption of this modification of the Batavian plan. The *firſt* is, The difficulty of ſettling, among ſeveral independent proprietors, the quantity of canes to be planted by each; ſo that the whole ſhall not exceed that quantity which the works are calculated to take off and manufacture, *in due time*; for canes are always damaged, and ſometimes almoſt wholly loſt, being left too long ſtanding in the field.—But the quantity of canes to be planted, might be previouſly agreed upon by the planters themſelves, in proportion to the cane-land poſſeſſed by each. The *ſecond* objection is, that, as each of the planters will have a ſeries of cane-fields, of the ſame ages reſpectively, and which ought to be cut at or near the ſame time, ſome differences might ariſe as to their turns at the mill, &c†. But all ſuch equal pretenſions are very eaſily determined by lot. The *Third*, is the difficulty or trouble,

* Whether cattle-mills, wind-mills, or water-mills ſhall be uſed, will of courſe, depend on ſituation, and other circumſtances.

† The canes in the ſame tract, are planted at or about the falling of good ſhowers of rain, which, in moſt of the ſugar iſlands, are very unequal and partial. But many eſtates in St. Domingo and ſome in Jamaica have been watered, with very great advantage, from the neighbouring rivers; and ſuch eſtates may thus be ſaid, in ſome meaſure, to have the ſeaſons at their command. Long's Hiſt. Vol. I. p. 454 and Vol. II. p. 156.—A gentleman lately ſent out a fire-engine to his eſtate, with a great length of leathern pipe, to be uſed in watering the cane-fields from an adjoining brook. I have not learnt

Digitized by Google

trouble, of keeping the produce of three, four or more planters diſtinct and ſeparate. But this might, perhaps, be obviated, by marking the pots, jars and hogſheads of each individual, as the ſacks are at many corn-mills in Europe. If theſe objections, however, and others which may occur, ſhould prove too ſtrong for this *modification* of the plan deſcribed by Mr. Botham, I ſhall readily give it up. My only view in propoſing it is to increaſe the labourer's intereſt in the quantity and quality of the produce, *the* true principle of all natural and uſeful cultivation in every part of the world.

French and Britiſh modes of eſtabliſhing ſugar plantations.

774. The gradual and cautious introduction of the ſugar-cane, above recommended, was ſuggeſted by the ſucceſs with which that mode was actually attended in the French ſugar iſlands, and the evil conſequences of the contrary practice in the Britiſh. The ſugar colonies of the latter were in general eſtabliſhed by large capitals, abſtracted from the agriculture, manufactures and commerce of the mother country; and thus the growth of the ſugar-cane in the Britiſh iſlands was forced, like that of exotics in a hot-bed. The French planters, on the other hand, whoſe merchants could not, or, under their old Government, would not, furniſh their planters with extenſive credit, were obliged to depend for ſucceſs, in a great meaſure, on their own induſtry and frugality. The conſequences were preciſely ſuch as might have been expected. The Engliſh planter was a great man, diſtinguiſhed by the ſplendor of his living, and the magnitude of his debts, as much as by the extent of his apparent property. The French planter was more like an œconomical huſbandman, whoſe ſavings in good years not only enabled him to keep his ground in bad years, without running into debt, but alſo to make gradual additions to his productive property. He began with the aſſiſtance of his wife and children, and perhaps one or two negroes, to plant proviſions with his own hands. He proceeded next to coffee, cotton, &c. and, taking the utmoſt care of his negroes and cattle, in proceſs of time, he found himſelf able to erect a ſmall ſugar-work and to plant a few canes; and ſuch has been the foundation of very many of the moſt flouriſhing eſtates in the French iſlands, and even of ſome in the Britiſh. It may be ſaid, that their Government gave them their lands *gratis*, and favoured them in other reſpects; whereas the Engliſh planters generally bought their lands, in one ſhape or another, and in ſome inſtances at a conſiderable price, and were not ſo much indulged by their Government. But the compleat monopoly of the Britiſh market is *alone* to be conſidered as an advantage more than equivalent to all the indulgences enjoyed by the French*. —From theſe facts it appears, that the returns of the Britiſh ſugar colonies are to be viewed, in a great meaſure, as intereſt of the capitals which, as it has turned

learnt that it was much uſed for the direct purpoſe for which it was ſent; but it was found ſo uſeful in watering the dung-heaps, on the fields, that, in one year, it more than ſaved it's price.

* It is computed that, in proportion to the population, thrice as much ſugar is conſumed in Great Britain and Ireland as in France.——See § 180, note.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

out, have been unprofitably veſted in them*; and that a great part of the French returns are ſo much fair gain to that nation. From the ſame cauſes, the French planters were enabled to underſell the Britiſh, by no leſs than 25 per cent at the European market. Here alſo the French negroes were not ſo hard puſhed, were more civilized, and in all reſpects better treated than the Britiſh; a circumſtance, however, to be partly aſcribed to the vigour and vigilance of the old French Government. But what I chiefly wiſh the reader to obſerve, is the ſtriking ſimiliarity between the ſyſtem unfortunately adopted by the Engliſh, in the eſtabliſhment of their ſugar colonies, and that which is now *under trial* (for I truſt it will never be finally adopted) at S. Leona; and between the French ſyſtem and the natural and humane one which I have ventured to recommend †.

* "Very few ſugar eſtates, when loaded with a very heavy debt, have been known to get rid of ſuch debt, or to pay more than the intereſt of 6 per cent on the money lent them, and many do not pay 4 per cent, for the money laid out. Many proprietors have been obliged to abandon their eſtates, after having been at a great expenſe, in the purchaſe thereof, ſtocking it and erecting buildings thereon." Anſ. to the 53d. qu. in the Privy Council's Report by Governor Matthew of Grenada. The Jamaica planters make not more, on an average, than 4 per cent on their capital, and of courſe many not ſo much. *Id.* Part V.

† For the above facts, relative to the French and Engliſh ſugar colonies, ſee the Anſ. of Gov. Matthew of Grenada and Gov. Seton of St. Vincent to the 1, 2, 3 and 4 qu. in Part V. of the Privy Council's Report; the Inſpector General, and Mr. Irving's Evid. before the Com. of the H. of Commons, and alſo that of Mr. Greg.

*** The above being merely an *outline* of tropical cultivation, it is hoped the reader will not paſs ſentence on it, till he has informed himſelf fully, and has carefully weighed all that he will find on the ſubject, in the P. Coun. Report, Min. of Evid. Le Poivre, D'Auberteuil, Long, Beckford, Edwards, &c.—To ſhow that I am *not unreaſonably jealous* of the introduction of W. Indians and their maxims, into any African colony, I muſt intreat the reader's attention, to the following propoſed addition to the ſlave-law of Jamaica, publiſhed in the Cornwall Chronicle of that Iſland, of Dec. 29th, 1787.—— "Whereas the *extreme cruelties* and *inhumanity* of the MANAGERS, OVERSEERS and BOOK-KEEPERS of eſtates, have frequently driven ſlaves into the woods, and occaſioned rebellions, &c. And whereas alſo it frequently happens, that ſlaves come to their deaths by haſty and ſevere blows, and other improper treatment of OVERSEERS and BOOK-KEEPERS, in the heat of paſſion; and, when ſuch accidents do happen, *the victims are entered on the plantation-books, as having died of convulſions, fits, and other cauſes not to be accounted for; and to conceal the real truth of the cauſe of the death of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, he or they is or are immediately put under ground.*" &c.—The humane and ſpirited Mr. Gray of Jamaica, who introduced this clauſe into the Aſſembly, premiſed that, to his own certain knowledge, *very unnatural puniſhments were often inflicted on negroes.*" (See ſeveral ſimilar proofs in Preface to Abſt. Min. Evid.)——In St. Kitt's, when ſtarving ſlaves are killed and put under ground, in ſtealing ſugar canes and proviſions, it is familiarly called "*hiding*" them.——In Barbadoes "*an unlimited power of maiming or killing negroes, is frequently exerciſed by* WHITE SERVANTS;" and the murder of a ſlave "*is ſcarcely noticed any more than the death of a cow or horſe.*" Supp. to P. Coun. Rep. p. 24, 35. In Jamaica, Grenada, and Dominica, laws have been made to check ſuch enormities. But under all thoſe mock ſtatutes, framed as they are by planters, againſt planters, *and adminiſtered by planters, the evidence of negroes and their deſcendants, free or ſlaves, is not, in any ſhape, admitted againſt white perſons, in criminal caſes.*——At S. Leona, the rights of witneſſes and jurors are exerciſed by black men. (§ 378.) But, even there, if *W. Indians*, inveterately prejudiced as they generally are, were to be allowed to preſide as judges, I ſhould have *very great doubts* as to the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, between whites and blacks. In *England itſelf*, juries have formerly been ſent to priſon, till they brought in verdicts agreeable to the judges.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX

NOTE X. 2. See § 441 to 451 incluſive.

Character of the N. Scotians fairly ſtated.

775. The ſtatement of the original condition and ſubſequent viciſſitudes of the Nova Scotians, and the reaſonings upon them, appear to me to place the candour and abilities of the Directors in a very amiable and reſpectable point of view. Several eminent philoſophers have indeed reaſoned admirably on the moral and ſocial effects of ſlavery; while others might be named, who, I will venture to ſay, have failed egregiouſly on that difficult ſubject*. But I know of no author who has had occaſion to eſtimate the combined effects of ſlavery, irregular warfare, an emigration, ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable from exile, and a ſecond emigration attended with great ſickneſs and hardſhips, on the general character of a body of predial ſlaves, who had *emancipated themſelves*. This ſingular and complicated caſe was reſerved for the Directors of the S. Leona Company; and, in my opinion, they have treated it in a manner which would do credit to the firſt philoſophers of the age.

But their claims, &c. ſhould be inveſtigated.

776. It appears to me, however, that the reports now in general circulation, reſpecting the diſſatisfaction of the N. Scotians, from not having yet obtained thoſe lots of cultivable land which were promiſed them, and which would have changed the principle of their exertions from lifeleſs, drowſy day-labour, to the improvement of *their own* property, in order to procure neceſſaries and luxuries—theſe reports, I ſay, appear, in my humble opinion, to deſerve, in every point of view, a very ſerious conſideration. And, as the accounts of the local and actual condition of the colony, ſeem to have come to the knowledge of the Directors chiefly through the medium of ſervants appointed by themſelves, and to the knowledge of the ſubſcribers only through the medium of the Directors, it appears to me that this truly delicate ſubject ſhould be inveſtigated by a certain number of commiſſioners, one half choſen and ſent out by the ſubſcribers at large, to be joined on the ſpot, by the other half fairly choſen by the N. Scotians themſelves. Theſe commiſſioners having choſen a preſident and agreed upon their rules, ſhould have power to enquire fully into the conduct of the Company's ſervants, on the one hand, and the conduct and claims of the N. Scotians, on the other, and to eſtabliſh ſuch temporary or permanent regulations, as they ſhould find expedient.

777. The conveying a body of people to the colony, without having framed

* In the Elem. of Moral Science, lately publiſhed, (in 2 large Vols. 8vo.) but which I have not yet had an opportunity of peruſing, I am told, the worthy, ingenious and learned author, Dr. Beattie, hath obliged the world with a pretty full abſtract of the doctrines reſpecting ſlavery and it's effects, which he has, for thirty years, been teaching in the claſs of Moral Philoſophy, in the Mariſchal College of Aberdeen.

Mr. Dickſon has given a few hints reſpecting the ſervitude of the Iſraelites in Egypt, and their glorious emancipation, which, on ſeveral important accounts, ſeem to deſerve to be proſecuted by ſome perſon of learning and leiſure. Letters on Slavery p. 139, 158, 178.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

houſes on the ſpot, ready to be ſet up, the moment they landed, appears to me to have been an error of the ſame kind, as ſending out an apparatus for the manufacture of ſugar before houſes had been built, lands had been cleared, or proviſions had been raiſed, either for man or beaſt.

NOTE Y. 1. See § 430.

Canvas houſes ſoon decayed.

778. Four patent houſes, or rather tents, covered with oil-cloth, made at Knightſbridge, were ſent out to the colony. But, though well adapted for temporary ſhelter in Europe, they neither ſtood the ſun nor the rains at S. Leona; and went ſo ſoon to deſtruction, that the Directors very properly reſolved to ſend out no more of thoſe tabernacles.—The beſt houſe, hitherto erected in the colony, is, or rather was, that of the governor, the ſtructure of which, I have been told, approached nearly to that repreſented in Plate I. Fig. B. This and all the other principal houſes, the Company and the colony owed to the ingenuity and exertion of Mr. Dubois.—Having mentioned this gentleman's name, I cannot but add, that this was far from being the only ſervice which he rendered to the colony. He had ſpent the greater part of his life in hot and unhealthful climates, and had acquired every kind of knowledge and experience, neceſſary to preſerve health and life in ſimilar ſituations. In particular, ſuch had been his attention to medicine, that he brought 500 of the coloniſts through the country fever, with the loſs of only one patient—a degree of ſucceſs which few profeſſional men can boaſt, and which, I will venture to ſay, never diſtinguiſhed the *commencement* of the practiſe of any European phyſician, in a tropical climate. Having been born and bred in the ſame part of America with moſt of the Nova Scotians, and having perſonally known ſeveral of them from his infancy, having accompanied them in their warfare, and in their emigration to N. Scotia, and thence to S. Leona, it cannot appear wonderful that he ſhould poſſeſs conſiderable influence among them. As he does not appear to have uſed this influence with any private or perſonal views, it is to be regretted, that the colony has been deprived of the ſervices of a man who ſo entirely poſſeſſed the reſpect and confidence of the greater part of the inhabitants, and was ſo well qualified and diſpoſed to promote their happineſs.

Mr. Dubois's merit and ſervices.

NOTE Y. 2. § 510.

Oracle near C. Palmas.

779. The late Capt. R. Norris, of Liverpool, among other curious particulars inſerted in this Appendix, told me, that at Cavally, not far from C. Palmas, there is an oracle in which the ſuperſtitious natives implicitly confide. It returns anſwers in all the languages of the country, and attracts many negroes to the coaſt from different

Digitized by Google

different parts. But this is not a very safe pilgrimage; for Capt. N. added, that many of those visitants are at last kidnapped and sold. APPENDIX.

NOTE Z. 1. See § 444.

780. If the S. Leona Company had been instituted merely for the sake of commerce, every one must allow that 10 per cent. would be a very moderate profit. But, had that been the case, and the circumstances of the colony had been in other respects the same, would not the 10 per cent. if raised on articles of the first necessity, have been repaid to the colonists, in the higher wages which the Company would of course have been obliged to give them for their labour, the only commodity which they have *hitherto* had an opportunity of offering for sale? Company's profits.

781. In conformity with the Company's grand object, the civilization of Africa, I have reason to believe, that no profit has been demanded on articles of primary necessity, exported for the support of this new colony; for, as the colonists have not received their lands, they are not in a condition to provide for themselves. The world will always expect to find this S. Leona business unadulterated with any commercial pursuits, which have not a direct tendency to promote the interests and the prosperity of the colony, and consequently the grand end of it's establishment, the CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA

NOTE Z. 2. See § 519, 618.

782. The Directors appear to have drawn the character of the late John Henry Naimbanna with great candour; for it corresponds exactly with every account I have heard of that intelligent and amiable African. I had several opportunities of conversing with him, during his stay in London; and was much struck with his acuteness and good sense. When I was first introduced to him, I could not help expressing my astonishment at finding, that he could already read a little English. "*It is that lady*," said he, pointing to Mrs. Falconbridge*, "*to whom I owe this improvement; for she was* Additional anecdotes of J. H. Niambanna.

* The resolution of Mrs. Falconbridge, (now Mrs. Dubois,) in accompanying her former husband twice to S. Leona, and the hardships she suffered at the unpromising commencement of the colony, destitute as it *then* was of every thing necessary to the comfort of a well educated European lady, prove that even the tender sex, under the influence of conjugal attachment, may be so much interested in a great undertaking, as to forget the delicacy of their frame, and to face danger and distress in every terrifying shape. That this lady possesses not only patience and fortitude to endure difficulties, but ability to describe them, will not be doubted by those who have read her interesting account of Sierra Leona, which she published after her second return from that colony. If any excess of warmth should be observed in some parts of this spirited little work, it will be remembered that the writer is a woman,

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

was kind enough to teach me in the paſſage from S. Leona."—Being at Portſmouth or Plymouth, ſoon after his arrival in England, he was carried to ſee one of the arſenals. After a ſilent and attentive ſurvey of the place, he at laſt exclaimed, " Me no love for ſee ſo many gun," an expreſſion, which, from his manner and emphaſis, was evidently dictated by a patriotic jealouſy, leſt thoſe formidable engines, ſhould one day come to be directed againſt his defenceleſs country. On many other occaſions, that patriotiſm, which very commonly actuates African boſoms†, diſtinctly appeared in his converſation; and, from the excellent direction which was given to that and the other energies of his mind, there can be no doubt, that if Providence had ſpared his life, his country would have derived many advantages.——Being one day at dinner, by invitation, before his character was thoroughly known, the clergyman who had the care of his education, beckoned, by way of caution, to a gentleman who was preſſing him to drink. He obſerved it, and immediately withdrew. On enquiring why he ſo ſuddenly left the table, he aſked, " Whether Mr. G. really thought, that he could not have wine before him, without making a beaſt of himſelf."——Talking of the diſtinguiſhed member of parliament who propoſed the gradual abolition of the ſlave-trade, he ſaid, " Mr. ——— ſhould have his carriage drawn by aſſes, for they go very gradually."—His application to ſtudy was, as the Directors ſtate, indefatigable; and ſo ſtrong was his wiſh to underſtand the Scriptures thoroughly, and to be able to read them in the original languages, that, to his other acquiſitions, during his ſhort ſtay in England, he added, in his private hours, no inconſiderable proficiency in the Hebrew.

and of Job Ben Solomon.

783. Mr. Ramſay, Mr. Clarkſon, Mr. Dickſon and others, have publiſhed accounts of negroes eminent for their virtues and abilities. But I do not know that any of them are more worthy of attention, on many important accounts, than the biographical ſketches which Moore has given us of Job Ben Solomon, in his Travels into the interior parts of Africa, printed in 1735, to which I muſt refer the reader, who will alſo find ſome account of Job, in the Annual Regiſter, I think, for 1767. The only piece of information, reſpecting Job Ben Solomon, that I can add to Moore's is, that W. Smith, Eſq. M. P. (who, by the way, in his excellent ſpeeches, in ſupport of the abolition of the ſlave-trade, has diſcovered an intimate knowledge, and a deep ſenſe, of the wrongs of Africa,) has in his poſſeſſion a MS. copy of the Koran, in Arabic, written by that extraordinary negro, when in England, purely from memory; as appears from a Latin certificate, at the end, ſigned by the

who generouſly ſacrificed her eaſe and comfort, to a principle of duty to her huſband, and enlightened zeal in a great cauſe; that ſhe certainly ſuffered many ſevere trials; and that, ſhe might think, ſome of them might have been prevented by human prudence and foreſight.

† See Dickſon's Letters on Slavery, p. 75, 94.

Rev.

Digitized by Google

Rev. Dr. Chandler, and ſome other reputable perſons, competent to judge of the merit and authenticity of this curious performance. It would appear, that the Duke of Montagu, mentioned by Job, with ſo much gratitude, (Moore, p. 147.) was a great patron of African merit; for to his Grace's liberality, the negro poet and mathematician, Francis Williams, owed his education at ſchool, and afterwards at the Univerſity of Cambridge*. I have been told that, when Job was at the Duke's houſe, the ſervants uſed to complain that he ſometimes ſoiled the ſtairs, when he retired to his chamber to pray, which he regularly did ſeveral times a day.

Account of a kidnapped African prince, who lately died in England.

784. I ſhall cloſe this note with ſome account of another African, who, though he was not endowed with any ſuperiority of intellect, poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, that goodneſs of heart, which ſo honourably characterizes the African genius.—In April, 1781, I was informed, that a young African was going to be conveyed on board a veſſel bound for *Sierra Leona*. Curioſity induced me to enquire in what capacity he was to be ſent there; as the grand queſtion, reſpecting the abolition of the Slave-trade, had then become a merited object of univerſal inveſtigation, particularly in this Iſland—I ſoon diſcovered that the maſter of this poor negro had no other intention in conveying him out of this country, than to diſpoſe of him afterwards with the greater facility, for the Weſt-India market, in order to reinſtate his expences with profit.—On cloſer enquiry, I found that this youth, whoſe name was *Peter Panah*, was really a ſon of the preſent Peter, King of Meſurado, who had himſelf been educated at Liverpool, by the ſlave-traders. I diſcovered farther, that he had been baſely kidnapped from his father, conveyed to a Mr. Hammer at Sierra Leona, by an Engliſh ſlave-veſſel, (Capt. Fraſer) and ſold there to a Capt. Cambeby, who carried him to the W. Indies, where he met with other ſlaves from his own country, who immediately recognized him to be their king's ſon.—This fact was moreover proved by the mark he bore on his breaſt, which is inſcribed on all the king's children, to diſtinguiſh them from others.

A mercantile ſpeculation in his perſon.

785. One Johnſon, a mulatto dealer at Grenada, being acquainted with this circumſtance, conceived that ſuch a deed committed againſt the King of Meſurado, in the perſon of one of his children, could not but injure the commerce carried on by the Engliſh in that country. Making this therefore his plea, he combined it with his own intereſt, and ſuppoſed that if he brought this young prince to England, it might turn out greatly to his advantage, provided the public could be intereſted in his redemption. But this mere mercantile ſpeculation failing, Johnſon reſolved to return with him to the Weſt-Indies, to ſell him there for the 60l. he had paid for him. Some papers, which I received from Johnſon himſelf, clearly prove theſe facts: but as his return directly to the W. Indies was likely to be expenſive, he was

* Long, Vol. II. p. 476.

cunning

APPENDIX.

cunning enough to obtain permiſſion of Mr. Sharp, under pretence of eſtabliſhing himſelf at the new colony, to get a free paſſage for himſelf and his negro to S. Leona, whence his paſſage to the Weſt Indies was eaſy.

The author frees him from his bondage.

786. The compaſſion I felt for the ſituation of this unfortunate youth, and the proſpect, by reſtoring him to his father, of furthering my favourite plan of civilizing Africa, the moſt effectual means for aboliſhing the Slave-trade, made me the leſs heſitate to reſcue him from his baſe ſhackles: I therefore redeemed him: this was done in preſence of the Rev. Mr. RAMSAY, Mr. T. CLARKSON, and Mr. R. PHILLIPS, on the 6th of May, 1788, for 20l. ſter.—I then placed him at Mr. Dempſter's academy, at Mitcham in Surry, to be inſtructed in the firſt rudiments of Chriſtianity, into which he was regularly baptized on the 25th Dec. 1788. At this ſchool he likewiſe had ſuch education as his faculties were capable of receiving.—He indeed proved obedient and pliable, but he was not gifted by nature with any extraordinary parts. He made, however, a tolerable proficiency in reading and writing, and ſhewed a great deſire for agriculture. Though pretty much accuſtomed to European manners, he ſeemed to retain an unconquerable propenſity to return to his former habits of ſimplicity, in his native country, where he knew he would find a mode of life more ſuitable to his taſte.

His death.

787. Mr. G. Sharp promiſed to uſe his endeavours to procure him a free paſſage to his own country, but various incidents retarded and prevented this gentleman's kind intentions, till he was taken ill, at Mr. Dempſter's ſchool, by ſleeping one evening on the damp graſs. This indiſpoſition ſoon ended in a gallopping conſumption, which baffled the power of medicine, and he died, in Oct. 1790, in my own houſe, aged, as near as I could gueſs, about 18 or 20.

788. I cannot but mention the generoſity of three gentlemen, who happened to hear of the caſe of this unfortunate youth, and ſent me towards his ſupport, the following ſums reſpectively:

Mr. WILBERFORCE	£20	0	0
The Rev. Mr. GISBORNE	5	5	0
Mr. PENNANT	1	1	0

ſo that his redemption, ſchooling, cloathing, medicine, &c. excluſive of theſe contributions, during the time he was under my care, (2¼ years) did not coſt me more than £67 .10s. 5d. But, though it pleaſed Providence to call him hence, I never ſhall regret this expenditure.

789. It may be ſaid, that I need not have purchaſed the liberty of this unhappy youth, as he was free *the inſtant he landed on the Britiſh ſhore.* (See § 339.) But it ought to be remembered, that the beſt laws are often rendered expenſive, and even ultimately ineffectual, by the many arts which lawyers and other deſigning men practiſe, to elude them. Beſides, though the law ſeems to be againſt perſonal or individual ſlavery in this country, the merchant who dares openly avow himſelf as a dealer in

human

Digitized by Google

human fleſh, is not only protected in his iniquity, but enjoys all the rights of honeſt people, not excepting that of ſitting upon a jury, even in the moſt ſerious criminal caſes, from which, however, the dealers in the *fleſh of animals* are excluded*. But *put a deſpot into a free country, where there is a ſocial check upon his actions, and he is no longer a deſpot:* and *put a ſlave-merchant into a country where induſtry and ability, and not money, are the ſtandards of credit, and he is no longer a ſlave-merchant.*

790. This leads me back to the principles advanced in ſeveral parts of this work, reſpecting perſonal ſlavery, in our preſent European communities, eſpecially in thoſe where commerce is carried on to any extent †.

791. I conſider the abuſed power of governing to have generated that kind of ſlavery, which, for the ſake of diſtinction, I call *Political Slavery*; and that which ariſes from the abuſed power of money, I think I may fairly call *Mercantile Slavery*. The firſt, which has reference to a perſon's ſituation with reſpect to the community, ſeems to be, in ſome degree, guarded againſt, in this Iſland, by the general principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, as well as by particular ſtatutes. But the ſecond kind, which has reference to a perſon's ſituation, with reſpect to the intereſts of individuals, and which is alſo perſonal, inaſmuch as an individual can not only be arreſted for debt, but actually ſtarved to death in a gaol, (ſee § 594, note.) appears to me not to have been hitherto fully conſidered, at leaſt not by the majority of thoſe whoſe province it is to rectify the evil; for the humane exertions of Lord Moira, Mr. Grey and ſome other reſpectable members of both Houſes of the Britiſh Parliament, have hitherto been unſucceſsful. (See § 142, qu. LI.)

* To this compariſon, between a butcher and a ſlave-merchant, it may be objected, that the former carries on his buſineſs within the reach, and very properly under the protection, of the Engliſh laws; whereas a part only of the buſineſs of the latter is confined to England, the reſt being tranſacted partly in Africa, which is out of the reach of Engliſh laws, and partly in the W. Indian Iſlands, the laws of which, however, their charters ſtipulate, ſhall not be repugnant to the laws of England. But the queſtion is, Whether a ſet of men, who by their mercantile operations, violate all laws, in *any* foreign part of the world, ought to be allowed to live among honeſt people, in a civilized community, calling itſelf free? To put the caſe in a more ſtriking light, I would aſk, Whether any legiſlature ought to give it's protection to a ſet of men, who ſhould make it a trade to fit out ſhips, under it's juriſdiction, in order to catch and kill human beings, and ſalt up their fleſh at O'Taheite, and carry it to New-Zealand, to be ſold to the Cannibals?

† I uſe the term perſonal ſlavery in a more extenſive ſenſe than ordinary, for the truth is, I am not ſatisfied with the diſtinction of ſlavery, as commonly divided into *political* and *perſonal*. They are both ſtrictly perſonal; for perſons alone can be ſlaves in any ſenſe.

NOTE

APPENDIX.

NOTE A A.

Mr. Afzelius's account of the natural productions.

792. At § 525, I ſignified my intention of inſerting in this Appendix, the "Subſtance of two Reports" from Mr. Afzelius, ſubjoined to the Report of the Directors; but intereſting materials have ſo unexpectedly multiplied on my hands, that I find I can only afford room for the following *Abridgment of an Account of the Natural Productions* of S. Leona *.

ANIMALS.

Oxen & aſſes.

793. Cattle thrive well, and even grow fat, but not ſo commonly as in Europe. A number of bulls, oxen and cows graze in the ſavannahs.—Some few aſſes, ſent to the colony, are uſed in labour, and do not ſuffer by the climate; but are not equal to mules.

Sheep, goats, hogs.

794. Sheep change their wool into hair. They ſuffer from the heat, are commonly lean, and do not increaſe much. But goats and hogs are very prolific, and as fine and large as in any other countries. The colony is ſufficiently ſtocked with theſe animals.

Antelopes, &c.

795. Porcupines, wild hogs, ſquirrels and antelopes, may alſo be claſſed among the animals found at S. Leona proper for food. The ſkin of the latter appears to be proper for gloves.

Lions, &c.

796. The beaſts of prey are lions, leopards, hyænas, muſk cats, and many kinds of weaſels, which laſt are very deſtructive to poultry. The ſkins of ſome of theſe might be of uſe in a commercial view. There are two ſpecies of muſk cats at S. Leona, the civet and the zibet cat.

Japanzee.

797. The Japanzee or Chimpanzee, common in the mountains of S. Leona, reſembles man more than even the Ourang Outang. Of two brought to the colony, one died ſoon; the other, being older, lived ſome months. He was nearly 2 feet high, but their full ſtature is nearly 5 feet. He was covered with black

* Having already beſtowed a Chap. (the 5th.) on natural productions, I certainly would not ſwell my work with any thing more on the ſubject, if I did not think the deſcriptions of ſo able a naturaliſt as Mr. Afzelius, infinitely more worthy of attention than any thing I can pretend to write on the ſubject. The reader, however, will obſerve, that the memoir, of which I here offer him an abridgment, is itſelf given by the Directors, only as "The ſubſtance" of two reports from Mr. A. I have not ſeen thoſe reports; but, from that gentleman's known caution and accuracy, I may venture to ſay, that they were not intended for publication, in any ſhape; eſpecially, as I know how difficult it is for a perſon to expreſs himſelf accurately in a foreign language, which the Engliſh is to Mr. A. as well as to myſelf. I believe, I may pronounce them to have been mere popular deſcriptions, intended for the uſe of gentlemen concerned in the S. Leona undertaking, who could not well be ſuppoſed minutely converſant in the technical language and arrangement of natural hiſtory. The learned reader, therefore, will not ſuppoſe Mr. A's two *original reports*, ſtill leſs their *ſubſtance*, and leaſt of all, this *Abridgment of their Subſtance*, to be ſpecimens of Mr. A's profeſſional abilities.

Digitized by Google

hair, long and thick on the back, but ſhort and thin on the breaſt and belly. His face was bare; his hands and his head reſembled thoſe of an old black man, except that the hair on his head was ſtraight. He ate, drank, ſlept and ſat at table, like a human being. At firſt he crept on all fours, on the outſide of his hands; but, when grown larger, he endeavoured to go erect, ſupporting himſelf by a ſtick. He was melancholy, but always good-natured. This ape, although not entirely unknown in Europe, has uſually been confounded with other apes. APPENDIX.

798. Of theſe the Directors have as yet received no perfect account. A ſpecies of crane is mentioned, which becomes very tame, and is reckoned very good food. Fowls multiply amazingly. Ducks thrive; but geeſe and turkies have not anſwered expectation. Birds.

799. Green, hawk's bill, or loggerhead, turtles, are very common, and ſometimes of an immenſe ſize. Freſh water turtles, and land turtles, are alſo found, the latter in abundance; and it is thought that they might be imported into England to good profit. Crocodiles, or alligators, of a non-deſcript ſpecies, 10 or 12 feet in length, have been found; and lizards of ſix ſpecies, among which are the Guana and the Cameleon. Snakes are almoſt innumerable; they haunt the houſes in the night in ſearch of poultry; the largeſt yet diſcovered meaſured 18 feet, which did not prove venemous. Amphibious animals, &c.

800. The inſects are very numerous. The moſt remarkable are the termites, (commonly called wood-ants, or bug-a-bugs) which deſtroy wooden houſes and fences; ants, which devour proviſions; cockroaches and crickets, which deſtroy clothes, linen and leather; muſquitoes, ſand-flies, ſcorpions, tarantulas and centipedes; alſo wild bees, which furniſh plenty of wax and honey. The vermes are little known; the barnacles are very large, and injurious to veſſels not copper-bottomed. Inſects, &c.

801. Fiſhes are in great variety, both in the ſea and the river. The ſpermaceti whale has been occaſionally found at S. Leona, but oftener down the coaſt. Beſides the whale, the ſhark, ſtinging-ray and porpoiſe, there are eels, horſe-mackarel, tarpoons, cavillos, mullets, ſnappers, yellowtails, old-maids, tenpounders, and ſome other fiſhes; all of which, except the eels and tenpounders, are eſteemed fine eating. Oyſters are found in great abundance, and another ſhell fiſh, which the natives eat. Among the Zoophites, none is more worthy of notice than the common ſponge, which covers all the ſandy beaches of the river, particularly on the Bullom ſhore, and would fetch a high price in G. Britain. Fiſhes, &c.

VEGETABLES.

802. (1.) Rice is the chief plant cultivated at S. Leona, and the ſtaple of the country. The lower claſs of the natives ſubſiſt almoſt entirely upon it. Although it proſ- Rice.

APPENDIX.

pers beſt in ſwamps, it will thrive alſo on elevated land; but, like other aquatics, it grows ſmaller and thinner, though the grain is better. Of this quality is the rice on the eminences of S. Leona, while on the plains of the Bullom ſhore, and other ſuch tracts, it grows as luxuriantly as in Carolina, and if cleaned with equal care, it would be equally white; but at preſent, through the negligence of the natives, both the rice intended for conſumption, and for trade, retains part of the browniſh rind. The rice fields are prepared during the dry ſeaſon, and receive the ſeed in the tornado ſeaſon, antecedent to the rains; but the ſeaſons varying, the time for ſowing is irregular. In the year 1792, rice was ſown in June, and reaped in Oct.

Caſſada,

2. This conſtitutes, after rice, the chief food of the inhabitants, and it's culture requires time and care. It ſucceeds beſt in ſandy, open places. In 3 or 4 months after planting, the roots grow fit for uſe. The natives do not reap the whole at once, but dig up a few roots as they want them; but, before the ſucceeding rains, they clear the field, never extending their plantations beyond the ſuppoſed exigencies of a ſingle year. The natives ſometimes make cakes of caſſada, which though dry, are well taſted and extremely white: they alſo boil or roaſt this article. A kind of ale might poſſibly be prepared from it, as is done by the Arawaſks of Surinam*.

to be cautiouſly uſed.

* As no part of houſehold œconomy requires ſo much care and caution as the preparation of Caſſada, ſome further account of it cannot fail to be acceptable to ſuch of my readers, as may have occaſion to reſide in any new tropical colony.—Dr. Browne mentions two ſpecies of that plant, which are uſed in the Sugar Iſlands as food; and which he thus deſcribes.——"IATROPHA 4. *Foliis palmatis pentadactylibus, radice conico-oblongâ, carne ſublacteâ.*"——" "*Iatropha, Foliis palmatis, lobis lanceolatis, levibus integerrimis.*" " Linn. Sp. Pl.—The *Caſſava, Caſſada* or *Caſſadar*.—The juice of the root is ſweetiſh, but more or leſs of a deleterious, or poiſonous, nature, both freſh and in the putrid ſtate.—But, however, unwholeſome or violent, the rough juice may be found, immediately after it is expreſſed, &c. it has been lately diſcovered by an ingenious gentleman, who has practiſed many years in the warm parts of America, that a little mint water and ſalt of wormwood will calm the moſt violent ſymptoms that ariſe on taking it; and prevent all bad conſequences, even in the human ſpecies, *if it be but timely adminiſtered.*——"IATROPHA 5. *Foliis palmatis, lobis incertis, radice oblongâ, funiculo valido per centrum ducto, carne niveâ.—The ſweet Caſſada.*"—(The Linnæan deſcription of this laſt ſpecies, if any, Dr. B. has not inſerted.)—"This plant," continues the Doctor, "is very like the foregoing, both in habit and appearance, and cultivated in the ſame manner; but the root is free from any of that deleterious quality that is generally obſerved in the juices of the other ſort. It is always planted in ſeparate pieces, for fear of a miſtake, and *roaſted or boiled* for uſe; but the latter ſeems to be the beſt method of dreſſing it." Nat. Hiſt. of Jamaica p. 349, where the learned author deſcribes the method of preparing the *farine*, or meal, from the firſt ſpecies above mentioned. See alſo Long's 3d. Vol. But I apprehend that in all ſuch proceſſes, experience is a ſafer guide than any deſcriptions to be found in books.—Not knowing into whoſe hands this work may fall, I have inſerted the above extracts, by way of caution to perſons unacquainted with the danger of uſing caſſada indiſcriminately, and without being duly prepared, by ſome perſon practically ſkilled in the operation, which though not difficult, requires great care and attention.—A certain eminent botaniſt, and alſo a friend of mine who has been long in the W. Indies, both adviſe me, by all means, to inſert this note.

3. Theſe

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

3. Theſe reſemble potatoes, and are dry, farinaceous, and nutritious. Though elſewhere there are many ſpecies of yams, there is but one in S. Leona. The largeſt root in the Company's gardens weighed only about 4lb. the ſoil being probably too hard for it. The natives do not beſtow ſo much pains on yams as caſſada. Yams.

4. Theſe are good and uſeful roots, in no particular, however, reſembling the true potatoes, except that like them, they are farinaceous roots. They thrive beſt in a looſe ſoil, but the natives are as inattentive to them as to yams. The leaves boiled make a good diſh on the table, and afford an excellent nouriſhment for ſheep, goats, or pigs. Sweetpotatoes

5. Theſe are eaten by the natives, either raw or roaſted. Ground-nuts.

6. Though abundant, they are not ſo much uſed as they deſerve to be. The leaves, if young, are as good as ſpinach; and the roots, when boiled, reſemble cheſnuts. They are fit for uſe when 3 months old, but are beſt after 4 or 6 months growth. Eddoes.

7 and 8. Country potatoes of two ſorts; 1ſt, Ajuck, a round root, ſomewhat bigger than a hazel nut, found in abundance in low places, with a long ſtem, which creeps round it on the ground; it's taſte is better than that of ſweet potatoes; but it is leſs ſolid. And, 2dly, Abunk, which grows on the branches of the tree in a ſtrange manner, and is a ſingular excreſcence of an irregular, angular and tuberous ſhape. It taſtes ſomewhat like ſweet potatoes. Country potatoes.

9. A common, handſome and uſeful tree, indicating a good ſoil. It ſupplies the inhabitants with oil, wine and food. The wine in appearance perfectly reſembles whey, taſtes well when freſh, but is apt to ferment, to change in 3 or 4 days to the ſtrongeſt vinegar, of a diſagreeable ſmell. It is collected by tapping the tree. The oil is obtained from the fruit, which is of the ſize of a hazel nut, conſiſting of a hard kernel, encloſed in a thick, fat matter, covered with a thin ſkin, which diſſolves and yields the oil, which is uſed by the natives by way of butter to their rice. This oil, though liquid at firſt, in a ſhort time hardens, and turns rancid: a ſuperior oil is made, though in ſmall quantities, by bruiſing and boilling the kernels in water. The interior ſubſtance of the top of young palm-trees being boiled, eats like cabbage: the leaves ſerve the natives for baſkets. Oil-palm.

10 and 11. Theſe grow very commonly, and are two uſeful trees, nearly related to the palm. Plantains are larger than bananas, more regular, bent at the baſe, and fewer in each cluſter, harder and leſs luſcious. They are eaten raw, boiled, or roaſted. Bananas are among the ſuperior fruits of this country, ſoft and ſweet, and generally eaten raw: above 100 grow in a cluſter. The leaves are uſed for various economical purpoſes; and the fibres ſerve in ſome places for thread. Plantains & bananas.

12. A fine fruit of a deep green, but when ripe of a yellow colour. When green it is boiled, when ripe eaten raw as a fruit. The leaves are uſed inſtead of ſoap, the hollow ſtalks for pipes, and ropes may be made of the bark. Papaw.

13. Some green fruit of this kind has been diſcovered in a neighbouring bay. Guava.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

Oranges and limes. 14 and 15. Theſe are very common in their wild ſtate, bearing ripe fruit throughout the year, though not always in equal abundance. The oranges are excellent, and larger than thoſe of Europe. Lemons planted long ago by the Portugueſe in the neighbourhood, have degenerated ſo much as to reſemble limes.

Pompions. 16. Theſe are to be found wild, wherever the ground is looſe; but though more ſolid, are not ſo large as the European. They are uſed for pies and puddings, and may be had throughout the year.

Melons, &c. 17, 18, 19, 20. Squaſh, water, melon, cucumber and muſk, melon. Theſe arrive at the greateſt perfection, and by proper care might be made to ſurpaſs the European. The firſt ſettlers found no water melons, but took the ſeeds with them.

Pine apples. 21. Theſe are far better flavoured than thoſe of Europe, but tougher in the middle. They are to be found all the year, growing wild in the woods, and on declivities near water. They are alſo planted by the natives.

Pigeon peas. 22. This is a good pulſe, and is dreſſed like Engliſh peas or beans. It grows wild in the ſkirts of woods, and in old rice and caſſada fields, and may be had throughout the year.

Maize or Indian corn. 23. This is cultivated more on the Bullom ſhore than near Freetown; it requires but 3 months to ripen, ſo that ſeveral harveſts are afforded in a year. The grain is boiled in ſalt water, or roaſted in the ear and eaten with butter, but ſometimes it is eaten raw. The natives of the Gold Coaſt make puddings of it. Goats and cattle eat the blades with avidity.

Millet. 24. Millet of two kinds, is found wild and uſed for poultry; the ſtalks of the larger ſort contain a refreſhing juice.

Cocoa-nut trees. 25. Cocoa trees grow in Sherbro, where they have been planted. The nuts are eaten raw or made into pies.

Caſhew. 26. Caſhew nuts, according to Lieut. Matthews, were introduced by the Europeans; but none have been ſeen at S. Leona, except on the Bullom ſhore.

Ockra. 27. The fruit of a little tree reſembling the Engliſh ſeatree mallows, very common in S. Leona. The pods render ſoup gelatinous and highly nouriſhing; the leaves boil like ſpinach.

Sugar-cane. 28. Theſe have been found, in ſmall quantities, near S. Leona. They probably will thrive exceedingly, as ſoon as the land ſhall have been ſome time in cultivation.

Butter and tallow tree. 29. This is common in low lands about Freetown: it abounds with a juice reſembling gamboge in taint and durability, which exudes after the leaſt laceration. The wood is firm, and ſeems adapted to various uſes. The fruit is nearly oval, about twice the ſize of a man's fiſt; the rind is thick, pulpy, and of a pleaſant acid; in the inſide are found from 5 to 9 ſeeds, of the ſize of a walnut, containing an oleaginous matter, uſed by the natives, with their rice or other food.

30. Of

Digitized by Google

30. Of theſe there is a great variety. The velvet tamarind and common tamarind grow pentifully on the iſland of Bananas. The white tamarinds, being of an indifferent taſte, are much neglected. The brown tamarinds are ſweet and highly eſteemed. There is alſo a hard and inſipid fruit reſembling a tamarind, eaten by the natives, which they call maſſino. Tamarinds.

31. Fig-tree. The fruit of this tree, which ſcarcely exceeds a hazel nut in ſize, is agreeable like other figs, but it can hardly be eaten, owing to the number of ſmall inſects with which it is commonly filled. Fig-tree.

32. Country figs. Theſe in no reſpect reſemble the true figs, except in the number of their gritty ſeeds. This fruit is of the ſize of an apple, nearly round, and agreeably taſted, when ripe reſembling the European ſtrawberry. The tree is non-deſcript; it is found in the beſt ſoil in the woods.

33. Hog Plums. Theſe are rather ſmaller than European Plums, yellow, and not unpleaſant: the natives are very fond of them. The tree, in ſome reſpects, reſembles the aſh. Hog-plums.

34. Country plums. Of theſe there are many kinds, beſides thoſe juſt mentioned. They contain generally one or more kernels. They are commonly of the ſize of an hazel nut. Country plums.

25. Theſe are round and black, acid and acrid; they might certainly be improved, but never ſo as to reſemble grapes, for they belong to a genus totally different. Grapes.

36. This contains an acid ſimilar to that of real ſorrel, but reſembles it in no other reſpect. The plant is common enough. Sorrel.

37. This is the beſt ſubſtitute for ſpinach, if properly dreſſed; it grows in cleared grounds, and indicates a good ſoil. Caleloe.

38. A very common plant on hills near the ſhore. It appears 3 days after being ſown. It is ſaid to have been applied to wounds with ſucceſs. Purſlain.

39. There is a well known and much eſteemed fruit of this ſort in the W. Indies; but that of S. Leona is of a different ſpecies, though no way inferior. Mammee.

40, 41, 42. Cainito, bumelia and icaco, or pigeon plums, three W. Indian fruits. The laſt is rather inſipid, but improves greatly by cultivation. Cainito, &c.

43, 44. Antideſma, of the ſame taſte with red currants, and mantanka, being alſo tolerably good. Antideſma.

45. The country cherries ſurpaſs all the fruits of S. Leona. A fine nectarine is the fruit to which it can beſt be compared. Cherries.

46. This has at a diſtance the appearance of an old apple-tree. A ſpecies of it grows plentifully on the Bullom ſhore, and in low and ſandy places. The fruit is about the ſize of an apple, and when freſh is exceedingly good and nutritious, having almoſt the ſame taſte as gingerbread, but it loſes much of its flavour when old. Bread fruit.

47. This is ſtill larger and quite round: there are always two of the fruits united and Cream fruit.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

and hanging at the end of a ſmall branch; when wounded they yield a fine white juice, reſembling ſugar or the beſt milk; the natives are very fond of it.

Malaguetta pepper, &c.

48. There is a ſet of plants, called by the botaniſts amomum, all of a ſpicy nature, and are of 3 diviſions. To the 1ſt, belong the gingers. To the 2d, grains of paradiſe, or Malaguetta pepper. The 3d, is called cardamoms. The true ginger grows in the Suſee country, though not yet found in S. Leona. Malaguetta pepper of 4 different ſorts is found; 1ſt, Maboobo, the ſeeds of which are pretty large, oblong and of an agreeable but weak flavour. 2d, Maſſaaba, ſmaller than the preceding, but much like it; the pulp in the pod, when freſh, is of a fine acid. 3d, Maſſa Amquona, the ſeeds of which are of the ſame nature as the laſt, but rather more angular and pungent; the leaves and ſtems are endowed with the fineſt aroma, both in ſcent and taſte. 4th, Toſſan, the native and true Malaguetta pepper of Africa, and grains of paradiſe of the ſhops. It excels all other kinds in pungency.

Nutmegs.

49. A new ſpecies of nutmeg, different from all others, has been diſcovered; but whether it is as good as the common ſort, is at this time difficult to aſcertain.

Coffee.

50. Coffee trees are found of two different ſpecies, both non-deſcript; but whether of any uſe is not yet aſcertained.

Piper Ethiopicum.

51. A well-known ſpice, grows on lofty trees, in great abundance on the mountains. It is uſed both by coloniſts and natives inſtead of black pepper.

Mabeck.

52. A fine ſpice, though not very pungent. The virtue is in the huſk, and is uſed by the natives for many medicinal purpoſes. The tree is high and valuable.

Barreliera.

53. A ſmall plant with the ſame ſcent as thyme, and might be uſed for the ſame purpoſes.

Tomato.

54. With which the natives ſeaſon their rice, are angular and red. It is thought that Capſicums grow wild.

Cola.

55. Cola is a famous fruit, highly eſteemed by the natives, for the ſame virtues as the Peruvian bark. It is uſed for the ſame purpoſes by the Portugueſe, who ſend ſmall veſſels along the coaſt, to collect all the cola they can get.

Peruvian bark.

56. Of the Peruvian bark a new ſort has been diſcovered, which may perhaps prove as uſeful as the other. The natives uſe it for the ſame purpoſes.

Caſtor oil.

57. The buſh which produces the nuts from which this oil is expreſſed, grows every where in S. Leona.

Caſſia of the cane.

58. The African ſpecies is nearly related to that of the W. Indies, and will not, it is thought, be found leſs uſeful.

Dye ſtuffs, gums.

59. With reſpect to dyes, yellow may be extracted from the butter fruit tree, and blue from indigo. Black and red may be obtained from other plants. Gum Copal and gum Senega, the laſt uſually ſold in the ſhops for gum Arabic, are among the chief gums on the coaſt.

Cotton.

60. Cotton grows plentifully in S. Leona, as does the ſilk cotton among other cotton fruits.

61. The

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

61. The natives uſe the bark of the mahant for ropes and whips, and the roots of the famous mangrove for bas in making mats. Mahant.

62. Common tobacco grows at S. Leona, but the natives do not cultivate it. Tobacco.

MINERALS.

63. No report having been made by the late Mr. Nordenſkiold, the Company's mineralogiſt, the Directors are not prepared to offer any particular ſpecification of the minerals found at S. Leona *.

NOTE B B. See § 527.

LATE TRANSACTIONS OF THE FRENCH AT S. LEONA.

I cannot better fulfil my promiſe, of giving the moſt authentic accounts I could collect of theſe tranſactions, than by laying before my readers the following valuable paper which the Swediſh Ambaſſador has obligingly put into my hands:

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Adam Afzelius to His Excellency the Chevalier von ENGESTROM, the Swediſh Ambaſſador in London, dated Sierra Leona, 15th November, 1794.

804. "The Engliſh Colony at S. Leona had, like all other new Colonies, in the beginning, great difficulties to overcome. But, before the end of two years from its firſt inſtitution, order and induſtry had begun to ſhew their effects in an increaſing proſperity.—A new town had been laid out, with regular ſtreets and a little garden belonging to each houſe.——The woods had been cut down to the diſtance of about half a Swediſh mile (3 Engliſh miles) all round the town——By this means the climate had become healthier, and ſickneſs had diminiſhed.——The fame of our colony had ſpread not only along the whole weſtern coaſt of Africa, but alſo to parts far diſtant from the coaſt; and we have had embaſſies from kings and princes, ſeveral hundred miles diſtant, with the view of acquiring a better knowledge of us, and of obtaining our friendſhip.—They began to ſend their children to us, with full confidence, to be brought up in the chriſtian religion.—In ſhort, we were externally reſpected and internally happy.—For my own part, I could never wiſh for a better ſituation.—I had every comfort I wanted.—I was in good health and ſpirits.—I ſat at the table of the governor himſelf, who treated me with liberality and kindneſs.—I had a houſe of my own, which was large enough to contain ſpecimens of all the natural treaſures of this coaſt.—It was ſurrounded by a fine garden, in which I had myſelf planted the ſcarceſt plants, and the moſt beautiful aro- Proſperity of the colony before it was attacked by the French.

* Mr. Nordenſkiold arrived at S. Leona in May, 1792, and died in the Sept. following, having been ill during moſt of the time. (See § 714, *et ſeq.*)

matic

APPENDIX.

matic and odoriferous flowers, which delightfully recompenſed my pains.—I had alſo many living animals, including about 30 birds in cages and ſmall houſes.—Natural curioſities poured into my collection from all quarters; and theſe I ſent from time to time, as opportunity offered, to a friend in London, to be kept for me till my return.—The laſt opportunity I had to ſend any thing was the 4th of Aug.—I then began a freſh collection, which, before the expiration of 2 months, was more valuable than what I had got together 3 months before, or from the time of my laſt return to S. Leona.

Colony attacked by a French ſquadron.

805. "But all theſe treaſures are no more. Our felicity and proſperity are vaniſhed, and have given place to miſery and want.—I myſelf have largely participated in the common calamity. My own ſeparate and individual loſs is irreparable. The French have been here and have ruined us.—They arrived on the 28th of Sept. laſt, early in the morning, with a fleet conſiſting of one large ſhip, 2 frigates, 2 armed brigs and one cutter, together with two large armed merchant ſhips, taken by them at the Iſles de Loſs, an Engliſh ſlave factory to the N. of our colony, and which they have alſo deſtroyed and burnt.

After ſome firing, the colony ſubmits.

806. "So well had they concealed their nation, that we took them at firſt for Engliſh.—They had Engliſh built veſſels, which were rigged in the Engliſh way.—They ſhewed the Engliſh flag, and had their ſailors, at leaſt thoſe we ſaw on deck, dreſſed like Engliſh.—In ſhort we did not perceive our miſtake, till we obſerved them pointing their guns.—We had not ſtrength ſufficient to reſiſt, and therefore our governor gave orders, that as ſoon as they ſhould begin to fire, the Britiſh flag ſhould be ſtruck, and a flag of truce hoiſted.—Accordingly this was done, but ſtill they continued firing, and did much damage, both within and without the town.—They killed 2 people and wounded 3 or 4.—But, as we did not underſtand the meaning of this proceeding, we aſked them for an explanation; and they anſwered us that we ſhould diſplay the flag of liberty, as a proof of our ſubmiſſion.—We aſſured them that it ſhould already have been done, if we had had any, which terminated the hoſtilities from the ſhips.

Moſt of the coloniſts fled.

807. "In the mean time, moſt of the inhabitants had fled from the town, having taken with them as much of their property as they conveniently could, in ſuch a hurry.—I was with the governor, together with a number of others, but as ſoon as I was certain they were enemies, I went towards my own houſe, with a view to ſave as much as poſſible of my property and natural collections; but was received in ſuch manner, that I could not venture to proceed.—My houſe was ſituated near the ſhore, and unfortunately juſt oppoſite the frigate which fired.—I ſaw the balls paſſing through the houſe and heard them whizzing about my ears.—I ſaw that I ſhould looſe all my property; but life was dearer to me, and I haſtened to the woods.

808. "In

Digitized by Google

808. " In the afternoon the enemy landed, finding the town almoſt deſtitute of people, but rich in proviſions, cloathing and other ſtores. They began immediately to break open the houſes and to plunder. What they did not want, they deſtroyed, burnt or threw into the river. They killed all the cattle and animals they found in the fields or ſtreets, yards or elſewhere, not ſparing even aſſes, dogs and cats. Theſe proceedings they continued the whole ſucceeding week, till they had intirely ruined our beautiful and proſpering colony.

The colony plundered, &c.

809. " When I returned to the town, I found my houſe converted into a melancholy guard-houſe. My principal property, ſuch as money, cloaths, my very valuable inſtruments, and moſt of my furniture, were either carried off, or broken to pieces. According to bills and accounts, which I have ſtill left, this loſs amounts to very near £300 ſter. The reſt, which was of no value or uſe to the enemy, but on which I myſelf put a juſt and great value, I had the mortification to find ſo totally deſtroyed, that the ſight almoſt drew tears from my eyes. My neat and beautiful little garden, I found intirely ruined, the trees cut down and the plants pulled up by the roots. My living animals and birds were partly eaten and partly thrown out of doors, with their heads cut off. My library and collection of animals, fruits and flowers preſerved in ſpirits of wine; of birds, inſects, ſhells, herbarium, fruits and ſeeds, together with all my manuſcripts; all were thrown down and ſpread over the whole floor, where they were all mixed with offals of victuals, treacle, rum, beer and other things of the kind. At laſt I received leave from the commodore to clear away this dirty mixture. I had then the floor ſwept, and collected what was not wholly ſpoiled in 3 bags, which now contain all the miſerable remnants of my property, except the cloaths on my back. When the enemy found nothing more worth plundering, they ſet fire to the public buildings and all the houſes belonging to Europeans; and conſequently to mine among the reſt. About 24 houſes, great and ſmall, were thus deſtroyed, and 9 or 10 houſes of the coloniſts were alſo burnt, by miſtake.

Mr. Afzelius's loſſes.

