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POSTSCRIPT

TO

THE REPLY "POINT BY POINT;"

CONTAINING AN

EXPOSURE

OF

THE MISREPRESENTATION OF THE TREATMENT

OF THE

Captured Regroes

AT

SIERRA LEONE:

AND OTHER MATTERS ARISING FROM

THE NINTH REPORT

OF

THE AFRICAN INSTITUTION.

BY ROBERT THORPE, ESQ. LL.D.

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1815.

POSTSCRIPT,

фc.

THE premeditated determination of the Managers of the African Institution to persist in deluding the Nation; and the consummate cunning with which their object is pursued, has obliged me to give a Postscript to my "Reply Point by Point."

The Annual Meeting of the Institution was postponed from the 25th of March to the 12th of April, when their Ninth, and their Special Reports were read, and ordered to be printed. The latter appeared in about six weeks, and I replied to it fully; the former was kept back five months, and not given to the Public, until three weeks after my Reply had been published, obviously with the hope that their misrepresentations, concerning the treatment of the captured Negroes, might escape detection.

I had declared that the object of my original Pub-

lication was to instigate open, full, and impartial enquiry into the conduct pursued at Sierra Leone, that the intentions of Government, and the professions of the Institution might be carried into effect; but in the "Ninth Report," thirteen pages concerning the captured Negroes are introduced, evidently to depreciate my Statement, and to applaud the perpetrators of unexampled viciousness! a more mischievous misrepresentation, a more contemptible detraction, or more open encouragement given to the worthless, never was exhibited under the sanction of great character! Had there been any candour in the Managers, would they not have met this question fairly in the Special Report, avowedly written in refutation of my allegations?

I had pledged myself to reply to their promised "full and detailed Answer" to my Letter, and had truth given them any support, would they not fearlessly, at once have published a vindication of themselves and their protegés? or if there had been any pretension to fair discussion, would not their Ninth Report have appeared in its proper time and place? that, however, would not answer their purpose of protracting delusion; for they knew I would have replied on the instant to both.

The Public are now interested, and benefit has already been bestowed; no insinuation against the truth which I have promulgated shall escape unrefuted, nor a fabricated representation from the interested and inculpated remain unexposed.

The improvement which Africa will attain, and the advantage which England must receive from a full disclosure, shall not be retarded by any diminution of my labour.

In page 50 of the Ninth Report, the Directors call the attention of the Subscribers to Sierra Leone. and inform them, "that they are enabled from Lt. " Colonel Maxwell, Governor of that Colony, (in justice to Ministers they might have said late Governor.) "and from other eye-witnesses, to lay more " full and authentic Statements before the General " Meeting than it has hitherto been in their power " to communicate. Much having been said as to " the treatment and disposal of the captured Ne-" groes at Sierra Leone, it may be satisfactory to " the Subscribers to learn that after a minute en-" quiry into the subject, it appears to the Direc-" tors, that much more has been effected for their " benefit in that Colony than was even required " by the Orders and Regulations given by the " Crown to their Officers for the care and treat-" ment of these Captives."

I object to the witness the Directors produce: Lt. Col. Maxwell is neither competent nor creditable; being most interested in preventing the truth from being divulged, as he is deeply implicated in the dreadful treatment the captured Negroes have experienced: highly culpable for having appropriated their labour to his own profit, and chiefly cri-

minal in having made them subservient to the most licentious excesses.

If the Directors will submit the names of the " other eye-witnesses," I will undertake to prove them participes criminis. The Board appear as little conversant with the rules of evidence, as they are with the principles of law; but there was unprecedented boldness in bringing before the Public the testimony of the very person most implicated in the iniquitous conduct pursued; where truth would he crimination, it could not be elicited! If the Directors can excuse themselves in favoring the escape of such persons, by the blandishments lavished on them in their Reports, the Public cannot. It was most unworthy: they should have considered those poor Negroes were liberated for the King's protection, according to law, and on the faith of this Nation.

I shall examine the Regulations, and state the conduct of the officers to whom the captured Negroes were consigned; and the Public will then judge "how much more was effected for their bene- "fit than was even required."

EXTRACT FROM THE REGULATIONS OF THE CROWN.

[&]quot; The captured Slave to be considered as enfran" chised; and condemnation to the King only for
" purpose of divesting and barring all other pro-

"shall in no case be liable to be disposed of; treated, or dealt with as slaves, by any person or persons under the crown, or by force of such con: demnation: yet captured Negroes condemned to the King were disposed of arbitrarily, and treated and dealt with as Slaves by the Officers of the Crown.

EXTRACTS FROM ORDERS IN COUNCIL.

"The Collector or Chief Officer to provide suitandly ably for the captured Negroes' support and mainable tenance;" whereas in Governor Columbine's administration they were nearly starved.

" The Collector, or Chief Officer, to enter in a " book, carefully kept for the purpose, an exact list " of the Negroes, specifying the time of their deli-" very, the ship in which they were seized, the date " of condemnation, in what court, for what cause, " and at whose suit, with a description, name, sex, " age; if name not known, one to be substituted; " the Negro to be instructed for Baptism, and when " baptized, a name to be prefixed; the height of " the party, by a careful admeasurement; the Afri-" can mark, if any; and such peculiarities of fea-" ture or person, as may distinguish them, should " their identity be called in question: a true copy " signed, to be delivered to the Captor, or Prose-" cutor, or his Agent, to be annexed to the Certi-" ficates for bounties."

This is one of the Orders of Council, declared "to have been found by experience inadequate!" Though a more specific Regulation could not have been framed, it was followed sufficiently to obtain the Head-money from the Treasury for the captors, no further; let the nation see the description that has been given, the numbers returned, and the disposition made of every individual, as directed; let the Directors prove the Order has been obeyed, then it will be ascertained what has become of the liberated Negroes; let them shew where the Order has been "inadequate to the exigencies of the "cases," that will evince how much more has been done than was required.

ANOTHER ORDER.

"All such as are not for his Majesty's service as soldiers, seamen, or marines, to be apprenticed in the following manner:—Ist. To prudent and humane masters and mistresses, in the same, or in other Colonies; to learn such trade, handicrafts, or employments, as may seem most likely to gain them a livelihood, when their apprentices ships have expired."—This never was complied with.

The Order in continuation. "Female Negroes "not to be employed in labours of agriculture; to be apprenticed to those of good repute and humanity." They were employed as slaves in agri-

culture, and often apprenticed to the most worth-less.

Again. "The masters and mistresses shall co"venant to provide the apprentices with comfort"able food, clothing, and other necessaries, and not
"to treat them with severity." This was not enforced; for when I arrived in the Colony, in June
1811, the apprentices, male and female, were in a
state of nudity, the Collector (Mr. Macauley) did
not prevent this barbarity. I obliged the masters and mistresses to provide some covering for their
Apprentices when they were sent into the street;
and I preserved them from continued and severe
chastisement, by directing criminal prosecutions,
when such abuses came to my knowledge. The
officers, faithless to their trust, disregarded the Negroes' sufferings.

THE ORDERS DIRECT.

"To have them instructed in the specified trade or employment, and in the Christian Religion, and to be baptised, and to attend public worship, and to have the apprentice produced for inspection; and if these stipulations were not complied with, the term of apprenticeship to cease." Very few of them were instructed in any trade, but none in the Christian Religion; they did not attend public worship, nor were they baptised.

FURTHER DIRECTIONS.