810. " In the mean time, the enemy were not leſs active on the water. They ſent three of there veſſels to Bance iſland, an Engliſh ſlave-factory higher up the river, which they plundered and burnt, together with ſome ſlave ſhips lying there. They took beſides about 10 or 12 prizes, including the Company's veſſels. Moſt of theſe they unloaded and burnt. They took along with them alſo 2 of our armed veſſels, one of which was a large ſhip, laden with proviſions, and which had been long expected; but ſhe unfortunately arrived a few days too ſoon, and was taken with her whole cargo. We expected at leaſt to receive our private letters, but even this was refuſed, and they were thrown over board. What hardſhip is this to me, who have not had the ſmalleſt information from my patrons and friends, ſince I was in England 8 months ago?

Prizes taken.

 811. " At

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

The ſquadron leaves the river.

811. " At laſt, after inflicting on us every hardſhip we could ſuffer, only ſparing our lives and the houſes of the coloniſts, they ſailed on the 13th Oct. laſt, at noon, proceeding downwards to the Gold Coaſt, and left us in the moſt dreadful ſituation, without proviſions, cloaths, houſes, or furniture, &c. &c. and I fear much, that moſt of us ſhould have periſhed, had not our friends in the neighbourhood, both natives and Europeans, who were ſo happy as to eſcape the enemy, been ſo kind as to ſend us what they could ſpare*.

Sickneſs but no want.

812. " In the mean time, moſt of us have either been, or ſtill are, very ſick, and many have died for want of proper food and medicine. The worſt, however, is now paſt. At leaſt we are not in any want of proviſion, although of the coarſeſt kind, but are deſtitute of the moſt neceſſary articles and utenſils for the houſe, the table and the kitchen.

Mr. Afzelius's peculiar misfortunes.

813. " Beſides the common misfortune, in which I participated equally with the reſt, I have ſeveral grievances which make me particularly uneaſy. All that I could poſſibly ſave from deſtruction, were a few books, ſome dry herbs and ſeeds, and only a few fragments of my M S S. Theſe laſt were my moſt valuable property, and the only ſure voucher or teſtimony I could produce, to certify my perſeverance and attention in my reſearches, in the courſe of my travels in foreign countries—but moſt of them are no more, and many of them can never be reſtored, as for inſtance, my journal from the time I firſt came to this place till this terrible cataſtrophe, &c. &c. Deſcriptions of natural productions and of my collections, I might perhaps, in a great meaſure, replace, had I only the neceſſary inſtruments and other requiſites, but I have loſt all. What then can a poor beggar do in a deſert? He muſt endeavour to employ his time in the beſt manner, patiently ſubmit to the will of Providence, and wait until aſſiſtance can arrive. By the next veſſel from England, which, however, cannot arrive here in leſs than 4 or 5 months, I hope my worthy friends and protectors will remember me with ſuch things as I may want.

814. " Before I finiſh, I beg leave to make two general obſervations on the conduct of the French at this place.

The French ſquadron appear to be ignorant of the true object of the colony.

815. " I. That they acted contrary to their own acknowledged fundamental principle, viz. *the ſpreading of light and liberty*, when they plundered this colony, which has been inſtituted for thoſe very purpoſes, viz. *to aboliſh the Slave trade, to enlighten the Africans*, and *to render them virtuous* and *rational, free* and *happy*. This eſtabliſhment, which has no parallel in hiſtory, at firſt ſo much attracted the attention of the National Aſſembly that ſeveral of its members, as I have been told, wrote to the Directors of this colony in London, and aſſured them that

* Mr. A. here alludes to the Europeans, reſiding at the neighbouring ſlave factory, whoſe friendly offices, as well as the civility of their employers in England, the Directors liberally acknowledge. See the note at the cloſe of § 510.

neither

Digitized by Google

neither their ſhips, nor Colony ſhould be expoſed to the Republican arms. I have great reaſon to believe that this correſpondence is yet preſerved. APPENDIX.

816. " It may be ſaid that this offer and promiſe was given by the party, called *Girondiſts*, who no longer exiſt; but I ſhould think that the *Mountains*, (ſo called) would not yield to their opponents, in noble and generous ſentiments. There muſt conſequently be ſome fault or miſunderſtanding, either in theory or in practice; either with the Convention, who iſſued the orders, or with the commodore who put them into execution. I mentioned theſe circumſtances to ſome of the French officers, and they did not deny their juſtice; but they laid all the blame upon two American ſlave captains, who have been obliged to eſcape both from England and from America, for great crimes, and who, thinking they had ſuffered ſome injury here at S. Leona, were looking out for vengeance. Theſe men piloted the French hither, encouraging their ſailors to commit all poſſible violence and cruelty. But be this as it may, that promiſe once made to our Directors, had lulled both them and us in the colony, into ſo profound a ſecurity, that neither they nor we could think of any hoſtile attack, and conſequently had not put ourſelves in any ſtate of defence*. Mr. Afzelius's own remarks.

817. " II. That they acted againſt the laws of neutrality, when they plundered me. I mentioned that I was a Swede, and a naturaliſt, who was expoſing my life in Africa for the ſake of enlightening, and making diſcoveries for the benefit of all nations, and who was reſiding here only for a certain time, without having any thing further to do with the Engliſh. They acknowledged, that I was ill treated, and many of them even allowed that I ought to be indemnified for my loſs. I very naturally ſupported this laſt propoſition, and even ſpoke to the commodore about it, but, although he gave me full hopes, nothing could be effected. They excuſed themſelves by ſaying, that I was out of the way when my houſe was broke open, and that if they had known to whom it belonged, they would have preſerved it. This ſounds well, but that they were not ſerious, I think I can conclude from what I experienced. When I firſt entered into my houſe and found that there were ſtill ſome trunks left, I aſked for one of them, but was anſwered that it belonged to the captain of one of the frigates, and when I then aſked for another, that belonged to ſuch or ſuch an officer, &c. &c. They had, however, juſt before agreed that I had ſuffered injury. The following day, when the captain himſelf came on ſhore, I aſked him for my trunk. He ſhrugged up his ſhoulders and complained much of my misfortune, ſaying, that he would do me this little favour with all his heart, if it was in his power. Another time I ſaw in my room a bed-cover; I aſked the officer, who was on his poſt for it, and he gave it to me, but a ſailor came immediately and tore it from me, ſaying that it belonged to him, and I loſt it. I could men- Mr. A. tho' a Swede, was plundered.

* This appears to be fully explained in § 837.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

tion many ſimilar inſtances. But the plain truth of the matter was that the officers had no authority, and the ſailors did what they pleaſed. The former, who were in general ſenſible and reſpectable men, were very ſorry for thoſe violences that were committed, but complained ſincerely that it was totally out of their power to prevent it. The latter, or ſailors, ſeemed in general to be miſerable and in great want; but at the ſame time cruel, and could be compared only to wild beaſts who live by devouring their prey.

818. "I have ſcarcely any paper, pens or ink, nor even a penknife; ſo that I have very good reaſons to hope for ſome indulgence, remaining, &c.

"A. AFZELIUS."

* * *

Agreement of the public and private accounts of the tranſactions of the French ſquadron.

819. It is important to obſerve, that the report of the governor and council to the Directors, the foregoing letter of Mr. Afzelius, and ſeveral other private letters, mutually corroborate each other.

820. Mr. Gray in particular, in his letter to one of his friends in London, dated "*Ruins* of Freetown, Oct. 18th, 1794," and which I have juſt ſeen, mentions every material fact contained in the foregoing extract. He adds, that "the largeſt French ſhip carried 50 guns, and the two frigates 32 guns each." But it would appear, that they were ſo ill found, and the ſeamen ſo diſorderly, that he goes on to ſay, "I am confident that two Engliſh frigates would have taken their whole force" (namely the foregoing ſhips, with two armed brigs, and ſome veſſels of inferior conſideration.) "It rather ſurprizes us, that this coaſt ſhould be ſo neglected, Government not having a veſſel of any kind in this quarter of the world. So the French no doubt had learnt, which cauſed their coming here. However, for my own part, I do not find room to blame the French ſo much, as thoſe who are at the head of Engliſh affairs, for the evils that have befallen us."—"You muſt not imagine," adds he, "becauſe we have been taken by the French, and have had our houſes burnt, that we are ſleeping in the woods, or that we are ſtarving for want of victuals. No: we have houſes yet, the governor having hired ſome of the beſt of the ſettlers' houſes, for the officers and himſelf; nor, whilſt we have ſheep and goats for ſending for, no very great diſtance, can we be ſuppoſed to be famiſhing." Mr. G. having been captured in a veſſel at ſome diſtance from Freetown, ſays, "I ſlept on board one of the frigates, where I muſt acknowledge being well treated; ſo much ſo, the captain offered me his own bed." This gentleman alſo writes, that notwithſtanding his paſt hardſhips, he had enjoyed uninterrupted health; and that he was about to accompany Mr. Watt in an attempt to penetrate to Tombuctoo. Moſt probably, therefore, thoſe enterprizing gentlemen have ere now, entered on that intereſting and arduous journey.

821. From Mr. Padenheim's letter to C. Grill, Eſq. the Swediſh Conſul General, in London, it additionally appears, that an American ſlave-captain, of the name

Digitized by Google

of Newell, who had thought himſelf affronted by the Governor, had perſuaded the French to attack the colony, aſſuring them of a very great booty. Hence I think it is fair to conclude, that the hopes of plunder operated ſo powerfully on the minds of the French ſailors, that their commanders found it impoſſible to reſtrain them, either from attacking the colony, or from plundering it*.

French incited to attack the colony.

* * *

PROCEEDINGS AT A GENERAL COURT OF PROPRIETORS OF THE S. LEONA COMPANY, HELD AT THE PAUL'S-HEAD TAVERN, IN CATEATON-STREET, FEB. 26th, 1795.

That I may omit nothing that tends to give my readers an impartial, though I acknowledge, a very general, view of this intereſting ſubject, I ſhall now lay before them ſome Account of theſe Proceedings.

822. Mr. H. Thornton, the Chairman of the Court of Directors, took the Chair, and read the journal tranſmitted by the Governor and Council at S. Leona, relative to the late tranſactions of the French at that place; and he concluded with reading various remarks made by the Directors thereupon.

823. [This journal contained ſo full and circumſtantial an account of the attack upon the colony, that the reading of it took up above three hours. I have not room even for an abridgment of this detail, a circumſtance the leſs to be regretted, as the Directors have juſt publiſhed a very faithful Abridgment of it, under the title of "Subſtance of the Report of the Court of Directors, &c. Feb. 26th, 1795;" which came rather too late into my hands. Beſides, I really could not offer the reader a better ſummary, than the above extracts from the letters of Mr. Afzelius, Mr. Gray, and Mr. Padenheim; for I am happy to ſay, that, in a general view, thoſe extracts and every other account that has come to my knowledge, perfectly agree with the journal and the "Subſtance," of it, of which two (or perhaps more) editions have been publiſhed†; ſo that the reader can eaſily make the comparition. Upon the whole, it ſeems as unneceſſary, as it is impracticable, for me to inſert more than the following *abridgment* of the concluding remarks of the Directors. See "Subſtance," &c. from p. 16, to the end.]

824. "It appears, that in about three weeks after the departure of the French "from S. Leona, an almoſt univerſal ſickneſs prevailed among the whites, the con- "ſequence of the exertions of ſome, and the ſufferings of others, at the criſis. The "want of medical attendance, (the phyſician and both the ſurgeons being ill, one of "the latter of whom died) and improper food and accommodations, aggravated the "diſorder, which, as in the firſt ſickly ſeaſon, was fatal, almoſt excluſively, to the "lower Europeans. The deſtruction of the medicines was now moſt ſeverely felt, as "appears from the Governor himſelf, after a fit of fever, refraining from taking bark, "leſt he ſhould conſume too much of the ſmall remaining quantity. The Directors "mention with concern, that, of the 120 ſailors firſt put on ſhore at S. Leona, by

Sickneſs and diſtreſs for want of medicines, &c.

* Having mentioned Mr. Padenheim, I cannot but add Mr. Beaver's opinion of this gentleman, That he did not know any perſon at S. Leona, while he was there, who had done more eſſential ſervice to the colony, than Mr. Padenheim. A teſtimony ſo honourable, from ſo excellent and impartial a judge as Mr. B. is, eſpecially of this kind of merit, convinces me that Mr. P. muſt indeed be a valuable member of the colony.

Mr. Beaver's opinion of Mr. Padenheim.

† Printed by J. Phillips, George Yard, Lombard-ſtreet.

"the

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

" the French, 80 have already died. The Governor ſtates, that they never, in any " ſtage of the public diſtreſs, wanted at leaſt a regular meal of rice; and the Directors " are perſuaded, that no practicable meaſures of prudence or humanity have been " neglected, either reſpecting theſe, or any other refugees from ſlave-ſhips, who from " time to time, have been caſt on the clemency of the S. Leona government.

Favourable circumſtances.

825. " Before the date of the laſt diſpatches, the ſickneſs is ſaid, in ſome degree, " to have abated. The healthy ſeaſon was approaching; and a very ſeaſonable, though " probably an inadequate, ſupply of articles much wanted, had been juſt bought from " the captain of a chartered veſſel ſent out by the Directors.

Company's loſs and remaining ſtock.

826. " The whole loſs of the Company, on this occaſion, may be computed at " £40,000, excluſive of the buildings deſtroyed, which coſt about £15,000; but " their value having been much leſs, ſuch of them as will now be thought neceſ- " ſary, will probably be rebuilt for 2 or £3000. About 8 or £9000 have been laid " out on works of defence, roads, a landing place, a wharf, and the allotment and " cultivation of lands. The whole remaining property of the Company, excluſive of " the 8 or £9000 dead ſtock juſt mentioned, the Directors compute at about £85,000.

Company's ſmall veſſels and goods on ſhore not inſured, and why

827. " The Company's ſmall veſſels, trading on the coaſt, were not inſured; for " the monthly premium, required on them, was thought unreaſonably high. The " value of each veſſel and cargo ſeldom exceeded 2 or £3000; and the capture of ſo " many of them at once, on different parts of the coaſt, was not conſidered as a proba- " ble event. The Company's large ſhip, the Harpy, with her cargo, was moſtly in- " ſured. But the inſurance of goods on ſhore, againſt inſurrections and foreign " enemies, were found to be expreſsly excepted in the policies of the only Company " that underwrites goods on ſhore, in diſtant countries.

Good effects likely to reſult from the calamity.

828. " The governor and council ſtate that ſome good effects may be conſidered " as reſulting from this calamity. They obſerve, that it has convinced the N. Sco- " tians of their folly, in having contended for the ground neareſt the river, and in " neglecting the more diſtant and mountainous parts. They even remark, that the " improvement in the mountains, during the enſuing dry ſeaſon, ſeems likely to " counterbalance the damage done to the town*. Thus an opportunity is ſaid to be afforded

* I have juſt been favoured with a paper, which makes me think that ſugar will never be among the productions of thoſe mountains; though it may be hoped the Bullom ſhore will, *in due time*, afford a ſupply of that commodity. This paper juſtifies ſeveral of my remarks on the cultivation of the Company's plantation; ſo that had I been in poſſeſſion of it when I drew up NOTE X. 1, I *could* have rendered that *haſty and general outline* leſs unworthy of the reader's attention: for I could have exemplified ſome of my reaſonings with *facts* which prove that ſymptoms of the ſpirit of ſugar ſpeculation had actually appeared at *S. Leona*. But I muſt add, that nothing has come to my knowledge to juſtify a ſuppoſition that the Directors were ever actuated by that ſpirit. They ſent out indeed the proper implements for manufacturing ſugar: but I have good authority to ſay, that in this inſtance, they

Digitized by Google

" afforded of diſmiſſing from the Company's ſervice, a number of N. Scotians, " whom the governor and council had long been in vain endeavouring to fix on " their farms. The experience of the internal reſources of the colony is mentioned " as very important. The colony has been left many weeks, deſtitute of almoſt every " European article; much of the live-ſtock and all the boats and ſhipping deſtroyed; " and yet no want of neceſſary food, nor any other evil, than what has been men- " tioned, has enſued. The governor and council mention that they intend to " erect only one conſiderable ſtore, a large dwelling houſe and a church, all of " country materials. The laſt was ſo far advanced, that public worſhip was to be " performed in it, the Sunday after the date of the diſpatches. Meaſures were alſo " taken for erecting a building on the Bullom ſhore for additional ſecurity.

Supplies immediately ſhipped. Mr. Dawes returns to S. Leona.

829. " On the arrival of the diſpatches, the Directors loſt no time in ſending out " two ſmall veſſels with an aſſortment of neceſſaries. They alſo ſhipped a few ma- " terial articles on board the Amy (now the Company's only large ſhip,) which had " already in her a few goods for trade. Some perſons engaged in the Company's " ſervice, (the number of whom, on receiving the above intelligence, was reduced,) " are alſo gone out in her: and among them Mr. Dawes, who having been two years " governor of the colony, had returned to England. His health and the circum- " ſtances of his family had induced him to think of leaving the Company's ſervice; " but, when informed of a tumult having taken place (§ 443.) at S. Leona, his " zeal in the Company's cauſe led him again to offer his ſervices. The late more " ſerious calamity, and the indiſpoſition of the acting Governor, Mr. Macaulay, " rendered Mr. Dawes's preſence ſo deſirable, that the Directors thought it their " duty to accept this gentleman's offer.

Contraction of the Company's future plan.

830. " The Directors propoſe to reduce within very narrow limits the Com- " pany's future riſk in Africa; and they alſo hope to reduce their general ex- " penſes. The ſaving from removing many coloniſts to their farms has been men- " tioned. The contraction of the Company's trade will be accompanied by a cor- " reſponding abatement of charges. The diminution of ſhipping will leſſen one " chief ſource of expenſe. In conſequence of the late loſſes, only one ſmall veſſel " has been purchaſed, the intended plan of trade not requiring more, and thoſe " frequent ſupplies on which the colony depended at firſt, being no longer neceſſary.

N. Scotians want inſtructors.

831. " The Directors will here repeat, that however proſperous the N. Scotians " may become, the great ends of the inſtitution are not likely to be gained, unleſs " they ſhall be furniſhed with European inſtructors and governors. The untoward

they were miſled, by perſons, who, with the beſt intentions, have unfortunately been drawn into the dangerous vortex of W. Indian ſpeculation. The ſugar apparatus, which was never ſet up or uſed lay rotting and conſuming with ruſt, till it received the *coup de grace* from the ſledge hammers of the French: and there is ſcarcely a ſugar-cane now growing at S. Leona.

diſpoſition

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

" diſpoſition of too many of them, though it may be thought to make them leſs " worthy of aſſiſtance, proves, however, the importance of affording them the " means of inſtruction, and an intelligent and protecting government; and it ſhould " be remembered that 300 of their children, beſides thoſe of the natives, are now " under the Company's care. When the influence of the S. Leona government " over many powerful chiefs, of whoſe attachment ſeveral freſh proofs have been " given, on the late trying occaſion; when the uſes of that influence, the Com- " pany's progreſs in the interior, and all the other proſpects of civilization formerly " ſtated are recollected, the Directors are perſuaded, that the proprietors, under " their former impreſſion, will rejoice at hearing that no events that have yet hap- " pened have ſhaken the reſolution of the Directors to proſecute this great cauſe, " with unabated zeal.

Directors determined to perſevere.

Slave-trade checked.

832. " The ſlave-trade, which, notwithſtanding the war, had in ſome meaſure re- " ceived a conſiderable blow from the French ſquadron. The whole property cap- " tured and deſtroyed by it, is computed at £400,000, moſt of which was engaged " in that pernicious traffic. Some commercial advantages, as well as an increaſe of " the Company's influence, may poſſibly reſult from this deſtruction of European " property on the coaſt.

Humanity and civilization the chief objects.

833. " The Directors cannot but repeat, that they truſt for the cauſe of humani- " ty, the honour of Great Britain, and the intereſts of the Company, that the termina- " tion of the ſlave-trade is approaching, and they reflect with ſatisfaction, that the " maintenance of an eſtabliſhment in Africa, for aiding the natural progreſs of ci- " vilization, and for promoting *Real Commerce*, may hereafter prove material, not " only to the proprietors, but as a matter of national policy.

834. " The Directors have thus ſtated the grounds on which they are encouraged " to perſevere. They ſhall endeavour to contract both the riſk and the expenſes " of the Company, on the principles ſtated; at the ſame time purſuing their main " object, in ſuch a way as not to relinquiſh the commercial advantages they have " gained, nor in any degree to ſuſpend the meaſures neceſſary to promote the unin- " terrupted progreſs of civilization."

835. The report having thus been read, a motion was made and ſeconded, that the thanks of the meeting ſhould be given to the Directors, for the indefatigable pains they had taken, in promoting the ends of the inſtitution. This motion paſſed unanimouſly.

836. A gentleman, (Mr. Friend,) roſe, and addreſſing the chair, requeſted the Directors to inform the meeting, Whether a report now in circulation was true, *That, on the firſt ſetting out of the colony, the French Convention had intimated to the Directors their good wiſhes towards the inſtitution, that it would not in any way impede it's progreſs, and requeſted to have a liſt of the ſhips employed in the ſervice of the Company, that proper orders might be iſſued*

Digitized by Google

*iſſued to the commanders of ſhips of war of every kind, not to moleſt the ſame, but to protect them to the utmoſt of their power**. Upon the anſwer given to this queſtion, a reſolution might be entered into, probably tending, not only to alleviate our preſent calamity, but to prevent the repetition of a ſimilar injury in future.

The Chairman explains this ſubject,

837. The Chairman roſe and explained to the Meeting, the nature of the communication alluded to; that a Mr. Stone, when in Paris, having a particular connection with a committee of the Convention, had mentioned the S. Leona undertaking, and had been authorized by one of their committees to write to the Directors, requeſting a full account of the deſign of the inſtitution and the names of the ſhips employed in their ſervice, and to aſſure them of the good wiſhes of the committee, to ſo noble an undertaking.—This account was confirmed alſo, in another part of the debate, by Mr. Wilberforce who ſtated, that in conſequence of Mr. Stone's communication to them, they had waited upon Lord Grenville, the Secretary of State, and by his permiſſion, had given to Mr. Stone, when in England, a liſt of the ſhips to be by him communicated to the National Convention, and as he was thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the inſtitution, deſired him to repreſent it in its proper colours†.

debate takes place.

838. Mr. Frend teſtified his ſatisfaction with the information from the chair, as it gave him hopes that the Meeting would come to a reſolution to enter into a better communication with the French Convention, ſtating to it, that our inſtitution was founded on the general principles of humanity; and as the French nation were the avowed advocates of theſe principles, it could not be ſuppoſed, that they would ſanction any meaſures in direct oppoſition to the happineſs and liberty of the Africans.

839. To this it was objected by a gentleman, that the traitorous correſpondence bill was an inſurmountable obſtacle to ſuch a communication.

840. Mr. Frend replied, that he was not ſo well acquainted with mercantile affairs, as the gentleman who ſpoke laſt; but he underſtood, that very lately, ſums of

* During the laſt war, the like generous protection was given by the French Miniſtry, to the celebrated Captain Cook, and alſo to the ſhips liberally ſent by the Britiſh Government, with ſupplies for the ſufferers by the great hurricane at Barbadoes and Jamaica, in 1780.

† As I conſider this ſubject of great importance, eſpecially reſpecting the future indulgence of the French to the colony, I have taken much pains to inveſtigate it. Among other enquiries, I aſked Mr. Thomas Clarkſon, who was then in the Direction, Whether he did not think, with me, that as the colony was of a peculiar nature, inſtituted entirely for the benefit of mankind, and unconnected either with mercantile concerns or national quarrels, there was no neceſſity of laying the generous propoſal of the French before the Britiſh Miniſtry. With that frankneſs which characterizes this friend of the human race, Mr. Clarkſon replied, That he was ſo much of my opinion, that the oppoſition he met with in ſupporting it, in the Court of Directors, (an oppoſition undoubtedly dictated by the beſt motives,) was one of the chief cauſes which induced him to reſign his ſeat among that reſpectable body. He added, that he had, however, the ſatisfaction to find that ſeveral of the Directors joined him in opinion; although the majority thought the affair ought to be laid before the Miniſtry.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

money had been remitted under the ſanction of Miniſtry, by houſes in the city, to perſons in the enemy's country.

841. This was anſwered by an obſervation, that ſuch remittances related not to the traitorous correſpondence bill, but to the bill for preventing money belonging to foreigners, to be ſent out of the kingdom. Mr. Frend urged, that it was of little conſequence to what bill theſe remittances related, ſince the fact was allowed, that perſons, in the city, were permitted to correſpond with others in the enemy's country; and, in fact, it would be abſurd to ſuppoſe, that the governors of this country had not the power to ſend a flag of truce into France, or to enter into any cartel for the exchange of priſoners. His intended reſolution did not imply a correſpondence with the enemy, without the ſanction of Government. All that is intended was, that the Directors ſhould wait upon the Governors of this country, to ſtate to them the ſituation of the S. Leona Company, the hopes they entertained of the French Convention, and to requeſt permiſſion to ſend over ſome perſon to the National Convention, to negociate on the means of ſecuring the future tranquillity of the colony.

The attack not authorized by the French Convention.

842. Upon this, a deſultory converſation took place.—It was urged that the ſubject was of too delicate a nature, to be debated in the preſent critical times; that the Company muſt not ſtand too forward, when there were hopes of great ſupport from our own Government.—Among this and other matters, an intereſting account was given by Mr. Inglis, one of the Directors, of the attack upon the colony, in which it was affirmed, that this attack was not made by the orders of the French Convention, but by a company of privateers, which probably made no difference between this and the ſlave-ſettlements on the coaſt. This account was confirmed by ſeveral other perſons. Mr. Inglis ſaid, that he had this information from a captain lately arrived, who was at that time at S. Leona. This captain ſays, that ſeveral ſlave-merchants of Bourdeaux and L'Orient, had fitted out ſome brigs and cutters, to run down the whole coaſt, with which they were very much acquainted, in order to deſtroy the Engliſh ſlave-factories, and upon requeſt to the Convention, had obtained one two decker, which they had equipped at their own expence.

843. Mr. Frend expreſſed his ſatisfaction, at hearing that the calamity was not owing to the National Convention. He conceived therefore that he had now better grounds for making his motion.

844. The chairman obſerved here, that as there had been a motion made and ſeconded, another could not be made till that was diſpoſed of. Upon which the motion of thanks to the Directors was read, and paſſed unanimouſly.

Mr. Frend's motion.

845. This buſineſs being diſpatched, Mr. Frend begged leave to ſuggeſt, that he had heard no ſufficient reaſons why he ſhould not move, *That the Directors be requeſted to take ſuch ſteps as ſhall appear to them proper, for opening a communication with the French*

Digitized by Google

French Convention, for the purpoſe of inſuring, in future, the tranquillity of the colony.——This was ſeconded by Mr. Audley.

Adjournment propoſed,

846. Upon this the chairman got up, by requeſt, and propoſed that the Meeting ſhould be adjourned.

847. Mr. Frend ſhewed ſome ſurpriſe at this propoſal, and begged leave to obſerve, that a motion had been regularly made and ſeconded; and therefore he did not ſee the propriety of adjourning, till the ſubject had been regularly diſcuſſed.

but not carried.

848. Several perſons, from different quarters, teſtified the ſame opinion, by calling out, *go on, go on.*

849. Mr. Wilberforce expreſſed his wiſh, that the queſtion might be fairly agitated.

850. Several perſons now declared their opinions on the matter before them. Some expreſſed their wiſhes, that a negociation might be entered into. Some expreſſed their fears, that, in the preſent times, it would not be prudent to make a reſolution upon the ſubject; but that it would be better to leave the Directors to act according to their beſt judgment, and the apparent wiſhes of the meeting.

The matter left to the Directors,

851. Mr. Frend here obſerved, that he was by no means deſirous of obtruding a reſolution, which might in any ways tend to thwart the object which he and all the Company had in view, namely, the civilization of the Africans, by the proſperity of the riſing colony; and it would be ſufficient, from the converſation that had taken place, that the Directors were now informed of the deſires of the Company, and were left to act in this, as in many other caſes, to the beſt of their diſcretion.

852. Here this matter dropped, and after a little pauſe, Mr. Frend got up and obſerved, that he feared one point had been forgotten, in the intereſting debate which had taken up ſo much of the attention of the Meeting, and begged leave therefore to move, that *the report, which had been read from the chair, ſhould be publiſhed and circulated.*

853. This motion was ſeconded; but was oppoſed from different quarters, on the grounds, that it contained many minute details, not fit for the public eye; that there were expreſſions, which might give offence to the French nation, and that it would be better to leave it to the diſcretion of the Directors.

854. Others obſerved, that people in the country were much intereſted in this ſubject; that they had dwelt on the calling of the preſent Meeting, and would be greatly diſappointed, if they were not favoured with the means of information; and that many who had heard it read in a curſory manner, might wiſh to peruſe it at their leiſure.

alſo the printing of the report.

855. Mr. Frend apologized for riſing ſo often, and begged leave only to obſerve to all the objections made to the printing of the report, that he would leave the correction of it to the judgment of the Directors; and that they ſhould be deſired to print it in the manner leaſt offenſive to any one, and in the beſt mode for the information of the Company at large.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

856. Mr. Inglis ſaid, there would be ſoon a General Meeting, and ſuggeſted, that it might be better to defer the printing of the report, till the annual report was made, to which this report might be added.

857. Mr. Frend replied, that as this report contained ſo much important matter, he could not conſent to the delay; and muſt beg leave, that the motion for printing it immediately might be propoſed. Upon this it was read from the chair, and paſſed with a very great majority.

Thanks to the chairman.

858. A vote of thanks to the chairman was then paſſed, for his conduct during the Meeting; after which a gentleman roſe, and made a ſpeech of conſiderable length, which could be heard only by the perſons neareſt the chair, and which did not end in any motion.

The Meeting was then adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Proprietors of the S. Leona Company, the 26th *of March*, 1795.

859. The chairman (Mr. Thornton,) having taken the chair, the reſolutions of the laſt Meeting were read and confirmed.

860. The chairman deſired to know, whether any perſon had any thing to propoſe, and after a ſhort pauſe,

Mr. Frend propoſes a delegate to be ſent to the convention.

Mr. Frend roſe, and ſtated, that he had taken the liberty at the laſt Meeting, of ſuggeſting the propriety of taking ſome ſteps, both to gain redreſs from the French Convention, for their late attack, and to prevent ſimilar calamities in future. Since that time, he had more maturely conſidered the ſubject, and was confirmed in his opinion, from what had tranſpired at the laſt Meeting, that there were very good grounds to expect, that, on a proper application to the French Convention, the affairs of the colony might be put upon a very reſpectable footing. That ſuch application might be conſidered indeed by ſome perſons, as unneceſſary or improper; but, if we took a view of the ſituation of the Company, and of the country at large, there would appear no proſpects of future ſucceſs, unleſs the colony could be preſerved, for which there were neither ſufficient capital, nor warlike preparations. As to the latter, the Company was founded upon better principles, than the politics of war, and could expect ſucceſs, only by the ſtation which it held, in the good opinion of it's neighbours. That little ſupport could be expected from the Britiſh Government, was evident from the late ravages along the coaſt of Africa, the preſervation of which was not a ſufficient object to a miniſter, and the ſituation of the colony, rendered it liable at all times, to fall an eaſy prey to a ſlight invaſion. "On theſe grounds," ſaid he, "we muſt, if we expect that our colony ſhould ſucceed, look forward to gain the benevolence of the power moſt capable of injuring us. And, if it ſhould appear, that the Convention were likely to liſten to our requeſt, could a proper perſon be ſent over to negociate with it, we were fortunate at preſent, to ſee among

Digitized by Google

us a gentleman, whom every perſon would allow to be fully competent for the undertaking, and whoſe writings, then on the table, proved him to have not only the intereſt of Africa, but of all mankind, at heart. From having travelled in Africa, and being firmly united with the Company, in it's views of enlightening the inhabitants, he could explain to the Convention, the *real nature of the Company*, and being the ſubject of a neutral power, he could do it with the greater propriety and effect. A meaſure of this ſort was not to be undertaken, without the approbation of our own Government, and an application muſt be made for it's conſent. He ſhould therefore beg leave to propoſe the two following Reſolutions.

His propoſitions.

1ſt, *Reſolved*, that an application be made to Government, for permiſſion to ſend a perſon over to France, to negociate with the French Convention, on buſineſs relating ſolely to the concerns of the Company in Africa, and on the ſeas.

2d, *Reſolved*, that if Government ſhould not object to this meaſure, Mr. WADSTROM be appointed to lay before the National Convention of France, an account of the inſtitution of the S. Leona Company, and the loſſes ſuſtained by it, from the late attack of a French ſquadron, ſuppoſed to have acted without the knowledge or approbation of the Convention*.

861. Theſe

* As the above propoſitions were brought forward by a gentleman, to whom I made no application for this purpoſe, an explanation of the circumſtance may not be improper.—After my grief and ſurprize, at the calamity which had befallen the colony, had partly ſubſided, I began to conſider, Whether it might not be poſſible for me, to contribute to it's reparation. The plan contained in the following addreſs ſoon preſented itſelf to my mind, and, after mature conſideration, I thought it my duty to ſubmit it to the General Meeting, which had then been called to deliberate on this melancholy ſubject. The mode of bringing forward my plan, which ſeemed to me to promiſe moſt ſucceſs, was to requeſt, that James Martin, Eſq. M. P. a ſubſcriber, whoſe philanthropy, patriotiſm, candour, and independent ſpirit, are deſervedly reſpected by all parties, would be ſo good as to read it in the General Meeting. This Mr. Martin very obligingly agreed to do, provided it ſhould be in his power to attend. But ſome buſineſs having intervened to prevent him, Mr. Frend's enlightened zeal in this great cauſe, ſeems to have prompted him to bring forward the above propoſitions, rather than ſo favourable an opportunity of diſcuſſing them, in a full meeting, ſhould be loſt.

ADDRESS TO THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE SUBSCRIBERS TO THE SIERRA LEONA COMPANY.

GENTLEMEN,

Having, at your laſt Meeting, with inexpreſſible concern, heard the dreadful Report read, concerning the late unexpected attack upon the colony of S. Leona, by the French, I feel myſelf too ſenſibly intereſted in the preſervation and object of the colony, not to offer, on this critical occaſion, the reſult of that experience, which I have obtained, by having been hitherto inceſſantly, and not unfortunately, employed, in the cauſe of oppreſſed Africa.

Not to occupy your time unneceſſarily, I will endeavour, gentlemen, in a few words, to lay before you a plan, in the execution of which, I flatter myſelf that I may ſtill be rendered uſeful to the cauſe of humanity, and the Company be eſſentially benefitted, in the preſent precarious ſituation of their colony.

There is reaſon, gentlemen, to believe, that if a proper repreſentation of the real object and principle of the S. Leona Company, together with a full and impartial account, of the late ſurprize and attack of the colony, were laid fairly before the National Convention, by ſome perſon not immediately concerned

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

861. Theſe reſolutions were ſeconded by Mr. Highmore, who enlarged on the propriety of the application, particularly as it was brought forward in ſuch a manner as could not offend any party.

debated, and

862. Mr. Elliot objected to the meaſure, as interfering with the Government at home, to which he did not ſee how we could conſiſtently apply; ſince all intercourſe, between the two ſtates, was forbidden. But he admitted, that, if the meaſure ſhould be adopted, Mr. Wadſtrom was a very proper perſon to carry it into execution.

objected to

863. Several others objected very ſtrongly to the reſolutions, chiefly on the grounds, that it would be indelicate to apply to the Miniſter; that an affair of this ſort ſhould be left entirely to the Directors, who would undoubtedly manage it with the greateſt propriety; and that the Company was aſſembled to chuſe Directors, and not to tranſact any other buſineſs, which indeed would be improperly introduced.

864. On the other hand, it was contended, that this was the proper mode of bringing forward a queſtion, in which the Company was ſo much intereſted; that, with reſpect to the future Directors, they were not at preſent known, and therefore no ſlight could be meant to them; that the great end of all theſe Meetings, was to give an opportunity to individuals, to ſuggeſt what might be for the general good, and to keep up a proper intercourſe between the Directors and the Company.

865. Mr. Frend obſerved, that he roſe in conſequence of the chairman's requeſt to all ſubſcribers, to bring forward any meaſure which they might have to propoſe.

866. Mr. Granville Sharp hoped, that no difference might appear upon this queſtion, and, for the ſake of the inſtitution, that Mr. Frend, whoſe motives he doubted not were founded on the beſt principles, would conſent to withdraw his motion, and another perſon ſuggeſted the propriety of ſome amendment to it.

867. Mr. Frend ſaid that his ſole view was, to ſuggeſt what appeared to him moſt beneficial to the Company; and that, if the end was obtained by any mode whatever, in which the Meeting agreed, it was the ſame to him, whether his reſolu-

cerned in the undertaking, ſecurity might be obtained, againſt the repetition of ſuch a cataſtrophe, and probably ſome compenſation might be offered for the injury already ſuſtained.

The proper deſign of the colony, as it reſpects the annihilation of the ſlave-trade, and the enlightening of Africa, ought therefore to be laid before the Convention, together with an account of the recent events, ſo contrary to the intereſts of humanity at large, and which muſt be preſumed to have been the conſequence of a compleat ignorance, of the real intention of the colony, in the ſquadron which ſo unfortunately ruined it.

Being the ſubject of a neutral power; having been likewiſe, throughout my life, actively engaged in the cauſe; and preſuming myſelf qualified, in ſome degree, from my experience and knowledge, in what concerns the intereſts of Africa; I ſhould be happy, if, by my perſonal ſervice with the French Convention, I could contribute to the welfare of the Company, and through it, to the happineſs of the inhabitants of a great continent.

tions

Digitized by Google

tions were entirely withdrawn, or amended by any other perſon, ſo as to meet the wiſhes of the Company. APPENDIX.

868. The withdrawing and the amending of the reſolutions were oppoſed in a deſultory converſation, and at laſt the firſt reſolution was propoſed, and on a ſhew of hands, there appeared to be a very ſmall majority againſt it. Of courſe the ſecond reſolution was not put to the vote. and rejected.

869. This buſineſs being ſettled, Mr. Williams, Solicitor and Secretary to the Court of Directors, got up and ſaid, it has been propoſed and ſeconded, that H. Thornton, Eſq. (the preſent chairman) be the chairman for the next year, requeſting thoſe who were for the motion to hold up their hands, which being done, thoſe of a contrary opinion were deſired to hold up their hands. No hand was held up, and the chairman was declared elected. Mr. Williams then repeated nearly the ſame words for the next candidate in his liſt, and proceeded in this way till all the thirteen Directors were unanimouſly re-elected, except one, who having reſigned, another gentleman (Mr. Hunter) was choſen in his room. Election of new Directors.

NOTE CC. See § 537, No. 7, alſo § 180, 181.

870. It is ſomewhat curious that both the S. Leona and the Bulama Aſſociations ſhould have been betrayed into *tranſatlantic* errors, in their agricultural con- Impolitic condition publiſhed by the Bulama Aſſociation.

* The following, as far as I have been able to learn, is the lateſt intelligence received from S. Leona. I apprehend it was inſerted, by authority of the Directors, in the Daily Advertiſer of Friday, May 29th, 1795, from which paper I have copied it.

"On Monday laſt diſpatches were received from Sierra-Leona, dated the 14th of March, by which it appears, that the colony had materially recovered from the effects of the late depredations of the French, although no ſupplies had ſince that time arrived from England: a cargo of neceſſaries had, however, been purchaſed from an American ſhip which called there. Great and ſucceſsful exertions had been made by the ſettlers in opening and cultivating new farms, as well as in puſhing their trade with the neighbouring parts. A delegate from the ſociety of the Friends of the Blacks, in Rhode Iſland, (a black man of intelligence) had arrived at Freetown, with whom it was agreed, that about 10 or 12 free black families, from Rhode Iſland, ſhould be permitted to migrate to Sierra Leona; proper teſtimonials of their character being given. The utmoſt harmony prevailed in the colony, and the neighbouring natives continued to ſhew the moſt friendly diſpoſition. Some deaths had happened ſoon after the departure of the French, in conſequence of the hardſhips which were then ſuffered; but both the blacks and whites were in general reſtored to good health, before the date of the diſpatches, and all the neceſſary buildings were nearly finiſhed.——The Company's ſhip, the Amy, was met at ſea within two days ſail of Sierra Leona, which carried out a ſupply of neceſſaries and ſeveral paſſengers, among whom was Mr. Dawes, who is returned to the colony as Governor."

The ſame conveyance alſo brought ſome intereſting accounts of a journey, partly by land, partly by water, made by Mr. Watt and Mr. Gray, to the river Cazamanca, and the adjacent country. The particulars I have not been able to learn; but I have been lucky enough to procure their route, which the reader will find traced on the large map.

cerns.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

cerns. Whatever may have cauſed this remarkable coincidence, I ſcruple not to predict that the effects would be deplorable; for, if the W. Indian mode of culivation ſhould be eſtabliſhed at S. Leona, the labourers would become ſpiritleſs, hopeleſs, abject drudges; and, if land-monopoly, managed by *agents*, ſhould be an article of the conſtitution of Bulama, the colony would contain in it's vitals the principle of it's own decay or ruin.--The condition quoted (§ 537, No. 7) if ultimately adopted, would be neither more nor leſs than a permiſſion to a few greedy ſpeculators *in Europe*, to make their fortunes, by obſtructing the population, the making of roads, the means of defence, the improvement of the ſoil, and conſequently of the climate; in a word, by cramping, in every poſſible way, the progreſs of the colony. For how can any colony thrive, if monied drones, living in a diſtant part of the world, be ſuffered to veſt ſums of money in it's land, for the notorious purpoſe of letting it lie waſte, till the reſident coloniſts, by cultivating the ſurrounding country, ſhall have ſtamped a new value on this deſert, which the ſpeculator, or his heirs, can then leiſurely ſell at an exorbitant profit?

Probably ſuggeſted by ſome American,

871. The condition juſt mentioned appears to me ſo glaringly abſurd and impolitic, that I cannot help ſuſpecting that ſome ſpeculator in American or W. Indian lands has found means to elude the vigilance of the Truſtees, and to foiſt it in among the terms of the Bulama Aſſociation. But, having already touched on this ſubject (§ 180, 181) I have only room to obſerve, that I can now add another reſpectable authority to thoſe I there cited: I mean, that of the learned Dr. Browne of Jamaica, who very properly expoſes the folly and injuſtice of this practice. (Civil and Nat. Hiſt. of Jamaica printed 1789, p. 12.) As an inſtance, he mentions a tract in St. James's pariſh, held by about 120 monopoliſts, though nearly equal in extent to Barbadoes, where land-monopoly never prevailed, and which, in 1676, was peopled by about 70,000 whites and 80,000 blacks. It ſtill contains about 100,000 of both complexions, and the population of Jamaica exceeds not 300,000; ſo that the little Iſland of Barbadoes may be ſaid to contain about one-third of the population of the extenſive Iſland of Jamaica, on a ſurface equal to that which, in the latter, is held by about 120 monopoliſts!

It's effects exemplified in Jamaica,

and would ruin Bulama.

872. The application to Bulama is eaſy. That iſland may be nearly equal in extent to one-third of Barbadoes. Now the queſtion is ſimply this: Whether it would be moſt deſirable that it ſhould be occupied by 40,000 or 50,000 inhabitants, or by 40 or 50 monopoliſts, or rather their agents, who perhaps may condeſcend, when it ſuits them, to ſell the land for double or triple the price it coſt them? But I preſume enough has been ſaid, to convince every impartial man that the condition in queſtion is compleatly repugnant to the intereſt of any colony, whether conſidered as a diſtinct community, or as an eſtabliſhment intended to promote the civilization of the natives in it's vicinity.

NOTE

Digitized by Google

NOTE DD. See § 538.

873. It is to be lamented that ſo many interruptions concurred to retard the firſt Bulama expedition; ſince the great mortality was chiefly to be aſcribed to the ſhips arriving on the coaſt in the rainy ſeaſon. Among other cauſes of this delay, we are to reckon the interference of the Miniſtry, who, when the ſhips were waiting at Portſmouth for a fair wind, ſent an order to detain them, till certain articles in the conſtitution, or agreement of the coloniſts, were renounced. This circumſtance obliged Mr. Dalrymple to return to London, which was attended with conſiderable loſs of time. Had the leading object of this undertaking been commerce, eſpecially monopoly, this expedition would, no doubt, have fallen immediately within the province of the Miniſter. But ſeeing that it was undertaken for a purpoſe little, if at all, connected either with commerce or finance, I ſhould think the Miniſtry might as well have permitted them to go out unnoticed. My reaſons for entertaining this opinion, I have already hinted at, § 837 note.

Sailing of the Bulama expedition retarded, by the Miniſter's interference.

NOTE EE. See § 538.

874. I fear that many, I do not ſay all, of the Bulama coloniſts but ill deſerved the reſpectable name of *Yeomen*, or the humble, but creditable, appellation of *Labourers*. The yeomanry, or the middle claſs of country people, are juſtly accounted the moſt virtuous members, and the moſt ſtable ſupport, of every community. How far the generality of the Bulama coloniſts anſwered this deſcription, may be collected from Mr. Beaver's account of them. (See the extracts from his letters in Note GG.) But he excepts Mr. Aberdeen, Mr. Hood and a good number of other perſons, whoſe excellent example, in every reſpect, could not have failed to operate powerfully on any ſet of beings not wholly loſt to every ſenſe of ſhame and decency.

Bad character of the generality of the Bulama coloniſts.

875. The truth is, and I am grieved to obſerve, that this undertaking was hurried through it's firſt ſtages, with a precipitancy, which but ill accorded with the prudence and caution neceſſary to ſuch a deſign; eſpecially with the moſt delicate part of it, *the choice of coloniſts*. See § 127 *et ſeq.* 301 n.—Mr. Beaver was alſo very unfortunate in his grumettas; but not in the *choice* of them; for his ſituation precluded every idea of choice, and he was obliged to take ſuch as he could get. "You will ſee," ſays he, in the letter laſt quoted, "by the open liſt, No. 12, that many have been diſcharged for attempting to ſtab others, a common crime among them; and one fourth of my grumettas have been here, for having committed murder, on the Iſland of Biſſao."—Thus, in the character of this vile crew of idlers, drunkards, cowards and aſſaſſins, white and black, we already ſee a cauſe of failure, which even the fortitude and perſeverance of a Beaver, aided by the virtuous cooperation of ſome worthy coloniſts, could not poſſibly counteract.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

Bulama coloniſts attacked, for want of an interpreter.

NOTE F F. See § 538.

876. Among the many misfortunes which befel the firſt Bulama expedition, we muſt aſſign the chief place to the fatal miſunderſtanding, mentioned in the text. I call it a miſunderſtanding; becauſe it appears to have been entirely owing to the want of an interpreter, to explain the pacific views of the coloniſts to the native princes, who, not being able to diſtinguiſh them from invaders, of courſe, attacked them. To obtain an interpreter was Mr. Dalrymple's chief reaſon for calling at Goree. Having myſelf experienced the good offices of ſeveral reſpectable inhabitants of that place, I had reaſon to believe I could facilitate Mr. D's good reception there. I therefore gave him a letter, of which I inſert the following copy, as a proof that I always underſtood the *ſole* object of this undertaking, like that of S.-Leona, to be THE CIVILIZATION OF THE NATIVES.

A Monſieur le Chevalier de Blanchau, Gouverneur à Gorée, & à Monſieur d'Aigremont, Commiſſaire ordonnàteur du Roi à Goree.

Manchester le 29 de Fevr. 1792.

MESSIEURS,

La généroſité et l'hoſpitalité, avec les quelles, moi & mes compagnons de voyage, le Dr. Sparrman & le Capit. Arrhenius, fumes reçus de vous, Meſſieurs, me font eſpèrer, que je puis hardiment profiter de la préſente occaſion pour vous temoigner ma vive reconnoiſſance et gratitude des civilités dont vous m'aves comblé, & en même tems pour introduire et recommender à vos honnêtetés ceux de mes amis, qui vont s'établir ſur la côte d'Afrique principalement Monſieur Dalrymple.

Ce n'eſt qu'un vrais et noble tranſport pour l'humanité, qui les a engagés à s'expatrier, et à courir les dangers ſérieux, aux quels les expoſe l'enterpriſe courageuſe de chercher un azile dans quelque endroit ſur la dite côte, pour le ſeul et grand objet de civiliſer les pauvres habitans de l'Afrique; objet ſi digne de notre ſiècle et de la noble ſenſibilité de votre cœur.

J'ai étudié trop long tems le fond du caractère François pour ne pas être perſuadé, que cette nation eſt douée des prémieres qualités qui font l'homme civiliſé; c'eſt à dire, la ſenſibilité humaine et la compaſſion pour la partie ſouffrante de notre race; ou un amour decidé pour tout ce qué

To the Chevalier de Blanchau, Governor of Goree, and to Mr. d'Aigremont, the King's regulating Commiſſary at Gorée.

Manchester the 29th of Feb. 1792.

GENTLEMEN,

The generous hoſpitality with which you received Dr. Sparrman, Capt. Arrhenius and myſelf, give me reaſon to hope that I may venture to take this opportunity of teſtifying my lively gratitude for your many civilities, and of recommending to your good offices my friends, who are about to form an eſtabliſhment on the coaſt of Africa, eſpecially Mr. Dalrymple.

Nothing but a noble zeal for the cauſe of humanity prompts them to expatriate themſelves, and to face the dangers attending a ſearch for an aſylum, on ſome part of the coaſt, for the ſole and grand object of civilizing the poor natives of Africa—an object worthy of our age, and of the generous feelings of your hearts.

Having long ſtudied the character of the French, I am perſuaded that they are endowed with the beſt qualities which diſtinguiſh civilized man, namely a humane ſenſibility, compaſſion for the ſuffering part of our ſpecies, and a warm regard for all the means of promoting human happineſs.

The

Digitized by Google

qui peut rendre l'homme heureux. Auſſi, Meſſieurs, le monde entier fera un jour l'éloge de tous ceux qui auront contribué aux ſuccès d'un projet, auſſi grand et auſſi noble que celui, entrepris par ces amis de l'humanité, et l'hiſtoire elle même ſignaliſera toutes les anecdotes qui l'accompagneront. Je me flatte que ces herôs de l'humanité ont le ſiècle, la philoſophie et tous les grands cœurs en leur faveur; en conſéquence, vous ne pouvés que les bien acceuillir, et dans cette eſpérance non douteuſe,

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

The world, Gentlemen, will one day do juſtice to the conduct of thoſe, who ſhall have contributed to the ſucceſs of the great and noble enterprize of theſe friends of mankind, the events of which hiſtory will record. I flatter myſelf that theſe zealous philanthropiſts will have the ſpirit of the age, philoſophy, and every heroic mind in their favour; conſequently I cannot doubt but you will receive them well, in which hope,

I have the honour to be, &c.

877. At Goree, Mr. Dalrymple was adviſed by M. St. Jean, a merchant of that place, to put into the river Gambia, where he could not fail to find ſome perſon diſpoſed and qualified to accompany him, as an interpreter. But Mr. D. was prevented from taking this ſalutary precaution, by the diſſention which prevailed among the members of council on board the Calypſo, and which, I have been credibly informed, was chiefly excited by the violent conduct of Mr. Hancorne. Thus thwarted and diſappointed in a meaſure, ſo abſolutely neceſſary, and ſeeing no probability of harmony being reſtored among his aſſociates, we are not to wonder if Mr. D. reſolved to abandon an undertaking, in which he had embarked from the pureſt motives; but which it was no longer in his power to promote in the manner he wiſhed.

NOTE GG. See § 540, 545, 562, 568, 570, 578, 579, 580, 585, 587.

878. In this Note, which will be unavoidably long, I ſhall give extracts from Mr. Beaver's letters and other original papers, reſpecting the Bulama undertaking.

Extracts from Mr. Beaver's letters from Bulama to the Truſtees of the Aſſociation, dated the 22d Nov. 1792.

879. (1.) "The great mortality muſt certainly be attributed to the great labour and fatigue, attendant on thoſe who firſt attempt to ſettle a colony, and the neceſſity we were reduced to of working in the rains, in order to have a fort to defend, and and a houſe to cover us. At the beginning of the dry ſeaſon, when we expected the ſhip was to leave us, had we been ſtrong enough to have worked but little, and that during the intervals of the rains, I really think but few would have died. But with little ſtrength, we found it neceſſary to work from morn to night, except when the rains poured like torrents, and by theſe we were often caught, when going

Mortality at Bulama owing to fatigue, &c. not to the climate.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

in the boat, either on board or on ſhore. The climate I really think a good one, and it is reckoned, by all the traders, the healthieſt ſpot on the coaſt.

Proviſions in plenty.

880. (2.) "My viſit to Biſſoa has enabled me to kill a bullock for the colony every week, beſides fowls which I have occaſionally ſerved out to the ſick.

Land cleared.

881. (3.) "Notwithſtanding the decreaſe of our numbers, and the generally long ſick liſts, we have been able to clear about 12 acres of ground, on the crown of a hill.

Mr. B's perſevering reſolution,

882. (4.) "I am determined to ſtay, ſhould my ſervant only remain with me, till I hear from you; and then, if you abandon the colony, I ſhall reſt ſatisfied with having done all that man could do for it's ſucceſs.

founded on conviction.

883. (5.) "With reſpect to our proſpects, I am more and more convinced, that the colony, if at all ſupported, will ſucceed. We want a reinforcement of men, and we ſhould have them ſoon; but not ſuch as the laſt. They ſhould be carpenters, blackſmiths and bricklayers, men accuſtomed to labour—not ſuch as we brought out, habituated to drunkenneſs, idleneſs and all the vices of the capital; moſt of whom came here in dread of puniſhment, for crimes committed againſt their country's laws; and let them be bound by articles to a certain duty, for a limited time, before they are entitled to any lands.

Coloniſts moſtly drunken profligates.

Cultivation

884. (6.) "Send us a ſurveyor, and theſe lands may inſtantly be put into cultivation.

and trade.

885. (7.) "The merchants of Biſſao already look to this, for a ſupply of Engliſh goods, which they abſolutely cannot do without.

Coloniſts, able to hire labourers, if credited, for a time, with proviſions, may be ſure of ſucceſs.

886. (8.) "If you have any new ſubſcribers, let them not come out, unleſs they can afford to hire 2 or 3 grumettas to clear their grounds. Thoſe who can do this, may come out with a certainty of it's anſwering. And to ſupply theſe new adventurers with proviſions, it would anſwer very well to any one to ſend a ſmall veſſel to America, and let her bring hither beef, pork, flour, fiſh and lumber*. With theſe articles give credit to the planter, and I will inſure his being able to pay his debts, at the end of the 2d year, and have a tolerable income, in 5 or 6 years. Let men, I ſay, who can afford to hire grumettas, and merchants who chuſe to ſet up aſtore, and trade for ivory, wax, &c. come out, and I will anſwer for their ſucceſs. But, with *ſuch labourers*, and *ſuch ſubſcribers* as we brought out, the fineſt country, with the greateſt advantages, would never flouriſh. I have to requeſt, gentlemen, that you will not delay informing us, whether another embarkation is to take place or not; as I ſhall wait with anxiety to know the fate of my endeavours for this infant colony."

* Mr. B. evidently means, till the lands can be brought into cultivation.

From

Digitized by Google

* * * *

From Mr. Beaver's letter, dated Bulama, 16th March, 1793.

887. (9.) "The good people of England need not be afraid of coming out.—— They will find a fort ready to protect them. They need not be much afraid of the climate: I think it a healthy one. They need not run the risk of clearing a spot of ground to build on: I have already as much cleared as a large town would cover. They need not work, as we were obliged to do, for a covering or defence, either when it rains, or in the heat of the sun; for I will shelter them. They need not be frightened; for I will insure their safety. In short, they need not be exposed to any of the inconveniences which we have experienced, and therefore I think it fair to suppose, that few of them will die.——In another part of this letter he says, "Those who may hereafter come out, will find a fort ready to protect them; and if we hold it till then (and I think that, at this instant, I could resist the united force of Africa), we surely shall be able to hold it, when reinforced. In short, had I 25 Europeans here, I would make the Bijugas fear me," &c. Colony prepared to receive new inhabitants.