"The Collector annually to transmit to the Se-" cretary of State, an accurate account, specifying "the number, names, sexes, and ages received by " him, enlisted, apprenticed, or otherwise disposed " of; the names, descriptions, and places of abode " of their masters or mistresses, and the state and " condition of the apprentice." If this has been complied with, I make no doubt the Directors will obtain the Reports directed to be made every 31st of December, to prove they are not conniving at the neglect. From those regular returns, we shall ascertain what has been done with every captured Negro annually: then the truth or falsehood of the Superintendent's statement of the disposal of all the captured Negroes, amounting to 5925, (as given by the Institution's Reports), can be accurately proved, or positively denied. This will uphold in one instance their own professed determination to lay before the Public absolute truth: besides the benign Directors have always expressed such fine feelings for the poor Negroes, and such an ardent desire to have them correctly managed; and as they exultingly tell the Subscribers and the Public, that " much more has been done for them than the " Regulations of the Crown requires." They will take an early opportunity of specifically stating, how they have been disposed of, the extra advantages conferred, and when the boon was bestowed.

The Report proceeds to observe, how "defective " the Regulations are, in not providing for such as " are not enlisted or apprenticed;" when the Regulations direct, "that they are all to be enlisted " into his Majesty's service, or apprenticed in the " same, or in some other of his Colonies." not perceive where the Regulations are defective. or where. "by their silence, they open a wide door " to abuse." The Directors have not pointed out the deficiencies, though it would have been becoming, when they attribute inefficiency to the Council, I do believe they will require a very "wide door" to be opened, by which their protegés may escape from censure, for the abuses they have committed and suffered to be committed, by disobeying the Orders.

As I have now stated the Regulations, I shall exhibit some of the conduct pursued by the Officers of the Crown, that it may be compared with their Orders; for which purpose I shall give an extract from a Charge laid before the Secretary of State, against Mr. Kenneth Macaulay, the Superintendent of the captured Negroes, and the Collector of the Customs at Sierra Leone; and by subjoining a few illustrative notes, together with what I have before written on this subject, the Public will be able fully to estimate how "much more has been done for the captured Negroes' benefit than was required by the Crown."

[&]quot;Charge—That the aforesaid Mr. Kenneth

"Macaulay in his capacity of Superintendant of the captured Negroes did coerce and chastise the said Negroes most cruelly; that he allowed them, at one time, to be almost * starved, and at other times suffered their Hospital to be most shamefully † neglected; that he permitted them to stray away from the Colony ‡, many of them to be kidnapped and inveigled from the Colony, and intrusted them to persons who sold §, or placed them in slavery; that he has neglected to make suspected persons, to whom they were intrusted,

* Capt. Columbine, convinced he could not otherwise dispose of the Ferrean Flour * found in the Slave Vessels he had captured, induced the Superintendent to purchase it for the Negroes; and it was served to them for food even when sour, until they were almost famished: they were obliged, for the preservation of life, to devour morbid offals wherever they could find them, and became so covered with a wretched disease called the Craw-Craws, that existence was protracted misery.

† The Hospital was so shamefully neglected by Surgeon Purdie, that when Governor Maxwell informed me he was going to appoint him also Secretary to the Colony, I stated his improper conduct as Surgeon; in return for which Governor Maxwell gave him my letter to sharpen his malignity in their fubrications against me!

‡ In Governor Columbine's administration, many captured Negroes fled from the Colony, many were taken away, and others hid themselves in the mountains; a public whipping Post was erected, and many of these unhappy creatures were unmercifully lashed, for merely seeking subsistence in the streets.

§ Woodbine, the master of a vessel, to whom some were intrusted, having sold them in the adjacent Rivers, returned to the Colony and was not punished!

[■] A most wretched food made from Cassada root, for the Slaves.

" account for them, or to enforce the penalties " against such as had used them ill; that he has even " intrusted them to a woman of infamous character *, " who was known to prostitute them in the Colony; " that if he was forced to account for those deliver-" ed to his charge, (as he is bound to do,) hundreds " would be proved missing; that he not only suf-" fered them to be employed on the Governor's " houses and farms, but employed numbers himself " on his own farms and plantations, while they were " maintained at the King's expense; that he was " known to have debauched many of the girls, and " to have lived with them in the most profligate " state, and that he bartered the public money with "Governor Maxwell for the various things wanted " in the captured Negro Department." Was it the defective Regulations of the Crown, and the Orders of Council, that produced all this amiable conduct?

Mr. Kenneth Macaulay was in England for two months after I had laid this Charge, with others, against him; I presume if it could have been defended, he and the powerful friends of his relative would have insisted on impartial inquiry, and have prevented the stigma; he was quietly deprived of his appointments, but considered by Mr. Z. Macaulay as most happily qualified to be his Agent at Sierra Leone; since his return to the Colony, he

A Woman called Jolliffe Mary, serviceable to those in authority, was suffered to keep those unfortunate girls, for prostitution!!

has again crept into office, and his services in collecting materials for the benefit of the Institution, are fortunately continued.

The Report proceeds. "In Captain Columbine's " administration, fifteen hundred captured Negroes " were landed: one hundred entered his Majesty's " service, two hundred left the Colony, and twelve " hundred could not be disposed of as apprentices; " where there were only three or four hundred set-Thus we have an acknowledgment, that near fourteen hundred, seized in an administration which continued only fourteen months, cannot be accounted for. Every person acquainted with Africa would acknowledge, that a Negro could not proceed ten miles beyond the Colony until he would be caught by the Natives, and thrown into slavery: it is apparent from the conduct of the executive officers, that they considered the Negro was not captured for emancipation, but to plunge him into worse captivity, and that our Allies' property was confiscated, only to gain head-money from our Treasury. Was this done to fulfil the intention of the Legislature, or did it arise from a defect in the regulations of the Crown, and Orders of Council? It could not have been the Governor's fault, for he was the Manager's friend; nor the Superintendent's neglect, for he was the Manager's near relative!!

Captain Thompson managed to distribute the captured Negroes happily, and settled them usefully, why was his beneficial policy not followed?

In his administration, when the Negroes could not enter into his Majesty's service, nor be apprenticed advantageously, he placed them comfortably on farms, and made them serviceable to the community: he did not conceive this a heavy responsibility; he obeyed the direction of the God of Israel to the captives, "Build ye houses and live in them, and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them," he did not find it frustrate the intentions of Parliament, the regulations of the Crown, or defeat the benevolence of England; nor was he rebuked for it by the Minister.

. It is amusing to observe the plausibility and art, with which the Manager labours to place his little objects in a prominent point of view. By misstating the local circumstances of the Colony, he is anxious to advance the importance of the captured Negroes; and then impose on the Institution, that his partizans had rendered them pre-eminently valuable by reducing the price of labour, and enviably happy by giving them farms of their own. page 53 of the Ninth Report, it is stated, that " the captured Negro is considered more valuable " than the Krooman;" whereas the Kroomen are as well-conducted, useful, and frugal race of labourers as the Continent of Africa can produce: there is a constant supply of them; and considering the quantity of work a Krooman will perform in a day, when compared with a captured Negro, his labour becomes much cheaper.

[₹] Jeremiah, chap. xxix. v. 5.

By the Report we are informed, "the settler is " indisposed to farming, but partial to trading with " the Natives!" This was answered in "the Reply." The settler could not be expected to farm, until he. obtained a sufficiency of good land, with a secure title, from the cultivation of which he could provide a subsistence for his family: the manager and his friends prevented any beneficial attempt at raising provisions by the settlers; then complain, that there is an inadequate supply for the consumption of the Colony, after having caused the deficiency themselves, and with a view to place the Negro above the settler, the Directors applaud a proficiency in prospective, but the commencement of the little that has been effected, they suppress, lest the praise should be placed where deserved, and detached from their partizans.

Then it is stated, that the "women who reside "with the Negro soldiers, are cleanly, well "dressed, and surpass the settlers' wives, which "shows their proper feelings, and advancement in "civilization." It is true, since Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell turned trader, he has induced the black soldiers to purchase some articles of women's dress for their temporary ladies, but still their dress is very inconsiderable; whereas the settlers, their wives, and whole families are most respectably attired: and if they were indigent and inadequately clothed, surely blame could not attach to them; it must fall on those, who assiduously kept them poor, while they were promising to make them rich.