888. (10.) "The most necessary man, in the next embarkation, is a surveyor. The people already think it hard, that they have no ground of their own to work upon. The next is a surgeon, and the third, I think, a clergyman.—I will not give you my own opinion, but that of Capt. Moore (who carries these dispatches) of the present value of this place. I put to him the following question. Suppose I should wish to sell this block-house, with the stores, ammunition and whatever else it contains, together with the cutter and a few acres of ground round the house, suppose 300, to the proprietors of the Isles de Los, or any company of merchants who may chuse to settle themselves, or other people here, for the purpose of trade, what would be it's value? He answered £10,000 at least. I asked him what he conceived, from present appearances, land, taken one part with another, might be worth, in this island, per acre? He answered £1 sterl*. Unless he is very wide from the mark indeed, Gentlemen, I think this island worth keeping. When once you are firmly settled here, you may command, without a prospect of a rival, the whole trade of the many navigable rivers and creeks, between the rivers Gambia and Nunez. Wax and ivory are the principle articles. Matchore, one of the kings of the Rio Grande, was here the other day. He brought me wax and ivory, which I bought. He begged that I would send the cutter to Ghinala to purchase more. He said that his house was full, and that he kept it for me. The wax and ivory I have disposed of, for the more useful articles of cloth and linens, to pay the grumettas their wages. Surveyor, &c. wanted. Value of the land and fixed stock at Bulama. Commercial prospects.

* The purchasers of uncleared land in the Ceded islands, paid £3 11 3 per acre. See § 180 note.

889.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

889. (11.) "As I have not heard from you, Gentlemen, ſince we left England, it is impoſſible for me to gueſs what meaſures you propoſe purſuing, for the future colonizing this iſland." See § 570.

The long ſilence of the Truſtees.

890. (12.) "As a proof of the quantity of game on the iſland, take the following liſt——Killed or wounded by an individual, a ſtranger, and the only 9 days that he was on the iſland. Feb. 24th, 2 guinea hens, 1 deer. I prevented his ſhooting an elephant, by approaching to within 30 yards of it, which frightened it away, before he could load with iron.—25th, 4 guinea hens, 1 deer.—26th, 2 guinea hens.—27th, 1 elephant wounded in the head.—28th, 1 deer.—March 1ſt, 5 guinea hens. 2d, 10 ditto, 1 mountain goat.—3d, 1 deer, 1 elephant wounded in the head.—4th, 2 guinea fowls."—In ſhort, to live here, a man has nothing to do but to plant yams, and be a good markſman."

Abundance of game.

* * * * *

Extract from Mr. Beaver's Letter from Bulama, of the 24th *July*, 1793.

Colony wants but men.

891. (13.) "In anſwering that part which requires a liſt of our wants, I have only to ſay that we have none, and if I do not ſee the face of another European for 10 years, and my men live, I will hold the place for that period. The iſland indeed wants but ſettlers; let them come out, and ſucceſs is certain.

Diſintereſted declaration of Mr. Beaver.

892. "Notwithſtanding it was my intention to have returned to Europe, on the proſpect of a war, not only that I might be within the reach of promotion, but becauſe there is ſomething diſgraceful in being out of actual ſervice at ſuch time; yet, gentlemen, as the colony has not been ſtrengthened, I will not quit it. I will never leave thoſe men who put themſelves under my direction. I will not abandon the intereſts of this colony, and I will never conſider my own, if it tends to leſſen the probability of it's ſucceſs, on which probably depends the happineſs of millions. Therefore, gentlemen, while the exertions of an individual are of conſequence, here will I remain; when thoſe exertions will not be miſſed, I will return. At the ſame time, I hope you will exert yourſelves as much as poſſible, to render my being here of no conſequence, and appoint ſome perſon to whom I may give up the charge of the colony.

Vicinity of Bulama abounds with eligible ſituations.

893. "The Biafaras often requeſt me to build a houſe, at or near Ghinala. I have alſo been requeſted to ſettle at Bulola. In ſhort there are ſo many places where I could build towns, protect them, and inſure ſucceſs to cultivators, that if the good people of England knew but one half of the advantages, to be derived from colonizing this part of Africa, on an *extenſive ſcale*, you might command half the money in the kingdom.

Digitized by Google

894. "The ſhort ſtay of the Felicity, in this harbour, prevents my writing more at large. I ſhall therefore conclude, by repeating to you, that we want nothing, that we are in good ſpirits, and that we are determined to hold the iſland, till you can ſend out other ſettlers.

That the colony wants nothing, repeated.

I am, Gentleman, &c."

* * * * *

Extract from Beaver's Letter from Bulama, of the 10th *Oct.* 1793.

895. (14.) "Should ſuch a number come out, as I have hinted above, ſuppoſe 20, it is my firm opinion, that it would be for the intereſt of the colony, for them all to be public ſervants, and no private ſettlers. Among theſe, there ſhould be 2 ſurgeons, a ſurveyor and his aſſiſtant, a ſtore-keeper and governor, the other 14 labourers; and the half of theſe, if poſſible, ſailors, or perſons who could be of uſe either in the ſloop, or in a boat. Theſe I ſhould conſider as a party relieving guard, merely to keep poſſeſſion of the iſland till after the rains; for you can do nothing on a large ſcale before. That theſe perſons may be of ſome uſe, during that ſeaſon, they ſhould have 2 ſurgeons to attend them when ill; the ſurveyor and his aſſiſtant, to be employed during this time, in ſurveying a certain portion of land for town-lots, for we will ſuppoſe 100 ſubſcribers, which will be a ſufficient number to go in the firſt embarkation after the rains; and ſuch a number I think will readily offer.

Public ſervants wanted.

896. "By this arrangement, every ſubſcriber, immediately on his arrival, will have a piece of ground *of his own*, to cultivate. I dare ſay at leaſt 50 times the produce will be raiſed the firſt year, by this means, more than if the ground had been cultivated in common. We have ſtrong examples of this in the firſt ſettlement of New Plymouth and Virginia, and people then were neither ſo idle nor ſo intereſted as they are now. Beſides, people will build ſtrong and permanent houſes on their own grounds: but were the ground on which they build, liable to be allotted to another perſon, the year after, nothing but temporary huts would be erected. The ſettlers would be uncomfortable and ſickly, and the colony thrown back another year, or till ſuch time as a man could build upon *his own property*. Be careful *that the aſſiſtant ſurveyor knows more of his buſineſs than they generally do*, and that he be capable of acting as principal, in caſe of the death of the ſurveyor. In this country, it is well to have duplicates of uſeful men. Any man, of common ſenſe, may acquire ſufficient information in half a dozen hours, to act as an additional aſſiſtant ſurveyor, in caſe of the death of either.

Coloniſts will build good houſes and vigorouſly cultivate their own land *only*.

897. "As people, when cultivating for others, or cultivating in common, work not with that ſpirit which they would do, if cultivating their own ground, it appears to me impoſſible ever to ſend out people on the public account. In this inſtance

Number that ought to embark, and when.

APPENDIX.

ſtance it is neceſſary, merely to keep poſſeſſion and ſurvey, during the next rains; but more ought not to be engaged than are abſolutely neceſſary, and ſo I think ought to be the outſide. The firſt embarkation ought to arrive by the laſt day in Oct. or the beginning of Nov. The rains will then have ceaſed for about a fortnight or three weeks, (the foggy or ſmoky months, as they are called, which follow are not to be dreaded, as moſt people believe,) and they will then have certainly 7 months dry to erect their houſes, clear their little plots of ground ready for ſowing, and make their fences, this will bring them to the laſt day of May, which is quite early enough to commit their ſeeds to the earth.

No women or female children ſhould go out, &c.

898. "I before ſuppoſed that 100 ſubſcribers ſhould come in the firſt embarkation; but now we will ſuppoſe 50 only, neither women, nor female children, nor male under the age of 12, ſhould be ſuffered on any account to come out. We will ſuppoſe that, at the leaſt, each ſubſcriber will bring one ſervant, which will make 100 Europeans; and, on their arrival in this country, we will ſuppoſe that each ſubſcriber would engage at leaſt one grumetta. Theſe grumettas, by living in the different families, would in a ſhort time become ſo attached to good maſters, that I queſtion whether they would ever after leave them.

Grumettas ſhould be protected. Their diſpoſition, &c

899. "N. B. At firſt it appears to me abſolutely neceſſary, that there ſhould be ſome power to take cognizance of the treatment which grumettas may receive from their maſters; and to hear and determine all their complaints, or it will be in the power of any diſſatisfied, ill-natured, or inhuman ſubſcriber, to ruin the undertaking by ill treatment of them (ſee § 35, 145, 161, 2.) for they are very ſuſceptible of ill uſage, and the leaſt word from any one of them, to your diſadvantage, is ſufficient to deter any native from coming near you: this I know from experience. If theſe grumettas are married, ſo much the better: their wives will be found uſeful in waſhing, cooking, and beating of rice, and their children alſo in many ways. They will much more than repay their ſuſtenance, which in this country is very cheap. Theſe grumettas, when once attached, will be always able to procure their maſters as many more as they may want. The children that you grow up on the iſland, to whom your modes and habits only will be known, having no connexions in the neighbourhood, &c. will never leave you. Whither are they to go? Or ſuppoſe they have connexions, ſoliciting them to leave you, can they at they at once overcome thoſe prejudices ſo naturally in favour of the cuſtoms in which they were brought up? Can they ſhake off at once their European manners, which in ſome degree they muſt have acquired here, and enter at once into a ſavage life? If they can, they will do what no people hitherto have done.

Church and ſchool, &c.

900. "Beſides, ſoon after the arrival of 50 ſubſcribers, I ſhould hope that the foundation of a church and a public ſchool for native children, would be laid, which would unite the natives more intimately, with the intereſt of the colony, and whatever

Digitized by Google

ever rigid moraliſts may think of me, I would encourage as much as poſſible a connection between the coloniſts and native women *.

Security and proſperity at little expence.

901. "On the arrival of ſuch a force as I have been ſuppoſing, we ſhould be too formidable to fear an attack from the Bijugas, who are the only people who would interfere with us; people would then go to work with ſpirits, on their own ground. The woods would inſenſibly vaniſh, and fair plantations riſe to our view, in leſs time than we have been talking about it, which is ever ſince the 9th of Nov. 1791, and this would be done at little expence.

£3000 thrown away at firſt which in future may be avoided.

902. "In our firſt embarkation I conceive, nay I am confident, that we threw away at leaſt £3000. I have not the knack of explaining myſelf clearly on paper; therefore I think I could be of much more ſervice to the public good, were I in England, than by remaining here. Any body with men can keep poſſeſſion of the iſland, but every one cannot lay before a General Meeting, thoſe obſervations which I have been able to make on this coaſt; or make the neceſſary arrangements and alterations in any future embarkation, which the experience of the firſt has taught me are abſolutely neceſſary.

903. (15.) "The Governor of Biſſao is exceſſively civil, attentive, and polite; but I have certain proofs, that many in that place, are endeavouring to prepoſſeſs the natives againſt us, and wiſh to have us cut off."

* * * * *

The two following Letters, from Mr. Beaver and Mr. Hood, were laid before a General Meeting of the Subſcribers of the Bulama Aſſociation, held at the Manſion Houſe, London, 25th of June, 1794.

SIR, LONDON, 24th JUNE, 1794.

Mr. Beaver's opinion of the late failure and future ſucceſs at Bulama.

904. "AS a wiſh was expreſſed at our laſt General Meeting, that, previous to any new ſteps being taken, I ſhould give my opinion to thoſe concerned in the late attempt to colonize the Iſle of Bulama, on the coaſt of Africa, of the probability there might be of future ſucceſs, if ſuch ſubſcriptions were raiſed for that purpoſe, and, at the ſame time, point out the cauſes of the failure of the firſt, I here ſend you in as conciſe a manner I can, my opinion of both. To anſwer, as fully and ſatisfactorily as may be, the above queſtions would from the number of others which they involve, take up much more of my time, than I can at preſent ſpare; therefore, though many, nay moſt of them, admit a degree of proof, amounting almoſt to mathematical demonſtration, I ſhall confine myſelf at preſent, merely to aſſertions, the truth or fallacy of the grounds of which, will be left to the opinion of each individual; reſerving to ſome future period, when I may have more leiſure, a more minute detail of the various cauſes which have hitherto baffled our endeavours, as alſo of thoſe which produce a well grounded hope of future ſucceſs.

* I have no doubt but that Mr. B. means here an orderly or ſocial connection.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

Firſt. Of the Cauſes of the Failure of the late Expedition,

905. "Many might be enumerated; but as I mean to be as brief as poſſible, I ſhall confine myſelf to three, which appear to me to have been the principal ones.

Cauſes of failure.

1ſt. The carrying out men of the moſt infamous character and vicious habits.

2d. The arriving on the coaſt of Africa at the moſt improper ſeaſon of the year.

3d. The omitting to carry out the frame and materials of a houſe, or houſes, ſufficient to ſecure the whole of the colony, immediately on their arrival, from the rains, and from the ſun.

Vices of the coloniſts.

906. "On the firſt of theſe I need not ſay much. It cannot be expected, that in a ſituation, where authority, however neceſſary, could not be legally enforced, thoſe men could be kept in any kind of order, who, in an old eſtabliſhed and well regulated Government, had been in the habit of living in open violation of it. Among the virtues peculiarly requiſite in thoſe who undertake to ſettle, or as it were, to create a colony, I ſhould reckon ſobriety, induſtry, honeſty, patience, and fortitude. The major part of our people, were drunken, lazy, diſhoneſt, impatient, cowards.

Arriving in the rains.

907. "On the ſecond of theſe cauſes, I ſhall only obſerve, that the rainy ſeaſon at Bulama, begins the latter end of May or the beginning of June. We arrived on the 5th of the laſt mentioned month, and had conſequently the whole rains before us.

Want of ſhelter.

908. "With reſpect to the third. Had we carried out the frame and materials, neceſſary for the erection of a large houſe, it might have been finiſhed in, at moſt, one month: but as all the timber which I built with, was growing at the time of our arrival, it was Feb. in the following year, before I had a room to put my head in. The being expoſed during the whole of that time, to either the rains or the ſun, muſt certainly have been a great cauſe of our mortality.

Cauſes of errors, to which the failure was owing.

909. "The three errors above noted, namely, thoſe of carrying out bad ſubjects, at the worſt ſeaſon, without means of ſhelter, are in themſelves ſufficient to prove, that we did not act on a well digeſted plan. The firſt of theſe can never be entirely avoided; the ſecond aroſe from the danger which it was thought there was, of others purchaſing the iſland, if we delayed ſailing; and the third from the ignorance of thoſe who directed the undertaking: as one of them, for theſe three errors, I beg leave to take to myſelf, a great portion of the blame. But, though theſe were difficulties, that might and ought to have been avoided, they would not have entirely ruined the colony, if there had been a ſufficient firmneſs and deciſion in the conduct and characters of the members of the council. Among other cauſes of the failure, may be reckoned, the ſailing without a charter; the having too many members in the council; the two ſhips not keeping together; and theunfortunate circumſtance of loſing ſome men, by an attack from the natives. The very injudicious mode of the expenditure of the money, might be reckoned another, as from the ſum ſubſcribed, a ſufficient portion might have been retained in the hands of the truſtees, to fit out a ſmall veſſel, both with refreſhments and men, at the end of the firſt rains.

In

Digitized by Google

In three articles, this was particularly conſpicuous. The purchaſe of the plantation tools, the purchaſe of the ſalt proviſions, and the chartering of ſhips, the carrying out women and children, was, though it may not appear ſo at firſt ſight, a great cauſe of expenſe, and a principal one of failure.—I have now enumerated what appears to me, to have been among the principal cauſes of our miſcarriage; if they appear not in the ſame light to others, I could wiſh that they would reconſider them. They are almoſt all of them demonſtrably true; but, as I before obſerved, I ſhall only aſſert, and leave others to trace, how and in what manner, they operated perniciouſly towards our enterprize. We come now to the other queſtion.

Secondly. Of the Probability of future Succeſs.

Probability of future ſucceſs.

910. "Our firſt failure will here be of great ſervice to us, if we conſider our former errors as ſo many beacons, put up to warn us of danger. The three firſt which I have enumerated, ſeem to have been the moſt eſſential, and, except the firſt, are eaſily avoided, as well as all the reſt. May I be permitted, without the imputation of vanity, to ſay, that after all our former difficulties, my having been able with only four Europeans, and without the ſmalleſt ſuccour or aſſiſtance, to keep poſſeſſion of the iſland for the laſt year, to cut down 50 acres of timber, 16 of which were incloſed, and the roots taken up, to erect three large buildings, and to raiſe with eaſe, vegetables enough for more than 50 times our number, afford a ſufficient proof of the certainty of future ſucceſs. But as it may here be expected, that I ſhould enter a little into particulars, I ſhall more fully ſtate the grounds of my opinion.

Reaſons for this opinion.

911. "The end, I believe, propoſed by the major part of the ſubſcribers, was the cultivation of cotton, others propoſed growing ſugars, coffee, tobacco, and indigo, while a few hoped to drive on an advantageous commerce with the natives, for ivory, wax, and other productions of that part of Africa. The proſpect of thoſe, whoſe views are confined to cultivation, muſt depend entirely upon ſoil; and this, I am warranted to ſay, from the univerſal concurrence of thoſe who have ſeen it, whether natives or Europeans, is remarkably fertile. It is deep, that is from one foot and a half to two feet. I never ſaw a rock or ſtone upon the iſland. Except on one ſmall ſpace cloſe under the block houſe, I never ſaw a foot of bad ſoil. Every thing which I planted, throve admirably, and among thoſe plants, 300 were cotton. They were only in bloſſom when I came away: I therefore had no opportunity of bringing home a ſpecimen. But, ſuppoſing the cotton on that part of the coaſt, to be of the very worſt quality, it could not at all affect the value of the iſland, or the probability of its ſucceſs in its cultivation, as nothing can be more eaſy, than to carry thither the ſeeds of either the Bourbon or Pernambuco cotton. The former I believe is reckoned the beſt in the world, and the latter the next to it. The firſt place is about 20, and the latter about 9 degrees ſouth of the equator. Bulama is 11 degrees diſtant from it, on the north; ſo that there cannot be any great difference, in the climates of theſe three places, but more particularly the two laſt; from which I

A ſoil capable of producing every tropical article.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

ſhould infer, that equally cotton, planted in equally good ſoil, either at Bulama or Parnambuco, would be of equal value; ſuppoſing the Bulama ſoil to be equally good with that of other countries, in the ſame climate, whether north or ſouth of the equator, I ſee no reaſon why, with equal cultivation, equally good ſugar, coffee, and tobacco, might not be produced on that iſland, as that which we know is produced, in the ſame degree of both north and ſouth latitude.

and an excellent ſituation for trade.

912. "An advantageous commerce, I know may be carried on with the natives, in the two articles of ivory and wax. The central ſituation of Bulama, it's harbour being a great thoroughfare for the Portugueſe trade, it's proximity to the three great rivers of Gambia, Grande, and Nunez, and the innumerable inlets, or ſmall branches of the ſea, navigable far inland with ſmall veſſels, between the firſt and laſt of thoſe rivers, render it a moſt eligible ſituation for ſuch trade. Its diſtance from Europe, is not ſo great as that of the W. Indies; the navigation to it is ſafe and ſecure; it contains one of the fineſt harbours I ever ſaw; the ſea abounds with fiſh; and the number of animals, but more particularly elephants, buffaloes, and deer, on the iſland, is almoſt incredible. The teeth of the former, and the hides, I ſhould ſuppoſe, of the latter, are articles of commercial conſideration. With ſuch advantages of ſoil and ſituation, a trifling ſum, expended in a judicious manner, for the equipment of a ſmall number of men, embarked on board two or three little veſſels, and directed by a man of common ſenſe and great power would, in my opinion, preclude a doubt of ſucceſs. It might be commanded; but, when I ſay it might be commanded, I preſuppoſe a greater firmneſs in thoſe who go out, and more zeal and activity in thoſe who remain at home, than has hitherto been evinced by either.

"I am Sir, &c.

"P. BEAVER."

Mr. Hood's Letter of the ſame Date.

SIR,

Soil of Bulama excellent,

913. (17). "AS I am lately returned with Mr. Beaver from Bulama, and not being perſonally known to the gentlemen who have the direction of the buſineſs, I therefore think it my duty, to give you my opinion of the iſland. It is a fine, light, ſandy loam, of conſiderable depth, and free from ſtones, and appears to be as

and yields well

fine land as any in England. But we do not go from appearances only, but proofs. Mr. Beaver laid out a garden, and fenced it in, and prepared the ground againſt the laſt ſeaſon, in order to ſow the ſeeds brought out from England; but they being at leaſt two years old, and damaged ſo much, few of them came up. Not being able to get any more, we were obliged to apply to the Portugueſe at Biſſao. Beſides, Mr. Beaver being deſirous to make trial of all that could be got, agreed with all the commanders of the canoes, that came to Bulama, to bring all the ſeeds and plants they could, by which means he got as follows, viz. plantains, bananas, papaws, goavas,

Digitized by Google

goavas, oranges, limes, cotton, pepper, callavaces, pine apples, yams, caſſada pumpkins, water mellons, cucumbers, ground nuts, mint, parſley, &c. All thoſe throve in a ſurpriſing manner, and I make no doubt, but European ſeeds would grow well.

914. "In general, the iſland is well covered with uſeful timber, both for houſe and ſhip building; beſides ſome cloſe hard-grained woods, that would make good furniture, and I think, would make excellent wood for turning. I never have been able to learn the names of any of the woods, though I never miſſed aſking every one who I thought knew any thing of it. We have plenty of elephants, buffaloes, deer, Guinea-fowls, monkeys, &c. The only beaſt of prey I have ſeen, was a wolf. There are plenty of fiſh, all round the iſland, and at low water you may get plenty of oyſters, which are excellent. And, ſince we have have got a large ſpot of land cleared, and all the rubbiſh burnt, the place is not only healthier, but more beautiful than any other place I have ſeen in Africa. The land is good, and capable of bringing forth any thing that wants deep root, as well as richneſs of ſoil.——Although I never worked ſo hard in my life, I have enjoyed, the latter part of my time, as good health as in all my life. Fine timber, &c.

"I am, &c.

"JOHN HOOD."

* * * * *

Extract of Letter, containing an Account of the Iſland of Bulama, by J. Young, Eſq. a Member of the Council.

915. "The atmoſphere of the iſland is remarkably ſalubrious, as we all can teſtify, particularly a large party, who having loſt themſelves in the woods, by indiſcreetly venturing too far without a compaſs, paſſed 5 days and as many night, in open air, without any ſickneſs having reſulted from it. The utmoſt heat, while we were there, by Farenheit's thermometer, being 84, tempered by a pleaſant ſea breeze, which enabled our people to work during the whole day without inconvenience. Climate.

916. "The ſoil is exuberantly fertile, as is evident from the ſpontaneous vegetation that every where appears, and from the aſpect of the garden which we made, wherein all the eſculent vegetables of the European gardens, as well as ſugar-canes, plantains, bananas, pine apples, the lime, the orange, the guava, the olive, and the vine of ſeveral ſpecies, which the Hankey brought from Teneriffe, throve with a luxuriance that ſeemed marvellous to Engliſhmen, who were unacquainted with the combined effects of heat and moiſture, upon rich and new land. The ſoil of the margin of the iſland, appears to be a red ſand, mixed with loam; that of the interior ſavannahs, or natural meadows, a black mould. The country is agreeably diverſified with undulating grounds, but poſſeſſes no land of ſuch elevation, as to merit the denomination of a hill. Yet it contains many ſprings and brooks, according to the united teſtimony of ſeveral gentlemen who have traverſed it. There are a few iron Soil.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

ſtones between high and low water mark; but we did not diſcover any of thoſe beds of oyſter-ſhells, and quarries of freeſtone, which according to La Brue, it contains.

Animals, fruits,

917. "The ſhores abound with fiſh of many ſpecies, and of which, with a ſeine to each ſhip, we took daily, in a few hours, as much as we could conſume. The woods abound with a delicious ſpecies of deer, of a mouſe colour, and about the ſize of large greyhounds, called by the natives of Sierra Leona (where the ſame ſpecies is found) Fillimtombo; alſo with buffaloes, elephants, monkeys, Guinea-fowls, partridges, pheaſants, Muſcovy ducks, and pigeons. There are alſo ſome ferocious animals. Theſe devoured a pair of oxen, 4 aſſes, and upwards of 40 goats and ſheep, which were landed from the Hankey, before an incloſure could be prepared for them; but when the country comes to a be little cleared, thoſe implacable ſavages will retire, as is their cuſtom, from the habitations of men. Its ſpontaneous fruits are plums of various ſpecies, ſome of them of an agreeable flavour; a fruit of about the ſize of an oſtrich's egg, with a yellow pulp of a ſharp acid, like a tamarind, and a ſpecies of well taſted grape, whoſe ſtock or vine reſembles that of a kidney bean, climbing up the ſlender trees.

roots, &c.

918. "It's roots are yams, eddoes, caſſada, and a kind of ſweet potato. It has trees which exude gums of various ſpecies; and it is extremely probable, that it contains camwood and other dying woods, in common with the continent. It's trees are for the moſt part very large, with ſpreading branches, but not very lofty, like thoſe in the foreſts of America. There is neither underwood nor brambles in theſe woods; but the wild graſs grows under their ſhade as in a well-watered meadow.

Inſects.

919. "We ſaw no ſerpents, or other poiſonous reptiles; but the white ants are ſaid to be troubleſome at ſome ſeaſons. Communities of them which are very frequent, dwell in hillocks about ten feet in height, and which were at firſt taken for huts of the natives. Theſe may eaſily be deſtroyed by building up wood about them and ſetting fire to it. Swarms of bees, that make honey of a delicious flavour, are very numerous in the woods, and which may eaſily be domeſticated."

* * * * *

Extract of a Letter from Mr. J. Munden, to Mr, Flynn dated Bulama.

Lands purchaſed, &c.

920. "Our ſloop went up the Rio Grande to purchaſe a large tract of land, oppoſite our iſland, belonging to the Biafaras, and returned laſt night, having made the purchaſe of the wiſhed-for land, which is larger than all Bulama. We have likewiſe the iſland of *Arcas*. Fowls are very plenty up the rivers. The land we have purchaſed is wonderfully fine, and eaſy of cultivation. The country near the rivers abounds with cattle of all ſorts, and a vaſt number of elephants. We have never met with beaſts to annoy us, we have alſo cotton growing in our garden, and our peas and other vegetables flouriſh."

Extract

Digitized by Google

* * * * *

Extract of a Letter from Charles Drake, Eſq. to Meſſ. Jackſon, Sykes and Ruſhforth, at Mancheſter, dated S. Leona.

921. " With reſpect to the Iſland of Bulama, I think it one of the moſt pleaſant I ever ſaw, abounding in a variety of fowl, deer and game: the ſoil particularly rich and fertile, and vegetation remarkably quick, as was obſerved by ſome ſeeds we ſet, which came up almoſt inſtantaneouſly. It ſeems well adapted for ſugar and every other W. Indian produce; and, on the whole, I am perſuaded it will prove an important object to the ſubſcribers, particularly when a charter or grant is obtained, and a permanent government eſtabliſhed, alſo people endowed with zeal and activity ſent out to conduct the enterprize. Soil, &c. of Bulama.

922. " We left the remains of ſeveral of our people at Bulama; but I know of none whoſe deceaſe might not be accounted for, by their being addicted to drink rum."—See § 546, 572. Mortality not owing to climate,

923. " With reſpect to this place, I have not time to give you my opinion of it in the manner I could wiſh. If we may judge by its effects, it is not near ſo healthy as Bulama. We are under much obligation to Mr. Clarkſon's civility and attention. I wiſh ſome of his kind propoſals had been accepted. He, however, poſitively refuſed allowing me to land my tobacco, which obliged me to ſend it to Bance Iſland, with my hardwares, &c, which is better than that of S. Leona.

924." With reſpect to the general trade of this coaſt, I have formed the moſt flattering expectations. I can plainly perceive a market for an immenſe quantity of Britiſh goods. The natives barter for our articles, with a great deal of avidity, and by them we can get a very conſiderable profit. Commercial proſpects.

925. " I think there can be no difficulty in diſpoſing of the remaining land, (of Bulama) on the arrival of the Calypſo, even at a very conſiderable advance; as it will then be known we have ſucceeded in many things that before were doubtful; namely,—That we have purchaſed and taken poſſeſſion of the Iſland, with the full and entire approbation of every power who made any kind of claim to the iſland; that we find, what before we had many doubts about, viz. ſeveral rivulets and ſprings*, and plenty of freſh water on the iſland. The air, particularly the weſt point, which is open to the ſea, is ſalubrious †, and the whole iſland infinitely more healthy, than either the Portugueſe ſettlement of Biſſao in it's neighbourhood, or the ſettlement of S. Leona. Important particulars aſcertained.

926. " Under theſe circumſtances, nothing can poſſibly prevent the ſucceſs of the plan, but a want of zeal and activity in thoſe who undertake the execution of it. Nothing wanting but a charter, &c.

* It is to be obſerved that the rainy ſeaſon was not over when Mr. D. left the iſland. See § 529.

† This perfectly agrees with Mr. Dalrymple's opinion of the W. Point. See the Map.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

There appears to me nothing wanting to render this ſettlement of national importance, and a truly valuable object to the proprietors, but the obtaining a charter, with a well digeſted plan of government. Therefore I hope every exertion will be uſed towards obtaining the ſame.

Natives pacific.

927. "I have alſo not the ſmalleſt doubt but the Papells who live in Biſſao, and the Biafaras people, who are both mild and well diſpoſed, may be readily procured to work on the plantations."

"I remain, &c."

* * * * *

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Fr. Donelly, reſiding at the Iſland of Bulama, to J. Mangles, Eſq. of London, dated 22d Nov. 1792.

Climate good.

928. "I take up my pen with great pleaſure to addreſs you, being, thank God, in perfect good health, ſince my firſt arrival upon the coaſt of Africa, except a few days indiſpoſition, cauſed by eating wild plums. In ſhort, I find the climate to agree very well with my conſtitution.—The proſpects of ſucceſs entirely depend upon the manly exertions of gentlemen in England.

Commercial proſpects.

929. "The ſituation of our iſland and lands adjacent thereto, for a central trade, ſtands the firſt of any that I have heard of upon this coaſt. The iſland of Bulama, &c. deſerves the particular attention of purchaſers; as nothing already recited falls ſhort of our proſpects of its becoming, in good time, exceedingly productive. The chief trade carried on here, is by trading ſchooners. I think it may become an object worth attention to ſend a ſmall ſloop or good ſchooner, freighted with goods, well laid in, and choſen particularly in the London market, provided it meets the ſanction of your very reſpectable friend.

"I remain, &c."

* * * * *

Extract of a Letter from P. Beaver, Eſq. to the Author, dated Bulama, 24th, July, 1793.

Commerce.

930. "We have the beſt ſoil here at Bulama, and it requires only moderate cultivation to make it incredibly rich. Though the primary object of this undertaking is cultivation; yet, in order that the colony ſhould flouriſh, it is neceſſary that great attention muſt alſo be paid to commerce, and here we have the advantage of the S. Leona Colony.—That is a place well known, much frequented by ſhips, not only of our own, but alſo of foreign nations, who participate in their trade both for wax and ivory. This a place little known, not at all frequented, except by Portugueſe, and the adjacent coaſts are enriched with innumerable creeks, which are navigable for ſmall veſſels, and which gives us, as it were, all the inland navigation of

theſe

Digitized by Google

theſe parts. The Portugueſe then, Sir, are our only rivals. Which of the two nations will carry moſt of the commerce is evident.

Soil.

931. "The ground on which the block-houſe ſtands, I conceive to be elevated about fifty feet above the high water-mark. I believe that I have not ſeen any ſoil on the iſland but what is very good: at leaſt, thoſe ſeeds which I have lodged in it's boſom, have always come up with great ſtrength and vigour. Thoſe who underſtand better than myſelf the qualities of the earth, are laviſh in its praiſe.

Produce.

932. "*Cotton*, I know, will do here very well; for, in the garden, I have many very ſtrong plants of it; and I have not a doubt of *ſugar* and *coffee* ſucceeding as well. In the drieſt times we have had ſufficient water for our colony; therefore, I ſearched not for more; but am inclined to think there is plenty on the iſland. Windwills, I am confident, will anſwer well. I have only to add, that I much wiſh for that day, when this colony ſhall be ſtrengthened by yourſelf, or any of your friends; for, on your arrival, Sir, the ſucceſs of our enterprize will no longer be conſidered problematical," &c.

* * * * *

Abſtract account of the Bulama coloniſts.

933. "*Return of the Deaths of the Bulama Adventurers, by J. Young, Eſq.*

		Men	Wom.	Child.
3	Died in the outward bound voyage	1	0	2
8	Killed or died of their wounds at Bulama	7	1	0
9	Died at Bulama*.	6	1	2
2	Died priſoners at Canabac	0	1	1
3	Died between Bulama and Sierra Leona	3	0	0
21	Died at Sierra Leona	15	4	2
13	Died between Sierra Leona and London	10	1	2
5	Died after the ſhip arrived at her moorings in the river	3	1	1
64		45	9	10
	"Return of the Living.			
7	Taken by the Bijugas of Canabac, 3d June	0	4	3
5	Redeemed of theſe, the 19th June	0	3	2
1	Left at the Goree from the Calypſo	1	0	0
16	Left at Biſſoa at their own requeſt, or ſailed for America	10	3	3
13	Left at Sierra Leona	10	3	0
14	Took their paſſage from Sierra Leona in the other veſſels	9	1	4
85	Arrived at London in the Calypſo	37	32	16
141		67	46	28
	"State of the Colony at Bulama.			
87	At the time when the Calypſo left the iſland	49	13	5

* "Of the 9 perſons who died at Bulama, not one contracted his fever there, but all of them at Biſſoa, except thoſe who brought their diſeaſes from England. Of the remaining number, many caught the fever at S. Leona, through intemperance, many others from the relaxation cauſed by living ſo long on ſalt proviſion, without any thing to correct it's effects; ſome on board the Calypſo, never having been on ſhore from the time they left England, which was 8 months. The coaſt fever is of the intermittent kind, and not infectious.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

934. *The following Statement I have carefully extracted from Mr. Beaver's Liſts tranſmitted to the Truſtees.*

		Men	Wom.	Chil.
87	At Bulama, when the Calypſo ſailed according to § 544 which agrees with the foregoing ſtatement of Mr. Young	49	13	25
6	Returned from S. Leona, 6th Oct. 1792	2	3	1
93		51	16	26
	Of theſe,			
19	To return in the Hankey, to England, by the W. Indies	12	3	4
3	Run	3	0	0
29	Alive in the colony at Bulama, 22d Nov. 1792	19	6	4
	Died at Bulama, from the time the Calypſo ſailed to 22d Nov. 1792, viz.			
26	Fever	12	5	9
1	Fever and flux	1	0	0
2	Conſumption	1	1	0
1	Lunacy	1	0	0
1	Mortified hand	1	0	0
1	Drowned	1	0	0
1	Worms	1	0	0
2	Complication of diſorders	2	0	0
1	Hooping cough	0	0	1
4	Diſorder not ſpecified in Mr. Beaver's liſts	3	0	1
40		23	6	11

935. I am ſorry that I have not been able to procure *data* ſufficient to enable me to remedy the defects of Mr. Y's ſtatement, which ſeems to apply partly to the coloniſts on board the Calypſo, and partly to the whole colony; nor to bring down the ſtatement, taken from Mr. Beaver's liſts, to Nov. 29th, 1793, when he evacuated Bulama.

Mortality great, but not peculiary ſo.

936. I thought it my duty to give a fair abſtract of the papers before me, without attempting to conceal the great mortality which they unhappily exhibit; but which, as well as the mortality at S. Leona, is ſufficiently accounted for, in the four foregoing (abridged) reports, independently of any peculiar malignity of climate. To prove that neither of thoſe colonial undertakings have been attended with any peculiar fatality, it was my intention (if I had had room, as I have not) to give ſome account of the mortality, diſorders and diſaſters which attended the firſt formation of almoſt every European colony, both in North America and the W. Indies. I allude particularly to Canada, New England, Virginia, W. Florida, Jamaica, Surinam and Cayenne; ſome of which countries, however, are now found to be as healthful as any in the known world.*. That they were not ſo to the firſt coloniſts

* See the 1ſt Vol. of Winterbotham's View of the United States of America. Dr. Lind's Eſſ. on the Diſeaſes in hot Climates, 4th. edit. p. 89, 99. Dr. Blane's Obſ. on the Diſeaſes incident to Seamen

coloniſts, appears to have been principally owing to the following cauſes.—1ſt, The overbearing ſpirit of commerce.—2dly, Inexperience in the means of preſerving health in new and untried climates.—3dly, The fixing, for the ſake of commerce, on ſwampy ſpots, and other improper ſituations. See § 75.—4thly, The want of proper food, and of proper framed houſes, ready to be ſet up when they landed. See §84.--5thly, Exceſſive labour, in building houſes and clearing lands.--6thly, The unſeaſoned coloniſts not taking the little care of themſelves which was in their power.—7thly, Their diſorderly and debauched lives and irregular hours.—8thly, The want of proper medicines, and of medicinal men experienced in the diſeaſes of different climates.--9thly, The want of firmneſs and unanimity among the immediate leaders, who, of courſe were incapable of preſerving order among the coloniſts.--10thly, The general inexperience or ſelfiſhneſs of thoſe who managed the concerns of ſuch undertakings in Europe.

NOTE HH. 1. See § 543.

937. I fear ſome people will laugh at the rude ſignatures of theſe African kings: for a deed from a black prince having been lately read in a Houſe of eminence, in Weſtminſter; when the reader concluded with "*his mark*," a horſe-laugh was vociferated by ſome individuals to whom *that* ſpecies of utterance is ſo *natural*, that on a former occaſion they could not repreſs it even on hearing a recital, which drew tears from many or moſt of the audience. For the information of perſons who cannot boaſt of ſuch *qualifications*, and *opportunities* of improvement, I ſubjoin this quotation.—"Several charters ſtill remain, where Kings affix *ſignum crucis, manu propria, pro ignoratione literarum* (the ſign of the croſs, with their own hands, becauſe of their ignorance of letters.) From this is derived the phraſe of *ſigning* a paper. In the ninth century, Herbaud, Comes Palatii, though ſupreme judge of the empire, could not write his name. So late as the fourteenth century, Du Gueſclin, conſtable of France, the greateſt man in the ſtate, and one of the greateſt men of his age, could neither

Ignorance and rudeneſs of ancient and modern legiſlators.

men. Dr. Moſley's Treatiſe on tropical Diſeaſes, and Long's Hiſt. of Jamaica *paſſim*. From this laſt author, I cannot help tranſcribing one paſſage which ſhows that the mortality which attended ſome attempts to colonize certain waſte lands, in that extenſive iſland, was owing to the very ſame cauſes which unfortunately prevailed at S. Leona and Bulama. "Several poor adventurers," ſays Mr. Long, Vol. I. p. 426, "came at different times, from Europe to Jamaica, and among the reſt, a colony of Palatines. They had the charge of their paſſage defrayed, and were ſubſiſted till they arrived on the *lands aſſigned to them, which they found in wilderneſs, the trees for the moſt part of ſtupendous bulk and not one acre cleared. Deſtitute of habitations as well as of land prepared for culture, their time was neceſſarily firſt taken up with building houſes and felling trees. The labour and hardſhips they had to ſtruggle with were much too ſevere for perſons juſt come from Europe.* MOST OF THEM DIED, *the reſt diſperſed, and not one of theſe families (as I am told) ſucceeded.*"

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

read nor write. The greater part of the clergy were not many degrees ſuperior in ſcience to the laity. Many dignified eccleſiaſtics could not ſubſcribe the canons of thoſe councils at which they ſat as members." Robertſon's Hiſt. of Charles V. Vol. I. p. 232.—It were eaſy to ſhow, that extreme ignorance prevailed in many parts of Europe, at a very late period, and that, in ſeveral parts of it, extreme ignorance prevails at this hour. But enough has been ſaid to prove that the anceſtors of the preſent Europeans were, in no reſpect, ſuperior to other barbarians.

NOTE H H. 2. See § 587.

E. Indian ſubſcribers to the Bulama undertaking.

938. There can be no doubt, but that a number of reſpectable ſubſcribers will come forward, as ſoon as a charter ſhall be obtained: and I have the ſatisfaction to mention that Colonel Kirkpatrick, ſtated at the laſt General Meeting at the Manſion-houſe, that he had lately received information from his agents at Fort George, that "they were about to advertiſe the plan of the Bulama aſſociation, in the Madras Courier, for raiſing a ſum not exceeding £5000, in aid of the ſubſcription; that they meant to give their own names to it; and that, if it did not fill at that preſidency, they would publiſh it in the Bengal papers, where there could be little doubt of it's ſucceeding."

Some farther accounts of the Daniſh colony at Aquapim. See § 599.

939. Since the ſketch of the Daniſh colony, in Africa, was printed off, I have fortunately met with Meſſ. Moe and Hanſon, who were ſo good as to communicate to me ſeveral intereſting particulars reſpecting that part of the world, moſt of which are contained in the following intereſting letter from Mr. Moe.

SIR,

940. "I ſhould have been glad, if I could have anſwered your queries reſpecting the Gold Coaſt, particularly the Daniſh colony, now eſtabliſhed at Aquapim. But having been in Africa yourſelf, you cannot but know, how difficult it is for perſons, unconnected with the Slave trade, to obtain information concerning it. This trade abſorbs ſo much of the attention and activity of the Europeans in that part of the world, that it is only the merchant who can come into it's ſecrets.

941. "During a ſtay of 14 months on the Gold Coaſt, I had quite different objects in view; and ſickneſs, which never fails to meet Europeans there, took up great part of my time. I have, however, the ſatisfaction of acquainting you, that I have been in Aquapim, and have ſeen the late Capt. Iſert's colonial eſtabliſhment at that place *. It is ſituated on a high and mountainous tract of land; but ſo diſ-

* M. Moe mentioned to me in converſation, that the late Dr. Iſert was made captain, in conſequence of his great exertions to eſtabliſh the new colony.

tant

Digitized by Google

tant from navigation, that it appears to me very inconvenient for commerce *. But, for the reſt, I have good reaſon to think, that the ſoil, air and water are all very good. There are but few Europeans; but they were in the beſt ſtate of health, during my ſtay among them. Mr. Flint, who till the arrival of Lieut. Col. von Rohrs, takes care of this infant colony, has eſtabliſhed another ſimilar one at the foot of the mountains, nearer to Acra; and I ſaw growing at both places, a conſiderable quantity of cotton-trees and maize, all of which flouriſhed and throve very well. The dry and wet ſeaſons are not ſo diſtinct at Aquapim, as near the coaſt; for rains fall there in all the other months of the year, as well as in the rainy ſeaſon.

942. "I obſerved that, near the Daniſh forts at Rio Volta, Printzenſtein and Quitta, the commanders of thoſe places and a certain merchant have begun to plant cotton, ſugar-canes, different kinds of garden ſtuffs, ſuch as greens, ſweat peas, &c.

943. "In the the neighbourhood of Chriſtianſburg, at Acra, an old, reſpectable negro, a native of Dunco, at a conſiderable diſtance up in the interior part, has eſtabliſhed himſelf on a ſolitary ſpot, and has planted large fields with cotton, maize and various kinds of proviſions and garden ſtuffs. By his intelligent and laborious cultivation, he has diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much, that he is now come into great repute. He raiſes ſuch quantities of proviſions, that he ſupplies not only Chriſtianſburg, but alſo moſt of the neighbouring negro villages.

944. "The ſhip, in which my worthy colleague and myſelf returned to Europe, being loſt, together with all our papers, we with ſome difficulty reached Ireland; a circumſtance which will ſufficiently account for our not being able to fulfil our own wiſhes by ſatisfying all your enquiries.

London, 25th March, 1795. "I am, &c.

"H. MOE."

945. I have only to add a circumſtance, which M. Moe told me, but which he has forgotten to mention in the above letter, namely, That Mr. Flint's ſiſter, with the ſame zeal for the civilization of Africa, by which Mrs. Dubois has done ſo much honour to the ſex (§ 782,) has accompanied her brother to Aquapim, with a view to inſtruct the negro women in needle-work, ſpinning cotton and other parts of female induſtry; and that ſhe has already made very conſiderable progreſs in this laudable and benevolent undertaking.

* The reader may ſuppoſe that I am not very much concerned at this circumſtance, which I think rather in favour of a new and innocent colony.

Documents,

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

Documents, &c. reſpecting the Swediſh colonial Deſign.

No. 1. See § 605. *Deſcription of Cape Meſurado.*

Abridgment of the Chevalier Des Marchais' Deſcription of Cape Meſurado, from the Account of his Voyages to Guinea and Cayenne, A. D. 1725, 1726, and 1727, by Order of the French Government. See Labat's Collection, Vol. I. page 93, et ſeq. Paris, 1746.

C. Meſurado affords good ſupplies for ſhipping.

946. Almoſt every veſſel, after leaving Cape Mount, touches at Cape Meſurado. They are obliged to call at this laſt Cape, for wood and water, to ſerve them while they remain at the factory at Whidah, where the water is indifferent, and difficult of acceſs. Another reaſon is, that the natives at Whidah, looking upon trees of every kind, as a ſpecies of divinities, will neither cut them down themſelves, nor allow other people to do it. In the third place, rice, maize, or Indian corn, fowls, ſheep, goats, and even oxen, are in greater plenty at Meſurado, than at Whidah.

Anchorage good.

947. The courſe from C. Mount to C. Meſurado, is S. E. and, when the wind is unfavourable, E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. the diſtance 18 leagues. The coaſt is clear, and the anchorage every where good. If the wind be contrary, it will be proper to anchor: if there be a calm, for ſecurity againſt the currents, you muſt alſo come to, and wait for the land breezes in the night, which are generally fair. The author had his patience exerciſed in this ſhort paſſage, which, though often made in 6 hours, coſt him 6 days; and, unleſs he had anchored, the contrary winds and currents would have carried him back. On the 9th Dec. 1724, he anchored half a league from C. Meſurado, in 11 fathoms, muddy bottom, mixed with ſand and broken ſhells.

The king's reception of of Chev. Des Marchais.

948. A canoe immediately came off to him. He was heartily welcomed by the natives, who had long known and eſteemed him. The king being informed of his arrival, ſent the Grand Marabou to invite him on ſhore, and accordingly he landed the next morning. The king, who was waiting at the river ſide, embraced him very cordially, and gave him the beſt reception, of which the princes in that country are capable. The king ordered water, wood and proviſions to be carried on board. The cattle, ſheep, goats, and fowls, are abundant.

C. Meſurado deſcribed,

949. C. Meſurado is a detached mountain, ſteep and high towards the ſea; but leſs ſo on the land ſide. The ſummit forms a level plain, the ſoil of which is better than what is generally found in ſuch ſituations. On the eaſt is an extenſive bay, bordered by a good and uniform ſoil, which is bounded by hills of a moderate elevation, covered with large trees. On the weſt is another great bay, which receives the river Meſurado.

alſo the river.

950. The Cape points to the S. E. It's lat. is 6° 34′ N. long. 5° 37′ from the meridian of Tenerife. On the eaſt, a long ſpit of land ſeparates the ſea from a baſon,

Digitized by Google

ſon, *(flaque d'eau,)* formed by the R. Meſurado, and a ſmaller one which joins it. They navigate this laſt in their canoes, 6 or 7 leagues at low water, and double the diſtance at high water. The water is always ſalt, or at leaſt brackiſh; but it is full of fiſh. The courſe of the great River (Meſurado) is N. W. for 17 or 18 leagues, afterwards N. E. but it's length is unknown. They called for one of his ſubjects, who aſſured the Chev. Des Marchais, that he had gone up this river in his canoe, for 3 *moons*, when he came to a great river, whence it proceeded, which runs from E. to W. on which there are rich and powerful nations, who drive a great trade in gold, ivory, and ſlaves. The Meſurado runs through fine countries; but is ſo rapid, that thoſe who have laboured 3 months in aſcending it, may return in 18 days. The negroes call the rich country, where their river originates, *Alam*, that is, the country of gold.

The king gives the Chev. an iſland, and preſſes him to ſettle on it.

951. In the great baſon *(flaque d'eau)* juſt mentioned, are two iſlands, a ſmall one at the mouth of the little river, and a larger at that of the great river. This laſt is called the king's iſland, though he never reſides there; but ſome of his ſlaves raiſe cattle and poultry on it, for his uſe. The king gave this iſland to the Chev. and very much preſſed him to ſettle on it. It is never overflowed, even by the great annual inundations, which, as in the Niger, take place in July, Aug. and Sep. This iſland is 2 leagues long, and $\frac{3}{4}$ of a league broad. It's ſoil is excellent, as appears from the ſize and height of the trees, which alſo evince it's depth. The winds which blow without intermiſſion, from the N. the E. and N. E. render it's air very temperate. The only inconvenience it labours under, is the want of freſh water, which muſt be brought from the ſprings on the continent. But theſe are at no great diſtance, and are very abundant.

Tide and water.

952. The tide flows 20 leagues up the Meſurado, at the equinoxes, and 8 or 9, during the reſt of the year. In July, Aug. and Sep. the water is brackiſh only 3 leagues up, owing to the rapidity of the ſtream in theſe months; but 4, or 5 leagues up, the water is perfectly ſweet.

The king called Capt. *Peter*.

953. The king who reigned in 1724, was called Captain *Peter*, a name which has long been common to the kings of Meſurado. When dealing with the Dutch and Engliſh, both parties take every precaution againſt roguery. They are armed, hoſtages are exchanged, and mutual caution is obſerved.—The French, on the contrary, trade there, without the leaſt ſuſpicion. They put themſelves in their power, go on board their ſhips without fear, and, on all occaſions, manifeſt the moſt friendly diſpoſitions towards them. The French deal with them as with old and faithful friends, go on ſhore unarmed, commit their perſons and effects to their diſcretion, and never had any reaſon to repent of this confidence.

Dutch and Engliſh diſtruſted, French beloved.

Natives not bigoted.

954. The religion of the natives of Meſurado is a kind of idolatry, ill underſtood, and blended with a number of ſuperſtitions, to which, however few of them are bigoted. They eaſily change the object of their worſhip, and conſider their *Fetiſhes* only

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

only as a kind of houſehold furniture. The ſun is the moſt general object of their adoration; but it is a voluntary worſhip, and attended with no magnificent ceremonies.

Country populous, because there is little ſlave trade.

955. In the ſpace of a few leagues, are many large villages, ſwarming with children. They practiſe polygamy, and their women are very prolific. Beſides, as thoſe people deal no farther in ſlaves, than by ſelling their convicted criminals to the Europeans, the country is not depopulated like thoſe in which the princes continually traffic in their ſubjects. The purity of the air, the goodneſs of the water, and the abundance of every neceſſary of life, all contribute to people this country.

Character of the natives.

956. The natives are of a large ſize, ſtrong and well proportioned. Their mien is bold and martial; and their neighbours have often experienced their intrepidity, as well as thoſe Europeans who attempted to injure them. They poſſeſs genius, think juſtly, ſpeak correctly, perfectly know their own intereſts, and, like their ancient friends the Normans, recommend themſelves with addreſs, and even with politeneſs. Their lands are carefully cultivated, they do every thing with order and regularity, and they labour vigorouſly when they chuſe, which, unfortunately, is not ſo often as could be wiſhed. Intereſt ſtimulates them ſtrongly; and they are fond of gain, without appearing ſo. Their friendſhip is conſtant; yet their friends muſt beware of making free with their wives, of whom they are very jealous. But they are not ſo delicate with reſpect to their daughters, who have an unbounded liberty, which is ſo far from impeding their marriage, that a man is pleaſed at finding that a woman has given proofs of fertility, eſpecially as the preſents of her lovers make ſome amends for that which he is obliged to give her parents, when he marries her. They tenderly love their children; and a ſure and quick way to gain their friendſhip, is to careſs their little ones, and to make them trifling preſents.

Their houſes.

957. Their houſes are very neat. Their kitchens are ſomewhat elevated above the ground, and of a ſquare or oblong figure; three ſides are walled up, and the fourth ſide is left open, being that from which the wind does not commonly blow. They place their pots in a row, and cement them together with a kind of fat, red clay, which, without any mixture of lime, makes a ſtrong and durable morter. Their bed-chambers are raiſed three feet above the ground. This would ſeem to indicate that the country is marſhy, or ſometimes inundated. But this is by no means the caſe. The ſoil is dry, and they take care to build their houſes beyond the reach of the greateſt floods. But experience hath taught them, that this elevation contributes to health, by ſecuring them from the damps cauſed by the copious dews, in houſes not ſo elevated.

Their women, good wives and mothers.

958. The women work in the fields, and kindly aſſiſt one another. They bring up their children with great care, and have no other object than to pleaſe their huſbands.—What a noble example to thoſe who are inclined to follow it.—Why ſhall we be obliged to contemplate this at ſuch a diſtance? Why traverſe the ocean to find it?

959.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

959. The extent of King Peter's dominions, towards the N. and N. E. is not well known; but, from the number of his troops, there is reaſon to believe it conſiderable. The eaſtern boundary is the river Junco, about 20 leagues from Cape Meſurado, and the weſtern is a little river about half way from Cape Mount. Extent of the king's territory.

960. The whole country is extremely fertile. The natives have gold among them; but whether found in this country, or brought thither in the courſe of trade, is not preciſely known. The country produces fine red wood, and a variety of other beautiful and valuable woods. Sugar-canes, indigo, and cotton, grow without cultivation. The tobacco would be excellent, if the negroes were ſkilful in curing it. Elephants, and conſequently ivory, are more numerous than the natives wiſh; for thoſe cumbrous animals very much injure their corn fields, notwithſtanding the hedges and ditches with which they ſo carefully fence them. The frequent attacks of lions and tigers, hinder not their cattle from multiplying rapidly; and their trees are laden with fruit, in ſpite of the miſchief done to them by the monkey tribes. In a word, it is a rich and plentiful country, and well ſituated for commerce, which might be carried on here to any extent, by a nation beloved like the French; *for no nation muſt think of eſtabliſhing themſelves here by force.* The Chev. Des Marchais has propoſed a plan for forming a colony at C. Meſurado, which (ſays his able editor, Father Labat) appears to me ſo promiſing and advantageous, that I think it my duty to lay it before the public. Produce abundant.

Plan of a Colony at Cape Meſurado.

961. It has already been remarked, that King Peter gave to the Chev. Des Marchais, the largeſt of the little Iſlands at the mouth of the river Meſurado, and had very much urged him to ſettle upon it. That gentleman had it not in his power to accept this offer, not knowing whether it would be agreeable to the Company. He therefore declined it, giving the king ſuch reaſons as he could prudently communicate; for an entire diſcloſure of his ſentiments on the matter, might have raiſed ſuſpicions in the mind of *that Prince, who is extremely jealous of his liberty, and of that of his people.* Ch. Des Marchais declines accepting an iſland offered him by the king.

962. It is certain that this little iſland is well ſituated, and might eaſily be put into a ſtate of defence; that the ſoil is excellent; that the want of freſh water might be ſupplied by ciſterns; that it lies in the very centre of all the trade, that can be carried on by the river Meſurado; that the proviſions produced on it, and the fiſh which ſurround it, would maintain the European inhabitants a conſiderable time, even ſuppoſing the negroes ſhould take it into their heads to beſiege it, or to reduce it by famine. Advantages of this iſland.