Now the inconsistency of the Report will be more apparent.

"The system of apprenticing the captured chil"dren was continued till the year 1812;" though
in two pages before this assertion the Reporter declares, "that in Captain Columbine's administra"tion," (which was immediately before the time
here specified) "out of fourteen hundred, two
"hundred left the colony, and the twelve hundred
"could not be disposed of amongst the settlers."
Next, with premeditated deception, the Report
goes on. "Since that time the boys have settled
"with their countrymen in the mountains, and the
"girls have been kept at school."

There is not a semblance of truth in all this. For as the men and boys were, by order of Lieut.-Col. Maxwell, enlisted in the African Corps, or sent to the recruiting party at Bance Island; the children could not have been settled in the mountains by themselves; and I will undertake to prove, that not a captured Negro Girl was kept at school, either during or for two years after Captain Columbine's administration.

The Report continues. "Since 1808 between eight and nine hundred have been apprenticed; the term of apprenticeship of most of the adults bound in 1810 and 1811 has expired, they are settled in the Colony, and find no difficulty in producting a comfortable subsistence by their industry."

It is evident, from the magnitude of the Institution Reports, that the Directors are not penurious in publishing useless documents, I wish they would casually give any thing useful to elucidate truth: It is not probable that between eight and nine hundred were apprenticed conformable to the Order in Council, where there are only three or four hundred Settlers. I defy the Directors to produce five instances of captured Negroes whose apprenticeships have expired, and who are procuring a comfortable subsistence by their industry in the Colony. The statements continue as inconsistent as untrue.

"We are informed that the captured Negroes " suffered at one time great hardship at Bance " Island, but that the Settlers at Sierra Leone are " humane, and treat their apprentices so correctly, " that many remain with them after the expiration " of their term; that the apprentices are well " clothed and clean, many can read, and those that " have learned trades make considerable profi-" ciency; in general, they cannot be known even " from the most decent of the young Settlers by "any inferiority in dresss or appearance; and as " their masters know the advantages derived from " them, and that by ill treatment they would be " deprived of them, there appears a fair prospect " that any inconveniencies yet remaining in their " condition will gradually disappear."

Captain Hyde, the commandant at Bance Island, was a humane, correct, and active officer, who

would not disgrace himself by suffering any human being, under his care, to be treated as the Negroes were at Sierra Leone; then, although the Directors had before described the Settlers "poor, lazy, and " scarely able to procure a subsistence for them-" selves, they make them now humane, correct, in-" structing their Apprentices well, keeping them " clean, and as well dressed as themselves! having "them taught to read, &c. &c. !!" In short, want of veracity is the only point in which the Report is consistent, for it depreciates as much below, as it extols above truth; it is well known what induced even the general covering of a shirt for the captured Negro apprentices, as what restrained severe coercion; and I defy the Directors to give a solitary instance of a captured Negro Boy or Girl in Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell's administration that could read or write; they have Mr. Sutherland (their school-master) in the Colony, who can ascertain the fact: they close their splendid account of the treatment of the captured Negroes in Freetown, by referring the reader to a Letter in the Appendix, from the Chief Surgeon, in testimony of the Superintendant's good conduct to them.

As the Reporter carefully avoids names and dates, it is necessary to state that this Surgeon was Mr. Robert Purdie, the person whom the Earl of Westmoreland, in the House of Lords, so happily denominated "The learned Surgeon of Sierra Leone," for he was also Judge, Secretary, &c. &c. of that Colony; of him, there is nothing on record to

prove that he administered relief, but sufficient to establish that, by neglect, he induced even death; nothing to satisfy, that he extended the arm of the Law for protection, but sufficient to demonstrate that he constantly exercised his own arm in inflicting the most arbitrary and cruel chastisement, even on infirm men and pregnant women, who dared to approach him with an appeal for justice!—I was obliged to exhibit most severe charges to the Secretary of State against this Gentleman; but I will not dwell on the enormities of a person who is gone to account before the Supreme Judge, in whom I trust (from unbounded lenity) he may find salvation, though he cannot supplicate,

- " That Mercy I to others shew,
- "That Mercy shew to me."

Why did not the sagacious Manager produce from Pandora's Box, in Birchin-lane, the affidavit of Rose Campbell*, in favor of his worthy relation? It would have been as dignified and as valid a recommendation as Surgeon Purdie's letter.

Ninth Report, page 56. "The Directors will now advert to the situation of those captured Negroes who have been placed on farms, and who may be considered as incorporated into the

^{*} Rose Campbell, an abandoned drunken woman, who had prostituted her three daughters, was selected as the most proper person to be placed immediately over the captured Negroes; and on Mr. Kenneth Macaulay's coming to England, he obtained a valuable certificate of his good conduct from this deserving deputy!!

" Settlement. For the two first years after passing " the Abolition Act, great irregularity seems to " have existed, a laxity of practice wholly incon-" sistent with wholesome obedience and progressive " improvement, was permitted. When a better " system was afterwards adopted, there was a ne-" cessity for more frequent punishments than would " otherwise have been required; still it would ap-" pear, after the disorders alluded to had been re-" pressed, the captured Negroes neither committed " so many crimes, nor were punished so often as " an equal number of the other classes in the com-" munity: at all times they seem to have enjoyed " the same laws, privileges, and protection as the " other Colonists. A number of these Negroes, " having been placed in Leicester Mountain by " Governor Columbine, were directed to cultivate " the land around, and consider it as their own " property."

Here is the continued inconsistency, and the continued fallacy, to depreciate merit, and to uphold vice. Through various Institution Reports, we have heard of the good conduct of, and to the Negroes; now we are told of irregularities in them, and laxity of "practice, inconsistent with wholesome obedience and progressive improvement; but by "punishment they were repressed." Then we are assured they are much better behaved than the old Settlers, and enjoy the protection of the law! This is to be explained thus: Captain Thompson must be traduced, Captain Columbine excused, and Lieu-

tenant-Colonel Maxwell applauded; but as I am pledged to prevent deception as far as my information will extend, I shall state the truth, with names and dates.

Captain Thompson, on assuming the administration of Sierra Leone, in July, 1808, found the captured Negroes in irons, was assured they would destroy the Settlers, and take the Colony: he instantly broke their fetters, gave them muskets and ball cartridges, walked with them to Leicester Mountain, remained there until they were established on farms; and having supplied them with food, clothes, tools, seeds, and plants, he informed them, that provisions would be allowed by the Crown for one year, after which he expected they would completely supply themselves by their industry, and no longer continue a burden on England. This was the first effort at cultivation, and the first attempt ever made to give independence to the Settlers, and consequence to the Settlement.

On the 10th of April, 1809, he opened a public road from Leicester Mountain to the Hogbrook, laid the foundation-stone for the town of Kingston, on that Brook, and encouraged the Negroes who cut the road to form a small Hamlet at the foot of the Mountain; so that he established three Settlements almost at the commencement of his administration. He conciliated the Native Powers, even to the interior of Africa; he animated the Settlers with the energy of British subjects, and elevated a tributary Factory into the importance of a Kingly

Government. He is at present engaged in the India war; and if he falls in the field of honor, may it sooth the last pang of departing life, to know, that he has left one friend on his native shore, who will vindicate his merit from detraction, and his fame from malignity.

On the 10th of February, 1810, Captain Columbine commenced his administration. tatedly avaricious, he disregarded the means of accumulation. The Superintendent of captured Negroes became the abettor of his covetousness, purchased from his captured slave ships damaged Ferrean flour, and caused it to be distributed for sustenance to the poor creatures, liberated by the law, and promised the King's protection; the whipping-post was erected to suppress complaint, while lamentation resounded from the shore to the fort!— The victim fled, indifferent whether he was to encounter interminable slavery, or precipitate death! Here is the solution of the fourth item of the Superintendant's Report, (published by the Institution) "Left the Colony, 419."