963. But it muſt be owned, that this little iſland is a great way from the entrance of the baſon, *(flaque d'eau)* by which alone a communication can be kept up with It's diſadvantages.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

European ſhipping; ſo that this colony would be in the power of the negroes, who could ſhut up the entrance when they pleaſed. The want of freſh water is a conſiderable objection, which could not be removed ſo eaſily as may be imagined; *and Europeans ſettled among negroes, ought always to be maſters of the ingreſs and egreſs, to and from their habitations.*

The king offers the Chev. any part of the country he choſe to colonize.

964. Captain Peter, finding that the Chev. Des Marchais was not ſatisfied with the little iſland, told him to ſearch for a place which he thought more proper for a colony, and he would chearfully put him in poſſeſſion of it.—On receiving this aſſurance, the Chevalier took a view of the country; but found no place better ſuited to his purpoſe, than the Cape itſelf, the ſummit of which is a level plain, about 4000 paces in circuit. The ſoil is good and ſome trees grow on it. This eminence effectually commands the road, or rather the roads; for the eaſtern bay will ſhelter a veſſel, in a caſe of difficulty; though the beſt and moſt ſecure anchorage is in the weſtern, at the foot of the Cape, and within a muſquet-ſhot of the ſhore. There is good holding ground, in 8 or 10 fathoms, between the Cape and the mouth of the river or baſon *(flaque d'eau.)* A bar runs along this bay, before the river's mouth, which, in ſome places, is dangerous; but it is eaſily got over by thoſe who are accuſtomed to it, and who know the proper time. This bar, however, is ſcarcely perceptible at the foot of the Cape, in the angle which it makes with the continent. At this is a village, and a large perennial ſpring of water, which is light, keeps well, and is eaſily filled and brought on board. It iſſues from a rock, more than half way up the hill, whence it falls in a cafcade, into a baſon which it has formed, whence it runs into the ſea. Here the caſks are filled, and the boats come near enough to take them on board without difficulty or danger.

He prefers the Cape itſelf, & deſcribes it.

It might be fortified with advantage,

965. From this account it is evident, that thoſe in poſſeſſion of the elevated platform might, by fortifying themſelves, and making a proper road, defend the ſhipping at the foot of the hill, and command the ſpring of water, and the entrance into their factory, even if the negroes ſhould block it up on the land ſide.

and with little expenſe.

966. The expenſe of a fortified factory, or even of a fort, would not be great. Clay fit for bricks, abounds every where, and even ſtone proper for aſhlar work. Building timber grows on the ſpot; and the common country proviſions are extremely cheap. Except wine, brandy, and wheat flour, which the Company muſt ſupply, every thing elſe is to be had on the ſpot. Beef, mutton, goats, and hogs, coſt little, and game abounds. Antelopes and deer graze quietly with the tame cattle in the meadows. There are many ſpecies of birds. The baſon, the two rivers, and the ſea, afford plenty of fiſh and turtles. No river on the coaſt is ſo much frequented by ſea-horſes as the Meſurado. The fleſh of theſe animals is good food, and their teeth, which are whiter and harder than thoſe of the elephant, are ſcarce and dear. (See § 304.)

967.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

967. The following is a list of such goods as might be bought for the proposed trade and establishment, at the present prices in France.

Goods proper for a factory at Mesurado.

	Livres.		Livres.
Brandy in kegs for	4000	Brought up	21500
Gunpowder	3000	Cowries	7000
Trade-guns	2000	Brass pans	4300
Swords	1000	Pewter plates and pots	3000
Dutch knives	500	Iron bars, flat and short	1000
Striped linen	5000	Coral	1000
Blue Salempouris (East Indian)	2000	India calicoes	2000
Glass ware, of all sorts	3000	Gun flints	200
Glass beads	1000		
			Livres 40,000
Carry up	21,500	(at 9d.=£1500 ster.)	

968. Besides this expense, annual presents must be made to the three nearest kings, namely, of Cape Mount, of Cape Mesurado, and another who lives some days' journey inland, in order to keep them steady to the Company's interests. These presents must be left to the discretion of the factors, who must remember that the negroes are importunate beggars, whose demands must not be too easily complied with, and who ought to be regularly paid for their services.

Annual presents to the kings.

The first Expenses of a Factory.

First expense of settlement.

	Livres.		Livres.
The equipment of a vessel	50000	Brought up	80800
European and country provisions for 40 men, residing at the factory	12000	6 Months salary for 40 Company's servants	6610
Utensils and arms for the factory	4000	Presents for the kings	3000
12 Guns, 8 pounders, &c.	3600	For 40 negroes, hired for the service of the factory	3000
12 Swivels	1200	Materials for building	1000
2 Vessels from 25 to 30 tons each	10,000		
			Livres 94,410
Carry up	80,800	(at 9d.=£3540 7s. 6d. ster.)	

The Employments and yearly Salaries of the Officers.

Salaries of officers.

	Livres.		Livres.
The Director (or Factor) yearly	3000	Brought up	9120
The Chaplain	600	10 Sailors, 18 livres each per month	2160
2 Clerks, each 600 livres	1200	2 Masons, 300 livres each	600
A Surgeon	600	A Blacksmith	300
A Store-keeper	600	A Cooper	300
15 Soldiers at 9 livres each per month	1620	A Carpenter	400
A Gunner	500	A Cook	240
2 Masters of vessels, 500 each	1000		
			Livres 13,120
Carry up	9120	at 9d.=£492 ster.	

969. By

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

969. By these three statements it appears, that the expense of settling the factory, including ships, boats, provisions, and wages for one year, will not exceed 147,590 livres, (=£5532 7s. 6d. ster.) and that this expense will continually diminish, inasmuch as that of the vessels, the buildings, &c. would not be annually repeated.

Flat-bottomed boats for the river trade, which would be important.

970. The two vessels would trade along shore, as is the practice of the English and other nations. But as the sand-banks would prevent them from going up the river, it would be necessary to use flat-bottomed boats for this purpose; for we are assured, that when the water is lowest, there is never less than 2 feet, which would be sufficient for such craft. The commerce of the river would undoubtedly be very advantageous. We should find out where the negroes get their gold, and perhaps might discover mines of that, or of other metals. We should buy captives and produce from the first hands, and hence our profits would be surer and greater. And when the inland negroes and merchants should be certain of always finding an assortment of goods at the factory, they would frequent it eagerly, and we should soon engross all the European trade on that coast.

All Europeans, except the French, require garrisons.

971. "Such," continues Labat, "is the scheme which I propose to the Company, from the Chev. Des Marchais. It is surprising that they confine themselves to the trade in slaves at Whidah, while other nations are indifferent about this traffic, and principally attend to that of gold and ivory, dying woods and other valuable productions of the country. Their profits are immense, notwithstanding the prodigious expense of supporting garrisons, without which, the natives, who can scarcely endure them, would long ago have driven them from the country. The French need not be at the same expense: for they are every where beloved. The natives eagerly court them, and would always be ready to defend them against any other Europeans, who might attempt to disturb their commerce*.

River St. Andrew also proper for a colony.

972. At p. 166, *et seq.* the author describes the river St. Andrew, whose fertile banks produce provisions of all kinds in abundance, "and wild sugar-canes, larger, sweeter, and more juicy, than those cultivated in the W. Indies, from which large crops of sugar might be made, which are now destroyed by the elephants." He gives it as his opinion, that a settlement might be advantageously formed on that river; especially as there is at its mouth a natural fortress, on a high peninsula of table-land, similar to that at Mesurado. He says, a colony there would not be expensive, as the country abounds much with ground provisions and live stock, which are so very cheap, that a fine ox may be bought for a dozen of two-penny knives, and other things in proportion. Thus, says he, (p. 174.) there is "no danger of want of provisions, which has ruined so many of our colonial enterprizes, and hath caused

* I had many conversations with the late Capt. Norris of Liverpool, concerning Africa in general, and Mesurado and it's vicinity in particular; and I must say, that his account of that part of the coast, agreed, in most respects, with the foregoing description of Des Marchais.

Digitized by Google

the death of ſo many people, both in the iſlands and the continent of America. (See § 755.) In this plentiful country, a colony cannot be reduced to famine."— In ſhort, this firſt volume of Labat's Collection, which contains the voyages of the Chevalier Des Marchais, appears to me ſo intereſting, that I wonder it has not been tranſlated into Engliſh.

* * * * *

No. 1. See § 609.

Extracts from various Authors who have written concerning AFRICA *in general, and particularly of the Coaſt of Guinea, which may be uſeful in colonial undertakings in that part of the world.*

E. Tilleman's Deſcription of the Coaſt of Guinea, printed 1697.

973. Page 38. "On the whole Coaſt down to Cape Palmas, the beſt ſeaſons for commerce are from December to May, during which time the weather is pretty good." P. 153. "The worſt ſeaſon to go between the Iſlands of Cape Verd and the coaſt, is in Sept. and Oct. the weather being then very calm, with variable winds." P. 155. "It is to be obſerved, that in the rainy ſeaſons, which are in April, May and June, from Sierra Leona all the way down to Teſſic, one ought not to approach nearer the coaſt than about 6 Engliſh miles, as very ſtrong winds, tornadoes and ſhowers of rain may be expected." P. 156. "During theſe months, as well as in Feb. the natives are not fond of viſiting the ſhips, it being too cold." P. 157. "In returning to Europe up the coaſt, obſerve to ſail by the ſea-wind every 6 hours, and every other 6 hours by the land-wind, to anchor. The current ſets to the ſhore all the way down the coaſt." P. 159. "In the large river Gaboon is an exceeding fine and fertile Iſland, called Prince Iſland, recommended ſtrongly by the author for a colony." Extract from Tilleman.

* * * * * *

J. Raſk's Deſcription of the Coaſt of Guinea, 1754.

974. Page 46. "A ſugar plantation was eſtabliſhed 9 Engliſh miles from the Fort of Butra, 1707; but was diſcouraged by the ſlave trade." P. 80. "Plenty of gold in the country above Cape Mount and Cape Meſurado." P. 82 and 150. "Alſo at Aquambo." P. 185. "The moſt diligent and active negroes are a little above Acra. P. 186. "The rainy ſeaſons are more regular in the interior part of the country." P. 197. "Very ſtormy weather is never to be found upon the whole coaſt." Extracts from Raſk.

Account

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

* * * *

Account of various Voyages to Africa and America by P. Grand Pierre. 1726.

Extracts from Grand Pierre.

975. Page 134. This author thus describes Rio Sestos.—" My ambition is, to be powerful and rich enough to fit out a large fleet, filled with able and intelligent people, to make a conquest of this fine country and change it's nature, by introducing the best social laws and religious knowledge. I cannot comprehend why similar grand schemes are not undertaken by our princes, who, in other respects, are so intoxicated with the love of glory and honour. Nothing would appear to me more glorious than the execution of such noble and humane undertakings.

* * * * *

Account of the commerce carried on by different nations with the Coast of Guinea, as also a description of the Danish Island of Sta. Croix, in the W. Indies, printed at Copenhagen, 1758.

Extracts from an anonymous writer.

800. Page 38. " It is to be observed that the negroes of the Windward Coast are by nature well disposed, and very friendly, inasmuch as Europeans among them, even in their cottages, are much safer than on the Gold Coast, though protected by forts mounting 30 or 40 cannon. Besides that the Windward Coast is very delightful and agreeable, as also much more fertile and productive. Many English captains have been so highly captivated by the beautiful situations and fertility of this part of the coast, that they have fixed themselves on five or six different places, on spots which they have probably before visited, and after unloading their cargoes, they have delivered their ships to the care of the mate, telling him, *You may now return and give my best compliments to all my ships owners.* Several of them have lived there many years, in the greatest happiness, and are even become very rich, &c. P. 116 *et seq.* " Calculation of expences on a sugar plantation, which however, appears to be far from correct." See § 755.

* * * * *

Treatise on the Utility of Commerce and Colonization, in both the Indies and in Africa, by Ulric Nordenskiold, 1776. *Octavo**.

Extracts from Ulric Nordenskiold.

977. Page 9. " The expense of establishing a colony will certainly not be so great as many people imagine, unless the leading adventurers speculate with a view of forming their own immediate fortune at the expence of the colony, which unfortunately has been very often the case." P. 10. " Salaries should be paid in goods, and not in money. All merchants in a colony should only be allowed to carry on

* This respectable author, a brother of the late Mr. A. Nordenskiold, see § 400, and Note R, seems to have owed many of his excellent propositions to the Moravians, whose pure and disinterested conduct does so much credit to christianity and to human nature.

a com-

Digitized by Google

a commiſſion-trade. A ſufficient number of perſons, who are particularly acquainted with natural hiſtory, ſhould be engaged in a new colony, in order to encourage every kind of natural production. The coloniſts ought to be connected together in true ſocial order, and of courſe to find their own happineſs in the increaſe of their colony." P. 11. "By the example of the French, the author ſhows that the beſt ſecurity againſt any inſurrection of the natives is to behave well towards them, and that this has much better effect than the ſtrongeſt forts or numbers of ſoldiers. In order to avoid all kinds of uſurpation, the author propoſes to ſtudy and obſerve a ſtrict attention and maintenance of the laws, regulations and connections uſed among the natives themſelves." P. 12. "France, during the reign of Lewis XIV. in 1685, framed a particular law for the negroes in the W. Indies formed on humane principles." P. 13. "The author quotes various examples of colonization, and gives it as his opinion, that in order effectually to promote a colony, the Directors of it ſhould poſſeſs property both in Europe and upon the ſpot, in order to prevent, as much as poſſible, the interference of mercantile ſpeculation. He alſo ſtrongly recommends great caution in the choice of the firſt ſettlers, and adviſes, in the beginning, to have only a few, but well choſen characters." P. 29. "The Dutch were once inclined to eſtabliſh ſugar plantations on the Coaſt of Guinea, and actually began to clear the land with 200 negroes; but, being ſoon aware that this undertaking would be hurtful to the ſlave-trade, and to the trade in gold-duſt, they abandoned it." P. 38. "Among the ſeveral places the author propoſes for colonization, are Cape Meſurado, Cape Monte, Rio Sherbro, Bance Iſland in Sierra Leona river, &c." P. 41. "He recommends the Coaſt of Guinea to be explored by ſome of the diſciples of the great Linnæus." P. 47. "The Dutch African Company (under the ſanction of their government) clear 181,000 Guilders per Ann." P. 49. "In order to preſerve barley, an article of great uſe for a colony, the author propoſes to pound it with ſalt." P. 58 to 63. "Are ſeveral intereſting tables with calculations for ſettling a colony with different numbers of people, expences, &c.

* * * * *

Sketch of Temporary Regulations for the intended Settlement near Sierra Leona, 3d, Edition, by Granville Sharp, Eſq. 1788.

Extracts from Gr. Sharp.

9,8. Page 1. The old Engliſh ſyſtem of frank-pledge, or free ſuretyſhip, given by all houſeholders for themſelves and each other, is recommended very highly in a new colony, and is certainly of the greateſt importance. P. 5 and 7. Civil and military government, in a very ſimple and eaſy manner, propoſed on the ancient ſyſtem. P. 8. The author ſeems to admit of apprenticeſhips in the new colony. P. 11. Encouragement for indented ſervants for obtaining their liberty ſooner than the term firſt aggreed on." P. 14. A moſt excellent propoſal

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

poſal that free labour ſhould be made the ſtandard or means, by which all kinds of commodities in the community might be meaſured, inſtead of money. P. 26. Beſt means for controlling or checking the credit of every individual and thus preventing abuſes. P. 28. Excellent means for excluding ſlaves from the the community. P. 38. Inſtitution of a public exchequer or bank founded upon day labour, and appears to be of the greateſt importance in ſupporting real and practical ſocial liberty, provided it be brought into a ſyſtematical form. P. 59. Day labour to form a ſtandard in reſpect to value from cultivating the earth. Every indented ſervant to ſign a certain number of days labour in the year, at the exchequer, as a tax, which forms a public revenue. Diviſion of day labour into hours and minutes.

979. It were to be wiſhed that the ingenious author had propoſed an equal tax of day labour upon every individual; but, at page 69, he makes a further remark with reſpect to the rich and wealthy, whom he wiſhes to be taxed according to their inactivity, which, it is plain, would be a very difficult, if not an impoſſible, taſk. P. 63 and 64. Means propoſed for knowing every ones debts in the community. P. 64. Value of day-labour currency reduced into Engliſh money. P. 81 and 82. Utility of frankpledge.

* * * * *

Extracts from "A Deſcription of Sta. Croix, with a ſhort View of the Iſlands of St. Thomas, Tortola, Spaniſh-town and Crab Iſland, by H. Weſt." Printed in Daniſh, at Copenhagen, 1793.

Extract from Weſt. Climate.

980. Page 18. The climate is generally reckoned very favourable for white children, till in their ſeventh or eighth year.

Choice of coloniſts.

981. At P. 55, the author laments the unhappy conſequences of being careleſs in the choice of coloniſts; and then endeavouring to counteract their bad examples, by ſending out enthuſiaſtic miſſionaries. He ſays farther, that, when England ſent her numerous convicts to America, Dr. Franklin knew of no better way of ſhewing the gratitude of the colonies to the mother country, than by returning the ſame number of rattle-ſnakes to be nurſed and multiplied in the royal botanical garden at Kew. Franklin's moral is appoſite and ſtrong. P. 73. The author calculates the yearly expenſe of maintaining the ſlaves at 25 Daniſh rix-dollars each *.

Philanthropic undertaking of the Daniſh government.

982. P. 96. He mentions, with the greateſt reſpect, Lieut. Col. von Rohr, who, after having ſtudied tropical climates for thirty ſix years with great attention and ability, has lately, in his fifty ninth year undertaken a voyage to Guinea, by order of the Daniſh government, for what ſpecific purpoſe, the author does not ſay; but it appears, from his further expreſſions, *that this voyage forms a part of one of the*

* The proportion of the Daniſh rix-dollar to the Engliſh crown, in pure ſilver, is as $540\frac{4}{5}$ to $579\frac{1}{100}$. See Jöranſon Tabeller, 4to, 1777.

moſt

Digitized by Google

moſt philanthropic undertakings that any government was ever engaged in. (See § 599, 941.) P. 105. The author propoſes a plan for the benefit of the negroes in St. Croix, to be tried on a ſingle plantation, to the proprietor of which a loan for the purpoſe may be made by Government. This plan contains many valuable hints. APPENDIX.

983. At p. 113, the author juſtly obſerves, that "enthuſiaſts only, and not wiſe ſtateſmen and true judges of mankind, will think of doing violence to nature, and bringing *children* or *negroes*, who in ſo many reſpects reſemble one another, at once to apprehend abſtract ideas. Enthuſiaſts alone will expect that thoſe who can underſtand their obvious rights, will alſo find out their duties as chriſtians, huſbands, fathers, ſervants, citizens, proprietors, &c." P. 115. It is undeniable that lawgivers ought not to indulge themſelves in one ſingle cruelty, and that the ſafety of the ſubject ought not to depend on the occaſional character of the ſuperior, but on the true protection of the laws. Similarity between children and negroes.

984. P. 129. On the one hand, nothing works upon the negroes more than benevolence and encouragement; and, on the other, nothing is more neceſſary than puniſhment, or the fear of it, to ſtimulate their exertions. The whole art of managing them conſiſts in knowing when and how to apply theſe oppoſite modes of treatment. Nor am I miſtaken, when I believe that chaſtiſement would be leſs frequent, but more ſevere and juſt, were the ſentence and execution of it left to *a jury* of old and worthy negroes. P. 131. The conduct of the whites is of ſerious conſequence, even in ſpeaking or dropping inuendoes. P. 137. The author mentions jealouſy as a frequent cauſe of the diſſolution of the connection between negro men and women. This delicate ſubject appears to deſerve the inveſtigation of the clergy, in every regular community. Management of the negroes.

985. In order to lay a foundation for a nearer incorporation of the negroes with the body of the ſtate, and to prevent the atrocities which accompany the hideous man-trade on the coaſt of Africa, the Government (of Denmark) has limited it's exiſtence to ten years, ending in 1802. Incorporation of negroes with the body of the ſtate 1802.

986. P. 150. The author very judiciouſly propoſes, that no colonial regulation ſhould be formed in a mother country which has not firſt been ſent out, propoſed, acknowledged and approved of by the coloniſts. Colonial regulations,

987. P. 170. He points out the unfortunate conſequences of introducing much money into a colony. P. 171. Speculation trade, or monopoly, very hurtful in a colony. P. 189. The author laments the deterioration of the coined currency, by the introduction of Birmingham counterfeits, which is not to be prevented. P. 190. Uſing the tickets of reſponſible people for the ſake of change was inconvenient, *from it's not being brought to perfection.* P. 195. The weighing of ſpecie is more juſt, leſs deceitful, and more conformable to the practiſe of the ancients. Bad conſequences of money.

988. P. 171. The author mentions that the crops at St. Croix fail regularly every third year. Does not this ſeem to prove, that the cultivation of African produce in that iſland, is not natural, but forced and artificial? Crops.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

989. P. 174 to 183. He estimates the annual expense of a decent family in St. Croix, at 4040, and that of a single man at 2500 Danish Rix-dollars.

990. P. 221. St. Croix, being 7 Danish (about 40 English) miles in length, and 1 Danish (about 6 English,) in breadth, produced, in 1788, a very productive year, 24,000 hogsheads of sugar*.—P. 226. The number of slaves in St. Croix, of both sexes, and above 12 years of age, is 17,040.—P. 229. The soil of the level parts of St. Croix is not liable to be washed away by the rains, and although shallow, is most excellent for sugar,

Health.

991. P. 256. The cold bath, before sun-rise, fortifies the nerves, and furnishes strength for the day's business. Horse-exercise strengthens a weak stomach, and the pungent red pepper whets the appetite. Castor-oil, Peruvian-bark, old Madeira wine and opium are simple weapons against the common diseases. Could it well be believed by any European physician, that, in order to bring a dying person to life again, it was necessary to make him swallow 45 bottles of old Madeira and 7 bottles of burnt brandy in 9 days?

Climate.

992. P. 257, in speaking of the climate, the author has the following words; "and although the first abode of a European in a warm climate, is not altogether "pleasing or comfortable, still, custom, connections and a way of living nearer to "the order of nature, will soon compensate to him for the artful pleasures of Eu- "rope, provided his constitution be not totally averse to the climate; that he enjoys "the necessaries and conveniences of life; and that he has not placed his whole en- "joyment in exercising such kinds of science, as local circumstances, moral and "physical, cannot allow."

* In order to shew, (merely to satisfy the reader's curiosity,) what quantity of sugar may be produced by a certain number of labourers, the following facts, taken from observations on the Jamaica plantations, may serve as examples.—The calculation shews how many negroes in each of the following parishes are required to make 100 hogsheads of sugar, each 14 cwt.

In the County of Middlesex. St. Catharines 171, St. Dorothy 200, St. Thomas in the Vale 280, St. John 168, Clarendon 227, Vere 138, St. Ann 200, St. Mary 150. Total 1334

In the County of Surry. Port Royal 250, St. Andrews 162, St. David 172, St. Thomas in the east 120, Portland 182, St. George 158. Total 1044

In the C. of Cornwall. St. Elizabeth 204, Westmorel. 141, Hanover 142, St. James's. 132. Total 619

So that, in Jamaica, the production of every 1800 hhds. requires negroes 2997

In other words, on an average of the whole island of Jamaica, every 5 negroes produce 3 hhds. of sugar, (each 14 cwt.) In the parish of Port Royal, twice as many negroes are required to produce 100 hhds. as in the parish of St. Thomas in the East. The astonishing disparities in this statement, are owing to differences of soil, rains, &c. *within the same island.* And the proportionable disparity of expense, (in raising the *gross produce*) is a convincing proof of the difficulty, or the impossibility, of estimating for practical purposes, the *neat profits*, (if any) of sugar estates, *in the whole W. Indies.* See Long's Hist. of Jamaica, Vol. 2, p. 438; and § 755, note, and 774.

993.

Digitized by Google

993. P. 315. The author points out methods for preſerving plants.—P. 345, He deſcribes the flouriſhing ſtate of European garden vegetables, as peas, cauliflower, &c.—ſays, the milk is rich and well taſted, and the butter delicate.

994. P. 263. The author, after touching on the preſent ſtate of commercial politics in Europe, concludes his excellent work with theſe remarkable words. "*I believe, that the Weſt Indian iſlands are at their zenith, with reſpect to the intereſt of, and ſubmiſſion to, Europe.*"

No. 2. See § 610. *Plan for exploring Africa, by M. Chauvel, Swediſh Conſul General, at Havre de Grace, drawn up in* 1784.

995. The following paper was, at M. Chauvel's requeſt, tranſmitted to the author by his partner Nicol Reinicke, Eſq. who has ſince ſucceeded him, as Swediſh Conſul General at Havre de Grace. M. Chauvel, *true to his mercantile principles*, fixes his attention entirely on gold, neglecting all the other hints and propoſals; though the application, to which the following is an anſwer, related chiefly to the cultivation of the land, and the exploration of the interior country. Gold was barely mentioned as one of the articles it afforded, and not a word was ſaid of the ſlave-trade.

M. Chauvel miſtakes the propoſalsmade to him.

996. "In anſwer to the propoſal of the two Swediſh Gentlemen, who wiſh to viſit Africa, to ſearch for gold mines, the Sieur Chauvel, Conſul General of Sweden, begs leave to ſtate the particulars which have come to his knowledge. He has carried on an extenſive commerce to the Gold Coaſt, and he has juſt ſent thither two very intelligent captains, in addition to his agents, who have reſided many years in that country; and they think that Kalienaut and Natacou, near Fort St. Joſeph in Galam, on the river Senegal, are the moſt proper places to ſearch for gold. The following are the grounds of his opinion.

997. "M. David, Director General of the Senegal Company, returning to France in 1741, prevailed on the Company to proſecute a plan he had formerly propoſed, reſpecting the mines at Galam*. Accordingly, after trying ſome bags of earth which he had brought home, the Directors reſolved upon a ſecond attempt. The Sr. David was himſelf empowered to go to Galam, and to take the proper meaſures for the propoſed ſearch. On viewing the country, he eſtabliſhed ſome factories; and, after ſatisfying himſelf of the richneſs of the mines, he returned to the principal factory, and ſent the Sieur de la Brue to Galam, to execute the plan. In the mean time, the war of 1744 broke out. M. David was ſent to the Iſle of France, and La Brue ſucceeded him as Director General of Senegal. Other objects engaged the Compa-

M. David's exertions for opening the gold mines.

* M. David was ſtill alive when I was in Paris in 1787, and a very aged man. Though I called on him ſeveral times, I was not ſo fortunate as to ſee him. But my fellow traveller, Dr. Sparrman, had a good deal of intereſting converſation with him.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

ny's attention till the peace. Yet the plan was not abandoned. The factories eſtabliſhed by M. David, at Bambouc and Boudou, were kept up. The Sieur Auſſenac, Governor of Fort St. Joſeph in Galam, went in 1756, to Kelienaut and Natacou, where new mines were diſcovered, which, finding to be rich and abundant, he ſent to the Director of the Company at Paris, ores *(des mineraux)* ſo rich in gold, that ſeveral of them yielded 3 and 4 drams. The Sr. Auſſenac obſerved in one of his memoirs, that the deeper the mines were dug, the richer they were found; and he ſtated, as the reſult of all the attempts, that, after paying all expenſes, there remained a profit of between 40 and 50 per cent; and that this profit would be greatly augmented, becauſe all preparatory expenſes were paid, and need not be repeated. The taking of Senegal in 1758, put an end to this buſineſs. The Engliſh, indeed, ſent out an artiſt who died at Galam; and ſuch has ſince been the unſettled ſtate of that country, that no farther attempts have been made. (See § 70, 651, *et ſeq* *.)

Expenſe of the expedition,

998. "The Sieur Chauvel is ſo much convinced, that two perſons of ſkill would eaſily diſcover this precious metal in that country, that he hereby propoſes to equip a veſſel of between 100 and 150 tons burden, which ought not to draw more than nine feet water, when loaded. She ought to be well ſheathed, to prevent the worm, common in thoſe hot climates, from damaging her bottom. Such a veſſel, well equipped and furniſhed with one year's proviſions, would coſt from 25 to 30,000 livres Tournois. It would be proper to put on board this veſſel, goods to the value of 60 or 70,000 livres; ſo that the whole expedition would coſt from 90 to 100,000 livres. The Sieur Chauvel will defray one half of this expenſe, if the two gentlemen, or their friends, will furniſh the other half.

and it's objects

999. "If the gentlemen conſent to this condition, the management of the buſineſs muſt be committed to the Sr. Chauvel, who will addreſs a memorial to the Miniſter

* The fate of the miners ſent from England, is mentioned by Dr. Lind, in his Eſſay on the Diſeaſes of hot Climates, p. 40, where, on the authority of a medical gentleman, he gives a lamentable account of the loſs of lives, in the paſſage of 6 weeks, up the river, againſt the ſtream; and alſo of the mortality at the little fort ſituated on it's banks, above 700 miles from the ſea. During the inundations, this fort is ſurrounded by the waters of the river, and during the reſt of the year, by a large extent of mud and ſlime. It is no wonder then, that in ſuch a navigation, and ſuch a ſituation, the mortality was enormous. But I beg leave to obſerve, that, as my fellow travellers and myſelf intended to have gone to Galam, if we had not been prevented, (§ 615.) we made very particular enquiries reſpecting that place, and the journey thither. We were aſſured by ſeveral perſons at Goree, and particularly by a reſpectable French officer who had twice viſited Galam, that the journey by land is attended with little mortality, and that the mountains, where the gold is found, at a moderate diſtance from the oozy banks of the river, are bleſſed with a healthful air. I was told, at the ſame time, of a French officer, who had lived many years among the natives at Galam, and that he was ſo well pleaſed with his ſituation, that he rejected ſome very tempting offers made him by the Senegal Company, only to come down and acquaint them with the nature of the country, and the beſt mode of cultivating a commercial intercourſe with the natives.

Digitized by Google

of the Marine, to obtain the protection neceſſary for ſuch an undertaking, the ſucceſs of which will be the more certain, as it will embrace two objects—firſt, the diſcovery of mines;—and, ſecondly, trading with the natives, while the gentlemen reſide on the ſpot; ſo that, in caſe they ſhould not ſucceed in their reſearches, (which I hold to be impoſſible,) their expenſes might be defrayed by the following operations.

Trade combined with mining ſcheme.

1000. "The veſſel ought to be ready to ſail in May; ſo that they may be upon the coaſt in June and July, to take advantage of a ſort of convoys which the natives fit out, at that time of the year for Galam*. And, inſtead of coming down the river, with the annual floods, as is the practiſe of thoſe whoſe only object is trade, the veſſel would remain at Galam, and trade in ivory, gold and ſlaves. Theſe articles, though not very abundant, are yet in ſufficient plenty to employ advantageouſly the time in which the gentlemen will be making their reſearches.

1001. "A very ſmall number of men will ſuffice to navigate the veſſel to Senegal, which is commonly performed in 3 or 4 weeks. On arriving at Fort Louis, it will be adviſable to take on board a reinforcement of the natives, who are excellent ſailors.

1002. "To prevent diſputes with the natives, it will be neceſſary to obtain ſome of the king's ſons as hoſtages, (which is never refuſed) and to detain them, till the buſineſs be finiſhed.

1003. "The gentlemen need not carry any attendants with them; for negroes are eaſily hired in the country, to perform every kind of labour. Beſides the negroes purchaſed in the courſe of trade may be employed in the moſt laborious work.

1004. "The gentlemen being able, as there is no room to doubt, to fulfil the object of their voyage, by the diſcovery of the mines, would remain to purſue their reſearches, while the veſſel, having finiſhed her buſineſs, would proceed with the negroes to St. Domingo, and return with produce to Havre. And to ſupply the gentlemen with neceſſaries, M. Chauvel, on receiving advice from them, would diſpatch a veſſel to them, if needful: or they might be ſupplied by the ſhips belonging to a company to whom the king has granted an excluſive charter for the gum trade, and, who of courſe will have many ſhips going and coming to and from that part of the world.

Conditions propoſed by Meſſ. Chauvel.

1005. "If the foregoing propoſals meet with the approbation of the gentlemen, an agreement to the following purport may be ſigned by theſe gentlemen, and by M. Reinicke, in behalf of D. Chauvel and ſon.

1006. "We, the underwritten reſiding at and Dd. Chauvel and ſon, Merchants in Havre, in whoſe behalf M. N. Reinicke will ſign theſe preſents, have mutually agreed upon the following articles.

* M. Chauvel here means the convoy which annually ſails from Fort Louis, up the Senegal, during the inundations, and which, in ſome years, conſiſts of 50 or 60 veſſels, large and ſmall.

1007.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

1007. (1°.) "The Sieurs D. Chauvel and son, shall fit out a vessel of such size as may appear to them proper for trading in the river Senegal, and the forts and rivers thereon depending.

1008. (2°.) "The Sieur Chauvel and son are hereby empowered, to purchase such goods as they may think suitable, for the cargo of the said vessel.

1009. (3°.) "The proposed plan of operation, after arriving at Senegal, is to hire black sailors, and to take one of the king's sons as a hostage, who shall remain at Senegal, while they proceed to search for mines, and to trade in slaves, ivory and gold-dust.

1010. (4°.) "Messieurs are hereby authorized to remain as long as they think it convenient, for the discovering of mines, and the vessel, when she shall have finished her trade, shall proceed to St. Domingo with the slaves, and return with produce to Havre, whence she shall be immediately dispatched to Senegal with such articles as the gentlemen may request to be sent them: and the same vessel, if they think proper, shall attend them upon other discoveries, of which they shall be bound to give notice to the Sr. Chauvel, when they send for the goods which they may want.

1011. (5°.) "While the vessel remains at Senegal, or is on her voyage to St. Domingo and Havre, and back to Senegal, if Messieurs should be in want of any European articles, the Sr. Chauvel and son, on receiving advice thereof, will take care to send them out by the first opportunity; or, if they are of great importance, will even dispatch another vessel with them.

1012. (6°.) "It is computed that the cargo and outfit will cost from 90 to 100,000 livres, of which one half shall be on account of the Sieurs Chauvel, and the other half on account of Messieurs who, on signing this agreement, shall direct some house in Stockholm, Hamburg, Amsterdam or London, to make reimbursement.

1013. (7°.) "All the transactions respecting the ship and cargo, the discovery of mines, and the expense thereof, as well as the profits which may result therefrom, shall be ½ an account of Mess. and the other of Mess. Chauvel.

1014. (8°.) "The management of the whole business, in Europe, shall be entirely committed to the Srs. D. Chauvel and son, not only the outfit of the vessel, and the purchase of the cargo, but the sale of the returns; and Messieurs oblige themselves to remit to them all the gold and other minerals resulting from their researches, and which the Srs. Chauvel and son bind themselves to sell, and to apply one half of the neat proceeds, agreeable to the order of Mess.

1015. (9°.) "The vessel shall be under the orders of Messieurs who may conduct her to any place where they chuse to make researches; but the trade in slaves, gold-dust and ivory shall be entrusted to the captain.

1016.

Digitized by Google

1016. (10°.) " If Meſſieurs do not underſtand French, they may carry with them a young man to act as interpreter and clerk, at the expenſe of the concern, APPENDIX.

D. CHAUVEL and SON.

No. 3. See § 613. *Letters explaining various Difficulties in the Execution of our Undertaking, and how they were to be removed; alſo ſhewing with what Zeal and Generoſity the Swediſh Ambaſſador, (Baron de Stael,) and the French Miniſter, (Marechal de Caſtries,) promoted our Views.*

M. Le Baron de Stael d'Holſtein.

Paris, le 12 Août, 1787.

MONSIEUR L'AMBASSADEUR,

La Compagnie s'étoit empreſſée d'offrir ſes ſervices les plus étendus à M. M. de Sparrman, Arrhenius, et Wadſtrom. Les ordres qu'elle a reçus depuis, à ce ſujet, de M. le Mal. de Caſtries, et la recommendation que vous lui avez fait l'honneur de lui addreſſer, ſont autant la recompenſe de ſon zêle, que des motifs de devoir et d'encouragement. Elle a eu pluſieurs conferences avec ces ſavants ſur les moyens de rendre leur voyage de l'interieur de l'Afrique, auſſi ſûr et le moins pénible qu'il ſera poſſible. Ils trouverent dans les comptoirs, et auprès des agents de la Compagnie, les reſeignemens, le ſecours, les reſources que la colonie peut comporter; et en attendant ils ſeront traités avec beaucoup de diſtinction dans le navire qui va les tranſporter au Senegal.

La Compagnie ſe félicite infiniment d'avoir une pareille occaſion de temoigner a votre Excellence combien elle deſire de lui être agréable.

Je ſuis, avec reſpect,

MONSIEUR L'AMBASSADEUR, &c.

FRAISSE, Adr. Dteur.

Par procuration de la Compagnie du Senegal.

Baron Stael von Hoſtein.

Paris, Aug. 12, 1787.

SIR,

THE Company anxiouſly wiſh to offer the moſt extenſive ſervices to Meſſrs. Sparrman, Arrhenius, and Wadſtrom. The order they have received on that head, from the Marechal de Caſtries, and the recommendation which you have done them the honour to addreſs to them, at once recompenſe their zeal, and are motives for their activity. The Company had many conferences with thoſe learned gentlemen, reſpecting the means of rendering their journey into the interior, as ſecure and eaſy as poſſible. They will find at the factories, and with the Company's agents, the directions, aſſiſtance, and reſources, which the ſettlements can afford; and, in the mean time, they will be treated with great attention on board the ſhip which is to convey them to Senegal. The Company's anſwer to Bar. de Stael.

The Company is extremely happy in having this opportunity of ſhewing your Excellency how much they deſire to be agreeable to you.

I am, with reſpect,

Your Excellency's, &c.

FRAISSE, Acting Director.

For the Senegal Company.

No. 3.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

No. 4. See § 613.

M. Le Baron de Stael d'Holstein.

MONSIEUR L'AMBASSADEUR,

The Company excuse themselves to Bar. de Stael.

VOUS me faites l'honneur de me marquer, que M. Mistral, Intendant de la Marine au Havre, fait difficulté de laisser embarquer M. M. Arrhenius et Wadstrom. La Compagnie n'y à aucune part, puisqu'elle a donné ordre à ses administrateurs au Havre, d'accorder le passage *gratis*, a ces naturalistes, aussi qu'à M. Sparrman. Je pense, Monsieur, que ce que j'ai de mieux a faire c'est d'envoyer à Havre, la lettre originale par laquelle M. le Marechal de Castries a recommandé à la Compagnie ces trois voyageurs, sans exception; et néanmoins je vais écrire à ce Ministre, pour le supplier de faire savoir ses intentions à M. Mistral incessamment à ce sujet. J'ai vû dans les bureaux, sa decision donnée sur une lettre de M. de Malesherbes, qui ne lui recommandoit que M. Sparrman. C'est là-dessus que les commis auront fait la lettre ministerielle, pour ordonner au bureau de classes du Havre, que ce Docteur fut embarqué au fraix du roi; et ils auront ignoré qu'il avoit deux compagnons. Votre Excellence peut-être persuadée, que ces deux compagnons auront au moins, incessamment la permission de s'embarquer. Quant au fraix de leur passage, la compagnie en recevra le remboursement du ministre, si ce sont ses intentions: mais elle ne le demandera point, parce qu'elle est très flattée de pouvoir contribuer de son mieux à des voyages aussi interessants.

Je suis, avec respect, &c.

FRAISSE, Adr. Dmr.

Par procuration de la Compagnie du Senegal.

Baron Stael von Holstein.

SIR,

YOU do me the honour to observe, that M. Mistral, Intendant of the Marine at Havre, objects to the embarkation of Messrs. Arrhenius and Wadstrom. This was no fault of the Company, who have ordered their managers at Havre, to give a passage *gratis*, to these naturalists, as well as to M. Sparrman. I think, Sir, I had best send to Havre the original letter, in which the Marshal de Castries, hath recommended to the Company those three travellers, without exception; and I will, moreover, write to that minister, to make his intentions on that subject known immediately to M. Mistral. I have seen in the office his determination, in a letter to M. de Malesherbes, which recommended M. Sparrman only. In consequence, the clerks, in writing the minister's letter, ordering the office of the department of Havre, to give the Doctor a passage at the king's expense, did not know he had two companions. Your Excellency may rest assured that the two other gentlemen shall have immediate permission to embark. As to the expense of their passage, the Company will receive it from the minister, if such be his intention. But they will never ask for it, being much gratified by having it in their power to contribute to their utmost, to voyages of this interesting nature.

I am, with respect, &c.

FRAISSE, Acting Director.

For the Senegal Company.

Digitized by Google

No. 5. See § 613.

M. Le Baron de Stael d'Holſtein.

A Verſailles, le 29 Juillet, 1787.

COLONIES.
On a ecrit aux Adminiſtrateurs de la Compagnie en faveur de Sieurs Sparrman, Arrhenius, et Wadſtrom.

MONSIEUR,

J'ai reçu la nouvelle lettre, que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'ecrire, le 16 de ce mois, à l'occaſion de Meſſ. Sparrman, Arrhenius, et Wadſtrom, qui ſe propoſent de voyager en Afrique. Ce n'eſt en effet qu'avec des marchandiſes que l'on parvient à traiter avec les habitans de ce continent; mais comme ils pourroient éprouver des difficultés à cet égard, ſur la partie des côtes entre le Cap Blanc et le Cap Verd, dont la traite eſt réſervée à la Compagnie du Senégal, j'ai écrit conformément à vos déſires, à cette Compagnie, pour les faire lever. Je ne doute pas qu'elle ne ſe prete, autant qu'il dépendra d'elle à procurer aux Srs. Sparrman, Arrhenius, et Wadſtrom, toutes les facilités néceſſaires pour le ſuccès de leur voyage.

J'ai l'honneur d'etre, avec un très ſincere attachement,

Monſieur, votre très humble,
et très obéiſſant ſerviteur,
LE MAL. DE CASTRIES.

Baron Stael von Holſtein.

Verſailles, 29 July, 1787.

COLONIES.
The Directors of the Company have alſo been written to in favour of Meſſ. Sparrman, Arrhenius, and Wadſtrom.

SIR,

I have been honoured with a freſh letter from you, on the 16th inſt. in behalf of Meſſ. Sparrman, Arrhenius, and Wadſtrom, who wiſh to ſail for Africa. They can only trade with the natives, by means of goods. But, as they may meet with ſome difficulties, in this reſpect, on the coaſt between Cape Blanco and Cape Verd, the trade of which is reſerved for the Senegal Company, I have, agreeable to your requeſt, written to the Company, to remove thoſe difficulties. And I doubt not that they will be ready to contribute every thing within their province, to the ſucceſs of the voyage of thoſe gentlemen. Obſtacles to travelling in Africa removed.

I have the honour to be, with ſincere attachment,

Sir, your moſt obedient,
and moſt humble ſervant,
LE MAL. DE CASTRIES.

No. 6. See § 613.

M. GOURY.

A Verſailles, le 7 Juillet, 1787.

JUDA
En faveur de Meſſrs. de Sparrman, Arrhenius, et Wadſtrom.

CETTE lettre, Monſieur, vous ſera remiſe par Meſſ. de Sparrman, Arrhenius, et Wadſtrom, Suédois, qui ſe rendent en Afrique pour ſe livrer à des recherches relatives à l'hiſtoire naturelle. Si par une ſuite du plan de leur voyages, ces Meſſieurs

M. GOURY,

Verſailles, 7 July, 1787.

WHIDAH.
In favour of Meſſrs. Sparrman, Arrhenius, and Wadſtrom.

THIS letter, Sir, will be delivered to you by Meſſrs. Sparrman, Arrhenius, and Wadſtrom, Swedes, who come to Africa, to make reſearches in natural hiſtory. If in the proſecution of their plan, thoſe gentlemen ſhould call at Whidah, you Letters of introduction.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

Messieurs passent à Juda, vous voudres bien leur procurer toutes les facilités qui dépendront de vous, pour qu'ils puissent remplir avec succès l'objet de leur recherches.

Je suis, &c.

LE MAL. DE CASTRIES.

will of course do every thing in your power to facilitate the successful accomplishment of their object.

I am, &c.

LE MAL. DE CASTRIES.

1017. We were furnished with similar letters to the following persons, viz.

Monsieur Vallière, Vice Consul, Chargé des affaires du Consulat à Tripoly.

Monsieur du Chateauneuf, Consul Général, Chargé des affaires du Roy, auprès du Bey à Tunis.

Monsieur du Rocher, Consul Général, Chargé des affaires du Roy, auprès de l'Empereur de Maroc, à Salés.

Monsieur de Kerey, Consul Général, Chargé des affaires du Roy, auprès du Dey, à Alger.

Monsieur le Directeur du Comptoir d'Amakou, sur la Côte d'Or,

Monsieur le Directeur du Comptoir de Gambia, à l'entrée de la Rivière de Serra Lionne.

No. 7. Sec § 618. (5.)

Extract of a Letter, to the worthy Inhabitants of the Province of Freedom, on the Mountains of Sierra Leona, dated Leadenhall Street, London, 16th *May*, 1788, *by* GRANVILLE SHARP, *Esq.*

Mr. Sharp generously recommends lands to be given *gratis*,

1018. AS I have thus incurred a very great expence, not only this year, but also on your first embarkation last year, without the least view of any private interest to myself, but rather for a general good, in promoting a just and honourable trade in African productions, in contradistinction to the abominable *Slave trade*: also for the peculiar advantage of yourselves, I trust you will be so sensible of this, that you will not deny my earnest request to you, as a favour *to myself*, that you will readily admit all the persons that are now passengers on board the Miro, people of colour as well as white, together with the captain, mates, and such of the seamen as desire it, *to an equal share with yourselves in the settlement, gratis*, agreeable to what is proposed in page 122 of the Additional Regulations, even if the Miro should unfortunately be delayed from arriving at the settlement, within 12 months from the first establishment. The 12 months will expire on the 12th of the next month; for I see by an extract from the log-book of the Nautilus, that the lots were drawn on the 12th July, 1787; and though the Miro was chartered on the 23d April, 1788, time enough for her arrival within the first year, yet so many unforeseen delays have happened, that there is a probability that she may not reach your settlement, till after the commencement

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

of the ſecond year ſince your eſtabliſhment; nevertheleſs, I rely on your friendſhip, that you will fulfil my requeſt, in granting lots *gratis* to the paſſengers, &c. in the Miro, and, (as the rainy ſeaſon will probably be ſet in,) that you will receive them into your houſes, and afford them the beſt accommodations you can give, with aſſiſtance to procure ſhelter alſo for their goods, cattle, and fowls, and to aid them in erecting houſes for themſelves, as ſoon as the weather will permit.

to ſeveral Engliſh gentlemen and negroes:

1019. I muſt likewiſe requeſt that you will lay out a free lot, and cauſe it to be regiſtered, and reſerved for the Rev. Mr. Thomas Clarkſon, a gentleman who has eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſeveral excellent publications, as an able, ſtrenuous, and ſucceſsful advocate, for the liberty and natural rights of the negroes, and who, at preſent, is prevented from joining the ſettlement, by his continued indefatigable exertions in the ſame juſt cauſe, as a Member *of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade*; to which ſociety a continuance of his aſſiſtance is at preſent indiſpenſibly neceſſary.

1020. Alſo a lot, to be laid out, regiſtered, and reſerved, in like manner, for William Sydney Smith, Eſq. Poſt Captain of the Royal Navy, and another for John Spencer Smith, Eſq. Page of Honour to Her Majeſty the Queen,—alſo a lot regiſtered and reſerved, for Lieut. John Clarkſon of the Royal Navy, (brother to the Rev. Mr. Clarkſon, above mentioned,) a gentleman every way qualified to render you very eſſential ſervice, as a member of your *free community*, whenever he may arrive.

1021. Alſo a reſerved lot for Mr. *Peter Naſſau*, ſon of Peter King of Meſurado, who had entered himſelf as a paſſenger in this ſhip; but afterwards was prevailed on to ſtay ſome time longer in England, on account of education: and for Mr. William Johnſon, a mulatto, who redeemed him (Mr. Peter Naſſau) from ſlavery in the Weſt Indies. (See § 784, *et ſeq.*)

1022. Alſo for *Henry Martin Burrows*, a poor negro, whom I ſaved this year from ſlavery (with another man,) by a writ of Habeas Corpus, from on board a Honduras ſhip, and whoſe legs (which were mortified with cold and hardſhip) have been lately cut off in St. Bartholomew's hoſpital.—Alſo for *William James*, a black man, lately arrived at Briſtol, from New York, who is ſtrongly recommended to me for his abilities; but he cannot have time to arrive here before the ſhip ſails.—Alſo for *Henry Byron* who was this day ſent on ſhore from on board the Miro, on account of ſickneſs.

alſo to 12 Swediſh gentlemen.

1023. Alſo for the undernamed 12 Swediſh gentlemen of rank, great learning, and abilities, ſeveral of them members of univerſities, and philoſophers, who propoſe to embark in two or three months time, but perhaps may be delayed a little longer, viz.

1. A. N.	2. C. F. N.	3. U. N.
4. C. J.	5. A. J.	6. A. B.
7. C. B. W.	8. G.	9. A. A.
10. J. S.	11. M. S.	12. G. S.*

* Several reaſons prevent the author from mentioning their names at full length.

1024.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

His reaſons.

1024. The free admiſſion of theſe Swediſh gentlemen, to an equal participation with yourſelves in the ſettlement, *gratis*, I earneſtly recommend to you, becauſe I believe it will be highly beneficial to the ſettlement in general, that they ſhould ſet up their head quarters with you, and make their principal reſidence in the *Province of Freedom*, which will probably be a means of opening to you an extenſive communication with the internal parts of Africa, which they (with the moſt benevolent intention towards the natives) mean to explore: and their aſſociating with you will certainly promote trade, and will ſecure and enrich the ſettlement. (See § 606.)

1025. Although this work has unavoidably far exceeded it's preſcribed limits; yet the author thinks himſelf bound, by his promiſe at § 594, to inſert the names of the *original* ſubſcribers to the S. Leona and Bulama undertakings. Indeed he could not, without doing violence to his feelings, omit this opportunity of rendering as public as he can, the names of the firſt promoters of the civilization of Africa, who have done ſo much honour to this age, to this country, and to mankind*.

* It is pleaſing to obſerve, how much the following liſts are graced with the names of Ladies; a circumſtance the more remarkable, as, in general, their property is not ſo much at their own immediate diſpoſal, as that of the Gentlemen. This is one inſtance, among many, to ſhow how warmly the Ladies intereſt themſelves in liberal and humane enterprizes; and their example, in ſupporting the S. Leona and Bulama undertakings, appears not to have been loſt upon the other ſex. To what ſublime degrees of humane feeling and heroic virtue, might not mankind arrive, if, in union with the ſex, they would always ſet before them the amiable pattern of female goodneſs!

LIST

Digitized by Google

LIST OF THE ORIGINAL SUBSCRIBERS

TO THE CAPITAL JOINT STOCK OF THE

SIERRA LEONA COMPANY.

INSTITUTED FOR PROMOTING THE

CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA;

With an Abridgement of the Act of Parliament, which incorporated that respectable Body.

The original Price of each Share was £50.—The Subscriptions closed, in June, 1792.

NB. The Figures annexed to the Names, denote the Number of Shares subscribed for.