I have now shewn by whom the captured Negroes were originally settled on farms, and stated the real conduct of the Governor, whom the Directors presume to tell the public, "had first directed the Ne-" groes to cultivate the Leicester Mountain, and to "consider it their own property, giving them tools, "seed, and rations," &c. &c. and that he only inflicted punishment to cause "wholesome obedimence," and extended "privilege and protection;"

while the whipping-post was his bar of justice, and the lash of his Boatswain administered the law!

On the 30th of June, 1811, Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell commenced his administration. His principal design was to augment the African corps into a most lucrative battalion, that he might secure a powerful patron in its Colonel, and to affect zeal in the King's service, by procuring Recruits for the West India regiments; but all attention to the Negroes' comforts, to their Apprenticeship, to their cultivating land for themselves, or attaining instruction of any sort, was irrelevant to the objects of his consideration. When the African corps was completed to eleven Companies, and the West Indian dépôt supplied with captured Negrocs, something new was to be invented to give him fresh reputation. Captain Thompson's plans, which were decried, and his Settlements, which were termed " wild speculations," because he would not aid the general system of misrepresentation, are now esteemed wise improvements, and are asserted to be the offspring of those who did, and do, aid that system.

The Institution attribute the Settlement in Leicester Mountain to Captain Columbine, though it had been established before he arrived in the Colony. To Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell they give the credit of forming the minor Settlement in that Mountain, and of the promising Village at the Hogbrook, which Captain Thompson had also marked out. The Cabenda Settlement, which was formed by the captured Negroes from Cabenda, who fled from oppression, and settled themselves, is also attributed to Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell. Then a rhapsody is introduced into the Report, to delude the public: "The Negroes consider it a "great privilege to have land of their own;" though all they possessed was at the will and pleasure of the Governor, for not one of the Negroes ever obtained a regular Grant of Land!

Again, the Report states, that "they are all re"gularly united in marriage, and remain perfectly
"constant." It is true, there has been a mockery
of the marriage ceremony several times exhibited;
it has been read in a language not understood, and
never attended to, for wives were changed at pleasure, even for a supposed deficiency in cooking rice!
and as many kept as the soldiers could procure rations to support.

The Report proceeds—" They have additional agricultural tools, all are well dressed, and have money; have every protection of the law; apply to the Courts for redress. Governor Maxwell began the system of clothing them even from the first, in the same manner as the other Colonists, ordering clothes for them on his own responsibility from England." This is admirable! as if he could not have obtained clothes for them in Sierra Leone, at Mr. Macaulay's shop, or from half

a dozen other African traders equally respectable, who were accustomed to supply the Colonists with clothing!

To solve this liberal responsibility incurred by Lieutenant Colonel Maxwell, it is necessary to state the fact; he had been taken into the King's service, from a clerkship in the India House, and, when opportunity offered, he thought it advisable to employ the acquirements of his youth, for the profit of his age: no one understood better the value of clothes, bafts, romals, cheloes, bedjudapants, &c. &c. and he knew how to procure them in the cheapest way; he therefore represented to those in power, the censurable extortion of the colonial shop-keepers, and that he could obtain the necessary clothing from England more reasonably than he could purchase them in the Colony; accordingly he imported such articles as would answer for the captured Negroes, free of duty, and then disposed of them to Government at as high a price as any other trader would have demanded, and at a much greater profit to himself; but, he did not do this "from the first;" nor, did he as Governor and Commander in Chief, hold the dignified situation of Chief-trader until he was a long time in the Colony; as to the Negroes having "money in their pockets and their wives being "clothed," Governor Maxwell sold ladies dresses, and there must have been money to procure them; that they may have been allowed more rations, more tools, more seed, and built houses. I do not doubt, for Governor Maxwell sold rice, and yams, and tools,

and nails and pots, and various articles for house-hold use. However to state that, "the captured "Negroes supplied the market with provisions, and the town with fuel; that their houses are as good, themselves and wives as well dressed; that they drank less spirits, and are better conducted than the Settlers," is all not only untrue, but this attempt to elevate the Negro and degrade the Settler, is impolitic, unjust, false and ungrateful.

As to the captured Negroes "feeling their own " independence, applying to the Court for redress, " and having the privilege and protection of British " Law," I never heard of one of those poor creatures feeling his own "independence," or having brought an action for redress. Governor Maxwell considered the captured Negroes under his authority solely; he sent them to prison, and ordered them out of prison arbitrarily, and compelled them to work on his own farms, turned them from their little cultivations, and seized on their improvements for his own advantage, as he pleased; he was judge in all their disputes, and his Secretary, Surgeon Purdie, kept a horse-whip, and with that or his fists, exercised manual chastisement, and ordered them to gaol or labour at his pleasure!!

From this accurate view of the actual situation of the captured Negroes, (every part of which I am at all times ready to prove) the public may judge of the liberal responsibility, the benevolent and disinterested conduct, of those abettors of the old system of general misrepresentation, of the unhappy, opportune opposed, and unprotected state in which the captured Negroes have been placed, and how much more has been afforded to their comfort than the regulations of the Crown required; and also (as the Anti-Jacobin Review of August, 1815, boldly points out) of "the false pretences by which the African Insti-"tution seek to accomplish their ends, and by which they have already, we lament to say, duped his Majesty's Government, and deceived a "great part of the British community."

Though I have exposed their unfounded statements, and their fabricated documents; still they are unblushingly brought forward again and again with the same confident assertion, and with the same utter disregard of proof!! But as the Reviewer, just quoted, remarks, "The Abolitionists have so long been ac" customed to have their dicta received as admitted " truths, and have ultimately succeeded in enlist" ing prejudice so strongly on their side that they " have ceased to think proofs necessary!"—They positively act, as if, sanctity of character, could licence fabrication!!

The Directors of the Institution, publish again, quote again, and rest again upon that heterogeneous mixture of Mr. Kenneth Macaulay's, called a "General Statement of the disposal of the captured "Negroes received into the Colony of Sierra "Leone." This Statement is not given on oath, but represented as handed to Governor Maxwell, to be

handed to the Secretary of State, to be handed to the African Institution, to be handed to the public. It was first printed in the little Report of the 28th of February, (made convenient for distribution by post) and I instantly exposed it a Preface to the 3d edition of my Letter to Mr. Wilberforce; yet it is now published again in the Ninth Report, as if the items of that Statement had been in the slightest degree proved! The Regulations of the Crown require a Report most specific from the Superintendent of captured Negroes, on oath, on the 31st of December in every year; yet this solitary instance of any Return, incredible, from its formation, and officially objectionable from its inconformity with the Order in Council of March, 1808, is not made on This fabricated, delusive and defective Report from the Superintendant was rendered, for the purpose of preventing enquiry into abuses, to conceal the number of captured Negroes, who have been carried from the Colony and plunged into slavery. and to deceive the nation with an idea that numbers of these poor creatures are happily placed as " Apprentices, safely restored to their native homes. " comfortably independent on farms of their own," or "receiving their education at school.",

All this fabrication the Directors support by declaring "they contemplate with great satisfaction the "manifest progress of these people in civilization and "the arts of social life, that it could hardly be believed "possible, that wretched creatures drawn from the "hold of a Slave Ship, relieved from fetters, and the

"lowest extremety of degradation and misery, should in a few months become so comfortable and useful." How disgraceful and immoral to support the most vicious conduct, and unqualified falsehoods, by such puerile acquiescence, and declamatory delight at Utopian improvements, and ideal happiness, where wretchedness uniformly pervades!

Then to impose on His Majesty's Treasury that an immense number of Negroes were supported at the expence of the Crown, the Superintendant states that "two thousand seven hundred and fifty seven" captured Negroes were in the Colony at one time, and the Ninth Report of the Institution declares that in July, 1814, "one thousand three hundred and "thirty," were victualled at the expence of England.