A

Abdy, Rev. W Jarvis, *Horsleydown* 1
Adams, Peter, *Whitechapel* 2
Adams, Thomas, esq. *Alnwick, Northumberland* 3
Adamson, Rob. esq. *New Broad st.* 3
Adcock, John, *Leadenhall st.* 1
Addison, John, esq. *Sudbury* 3
Addison, R. at *Messr. Child's, Temple Bar* 1
Addison, Tho. *Ludgate hill* 2
Affelck, Ann, *Bury. St. Edmunds* 1
Agar, Will. esq. *Lincolns Inn* 1
Alburn, Rob. *Token house yd.* 1
Alison, Al. esq. *Excise Off. Edinburgh* 2
Allen, J. Bruce, *Wellclose Sq.* 1
Allen, Oswald, *Lothbury, York* 1
Allen, Maxey, esq. *Lynn, Norfolk* 2
Allen, Mrs. (Exec. of Hen. Allen, esq.) *Swansea* 1
Allen, Lewis Rob. esq. *Southwick, near Farehan, Hants* 5
Alleyne, Mrs. Penelope, *Nottingham* 1
Alleyne, Miss Ann, *Ditto* 1
Ames, John, esq. *Bristol* 3
Anderson, Lady Frances, *York* 2
Andrews, J. P. esq. *Brompton, Midd.* 3
Andrews, Sir J. Bart. *Knights bridge* 1
Andrews, Rev. Mordacai, *Coggeshall, Essex* 3
Angell, Will. Sandell, *Cornhill* 1
Annesley, Alex. esq. *Bridge st.* 1
Ansley, J. *Bread st. Cheapside* 5
Ansell, Geo. esq. *of Goodmans fields* 2
Anstie, Benj. Webb, *Devizes* 5
Anstie, John, *Ditto* 2
Arden, J. esq. *Beverley* 2
Arden, Miss Jane, *Ditto* 2
Arkwright, Sir R. esq. *Bakewell, Derbyshire* 3
Arnaud, John, *Strand* 1
Arnett, Rich. *Bearbinder lane* 2
Arney Scheve, *Wellclose Sq.* 1
Arnold J. *Plymouth dock* 1
Arthur, J. *Copthall court* 1
Astle, W. *Portpool l. Gray's Inn l.* 2
Atkinson, R. *St. George's l. Monum.* 1
Atkinson, T. esq. *Mold green, near Huddersfield, Yorkshire* 20
Atkinson, Law, *Ditto* 10
Atkinson, Cu. *Muncaster, Cumberl.* 1
Atkinson, Jasp. esq. *Aldermanbury* 1
Atkinson, Tho. esq. *Lothbury* 1
Atkinson, W. esq. *London st. Tottenham Court Road* 3
Atterſale, Jos. *Fulham* 1
Atwood, Rich. *Bath* 2
Audley, J. esq. *of Cambridge* 3
Austin, J. Bap. *General Post Office* 5
Ayton, Will. *Banker Lombard st.* 2

B

Babington, Rev. Mat. *Rotherley Leicestershire* 4
Babington, Tho. esq. *Rotherley Temple Leicester* 10
Bacchard, Jo. *Wandsworth* 10
Bagshaw, J. esq. *the Oaks, Sheffield* 2
Bailey, George, *Mark l.* 1
Bailey, John, *Cornhill* 1
Baily, Th. *little Tower st.* 10
Bailye, Rev. Hugh, *Hanbury, near Burton on Trent* 1
Bailye, Rich. esq. *Litchfield* 2
Bainbridge, George, *Bread st.* 2
Baker, J. esq. *Peckham, Surry* 2
Bale, Charles, *Albemarle st.* 1
Balgonie, Lord, *Balgonie House, Edinburgh* 1
Baly, W. *Wycombe, Bucks* 1
Bancroft, Dr. Ed. *Francis st. Bedford Sq.* 2
Banger, Josiah, esq. *Hackney* 3

Bankes, Rev. J. Staines, *Trinity hall, Cambridge* 2
Banks, George, *of the Bank of Engl.* 1
Banner, Francis, *Beech st. Crippleg.* 2
Barclay, Rob. Esq. *Lombard st.* 3
Barclay, G. esq. M. P. *Hatton Gar.* 10
Barker, J. *Howden, near Hull* 1
Barker, Rev. R. *Hollym, Holderness,* 2
Barlow, J. *Cranbourn st. Leicester st.* 3
Barnard, John, *Norwich* 3
Barnard, Sam. Esq. *Boston* 3
Barnard Will. esq. *Norwich* 2
Barnett, T. *at Messr. Wilsons, Minor.* 3
Barnett, W. *Bridge st. Westminster* 1
Barnett, J. esq. *Lombard st.* 2
Barnett, Mich. *Cock l. Snowhill* 3
Barnett, Robert, *Minories* 1
Barrett, Bry. esq. *Stockwell, Surry* 11
Barrett, Is. Bry. *Hay Market* 7
Barry, J. Esq. *Teneriffe* 2
Bartrum, Charles, *Peckham* 1
Bartrum, Cha. jun. *London Bridge* 4
Baseley, J. Green, esq. *Norwich* 4
Baseley, Miss Harriet, *Norwich* 1
Baseley, Tho. Warrener, *Norwich* 1
Baseley, Miss Eliz. *Norwich* 1
Basnett, John *Oakingham* 2
Bass, Will. *Gosswell st.* 1
Bateman, Th. *Great Yarmouth, Norf.* 1
Batley, Benj. *Thames street* 6
Battersby, Edw. esq. *Manchester* 2
Bax, John, esq. *New Broad st.* 1
Bayley, Tho. Butterworth, esq. *Hope, Manchester* 3
Bayley, Arthur, *Treasury* 1
Bayley, John, *Ditto* 1
Bayley, Mrs. Sarah, *Ditto* 1
Bazett, Hen. *Richmond, Surry* 1
Beacroft, Judith, *Thorp, Norwich* 2
Beams, Hugh, 96, *Fleet st.* 1
Beardmore, Jos. *Milk st.* 3

Digitized by Google

Beaumont, R. H. esq. *Whitley, near Huddersfield, Yorkshire* 2
Bedder, Tho. *Little St. Tho. Apostle* 2
Bedome, Sam. *Long l. Bermondsey* 2
Beet, Benj. *Blackfriars* 4
Begbie, Alex. *Great St. Tho. Apostle* 1
Belcher, Will. *Milk st.* 10
Bell, Daniel, esq. *Leadenhall st.* 1
Bell, J. *Martin's l. Cannon st.* 3
Bell, James, *Cecil st. Strand* 3
Bell, James, *Coventry st.* 2
Bendelack, Moses, *Jame's c. Bury st.* 1
Benfield, Paul, esq. M. P. *Gower st.* 3
Benford, Will. esq. *York row, Newington Butts* 3
Benham, Rob. 331. *Borough* 1
Bensusan, Sam. Levy. *Plough court, Lombard street* 1
Bent, Will. *St. Martin's l.* 3
Bentall, Will. esq. *Totness, Devon.* 5
Bentinck, Capt. Will. *at Mrs. Bentinck's, Privy gardens* 2
Bentley, Rev. Roger, *Camberwell* 3
Bentley, Will. *Ordnance Off. Tower* 2
Berjeu, John Paine, *Bristol* 2
Berwick, Jos. esq. 35, *Cornh. banker* 2
Best, Robert esq. *deputy secretary of the Bank* 1
Best, Geo. *Duke st. St. James's* 1
Betke, Cha. esq. *Budge Row* 8
Beawan, W. Hibbs, *Lincolnshire* 1
Bewicke, Hen. esq. *Lawrence l.* 1
Beynon, Rev. Tho. *Tlandilo, Carmarthenshire* 2
Bick, Ed. *Mansion House st.* 1
Biddle, Will. esq. *of Cupers Gardens* 6
Biddle, Andr. Ed. *Wycombe, Bucks.* 1
Biddulph, Francis, esq. *Charing cross* 1
Billinge, George, *Cateaton st.* 1
Billinge, Tho. *Cateaton st.* 1
Binham, Richard, *Exeter* 2
Birche, Will. *Gr. Qu. st. Lincoln's Inn fields* 2
Bird, W. W. esq. *Wood st.* 1
Birket, Daniel, esq. 74, *Hatton gar.* 1
Bischoff, James, *Leeds* 1
Bischoff, Miss Magdalen, *Ditto* 1
Bischoff, Miss Martha, *Ditto* 1
Bischoff, Thomas, *Ditto* 2
Blagbrough, Samuel, *Leeds* 1
Blake, Will. esq. *Aldersgate st.* 3
Blake, Thomas, junr. *Norwich* 1
Blakemore, Tho. *West Bromwich, Warwickshire* 2
Blakesley, J. *Hinckley, Leicestershire* 1
Blakesley, J. *Bishopsgate st.* 5
Blakesley, J. junr. *Ditto* 5
Blamire, Ed. *Aylisse st. Goodman's fi.* 1
Blanchenay, Francis, *Leadenhal st.* 2
Blaxland, Henry, *Broad street* 3
Blew, William, *Crutched Friars* 1
Blinkhorn, T. *Raven Row, Spitalfi.* 2
Blizard, Jo. *Broad street* 3
Blunt, John, esq. *Prescott street Goodman's fields* 3
Blunt, J. junr. esq. *Ditto* 1
Bode, John, *General Post Office* 1
Boddington, Mrs. Eleanor, *Enfield* 1
Bogue, Rev. David, *Gosport* 3
Boileau, Jn. Peter, esq. *Hertford st.* 2
Boldaro, Ed. Gale, *Cornhill* 1
Bond, J. *of old Broad st.* 8
Bonham, Henry, esq. *Cornhill* 3
Booth, J. No. 20, *Little Tower st.* 2
Booth, Abraham, *Newgate st.* 1
Booth, Jacob, *Tower Hill* 1
Booth, Isaac, No. 18, *Chamber's st. Goodman's fields* 1
Bosanquat, Chr *Bishopsgate st.* 2
Boultbee, C. *Baxterley, Warwickshi.* 1
Boultbee, John, *Ditto* 1
Boultbee, Jos. esq. *Ditto* 1
Boultbee, Jos. junr. esq. *Rotherley, Leicestershire* 1
Boultbee, Tho. esq. *Leister* 1
Boultbee, Wm. *Rich c. Lime st.* 1
Boultbee, Hercules, *Rotherley, Leic.* 1
Bourne, Rev. Jo. *Charterhouse, Hull* 1
Boultbee, Joseph, *Ditto* 1
Boulton, Mat. esq. *Soho, Birmingh.* 2
Bowdler, Miss H. *Gay st. Bath* 1
Bowen, Capt. James, *Deptford* 1
Bowers, N. Ward, *Cannon st.* 20
Bowers, William, *Ditto* 5
Bowley, G. *Oilman, Bishopsg. With.* 2
Bowman, John Christian, No. 71, *Queen st. Borough* 1
Bowser, G. *Newington Green* 1
Bowzer, R. *Fair st. St. John's, South.* 2
Boyes, John. esq. *Hull* 1
Boys, Thomas, *Hendon, Middlesex* 1
Boys, Mrs. Mary, *Ditto* 1
Boys, Tho. junr. *Newgate Market* 1
Brackenbury, Mat. *Ely, Cambridges.* 2
Bradbury, Sam. *Basinghall st.* 1
Braithwait, G. esq. *Newington Gr.* 3
Brand, Aug. Ever. *Arlington st. Pic.* 2
Brandram, Sam. esq. *Size lane* 20
Brandram, James, *Ditto* 1
Brandreth, John, *Buxton* 1
Brandstrom, Mrs. Letitia, *Hull* 1
Brandstrom, Miss Elizabeth, *Ditto* 1
Brassey, Nathaniel, esq. *Lombard st.* 10
Braune, J. Gotlob, *Furrier*, No. 8, *Warwick c. Holborn* 2
Brazier, J. esq. *Camberwell* 3
Bree, Dr. Robert, *Leicester* 2
Brickwood, J. esq. *Rich court Lime st.* 2
Brickwood, Jn. junr *Ditto* 1
Brickwood, Law. *Ditto* 1
Brickwood, Nath. *Thames st.* 1
Bridges, Jn. *Charterhouse Sq.* 2
Briggs, J. Hobart, *Post Off. Lombard st.* 5
Broadwood, J. S. *Great Poultney st.* 2
Broadwood, John *Ditto* 4
Brocas, Mrs. Har. *Wakefield, Berks* 1
Brocklehurst, Miss, *Manchester* 1
Brocklehurst, John, *Ditto* 1
Brocklehurst, Wm. esq. junr. *Ditto* 2
Brook, Joseph, *Whitechapel* 1
Brooke, George, esq. *Chancery l.* 10
Brown, Miss Ha. Myles, *Churchc. Kensington* 1
Brown, Thomas, *Hull* 2
Browne, Hutchin. Hotherall, *Custom house* 1
Brown, Ed. *Raven row, Spitalfi.* 3
Brown, Jn. *Upper Market, Norw.* 3
Brown, Thomas, *St. Mary Axe* 3
Browning, Jn. *Five-foot l. Southw.* 5
Brundson, Charles, *Basinghall st.* 1
Buck, James, *Leeds* 3
Buckingham, Ja. esq. *Bread st.* 3
Bukle, Miss, *Wakefield* 1
Bulkley, Ja. *Huntley Hall, Staffordsh.* 1
Bullock, Wm. esq. *Milk st.* 14
Bulmer, Francis, *Butter Factor, York* 1
Bulmer, Peter John, *Hull* 1
Burbidge, Wm. *Newark-upon-Trent* 2
Burbidge, John, *Ludgate st.* 1
Burcham, Wm. *Wighton, Norfolk* 1
Burchall, Robert, *Lothbury* 1
Burgess, Rev. Thomas, *Durham* 3
Burges, J. B. esq. M. P. *White H.* 17
Burges, Wm. esq. *Brabant c.* 3
Burges, Ynyr, esq. *East Ham, Ess.* 1
Burgh, Wm, esq. *York* 1
Burland, John Berkeley, esq. *Stoke House, Dorset* 8
Burnett, Robert, jun. *Vauxhall* 3
Burnett, Robert, sen. esq. *Vauxhall* 3
Burstall, John, *Hull* 1
Burton, Dan. *Cannon st. Manchester* 1
Burton, James, *Upper Guilford st.* 3
Bushan, Joseph, esq. *Guildhall* 5
Butcher, William, *Sutton Ashfield, Nottinghamshire* 1
Butler, James, *Cheapside* 2
Butterworth, Mat. *Dowgate Hill* 1
Button, Rev. W. 24, *Paternoster r.* 1
Buxton, Thomas, *Leicester* 1
Buxton, John, *Bermondsey street* 2
Buxton, Isaac, *Leicester* 1
Buxton, Charles, *Ditto* 1
Buxton, Robert John, esq. *Shadwell Lodge, Norfolk* 1
Buxton, Rev. J. *Carleton Rode, Norf.* 1
Buxton, Thomas Bentley, *Leicester* 1
Byerley, Thomas, *Greek-street* 11

C.

Caddick, Henry, *Piccadilly* 1

Calde-

Digitized by Google

Caldecot, John, *Rugby* 2
Call, Sir J. Bart. *Old Burlington-ſt.* 4
Calthrop, Eliz. 63, *Oxford-ſtreet* 1
Calthrop, John, *Ditto* 1
Calthrop, Mrs. Mary, *Ditto* 1
Calthrop, Robert, *Ditto* 1
Calverley, John, eſq. *Leeds* 20
Calvert, Peter, eſq. *Theobalds, Herts.* 3
Cammeyer, Ch. *Great Trinity-lane* 4
Campbell, John, *Edinburgh* 2
Campion, William, eſq. 47, *Great Ormond-ſtreet* 5
Cannarvon, Thomas, *Greenwich* 2
Cardale, William, *Bedford-row* 2
Cardwell, Richard, eſq. *Blackburn, Lancaſhire* 10
Carr, Henry, *Cambridge* 1
Carr, Samuel, Puplett, *Colcheſter* 1
Carter, Miſs Hannah, *Malden* 2
Cary, General, *Leven Grove, Yorks.* 2
Caſs, John, *Whitechapel* 2
Cawthorn, George, *Abchurch-lane* 1
Cay, Hen. Boult, eſq. *Curſitor-ſt.* 1
Cazalet, Peter, eſq. *Auſtin Fryars* 5
Chalk, Robert, jun. *Linton, Camb.* 1
Chambers, Mrs. Ann, *Welbeck-ſt.* 2
Chambers, Jarvis, *Bennet-ſt. Surry* 1
Champion, Alex. eſq. *Wincheſter-ſt.* 5
Champion, Miſs Elizabeth, *Ditto* 1
Champion, Miſs Henrietta, *Ditto* 1
Champion, Miſs Maria, *Ditto* 1
Champion, William, *Old City Road* 6
Chandler, Benj. *St. Paul's Ch. Yd.* 3
Chandler, Richard, *Glouceſter* 2
Chaplin, John, *Ludgate-ſtreet* 1
Cater, Richard, *Lothbury* 2
Chapman, James, *Bungay* 2
Chapman, Will. *Penton-ſt. Iſlington* 2
Charleſworth, Rev. J. *Oſſington near Tuxford Nottingham* 2
Chaſe, Mrs. Eliz. Ann, *Luton, Bedf.* 1
Chater, Eleazer, *Cornhill* 1
Chater, Nath. *St. Dunſtan's Hill* 1
Cheeſment, John, *G. Wolf's, eſq. America Square* 2
Cheſelden, Miſs Ann Lavinia, *Bread-ſtreet* 1
Chetwynd, Lord Viſcount, *Bolton Row Piccadilly* 1
Chriſtie, Dan. Beat, eſq. *Wimpole-ſt.* 10
Church, John, *Bett's ſtreet, Ratcliff Highway* 1
Clapton, Miſs Ann, *Great Dunmow, Eſſex* 2
Clapton, Miſs Mary, *Ditto* 1
Clapton, Miſs Mary, *Knefworth, Cambridgeſhire* 1
Clark, Mrs. Mary, *wife of Richard Hall Clark, eſq.* 2
Clark, Richard, eſq. (Alderman) *New Bridge ſtreet* 2
Clark, Rich. Hall, eſq. *Bridewell near Cullumpton* 2
Clark, Samuel, *Leiceſter* 1
Clark, Mrs. Sarah, *wife of the Rev. Thomas Clark* 1
Clark, Rev. Thomas, *Hull* 2
Clark, John Alden, eſq. *Manſion-houſe-ſtreet* 2
Clarke, William, 269, *Borough* 5
Clarkſon, Rich. *Kingſton, Surry* 1
Clarkſon, Rev. Thomas 10
Clay, John, *Smithfield Barrs, St. John ſtreet* 6
Clayton, Ralph, *Serjeants'-Inn Chancery-lane* 2
Clementi, Muzie, *Mr. Broadwood's Great Pulteney-ſtreet* 4
Clements, J. eſq. *Portland Place* 5
Clemitſon, Ja eſq. *Swithin's-lane* 2
Coad, Joſeph, 41, *Brewer-ſtreet Golden-ſquare* 1
Coad, Mrs. Elea. *Narrowall, Lamb.* 2
Cobb, James, eſq. *Eaſt India houſe* 2
Cock, Charles, *Great Dunmow, Eſſ.* 2
Cock, Miſs Elizabeth, *Ditto* 2
Cock, Miſs Mary, *Ditto* 2
Cocks, Mrs. Eliz. *Acton, Middleſex* 1
Cocks, Thomas Sommer, eſq. *Downing-ſtreet* 1
Cohen, Levy, *Bevis Marks, St. Mary Axe* 1
Cohen, Samuel, *Ditto* 1
Cole, Charles, eſq. *Egham, Surry* 1
Collett, Iſaac, *Bath* 2
Collier, Mary, *Plymouth* 1
Collinſon, Edw. eſq. *Lombard ſt.* 5
Collinſon, J. *Gravel-lane, Southw.* 1
Coltman, Miſs E. *Newworks, Leiceſ.* 1
Coltman, John, *Leiceſter* 3
Comber, Rev. William, *Kirby Moorſide, near Helmſley Yorks.* 2
Compton, John, *Portſmouth Common, Hampſhire* 2
Compton, Spencer, *Clapton, Hackney* 1
Compton, Thomas, eſq. *Ditto* 1
Conſtable, Marmaduke, eſq. *Waſſand, near Beverly* 2
Conyngham, Burton, eſq. *Jermyn ſt.* 3
Cook, David, *Trump ſtreet* 1
Cooke, Rev. James, *White-Lyon Yard, Oxford ſtreet* 1
Cookſon, Rev. Chriſt. *Stamford* 2
Cookſon, Rev. William, *Forncett near Long Stetton, Norfolk* 1
Coole, Benjamin, *St. Peterſburg* 1
Coope, John, jun. *Oxborn-ſtreet Whitechapel* 3
Cooper, John, *Hinckley, Leiceſterſh.* 1
Cornwall, J. eſq. *Portland Place* 10
Corrie, John, *Vauxhall* 1
Corrie, Richard, *Wellingborough* 3
Corſbie, Joſeph, *Duckfoot-lane* 10
Coſby, Sir Henry, *Harley-ſtreet* 4
Cotton, Henry Calveley, eſq. *Ditto* 5
Cotton, James, jun. *Rumford* 2
Coverdale, Norriſon, eſq. *Shadwell* 2
Cowell, George, *Water-lane* 1
Cowell, John, *Ditto* 1
Cowley, John, *Cateaton-ſtreet* 2
Cowper, Char. eſq. *Middle-Temple* 1
Cowper, David, 117, *Lower Thames-ſtreet* 2
Cowper, Edward, *Borough* 2
Cowper, Miſs Fra. *Hinckley, Leic.* 1
Cox, Leader, eſq. *Brixton Cauſeway* 2
Cox, Mrs. Mary, *Ditto* 1
Cox, Thomas, *Wiſbech, Camb.* 6
Coxhead, Th. eſq. M. P. *Great Hermitage-ſt. St. George's in the Eaſt* 2
Cracklow, Aaron, *Tooley-ſt. Southw.* 2
Cracklow, Henry, *Ditto* 2
Cracroft, John, eſq. *Hackthorn, near Lincoln* 1
Crafton, Robert, *Coleman-ſtreet* 3
Crane, Mrs. Sarah, *Enfield* 1
Craven, John, *Buckle-ſtreet, Goodman's-fields* 3
Crawſhay, Richard, eſq. *Upper Thames-ſtreet* 2
Cremer, George, 93, *Holborn-hill* 1
Creſwell, Henry, *Billingsgate* 5
Criſp, Sam. eſq. *Hartford, Herts.* 2
Crompton, Gilbert, eſq. *York* 1
Crompton, Mrs. Hannah, *Clapham* 2
Croſs, Robert, *Exeter* 1
Croſſe, J. N. *Hull* 1
Croucher, John, *Haymarket* 1
Crump, Joſeph, eſq. *New Broad-ſt.* 5
Culme, John, eſq. *Plymouth* 1
Cunliffe, Miſs Margaret Eliza, *New Norfolk-ſtreet* 1
Cunliffe, Lady Mary, *Ditto* 1
Cunningham, Jo. 33, *St. James-ſt.* 1
Cure, Capel, eſq. *Great George-ſtreet, Weſtminſter* 3
Curling, Daniel, *Cuſtom-houſe* 1
Curling, Jeſſe, *Paradiſe-row, Rotherhithe* 2
Curling, John, *Princes'-ſtreet, ditto* 1
Curling, Robert, 1
Currie, William, eſq. *Eaſt Horſley, Surry* 2

D.

Daintry, Michael, eſq. *Leek, Staff.* 1
Dale, David, *Glaſgow* 5
Dalton, Mrs. Elizab. *Stanmore Middleſex* 1
Danby, Wm. eſq. *Swinton, York.* 2
Darwin, Eraſmus, *Derby* 1
Davidſon, Ebenezer, *Thames-ſtreet* 1
Davidſon, John, *Navy Office* 3

Davies,

Digitized by Google

Davies, William, 9, *Serle-ſtreet, Lincoln's-inn-fields* 1
Davies, John, *Wood-ſtreet* 3
Davies, Timothy, *Bond-ſtreet* 3
Daviſon, Alex. eſq. *Harpur-ſtreet* 1
Daviſon, Tho. eſq. *Egham, Surry* 1
Davy, Samuel, *Crediton, Devons.* 1
Davy, William, *Ditto* 1
Daw, Wm. eſq. *Elm-court, Temple* 2
Dawſon, Miſs Alice, *Gower-ſtreet* 2
Dewſon, Benj. *Walcot Parade, Bath* 1
Dawſon, Miſs Iſabella, *Gower-ſt.* 2
Dawſon, Miſs Martha, *Ditto* 2
Deacon, James, eſq. *James-ſtreet Weſtminſter* 6
Dean, George, 11, *Fiſh-ſtreet-hill* 2
Dearden, John, eſq. *Hollyns, near Halifax* 1
Debaufre, Joſeph, eſq. *Old Broad-ſt.* 2
De Bons, Henry, 7, *Wormwood-ſt.* 7
De Grave, Charles, 59, *St. Martin's le Grand* 1
Delap, Char. *Penrith, Cumberland* 1
Denman, Dr Tho. *Burlington-ſt.* 1
Dennis, Ad. *Clements'-lane, Lombard-ſtreet* 5
Deſormeaux, James Lewis, *Pearl-ſtreet, Spitalfields* 1
Dettman, George, *Virginia-ſtreet* 1
Dettman, Joſeph, *Betts-ſtreet, Ratcliff-Highway* 2
Dewes, Matthew, *Chipping Norton* 1
Dewes, Robert, eſq. *Coal Harbour* 1
Dewey, James, *Spital-ſquare* 3
Dickenſon, Miſs E. *Truro, Cornw.* 2
Digby, Knelm, eſq. 6, *Welbeck-ſt.* 2
Digby, Robert, Vice Admiral, *Harley-ſtreet* 2
Digby, The Hon. Stephen, *Welbeck-ſtreet* 5
Digby, Wriſteſley, eſq. *Merreden, Warwickſhire* 1
Dillingham, Bampton Gurdon, eſq. *Norfolk* 1
Dirs, Carſton, *Wellcloſe-ſquare* 2
Dixon, Rev. Jo. *Tuddington. Bedfordſhire* 1
Dixon, Joſeph Harriſon, eſq. 17, *Cheapſide* 1
Dixon, Marcus, *London-ſt.* 5
Dixon, Richard, *Hartford End near Felſted, Eſſex* 1
Dixon, Robert, *Felſted, Eſſex* 1
Dixon, Wm. *Mead Place, Lambeth* 3
Dods, Robert, eſq. *Haſlar-Hoſpital Goſport* 1
Dolben, Mrs. Ann, *Finedon near Wellingborough* 1
Dolben, Lady Charlotte, *Abingdon-ſtreet, Weſtminſter* 1
Dolben, Sir Wm. Bart. M.P. *ditto* 1

Donaldſon, Wm. eſq. *at Childs and Co. Temple-bar* 4
Dore, Rev. James, *at Keene's, eſq. Walworth* 1
Dornford, T. *Philpot-lane* 2
Dorrien, George, eſq. *Finch-lane* 3
Dorrien, Thomas, eſq. *ditto* 3
Dorville, Jo. jun. eſq. *New Bridge-ſt.* 3
Down, Rich. eſq. *Bartholomew-lane* 3
Drake, Jo. *Exmouth* 1
Draper, Richard, *Biſhopſgate-ſt.* 1
Drewe, Sam. eſq. *Charterhouſe-ſq.* 1
Droz, Simeon, eſq. *Berners-ſtreet* 3
Drummond, Jo. eſq. *Bedford-ſq.* 2
Drummond, Ro. eſq. *Hereford-ſt.* 10
Duckett, Rich. *Rothley Temple, Leiceſterſhire* 1
Dudman, Jo. *Deptford* 1
Duncan, Alex. eſq. *Camberwell* 2
Duncomb, H. eſq. M.P. *Pall Mall* 1
Durham, Biſhop of, *Cavendiſh-ſq.* 1
Duthoit, James, *Beech-ſt. Barbican* 1
Duthoit, James, *Old Broad-ſt.* 1
Duthoit, Peter, eſq. *Highbury Place* 1
Duthoit, Miſs Suſannah, *ditto* 1
Dyer, George, eſq. *Mincing-lane* 1
Dyneley, Jo. eſq. *Bloomſbury-ſq.* 5
Dyſon, George, *Botolph-lane* 4
Dyſon, Theophilus, *New Baſinghall-ſtreet* 1
Dyſon, Thomas, *Diſs, Norfolk* 1

E

Earle, Joſ. 92, *Watling ſt.* 2
Echalaz, Joſ. *Broad ſt.* 1
Eckerſall, Jo. *Knoll Park, Briſtol* 2
Edgar, Capt. Alex. *Mr. Ommany's Bloomſbury Square* 2
Edmunds, Miſs Amelia, *Worſbrough, near Barneſley* 1
Edwards, Edward, *Alderſgate ſt.* 1
Edwards, Gerard Noel, eſq. M. P. *Carm ſe l dge, near Uppingham* 1
Edwards, Joſeph, eſq. *Northoram, near Halifax* 4
Edwards, Miſs Sally, *Ditto* 1
Edwards, Miſs Sophia Elizabeth, *Ketland, Rutlandſhire* 1
Edwards, William, *Coleman ſt.* 2
Edye, Joſ. eſq. *Briſtol* 2
Egerton, Ezekiel, *Budge Row* 1
Elam, Emanuel, *Leeds* 3
Elam, Mrs. Mary, *Ditto* 2
Elam, Sam. junr. *Ditto* 1
Eldred, Tho. *Caſtle c. Birchin l.* 1
Elford, Jona. eſq. *Plymouth* 2
Elford, W. eſq. *Bickham, near Plym.* 2
Eliot, The Hon. Ed. Ja. M. P. *Downing ſt.* 2
Ellice, Alex. eſq. *Mark lane* 1
Ellil, Jo. eſq. *Cannon ſt.* 1
Elliot, C. *New Bond ſtreet* 3
Elliot, Jo. 8, *Billiter lane* 1
Ellis, Joſ. *Tooley ſtreet* 1
Ellis, Will. 19, *Fleet ſtreet* 1
Elmſall, Edward, *Thornhill, near Wakefield* 1
Elphinſtone, Hon. Will. *Mortimer ſt. Cavendiſh Sq.* 1
Engell, Henry, *Wellcloſe Square* 2
Enovy, Jo. Chriſtian, *Rockingham row, Newington* 1
Erck, Hen. *Wentworth-ſt. Whitech.* 2
Eſdaile, Eliz. *Clapham* 2
Eſdaile, Will. *Ditto* 3
Eſtlin, Rev. J. P. *Briſtol* 2
Etheridge, Sam. *Bank-bullion Office* 3
Evance, Jo. *Queen ſt. Cheapſide* 4
Evan, C. eſq. *Highgrove, near Glou.* 1
Evans, Miſs Ann Janet, 10, *Old Change* 1
Evans, David, *Old Change* 2
Evans, Fra. *Mr. Thompſon, Gracechurch ſtreet* 2
Evans, Henry, eſq. 27, *Hatton ſt.* 5
Evans, Henry, *King ſtreet* 2
Evans, Jo. 21, *Lombard ſt.* 1
Evans, Jonathan, *Exeter* 1
Evans, Walter, *Derby* 2
Evans, Will. *Auſtin friars* 1
Everett, Jo. Gale eſq. *Heyteſbury, Wilts.* 5
Everett, Joſ. *Sarum, Wilts.* 5
Everett, Tho. *Bedford Sq.* 17
Eyre, Rev. Jo. *Hackney* 1
Eyton, T. eſq. *Wellington, Shropſh.* 1

F.

Faden, Will. *Strand* 2
Fagg, Jo. eſq. *Ramſgate* 1
Falkner, Francis, *Bath* 1
Farborough, Joſ. *High ſt. Borough* 5
Farhill, Jo. eſq. *Great Ruſſel ſt.* 1
Fariſh, Jas. *Cambridge* 2
Fariſh, Rev. W. *Magdalen College Cambridge* 2
Farmer, Rich. *Kenſington Common* 3
Farquharſon, Jas. eſq. *Camberwell* 2
Farquharſon, Rob. junr. eſq. *Ditto* 2
Farrer, J. eſq. *St. Mary Hill* 3
Faſſet, Thomas. eſq. *Sturbitton, near Kingſton* 1
Faſſet, William, *Ludgate-ſt.* 2
Fawkes, Edw. eſq. *Batterſea riſe* 2
Feilden, H. eſq. *Blackburn, Lancaſh.* 1
Fellows, Jo. eſq. *Nottingham* 1
Fenn, Jo. *Cornhill* 3
Fenn, Nathl. *Botolph-lane* 10
Fenn, Thos. eſq. *Ballingdon, Eſſex* 8
Fenton, David, *Old Jewry* 1
Fenton, Wm. eſq. *Spring Grove, near Huddersfield* 2

Fernhough,

Digitized by Google

Fernhough, Jo. *George inn, Snow h.* 2
Ferreman, Rev. G. *Cherry Burton, Yorkſhire* 2
Ferrers, Thos. *Angel Alley, Whitec.* 2
Field, Rich. *Bankſide, Southwark* 2
Field, Wm. *Upper Thames-ſt.* 1
Finch, Chriſtopher, eſq. *Sudbury* 2
Finch, Jas. *Sibtlebedingham, Eſſex* 3
Findlay, Rev. R. *Profeſſor of Divinity, Glaſgow* 1
Fiſher, Wm. *Blandford, Dorſetſh.* 4
Fiſhwick, Rich. *Newcaſtle upon Tyne* 1
Fleming, Jas. *Whitechapel* 1
Fletcher, Henry, *Wapping* 1
Flight, Joſ. *St. Mary Axe* 1
Flint, Joſ. eſq. *Shrewſbury* 1
Flower, Richard, *Hertford* 1
Foggo, Jas. *Vineyard walk, Cold bath fields* 1
Forbes, Jas. eſq. *Stanmore, Middl.* 1
Ford, Hugh, eſq. *Leek, Staffordſh.* 1
Fordham, Ed. King, *Royſton, Herts.* 1
Fordham, Elias, *Knutsworth, Cam.* 1
Fordham, Geo. *Sandom, Herts.* 1
Forſter, Benj. Meggot, eſq. *Threadneedle ſt.* 1
Forſter, Edw. *Ditto* 3
Forſter, Edw. junr. *Ditto* 1
Forſter, Miſs Suſanah Dorothy, *Walthamſtow, Eſſex* 1
Forſter, Tho. eſq. *Clements lane* 2
Forſter, Tho. Furley, eſq. *Threadneedle ſt.* 1
Forſter, Tho. Furley, eſq. jun. *ditto* 1
Forſter, Wm. *Hull* 2
Forſter, Rev. Henry, *Wilderneſs row, Goſwell ſt.* 3
Forſter, Joel, *Hull* 1
Fothergill, Dr. Anthony, *Bath* 6
Fothergill, John, eſq. *York* 2
Fourdrinier, Hen. ſen. *Lombard ſt.* 1
Fourdrinier, Jo. Rawſon, *Whitech.* 1
Fowler, Geo. eſq. *Hull* 2
Fox, John, *Ditto* 2
Fox, Wm. *Cheapſide* 1
Fox, Wm. *Kingsland Turnpike* 1
Fox, Wm. *Kings Arms ſtairs, Lamb.* 5
Franks, Wm. eſq. *Beech hill, Barnet* 5
Free, Jo. eſq. *Bartholomew lane* 3
Free, Peter, eſq. *Broad ſt. Buildings* 3
Freeman, Sam. Flower, eſq. *Mark lane* 3
Freeman, Tho. Edwards, eſq. *Sackville ſt. Piccadilly* 5
French, Andrew, eſq. *Copthall co.* 6
French, Dr. Hugh, *Ratsbone place* 3
French, Mrs. Judith, *Ditto* 1
Frend, Rev. Wm. *Jeſus College, Cambridge* 1
Frewen, Rev. E. *Colcheſter* 2
Friſby, Charles, *Mark lane* 1
Fryer, J. eſq. *Queen Sq. Bloomſbury* 3
Fuller, Benj. *Clements c. Milk ſtreet* 5
Fuller, Wm. eſq. *Lombard ſt.* 3
Fuller, Wm. *Meſſ. Child's, and Co. Temple Bar* 1

G.

Gadeſley, Rev. Tho. *Bedford* 1
Gainſborough, Right Hon. The Earl of, *Cavendiſh Square* 2
Gambier, Sam. eſq. *Shenley Hill, Herts* 5
Garlies, Lord Viſcount, *Charles ſt. St. James's ſq.* 2
Gardiner, Col. Tho. *Hampton court Green, Middleſex* 20
Garland, Tho. *Wincheſter ſtreet* 1
Garrat, Fr. eſq. *Old Swan* 2
Gaviller, Geo. *Virginia ſt.* 1
Gataker, Tho. eſq. *Princes ſt.* 5
Gazaam, Wm. junr. *Cambridge* 1
Gazely, J. S. *Gr. Q. ſt. Lincolns inn fields* 2
Gee, Rev. Rich. *Hotham, Yorkſh.* 2
Geaſt, Rich. eſq. *Lythe hall, near coal hill, Warwickſhire* 2
Gibbons, Tho. ſen. *Treaſury* 5
Gibbons, Jo. Cha. *Ditto* 1
Gibbons, Mrs. Mary *Ditto* 1
Gibbs, Rev. Phil. *Plymouth* 2
Gibbs, James, *Walbrook* 12
Gibby, Rev. Jn. *Winterton, Lincoln* 2
Gibſon, Rev. G. *Carliſle Ho. Lamb.* 1
Gibſon, Ja. eſq. *Leadenhall ſt.* 2
Gibſon, W. *Penton pl. Iſlington* 2
Gill, Ja. *Size lane* 1
Gill, Jn. eſq. *Savil. row, Walworth* 2
Giles, Dan. eſq. *one of the Directors of the Bank of England* 2
Giles, Jn. eſq. *Greenwich* 2
Giſborne, Rev. Tho. *Yoxall lodge, near Litchfield* 5
Giſborne, Mrs. Mary *Ditto* 2
Glaiſter, Sam. *Biſhopſgate ſt.* 2
Glegg, Jn. *Withington, near Knutsford, Cheſhire* 2
Glencroſs, Ja. *Plymouth dock, Devo.* 2
Glover, D. *Martin's l. Cannon ſt.* 1
Glover, Rev. Ed. *Norwich* 3
Glynn, Sir Rich. Kerr, *Birchin l.* 3
Godſal, Phil. *Longacre* 4
Gold, Mrs. Ann, *Loughborough, Leiceſterſhire* 1
Golding, Wm. *Three crowns c. South.* 3
Goldſmid, Benj. *Stamford hill* 1
Goldſmid, Abr. *Ayliffe ſt. Goodman's fields* 1
Goodacre, Jn. ſen. eſq. *Peatling hill, Leiceſterſhire* 3
Goodacre, Jn. jun. eſq. *Ditto* 1
Goodacre, T. ſenr. eſq *Leir, Leic.* 3
Goodheart, Eman. *Horſeferry Limehouſe* 2
Goodheart, Eman. jun. *Limehouſe* 1
Goodheart, Jac. *Ditto* 2
Goodhew, Wm. eſq. *Deptford* 1
Goodman, Job, *Towceſter, Northa.* 1
Goodyer, Geo. Dynely, eſq. *Glouc.* 2
Goſling, W. *Merchant, Mark lane* 6
Gorton, Will. eſq. *St. James's p.l.* 1
Grace, Rich. *Minories* 1
Grace, Rich. eſq. *Old ſtreet* 8
Grafton, Miſs Mary, *Rumford Eſſex* 1
Grafton, Mrs. Eliz. *Ditto* 1
Grahame, Rob. *Glaſgow* 1
Grant, Ch. eſq. *Queens ſq. Bloomſb.* 5
Grant, Jn. eſq. *Bond ſt.* 2
Grave, Jn. eſq. *Lombard ſt.* 1
Graves, Rev. Tho. *Broughton, Aſtly, Leiceſterſhire* 2
Graves, Tho. *Rumford* 1
Gray, Benj. *Scot's yard, Buſh lane* 5
Gray, Walker, eſq. *London ſt.* 3
Gray, W. junr. *York* 2
Greathead, Rev. Sam. *Newport, Pagnel, Bucks* 5
Green, Miſs An. Maria, *Terrace, Camberwell* 1
Green, Jn. eſq. *Ditto* 2
Green, Jn. *Canterbury ſq.* 2
Green, Joſ. *Winchſter ſt.* 10
Green, Sir Wm. Bart. *Mortimer ſt Cavendiſh ſq.* 4
Green, W. eſq. *Little Wincheſter ſt* 1
Greene, Rev. Hen. *Rolleſton, near Harborough, Leiceſterſhire* 2
Greene, Hen. eſq. *Peter houſe Col. Cambridge* 2
Greenwood, Abr. eſq. *Staining lane* 2
Greenwood, Joſ. *Coggeſhall, Eſſex* 1
Greenwood, Tho. 23, *Fenchurch ſt.* 1
Greville, And. Crewe, *St. John's ſt.* 1
Grey, John, *Water lane* 3
Griffin, Cha. *New Bond ſt.* 1
Griffin, Wm. ſen. *Ditto* 1
Griffinhoofe, Mrs. Jane, *Hampton* 1
Griffinhoofe, Wm. Jo. *Ditto* 1
Griffin, Geo. *Phœnix Fire Office* 2
Griffith, Ed. eſq. *Caernarvon* 1
Grigby, Joſh. eſq. *Drinkſton, Bury* 2
Grill, Claes, eſq. *Swediſh Conſul General, Dunſter c. Mincing lane* 1
Grill, Mrs. Maria, *Ditto* 1
Grill, Miſs Caroline, *Ditto* 1
Grill, Miſs Maria, *Ditto* 1
Grill, Charles Henry, *Ditto* 1
Grimſton, Hen. eſq. *Eſton, near Beverley, Yorkſhire* 1
Grimſton, Tho. eſq. *Kilnwich, near Beverley, Yorkſhire* 2
Grimwood, J. M. eſq. *Lincolns Inn* 3

Groom-

Digitized by Google

Groombridge, Step. *W. Smithfield* 1
Grote, Geo. esq. *Threadneedle st.* 5
Grote, Jos. esq. *Leadenhall st.* 3
Guillaume, Tho. esq. *Southampton* 2
Gurdon, Rev. Phil. *Assington hall, near Boxford, Suffolk* 5
Gurney, Bartlet, esq. *Norwich* 3
Gurney, Jos. *Eastlane, Walworth* 1
Gutteridge, Jos. esq. *Camberwell* 5
Guyon, Claude Phil. esq. *Greenwich* 3

H.

Haddock, John, *Rye, Sussex* 1
Hadley, Nath. *Longacre* 2
Hadley, Sam. esq. *Ditto* 2
Hainworth, Miss Han. *Graveley, Herts.* 1
Hall, Amb. *Basinghall st.* 1
Hall, Rev. Ja. *Edinburgh* 1
Hall, Jos. *Bristol* 4
Hall, Hen. Owen, *Gracechurch st.* 1
Hall, Luke, *Gutter lane* 1
Hambly, Tho. *New cross st. Deptford* 1
Hamilton, Dr. Rob. *Lynn, Norfolk* 1
Hammersley, Tho. esq. *Palmall* 10
Hammond, Arth. Atherley, esq. *St. John's Coll. Cambridge* 1
Hammond, Cha. Hillgrove, esq. *Trinity Coll. Oxford* 1
Hammond, Geo. 145, *Whitechapel* 1
Hammond, Jo. *Trump st.* 1
Hammond, Sam. *Cheapside* 2
Hanbury, John, *Threadneedle st.* 1
Hancock, J. *Queen st. Cheapside* 3
Hancock, Jos. *London st.* 1
Hancock, J. Ellington, *Ditto* 1
Hancock, Mat. *Clements c. Milk st.* 3
Hanrott, Fr. esq. *Ely pl. Holborn* 2
Hanson, Edw. esq. *Steel yard* 5
Hanson, Sam. *Botolph lane* 2
Hardcastle, Jos. esq. *Ducksfoot l.* 20
Hardcastle, Mrs. Eliza, *Islington pl.* 4
Hare, John, *Lincoln* 1
Harford, Edw. esq. *Bristol* 2
Harford, J. Scandrett, esq. *Ditto* 2
Harford, Rich. esq. *Fredericks pla.* 1
Hargood, Hezeki. esq. *Villers st.* 4
Harman, Abr. *Chiswell st. Moorfi.* 2
Harman, Jer. esq. *Finsbury sq.* 2
Harrison, Mrs. Barbara, *Pentonville* 1
Harrison, Tho. *E. Smithfield* 1
Harrison, Jos. *Tooley st.* 1
Harrison, Rob. *Lombard st.* 2
Harris, Jo. *Bridge st. Westminster* 3
Harris, Mrs. Mary, *Leicester* 2
Harris, Rich. *Thames st.* 5
Harris, Wm. *Palace yd.* 1
Harris, Miss Sarah, 69, *Fleet st.* 1
Harrop, Cha. *Hammersmith* 2
Hart, George, *Walworth Terrace* 2
Hart, Jos. *Cambridge* 1
Hart, Rev. Benj. *Norwich* 3
Harvey, Rob. jun. esq. *Norwich* 4
Hase, Hen. *Upper Thames st.* 1
Hatfull, Geo. *Union st. Deptford* 1
Haughton, Harry, esq. *Queen sq.* 10
Hawes, Jo. *Sugar refiner, Mansell st.* 3
Hawkins, J. esq. *Burton upon Trent* 20
Hay, Miss Frances, *Glynbourne, Sussex*, No. 17. *Cavendish sq.* 1
Hay, Miss Henrietta, *Ditto* 1
Haycraft, Tho. *Deptford* 1
Haycraft, Jos. *Greenland dock* 1
Hayne, Tho. *Milk st.* 3
Hayne, Wm. *Ditto* 10
Hayton, Amos, esq. *Mark lane* 3
Hayward, J. *Newington causeway, Surry* 2
Hearne, Tho. *Bankside, near Coopers bridge* 2
Heineken, Christian, esq. *Peckham* 10
Hennell, Dav. *Wollaston, Northamp.* 2
Hennell, Rob. esq. *Foster lane* 12
Hepburn, Jo. *Long lane, Southwark* 2
Hepworth, Rev. Jo. *Burton upon Trent* 2
Herron, Rich. *Borough* 1
Herring, Jo. 8. *Store st. Bedford sq.* 2
Herring, Will. *Norwich* 2
Hervey, Rev. Edm. *Willan, Herts.* 1
Hervey, Mrs. Eliza, *Hinxworth, near New Inn Baldock, Herts.* 1
Hervey, Jo. esq. *Norwich* 1
Hesse, Mrs. Sarah, *Betts st. Ratcliffe* 1
Hewlett, Will. 460, *Strand* 2
Hewson, Dav. *Botolph lane* 10
Hey, Rev. Jo. *Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Cambridge* 2
Hey, Rev. Sam. *Steeple Ashton, near Trowbridge, Wilts.* 1
Hey, Rich. *Magdalen Col. Cambr.* 1
Hey, Will. esq. *Leeds* 10
Heygate, J. esq. *Aldermanbury* 5
Heyman, Hen. esq. *Old Jewry* 17
Heyrick, Jo. jun. esq. *Leicester* 3
Heyrick, Will. esq. *Ditto* 1
Hibbert, Jos. *Crutched friars* 1
Hide, Tho. Seymour, esq. *Chasfield lodge, Herts.* 2
Higgin, Jo. esq. *London st.* 17
Higginson, Alex. esq. *Harley st.* 10
Highmore, Mr. Anth. jun. *Bury c. St. Mary Axe* 1
Hiibert, Jo. esq. *Wandsworth* 10
Hill, Sir Rich. Bart. M. P. *Hawkston, Salop* 1
Hill, Jo. *General Post Office* 1
Hill, Jo. esq. *Lombard st.* 4
Hill, Miss Rupertia, *Fore st.* 2
Hill, Rev. Rowland, *Surry Chap. St. Geo. road* 3
Hill, Tho. *Merchant, Exeter* 2
Hiller, Nath. esq. *Lavenham, Suff.* 2
Hillier, Rich. 7, *Gr. Surry st. Blackfriars road* 1
Hillier, Miss Eliza. *Pancras l.* 3
Hilman, Sir Wm. *Board of Green cloth, St. James's palace* 2
Hills, Miss Martha, *Bishopsgate st.* 1
Hilton, Fr. esq. *Finsbury place* 2
Hinckley, Hen. *Leeds* 2
Hippuff, Cha. *Birchin lane* 2
Hirst, Edw. 72, *Aldersgate st.* 2
Hoare, Hen. esq. *Fleet st.* 2
Hoare, Hen Hugh, esq. *Ditto* 2
Hoare, Rev. Ed. Hen. *Newark* 2
Hoare, Sam. jun. esq. *Lombard st.* 10
Hobbs, Rev. Giles, *Northhill, C lc.* 2
Hodges, Weckens, esq. *Highgate* 1
Hodgkinson, Enoch, esq. *Stamford st.* 4
Hodgkinson, Samson, 87, *Snow h.* 1
Hodgson, Rob. esq. *Congleton, Cheshire* 20
Hodgson, Tho. *Church l. Whitech.* 3
Hoffman, Jo. Christian, *Bishopsgate st. within* 2
Hogg, Rev. Reynold, *Thrapston, Northampton* 5
Holbert, Rich. *Denmark hill, Cam.* 2
Holbrook, Jos. esq. *Villers st. Strand* 2
Holden, Jos. *Newington Green, cross st. Islington* 3
Holdsworth, Wm. 80, *E. Smithfield* 2
Holland, Hen. *General Post Office* 1
Hollingworth, Rich. esq. *Queen st. Westminster* 2
Holloway, Tho. *Chancery lane* 5
Holms, Wm. *Pudsey, near Leeds* 1
Holt, Ja. esq. *Tottenham* 3
Holt, Jo. esq. *Ditto* 5
Holwell, Ed. esq. *Exmouth, Devon* 1
Homewood, Ed. *Kirby h. Horton Kent* 2
Homewood, Wm. *Faversham, Kent* 1
Hooper, Cleeve, *Ringmore, near Lewis, Sussex* 1
Hooper, Geo. esq. *Greenwich, Kent* 1
Hooper, Steph. *Margate* 1
Hoppe, Jo. *St. Paul's church yard* 1
Hornby, Wm. esq. *Gainsborough, Lincolnshire* 5
Horncastle, Tho. *Battersea* 2
Horner, Jo. jun. *Hull* 1
Horner, Miss Jane, *Ditto* 1
Horner, Miss Mary, *Hull* 1
Horner, Jos. *Butterfactor, York* 1

Horniblow,

Digitized by Google

Horniblow, Wm. esq. *Shipston, Worcestershire* 3
Hornidge, Jo. *Lombard st.* 1
Horton, Jo. *Lawrence Pountney l.* 5
Horton, Tho. *Ditto* 5
Hose, J. D. esq. *Merch. Ludgate h.* 5
Hoskyn, Mrs. Eliz. *Harpford, near Ottery, Devonsh.* 2
Houghton, Jo. *Draper, Huddersfield* 6
Houlbrooke, Rev. Theoph. *Hollygrove, Shropsh.* 2
Houson, Ja. *Lincoln's Inn* 2
How, Rich. *Aspley, Bedfordsh.* 1
Howard, Benj. 23, *Martin's-lane Cannon-street* 3
Howard. Jo. Garton, *Hull* 2
Howard, Miss Ann, *Ditto* 2
Howe, Edw. Rusiell, esq *Gower-st. Bedford-square* 5
Howe, Capt. Jo. *Queen-Ann street Westminster* 2
Howlett, Rev. Jo. *Great Dunmow Essex* 4
Hudson, Ja. esq. *Norwich* 3
Hughes, Rev. Tho. *Wimbledon* 1
Hulme, Dr. Nath. *Charterhouse-sq.* 3
Humphrey, Rev. Jo. *Sprouston Hall, Norfolk* 2
Hundlebee, Abednego, *Crown-st. Moorfields* 1
Hunt, Jo. Newton, *Colchester* 2
Hunt, Wm. *Essex* 1
Hunt, William, *Manufacturer-square, Birmingham* 3
Hunter, T. *Pilgrim st. Blackfriars* 2
Hurlock, Jos. sen. esq. *Linsey-row Chelsea-common* 2
Hutchinson, Isaac, *Cannon-st.* 1
Hutchinson, Bury, esq. *Brewer's Hall, Addle-street* 1
Hutson, Henry, esq. *Custom-house* 2
Hynam, Wm. *Ratcliff-highway* 1

I.

Jackson, Abr. *Finch-lane, Cornhill* 3
Jackson, Ja. esq. *New Road, St. George's in the East* 3
Jackson, Jo. *Bungay, Suffolk* 4
Jackson, Jos. esq. *Hatton Garden* 3
Jackson, Sam. *Great Poultney-st. St. James's* 1
Jacobs, Wm. *Pavement, Moorfields* 1
Jameson, Rob. *Ironmonger-lane* 1
Jaques, Rev. J. *Packington, Warw.* 1
Jaques, Rich. Lister, *Size-lane* 5
Jarman, Mrs. Margaret, *Charterhouse-square* 2
Jarratt, Rev. Rob. *Wellington, Soms.* 2
Jee, Tho. Weightman, *Pickleton, Leicestershire* 1
Jefferies, Ed. esq. *St. Tho's Hospital* 5
Jeffery, Geo. esq. *Throgmorton-st.* 5
Jefferys, Mat. *Kidderminster, Worc.* 5
Jeffreis, Thomas, *Cockspur-street* 5
Jeffreys, John, esq. *Bath* 2
Jeffries, John, esq. *Gloucester* 6
Jelf, James, *Gloucester* 1
Jennings, Jo. Wingate, jun. *Harlington, near Woburn, Bedfordsh.* 2
Jenour, Joshua, esq. *Fleet-street* 5
Jessop, Wm. *Newark-upon-Trent* 5
Ind, Edward, esq. *Cambridge* 2
Inglis, Hugh, esq. *Bedford-row* 1
Inglis, John, esq. *Mark-lane* 1
Jobling, John, *Cripplegate* 2
Johnson, Andrew, esq. *Broad-st.* 2
Johnson, Mrs. Sarah, *Burleigh-field, near Loughborough, Leicestersh.* 2
Johnson, Miss Anne Jane, *Ditto* 2
Johnson, Miss Elizabeth, *Ditto* 2
Johnson, Miss Sarah, *Ditto* 2
Jones, Evan, Jo. *Poultry, Crown-st. Moorfields* 1
Jones, John, *West Smithfield* 1
Jones, Tho. 284, *High-st. Southw.* 3
Jones, Rev. Tho. *Trinity College, Cambridge* 2
Jones, William, *Charing-cross* 3
Jones, William, *St. Mary Axe* 2
Jones, Rev. Wm. *Oakham Ripley, Surry* 1
Jordan, John, *Gosport* 3
Joscelyn, Mrs. Martha, *Rumford, Ess.* 1
Joseph, R. *Pewterer, Little New-st.* 2
Jowett, Rev. Dr. Jos. *Professor of Civil Law, Cambridge* 4
Joyce, Joshua, *Essex-st. Strand* 2
Irton, Edm. Lamplugh, esq. *Irton Hall, Whitehaven, Cumberland* 2
Isaac, Elias, *Worcester* 1
Iselin, Jo. Fredr. 4, *Cloak-lane* 1
Iselin, J. Luke, esq. *Norwich* 2
Isherwood, Thomas, esq. *Highgate* 2
Judd, Joseph, 6, *White-lion-street, Norton-Falgate* 1
Ives, Jer. esq. *Carlton, near Norwich* 3
Izod, Tho. *Adams Place, near St. George's Church, Southwark* 2

K.

Kaye, Benjamin, *Leeds* 1
Keddy, Ralph, *Mile-end* 6
Keen, Henry, esq. *Walworth* 5
Kemble, Jo. esq. *Caroline-st. Bedford-square* 2
Kemble, Edw. *Bow lane, Cheapside* 1
Kemble, Francis, *Sweithing's-lane* 3
Kemp, Jo. *Coal Factor, Bermondsey* 1
Kennedy, Rev. Tho. *Manchester* 1
Kerrish, John, esq. *Halesion-hall, Norfolk* 2
Kett, Thomas esq. *Norwich* 2
Kettle, Godfrey, esq. *Gower-street, Bedford-square* 5
Keysall, John, *Temple Bar* 1
Keyser, Assur, *Savage-garden, Tower-hill* 1
King, Rev. Rich. *Worthen, Salop* 1
King, Edw. esq. *Searle-street, Lincoln's inn-fields* 2
King, Samuel, esq. *Hull* 3
King, Isaac, *Wycombe, Bucks* 1
King, John, *Blandford* 1
Kinglake, Rob. esq. *Chippingnorton* 2
Kingsbury, Rev. Wm. *Southampton* 1
Kingston, Benj. esq. *Wimpole-street* 3
Kingston, Geo. *Bandon, near Corke* 1
Kingston, Jo. esq. *Lower Grosvenor-street* 10
Kingston, Robert, esq. *Coleman-st.* 5
Kingston, Rob. esq. *Oporto* 3
Kingston, Stephen, *Philadelphia* 2
Kinnaird, Rt. Hon. Geo. Lord, *Messrs. Hammersly, Pall Mall* 1
Kittmer, Benj. *Walsingham, Norf.* 2
Knies, Andrew, *Wellclose-square* 1
Knight, William, *Camberwell* 1
Knight, Edw. *Brick-lane, Old-st.* 1
Knight, Fr. esq. *Clifford-street Burlington-garden* 2
Knipe, Rob. esq. *Weymouth-street, Portland-place* 3
Knowles, Henry, *High-st. Borough* 4
Kohn, George Lewis, *London-street* 1
Kymer, Jo. esq. *Scot's Yd. Bush-l.* 17

L.

Ladbroke, Rich. esq. *Queen's-sq.* 5
Laforest, Wm. *Upper Thames-st.* 4
Lamb, John, esq. *Golden square* 10
Lambard, Multon, esq. *Sevenoaks, Kent* 3
Lambe, Wm. esq. *Pump-c. Temple* 2
Lane, Timothy, *Aldersgate-street* 3
Lanfear, Amb. 32, *Cheapside* 3
Langston, William, *Gutter-Lane* 1
Langston, S. esq. *Watling-street* 2
Lardner, Jo. 36, *High-st. Southw.* 1
Latham, Charles, *Melton, Mowbray* 2
Launder, Rev. Ab. Collin, *Notting.* 1
Law, Robert, *Stock Exchange* 5
Law, James, esq. *Portland Place* 1
Lawford, Samuel, *Peckham* 1
Lawrence, Effingham, *Merchant Great Tower hill* 1
Lawrence, J. Towers, *Birmingham* 1
Lawrence, Richard, esq. *Leman-street, Goodman's-fields* 1
Layton, John, 41, *Lime-street* 1
Lee, Richard, *Old Jewry* 1
Leathley, John, *St. Dunstan's-hill* 2
Leach, John, *Cornhill* 1
Lee, Joshua, *High-street, Southwark* 5

Leech,

Digitized by Google

Leech, Tim. *Corbett-court, Grace-church-ſtreet* 2
Leigh, Rev. William, *Bath* 2
Legard, Mrs. Frances, *Beverley, Yorkſhire* 2
Le Meſurier, Paul, eſq. M. P. *Walbrook* 5
Lettice, Rev. John, *Peaſemarſh, near Lamberhurſt, Suſſex* 1
Leverton, Thomas, *Queen's-ſtreet, Lincoln's-inn-fields* 1
Levett, William, *Hull* 1
Levy, Zach. *Broad-ſt. Buildings* 5
Lewis, Edw. *Upper Thames-ſtreet* 3
Lewis, Mrs. Hannah, 16, *Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, within* 1
Lewis, J. *St. Paul's-Church Yard* 10
Lewis, Thomas, eſq. *Gower-ſtreet* 5
Leyceſter, Ralph, eſq. *Hall-grove near Bagſhot, Surry* 5
Lievre, Rev. Peter, *Church-ſtreet, Deptford* 1
Lilckindey, George, *Parſon-ſtreet, Eaſt Smithfield* 1
Lindo, Moſes, jun. 30, *Leadenh-ſt.* 2
Liſter, Daniel, *Hackney* 5
Livius, George, eſq. *Bedford* 10
Lloyd, Miſs Ann, *York* 2
Lloyd, Daniel, *Bewldown, near Uley, Glouceſterſhire* 2
Lloyd, Sir Edward, Bart. *Lower Seymour-ſtreet* 2
Lloyd, Gamaliel, eſq. *Bury, Suff.* 2
Lloyd, Nathan. *Uley, Glouceſterſh.* 2
Lloyd, Sam. *Merchant, Lower Thames-ſtreet* 10
Lloyd, William, *Ditto* 10
Lock, John, *Fiſh-ſtreet-hill* 1
Lock, Rev. Robert, *Newark* 1
Lockwood, Tho. eſq. *Mortimer-ſtreet, Cavendiſh-ſquare* 4
Loggen, Tho. *Biſhingball-ſtreet* 1
Lomas, Rev. Hen. *Clippingnorton* 3
London, Dr. B. Porteus, Biſhop of, *St. James's-ſquare* 1
Longridge, Mic. *Sunderland, Dur.* 1
Loſeby, John, *Leiceſter* 2
Louſada, Iſ. Baruch, eſq. *Devonſhire-ſquare* 4
Lovenden, Edw. Lovenden, eſq. M. P. *Conduit ſtreet* 4
Lucas, Matthew, *Tower Dock* 1
Lucas, Nathaniel, eſq. *Bridge-row* 8
Lucas, Rob. St. John, *York-houſe, Bath* 1
Luders, Alex. *Abingdon, Weſtmin.* 5
Ludlam, Wm. eſq. *Queen-ſtreet, Cheapſide* 1
Lum, Aubrey Joſ. *Stuart-ſtreet, Old Artillery Ground* 1
Lum, Miſs Mary, *Ditto* 1
Luttrel, Fr. Fownes, eſq. *Powis-pl.* 2
Luſhington, William, eſq. M. P. *Portland-place* 4
Lyon, Dr. Benj. *Bartlet's Buildings, Holborn* 2

M.