When Captain Thompson placed the captured Negroes on farms, he only allowed them one year's provision, after which they were to supply themselves, and they proved their industry by conforming to his regulations. During Lieut.-Colonel Maxwell's administration the captured Negro-Men and grown Boys were placed in the Army and Navy; the Women, who lived with the Soldiers, had a ration a day from the Commissary, the old Men and some Children were paid for labour on the Public Works, some few Boys were Apprenticed, and such Girls, Boys, and others, worked for Governor Maxwell, and Mr. Kenneth Macaulay as they required; how then, could "1330" remain to

be victualled by the Crown in July, 1814? Government, I have no doubt, will (now the truth is known) see the necessity of having the vast expence of this burthensome Colony carefully examined, and stop the profligate and useless expenditure, particularly in the captured Negro Department.

The Directors proceed in their Report: "It " seems necessary on the present occasion to add " some information on the condition of the females " in particular: it appears to have been a rule " never to have apprenticed any of them in a fa-" mily where there was no female, and when they " were too numerous, or did not experience proper " treatment and instruction from their masters and " mistresses, they were sent to school to acquire " arts which might be useful to them in life. Un-" til 1812 the school was but small, after the Congo "Girls were brought, it gradually increased; not-" withstanding all these precautions, that some of " the females have conducted themselves ill, will " not surprise those conversant with human nature, " especially as it exists in Africa."

First, there was no such rule ever observed; Secondly, the female Negroes were made to remain with Governor Maxwell, and Superintendant Macaulay, (both Bachelors) in any number desired! Thirdly, they were not sent to School, nor did they acquire any knowledge of Arts which could be useful to them in life: Fourthly, as many of

the Congo People as could get away from the town, fled to the Mountains, and settled themselves. as the natives of Cabenda had done formerly: Fifthly, the Females did not misconduct themselves because of the state of "Human Nature as it " exists in Africa," (for chastity is as carefully preserved in Africa as in Europe, it is the sole marriage-portion throughout most parts of the Continent, and scrupulously attended to); but, because they were debauched where they ought to have been protected, culpably neglected where they ought to have been instructed, and, on their first landing in the Colony, thrown into a Barrack where there was a promiscuous intercourse between the sexes day and night!! I have already declared in a former Publication, that "there was nothing too base for " palliation, nothing too disgraceful for defence; " every thing valuable, and every person estimable " would be sacrificed to the supporters of a per-" nicious system;" of this we have now additional proof, for the Directors proceed with their Report; "on the whole, it affords the Directors very " considerable satisfaction to be able to state, that " much appears to have been done for the pre-" sent comfort and future prosperity of the cap-" tured Negroes in the Colony of Sierra Leone, " that they have been treated by the Government in " a kind and liberal manner, that those appointed " to superintend them have carefully watched over " their interests, and protected them from in-" jury."

Let the persons interested in the cause of Africa. humanity, abolition, purity and truth, only consider the answer I have given to the Institution Report of February last, the futile efforts that have been made to refute my original Statement in my Letter to Mr. Wilberforce, the vicious attempts to calumniate me by Mr. Macaulay's Letter, and by the Special Report, the replies I have given to them, the exposures they have produced, and the sacrifice I have become to humanity and truth, and they may then judge of what affords the Directors satisfaction, what has been done for the comfort and prosperity of the captured Negroes. and the kind and liberal manner in which they have been treated by those appointed to superintend their interests, and to protect them from injury!!

The arcanum of the proceedings of the African Institution, must be a little disclosed:—I have stated already, that the same dignified personage managed the Sierra Leone Company who has directed the Institution, and that he was also the chief compiler of their Reports. He induces the formation of the Board and Committee, produces some plausibly manufactured statement, and it passes to the Public as an approved Report; but at this important crisis (lest the collection of fabricated materials from Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, Mr. Kenneth Macaulay, and Mr. Surgeon Purdie, the trio in pari delicto might not prove sufficient) the personal information of Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, and

Mr. K. Macaulay, as "eye witnesses," is called forth. Those very persons who had defeated benevolence, and accumulated wealth, by the miseries they had produced, are now constituted evidence to satisfy enquiry, and promote applause to their own profligacy! If the Directors could have produced one respectable and disinterested eye-witness for their purpose, would they not have given his examination and his name? Did they examine the Maroons, (a deputation from Sierra Leone to complain to Government of Governor Maxwell's public conduct) who were four months in London? I did examine them, and also sent them the Ninth Institution Report, and possess their written remarks upon the margin of that fallacious compilation. The Manager knows many who were " eye-witre nesses," that could be brought forward, and would prove every Statement I have made. He also knows the Colony would bear attestation to the truth of every line I have written, else why not send a Commission there, to receive open and impartial testimony, that, if possible, my allegations might be fairly disproved?

Why will certain individuals, belonging to the Society of Quakers, continue their listless credulity? Is there no recollection of George Fox, and William Edmonson remaining? Has the zeal of Dillwyn, Hoare, Harrison, Lloyd and Wood quite evaporated? or are the pure principles of their sect forgotten, by those who dangle after the great, or seek in the clamour of Public Meetings to catch

a particle of popularity? the spell must soon be dissolved, for the light of truth is now too strong, to be extinguished, by the lustre of great names.

Having gone through the Manager's pernicious misrepresentations of the treatment of the captured Negroes, and shewn "how much more" has been effected for their benefit, than was required by the orders and regulations given by the Crown, to their officers abroad, for the care of these Captives; I shall notice other subjects which have been mentioned concerning Sierra Leone.

I was happy, some time since, to congratulate the Institution, that after eight years promise and delusion concerning schools, and the civilization of Africa, by great exposure of their unfulfilled professions, they were stimulated to one effort. and did send out Mr. and Mrs. Sutherland to superintend the male and female school, but before an account of the safe arrival of these persons in the Colony, was received, those liberal composers of Reports declare to the Public, " that they trust as " vacancies occur, these persons may be put on "the Government establishment for education at " Sierra Leone, and thus while they contribute " powerfully to extend knowledge and civilization " in Africa, cease to burden the funds of the Insti-" tution." We have here the beginning and ending of the performance of their professions to extend knowledge and civilization in Africa, here closes their display "about schools for the Arabic

" and Soosoo languages, their schools, with farms " attached to them, &c. &c. that when the captured " Negroes had finished their education under their " care, they might carry to their native country, " the arts and sciences, and diffuse civilization " over that benighted Continent." Thus we view their benevolence, in promise, full and flowing, in performance, a drop-like bounty, lingering as it falls, and drying without impression.

The Directors next inform the Public of their sending "a quantity of Vaccine Matter, and "strongly soliciting Lieutenant-Colonel * M'Carty, "the acting Governor, to afford his influence and "protection to this effectual and harmless preventive against one of the most virulent diseases incident to mankind." Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Vanneck took Vaccine Matter to Sierra Leone in 1808; and though this valuable discovery, has been nearly ten years in the Colony, and the Settlers, and even some of the Kroomen have long since been vaccinated, the Directors discover they ought to claim the merit of its introduction!

Again, they make a display of the avidity, with which they seize, on every circumstance, that can

• It is amusing to observe the skill displayed by the Manager in designating Governor M'Carthy, acting Governor, which he never was, to conceal, the removal of Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell from the Government; but the Reports regularly confer titles, to which, there is no pretension, and withhold them, where there is legal right.

possibly be wrested to their own praise. The Report states, that "the Directors availed themselves" of the permission of the Lords of the Admi-"ralty to send the copper coin which has been pre-"pared for the use of the Colony of Sierra Leone, on board of his Majesty's ship Ariel, free of expence to the Institution. About 45,000 pieces of copper money, stamped with an appropriate device, were sent by this opportunity."

It becomes necessary to inform the Public of the whole truth of this copper transaction. The Court of Vice-Admiralty in August, 1811, finding that the Slave ships were purchased and turned instantly, after condemnation, into the Slave Trade again, ordered the vessels to be dismantled of all articles, used for feeding, or coercing Slaves, and condemned them to the Crown. The King's Store House became loaded with the copper Boilers from the Slaves ships; these were ordered home, converted into coin, and have now been returned to the Colony in a King's ship; thus the Managers ostentatiously set this transaction forth, as if they were making a present of 45,000 pieces of coin to the Colony, and had caused the original condemnation of the copper! their own claim to any merit is burlesque—their greediness to arrogate the right of others, contemptible.

The Ninth Report, page 38, declares, "that upon a full consideration of Brodie, Cooke, and Dunbar's case, a free pardon was granted to

them by the Prince Regent, not from any doubt of their guilt, and their consequent liability to punishment, but because the offence having been committed out of the jurisdiction of the Colony, they had been tried at Sierra Leone, by an incompetent tribunal; the proceedings were therefore held to be corum non judice, and therefore void, on this account a pardon was properly granted to them."

The Law Officers of the Crown did not consider the guilt, nor the innocence of those men; they could not consider it, because the evidence was not before them. Why will the Directors so unfeelingly and unjustifiably pronounce, that there was no doubt of their guilt?

I feel myself called upon, in justice to state what I know of Mr. Brodie; (of Cooke and Dunbar I know nothing.) Mr. Brodie, willingly consented to come from the Soosoo Nation to Sierra Leone in 1812, and gave candid testimony on the trial of Mr. Samo, when indicted for Slave-trading. As Mr. Brodie had not been in the King's Dominions from early youth, he took the Oath of Allegiance, publicly renounced all connexion with the Slave Trade, and faithfully promised on his return to the Soosoo Nation, that he would use all his influence to induce others to do the same.

By His Majesty's ship Ariel, in October, 1814, I received letters, from very respectable gentlemen

at Sierra Leone, giving me a detailed account of Mr. Brodie's trial, at which they were present; and Mr. Brodie having addressed a very feeling letter to me, from the gaol at Portsmouth, declaring his innocence and sufferings, and claiming my protection, as Chief Justice of the Colony of Sierra Leone, I prevailed on an intelligent gentleman, (who is always active in the cause of humanity) to proceed to Portsmouth, minutely examine into Mr. Brodie's case, and relieve his sufferings if possible; this trust he executed with much ability; and prepared the Petitions to the Prince Regent, which produced the pardon of Mr. Brodie, and his fellow-sufferers.

From the Report of the Evidence sent to me, nothing appeared to shew that Mr. Brodie had violated his promise of renouncing the Slave Trade.

Surely the Directors were not present at the trial of this unfortunate man, nor had they an authentic Report of the evidence produced from a competent and impartial person: was not their information derived from the author of the depredations, or his coadjutors? was not their Report received from the Oracle who pronounced the illegal sentences? had not the Directors a superabundance of that man's vicious compositions, too disgusting for the Manager's malice, and too virulent for his courage? how such truly estimable men can suffer their names, to sanction such depravity, is astonishing: let them only enquire into the conduct exhibited,

and the evidence produced on this trial, and they will abhor the credulity, that could have induced them o stigmatize this unhappy man.

The Morning Chronicle and Times Newspapers inform the nation, that Mr. Wilberforce had asserted in the House of Commons, "that the con"victions of Brodie, Cook, and Dunbar, took place
from a precedent of mine, and that I had pronounced sentence of transportation, in a similar
case."

When the first instance occurred of seizing persons for Slave Trading (Messrs. Samo and Hickson) in Foreign Dominions, and dragging them to Sierra Leone, I rebuked the outrage, and refused to adjudge any punishment, having declared to the Governor, I was not authorised by law to do so: did this make a precedent?

The only instance of my having pronounced a sentence of transportation, comformably to the 51st. George III. c. 23, was on a person, receiving Government pay, as assistant Surgeon to the Recruiting Party from the West India Regiments, who committed the act of selling Slaves in a British Fort in our possession, subordinate to, and under the command of the Governor of Sierra Leone.

This case of Slave-trading in our own Territories, and within the Jurisdiction of the Colony, is with the usual adherence to truth, publicly declared to

be a "precedent," and a "similar case" to that of Brodie, Cooke, and Dunbar, who were illegally seized in Foreign Dominions, charged with Slave-trading in those territories, dragged before, and sentenced to transportation, by a Court without competent Jurisdiction!!

Mr. Wilberforce, in the Report of the same debate, is made to say, "that Brodie was found guilty " on the clearest evidence, and deserved the se-" verest punishment!" How individuals can disgrace themselves, degrade the House of Commons. and pervert its privileges, is astonishing! It never could be the intention of those privileges to allow Members of the House, with impunity, to traduce private character, to attach guilt to an individual who was not present to defend himself, had no intimation of such an attack, and without power of preventing the calumny, from being dispersed over the world. Is this acting according to the divine precept, "do unto others as you would they should do " unto you?" But suppose Mr. Brodie a Member of the House of Commons, and retorting thus:

"In infancy I was sent to Africa, instructed to consider the Slave Trade legal and just, and I assisted those who were embarked in it; but when I attained manhood, I had scarcely any concern in it, as I never exported Slaves; and when I was informed the British Legislature had enacted that Slave Trading in their dominions should be felony, I ceased to have any concerned with it; though I resided in foreign dominions, I sought a different oc-

" cupation, and induced others to follow my example " Had I been a Director of a trading company pro-" fessedly for the purpose of diminishing the Slave "Trade—had I been a person of an affluent for-" tune, and liberal education-had I been a Mem-" ber of this Honourable House, and within and " without its walls constantly declaiming against " this diabolical traffic, while I was nurturing it by " my agents and store-keepers, supplying Slave " Factories and Slave Ships with necessary articles " for that trade; I might then have been considered " criminal. Had I fostered the Slave Trade, and " augmented the miseries of Africa, by allowing " the agents and servants of that Company to pur-" chase Slaves, and employ them; I might indeed " have been classed with the vilest of criminals, as " the honourable Member has emphatically desig-" nated Slave Traders.

"While I was calling for vengeance against the perpetrators of such acts, had I encouraged this very Trade under the term of Redeeming Natives,' I confess that I should have been criminal, with the addition of such hypocrisy, as though hidden from the world, I could not have forgiven to myself. Had I assisted in inducing the Legislature to pass an Act, making it felony to aid or abet the Trade, by agents or factors, after I had continued that moral turpitude, for sixteen years, as the manager of a trading company; I would not persecute and calumniate the man who had been active to aid the enforcement of that very

"Act; for I who am thus cruelly branded with infamy, went voluntarily to Sierra Leone, gave testimony for the Crown against the persons first prosecuted for Slave Trading, under that Act; swore
allegiance to the King, and solemnly renounced the
Slave Trade before the Chief Justice of that Colony; and am now ready to lay my petition to the
Prince Regent, and the evidence exhibited on
my trial, before this Honourable House, and to
prove, that although I was out of the reach of
the Slave Felony Act, by residing in foreign dominions, yet that I never was engaged in the
Trade since I knew of the existence of that
Act.

"When an armed force from Sierra Leone in-" vaded the friendly, independent nation, in which " I had lived for years, and seized upon all the pro-" perty and natives indiscriminately within their " reach, I surrendered myself to the commanding " officer; after which my houses and plantations " were burned; I was then thrown into irons, and " carried to Sierra Leone; my personal property " was there confiscated, and a division made of the " spoliation, among the plunderers, without any " form of law. Children, not knowing the moral " obligation of an oath, not having arrived to years " of discretion, were instigated and intimidated to " say, they had been my Slaves; but it never was " attempted to be proved, that I had sold them, or " that they were my property when sold.