Macauley, Rev. Auley, eſq. *Claybrook, Leiceſter* 1
Machell, Chr. eſq. *Beverley* 1
Mackay, Alex. Geo. 34, *New Broad-ſtreet* 1
Macreth, Rob. eſq. M. P. *Cork-ſt.* 2
Macmurdo, Edw. Longdon, eſq. *Bread-ſtreet* 3
Mactaggart, Jo. eſq. *Scot's-Yard, Biſh-lane* 27
Maddox, Wm. *Paradiſe-row, Rotherhithe* 1
Mair, John, eſq. 60, *Friday-ſtreet* 3
Mainwaring, Mrs. Ann, *Bennet-ſtreet, Cambridge* 2
Maitland, Jo. eſq. *Baſinghall-ſt.* 10
Mallet, John, *Newington Green* 3
Mallet, Mrs. Martha, *Mark-lane* 3
Mallet, Philip, jun. *Newington Green* 3
Mallet, Phil. *Mark-lane* 4
Mallet, Charles, *Newington Green* 3
Mallet, Miſs Patty, *Ditto* 3
Maltby, Tho. *at Meſſrs. Walters, Maltby, and Co.* 3
Manning, Geo. *St. Thomas, Exeter* 3
Manning, Miſs Mary, *Ditto* 1
Manning, Rev. James, *Exeter* 2
Manning, Rev. Jo. *Wycomb, Bucks* 1
Manning, Mrs. Mary, *Exeter* 1
Manning, Sam eſq. *Wycomb, Bucks* 1
Manning, Tho. *Topſham, Devonſ.* 2
Mansfield, John, eſq. *Leiceſter* 2
Mansfield, John, jun. *Ditto* 2
Mansfield, James, *Ditto* 2
Mansfield, Miſs Sarah, *Derby* 1
Marriot, Rich. *Rathbone Place* 1
Marriot, William, *Hoxton-ſquare* 1
Marſhall, Caleb, *Scot's-yd. Buſh-l.* 5
Martin, Amb. eſq. *Finch-lane* 3
Martin, James, eſq. M. P. *Tewkeſbury* 5
Martin, Mrs. *Downing-ſtreet* 1
Martindale, J. eſq. *St. James's-ſt.* 2
Martineau, Philip Meadows, eſq. *Norwich* 2
Maſeres, Fran. eſq. *King's-bench Walk, Temple* 2
Maſon, John, *Deptford* 1
Maſon, Rev. Geo. *Lisr, Leiceſterſ.* 2
Maſon, John, *Grocer, Lombard-ſt.* 1
Maſon, Rev. William, *York* 2
Mather, Jo. *Martin's-l. Cannon-ſt.* 1
Mather, Benj. *Wellingborough, Northamptonſhire* 2
Matthew, Rev. Anthony Stephen, *Rathbone Place* 2
Matthews, George, *Chippingnorton* 2
Matthews, Mrs. Mary, *Ditto* 1
Maud, Jam. Jo. eſq. *Prince's-ſq.* 1
Maver, Jo. eſq. *Fox Ordinary-court, Nicholas-lane* 1
Maw, Jo. *Gainſborough, Lincolnſh.* 4
May, John, eſq. *Malden, Eſſex* 1
Mayeliſtone, Ja. *Circus, Minories* 1
Maynard, Tho. 18, *Hatton-garden* 1
Maynard, Th. eſq. *Hoxneball, Suff.* 2
Mayow, Winnel Mayow, *Sydenham* 1
Mazzanti, Ferdinand, 4, *Titchfield-ſtreet, Oxford Market* 3
Meggitt, John, *Wakefield, Yorks* 1
Melliſh, John, eſq. *Biſhopſgate-ſt.* 3
Melliſh, William, eſq. *Ditto* 3
Meller, John, *Calico Printer, Levensholm, near Manchester* 1
Mercer, Wm. eſq. *Baſinghall-ſt.* 1
Meſtaer, Peter Everitt, eſq. *Rotherhithe* 3
Metcalfe, Bilton, *Golden-leg-court Cheapſide* 3
Meyer, Miſs Cath. *Leadenhall-ſt.* 1
Meyer, Herman, *Ditto* 1
Meyer, James, *Ditto* 2
Meyer, John, *Angel-court, Throgmorton-ſtreet* 3
Mexted, John, *Barking church-yard, Tower-ſtreet* 1
Meymott, William, *Preſcot-place, St. George's, Southwark,* 1
Middleton, Sir Charles, Bart. *Hertford ſtreet, Mayfair* 10
Mildred, Daniel, eſq. *Kingſbury-ſq.* 1
Mildred, Thomas, *Ditto Norfolk* 1
Miles, Robert, *Aſton Magna* 1
Miles, Rich. *Campden, Glouceſterſ.* 1
Milford, Samuel, eſq. *Exeter* 51
Milford, Samuel Frederick, *Merchant, Exeter* 2
Millard, Rev. Charles, *Beaconſdale, near Norwich* 2
Miller, Jo. *Stone Buildings, Lincoln's-inn* 1
Miller, Frederick, *Swallow-ſtreet* 4
Millikin, H. Benſon, *Whitechapel* 1
Mills, Charles, eſq. *Birchin-lane* 6
Mills, Jacob, *Montague-cloſe* 5
Mills, John, *Colcheſter* 3
Mills, Wm. eſq. *Stratford Place* 10
Milner, Joſ. 73, *Aldermanbury* 3
Milnes, James, eſq. *Wakefield* 5
Milnes, Rich. Slater, eſq. M. P. *Picadilly* 5

Digitized by Google

Milnes, Mrs. Rachel, 6
Milnes, James, jun. esq. *Thorn House, Wakefield* 2
Milnes, Mrs. Mary Ann, *Ditto* 2
Minshull, William, *Snowhill* 1
Mitchell, George, *Deptford* 3
Mitchell, Wm. esq. *Princes-square* 1
Mitchell, Wm. esq. *Beethtewn Halifax* 2
Mitchell, Capt. William, *at Mr. Wilson's, Navy Office* 2
Mitchell, John, esq. *Chelsea* 1
Mitton, Henry, esq. *Birchin-lane* 6
Molling, Fred. esq. *Dowgate-hill* 8
Moncrieff, R. Scott, esq. *Glasgow* 1
Monckton, Hon. Edw. M. P. *Upper Grosvenor-street* 10
Montague, Matthew, esq. M. P. *Manchester-square* 2
Montague, Charles, *Guildhall* 2
Moore, Edward, esq. *Stockwell* 1
Moore, George, *Hoxton* 1
Moore, William, *Ludgate-street* 3
Moore, Peter, esq. *Queen-square, Westminster* 3
Moore, Rev. Jo. *Appleby, Leicest.* 1
Moore, John, *Leicester* 1
Moore, John, jun. *Ditto* 3
Moore, Miss Elizabeth, *Ditto* 1
Moore, Miss Ann, *Ditto* 1
More, Miss Hannah, *Bath* 1
Moreton, Wm. esq. *Clement's-lane* 2
Morin, Mrs. Ann Salome, 26, *Sherrard-street* 1
Morland, William, esq. *Pallmall* 6
Morley, William, esq. *Broad-st.* 2
Morley, Wm. jun. *Broad street Buildings* 1
Morris, Thomas, esq. *Camberwell* 3
Morris, John, *Nottingham* 2
Morrit, Mrs. Frances, *York* 1
Morton, A chibald, *Wellingborough, Northamptonshire* 3
Morton, Mrs. Frances, *Rev. Dr. Frewar's, Colchester* 2
Mucklow, Horatio, *Custom-house* 1
Muncaster, Lord, M. P. *Ravenglass, Cumberland* 2
Munnings, Chr. esq. *Kingston* 1
Musgrave, Peete, *Cambridge* 10

N.

Naimbanna, Prince Henry Granville, *Son of King Naimbanna, Sierra Leona* 1
Nautes, Henry, esq. *Broad-street* 2
Nash, Sir Stephen, *Bristol* 2
Nash, William, *Royston, Herts.* 1
Natali, Jos. *Charles-st. Horsleydown* 6
Neale, James, *St. Paul's Ch. Yd.* 1
Neale, Miss Leonara Mary Ann, *Luton, Bedfordshire* 3
Neale, Miss Henrietta, *Ditto* 1
Neale, John, *St. Paul's Ch. Yd.* 4
Neate, John, *Devizes, Wiltshire* 2
Nelson, Mrs. Elizabeth, *Beverley* 1
Nesbitt, Thomas, *Bank of England* 1
Newbald, Robert, *Rotherhithe* 1
Newberry, Mrs. Rachael, *Southampton-row, Bloomsbury* 1
Newnham, Tho. esq. *Bedford-row* 4
Newton, John, *Copthall-court* 4
Newton, Rev. Jo. *Colman street Buildings* 1
Newton, Rev. Sam. *Thorp, near Norwich* 2
Nichols, Benjamin, *Tower-street* 3
Nicholls, Miss Sarah, *Kidderminster* 1
Nicholson, Joseph, *Philadelphia* 2
Nickling, James, *Botolph-lane* 10
Nind, Benjamin, *Great Prescot-st.* 1
Nisbett, Samuel, *Islington* 1
Nixon, John, esq. *Cateaton-street* 1
Norden, Abr. *Walthamstow, Essex* 1
Nottidge, Thomas, *Bocking, Essex* 1
Nourse, Joseph, *Welbeck-street* 2

O.

Oakley, Wm. *Church-street, St. John's, Southwark* 2
Ogburn, Rich. *Bishopsgate-street within* 1
Ogle, John Ogle, *Bridlington Key* 2
Oldham, James Oldham, *Holborn* 6
Olding, John, esq. *Cornhill* 3
Ommaney, Edward, esq. *Bloomsbury-square* 10
Onley, Rev. Ch. *Stirted Hall, Essex* 2
Orange, John Baptist, *Turner's Hill, Cheshunt* 3
Osborn, Wm. M. D. *Hanover-sq.* 2
Othen, Isaac, *Lombard street* 1
Overend, Joshua, *Hull* 1

P.

Pack, Richard, *Upper Thames-st.* 3
Padman, Isaac, jun. *Broad-street Buildings* 2
Painter, William, *Bristol* 2
Paleske, Lewis, *America-square* 10
Paley, Richard, *Leeds* 5
Palmer, Wm. esq. *Chippingnorton* 5
Panter, William, *St. Dunstans-hill* 3
Pares, Miss Mary, *Leicester* 2
Pares, Mrs. *Ditto* 1
Parker, David, esq. *King's Mews* 5
Parker, George, *Tipton, Staffordsh.* 2
Parker, John Kennet, *Princes'-sq.* 1
Parker, Joseph, esq. *Mettingham, near Bungay* 1
Parker, Miss Phillis, *Fleet-street* 1
Parker, Sam. esq. *New Bridge-st.* 15
Parker, William, *Fleet-street* 5
Parkinson, John, sen. *Racquet-court, Fleet-street* 1
Parkinson, John, jun. *Ditto* 1
Parnell, Rt. Hon. Sir John, Bart. *Dublin* 2
Parry, Isaac, *Deptford* 3
Parsons, Wm, esq. *Princes-street Hanover-square* 1
Pasley, John, esq. *Jeffrey's-square St. Mary Axe* 5
Patten, John, *Cannon-st. Oxford* 1
Patteson, Rev. Henry, *Coney Weston, near Thetford* 4
Patteson, Mrs. Martha, *Norwich* 2
Pattison, John, *Glasgow* 1
Pattison, Joseph, *Malden, Essex* 1
Pattison, John, esq. *Norwich* 2
Pattle, Thomas, esq. *Lime-street* 1
Paulin, John, *Chelsea* 1
Paxton, Chr. esq. *Aldersgate-st.* 8
Payne, Michael, *Leicester* 1
Pead, B. *Broad-st. Buildings* 1
Pead, Miss Ann, *Hull* 2
Peake, George, *Leicester* 2
Pearsale, Nicholas, *Kidderminster* 2
Pearson, James, esq. *Basinghall-st.* 1
Pearson, Michael, *Spital-square* 1
Peckard, Rev. Dr. Peter, *Magdalen College, Cambridge* 2
Peckover, Edm. *Bradford, Yorksh.* 3
Peckover, Jonathan, *Wisbech, Cambridgeshire* 8
Pierse, Hen. esq. M. P. *Bedale Yorkshire* 2
Pell Albert, esq. *Temple* 3
Perring, John, *Throgmorton-st.* 1
Perry, Philip, esq. *Blackwall* 4
Peters, George, esq. *Old Bethlem, Broad-street* 4
Phené, Nicholas, 88, *London-wall* 1
Phillips, Rev. Nathaniel, *Palsgrave, near Diss, Suffolk* 2
Philipson, Nicholas, *Maidenhead* 2
Phillips, Tho. esq. *Leek, Staffordsh.* 1
Phipps, Jonathan Wathen, esq. *Walbrook* 1
Phyn, James, esq. *Mark-lane* 1
Pickering, Thomas, *Darlington* 4
Pickford, Tho. 4, *Martin's-lane Cannon-street* 5
Pieschell, Charles, *Size-lane* 1
Pilliner, James, *George-st. Westmin.* 1
Pingo, Benj. esq. *Herald's College* 1
Pingo, Walter, *Tottenham-high-cross* 3
Pitt, Thomas, esq. *Wimpole-street* 5
Pitt, William Morton, esq. M. P. *Arlington-street* 10
Platt, Miss Jane, *Mr. Champion, Winchester street* 5

Digitized by Google

Platt, Thomas, *Stamford-st. Surry* 6
Plowes, John, esq. *Leeds, Yorkshire* 1
Plummer, Rob. *Walsingham, Norf.* 1
Plumbtre, Jo, esq. *Fredville, Kent* 2
Plymley, Rev. Jos. *Lougnor, Salop* 3
Polhill, Charles, esq. *Chipstead-place, Kent* 6
Polhill, Mrs. Elizabeth, *Ditto* 1
Pollard, William, *Swithin's-lane* 2
Popham, Col. Wm. *Dover-street* 2
Popkin, John, esq. *Coytrehene, Glamorganshire* 2
Porter, Joseph, esq. *Hatton Garden* 3
Postlethwaithe, Rev, Tho. D. D. *Master of Trinity College, Camb.* 6
Potter, Samuel, *Milk-street* 3
Pottinger, Chr. esq. *Stock Exchange* 5
Potts, Charles, esq. *Chester* 4
Powell, Dav. jun. *Great St. Helen's* 1
Powell, Baden, jun. esq. *Little St. Helen's* 1
Powell, John Clark, esq. *Ditto* 1
Powell, Ja. esq. *Crown-c. Broad-st.* 1
Pratt, Charles, *Lawn, South Lamb.* 1
Pratt, John, *Ditto* 1
Pratt, John, jun. *Ditto* 1
Pratt, Jos. Stephen, esq. *Woodhouse Grove, near Bradford, Yorks* 4
Prest, Edward, esq. *York* 2
Preston, Mrs. Jane, *Miles's-lane Cannon-street* 1
Preston, Thomas, *Ditto* 1
Price, Charles, *Snowhill* 2
Price, John, *Leicester* 1
Price, Joseph, esq. *Stratton-street, Piccadilly* 17
Price, Robert, *Milk-street* 3
Price, Thomas, *Leadenhall-street* 2
Prickett, Joseph, *Hull* 1
Prideaux, John, esq. *Ditto* 1
Prideaux, Tho. esq. *Ditto* 1
Prime, Richard, *Bucklersbury* 1
Prinsep, John, esq, *Barnetts, Hoare, and Co.* 4
Pringle, Wm. esq. *Rathbone-place* 20
Pritzler, Theophilus, esq. *Wellclose-square* 1
Pryce, Edward, *Bucklersbury* 2
Pryce, Tho. *General Post Office* 1
Puddicombe, Rev. John Newell, *Dulwich College* 3
Puddicombe, Rev. Thomas, *Rumford, Essex* 3
Pugh, David Heron, *Peckham* 1
Pugh, Joseph, *Threadneedle-street* 1
Puller, Mrs. Mary, *Cranbourn-st. Leicester-fields* 2
Puller, Miss Mary, *Ditto* 1
Pulley, Joseph, *Stock Exchange* 1
Pyndar, Rev. Reginald, *Hadsor House, near Droitwich, Worcester* 5

R.

Raby, Alen, *Steel Yard* 2
Raby, George, *Ditto* 2
Rackett, Rev. Thomas, *Spetisbury* 1
Rae, John, esq. *Angel-c. Throgmorton-street* 1
Raikes, Tho. esq. *New Broad-st.* 3
Randall, Edward, *Cambridge* 2
Raper, Mrs. Ellen, 1, *Wigmore-st.* 1
Raper, Matthew, esq. *Stratford-pl.* 3
Rastall, Rev. William, *Newark* 3
Rathbone, William, *Liverpool* 2
Ravenscroft, Edw. esq. *Harley-st.* 6
Raw, Matthew, *Lombard-street* 1
Rawdon, William, *Cheapside* 1
Rawlings, Tho. *Padstow, Cornw.* 1
Rawlings, Wm. *Ditto* 1
Rawlinson, William, *Friday-street* 2
Rawson, Samuel, *Halifax* 3
Rawson, William, *Corbet-court, Gracechurch-street* 3
Ray, Rev. Orbel, *Tostock, Suffolk* 2
Raybould, Tho. *Broad-st. Ratcliff* 2
Rea, John, *Minories* 1
Reddal, Richard Ambrose, esq. *Wooburn, Bedfordshire* 1
Reeve, Edw. *Upper Brook-street* 3
Reeve, Miss Frances, *Ditto* 2
Reeve, Joseph, *Canterbury-square* 2
Remington, John, *Milk-street* 10
Rennard, Joseph, *Hull* 2
Revell, George, *Princes-st. Mansion-house* 1
Reymes, Sam. *Friday-street* 2
Reyner, Jos. esq. *Ducksfoot-lane* 10
Reynolds, Forster, esq. *Carshalton* 2
Reynolds, Wm. *Ketley, near Shifnal, Shropshire* 3
Reynolds, Wm. *Folkestone, Kent* 1
Richard, Sam. *King's-road, Chelsea* 4
Richards, John, jun. *Leicester* 1
Richardson, Hannah, *Hull* 1
Richardson, John, esq. *Upper Wimpole-street* 10
Richardson, Jo. esq. *Pitfour, Perth* 1
Richardson, Thomas, *Carlton, near Hull, Yorkshire* 1
Rickards, Rev. Robert, *Lantrissent, Glamorgan* 1
Rickards, Thomas, esq. *Clapton* 4
Ridley, John, *Princes-square* 2
Ridsdale, William, *Mr. Reyner's, Ducksfoot-lane* 2
Rigby, Edward, *Norwich* 5
Ripley, John Richard, *Lawrence Pountney lane* 2
Roberts, Daniel, esq. *Chatham-pl.* 1
Roberts, Henry, sen. *Long Marston, Gloucestershire* 1
Roberts, Hen. jun. *Clapton, Glouc.* 1
Roberts, Rev. W. H. D.D. *Loughborough House, Surry* 2
Robins, John. *Stoke Newington* 1
Robinson, Charles, *St. George's-row, St. George's-fields* 1
Robinson, John, *Hull* 2
Robinson, Rev. John, *Wilborne, near Kirby Moorside* 1
Robson, John, Chamberlain, *New Ormond-street* 5
Robson, Robert, *Royal Exchange* 5
Rodwell, Thomas, *Craven-street* 1
Roebuck, John, esq. *St. Mary Hill* 3
Rogers, Charles, esq. *College of Physicians, Warwick-lane* 3
Rogers, John, esq. *Yarlington Lodge, near Wincanton* 1
Rogers, Samuel, esq. *Freeman's-court, Cornhill* 3
Rose, Miss Frances, *Darking, Surry* 1
Rose, Richard, *Ditto* 1
Rose, Rev. Wm. Lucas, *Daventry* 2
Ross, Abraham, *Tokenhouse Yard* 1
Ross, Mrs. Henrietta, *Rossie, near Montrow* 1
Ross, Hercules, esq. *Ditto* 2
Ross, James Tyrell, *Crown-street, Westminster* 1
Ross, William, *Ditto* 1
Rosser, Richard, *Cheapside* 1
Rowcroft, Thomas, *Lime-street* 2
Rowe, John, *New River Office* 1
Rowe, Rev. John, *Shrewsbury* 1
Rowe, Miss Sarah, *Carmarthen* 1
Royds, Jerem. esq. *Bucklersbury* 20
Rumsey, Hen. jun. *Chesham, Bucks* 1
Russel, Miss Sarah Gill, *Saville-row, Walworth* 2
Rutland, William, *Bishopsgate-st.* 1
Rutt, John Towel, *Thames-street* 10
Rutton, Thomas, *Charing-cross* 1
Ryder, Rt. Hon. Dudley, M. P. *Park-street* 1

S.

Sage, Edw. esq. *Cheapside* 1
Salloway, Sam. *St. Johns st. South.* 2
Salmon, Rev. *Rector of Caister, Norfolk* 1
Salte, William, *Poultry* 2
Samler, Herman, *St. Andrews hill* 4
Sanford, Wm. esq. *New Bond st.* 5
Sanson, Phil. esq. *London st.* 9
Sargeant, Edw. jun. *Grove House, Mile End* 2
Sargeant, Edward, jun. *Circus, Minories* 3
Sargeant, Geo. Edw. 77, *Longacre* 1
Sargeant, Jo. *Queen st. Lincolns inn fi.* 1
Sarney, Josiah, *Bishopsgate st.* 2
Satchell, Miss Eliz. *Limehouse* 1

Savage,

Digitized by Google

Savage, Miſs Ann, *Kenſington* 2
Savage, Joſ. eſq. *Biſhopſgate ſt. without* 5
Savill, Joſ. *Bocking, Eſſex* 4
Savill, William, *Heydon ſq.* 2
Sawrey, Miles, *Plymouth* 9
Schneider, Jo. Nicholaus, *Holborn* 1
Scholefield, Rev. Radcliffe, *Birmingham* 1
Scholey, Geo. eſq. *Old Swan* 1
Schooling, Jas. 44, *Biſhopſgate ſt. within* 1
Schroder, Herman, 9, *College hill* 2
Scotney, Benj. eſq. 46, *Gower ſt.* 2
Scott, Claude, eſq. *Gower ſt.* 10
Scott, Geo. *Hatton Garden* 2
Scott, Hugh, eſq. *Harley ſt.* 2
Scott, Jo. eſq. *Strand* 3
Scott, Rob. eſq. *Wimpole ſt.* 6
Scott, R. *Woodcome, near Huddersfi.* 4
Scott, Tho. *Ludgate hill* 2
Seale, David, *Peckham, Surry* 2
Sealy, Jo. *Ornamental ſtone manufactory, Lambeth* 1
Searle, Jas. *Cheapſide* 3
Secker, Roger, *Newington Butts* 2
Secretan, Fred. Sam. *Walbrook* 1
Sells, Ed. jun. 49, *Bankſide, Southw.* 1
Sergeant, W. *Melton, Lincolnſhire* 2
Sharp, Geo. 37, *Threadneedle ſt.* 5
Sharp, Gran. eſq. *Garden c. Temple* 5
Sharp, Wm. *Fulham* 5
Shaw, Jas. *Margaret ſt. Cavendiſh ſquare* 1
Shaw, Jo. *King ſt. Cheapſide* 11
Shaw, Rev. Will. *Enfield* 2
Shears, Jas. *Fleet Market* 1
Shelton, Tho. *Seſſions h. Old Bailey* 3
Shepherd, Rev. H. *Beverley, Yorkſ.* 2
Shepherd, Wm. *Lambs Conduit pl.* 1
Sheppard, Edw. *Baſinghall ſt.* 2
Sheppard, Tho. *Ditto* 1
Shore, Bohum, eſq. *Meerſbrook, near Sheffield* 2
Shore, Sam. eſq. *Ditto* 2
Shore, Sam. jun. eſq. *Norton hall, near Sheffield* 2
Shores, Wm. 71, *Cheapſide* 1
Short, Barth. eſq. *Lothbury* 1
Shuttleworth, H. Raynes *Ludgate ſt.* 2
Sibbald, Geo. eſq. *Harley ſt.* 1
Sibley, Miſs Mary, *Cheapſide* 1
Sibley, Miſs Sarah, *Ditto* 1
Sikes, Jo. *Diſtaff lane* 3
Simeon, Rev. Ch. *Kings Col. Cam.* 2
Simpſon, Rev. Dav. *Macclesfield, Cheſhire* 2
Simpſon, Jas. Warne, *Lime ſt.* 2
Simpſon, John, *Hull* 2
Simpſon, W. Wooley, *Diſs, Norf.* 1
Skirrow, Wm. *Borough High ſt.* 3
Skrimſhire, Wm. *Wiſbech* 3
Slack, Tho. eſq. *Mr. Sikes, Diſtaff lane* 3
Slade, Dan. *Three Crowns c. Borough* 3
Slade, Miſs Eliz. *Rye, Suſſex* 1
Slade, Miſs Mary, *Ditto* 1
Slann, Jas. Bright, 7, *Cheapſide* 1
Slater, Adam, eſq. *Cheſterfield* 1
Sloman, Wm. *Deptford* 2
Smales, Rich. *Walworth* 1
Smalley, Cornwall, eſq. *Kings Arms yard* 10
Smalley, Wm. *Wiſbech, Cambridgeſ.* 2
Smart, Rich. eſq. *Lambs Conduit ſt.* 2
Smith, Drummond, eſq. *Grafton ſt.* 2
Smith, Fran. eſq. *Norwich* 1
Smith, Jas. Ed. M. D. *Marlborough ſt.* 1
Smith, Jas. *Fiſh ſtreet hill* 4
Smith, Jas. *Norwich* 1
Smith, Jo. Fred. *Wakefield, Yorkſh.* 1
Smith, Rev. Jo. Gee, *at Meſſ. Kett's, and Co. Norwich* 2
Smith, Jo. *Cirenſter* 3
Smith, Jo. *Red Lion ſt. Whitechapel* 1
Smith, Jo. *Warwick lane* 1
Smith, Joſa. eſq. M. P. *Great George ſt. Weſtminſter* 2
Smith, Iſ. *Margaret ſt. Weſtminſter* 1
Smith, Martin Fred. 21, *Panton ſt. Haymarket* 2
Smith, Mrs. *Piercefield, Monmouthſ.* 1
Smith, Rob. eſq. M. P. *Hemalls, Herts.* 1
Smith, Rob. eſq. 1
Smith, Rob. *Church hill, Oxfordſ.* 1
Smith, Sam. eſq. M. P. *Wellford, Nottinghamſhire* 3
Smith, Rev. Dr. Sam. *Prebendary, Weſtminſter* 2
Smith, Tho. eſq. *Grays Inn* 3
Smith, Tho. *Rocheſter* 1
Smith, Tho. *Bridge ſt.* 3
Smith, Tho. Woodrooffe, eſq. *Great St. Helens* 2
Smith, Wildman, *Fredericks place* 1
Smith, Will. eſq. M. P. *Clapham, Surry* 6
Smith, Wm. *Stockwell ſt. Greenw.* 2
Smithus, Hen. *Clink ſt. Southwark* 1
Smith, Chriſtopher, *Northampton* 10
Smyth, Jo. eſq. *Bruton ſt.* 1
Sneyd, Ed. ſen. eſq. *Lichfield, Staffordſhire* 2
Sneyd, Jo. eſq. *Bellmont, Staffordſ.* 4
Solly, Rich. eſq. *St. Mary Axe* 1
Sowerby, Jo. eſq. *Hatton Garden* 5
Sparke, Joſ. *Bank* 1
Sparrow, Rev. Bence, *Baker ſt. Portman ſq.* 1
Spear, Rob. eſq. *Manchester* 2
Spencer, Rt. Hon. Jo. Earl, *St. James's place* 2
Spencer, Jo. *Fenchurch ſt.* 1
Speanger, Jo. eſq. *Symonds Inn* 2
Stanhope, Walter, Spencer, eſq. *Cannon hall, near Barnſly, Yorkſ.* 4
Stanhope, Mrs. Mary Spencer, *Ditto* 2
Staniforth, Ch. *Broad ſt. Buildings* 3
Stansfield, Tim. *Upper Thames ſt.* 10
Statham, Samuel, *Nottingham* 2
Steel, Dav. *Union row, Minories* 1
Steele, Joſ. eſq. *Tower hill* 1
Steele, Joſ. *Finſbury ſq.* 1
Stephens, Merret, *Glouceſter* 2
Stevens, Sir Phil. Bart. M. P. *Admiralty* 5
Stephenſon, Rich. *Swanland, Hull* 2
Steven, Rob. *Upper Thames ſt.* 2
Stevenſon, Joſ. eſq. *Botolph lane* 10
Stewart, Edw. eſq. *Aldermanbury* 5
Stewart, Jo. Tiffin, 13, *Gracechurch ſt.* 1
Stiff, Tho. *New ſt. Covent Garden* 4
Stillingfleet, Rev. J. *Hotham, near Market Weighton, Yorkſh.* 2
Stokes, Ed. eſq. *Melton Mowbray, Leiceſterſhire* 4
Stokes, Ed. Maior, jun. eſq. *Ditto* 1
Stokes, Henry, *Friday ſt.* 1
Stonard, Nathen. *Bromley, Middleſ.* 1
Stone, Jo. 230, *High Holborn* 1
Stone, Jo. Hurford, eſq. *Hackney* 3
Stonehouſe, Jo. eſq. *Manchester* 1
Stonehouſe, Geo. *Brent Knoll, near Bridgewater, Somerſe'ſh.* 10
Storace, Step. *Rathbone place* 1
Storey, Rob. eſq. *Bedford ſq.* 3
Stott, Ely, 5, *Pump c. Temple* 1
Stovin, Jas. eſq. 2
Stovin, Mrs. Theodoſia, *Carr Houſe, near Doncaſter* 2
Stracey, Randolph, *Whitechapel ro.* 1
Strangman, Miſs Ann, *Leek, Staffordſhire* 1
Stratton, Geo. eſq. *Great Tew, near Henſton, Oxford* 5
Stratton, Gibſon, and Schonberg, *Leadenhall ſt.* 3
Stratton, Sam. jun. eſq. *Ditto* 2
Stratton, Tho. eſq. *Hackney* 2
Strickland, Ed. *Fiſh ſt. hill* 2
Strode, Jo. eſq. *South hill, Shepton Mallet* 2
Stubbing, Rob. *Hedon, near Hull* 1
Stuckey, Geo. eſq. *Hackney College* 3
Stuckey, Sam. eſq. *Langport, Somer.* 3
Stutfield, Cha. 154, *Ratcliff high way* 1
Styleman, Nicho. *Norwich* 3
Sutton, Benj. *Leiceſter* 2

Digitized by Google

Sutton, Eliz. *Charterhouse sq.* 1
Sutton, Jas. *Devizes* 2
Sutton, Jo. *Stock Exchange* 1
Sutton, Miss Martha, *Devizes, Wilts.* 1
Sutton, Miss Sarah, *Ditto* 1
Sutton, Rob. *Manſion Houſe ſt.* 1
Sutton, Will. eſq. *Canterbury ſq.* 1
Swaine, Rob. *Croſs hill, Halifax* 1
Swale, Jo. eſq. *Charlotte ſt. Bloomſb.* 3
Swan, Will. *Wigan, Lancaſhire* 1
Sykes, Sir Chriſtopher, Bart. *Sledmore Yorkſhire* 10
Sykes, Joſ. eſq. *Hull* 4
Sykes, Mrs. *Weſt Ella, Yorkſhire* 1
Sykes, Miſs Mary Ann, *Ditto* 2
Syms, James Renat, *Pudding lane* 1

T.

Tabor, Rob. eſq. *Hythe, Colcheſter* 2
Tailer, Jo. Bayly, *Woodbridge, Suf.* 2
Tayler, Rev. Tho. *Powis place, Ormond ſt.* 3
Taylor, Benj. *Sutton, St. Edmunds, near Wiſbech* 2
Taylor, Ed. Farmer, *Chicknell, Claverley, Salop* 5
Taylor, Gawan, *Scarborough* 2
Taylor, Geo. Alderſon, eſq. *Bowe, near Greata bridge* 2
Taylor, Jo. eſq. *Birmingham* 7
Taylor, Jo. eſq. *Steel yard* 2
Taylor, Joſ. eſq. *Lynn, Norfolk* 3
Taylor, Iſaac, *Biſhopſgate ſt. without* 1
Taylor, Meadows, eſq. *Diſs, Norf.* 2
Taylor, Sam. eſq. *Hatton garden* 5
Taylor, Vickeris, eſq. *Great St. Helens* 5
Taylor, Walter, eſq. *Southampton* 1
Taylor, Wm. eſq. *Greenwich* 3
Taylor, Wm. jun. *Norwich* 3
Templeman, Mrs. Cather. *Size l.* 1
Templeman, Thomas, *Ditto* 10
Terrington, John, *Hull* 1
Terrington, Wm. *Newington Butts* 2
Terry, Rich. *Hull* 1
Theſegar, Auguſtus, *General Poſt Office* 3
Thompſon, Achicſon, eſq. *Newry, Ireland* 4
Thompſon, Jas. *Dyers buildings, Hol.* 1
Thompſon, Jo. eſq. *Croydon, Surry* 1
Thompſon, Iſaac, *Croſs lane, St. Mary's hill* 2
Thompſon, Iſaac, jun. *Ditto* 2
Thompſon, Rev. *Clapham* 1
Thompſon, Tho. eſq. *Hull* 1
Thompſon, Wm. *Leeds* 5
Thompſon, Wm. *Hull, Yorkſhire* 1
Thomſon, Wm. eſq. *Birds buildings, Iſlington* 1
Thorn, Abraham, *Hackney* 1
Thornton, Henry, eſq. M. P. *Kings arms yard* 58
Thornton, Jo. *King James's ſtairs, Shadwell* 3
Thornton, Rich. *Horſleydown* 8
Thornton, Rob. eſq. M. P. *Clapham, Surry* 18
Thornton, Sam. eſq. M. P. *Ditto* 6
Thorold, Mrs. Frances, *Grimſby, Lincolnſhire* 2
Thorold, Mrs. Mary, *Hampſtead* 2
Thorp, Abr. 76, *Biſhopſgate ſt.* 1
Thorpe, Anthony, *York* 2
Tibbits, Rich. *Milk ſt.* 17
Tickell, Wm. *Bath* 5
Tigh, Rob. Stearne, eſq. *Clanville Lodge, near Andover* 4
Tigncombe, Jo. eſq. *Plymouth* 3
Tiler, John, *Bow lane* 1
Tilſley, William, *Newgate ſt.* 1
Tindall, Jas. *Scarborough* 2
Tingcombe, Jonathan, *Plymouth* 2
Tolcien, Dan. Gotlieb, *Bedford ſt. Covent garden* 1
Tomkins, Benj. *Upper Thames ſt.* 1
Tomkins, Jo. Wm. *Victualling Of.* 1
Tomkins, Jo. *Abingdon* 1
Tomkins, Joſ. eſq. *Ditto* 2
Tomkins, Wm. eſq. *Ditto* 2
Tomkins, Wm. jun. eſq. *Ditto* 2
Toogood, Wm. eſq. *Sherborn, Dorſetſhire* 2
Toplis, Jo. eſq. *Workſworth, Derb.* 2
Torkington, James, *Stamford* 1
Torkington, William, *Ditto* 3
Towgood, Jo. eſq, *Clements l.* 10
Towgood, Matt. *Stock Exchange* 5
Towgood, Wm. eſq. *Bread ſt.* 10
Towle, Joſ. *Borough High ſt.* 1
Townſend, Rich. 18, *Fenchurch ſt.* 1
Townley, Jas. eſq. *Doctors Commons* 3
Townſend, Edw. 47, *Lime ſt.* 1
Trigge, Capt. Jo. *Bath* 1
Trimbey, Jo. eſq. *Queen ſt. Cheapſ.* 10
Trimmer, Jas. *Botolph lane* 10
Tritton, Jo. Hinton, eſq. *Lombard ſt.* 1
Trump, Tho. *Paradiſe ſt. Rotherhithe* 1
Trye, Ch. Brandon, *Glouceſter* 3
Tucker, Tho. 20, *Somerſet ſt. Whitechapel* 1
Tuffen, Jo. Furnell, *Lower Thames ſt.* 1
Tulk, Jo. Aug. eſq. *Sloan ſt. Knightſbridge* 2
Tupper, Jo. Eliſha, *Guernſey* 2
Turnbull, Jo. eſq. *Devonſhire ſq.* 2
Turner, Rev. Baptiſt Noel, *Denton, Lincolnſhire* 2
Turner, Dorothy, *Limehouſe* 1
Turner, Joſa. *Leeds* 1
Turner, Tho. eſq. *Hull* 1
Turner, Tho. *Derby* 1
Turney, Wm. *Wood ſt. Cheapſide* 1
Tutin, William, *Birmingham* 1
Twining, Jo. *Eſſex ſt.* 3
Twining, Rich. *Ditto* 3
Tylee, John, *Devizes* 2
Tyler, Rev. Will. *Partney, Lincoln.* 2

V.

Valpy, Rev. Dav. *Reading* 1
Vaux, Edw. eſq. *Auſtin Friars* 4
Venn, Edw. *Bow lane, Cheapſide* 1
Vincent, Zelophehad Wyeth, *Little St. Thomas Apoſtle* 2
Vivian, Jo. eſq. *Tanfield c. Temple* 5
Vulliamy, Lewis, *Leman ſt. Goodman's fields* 1

W.

Waddington, Jo. *Minories* 3
Waddrom, Ch. B. *Mancheſter* 1
Wagſtaffe, Jo. *Norwich* 1
Wainman, Rev. Rich. B. A. *Boddington, Northamptonſh.* 1
Wainman, Will. eſq. *Carhead, Craven, Yorkſh.* 4
Waldron, Jo. *Bank of England* 7
Wallford, Jo. *Tower Dock* 4
Walford, Jo. *Little Wincheſter ſt.* 1
Walford, Luke Wm. *Ditto* 5
Walker, Jo. *Brick lane* 5
Walker, Jona. eſq. *Fernham, near Rotherham* 2
Walker, Joſ. eſq. *Eaſtwood, near Ditto* 4
Walker, Joſa. eſq. *Cliſton, near Ditto* 5
Walker, Rich. eſq. *Mancheſter* 5
Walker, Rich. *at Mr. Willis's, Borough* 1
Walker, Rob. *Labour in vain hill* 5
Walker, Sam. eſq. *Marlborough, near Rotherham* 4
Walker, Tho. *Holmes, near Ditto* 2
Walker, Tho. eſq. *Redland, Briſtol* 2
Walker, Tho. eſq. *Mancheſter* 5
Walker, Wm. *Gravel l. Houndsditch* 3
Walker, Wm. *Upper Charlotte ſt. Portland place* 3
Wallis, Peter, *Trump ſt.* 1
Walrond, Miſs Eliz. Fryer, *Exeter* 2
Walſh, Francis, *Bank of England* 1
Walton, Jo. *Church l. Whitechapel* 1
Walton, Pearſon, *St. Mary Axe* 1
Walton, Will. *Deputy Accomptant Bank* 1
Wanſey, Geo. *Warminſter* 1
Ward, Archer, *at Meſſ. Walkers, Maltby and Co.* 3

Ward,

Digitized by Google

Ward, Hen. Wm. *Biſhopſgate within* 2
Ware, Jas. eſq. *Bridge ſt. Blackfriars* 2
Waring, Joſ. *Lambeth* 1
Waring, Sam. eſq. *Glouceſter* 2
Warne, Jas. *Southwark* 3
Warne, Jas. jun. *Ditto* 2
Warner, Jo. *Fleet ſt.* 2
Warner, Rev. Dr. Jo. *Rector of Stourton, Wilts.* 1
Warner, Rich. *Little Wigſton, Leic.* 1
Warren, Rev. Eraſmus, *Bolton row, Piccadilly* 2
Warren, Geo. *Warminſter* 1
Warren, Peter, *Ditto* 1
Warren, Mrs. Mary Domet, *Great Ruſſel ſt. Bloomſbury* 3
Warren, Sam. *Ditto* 3
Warriner, Geo. *New Bond ſt.* 1
Wathen, Jona. eſq. *Walbrook* 3
Watkinſon, Sam. *Lavenham, Suff.* 2
Watſon, Miſs Ann, *Whitchurch, Shropſh.* 1
Watſon, Chriſtoph. *Great Tower ſt.* 1
Watſon, Geo. *Sexlingham, Norwich* 2
Watſon, G. eſq. *Whitchurch, Shrop.* 1
Watſon, Jacob Kruger, *Little Diſtaff lane* 1
Watſon, Jo. eſq. *Mincing lane* 3
Watſon, Jo. *St. Giles, Norwich* 3
Watſon, Joſa. *Mincing lane* 1
Watts, David Pike, *Minories* 1
Watts, Jo. eſq. *General Poſt Office* 1
Waugh, Joſ. eſq. *Dowgate hill* 1
Weaver, Francis, *Bathwick* 2
Webb, Joſ. 8, *Staining lane* 1
Webber, Dorothy, *Burrow Buildings, Blackfriars road* 1
Webber, Jas. eſq. *Ditto* 1
Webber, Major Jas. 62, *Welbeck ſt.* 5
Webſter, Jude, *Spread Eagle Inn, Gracechurch ſt.* 2
Wedgewcod, Jo. eſq. *Eſtruria, Staffordſh.* 2
Wedgewood, Joſi. jun. eſq. *Ditto* 6
Wedgewood, Tho. eſq. *Ditto* 5
Wedgwood, Joſi. *Greek ſt. Soho* 11
Weed, Sam. *Greenwich* 1
Welch, Sam. *Cuſtom houſe* 3
Wellford, Jo. *Lad lane* 3
Wells, Jos. eſq. *Clapham* 2
Wells, Peter, eſq. *Adelphi* 2
Welsford, Jo. *Creditor, Devonſhire* 1
Weſt, Jas. eſq. *Clapham* 3
Weſton, Tho. *Clay hill, Enfield* 5
Whalley, Daniel, eſq. *Minories* 1
Whalley, Rev. Palmer, *Eaton, Northamptonſh.* 5
Whalley, Tho. *Friday ſt.* 2
Watley, Wm. *Oxford c. Cannon ſt.* 1
Whatley, Rev. Geo. Kemble, *Hones Green, near Oakingham* 10
Whiſhaw, Hugh, *Caſtle ſt.* 1
Whitacre, John, *Woodhouſe, near Huddersfield* 2
Whitaker, Miſs Ann, *Loughton hall, Eſſex* 2
Whitaker, David, *Hackney* 1
Whitbread, S. eſq. M. P. *Portman ſq.* 20
White, Henry, *Wood ſt.* 5
White, Lawrence, *Fiſh ſt. hill* 1
White, Rich. 124, *Wood ſt.* 1
White, Dr. Step. *Foundling Hoſpital* 5
White, Wm. *Bulham* 4
Whitehead, Jo. eſq. *Baſinghall ſt.* 2
Whitelock, Wm. *Leeds* 1
Whiting, Mat. eſq. *Ratcliff croſs* 2
Whitaker, Mrs. Penelope, *Mancheſter ſq.* 3
Whittaker, Miſs Ann, *Loughton hall, Eſſex* 9
Whittenbury, Jo. eſq. *Mancheſter* 2
Whitty, Mrs. Sarah, *Lyme Regis, Dorſetſhire* 1
Wicke, Geo. *Church l. Whitechap.* 1
Wickens, Reh. Aaron, *Great Dunmow, Eſſex* 2
Wilberforce, Will. eſq. M. P. *Old Palace yard* 10
Wilcocks, Wm. eſq. *Norwich* 1
Wild, John, *Queen ſt. Southwark* 4
Wild, Rich. *Biſhopſgate ſt.* 3
Wilding, Rev. R. *Allſtretton, Shrop.* 2
Wilkinſon, Geo. *Dublin* 1
Wilkinſon, Rev. Jas. *Sheffield* 2
Wilkinſon, Miſs Rebec. *Clapham* 2
Wilkinſon, Mrs. Rebecca, *Preſcot ſt. Goodmans fields* 1
Williams, Jo. eſq. *Victualling Office* 2
Williams, Rev. J. *Bridewell, Devon.* 1
Williams, John, 26, *Bread ſtreet* 1
Williams, Jo. 19, *Arlington ſt.* 1
Williams, Jo. Caſely, *Exeter* 2
Williams, Stephen, *Poultry* 5
Williams, T. eſq. M. P. *Adelphi* 1
Williamſon, Joſhua, *Botolph l.* 1
Williamſon, Mat. *Bridlington Key* 2
Willington, Jas. *Philpot lane* 10
Willington, Jo. eſq. *Kings Bench Walk, Temple* 1
Willis, James, *Eaſt India Houſe* 1
Willis, John, eſq. *Dulwich* 3
Wilmhurſt, Rev. S. *Malden, Eſſex* 1
Wilſon, Benj. *Moorfields* 1
Wilſon, Francis, eſq. *Navy Office* 10
Wilſon, Geo. eſq. *Lincolns Inn* 1
Wilſon, Mrs. Jane, *Bucklerſbury* 1
Wilſon, Jo. *Goldſmith ſt.* 5
Wilſon, Joſ. *Milk ſt.* 3
Wilſon, Miſs Mary, *Highbury pl.* 3
Wilſon, Stephen, *Bucklerſbury* 1
Wilſon, Stephen, *Church court, Spitalfields* 3
Wilſon, Tho. *Broad ſt.* 3
Wilſon, Tho. eſq. *Gower ſt.* 3
Wilſon, Tho. jun. *Wood ſt.* 3
Wilſon, Wm. *Goldſmith ſt.* 5
Wilſon, Will. eſq. *Clapton* 2
Wilſon, Will. eſq. *Minories* 3
Wilſon, Wm. jun. *Ditto* 1
Wilſon, William, jun. *Hoxton ſq.* 1
Wiltſhire, Geo. *Poultry* 2
Windeatt, Sam. Milford, *Bridge town, Totneſs* 2
Winter, Ben. *Leeds* 1
Winter, Sam. jun. *Ditto* 1
Wiſhaw, Jo. *Caſtle ſt. Holborn* 1
Witte, Ludewig, *Wells ſt.* 2
Witton, Matthew, 63, *Chiſwell ſt.* 2
Wilts, Broome, P. 44, *Friday ſt.* 1
Wolff, Erneſt F. eſq. *American ſq.* 3
Wolff, Geo. eſq. *Ditto* 15
Wolff, Jens, eſq. *Ditto* 3
Wolff, Miſs Maria Ann, *Ditto* 3
Wallaſton, Rev. Fr. Jo. Hyde, *Jackſonian Profeſſor, Cambridge* 2
Wallaſton, John, *Holborn bridge* 2
Wontmer, John, *Minories* 1
Wood, Sir Francis, Bart. *Lower Groſvenor ſt.* 12
Wood, Henry, *Leiceſter* 1
Wood, John, *North Cave, Hull* 3
Wood, Rev. Will. *Market Boſworth, Leiceſterſh.* 1
Woodall, Miſs Eliz. *Scarborough* 1
Woodhouſe, Jas. *Croſs lane, St. Dunſtans hill* 3
Worley, Joſha. *Cheapſide* 1
Wray, Sir Cecil, Bart. *Pall mall* 1
Wrench, Jacob, *Lower Thames ſt.* 1
Wrench, J. G. *Lower Thames ſt.* 1
Wright, Alex. eſq. *Eltham, Kent* 1
Wright, Dan. *Briſtol* 2
Wright, Jo. eſq. *Nottingham* 5
Wright, John Maud, *Weſt cloſe ſq.* 5
Wright, Will. *Goodmans fields* 1
Wroe, Mrs. Ann, *Macclesfield, Cheſhire* 1
Wroughton, William, eſq. *Hadley, Middleſex* 3
Wyatt, Rob. *Coleman ſt.* 2
Wyvill, Rev. Chriſtopher, *Burton hall, Yorkſhire* 2

Y.

Yardley, Samuel, *Shrewſbury* 1
Yarker, John, eſq. *Devonſhire ſt. Queen ſq.* 1
Yates, Rev. Jo. *Toxteth Park, Liv.* 2
Yerbury, John, jun. *Gracechurch ſt.* 1
Young, Sir Geo. *Great Ruſſel ſt. Bloomſbury* 5
Young, Joſhua, 51, *New ſtairs, Rotherhithe* 1
Young. Will. *Harley ſt.* 3

The

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

The following Reſolutions, ſhow what laudable care the original ſubſcribers took to prevent the intruſion of improper perſons into the Company. But their humane intention could not be executed, on account of the impoſſibility of obliging perſons who would afterwards become poſſeſſed of ſhares, as heirs, &c. to diſpoſe of them in a manner ſuitable to the original plan. Beſides the unemployed part of the Company's capital could ſcarcely be expected to be always adequate to the purchaſe of the ſhares, which would thus be continually falling in, and for which it would not at all times be eaſy to find proper purchaſers. But it is ſubmitted, Whether this difficulty might not have been avoided, if every ſubſcriber, in caſe of his death, &c. had veſted the right of diſpoſing of his ſhares in the remaining original ſubſcribers, who might have been empowered to exerciſe that right, as long as a certain number of them, (ſay) ſhould remain. And in all probability, the object of the inſtitution would have been ſecured, long before the original ſubſcribers would have been reduced to ſo ſmall a number. (See § 606, Art. 1. Plan.)

1026. (Abridgment.)—At a General Court, held at the King's Head Tavern in the Poultry, on Wedneſday, 30th November, 1791.—Read a Report of the Court of Directors, propoſing that, from the increaſe of the Company's affairs, many Proprietors wiſh the ſum of £50,000 to be added to the Company's capital.

RESOLVED,

£50,000 to be raiſed.

(1.) That not leſs than £50,000 be added to the £100,000, voted at the laſt court.

(2.) That every ſubſcription be paid at one payment, within a month after the date of a circular letter, from the Directors, calling for the ſame.

How ſubſcribers are to be recommended,

(3.) That every Proprietor of a ſhare, be at liberty to recommend, in perſon at this Meeting, or by letter to the Secretary, on or before Dec. 13th, Proprietors for his proportion of the new ſhares; *he declaring the perſon he recommends to be well affected to the Company's objects*, and to intend holding his ſhares, on his own account.

[N. B. Every Proprietor of a ſhare may recommend for nineteen new ſhares in the whole.]

and balloted for.

(4.) That the new Proprietors recommended ſhall be balloted for on the 20th Dec. at a ballot to be kept open from 12 to 5 o'clock; and that agreeable to a reſolution of the laſt General Court, *one third* of the balloters ſhall exclude.

(5.) That the right of recommending new Proprietors for the deficiency remaining after the 13th Dec. ſhall he divided equally among the preſent Proprietors, who ſhall be informed, by letter, of his farther ſhare of recommendations.

(6.) That every Proprietor fill up this his farther ſhare of recommendations by a letter to the Secretary, on or before the 1ſt of Feb. and that a farther ballot, of new Proprietors, ſhall be taken the 8th of Feb.

(7.) That

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

(7.) That ſo much of the £150,000 as ſhall not be filled up on the 1ſt of Feb. may be filled up by the exiſting Proprietors, either by their taking additional ſhares on their own account, or by their recommending new Proprietors, until the whole deficiency be ſupplied. Proprietors to recommend Subſcribers,

(8.) That, in caſe the capital ſhould be increaſed beyond £150,000, the right of taking additional ſhares ſhall be diſtributed as equally as poſſible among the then Proprietors, in proportion to their ſhares; and, if any of them ſhall decline taking the ſhares due to them, the right of recommendation ſhall be diſtributed among them on the ſame principle of equality. according to their ſhares.

(9.) That the annexed letter be the future form of recommending new members, viz.—" I beg to recommend A. B. of for Shares, and C. D. of for Shares, in the ſtock of the Sierra Leona Company, *believing they are well affected to the objects for which the Company is eſtabliſhed*; and that they take the ſaid ſtock on their own account. Form of recommendation.

Abridgment of the Act of Parliament, incorporating the Sierra Leona Company. 1790.

1027. THE Preamble ſtates, *inter alia*, that a commercial intercourſe with the interior countries of Africa, would be highly beneficial to the manufactories of Great Britain; that thoſe interior countries have not yet been explored by Europeans; that ſuch undertakings require a conſiderable capital joint ſtock; that the parties ſhould be poſſeſſed of ſome diſtrict on the coaſt, where they may ſecurely depoſit their property; that a ſociety has been already formed, and conſiderable ſums ſubſcribed; but that they are apprehenſive of legal difficulties in recovering debts, &c. unleſs they are regularly incorporated: it is therefore enacted that the ſubſcribers (who are enumerated in the act) and thoſe who may become ſuch, be incorporated under the name of the S. Leona Company, and have a common ſeal.

II. The Company may purchaſe lands, not exceeding the annual value of £2000, and may alſo ſell the ſame.

III. The Company may raiſe a joint ſtock, not exceeding £500,000 by ſubſcriptions from members of the Company or other perſons, in ſhares of £50 each.

IV. Subſcribers to have an intereſt in the capital joint ſtock, according to the amount of their ſubſcriptions; and to be reſponſible to the Company's creditors, to that amount, but not farther. See § 373.

V. The Company not to borrow money, except by a ſubſcription for ſhares.

VI. The Company not to deal in or have ſlaves.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

VII. Thirteen perſons to be choſen by the members, from among themſelves, to be called a Court of Directors, to manage the Company's affairs.

VIII. The firſt election of Directors to be made in July, 1791; and every ſubſequent election ſhall be made between the 1ſt of Jan. and the 1ſt of April yearly; and they ſhall continue Directors till their ſucceſſors be ſworn into office.

IX. Fourteen days' notice of the time of chuſing Directors, to be publiſhed in the London Gazette.

X. The Directors, at their firſt Meeting, to chuſe out of their own number a chairman and a deputy chairman, who ſhall continue in office, till the ſucceeding Directors be ſworn in.

XI. In caſe of the death, or other avoidance of office, of any of the Directors, on 14 days' notice in the London Gazette, the members of the Company to meet, and chuſe a ſucceſſor or ſucceſſors, who ſhall continue in office, till the ſucceeding Directors be ſworn in.