" I was sentenced to fourteen years transporta-" tion, that I might be removed from every means " of redress: but, happily arriving in England, " pursuant to the illegal sentence, my case was " made known to his Royal Highness the Prince " Regent; and I was liberated, because I had been " illegally condemned. Yet ever since my arrival " in this, my native country, renowned for un-" bounded liberality, I have been traduced by my " plunderers, persecutors, and their friends, by " paragraphs in newspapers, by the African Insti-" tution Reports, and by its Directors in the House " of Commons; though I have been deprived of " every means of support, and in early life am " sinking to the grave, from accumulated disease, " produced by unprecedented oppression.

"The idolatrous African may inflict death; but this is the refined cruelty of the Christian civilizer. The punishment adjudged by law is calamitous, but the unremitted torture, suffered by the assassination of character, is insupportable. I declare to my Country, before this House, I am innocent."

The stigma of "guilty" publicly affixed on a fellowsubject, as undeserved as unprovoked, by a gentleman who always declares his forbearance, ever professes to be regulated by the purest precepts of morality, and to be actuated alone by Christian charity; is not to be tolerated.

Mr. Wilberforce, in the same debate, is reported

to have said, "that he courts enquiry." Why not demand enquiry? I have in vain implored it for two years and a half. Let him now institute strict investigation, and I will undertake to prove every statement I have made; only form an impartial tribunal; "let not the criminals become judges, nor "the malefactors try themselves."

Has justice and liberality been dispensed to the West-India Planter, by these professed zealots. in the cause of universal Abolition? When the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company allowed their agents to purchase Slaves under the fiction of " redeeming Natives," did they ever inform the planter of this happy distinction? Did they ever declare they were going to cultivate all tropical productions in Sierra Leone by the labour of the purchased African, and that they had applied to Government, for the management of the West Coast from the Gambia to Angola, for the same purpose *? Did they invite the planter to participate in the advantages of their sophism of " redeeming Na-"tives?" No, no; the planters were considered sinners; and the Company's servants were saints!

Did the Directors of the African Institution, when they found "the greatest part of fourteen hundred "Negroes could not be comfortably apprenticed in "Sierra Leone," ever apply to the West-India Planter to take the superabundance as apprentices?

The justice and liberality extended to the African Company, by the Managers, I have shewn in pages 38 and 39 of my Letter to Mr. W.

(for the Order in Council directs the captured Negro to be apprenticed to humane masters and mistresses in the same or other Colonies) was it their Samaritan benevolence that made them retain the Negro in the Colony, until to relieve himself from the miseries of such freedom, he sought the contingency of fresh captivity? or was it that all humanity centered in Sierra Leone? otherwise, I suppose a few humane masters and mistresses could have been found, in some of our extensive colonial possessions.

I will now examine if those conscientious Gentlemen act with justice and liberality to the King's Ministers. It is principally to be observed, that the whole tendency of their Nine Annual Reports, and two Special ones, is to prove to the world that every extension of Abolition, every effort at civilization, and every benefit conferred on the captured Negro, has arisen from the African Institution; but every blessing that has not been bestowed, and every imjustice that has been practised, should be attributed to Government.

The Special Report strongly insinuates, that great mischief has arisen from neglect in not sending out to Sierra Leone a Commission, under direction of the 11th and 12th of William III. cap. 7. And they assert, that I should have taken care that such a defect had not existed; as if it had been my duty to know what was in the Secretary's Office in the Colony; or as if I had been informed of the Governor's intention to seize Samo and Hickson. I never conceived the Governor had an idea of such atrocious

violence, until the men were brought before me, and in the most polite, though most forcible terms, I pointed out how improperly he had exceeded his power, and wrote every thing friendship could dictate, to dissuade him from such arbitrary conduct in future *; but the support of the Institution was to protect him in every violation of law, justice and humanity!

The Ninth Report finds fault with the Regulations and Orders in Council for the treatment of the captured Negroes. After withholding from Captain Thompson the merit of commencing cultivation at Sierra Leone, and placing the captured Negroes in comfort, the Directors try to attribute his salutary plans to Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, who had pursued a system diametrically opposite; but perceiving they could make no impression as to exculpating Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, and Mr. K. Macaulay, from the charge of criminal conduct to the captured Negroes, they insinuate to the Public, with their accustomed propriety, "that from the insufficiency " of the Regulations of the Crown and Orders in " Council, which were made before the Vice-Ad-" miralty Court was contemplated, nothing benefi-" cial could have been accomplished," whereas the Orders were formed in contemplation of the Court, and issued exactly as the Court was established in March, 1808; nor could there have been better Regulations and Orders composed at the commence-

^{*} See my confidental Letters published (without permission) by the African Institution, in their Special Report. But "they are honourable men, all honourable men."

ment of such a great undertaking; besides, they were always open to be improved and enlarged by representations from the Governor.

Captain Thompson did represent the propriety of placing the captured Negroes on farms, which was not objected to by Ministers; yet now the Institution speak of Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell's hazardous responsibility, and produce a Return of the captured Negroes from Mr. Kenneth Macaulay perfectly inconsistent with the Return directed by the The Return published by orders of the Crown. the Institution is a delusive compound, whereas the Return directed is most specific, accounting for every captured Negro, and ordering each person to be so minutely designated that he might be discovered any where, or at any period; and had the orders been obeyed, near five hundred captured Negroes could not have been again thrown into slavery, nor a thousand unaccounted for, which, on investigation, will be found to be the case; yet the Regulations are depreciated, and styled " in-" adequate to meet the exigencies of the different " cases;" and the Superintendant applauded, though he has completely violated, and never obeyed them.

I rejoice that the Institution have forced the Regulations of the Crown and the Orders in Council before the Public; and it affords me peculiar pleasure to do justice to the early consideration shewn by Ministers to the captured Negroes, and to vindicate this nation from the vilest aspersion, by simply

drawing the public attention to those admirable regulations issued by Government for the treatment of the emancipated Africans, notwithstanding the assertion of the Directors, "that they are stated by " competent Judges from experience to be inade-" quate;" but they do not give the names of those experienced and competent Judges, nor the cases that could not be relieved. The truth is this: Foreigners, Britons, Natives, and Settlers, at Sierra Leone, all agreed in criminating our Government for the conduct pursued to the captured Negroes: and the Chieftains of Africa did not hesitate to declare, " that King George only intended by the " Abolition to gain all slaves to himself." Now the Regulations will be read, the benevolent intention of England, and the salutary directions of the Crown, will be manifest to the world, and the object of the Executive Officers of Sierra Leone must appear evidently interested, and their conduct studiously perfidious.

To embarrass the Navy, and load the Nation with expence, would not satify the Managers of the Institution; but to exculpate their partizans from the most depraved criminality, they revile as obviously "defective" the beneficent and judicious Regulations of the Crown, at the moment, they are receiving from Ministers the most complaisant compliance with their wishes.

The Ninth Report next states the expectation that Spain will be restricted in the Slave Trade, the

advantages that must be derived from France having confined herself to the South of Cape Formosa, and Portugal to the South of the Equator; that America, Sweden, Holland, Denmark, and England, had abolished the trade; that Austria, Russia, and Prussia, had become interested for Africa; and that the Slave Trade is to be annihilated in eight years then the Report exultingly proceeds, "The Direc-" tors may be allowed to pause for a moment, to in-" dulge those feelings of heart-felt exultation which " their view of the progress of this great cause can-" not fail to excite;—to estimate this properly, we " have only to compare the state both of Europe " and Africa in respect to the Slave Trade at the " present moment, and what it was when this Insti-" tution commenced its labours," by such display of statement and affectation of feeling, endeavouring to impress on the Public, that the Institution had effected every benefit that is supposed to have been conferred; whereas they have really caused nothing but injury to Africa, cruelty to the captured Negro, and protraction to the Slave Trade. by officious interference!!