XII. The ſame rule, *mutatis mutandis*, to be obſerved by the Directors, in chuſing a chairman or deputy chairman, in caſe of death, &c.

XIII. Elections and buſineſs in General Courts, to be determined by the majority of votes.

XIV. Members of the Company, in General Courts, to have votes, according to the number of their ſhares, namely, 1 or 2 ſhares entitles a member to 1 vote; 3 or 4 ſhares to 2 votes; 5, 6, or 7 ſhares, to 3 votes; 8 or 9 ſhares to 4 votes; 10 or more ſhares to 5 votes, and no member ſhall give more than 5 votes.

XV. Directors to take an oath to give their beſt advice and aſſiſtance in the concerns of the Company, and to demean themſelves faithfully and honeſtly in their office.

XVI. No perſon to have a vote in the election of Directors, or making of bye-laws, but proprietors in their own right, and not in truſt.

XVII. Where joint proprietors hold a ſhare or ſhares, the perſon whoſe name ſtands firſt in the Company's books, ſhall vote.

XVIII. Quakers to make ſolemn affirmations inſtead of the oaths required.

XIX. No perſon to be choſen a Director, unleſs poſſeſſed, in his own right, of one ſhare at leaſt in the ſaid capital joint ſtock.

XX. Every Director to take an oath that he poſſeſſes, in his own right, one ſhare at leaſt.

XXI. Oaths to be taken by Directors, to be adminiſtered by the Lord Mayor, or any Alderman of London, or by any two or more Directors who ſhall have been firſt ſworn.

XXII. In caſe any perſon choſen Director, refuſe or neglect to qualify or take the office, a new election to be made.

XXIII. Court of Directors, or the majority, (the Chairman or deputy Chairman being always one) may meet when, and where convenient, may ſummon General

Digitized by Google

Courts when they ſee cauſe; and, in all caſes not provided for by this act, or by the bye-laws agreed upon by the General Court, they may act as they think meet.

XXIV. Directors may appoint Subcommittees to tranſact buſineſs.

XXV. The Secretary to be choſen by the Court of Directors, to receive notice of his election, and to take an oath of fidelity to the Company, which is to be adminiſtered by the Directors.

XXVI. Notice to be given to perſons appointed agents or ſervants to the Company.

XXVII. Directors to adminiſter to agents or ſervants, an oath of fidelity to the Company.

XXVIII. Secretary, agent, or ſervant, neglecting or refuſing, for 40 days after receiving notice, to take the oath, vacates his office.

XXIX. Members of the Company may meet at any convenient time and place, to chuſe Directors, make bye-laws, &c. Such Meeting (the Chairman or deputy Chairman to be always one, except in caſes hereafter mentioned) ſhall be called a General Court of the Company.

XXX. One General Court in a Year at the leaſt to be called, by the Court of Directors.

XXXI. In caſes of failure to call them by the Court of Directors, any 5 of their ſucceſſors may call a General Court in the month of May next enſuing.

XXXII. On a written requiſition from any 9 or more members, at any time, the Directors ſhall call a General Court, within 20 days. In caſe of refuſal, the ſaid 9 or more members, on 14 days' notice in the London Gazette, may ſummon a General Meeting, and appoint one of themſelves chairman, and may hear any complaint againſt any Director or Directors. In caſe he or they ſhall not clear him or themſelves, then, within 20 days, (notice being publiſhed as aforeſaid) another General Court ſhall meet and determine the matter, and may remove ſuch Director or Directors, and elect one or more Directors in his or their place.

XXXIII. The General Meeting may make bye-laws and inflict penalties, ſo that the ſame be not repugnant to the laws of the realm. The penalties to be applied to the uſe of the Company.

XXXIV. Firſt General Court to be held in July, 1791.

XXXV. Chairman to have the caſting vote, when the number of votes is equal, either in a General Court, or in a Court of Directors.

XXXVI. A Court of Directors, to be held at leaſt every month; and, if the Chairman or deputy Chairman neglect or refuſe to call ſuch Court, then 5 or more Directors, on reaſonable notice in the London Gazette, may ſummon the ſaid Court.

XXXVII. The Chairman or deputy Chairman, within 2 hours after the Meeting of the Directors, ſending notice of their inability to attend, the other Members may proceed to buſineſs without them.

XXXVIII. Books by the name of "The Ledger of the Capital Joint Stock of the Sierra Leona Company," and "The Transfer-book of the Sierra Leona Company,"

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

pany," to be kept, ſworn to by the accomptant, if required; and, from time to time, to lie open for inſpection.

XXXIX. Shares to be transferrable by an entry in the transfer-book, ſigned by the party, to this effect.

I *A. B.* dotransfer and aſſign unto *C. D.* his executors, adminiſtrators, and Aſſigns, my Share or Shares [*as the caſe may be*] in the Capital Joint Stock of the *Sierra Leona Company*, and all benefit ariſing therefrom. Witneſs my hand, this Day of in the Year of our Lord .

Or, by his attorney, to this effect

I *A. B.* by virtue of a Letter of Attorney from *C. D.* dated the Day of in Year of our Lord do in the name and on the behalf of the ſaid *C. D.* transfer and aſſign unto *E. F.* his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, the Share or Shares of the ſaid *C. D.* in the Capital Joint Stock of the *Sierra Leona Company*, and all benefit ariſing therefrom. Witneſs my Hand, the Day of in the Year of our Lord

XL. No perſon to claim as executor, adminiſtrator, or deviſee, without producing the probate or letters of adminiſtration, of which a memorandum muſt be entered in the transfer-book, which ſhall lie open for inſpection, without fee.

XLI. For preventing doubts with reſpect to the credit of the Company, an account of their debts, credits, and capital, ſigned by the Chairman, deputy Chairman and 5 other Directors, ſhall be publiſhed in the London Gazette in April, every year.

XLII. The Directors to appoint officers and ſervants, continue them while they think fit, and eſtabliſh their ſalaries.

XLIII. Shares in the Capital Joint Stock to be deemed perſonal eſtate.

XLIV. His Majeſty impowered to grant, and the Company to hold, the excluſive right of ſuch part of the *Peninſula of Sierra Leona*, as may be veſted in His Majeſty, by grant or purchaſe from the native kings; and the Company empowered to purchaſe, if they think fit, the reſt of that peninſula, from the native kings, &c.

XLV. The ſhips of the African merchants, may, as heretofore, anchor in Sierra Leona and Camaranca rivers, may build temporary tents and huts on ſhore, and may purchaſe from the natives, ivory, wax, camwood, and proviſions, fire-wood and water, without any new charge.

XLVI. Proceedings, in purſuance of this act, not to be quaſhed or vacated for want of form.

XLVII. Actions for things done in purſuance of this act, to be brought within 6 months after the fact. The defendant may plead the general iſſue, and give this act in evidence, and then the jury ſhall find for the defendant, or the Court of Seſſion in Scotland ſhall diſmiſs the ſuit, and the defendant have treble coſts.

XLVIII. The duration of this act, and conſequently of the Sierra Leona Company, limited to 31 years from the firſt day of July, 1791.

XLIX. This act to be deemed a public act.

LIST

Digitized by Google

(§ 1028.)

LIST OF THE ORIGINAL SUBSCRIBERS

TO THE ASSOCIATION FORMED IN 1792, FOR CULTIVATING

THE ISLAND OF BULAMA;

AND BY THAT MEANS PROMOTING THE

CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA.

This subscription was raised in London and Manchester, upon lands to be purchased, from the native chiefs of the Island of Bulama, and the adjacent parts of the continent. *Absentee Subscribers* paid £60 *per* 500 acres, and *Colonist Subscribers* £30 *per* 500 acres:—8680 acres were to be given *gratis* to the governor and the other officers who were to conduct the first expedition.

The figures annexed to the names denote the number of acres subscribed for.

The names marked with asterisks come under the Manchester subscription.

Absentee Subscribers or Purchasers of Land.

*Afzelius, Dr. Adam, *Upsal, Sweden* 500
*Alsop, George, *Manchester* 250
*Baker, Thomas, esq. *Ditto* 500
Banbury, W. esq. 166, *Bishopgate without* 125
*Barton, Henry, *Manchester* 500
*Bateman, Thomas, *Ditto* 500
*Berry, Jeremiah, *Stockport* 500
*Binns, Joshua, *Manchester* 250
*Birch, So. *Ditto* 500
*Birch, Scholes, *Ditto* 500
Blew, Wm. *High Lords Court, Crutched Fryars* 250
*Broadhurst, John, *Manchester* 500
Campbell, Hect. 12, *Newcastle st. Strand* 250
Cock, Ambrose Hinde, 65, *L. Shadwell* 250
*Collin, John, *Stockport* 500
*Cooper, Thomas, esq. *Manchester* 500
*Cooper, William, *Leeds* 250
Coslett, William, esq. 500
Cotton, Jos. *Exchequer, Chigwell, Essex* 125
Denham, Thomas, 500
Dickenson, S. 31, *Stanhope st. Clare Mar.* 250
Dickenson, Thomas, 250
*Dodgson, J. *Manchester* 250
Douglas, Hon. Dunbar, *at Couts Trotter's, Somerset place* 1000
*Doxon, James, *Manchester* 1250
*Dunderdale, David, *Leeds* 500
Duppa, Mrs. Sarah, 250
*Edenson, John, *Manchester* 250
*Edenson, Wm. Johnson, *Ditto* 500
Elkins, Randolph, 250
Etheridge, John, sen. *Hoxton* 125
Etheridge, John, jun. *Ditto* 125
*Fielding, John, *Manchester* 250
Fletcher, Henry, 184, *Wapping* 250
*Fogg, Ralph, *Manchester* 500
*Fogg, Thomas S. *Ditto* 250
Frogley, Bartho. esq. 28, *Winchester st.* 125
*Gee, Robert, *Stockport* 500
Gibbens, John, 3, *City Road* 125
Goodwin, Dav. 65, *Lower Shadwell* 125
Goring, Charles, 500
Gratton, Thomas, *Norton Falgate* 250
*Hanson, Joseph, *Manchester* 500
Harrison, Wm. esq. *Bread st.* 500
Hartwell, Geo. esq. *Navy Office* 2000
Hayne, Wm. 3, *Broadway, Blackfriars* 250
*Heywood, Geo. *Manchester* 500
*Hilton, Thomas, *Ditto* 500
Hopkins, Joshua, esq. *Elder st. Norton Falgate* 125
*Inkersole, Joseph, *Leicester* 250
*Jackson, John, *Manchester* 500
*Jackson, John, *Leicester* 500
*Johansen, Andrew, *Ystad, in Sweden* 250

*Jowett,

Digitized by Google

*Jowett, Benj. *Leeds* 500
*Kay, Benj. and Sons, *Ditto* 500
*Kay, Benj. junr. *Ditto* 500
Keyſer, Aſſur and Cohan, Sam. *Bevis Marks, St. Mary Axe* 500
Kirkpatrick, J. S. eſq. 14, *John ſt. Adelp.* 1250
Langdale, Ja. 16, *Tabernacle row* 125
Le Meſurier, Paul, eſq. M. P. *Walbrook* 1750
Locke, John, *Fiſh ſtreet hill* 250
Louſada, Em. Baran, jun. eſq. 36, *Perry ſt. Rathbone place* 250
*Lupton, Jonathan, *Leeds* 250
Lopes, M. 250
Mangles, Ja. eſq. 272, *Wapping* 250
Miller, Sir J. Riggs, Bart. 1750
*Mitchel, William, *Mancheſter* 500
Mocatta, Jacob, 250
Monteſiora, Sam. Vita, *Manſell ſt. Goodmansfields* 250
Morgan, F. L. 250
Mullens, Wm. 26, *Bartlets Buildings* 500
Paiba, Roland, *Garraway's Coffee houſe* 125
Parker, Iſaac, *Putney, Surry* 250
Pearce, Wm. 12, *Howland ſt.* 125
Phillips, Iſaac, 27, *City road* 125
*Phillips, John, junr. *Mancheſter* 500
*Phillips, Robert, *Ditto* 1000
*Phillips, George, *Ditto* 1000
*Phillips, Thomas, and Co. *Ditto* 1000
*Phillips, Chriſtopher, *Halifax* 250
*Preſton, Thomas. *Mancheſter* 500
Reed, Shakeſpeare, 250
*Rees, C. G. *Mancheſter* 250
*Rees, P. L. *Ditto* 250
Reid, R. eſq. *at Paul le Meſurier's, Walbr.* 250
*Roberts, Rich. eſq. *Mancheſter* 500
*Roſs, Joſeph, *Briſtol* 250
Rickets, John, 250
*Salmon, Joſhua, *Whittenham, Mancheſter* 250
*Sanders, George, *Whitby* 500
Scott, Dav. M. P. *Upper Harley ſt.* 1750
Secretan, Fred. Sam. eſq. 6, *Walbrook* 250
Sherwood, John, 76, *Drury lane* 125
*Sidgreaves, Ja. *Mancheſter* 250
*Slater, William, *Ditto* 250
Smith, Nathan. *Knightſbridge* 500
Sneyd, Tho. 18, *Hertford ſt. May fair* 250
Sneyd, Ralph, *Ditto* 250
*Sotheby John, *Manchſter* 125
*Stanley, Charles, *Ditto* 250
*Stopford, Miſs Jane, *Stockport* 250
*Sykes, William, *Manchſter* 500
Symcoe, John, 15, *Oakley-ſtreet, Lambeth, Surry* 250
Texeira, Abraham 250
Tulk, John, Aug. 21, *Sloane-ſtreet, Knightſbridge* 250
Vial, G. W. 58, *Wheeler-ſt. Spitalfields* 125
*Wadſtrom, Mrs. Ulrica, *Mancheſter* 500
Wainwright, Charles, *St. George's Turnpike, Eaſt* 125
Walker, Joſeph, eſq. *Doctors' Commons* 250
Walker, Rev. Wm. 31, *Stanhope-ſtreet Claremarket* 250
*Walker, Miſs Charlotte, *Stockport* 250
*Wardle, James, *Mancheſter* 500
Watts, Ja. 16, *Tabernacle-row, City-road* 125
Webb, Samuel, 71, *Grub-ſtreet* 250
Webber, James, *Welbeck-ſtreet* 500
*Webſter, Robert, *Whitby* 500
Whitewood, Peter, 2, *Old Burlington-ſt.* 250
Wilſon, Giffin, eſq. 10, *Lincoln's-inn, New-ſquare* 250
Wilſon, Gloſter, eſq. *Ditto* 250
Wood, James, 21, *Old Compton-ſt. Soho* 125
Woodburn, Mrs. Jane, *Peterſham, Surry* 250
Wootton, Jo. 12, *White's-al. Coleman-ſt.* 125
*Worthington, Thomas, *Mancheſter* 250
Ximenes, Abr. *Garraway's Coffee-houſe* 125
Ximenes, Moſ. eſq. 30, *Upper Gower-ſt.* 1000
Young, William, *Harley-ſtreet* 500

Coloniſt Subſcribers to the Bulama Aſſociation, and who ſailed for that Iſland on the firſt Expedition, in 1792.

Aberdeen, C. E. 250
*Afzelius, Dr. Adam, *Upſala, in Sweden* 500
Ahlelund, Adolph, *from Sweden* 500
Ballard, William Edward, 250
Banfield, William, 500
Bant, Mrs. Anna, 125
Bant, Miſs Ann, 500
Bant, Miſs Elizabeth, 500
Bant, Miſs Milleſent, 500
Bayley, Nicholas, 500
Beaver, Philip, eſq. *Lieut. in the Navy* 1000
Boſtock, Robert C. 500
Brodie, Francis, 2000
Burdet, Henry, 250
Clutterbuck, Peter, 1500
Curwood, John, 1000
Curry, Abraham, 500
Dobbin, Robert, 1000

Drake

Drake, Charles,	1500	Munden, John,	500
Donnelly, Francis,	500	Neild, Richard Cloudesley,	1250
*Farrer, Timothy,	2000	*Nordenskiold, August. *Finland, Sweden*	500
Fielder and Butler,	1250	Ozanne, Thomas,	1000
Finlay, Justice,	125	Paiba, John William,	500
Flynn, Thomas,	1000	Paiba, John,	1000
Ford, Richard,	500	Parny, Henry,	500
Freeman, Joseph,	500	Pereira, Benjamin,	1000
Gandell, John Strathen,	500	Pereira, Mordet,	500
Hancorne, Richard,	500	Price, Dolphin,	500
Harley, John,	500	Pullen, W.	125
Halton, Sir W.	500	Reynolds, John,	2000
Hood, John,	250	Robinson, Charles,	500
Keyburn, George,	750	Seaton, R.	500
King, John,	500	Sherwood, Charles,	500
Lawless, John,	500	Smith, William,	625
Longbotham, Bulkeley Thomas,	500	Sparks, Thomas,	250
Malleson, John Kennedy,	500	Squire, John,	250
Marsack, Charles T.	1000	Ward, Richard Samuel,	250
Metcalf, Hicks,	500	Webster, Robert,	1000
Metcalf, William,	500	Wightman, Daniel,	250
Montefiore, Josh.	500	Ximenes, Isaac,	750
Morse, John,	250	Young, J.	500

Lands granted gratis, *before the Expedition sailed.*

Dalrymple, H. H. esq. *Governor*	2000	Marston, Benjamin, *Surveyor*	500
Bant, W. esq.	500	Rowe, John, *Surgeon*	500
Balled, J. *Surgeon*	500	Williams, Owen, *Assistant Surgeon*	500
Heriot, John, esq. *Secretary*	500	Young, J. esq.	500

SHIPS.

CALYPSO.

Stenzell, J. *Captain*	Acres	500
Stenzell, W. 1st *Mate*		200
Martin, M. 2d *Ditto*		100
Jordan, A. *Carpenter*		100
Robson, W. *Boatswain*		100
Bennet, J.		
Cormick, W.		
Jefferson, P.		
Johnson, J.		
Millar, J.	*Seamen*, 40 acres each	360
Paper, W.		
Porter, J.		
Smith, G.		
Wood, S.		
		1360
Hankey's		1320
Biggar's Bennison, Cutter		
Bickhead, J. *Captain*		500
		3180

HANKEY.

Cox, J. *Captain*		500
Brixey, J. 1st *Mate*		200
Mackay, G. 2d *Ditto*		100
Mitchel, J. *Carpenter*		100
Hardy, J. *Boatswain*		100
Adams, W.		
Davis, R.		
Davy, R.		
High, J.		
Mosely, W.	*Seamen*, 40 acres each	320
Wilkinson, G.		
Wood, C.		
Woody, T.		
		1320

The above lists, respecting the Bulama expedition, were communicated to the author, by Mr. Malleson, secretary to the association.

Errata in the above Lists.

Kirkpatrick, J. S. esq. *read* 2250 Acres.

Lousada, E. B. *read* 750 Acres.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

Journals and other MSS. left by the late Dr. H. Smeathman. (*See* § 331, note.*)

Dr. S's MSS. respecting Africa.

1029. When the concluding sheet of this work was about to be printed off, Mr. Heathcote, a gentleman particularly acquainted with the late Dr. Smeathman, was so kind as to send the author a box containing a great number of the MSS. of that indefatigable and philosophical traveller.—Mr. Heathcote's friendship to the Doctor originated in an enlightened zeal for the best interests of mankind; and a peculiar desire to contribute to the civilization of Africa, has now induced this gentleman, to entrust the author with the papers of his deceased friend. But unfortunately they have come too late to be rendered of any material use to *the present publication.* A cursory view of these curious MSS. however, sufficiently shews, that many of them deserve to be published, on account of their intrinsick value.

Proofs of Dr. S's ability, and zeal.

1030. It is certain that so many speaking proofs of ability and indefatigable diligence, in the cause of humanity and useful knowledge, are not always to be met with among the posthumous papers of men, whose fame has yet been found a very profitable theme for fashionable panegyric. But the very misfortunes of poor Dr. S. and the uncomfortable circumstances in which he often pursued his researches, will enhance the value of his performances in the eyes of every friend to real merit.

Observations on the thermometer.

1031. In order to gratify some readers, the following observations on the Thermometer are inserted. They are extracted from one of the Doctor's Journals, kept at the Island of Bananas, where they were regularly taken down from the 19th of December 1772, till the 16th of January 1773.

at 6	in the morning	$60\frac{1}{2}$	the lowest, and	68	the highest	$64\frac{1}{2}$	*Average*
9	Ditto	65	Ditto	70	Ditto	$68\frac{3}{4}$	Ditto
12	Noon	70	Ditto	77	Ditto	$73\frac{3}{4}$	Ditto
3	Afternoon	$71\frac{1}{2}$	Ditto	77	Ditto	$74\frac{3}{4}$	Ditto
6	Ditto	68	Ditto	73	Ditto	$70\frac{2}{3}$	Ditto
9	Ditto	66	Ditto	70	Ditto	$68\frac{7}{8}$	Ditto
12	Midnight	67	Ditto	68	Ditto	$67\frac{1}{2}$	Ditto
2	in the morning	67	Ditto	68	Ditto	$67\frac{1}{2}$	Ditto

There are several similar observations to be met with in different parts of his journals, but not having been made in a regular series of time, they cannot be arranged.

An interesting MSS. respecting colonization.

1032. Among the MSS. of Dr. S. is one consisting of 86 pages large quarto, apparently drawn up with much judgement and experience, and which seems to be ready for the press. It is entitled, "*A Plan for a new and beneficial System of Commerce and Colonization, which may be established at a small Expence, on the Grain Coast of Africa, in a series of Letters to a friend, by H. S.*"

1033. There are also many detached MSS. respecting the preservation of health, and the removal of inconveniences attending warm climates, and various large and interesting journals, fragments of observations, &c.

1034.

Digitized by Google

1034. In ſhort the ardour of Dr. S. in uſeful reſearches is abundantly verified by theſe valuable papers; and it would be a breach of candour and charity to doubt that his purſuits were directed, not by the ſordid and mercantile ſpirit of the preſent age, but by the philanthropic ſentiment, thus expreſſed in one of his MSS. "*If every man knew that his happineſs depended on making others happy, all mankind would be ſo.*"

Anecdote reſpecting Dr. S's character.

The Author here ſubjoins the Print of the Medal he promiſed. (§ 331 *note*).

1035. Capt. I. Kendrick, of the Columbia, the firſt American veſſel that viſited the NW. coaſt of N. America, purchaſed from the Natives a beautiful and fertile tract 240 miles ſquare.

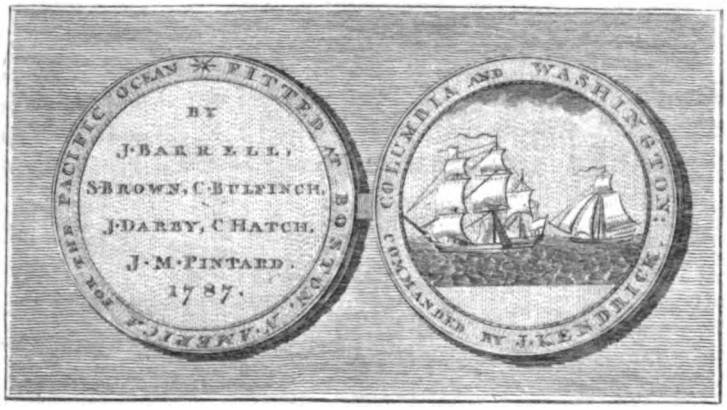
Firſt veſſel for diſcovery fitted out from N. America.

1036. It may perhaps not be improper to hint, that the eaſy conditions on which this valuable tract of land might be obtained, independent of all claims of juriſdiction from any nation whatever, ought to have its due weight with all thoſe who may be inclined to form themſelves into colonial aſſociations, for *exemplifying* and *extending* any enterprize that may be beneficial to mankind, beyond the reach of mercantile influence, either according to the plan hinted at, § 604, 606, or any other that may be ſuggeſted.

purchaſe a fine tract of land fit for coloniz-ation.

1037. The author muſt not omit to obſerve, that the above intereſting piece of information has been kindly communicated to him by the gentlemen, ſuperintending the office for diſpoſing of American lands, No. 24, Threadneedle ſtreet.

1038. Mr. A. Dalrymple's plan, and the plans purſued by the gentlemen concerned in the African civilization, tend to improve uncivilized nations; but to improve ourſelves in a form of aſſociation in ſome ſequeſtered part of the world, and thereby to arrive at the ſame end, appears to be of much greater importance.



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

OF

PART THE FIRST.

Conſiſting of ten Chapters, nine of which treat on the Formation of Colonies, on PRINCIPLES *of* COMMERCE, *combined with* HUMANITY. *The tenth Chap. contains ſome Account of the Colonies already formed in Africa, on* PRINCIPLES *of* COMMERCE *unconnected with* HUMANITY.

Introduction.

DR. Sparrman, Capt. Arrhenius, and the Author, make a Voyage to Afr.—Dr. S. and the Author examined by the Britiſh Privy Council.—Profeſſor Zimmerman's opinion of Afr.

CHAP. I.

Obſtructions to Colonization, particularly in Africa.

Plans of firſt European coloniſts ill digeſted, § 1.—Afr. neglected, and why, § 2, 3.—Slave-trade, § 4.—W. Indies derive importance from Africa, § 5.—Oppoſition of Merchants and Planters, § 6.—Objections anſwered, § 7, *et ſeq.*

CHAP. II.

Character and Diſpoſition of the Africans.

Governments, &c. form national characters, § 11.—Afr. character miſrepreſented, § 12.—Civilized nations governed by reaſon; uncivilized, by the paſſions, § 14.—The real character of the Africans ſketched, § 15, *et ſeq.*—Corrupted by Europeans, § 19.—Inſtance in a chief, § 21.—Proofs of their induſtry and intelligence, § 23, *et ſeq.*

CHAP. III.

Civilization in general.

Will and underſtanding the leading faculties, § 31.—Education and civilization defined and compared, § 32, *et ſeq.*—Innocent luxury promotes civilization, § 36. (See alſo § 708, 727, *et ſeq.* 758.)—Agricultural colonies recommended, § 40. (See alſo § 173, *et ſeq.* 606, 757, *et ſeq.*)

Digitized by Google

CHAP. IV.

Climate, Soil, and Water.

Wet and dry ſeaſons, § 43.—Quantity of rain, § 45.—Thermometer and barometer, § 46.—Soil from C. Blanco to Gambia, § 47.—Baſaltes, § 48.—Adanſon's account of ſoil from Gambia to Nunez, § 49.—European factories ill ſituated, § 50.—Qualities of rain and river water, &c. § 51, 52.—Guinea worm, § 52.—How to cool and purify water, § 53, 54.

CHAP. V.

Produce.

Slave-ſhips bring little produce, § 55.—Wood veſſels deal in ſlaves, § 56.—E. and W. Indians oppoſe import. of African produce, § 57.—Produce rots in Africa for want of conveyance, § 58.—Valuable E. and W. Indian productions indigenous in Africa, § 59.—Animals, § 60.—Rice, wild ſugar-canes, cotton, and indigo, woods, pepper, nutmegs, &c. § 61, *et ſeq.*—Afr. cotton tried, § 64, (and uſed at Mancheſter, § 271.)—Hiſt. of coffee, § 69, note.—400,000 guineas coined from Afr. gold, in one year, § 70.—Iron mines 700 miles up the Senegal, § 71.

CHAP. VI.

The Means of preſerving Health.

Men and plants affected by tranſplantation, § 73.—Europeans regardleſs of health in Afr. § 74, 75.—Afr. if cleared, would be healthful, § 75.—Inſtance in St. Salvador, § 76, 80.—Commerce preferred to health, § 77. (See alſo § 231, note, 271, note, 777.)—Cauſes of mortality of ſoldiers and ſailors, and why ſhips of war are healthful, § 78.—Comparative ſalubrity of different places, § 80.—Houſes, temporary and permanent, § 84, *et ſeq.* (See alſo plate I.)—Diet, § 87.—Sleep, dreſs, and employment, § 88.—Cold bath, § 90.—Spirits to be kept up, § 91.—Mind comparatively neglected by phyſicians, § 92, *et ſeq.*—Who ſtand Afr. climate beſt, § 95.—Mortality at Senegal eſcaped by temperance, § 97.

CHAP. VII.

General Reflections on Colonies, and the means of promoting them.

Colonial policy of modern Europe contracted, § 100.—It's evil conſequences, § 102—Settlements and colonies diſtinguiſhed, *ib.* note.—Nations and their colonies compared to parents and children, § 104, *et ſeq.*—Cauſes of diſcord between nations and their colonies, § 109.—Grecian colonies, why proſperous, § 110.—Some modern colonies originated in folly and injuſtice, § 111.—Others ſtunted by monopoly and oppreſſion, § 112.—*Commiſſion Commerce* ſhould be encouraged in a new colony, § 114.—Communication between diſtant regions of Afr. already open, § 115, note.—*Speculation commerce* pernicious, § 116.—Speculators unconnected with any community, § 117.—Lord Chatham's opinion of them, § 118.—Dr. Arbuthnot's, *ib.* note.—And Dr. Johnſon's, § 119.—Their operations tend to enſlave mankind, § 121.—Becauſe money is become independent of commodities, § 122.—Commercial colonies tend to ſlavery, agricultural to liberty, § 123.—Neceſſity of caution in forming colonies, § 125.—How coloniſts

Digitized by Google

loniſts ſhould be encouraged, § 126, 127.—Choice of coloniſts, § 128, 129.—Native chiefs to be conciliated, § 130.—*Uſe of the Plough* recommended, § 132.—Objections anſwered, § 133.—Plough has been uſed ſucceſsfully in the W. Indies, § 136.—Why not univerſally uſed there, § 137.—Remarkable inſtance of it's ſucceſs in the W. Indies, *ib.*—Commonly uſed in the E. Indies, § 139.—Moſt tropical articles may be raiſed with it, § 140.—LI. queries concerning the inverted ſtate of agriculture, finance, and commerce in European communities, and hinting at 3 ſpecific regulations in qu. XLIV. and LI.) § 142.

CHAP. VIII.

Hints on the Eſſentials of a colonial Government.

Education, § 143.—Coloniſts ſhould inſtruct natives by ſchools and apprenticeſhips, § 144, *et ſeq.* 161, note.—Ridiculous education of two O'Taheiteans in Europe, § 146, note.—Afr. idea of God, § 149.—Toleration recommended, § 150.—Employments, § 151.—Contracts matrimonial, ſocial, and civil, § 152, *et ſeq.*—*Political balance*, § 155.—Laws, judicial, political, and œconomical, § 157, *et ſeq.*—External worſhip, § 161.—Health, 162.—Cultivation of raw materials, § 163.—Manufactures, § 164.—Commerce, § 165.—Internal polity and defence, by frankpledge, § 166, *et ſeq.*—Finances, § 170.—Political arrangements, § 171.

CHAP. IX.

Specific Propoſitions applied to the Caſe of a new Colony.

Syſtem recommended, § 172.—Reaſons for ſelecting a particular part of Afr. § 173, note.—*Prop.* I. Directors of two claſſes, and their departments, § 174, *et ſeq.*—Organization of government, 179.—*Prop.* II. That the Directors ſell the lands to proper perſons, to be cultivated in a limited time, § 180, 181.—Excellent W. Indian regulations to this effect, § 180, note.—Cleared iſlands dry, but healthful, *ib.*—*Prop.* III. Rights of coloniſts and ſubſcribers, § 182.—*Prop.* IV. Two courts of directors; *deliberative* in Europe, and *executive* in the colony, § 183.—*Prop.* V. Directors muſt have viſited the colony, § 184.—Britiſh colonies make their own laws, § 184, note.—Jamaica abſentees heavily taxed, *ibid.*—*Prop.* VI. That oaths be diſallowed, becauſe abuſed, § 185, and it's note.—*Prop.* VII. That commerce be free, and that ſlave-traders be expelled, § 186.—*Prop.* VIII. That ſubſcriptions, in money or goods, be opened, at £60 for 500 acres of land (in Bulama,) § 187, 188.—*Prop.* IX. That all African aſſociations act harmoniouſly, § 189.—*Prop.* X. That the current medium be founded on labour, § 190.—*Prop.* XI. That frankpledge be introduced, § 191.—*Prop.* XII. That a ſtore and diſcounting accounts be kept, § 192.—*Prop.* XIII. That the coloniſts be taxed in 3 claſſes, § 194. (See § 606, No. 3.)—*Prop.* XIV. That the purchaſe of land be limited, § 195.—*Prop.* XV. That unmarried coloniſts be taxed, and married ones partly exempted, § 196.—*Prop.* XVI. That arreſts for debt be diſallowed, becauſe of their deplorable effects, § 197, and it's note.—*Prop.* XVII. That mechanical inventions be encouraged, § 198.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. X.

Colonies formed or attempted in Africa on the Principles of Commerce by the Portugueſe, Spaniards, French, Dutch, &c.

PORTUGUESE firſt explored the African Coaſt; but their communications ſparing, and their orthography unſettled § 200.—This ſketch of Portug. Afri. reviewed by Col. Bolts *ib.* note.—*Accerri* § 202.—*Angola* § 203.—*Congo* § 204.—*Loango and Benguela* § 205.—Religious ſociety at Loando have 12,000 ſlaves § 206.—Miſſionaries § 207.—Portug. ſlave-trade § 208 and 239 note.—*Sofala* produces yearly £1,666,666 in gold § 212.—*Mount Ophir* § 213.—*Mozambique*, governor's duties above £60,000 ſter. yearly § 215.—*Melinda* city contains 30,000 Portug. &c. § 217.—*Madeira* deſcribed § 221 *et ſeq.*—Yields 30,000 pipes of wine yearly § 224.—It's animals, &c. § 224, 225.—Imports fiſh from Sweden and America § 225.—Swediſh commerce and board of commerce § 225 note.—Inhabitants § 226, 227.—Government and revenue § 228.—Swarm of prieſts § 230.—Population, births, deaths § 231.—*C. de Verd Iſlands* deſcribed § 232, 233.—Inhabitants oppreſſed by monopoly § 234, and by deſpots and prieſts § 235.—Cloathed from Rag-fair in London, *ib.* note.—Complexion depends chiefly on climate and mode of life § *ib.*—Agriculture bad § 236.—Dreadful famine in 1773, *ib.* note, alſo § 241.—Exports *St. Jago* cloths, cattle to the Weſt Indies, &c. § 237.——Harbours § 239.—Curious ſtones § 240.—People enſlaved by the Duque D'Aveiro § 241.—10,000 of them ſent to Biſſao, where they moſtly died § 242.—Sugar mills § 243.—Whale fiſhery, orchella, manufactures § 244.—*St. Thomas*, it's produce, trade and manufactures 245 *et ſeq.*—Produces the true cinnamon § 246 note.—*Prince's Iſland*, &c. eligible for colonies § 249.

SPANISH. CANARY ISLANDS § 251.—*Teneriſe* it's productions § 253.—Pike *ib.*——Population, manufactures, &c. § 254.—*Gran Canaria* it's produce, population, &c. ſometimes diſtreſſed by locuſts § 255, 256.—*Palma* it's produce, &c. fern-bread § 257.——*Lancerota* and *Fuerteventura* infeſted by aſſes, abound with orchella; Lancerota fertilized by a volcano § 258. Swediſh orchella monopolized by means of corruption § 258 note.—Wheat better than European § 259.—*Gomera* might ſubſiſt independently of other countries § 260.—*Ferro* § 261. Humane policy of Spain, population, character of Canarians, inquiſition, diſeaſes, commerce, § 262 *et ſeq.*—Comparative humanity of European nations to ſlaves § 263 note.—Revenue exceeds that of Britiſh America and W. Indies § 268.

FRENCH. ISLE DE BOURBON, exports § 270.—Bourbon and Surat cotton compared § 271.—Operations on cotton where it grows, healthful, in Europe unhealthful, and why § 271 note.—*Iſle de France*, population of it and Bourbon § 272.—Spices thrive there, and the Dutch attempt to deſtroy them by corrupting the gardeners § 273.—Dutch profits on ſpices £750,000 annually *ib.*—*Madagaſcar's* former flouriſhing eſtabliſhments there § 274.—Colony attempted, in 1767, § 275.—*Benyowſky's* enterprize in 1772, § 276, is not properly fitted out § 227, oppoſed at the I. de France § 278, lands in Madagaſcar § 279, builds a fort and makes roads § 280, diſtributes lands and digs a canal § 281, ſome chiefs oppoſe, others ſupport him § 282, cloaths his troops in the country cloth § 282, not ſupported by the

Digitized by Google

the French miniſtry *ib.* reported to be the ſon of a native princeſs § 284, acknowledged as ſuch by ſeveral chiefs § 285, interrogated by 2 French commiſſioners, receives their cirtificate and reſigns § 286, ſtatement of his accounts *ib.* note, ſtates to the commiſſioners ſome moſt intereſting particulars relative to the population and reſources of Madagaſcar § 287; his plan for colonizing that iſland *ib.* note; is declared Ampanſacabe § 288; empowered to treat with France, for which he embarks § 289; inconſiſtency of the French miniſtry § 291.—The Count offers His Britannick Majeſty 5000 ſoldiers and 2000 ſailors § 292, ſails from London to Baltimore and thence to Madagaſcar, where he lands § 294; is killed by a party of French § 296, his character § 298, inſidious conduct of the French miniſtry § 299, Madagaſcar cotton equal to Bourbon *ib.* note.

DUTCH. CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, Van Riebeck propoſes a colony there § 300.—Liberality and prudence of the Dutch E. India Co. § 301.—Obj. againſt colonizing in time of war *ib.* note.—Expenſe 1,000,000 of guilders annually, for the firſt 20 years § 302.—Difficulties very great § 303.—Soil, climate, animals, &c. § 304.—Exports, farming, tenure of lands § 305, 306.—Dutch and Portug. policy contraſted § 307.—Mortality of men kidnapped by the Dutch Zeelvercoopers, or *Soul-mongers*, § 307.—No toleration at the Cape § 308.—Government, revenue, military and population § 309, *et ſeq.*

AUSTRIAN. DELAGOA BAY, Portug. ſettle there § 312, and Dutch § 313.—Col. Bolts undertakes to colonize it for Auſtria § 315; ſails in 1776, and is oppoſed by commercial bodies § 316; arrives, buys land, builds temporary houſes, and begins trade § 317, *et ſeq.* goes to India, whence he ſends a Mahommedan miſſionary § 320.—Natives intelligent, &c. § 321.—Wild ſugar canes, cotton, rice, gold, &c. *ib.*—The colony thrives, but Prince Kaunitz diſavows it, and the Portug. break it up § 322.—Col. Bolts the reſtorer of the Auſtrian E. India trade § 323.—Ridiculous claims of Spain and Portugal § 324.—Ridiculous grant of Cha. II. to the Eng. Afr. Co. § 325.—He and his brother, Ja. D. of York, were ſlave traders, *ib.*—Charles II. was alſo concerned in privateering, *ib.*

NEW ANECDOTES. Col. Bolts conſulted by Guſt. III. about a *Swediſh* colony § 326.—New plan of the Afr. aſſociation of London for exploring Afr. § 327.

ADVERTISEMENT. The reader cautioned againſt miſunderſtanding the author's meaning reſpecting colonization on commercial principles; which he entirely diſapproves.—Cauſes of the delay of this publication.—The plan enlarged, which gave riſe to its diviſion into two parts.

CONTENTS

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

OF

PART THE SECOND,

Conſiſting of CHAP. XI. Colonies attempted, or now forming, in Africa, on the PRINCIPLES *of* HUMANITY, *by the Britiſh, the Danes and the Swedes.*

Introduction.

Dr. Smeathman's plan of colonizing Africa, § 330.—Mr. Sharp's exertions, *ib.*—Dr. Fothergill's ſuggeſtion, *ib.* note.—Dr. Lettſom liberates his ſlaves, *ib.*—Committee for relieving the black poor, § 331.—Mr. A. Dalrymple's plan for benefiting remote and unprovided nations, § 331 note.

Britiſh. Sierra Leona.

Firſt Directors of the Sierra Leona Company § 333.——Black poor firſt ſent over, § 334.——Their mortality and it's cauſes, § 335.——Their diſperſion, *ib.*——Climate of S. Leona, population, government, religion, § 338, 339.—Natives deſirous of improvement, § 339.—King Naimbanna ſends his ſons to Europe for education, § 340.—Cultivation and trade, § 343.—Europeans ſupply natives with powder and ſpirits, ſuicide, inſtances of kidnapping, § 345, *et ſeq.*——Reſpectable eſtabliſhment reſolved on, and why, § 354.——Capital £100,000 ſter. *ib.*—extended to £150,000, *ib.* note.—Laudable caution in chuſing coloniſts, § 355.—Council to promote equal rights, &c. § 358.—Health to be the firſt object, § 359.—Difficulties to be expected, § 360.—Sources of profit, § 363.—Company's object, § 366.—Benefits to Africa, § 367.—Trade and a ſugar plantation ordered to be begun, § 368.—Mineralogiſt and botaniſt engaged, § 369.—Shares, votes, &c. § 370, *et ſeq.*—Nova Scotia blacks expected, § 374.—Caution of the Directors in admitting ſubſcribers, &c. § 376.——Lieut. Clarkſon offers to conduct the free blacks from N. Scotia to S. Leona, § 377.—1196 N. Scotia blacks willing to embark, § 379.—£235,280 to be raiſed, *ib.*—Whites from England, § 380.—1131 N. Scotians arrive at S. Leona: mortality on board, § 381.—They clear land, &c. § 382.—Mortality. Bad accommodation, § 384.—Land could not be allotted, § 385.—Governor and council diſagree, § 386.———Diſorder. Mr. Clarkſon appointed ſole Governor, § 387.———Sickneſs, diſtreſs and confuſion, § 389.———Bulama coloniſts arrive at S. Leona, § 390.—Comp. will promote all attempts to civilize Africa, § 391.—Difficulties in diſtributing land § 392.—Lands on Bullom ſhore better than near town, § 395.——Colony improves, § 397.—Suffers from the war, &c. § 398.—And the ſlave trade, § 399.—Chiefs undeceived, *ib.*—Death of Mr. Nordenſkiold, the mineralogiſt, § 400.—And of K. Naimbanna's ſon, § 401.—Ship York burnt, § 403.—Colony healthy in ſecond rains, *ib.*—N. Scotians petition, § 404.—Directors reſol. thereon, § 405.—Advantages and diſadvantages of

Digitized by Google

receiving the N. Scotians, § 408, 409.—Funds and expenſes ſtated, § 411.—Colonization arduous, § 414.—Mortality ſtated, § 415.—Not chargeable on the Directors, nor on the climate, § 418, 419.—Trade, § 420.—Company's ſhipping, factories, &c. § 422, 423.—Dollars introduced inſtead of bars, § 424.—W. Indin managers, &c. introduced, § 425.—A plantation begun, § 426.——Native labourers, their wages, hours of labour, &c. § 426.——Their cloathing, &c. improved, § 427.—Canes damaged by bug-a-bugs, § 428.—Manager and labourers have little differences, § 429.—Natives deſire a ſecond plantation, *ib.*—Freetown deſcribed, § 430.—Premiums for cultivation, § 432.—That of natives fluctuating, § 433.—Factory to buy native produce, § 434.—Blacks act as jurors, &c. § 436, *et ſeq.*—Spirit of the government, § 439.—Character of the Company's ſervants, § 440.—And of the N. Scotians § 441. which, in ſome reſpects, excells that of the lower Engliſh, § 442; their defects, § 443; and unreaſonable claims, § 444; ſuſpicions of whites, and why, § 446; their faults owing to ſlavery, § 447; this no argum. againſt *prudent* emancipation, § 448; proviſion for their inſtruction, &c. § 452.—Slave-trade obſtructs civilization, § 453.—Recent inſtances of kidnapping, &c. 454, *et ſeq.*—A black from N. Scotia reſtored to his mother at S. Leona, § 457.—Slave-trade drives the natives to the mountains, § 458.—Free blacks, taken in French ſhips, ſold for ſlaves, § 463.—Scenes in ſlave-ſhips, &c. § 467.—Shocking exceſſes of Europeans to obtain money, § 468.—*Panyaring* deſcribed, § 469.—Bloody inſurrections, § 470, 471.—Ormand a murderous ſlave-factor, § 472,—The diſperſion of the firſt coloniſts, § 473.——Slave-trade endangers every colony, § 474.—Exemplary humanity of a chief, § 475.—Some of the firſt coloniſts ſold, *ib.*—One of them turns kidnapper, § 476.—Slave-trade prevents inland intercourſe, § 477, as in Mr. Nordenſkiold's caſe, § 478.—It's ſources recapitulated, debts, wars, kidnapping, &c. § 479, *et ſeq.*—80,000 ſlaves annually dragged from Africa, § 484.—Sick ſlave-traders relieved at S. Leona, § 485, *et ſeq.*—Americans, clandeſtinely purſue the ſlave-trade, though prohibited, § 488; which the Directors are taking ſteps to prevent, § 489.—Comp. reſolve to redeem ſlaves, § 490, and to conciliate chiefs, § 491.—Slave-trade obſtructs cultivation, by it's mercantile profits, &c. 492, *et ſeq.* has introduced a taſte for European goods, § 492.—Chiefs who may be expected to abandon it, and why § 495.—Inſtances, § 496, *et ſeq.*—Chiefs zealous for improvements, § 499.—Meſſ. Wat and Winterbottom's expedition to the Foulah country, § 500.—Government, ſtate of civilization, wars, &c. of the Foulahs, § 501; kill unſaleable ſlaves. *ib.* but ſaleable ones would not be killed, were the market ſtopped, § 502.—Foulah king favours the plough, &c. 504.——Route to Tombuctoo and Caſhna, *ib.*—Incidents on the road back to S. Leona, § 505.—Intended journey to Tombuctoo, § 506.—Wars ceaſe with the ſlave-trade, § 507.—Slave-trade diminiſhed ¼, near S. Leona, § 508.—Refuſe ſlaves put to work, § 509.—General character of the Africans, § 510.——Palaver on death of King Naimbanna's ſon, *ib.*—Popiſh black chief offers to promote chriſtianity, § 511.——Mandingo lady ſhocked at an account of W. Indian ſlavery, § 512.——Above 40 native children at Freetown ſchool, § 513.——Natives turn out to defend the colony, § 515.——J. H. Naimbanna's deſign in coming to England, § 516,—his character, § 517,—his improvement, morals, &c. § 518,—circumſtances of his death, *ib.*—Two chiefs ſons now in England, § 520.—Advantages expected from the abolition, § 522.—The colony attacked by a French ſquadron, § 527.——Mr. Aſzelius's account of the colony in May, 1794, *ib.*

Bulama

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS OF PART THE SECOND.

Bulama Iſland, now Britiſh.

This beautiful Iſland was recommended to France, as a colony by M. de la Brue, M. Demanet and Mr. Barber, § 528, 531.———Deſcribed, § 529 and note.———It's colonization undertaken, § 532,—above £9000 ſubſcribed, *ib.*—Original terms of ſubſcription, § 537.—Coloniſts engaged, &c. § 538.—Coloniſts attacked by Canabacs, § 539,—well received by Portugueſe, § 540.—priſoners well treated by Canabacs, *ib.*—Tranſactions relative to the purchaſe of Bulama, § 541.—Different deſtinations of the coloniſts, § 545.—Mortality out and home, § 546, (ſee alſo § 933, *et ſeq.*)—not to be attributed to the climate, § 546. ——Ship of war ordered to aſſiſt the colony, § 547.——Reaſons for additional ſubſcriptions, § 548.—Letters deſcriptive of the ſoil, climate, &c. § 550.—Mr. Beaver left with 20 men, § 552.—Vote of thanks, &c. to him and Mr. Hood, *ib.* note.——Bijugas meditate an attack, § 553.—Block-houſe, &c. erected, § 554.—General deſpondency and ſickneſs, § 555.—Viſit of the Canabacs, § 556,—which alarms and harraſſes the coloniſts, § 557.—Colony extremely weak, § 559.—Another viſit of the Canabacs, § 560.—Mr. Beaver aſſiſts S. Leona with proviſions, § 562.—Ship of war approaches Bulama § 563,—miſled by bad charts § 564.—Viſit of Bijugas, § 565.—Capt. of man of war muſters the colony. His kindneſs, § 566.—Bijugas, though 150 ſtrong, retreat and why, § 567.—Land cleared and ready for the plough, § 568.—Capt. Moore quarrels with the Portug. and detains Mr. Beaver's diſpatches, which ruins the colony, § 570.—Harmony between the colony and it's neighbours, § 572.——Hankey, falſely reported to have the plague, is put under quarantine, § 573,——which prevents application for a charter, § 574. S. Leona Comp. kindly orders the Felicity to call at Bulama with ſupplies, § 575.——Greater ſupplies ſent, but arrived not in time, § 576.——Lands cleared, &c. Hens and goats in plenty, European and tropical vegetables thrive, § 577.——Number of labourers, § 578.——S. Leona Comp. generouſly furniſh 10 barrels of pork, *ib.*——colony only wanted men, *ib.*—Biafaras invite Mr. Beaver to build a town, *ib.*——Mr. Beaver ſooths the impatient coloniſts, § 579.——who perſiſt in their intention to leave Bulama, § 580.——Mr. B. reluctantly yields, and why, *ib.*——arrives at S. Leona: his opinion of the Bulama undertaking, § 581.—— Supplies arrive a month after the evacution, § 582.——Statement of accounts, § 583.—— ——Truſtees' opinion of a future undertaking, § 584,——if in war, a ſmall one recommended, § 585,——eſtimated expenſe, § 586,——means of defraying it, § 587.——Lands to be devided in the beginning of the 2d. year, § 588.——Truſtees' opinion of ſoil, &c. of Bulama, § 589.——Petition for a charter prepared, § 591.——African facts not yet publiſhed, § 592. ——Civilization the great object of the Britiſh colonies in Africa, § 593.——Preſent Europeans *pecuniarized*, *ib.*——Names of ſubſcribers to African colonization, § 594.——A caſe of real and preſſing diſtreſs, *ib.*

Aquapim. Daniſh.

Dr. Iſert, a German gentleman, founds this colony, § 596.——Daniſh government ſupport it, § 597,——Slaves temporarily introduced, § 598.——Dr. Iſert dies and Lieut. Col. Rohrs is appointed to ſucceed him, § 599——Gov. Biorn's account of the colony, *ib.*

Swediſh Deſign or Attempt.

Meeting at Norkioping, in 1779, § 601,——propoſe to form a new community, in Africa, § 603, 604.—Their opinion confirmed by Des Marchais, &c. 605.—Outline of their plan, § 606.

Digitized by Google

§ 606.–New claſſification of the community, independent of all feudal ideas, *ibid.* No. 3 note.—Oppoſition of the ſlave-trade, § 607.—King of Sweden grants a charter to 40 families, § 609.——M. Chauvel's plan for ſearching for gold, § 610.——The author's petition granted, § 611.—Objects of the author's voy. to Africa, § 612.——Difficulties in France ſurmounted, § 613.—Arrival in Africa, § 614.—Chev. de Bouffler's excellent character, *ib.*—The author's excurſions, § 615.—Diſappointments, and their cauſes, *ib.*—French Senegal Company rapacious, *ib.* note.—Return to Europe, § 616.—C. Verd eligible for colonization, § 617.—Cauſes of the author's ſtay in England, § 618.—Promiſing aſpect of his object, § 619;—was led into great danger by miniſterial artifice in Sweden, *ib.* note;—is engaged by the Britiſh miniſtry to go to Africa, and a veſſel equipped, *ib.*—is diſappointed in England by a threatened war with Spain, § 620;—enters into the cotton manufacture, and why, *ib.* note.—His preſent hopes, § 621.

A P P E N D I X.

Containing Notes, Quotations, and Documents, ſome of which, had they been ſooner obtained, might have been more properly inſerted in the Body of the Work.

Dr. Smeathman's Letters reſpecting Africa.

Produce, § 622, 627.—Tendency of the Doctor's plan, § 623, *et ſeq.*—Government and ſtate of the ſlaves, § 628.—Why traders become chiefs, § 629.—Free ſociety might eaſily be formed, *ib.*—Cultivation and trade, § 632.—Natives unite their exertions in certain inſtances, § 633,—their character miſrepreſented, § 635,—and might be improved, § 636.—Cuſtoms againſt induſtry, § 637.—Might be reformed by good laws, § 638.—White tradeſmen, &c. to be choſen as coloniſts, § 640.—Alſo free blacks from the W. Indies, § 641.—A mixed people eaſily formed into a ſociety, § 642.—Propoſed ſituation, § 643.—Seeds, &c. to be carried out, *ib.*—Preſervation of health, 646.—Heads of the Doctor's plan, 648.—His letters among the valuable MSS. of Dr. Lettſom, § 650.—His diſintereſted ſpirit of enterprize, *ib.*

"*Tranſcript of a Paper of a Quantity of Gold, up the River Gambay, in* 1693."
Publiſhed by the Rev. W. Derham, F. R. S. in 1726.

The quantity of gold great, § 651.—Directions reſpecting the boat and chemical apparatus, § 652.—Marks to find the place, § 656.—Sea-horſes and crocodiles troubleſome, § 659.—63 gr. gold from 5lb. ſand, &c. § 666.—Above 12lb. 5 oz. got in 20 days, *ib.*—River ſhallow, water bad, § 667.—Gold in an aſtoniſhing quantity, § 669.

From Dr. Franklin's Eſſays on Luxury, &c.

Innocent luxury promotes induſtry, § 670.—Navigation, when uſeful and when noxious, § 671.—Sugar may be ſaid to be tinged with human blood, § 673.—Dearer in Paris and London than in Vienna, 674. (See § 268.)

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS OF PART THE SECOND.

Notes and Documents reſpecting S. Leona and Bulama.

Note A.—Colony propoſed by an Afr. king, in 1726, § 676.—Fruſtrated by a ſlave-captain's villainy, *ib.*

Note B.—Firſt coloniſts of S. Leona moſtly profligates, § 677.—Provided with neceſſaries by Government, and with comforts by Mr. Sharp, § 678.—Their mortality in England; ſail under Capt. Thompſon, § 679.—Would not work, § 680.—Mortality from bad huts, § 681.—Obliged to plant, § 682.—Capt. T's ſhip loſt but one man, § 685.—Bad water down the coaſt, *ib.*—Excellent water at S. Leona, *ib.*—Mr. Sharp ſends a veſſel to relieve the colony, § 687,—but the captain deceives him, *ib.*—Many coloniſts emigrate, 2 ſold as ſlaves, M. of W. ordered to call at S. L. § 688.—St. George's Bay Co. incorporated as S. L. Co. § 689.—Firſt minutes of the former, § 690.

Note C.—Situation of the coloniſts after their diſperſion, § 691.

Note D.—Mr. Falconbridge fixes them at Granville town, § 692.

Note E.—Accounts, old and new, of the climate, &c. of S. Leona, proving that the gentlemen concerned had very good reaſons for fixing the colony there, § 693.

Note F.—The author paſſes over the article Produce, in the report, becauſe he has already beſtowed a chap. (the 5th,) on that ſubject, § 694. (See alſo § 622, and 792, *et ſeq.*)

Note G.—Cauſes of the general profligacy of blacks in London, § 695.

Note H.—Firſt terms offered to coloniſts by the S. Leona Company, § 696.

Note I.—The author acknowledges the attention which the Directors have paid to ſome gentlemen whom he recommended to them, § 697.

Note K.—Danger of the colony's enemies becoming Directors, § 698;——may be avoided by giving the coloniſts a ſhare in the government, § 699.

Note L.—Ill uſage of black American loyaliſts, § 700;——iniquitouſly enſlaved, by unprincipled whites ſwearing to a property in them, *ib.*——Slavery corrupts maſters, § 702;——proved by the crowds of uſeleſs black domeſtics kept in Jamaica and Barbadoes, *ib.*

Note M.—Sketch of the hiſt. of the queſtion of the Abolition of the Slave-trade, § 704;——and of the writings and exertions of Mr. T. Clarkſon and Mr. J. Clarkſon in that great cauſe, § 706.

Note N.—Public ſample-room, in a new colony, recommended, § 708.

Note O.—Bulama coloniſts wiſhed not to intrude at S. Leona, § 710.—Many of them profligates, ſome of them perſons of reſpectability, § 711.

Note P.—Mr. Dawes, Mr. Watt, and Mr. Macauley, how employed before they went to S. Leona, § 712.

Note Q.—Is a reference to Note BB.

Note R.—Reaſons for inſerting ſome account of Mr. Nordenſkiold's expedition and death, 714.—His ſickneſs before he embarked, &c. § 715.—Some account of his expedition up the country, § 716.——His goods ſtolen, *ib.*——He is taken ill and dies, § 717.——Who it was that probably ſtole his goods, § 718.——He received no ſalary, and his widow and children no proviſion, § 720.——Yet Dr. B.'s widow was provided for, *ib.* note.—The author's letter to the Directors on that ſubject, *ib.*

Note S.—Mr. Strands death and character, § 721.

Note

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS OF PART THE SECOND.

Note T.—Enormous mortality of ſeamen in the ſlave-trade, as teſtified by the muſter-rolls, § 723;—compared with the ſmall mortality of the ſeamen employed by the S. Leona Co. § 724.

Note. U.—Climates improve by cultivation, § 725.

Note W.—Reaſons for reſuming the conſideration of money, § 726.——Cauſes for increaſing the N. Scotian's wages, § 727.——Artificial and natural civilization defined, *ib.* note.——Bars confuſed to the whites, as money is to the blacks, § 728.——European money would injure the Africans, § 729.——They *ſell* the dollars, § 731.——European money a luxury, § 733;——which tends to enſlave mankind, § 734.——Derivation of perſonal ſlavery, § 735, note.—Real iron bars have not that tendency, § 736.—Credit natural and artificial, § 737.—Price depending on demand cannot be fixed, § 738.——How buſineſs can be conducted in ſociety, without credit, § 740.—That the circulation of gold and ſilver, according to their weight and ſtandard, would cauſe no impoſition, § 741.——Check on ſpeculation commerce, *ib.* note.—Societies might be provided, without the aid of ſpeculation commerce, § 743.—Weight and denominations of S. Leona coin, § 744. (See the *errata.*)

Note X. 1.—S. Leona cultivation ſimilar to the W. Indian, § 745.—Labourers called out with a horn, work under a planter's eye, &c. § 746, *et ſeq.*—Ten hours daily labour too much in a tropical climate, § 749.—Civilization cannot advance where labourers are not intereſted in produce, § 750.——Evils attending the cotton manufacture, § 751;——and that of ſugar, § 752.—Little differences between manager and labourers at S. Leona, § 753.——General character of lower overſeers in the W. Indies, *ib.* note.——Extreme danger of the W. Indian ſyſtem being compleated at S. Leona, § 754.—Cauſes of the ruin of W. Indian eſtates, *ib.* note.——Deplorable effects of forcing ſugar cultivation, § 755.——Deluſive eſtimates framed by the W. Indians to impoſe on the credulous, *ib.* note.—Another plan recommended, § 757.—A rude people to be led to activity by innocent luxuries, § 758.—Native chiefs to be conciliated, § 760.—Proviſions eaſily raiſed, *ib.*—alſo provender, § 761;——but not ſugar, indigo, &c. § 762.——When ſugar ſhould be introduced, § 763.——Mr. Botham's account of the cultivation of ſugar eſtates, by free labourers near Batavia, &c. § 764, *et ſeq.*—A modification of Mr. B's plan recommended, § 773.—French and Britiſh modes of eſtabliſhing ſugar eſtates, § 774.——Britiſh unprofitable, *ib.*

Note X. 2.—Character of the N. Scotians fairly and ably drawn by the Directors, § 755;—but their claims, &c. ſhould be inveſtigated, § 776.

Note Y. 1.—Canvas houſes ſoon decayed, § 778.—Mr. Dubois's merit and ſervices, *ib.*

Note Y. 2.—Oracle near C. Palmas, § 779.

Note Z. 1.—The S. Leona Company's profits, § 780.

Note Z. 2.—Additional anecdotes of J. H. Naimbanna, § 782;—and of the famous negro Job Ben Solomon, § 783;—who while in England wrote a copy of the Alcoran from memory, *ib.*——Account of a kidnapped African prince who arrived in England in 1788, § 784.——A mercantile ſpeculation in his perſon, § 785.—The author frees him from his bondage, § 786.—His character and death, § 787.—Slave dealers can ſit upon a jury, but no butchers, § 789, and note.——*Political* and *Mercantile* Slavery defined, § 791, *et ſeq.*

Note A A.—Mr. Afzelius's account of the animal and vegetable productions of S. Leona, § 792, *et ſeq.*——Caution againſt the danger of a raſh and indiſcriminate uſe of Caſſada, § 802, note.

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS OF PART THE SECOND.

Note B B.—Mr. Afzelius's account of the late tranſactions of the French at S. Leona, § 804. ——Colony, proſperous, before the attack, *ib.*——attacked, and after ſome firing, ſubmits, § 806.—Moſt of the coloniſts fled, § 807.—The colony plundered, &c. § 808.—Mr. Afzelius's loſſes, § 809.—Prizes taken, § 810.—The ſquadron ſails, § 811 —Sickneſs but no want, § 812.—Mr. Afzelius's peculiar misfortunes, § 813.—The French ſquadron ſeem ignorant of the object of the colony, § 815.—Mr. Afzelius's own remarks, § 816.—Mr. Afzelius, though a Swede, was plundered, § 817.—Agreement of the publick and private accounts of this affair § 819, *et ſeq.*—French incited to this attack, § 821.—Mr. Beaver's opinon of Mr. Padenheim, *ib.* note.—Proceedings at a General Meeting of the S. Leona Comp. reſpecting the French attack, § 822.—Sickneſs and want of medicines, § 824,—favourable circumſtances, § 825.—Comp. loſs and remaining ſtock, § 826.—Small veſſels and goods on ſhore not inſured, and why, § 827.—Good effects expected from the calamity, § 828.—Sugar apparatus deſtroyed by the French, *ib.* note.—Supplies ſhipped and Mr. Dawes returns to the colony, § 829.—Contraction of the Company's plan, § 830.—N. Scotians want inſtructors, § 831.—Directors determine to perſevere, *ib.*—Slave-trade checked by the French, § 832.—Civilization the Company's chief object, § 833.—Offer of the French Convention to ſpare the colony, &c. § 836.—The chairman explains this matter, § 837.—Opinion of Mr. Tho. Clarkſon and the other Directors reſpecting it, *ib.* note.—Debate, § 838, *et ſeq.*—Attack not authorized by the French Convention, § 842.—Mr. Frend's motion, § 845.—The matter left to the Directors, § 851.—Proceedings at another General Meeting, on this ſubject, § 839.—Mr. F. propoſes a delegate to be ſent to the French Convention, § 860.——The part the author took in this buſineſs, and his intended addreſs, to the General Meeting, *ib.* note.—Mr. F's propoſitions debated on and rejected, § 862, *et ſeq.*—Election of new Directors, § 869.—Letters dated March 14th, 1795, ſtate the recovery of the colony, after the late diſaſter, *ib.* note.—Mr. Watt and Mr. Winterbottom's new journey, *ib.*

Note C C. Impolitic condition propoſed by the Bulama Aſſociation, § 870,—it's effects in Jamaica, § 871,—would ruin Bulama, § 872.

Note D D.—Sailing of the Bulama expedition retarded by the Miniſtry, § 873.

Note E E.—Bad character of the generality of the Bulama coloniſts, § 874.

Note F F.—Bulama coloniſts attacked by the natives, for want of an interpreter, § 876.—The author's letter to the Governor of Goree, in favour of Mr. Dalrymple, &c. *ib.*—Mr. D. prevented from getting an interpreter, by the obſtinacy of the council, § 877.

Note G G.——Mortality at Bulama owing to fatigue, &c. not to the climate, § 879. ——Proviſions in plenty, § 880.——12 acres of land cleared, § 881.———Mr. Beaver's perſeverance, founded on conviction, § 882.———Coloniſts moſtly profligates, § 883.——Cultivation and trade, § 884.———Coloniſts able to hire labourers, if credited with proviſions, may be ſure of ſucceſs, § 886.—Colony prepared for new inhabitants, § 887.—Value of land and ſtock at Bulama, § 888.—Commercial proſpects, *ib.*—Long ſilence of the Truſtees, § 889.—Plenty of game, § 890.—Colony wants but men, § 891.—Diſintereſtedneſs of Mr. Beaver, § 892.—Vicinity abounds with eligible ſituations, § 893.—Colony wants nothing, § 894.—Coloniſts will vigorouſly cultivate their *own* land only, § 896.—Number that ought to embark, and when, § 897.—No women or female children ſhould go out, &c. 898. —Grumettas ſhould be protected, their diſpoſition, &c. § 899.—Church, ſchool, &c. § 900.

—Security

Digitized by Google

—Security and proſperity at little expenſe, § 901.—£3000 thrown away at firſt, § 902.—Mr. Beaver's opinion of the late failure, and future ſucceſs at Bulama, § 904.—Cauſes of failure. 1ſt, Vices of the coloniſts. 2d, Arriving in the rains. 3d, Want of ſhelter, § 905, *et ſeq.*—Cauſes of radical errors, § 909.—Probability of future ſucceſs, § 910,—becauſe the ſoil and ſituation for trade are excellent, 911, *et ſeq.*—Fine timber, &c. § 914.—Climate and productions, 915, *et ſeq.* 924.—Lands purchaſed, § 920.—Mortality not owing to the climate, § 922,—which is better than that of S. Leona, § 923.—Important particulars aſcertained, § 925.—Nothing wanting but a charter, § 926.—Natives pacific, § 927.—Abſtract account of the Bulama coloniſts, § 933.—Mortality great but not *peculiarly* ſo, § 936.—Attempt to coloniſe waſte lands in Jamaica, abortive from the ſame cauſes which prevailed at S. Leona and Bulama, *ib.* note.

Note HH. 1.——Ignorance and rudeneſs of ſome ancient and modern legiſlators, § 937.

Note HH. 2.——E. Indian ſubſcribers to the Bulama undertaking, § 938.

Farther Account of the Daniſh colony, at Aquapim.

It's ſituation inconvenient for commerce, § 941,——but healthful, *ib.*—another colony eſtabliſhed near it, *ib.*——rains more regular than near the coaſt, *ib.*——and cotton and maize flouriſh, *ib.*——A negro from Dunco, an induſtrious and ſucceſsful cultivator, § 943.——A Daniſh lady (Miſs Flint) has accompanied her brother to Aquapim, and is ſucceſsfully inſtructing the negro women in needle work, ſpinning cotton, &c. § 945.

Documents reſpecting the Swediſh Colonial Deſign.

No. 1. *Deſcription of Cape Meſurado*,—affords good ſupplies for ſhipping, § 946,—and good anchorage, § 947.—The king's reception of the Chev. des Marchais, § 948.—C. Meſurado deſcribed, § 949,—alſo the river, § 950.—The K. gives Des Marchais an iſland, and preſſes him to ſettle on it, § 951.——Tide and water, § 952.—Dutch and Engliſh diſtruſted, French beloved, § 953.—Natives not bigoted, § 954.—Country populous, becauſe ſlave-trade ſmall, § 955.—Character of natives, § 956,—their houſes, § 957,—their women good wives and mothers, § 958.—Extent of king Peter's territories, § 959.—Whole country fertile and produce abundant, § 960.—Advantages of this Iſland offered to Des Marchais, § 962.—It's diſadvantages, § 963.—Des Marchais prefers the Cape itſelf, and why, § 964.—It might be advantageouſly fortified, § 965,—and at little expenſe, § 966.—Goods proper for Meſurado, § 967.—Annual preſents to the kings, § 968.—Firſt expenſe, *ib.*—Officers ſalaries, *ib.*——Flat bottomed boats for the river trade recommended, § 970.—All Europeans, except French, require garriſons, § 971. R. St. Andrew alſo proper for a colony, § 972.

Extracts from various Writers concerning W. Coaſt of Africa, &c.

Extracts from Tilleman, § 973,—from Raſk, § 974,—from Grand Pierre, § 975,—from an anonymous writer, § 976,—from U. Nordenſkiold, § 977,—from G. Sharp, § 978,—from Weſt.—Climate and choice of coloniſts, § 980, 992.—(Dr. Franklin's) opinion of new coloniſts, § 981.——Philanthropy of the Daniſh Government, § 982.—Similarity between children and negroes, § 983.——Management of negro ſlaves, § 984,——incorporation of them into the ſtate in 1302, § 985.—Colonial regulations, § 986.—Bad conſequences of money, § 987.

Digitized by Google

§ 987.——Crops, health and climate, § 988, *et seq.*—In Jamaica, every 5 negroes are computed to raiſe 3hhds. ſugar, § 990, note.

No. 2. *Plan for exploring Africa, by M. Chauvel, Swediſh Conſul General, at Havre de Grace, drawn up in* 1784.

M. Chauvel miſtakes the propoſals made to him. § 995.——M. David's exertions for opening the gold mines, § 997.——The climate of Galam, *ib.* note.——Expenſe of the expedition, § 998,——and it's objects, § 999.—Trade combined with the mining ſcheme, § 1000.

No. 3. *Letters explaining various difficulties in the execution of the author's undertaking, &c.*

Letter from the acting Director of the Senegal Co. to the Swediſh Ambaſſador, the Baron de Stael.——(4.) From the ſame to the ſame.——(5.) From the French Miniſter, the Mareſchal de Caſtries to the Baron de Stael.——(6.) From the ſame to M. Goury at Whidah, to M. Valliere, Vice Conſul at Tripoly, &c.

No. 7. *Extract of a Letter, from Granville Sharp, Eſq. to the Inhabitants of the Province of Freedom, at Sierra Leona.*

Mr. S. generouſly recommends lands to be given *gratis*, § 1018,——to ſeveral Eng. gentleman and negroes, § 1019.——alſo to 12 Swediſh gentlemen, § 1023,—his reaſons, § 1024.

Reaſons for inſerting Liſts of the S. Leona and Bulama Subſcribers, § 1025.

LIST *of the original Subſcribers* to the S. Leona Company, inſtituted for promoting the CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA.—Prudent mode of electing the firſt Subſcribers of the S. Leona Company.

£50,000 to be added to the joint ſtock, § 1026.——How ſubſcribers were to be recommended, No. 3,——and balloted for, No. 4.——Proprietors to recommend Subſcribers according to their ſhares, No. 7 and 8.——Form of recommendation, No. 9.—The Act of Parliament for incorporating the S. Leona Company, in XLIX Articles, § 1027.

LIST *of the original Subſcribers* to the Aſſociation for Cultivating the Iſland of Bulama, and by that-means promoting the CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA, § 1028.——Abſentee Subſcribers. Coloniſt Subſcribers.——Subſcriptions raiſed in London.——Ditto in Mancheſter.

VALUABLE MANUSCRIPTS.—Dr. Smeathman's collection of journals and MSS. § 1029;—are ſpeaking proofs of the Dr's. ability and zeal, § 1030.—His obſervations on the thermometer, § 1031.—An intereſting MSS. reſpecting colonization, § 1032.—Anecdote reſpecting Dr. S's character, § 1034.

CURIOUS ANECDOTE, reſpecting the firſt veſſel for diſcovery fitted out from N. America, § 1035;—which purchaſed a fine tract of land fit for colonization, § 1036.

ADVERTISEMENT.—The author's reaſons for his delay.—Recommends a periodical publication reſpecting Africa to all ſubſcribers, &c.

Digitized by Google

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE author is ſorry to find himſelf under the neceſſity of finiſhing this ſecond part, as he did the firſt, with ſome apology to the ſubſcribers for the delay of it's publication, beyond the time propoſed. One cauſe of this delay, was the unexpected increaſe of intereſting matter which the reader will find, by looking into the Appendix, muſt have been excluded, had the work been publiſhed ſooner. For ſome other valuable information he has waited, and he is ſorry to add, too much in vain. He alludes particulary to the journal of Mr. Watt and Mr. Winterbottom, when they penetrated to the capital of the Foulahs, in 1794. The peruſal of this important document was promiſed to the author by ſeveral of the Directors. But, he preſumes, unavoidable cauſes have prevented them from favouring him with this communication. It's intereſting nature, he hopes, will juſtify his waiting thus long; but the attention he owes to his reſpectable ſubſcribers forbids him to wait any longer.

Having mentioned the communication of papers, he hopes he may be permitted to obſerve, that, from what he has underſtood, a monthly publication, containing all the intelligence received by the ſuperintendants of colonial undertakings in Africa, in it's *original form and words*, would be extremely acceptable to many or moſt of the Proprietors; not to mention numbers of other perſons who wiſh to extend their imperfect knowledge of Africa.

The increaſed ſize and expenſe of the work, will account for the increaſe of the price to *non-ſubſcribers*. The ſketch of the Sierra Leona harbour, publiſhed in the laſt report of the Directors, did not come into the author's hands, till he had had an engraving of it executed from other authorities. But conſidering that of the Directors as the moſt authentic, and having been favoured with ſome additional improvements, the author had the firſt engraving erazed from the plate, and the preſent one ſubſtituted in it's place. This unforeſeen expenſe, however, was trifling, compared with that of inſerting a circumſtantial abridgment of the 2d intereſting, but unexpectedly voluminous, Report of the S. Leona Directors, together with the recent matter, and the notes therewith connected. In ſhort, *non-ſubſcribers* cannot be ſurprized at the increaſe of price to *them*, when they are informed that inſtead of 30 or 35 ſheets of middle-ſized print, the acceſſion of unexpected, but important matter, has ſwelled the work to nearly 80 ſheets, a great part printed with ſmall types.

The increaſe of the work, while paſſing through the preſs, will not be ſuppoſed very favourable to that cool and cautious reſearch which is ſo neceſſary to preclude error,—

Digitized by Google

ADVERTISEMENT.

error,—if indeed error *can* be precluded from *any* conſiderable work, filled with multifarious materials, depending entirely on human teſtimony, and on probable reaſonings. It is hoped, therefore, that intelligent readers, who are alwaysthe moſt indulgent critics, will make a candid allowance for any miſtakes which may not be noticed among the *errata*; eſpecially as the author will thankfully receive any corrections, and will readily anſwer any queſtions, relating to this publication, if addreſſed to him, *poſt-paid*, at Darton and Harvey's, No. 55, Gracechurch-ſtreet.

N. B. Mr. John Clarkſon, to whoſe generous breaſt cold reſerve is a ſtranger, has kindly favoured the author with 6 different views of S. Leona, viz.

1. View of Free Town in the River of Serra Liôa
2. View of Granville Bay and part of the Town.
3. View of King Naimbannas Town in the Iſland of Robanna.
4. S. W. View of the Hoſpital on Savoy Point.
5. View of the Engliſh Slave Factory on Benſe Iſland, taken from the Iſland of Taſſa.
6. View of the French Slave Factory at Gambia Iſland.

Thoſe views do great credit to the ingenuity of Mr. J. Becket, who drew them on the ſpot. Had the author received them in time, he is not ſure that the expenſe would have prevented him from embelliſhing his work with them. But, at preſent he can only offer them to the public, engraved by ſubſcription, at one guinea and a half, for the ſix. And, in order that the public may be able to judge whether the views are worthy of attention, they are left for inſpection with Mr. Edwards, Bookſeller, in Pallmall, where ſubſcriptions are received. Should the number of ſubſcriptions prove ſufficient to defray the expenſe, the drawings will be immediately put into the hands of a very able artiſt.

Digitized by Google

A LIST

OF

SUBSCRIBERS TO THIS WORK.

A.	Copies
Adams, *Miniſter Plenipotentiary from the United States of America to the Republick of Holland*	1
Afzelius, John, *Profeſſor of Chemiſtry at the Univerſity of Upſala*	1
Afzelius, Adam, Dr. *a native of Sweden, Traveller in Africa as Natural Philoſopher*	1
Almeida, Chevalier d', *Portugueſe Ambaſſador, London*	1
Alſtrömer, Baron Patrick, Chevalier d', *Counſellor of the Board of Commerce in Sweden*	1
Arfvidſon, Charles, *Counſellor of the Board of Commerce in Sweden*	1
Arfvidſon, Nicholas, eſq. *Gothenburg*	1
Arrhenius, C. A. Chev. *Captain of the Swediſh Artillery, Stockholm*	1
Arrowſmith, A. eſq. *Charles-ſt. Soho-ſquare*	1
Aſh, John, *Leeds*	1
Aſp, P. O. Chevalier von, *Swediſh Ambaſſador at Conſtantinople*	1
Averhoff, J. P. Chevalier d', *Swediſh Conſul General at Hamburgh*	1
Auker, *Chamberlain to the King of Denmark, Chriſtiania, Norway*	1

B.	
Bahrman, P. E. eſq. *Gothenburg*	1
Baker, Rev. Dr. 60, *Lower Groſvenor-ſtreet*	1
Banks, Sir Joſeph, *Knight of the Bath, Soho-ſquare*	1
Barclay, Robert, eſq. *Clapham*	1
Barrell, Joſeph, eſq. *Boſton, N. America*	3
Barrell, Colborn, *a native of N. America, American Agent, No. 24, Threadneedle-ſt.*	1
Barthelemon, F. H. eſq. *a native of France, Vauxhall*	1
Batty, Dr. *Great Marlborough-ſtreet*	1
Beaufoy, H. eſq. M. P. *George's-ſtreet, Weſtminſter*	1
Beaver, P. eſq. *Lieut. in the Navy, Conductor of the new Colony at Bulama, Portſmouth*	3
Beckett, eſq. *Madeira*	1
Belcher, W. eſq. 78, *Baſinghall-ſtreet*	1
Berndes, P. B. *Captain of the Swediſh Artillery, Stockholm*	1
Binns, John, *Leeds*	1
Birchall, Samuel, *Leeds*	1
Björnberg, N. eſq. *Gothenburg*	1
Blair, Thomas, eſq. *Dublin*	1
Blair, William, eſq. *Ditto*	1
Bland, Joſeph, eſq. *Mincing-lane*	1
Bolts, Colonel, *a native of Holland, No. 46. Upper Marrybonne-ſtreet, London*	1
Bonde, Baron de, *Lord of the Bed-chamber to the King of Sweden, Aide de Camp General, Colonel and Knight of the Order of the Sword*	1
Bonde, G. Count de, *of Säfſtaholm, in Sweden*	5
Bonde, F. Count de, *of Kjettſätter, in Sweden*	3
Boultbee, W. eſq. 9, *Billiter-ſquare*	1
Boydell, eſq. Alderman, *Cheapſide*	1
Brahelin, J. P. eſq. *Stockholm*	1
Brahe, Bille, *Chamberlain, Copenhagen*	1
Brandſtröm, J. S. eſq. *Swediſh Conſul, Hull*	1

Brahelin,

Digitized by Google

Copies

Brahelin, esq. *a native of Sweden, Island of Bartholomy* 1
Brasier, John, esq. *one of the Directors of the S. Leona Company, Camberwell* 1
Bremer, L. the Rev. *Rector to the Danish Church, Wellclose-square* 1
Brenner, esq. *Copenhagen* 1
Brunbeck, J. esq. Alderman, *Norkjoping* 1
BULAMA ASSOCIATION 150

C.

Carnegie, David, esq. *Gothenburg* 1
Chalmers, Charles, esq. *a native of Sweden, Lime-street* 1
Chalmers, James, esq. *Supercarga, in the service of the Swedish E. India Company, Canton, China* 1
Chalmers, Wm. esq. *one of the Directors of the Swedish E. India Company, Gothenburg* 1
Clark, William, jun. *Liverpool* 2
Clarkson, Thomas, esq. *Penrith, Westmerland* 1
Clarkson, J. esq. *Lieut. in the Navy, Purfleet* 1
Clason, D. J. *native of Denmark, Jury-street* 1
Colier, Dr. *Manchester* 1
Collett, John, esq. *Christiania, Norway* 1
Collin, Rev. *Deacon of the true Swedish Congregations in Pensylvania, N. America* 1
Cowie, Robert, esq. *Lime-street* 1
Crosby, esq. *Camberwell* 1

D.

Daevel, Fr. Ludw, *Captain in the corps of Engineers, in Sweden* 1
Dalrymple, Alex. esq. *High-street, Marybone* 1
Dalrymple, H. H. esq. *Conductor of the first Expedition to Bulama* 1
Daws, Jo. esq. *Bolton Lancashire* 30
De Geer, Baron J. J. Chevalier, *Chamberlain to the King, Finspong, Sweden* 2
Dickson, W. esq. *London* 1
Dinwidie and Dinvidie, *Manchester* 2
Djurberg, Dan. *Professor in the Geography, Stockholm* 1

Copies

Dodd, esq. *Cornhill* 1
Dommer, George, esq. *Hanover, in Germany* 1
Dubb, Dr. *Gothenburg* 1
Durham, Hon. Dr. Shute Barrington, *Lord Bishop of* 1

E.

Eberstein, Christian, esq. *Högsiö, Sweden* 1
Eberstein, jun. esq. *Norkioping, Sweden* ... 1
Elliot, The Hon. E. J. esq. M. P. *one of the Directors of the S. L. Co. Dowing-st.* 1
Empson, William, *of Frickley* 1
Engestrom, Chev. von, *Swedish Ambassador, Cumberland-place* 2
Engestrom, Gustaf, von, *Counsellor of the Mineral College, in Sweden, Stockholm* ... 1
Engestrom, Adolph, von, *Member of the Mineral College, in Sweden, Stockholm* ... 1
Euries, jun. esq. *Heure de Grace* 1

F.

Falck, P. esq. *Stockholm* 1
Ferber, esq. *Paris* 1
Ferber, esq. *Paris* 1
Ferner, Bangt, Chevalier, *Counsellor of the King's Chancery, Stockholm* 1
Fiellman, S. *Secretary to the King of Sweden, Stockholm* 1
Fischerström, J. *Intendent of the Board of Œconomy, Stockholm* 1
Fock, Baron, *of Robeck, Sweden* 1
Forster, Charles, esq. *Hamburg* 1
Foster, Joseph, esq. *Bromley-hall* 1
Fölsh, F. F. *Swedish Consul General at Marseilles* 1
Fredenheim, C. F. Chev. *Counsellor of the King's Chancery in Sweden* 1
Fröberg, Andrew, *Gottenburg* 1

G.

Gahn, J. G. *Member of the Board of Mines, Fahlun, Sweden* 1
Gahn, H. J. *Swedish Consul General, Cadix* 1
Gahn, Henry, M. D. *Stockholm* 1
Gartz, Claes, *Secretary to the King, Stockholm* 1

Geyer,

Digitized by Google

Subscribers Names.

	Copies
Geyer, B. R. *Chief Director of the Essay Office in Sweden*	1
Glöerfelt, Isaac, *Swedish Consul General at Esneur*	1
Goodew, esq. *Deptford*	1
Gories, esq. *Stockholm*	2
Grant, Charles, esq. *one of the Directors of the S. Leona Co. Battersea Rise*	8
Graues, Th. esq. *Captain Bristol*	1
Greaves, esq. *Honiton, Devonshire*	1
Green, Sir William	1
Grill, Joh. Abraham, Chev. *one of the Directors of the Swedish E. India Company, Stockholm*	1
Grill, Claes, esq. *Swedish Consul General in London, Mincing-lane*	100
Grill, A. U. esq. *Stockholm*	2
Gustavus Vasa, *a native of Africa*	1

H.

Hansen, L. J. *Copenhagen*	1
Hall, Joseph, esq. *Gothenburg*	1
Hallencreutz, J. Eng. *Chief of the Mines in Sweden*	1
Hardcastle, Jos. esq. *Duckfoot-l. Thames-st.*	2
Hardford, Trummen, esq. *Limehouse*	1
Harman, Abraham, esq. *Stoke Newington*	1
Harman, Barney, esq. *Ditto*	1
Harrison, George, esq. *Bullhead-passage, Wood-street*	1
Hartwell, George, esq. *one of the Trustees to the Bulama Association, Navy Office*	1
Harwood, H. esq. *Portsmouth*	1
Haskins, H. esq. *Bristol*	1
Hasselgren, Conrad, esq. *Amsterdam*	1
Hay, S. I. *a native of Denmark, Chamber-street*	1
Heathcote, Jo. esq. *Dean-street, Soho*	1
Hermelin Baron S. G. *Counsellor of the Mineral College, in Sweden*	1
Heykenskiöld, Christ. *Captain Yxe in Sweden*	1
Hjelm, R. J. *Essayer General, and Member of the Mineral College, in Sweden*	1
Hoare, Henry, esq. *Mitcham*	100
Holterman, Martin, esq. *Gothenburg*	1
Howard, W. esq. *Old-street*	1

I.

Jacobi, Baron, *Prussian Ambassador, in London*	1
Jacobs, esq. *Riga, in Livonia*	1
Janson, Edward, *Stoke Newington*	1
Jenour, Joshua, esq. *Chigwell-row, Essex*	1
Inglis, John, esq. *one of the Directors of the S. Leona Company, Mark-lane*	1
Innis, Robert, esq. *Gothenburg*	1
Johansen, Christian, esq. Alderman, *Eskilstuna, Sweden*	1
Johnson, Edward, esq. *Mile-end-road*	2
Irujo, Chevalier d', *Secretary to the Spanish Ambassy in London*	1

K.

Kalling, Count de, *Lieutenant-Colonel, Norkjoping, Sweden*	1
Kämpe, Carl, *Secretary and Librarian to the King of Sweden*	1
Kantzau, J. A. *Swedish Consul General at Lisbon*	1
Kay, Benjamin, esq. *Leeds*	1
Kingston, John, esq. *one of the Directors of the S. Leona Company, New Broad-street*	1
Kirkpatrick, James, esq. *one of the Trustees of the Bulama Association, Holydale, Kent*	1
Klingström, C. G. Captain, *Stockholm*	1
König, C. G. *Secretary to the King and to the Swedish Ambassy at Lisbon*	1
Kusel, esq. *a native of Sweden, Hull*	1

L.

Le Mesurier, Paul, esq. M. P. *one of the Trustees of the Bulama Association, Walbrook*	6
Lesse, Anders, esq. *Gothenburg*	1

Lettsom,

Digitized by Google

Subscribers Names.

Copies

Lettsom, Dr. *Sambrook-House* 1
Leyonankar, Chev. *Admiral in the Swedish Navy, Charlscroon, Sweden* 1
Liedbeck, E. G. esq. *Stockholm* 1
Lilljencrantz, Baron Sven, *Governor, Hesselbyholm, Sweden* 1
Lindahl, Olof, esq. *one of the Directors of the Swedish E. India Co. Norkioping* ... 1
Lindahl, P. jun. esq. *Norkioping, Sweden* 1
Liungberg, *Counsellor of the Board of Commerce, Copenhagen* 1
Lister, Daniel, esq. *Hackney* 1
Lopes, esq. *Lisbon* 1
Low, David, *Gothenburg* 1
Lucadou, Peter, esq. *Broad-street* 1
Ludlam, W. esq. *Queen-street* 1

M.

Macmurdo, E. L. esq. *Oldford* 1
M'Donnel, esq. *Dublin* 1
Maguire, Daniel, esq. *Dublin* 1
Martin, esq. M. P. *Downing-str. London* 1
Martin, E. *Professor of the Roy. Acad. of Painting, Stockholm* 1
Martin, Fred. esq. *Stockholm* 1
Mathew, Mrs. *Rathbone-place* 1
May, the Rev. Mr. 1
Miller, Sir J. R. Bart. M. P. *one of the Trustees to the Bulama Association* 1
Minten, Johan, esq. *Gothenburg* 1
Mitchel, David, esq. *Gothenburg* 1
Mohamed, Raif, (Effendy,) *Secretary to the Ambassy of the Sublime Port, to the King of Great Britain* 1
Moe, J. esq. *Copenhagen* 1
Moltke, Count de, *Lieutenant in the Danish Navy, Copenhagen* 1

N.

Nissen, Eric, esq. *Gothenburg* 1
Nisser, Rev. S. C. *Rector of the Swedish Church, Prince's-square* 1

Copies

Norberg, C. A. *Counsellor of the Board of Commerce, at Copenhagen* 1
Nordenskiöld, Otto, H. Chev. *Admiral of the Swedish Navy, Charlscroon* 1
Nordenskiöld, Chev. Adolph, *Colonel of the Engineers, Frugard, Finland* 1
Nordenskiöld, Ulric, *Chamberlain to the King of Sweden, Stockholm* 1
Nordenskiöld, Charles Frederick, *Secretary to the King of Sweden, and to the Swedish Ambassy, at Hamburg* 1
Nohrstedt, esq. *Norkioping, Sweden* 1
NORTHERN SOCIETY, *Cateaton st.* 9

O.

Odelstierna, Chev. *Captain of the Swedish Artillery* 1
Oterdahl, J. O. esq. *Gothenburg* 1
Oterdahl, P. esq. *Ditto* 1
Oxenstierna, C. G. Baron d', *Swedish Ambassador, at Lisbon* 1

P.

Park, Mungo, esq. *Traveller in Africa, at Natural Philosopher* 1
Parker, Sam. esq. *one the Directors of the Sierra Leona Company, Clapham* 1
Pauli, A. W. *Swedish Consul, at Lybeck* ... 1
Payne, William, *of Frickley* 1
Peil, esq. *Stockholm* 1
Pihl, A. *Superintendant of the Copper Mine of Fahlun, in Sweden* 1
Plymley, Rev. Archdeacon, *Legnor, Salop* 1
Pohlheimer, A. *Superintendant of the Mines, in Sweden, Landscrona* 1
Priestley, the Rev. Dr. Jos. *Philadelphia* 1
Princep, Jo. esq. *one of the Directors of the Sierra Leona Company, St. Mary Axe* 1

Q.

Quist, B. Anderson, *Counsellor of the Mineral College, in Sweden* 1

Ramel,

Digitized by Google

Subſcribers Names.

R. *Copies*

Ramel, Baron otto, Major, *Malteſholm, Sweden* 1
Rainsford, Chev. *Lieut. Gen. at Gibraltar* 1
Rantzau, Count de, *Copenhagen* 1
Rappe, Baron, C. *Wexiö, Sweden* 1
Rathbone, eſq. *of Green Bank, Liverpool* ... 2
Reaſtone, Rev. P. Acklom, *Barlborough, Derbyſhire* 1
Reimers, Alex. *Gottenburg* 1
Reinicke, Nich. *Swediſh Conſul General, at Havre de Grace* 1
Reyner, eſq. *Ducksfoot-lane, Cannon-ſtreet* 1
Rinman, Guſt. eſq. *Eſkilſtuna, Sweden* ... 1
Rinman, Carl. eſq. *ditto ditto* ... 1
Roberts, Richard eſq. *Mancheſter* 1
Robſahm, C. *one of the Commiſſaries of the Swediſh Bank, Stockholm* 1
Rodes, Cornelius Heathcote, eſq. *Burlborough-Hall, Derbyſhire* 1
Röhl, eſq. *Swediſh Agent in the Iſland of Bartholomew, W. Indies* 1
Rogers, Edw. eſq. *of Everton, Liverpool* ... 1
Roos, Sven, jun. eſq. *Stockholm* 1
Ropoſo, eſq. *Liſbon* 1
Roſcoe, eſq. *of Birchfield, Liverpool* 2
Rothoff, eſq. *Eſkiltuna, Sweden* 1

S.

Sanſom, P. eſq. *one of the Directors of the S. Leona Company, London ſt.* 1
Scharp, eſq. *Stockholm* 1
Schenbom, B. Chev. *Swediſh Conſul General, at Peterſburg* 1
Schmitterlöv, G. A. *Lieut. Col. Weſterwyk, Sweden* 1
Scott, D. eſq. M. P. *one of the Truſtees of the Bulama Aſſociation, Harley ſt.* 1
Sernſtrom, J. A. *Gottenburg* 1
Servante, Henry, *American Agent, No. 24, Threadneedle-ſtreet, London* 1
Servante, H. jun. *Cheapſide* 6

Copies

Seton, eſq. *Ekolmſund, Sweden* 1
Sharp, Granville, eſq. *one of the Directors of the Sierra Leona Company, Temple* 1
Sharp, eſq. *Fulham* 1
Silverhielm, Baron Göran, *Secretary to the Swediſh Ambaſſy, in London* 1
Smirke, eſq. *No. 62, Charlotte-ſtreet, Rathbonne-place, London* 1
Smith, Charles, eſq. *Lincoln's-Inn* 1
Smith, John, eſq. *Gottenburg* 1
Smith, W. eſq. M. P. *Park ſt. Weſtminſter* 1
Sparrman, A. *Dr. and Member of the Medical College, at Stockholm* 1
Stael, von Holſtein, Baron, Chev. *Swediſh Ambaſſador, to the French Republic* 1
Stanhope, The Right Hon. Earl 1
Stiſler, eſq. M. P. *a native of Germany, Cannon-ſtreet* 1
Sturtzenbecker, Marten, eſq. *Captain of the Corps of Engineers, Stockholm* 1
Sundius, eſq. *a native of Sweden, City Road, London* 1
Swartz, C. *Secretary to the King, Stockholm* 1
Swartz, O. *Dr. Stockholm* 1
Swartz, P. eſq. *Norkjoping* 1
Sykes, Joſeph, eſq. *Hull* 1

T.

Tarras, L. eſq. *Gottenburg* 1
Thornton, H. eſq. M. P. *Kings Arms yard* 2
Timan, eſq. *a native of Sweden, Minories* 1
Tinſdale, Jo. *Halfmoon-court, Mancheſter* 7
Törngren, Martin, eſq. *one of the Directors of the Swediſh Eaſt India Company, Gottenburg* 1
Tranchell, Jonas, *Gottenburg* 1
Troil, Uno von, Chev. *Archbiſhop of Sweden, Upſala* 1
Tulk, J. A. eſq. *No. 21, Sloan-ſtr. London* 1
Tuxen, Captain, *Elſeneur* 1

Uhr,

Digitized by Google

Subſcribers Names.

U. *Copies*

Uhr, J. Sebaſtian af, *Chief Director of the King's buildings, in Sweden* 1
Uhr, And, af, *Swediſh Conſul at Toulon* 1

V.

Vaughan, S. eſq. *Mincing-lane, London* ... 1

W.

Wadſtrom, P. G. eſq. *Norkioping, Sweden* 20
Wadſtrom, J. Ad. M. D. *Orebro, Sweden* 1
Wadſtrom, F. W. *Counſellor of the Board of Exchequer, Stockholm* 1
Wall, J. eſq. *Nicholas lane, Lombard ſtreet* 1
Walker, Th. eſq. *Mancheſter* 1
Walker, Rich. eſq. *ditto* 1
Wedenberg, Dr. *Member of the Medical College, Stockholm* 1
Wegelin, J. H. eſq. *Köping, Sweden* 1
Wennerquiſt, eſq. *Stockholm* 1
Weſslo, Chr. *Counſellor of the Board of Commerce, and Swediſh Conſul at Cagliary* 1
Weſterberg, Adolph. eſq. *Stockholm* 1
Weſterberg, Guſt. eſq. *Stockholm* 1
Weſterberg, Eric, eſq. *Guſum, near Norkioping, in Swed n* 1
Weſtring, Dr. *Norkioping, Sweden* 1
Whitbread, S. ſen. eſq. M. P. *Portman ſq.* 2
Whitbread, Sam. jun. eſq. M. P. *Lower Groſvenor ſt.* 2

Copies

Wilberforce, Will. eſq. M. P. *one of the Directors of the S. Leona Com. Old Palace y.* 3
Wilcke, J. C. Chev. *Secretary to the Royal Academy of Sciences, Stockholm* 1
Williams, J. R. eſq. *Secretary to the Sierra Leona Company, Chatham place* 1
Williamſon, Jacob, eſq. *Gottenburg* 1
Williamſon, Johan, eſq. *Ditto* 1
Willis, eſq. *Conſul General of Africa, Devonſhire ſt. Portland place* 1
Witfoth, eſq. *Ruſſian Con. Gen. at Bourdeaux* 1
Wohlfart, Berndt, eſq. *Gottenburg* 1
Wolff, Geo. eſq. *one of the Directors of the Sierra Leona Company, and Daniſh Conſul Genera', American ſquare* 2
Wolff, Ernſt, eſq. *a native of Denmark, American-ſquare* 1

X.

Ximenes, Moſes, eſq. *one of the Truſtees to the Bulama Aſſociation, Upper Gower ſt.* 1

Y.

Young, Sir Geo. *Admiral, Great Ruſſel ſt.* 1

Z.

Zimmerman, E. A. G. *Profeſſor, Brunſchwig* 1

NB. As ſeveral liſts of ſubſcribers, eſpecially thoſe from abroad, are not yet returned, and the work, in other reſpects being ready for delivery, the Author does not think himſelf at liberty to delay the publication any longer. It is hoped that this circumſtance will ſerve as a general apology to thoſe ſubſcribers, at a diſtance from London, who may not find their names inſerted in the above liſt.

Digitized by Google

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

N. B. The Figures refer to the Paragraphs and Lines.

§ 4 *line* 11 *read* Eaſt and Weſt Indies.
§ 5 *line* 6 note, *read* though homeward bound ſhips from Jamaica, &c. are furthered in their tranſit by the gulph ſtream.
§ 15 The following note ſhould have been added, viz. "It is a fact no leſs ſurprizing than certain," ſays Dr. Forſter, "that the more we examine the hiſtory of *almoſt every nation*, the more we find this cuſtom, *(cannibaliſm)* prevalent in the firſt periods of their exiſtence." Voy. round the World, Vol. II. p. 78. But I may very ſafely affirm, that this horrid practice does not exiſt in that part of Africa which I am now ſketching.
§ 40 *line* 2 *read*, preſents.
§ 42 *line* 2 *dele* in.
ib. line 4 *read* the thermometer.
§ 57 *line* 14 *read* made by.
§ 135 *line* 16 *dele* is.
§ 142 Qu. XLVIII. *read* Do not, &c.
§ 143 *line* 2 *read* depend.
§ 150 *line* 7 *dele* a.
§ 172 *line* 16 *dele* the parenthetical marks.
§ 246 *line* 18 note, *read* that which he has ſeen in the E. Indies.
§ 280 *line* 3 *This* road was not finiſhed till Feb. 12th, 1775.
§ 282 *line* 12 *for* at the head, *read* the referee
§ 331 *line* 12 *read* 1786.
§ 370 The note referred to ſhould be Note K.
§ 418 *line* 25 *read* the greateſt riſk.
§ 443 *line* 8 *read* ſymptoms.
§ 447 *line* 16 *read* captivity.
§ 448 *line* 18 *read* having been *previouſly* promiſed.
§ 479 *line* 33 *read* a man of humanity.
§ 516 *line* 16 *read* the following.
§ 543 On Mr. Beaver's authority, the king's names are here ſpelt *Niobana, Matchore.*
§ 580 *line* 42 *read* kings of Canabac
§ 599 *line* 2 *read* Lieut. Col. von Rohrs.
§ 605 *line* 2 *read* the views of thoſe gentlemen
§ 606 *line* 2 note to the 3d art. *read* unnatural, feudal claſſification.
§ 613 *line* 2 *read* in our journey.
§ 614 *line* 4 *read* on the coaſt.
ib. line 10 *read* Maleſherbes.
§ 618 Annex to the ‡ note, See in the Append. Documents, &c. reſpecting the Swediſh colonial Deſign, No. 7.
§ 647 *line* 2 *read* on thoſe coaſts.
§ 650 *line* 19 *read* will know.
§ 682 *line* 6 *read* bought.
§ 692 *line* 10 *read* the horror of the natives at the place.
§ 694 *line* 6 *read* Note AA.
§ 695 *line* 3 *read* domeſtics.
ib. line 17 *read* Note B.
§ 703 *read* Note M. See § 377.
§ 710 *line* 3 *read* latter colony.
§ 715 *line* 24 *read* then rendered.
§ 725 *line* 24 *read* come.
ib. line 11 *read* Note GG. § 936.
§ 744 *line* 3 *dele* which is called a cent piece.
ib. line 4 *dele* or half cent.
ib. line 5 *read* the 10 cent piece.
§ 750 *line* 6 *read* I ſhould be tempted, in ſo far, to prefer, &c.
§ 754 *line* 5 *read* ſhould find means.
ib. line 6 *read* would no longer be ſimilar.
§ 760 *line* 27 After W. Indian *artiſt*, *inſert* (for gins to ſeparate the cotton from the ſeeds, may be ſent out from Europe.)
ib. line 5 note, *read* is reckoned by moſt writers
§ 761 note, *read* annually *per* acre.
§ 773 *line* 4 *dele* indeed
ib. line 22 *read* by being left.
§ 774 *line* 32 *read* Hence alſo.
ib. line 3 † note, *dele* and.
§ 784 *line* 4 *read* April, 1788.
§ 932 *line* 5 *read* Windmills.
§ 936 *line* 20 *read* medical men.
§ 973 *read* No. 1. See § 605, 609.

In the liſt of names of the S. Leona ſubſcribers

read Aſſelck, Aſſleck, Mrs. Ann
read Alleyne, Mrs. Ann
read Beacroft, Mrs. Judith
read Beawan, W. H. *Lincoln's-Inn*
read Birket, Daniel, 3 ſhares
read Blizard, Jo. 1 ſhare
read Buſhnan, Joſeph, *Guildhall*
read Culmer, John, *Plymouth*
read Evans. C. eſq. *Highgrove*, &c.
read Jefferys, Tho. *Cockſpur-ſtreet*
read Jefferies, John. eſq. *Glouceſter*
read Jocelyn, Mrs. Martha, *Rumford*
read Lea, Richard, *Old Jewry*
read Leech, John, *Cornhill*
read Nicholſon, John, *Philadelphia*
read Nicklin, James, *Botolph-lane*
read Ninde, Benj. *Great Preſcot-ſt.*
read Ogborn, R. *Biſhopgate-ſt within*
read Pearſall, Nich. *Kidderminſter*
read Plumptre, Jo. *Fredwille, Kent*
read Prideaux, John, *Northampton*
read Prideaux, Thomas. *Ditto*
read Reeve, Joſhua, *Canterbury-ſquare*
read Smithers. H. *Clink-ſt. Southwark*
read Springer, Jo. *Symond's-Inn*
read Whatley, W. *Oxford-c. Cannon-ſt*
read White, Wm. *Fulham*
read Wolff, Miſs Martha Ann
read Worley, Iſaac, *Cheapſide*
read Wright, J. M. *Wellcloſe ſq.* 1 ſhare

The author perhaps ſhould alſo note, as errata, the words *common people, better ſort of people*, &c. in ſhort, every expreſſion which may have eſcaped him tending to exalt or depreſs the human ſpecies, from any conſideration of outward circumſtances; and, in ſo doing, he claims the indulgence due to a foreigner, who receives or picks up certain phraſes without entirely entering into their full ſignification. The *better ſort of people* are thoſe who are frugal in their expences, and conſcientiouſly apply their time and poſſeſſions to the good of ſociety, and it is to be regretted that the oppoſite character is *common*.

Digitized by Google

Directions to the Bookbinder.

All the plates to be placed at the end of the work, in the following order.

Plate I. The Colonial Houſe.
Plate II. The Harbour of Sierra Leona.
Plate III. The Iſland of Bulama.
Plate IV. The Buildings at Bulama.
Plate V. The Slave Ship.
Plate VI. The large Map.
Plate VII. is inſerted below the Letter-preſs, at the end of the Second Part.

☞ Perſons who chuſe to purchaſe the Plates coloured, either with or without the Work, may be ſupplied with them, by applying at DARTON and HARVEY'S, No. 55, Gracechurch-ſtreet.

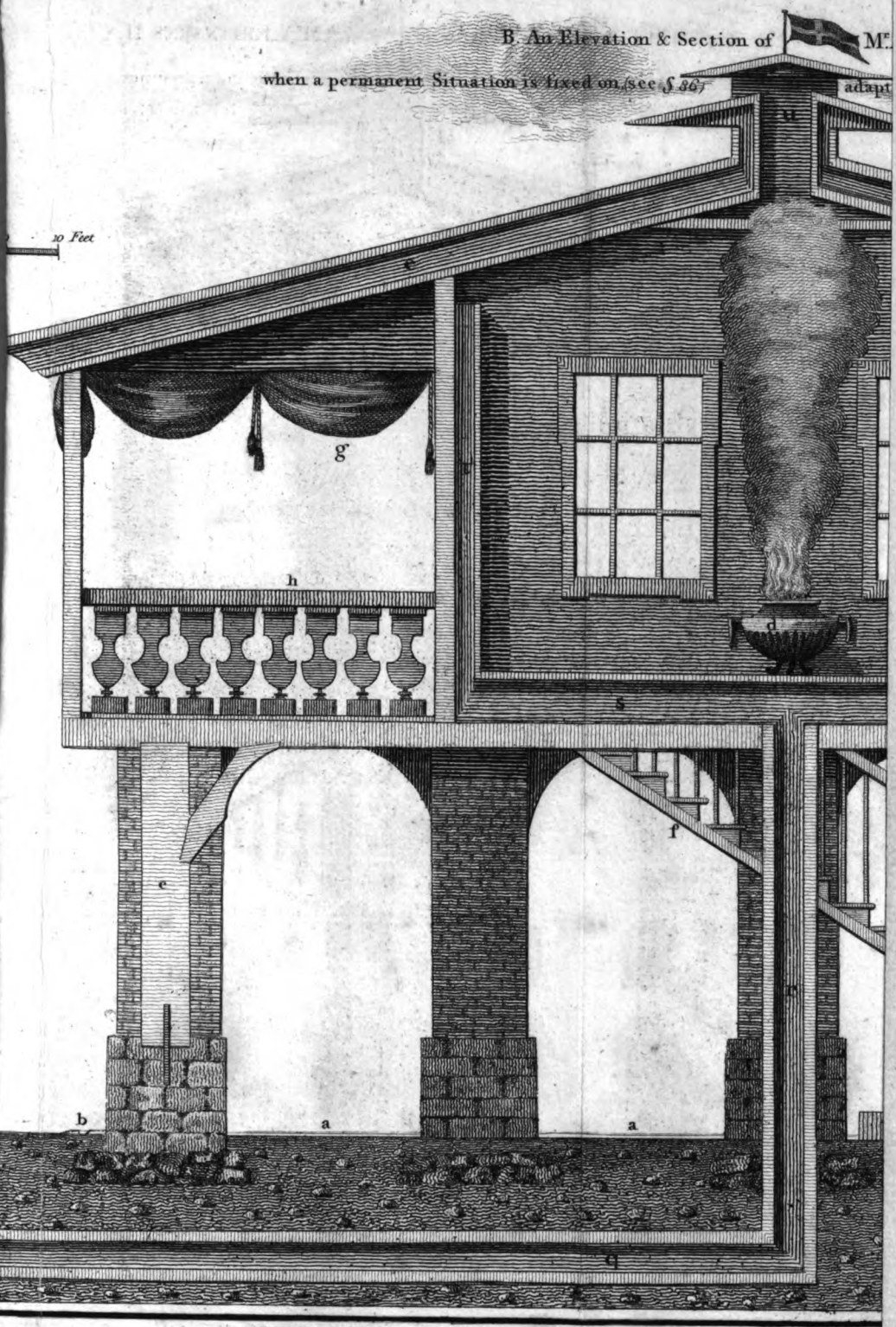
N. B. The reſpectable Committee of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave-trade, having favoured the Author with their Plate of the Slave-ſhip, he has the Satisfaction of giving his Friends and the Public, independently of his Engagement, an Impreſſion of it in this Work.—As the principal Part of it, (contrary to the other Plates,) is executed in Imitation of waſh Drawings, a Manner not ſo certain in the printing, he recommends in any Inſtance that may happen of an imperfect Impreſſion, that the Part may be waſhed over with Indian Ink, which can very eaſily be done with a Camel's-hair Pencil, and will give all the Effect of the moſt perfect Print.

As the Fate of the flouriſhing Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, may be a Subject of great Curioſity, at the preſent Juncture, the Author cannot omit to mention, that two moſt elegant Views of this Colony have lately been publiſhed by Mr. Dukes, of Howland Street, and might be bound up with this Work, in Caſe any Amateur ſhould wiſh to ſee them joined to the Deſcription given in § 300, *et ſeq.*

Digitized by Google

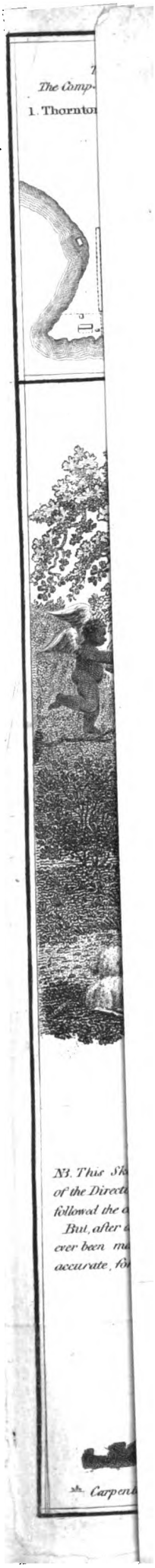
B. An Elevation & Section of M[illegible]

when a permanent Situation is fixed on (see § 36) adapt[illegible]



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google



The Comp-

1. Thornto

N3. This Sk
of the Direct
followed the c
But, after
ever been m
accurate, fo

Carpen

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google





A. *The place where the*
according to the o
very healthy situati
however is not so g
fixed the settlem
B. *The situation of th*
had erected the temp
healthful spot, with
C. *An Island of 40 ac*
D. *This place almost*
near high water, a
Capt. Cox found the h
The water rises never

S.W. Breeze 9 Month
Tornadoes, which alt
the end of May or
The fogs at Bulam

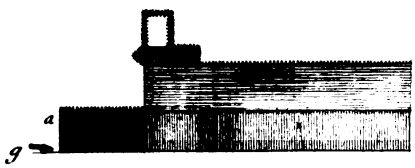
Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

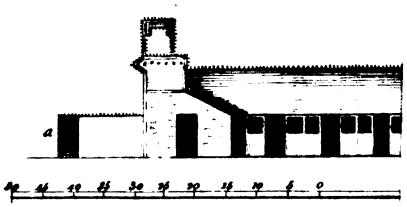
Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

C. Elevation

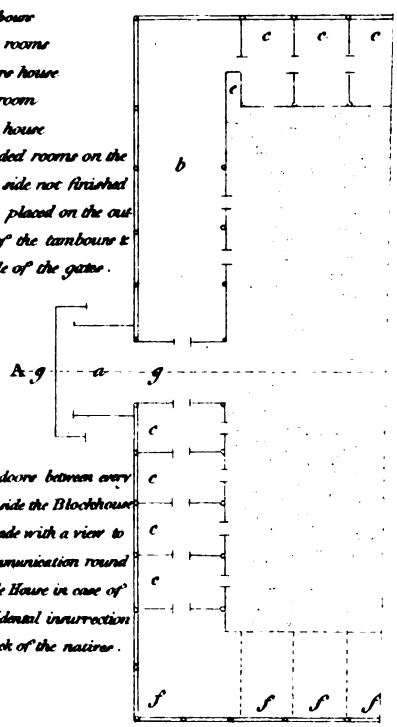


B. Elevation



A. Plan of

a. Tambour
b. Store rooms
c. Settlers house
d. Cook room
e. Tool house
f. Intended rooms on the South side not finished
g. Cutes placed on the outside of the tambours & inside of the gates.



N.B. The doors between every room inside the Blockhouse were made with a view to easy communication round the whole House in case of any accidental insurrection or attack of the natives.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Boys 5 feet by 1 foot 2 inches.
Girls 4 feet 6 inches by 1 foot.

mane ma

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PRESERVATION SERVICE

SHELFMARK H.56..9.18.

THIS BOOK HAS BEEN
MICROFILMED (1987)

MICROFILM NO C..8487





Digitized by Google