The United States abolished the Slave Trade from their own benevolent abhorrence of it. The Ministers of the Crown abolished it from all British dominions, and, by their influence, have induced Sweden, Holland, and Denmark to follow their great example; but the species of justice adopted by the Directors, will not allow them, to give the praise deserved, lest it should detract from them-

selves; for their liberality always inclines them to claim that merit, to which they have no pretension.

As the Directors are so anxious to "compare" the state of the Slave Trade at the present moment, with what it was when the Institution commenced its labours," I shall also draw a comparison, and view their proficiency, in its bloom.

In the year 1807, when the labours (as they are termed) of the Institution commenced, the war had destroyed the Slave Trade of Holland, Denmark, Spain, and France. Sweden had a little of the trade to one island, and that little soon expired, from her having become involved in the war. opposition to this trade which Sweden had, for about a year, we must place the great trade of France for four years (according to the Ninth Report), and in all probability, to the end of eight years, for if it once commences, she will try to continue it, for the remainder of the term, allowed to Spain and Portugal. France did very little, by confining herself to the South of Cape Formosa, she never had much trade to the North of it: and on the South side of the Cape, commences the Bite of Biassra, from whence the greatest supply of Slaves have been drawn. The French have renewed the trade, though confined to certain limits; therefore there must be a considerable increase, compared with the trade in As to Portugal, she has obtained a large sum of money from England; and has been

allowed the whole of the West coast of Africa. South of the Equator, where she has dominions: but she has abjured her stipulation of gradually abolishing the Trade, as agreed to by the Treaty Thus, she can drag from their native country, as many of those unfortunate Beings as she pleases; the idea of a termination to the Trade in eight years, will stimulate her to pursue it with accelerated activity, and the victims will be augmented, as the limitation grows contracted.

Every person acquainted with the Portuguese Slave Trade in 1807, must acknowledge, that it has most calamitously increased, and that there is every probable reason to suppose it must continue to in-Spain was excluded while engaged in the war against England; after which she pursued it timidly, as her Colonies were uncertain whether their own government could, or would support them; but she is now emboldened to carry it on with redoubled alacrity. When Great Britain rescued Spain from the subjugation of France, the island of Cuba only. was embarked in the Slave Trade to any extent, and she pursued it fearfully; now the Parent State, and every ramification of the kingdom, may enter into the Trade boldly, securely, and advantageously. -Can there exist a mind so imbecile, as not to per-- recive, the overwhelming increase of misnry, this must produce? of densary in . . JN. 16 29 24 eamsurba.

2: 27 Weiliave secured the blessings of peace, for Eu--Manphamidinaured the curses of marifor Africal Is

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Benevolence to be sacrificed on the Altar of Peace, and the Asserter of European Liberty, to become the Compromiser of African Slavery? This is the review of "the great cause" since 1807; and is this a view "to pause on, to indulge the feelings of "heartfelt exultation?" This is "the mighty" change that has been effected, since Great Britain, awakened by the indefatigable efforts of a few "philanthropic individuals, pronounced a sentence of condemnation on this traffic!" Yes, it is a change at which the Negro may exclaim,

"The hell I suffer'd, seems to this a heaven!"

When France had agreed with England in 1814, to assist in abolishing the Slave Trade universally in five years, as Spain and Portugal were the only Powers engaged in it, Universal Abolition must have been accomplished in 1819; but procrastinating it to the year 1823, by the injudicious interference at Congress, of those popularity speculators, was the most calamitous project ever attempted. Where it would be agony to dilate, I shall be slient!

Thus we have exhibited the increased Trade and the protracted period; now let us look at the diministrated hiberations: France has drawn a line of demarcation for herself, from which she has no inducement to deviate. Portugal has done the same, and whatever temptation she might have to extend her devastations, yet she has suffered suffi-

Sand married to

ciently, to secure her within the boundary; as to Spain, like a lawless libertine, she may roam unrestricted. Our Navy can make no enterprize in the cause of humanity; the chaos of doubt and difficulty; the contention of feeling and conscience which agitated the Court of Vice Admiralty, is ended; there is no chance of capture, no hope of Is it on this we pause "to indulge those liberation. " feelings of heart-felt exultation?" The Powers of Europe have granted a licence for Slave-trading for eight years; where is the prophetic spirit that can declare, the Licence will not be renewed. the zeal of benevolence may not abate in England; who can determine on the situation of Public Affairs, on the expiration of this stipulated period, whether or not, there would be prudence or certainty in enforcement; trade, like power, is insatiable; " increase of appetite grows by what it feeds on;" it never will be relinquished cheerfully; must collision end it, and war be engendered in Europe to ensure the peace of Africa? This indeed must give us pause, for it " makes calamity of so long life."

I confess I never expected a favourable result, from the great professions of the Institution, because, unhappily, the chief instrument for carrying them into effect, was interested in retarding their completion.

· Falconbridge writes of this gentleman (in his account of Sierra Leone, page 194): "I have not we heard any thing of Mr. Macaulay, except his

** lately being an Overseer on a Plantation in Ja
"maica; it is not to be questioned that the prejudices of such an education, must impress him with

sentiments favourable to the Slave Trade, and
consequently I should not suppose him qualified,
for a Member of Administration in a Colony
mostly formed of Blacks, founded on principles
of Freedom, and for the express purpose of abolishing the Slave Trade."

when the conduct of the Sierra Leone Company, in nourishing the Slave Trade, and the objects of the Company, in raising Tropical productions by "Redeemed Natives," is considered, no body will doubt Mr. Macaulay might have been an useful servant in their employ; but when we perceived the Institution bringing forward the same individual, for the purpose of accelerating Universal Abolition, who was interested in preserving, a partial continuation of the Slave Trade, the injudiciousness of the selection, indicated defeat—success must have been fortutous—procrastination positive.—This arose from unjustifiable recommendation.

To those on whom I continue to rely, for the accomplishment of Universal Abolition, and for promoting the civilization of Africa, I shall make one observation, on each, of these great subjects.

Individual nations having abolished the Slave Trade, and others having restricted it to particular parts of the African Coast, confers, little real benefit to Africa, and often increases the African's misery.

I will now go much further than the Institution, and suppose, by the indefatigable exertion of the Noble Lord at the head of the Foreign Department, that the King of France has been induced to uphold Buonaparte's Decree, abolishing the Slave Trade; and that Spain although she refused, near a million of pounds, to relinquish the Trade, has confined her subjects to the south of Cape Formosa, still I will undertake to affirm, that the Trade will be increased, and the Slaves' wretchedness augmented, in the year 1816 beyond any former period.

I have had before me, in Sierra Leone, Natives of every quarter of Africa, even from Mozambique in the South-East. I have had the clearest proof, of some captured Negroes, having been driven, for six, eight, and ten " moons" backward and forward, over hills, over dales, through rivers and marshes, the Mountain of Atlas was not a barrier. nor the Desert a terror to the merciless driver: if there are Slave-Markets at Benguila, Loanda, Ambres, Cabenda, Calabar, Bonny, Rumbe, Cameroons, &c. &c. they will be supplied from every extremity of the African Continent. The Dealers in horses, oxen, and sheep will consider the distance, they can drive the animals, their health and condition, but the pitiless Driver of human Beings does not! he knows his life would be the forfeit, of his returning without the luxury his chief required; his

fellow-creatures are to be bartered, and must be driven until the object is attained, by finding a market; if many perish on the journey, the surviving few will become more valuable, he complies with his orders, regardless of the means, and hardened to the mode!!

I write not from interested motives, nor from fabricated documents, but for the cause of humanity, from what I have known;

" Quœque ipse miserrima vidi."

This detestable trade, is like a disease in the human frame, where tampering only increases the malady; it must be eradicated.—The law of nature and nations has incontrovertibly established the illegitimacy of the trade, and the solemn obligation by which the European Powers are impelled to its annihilation, must ensure success: but delay, continues calamity, while we profess commiseration.

By Commerce, civilization has always been chiefly effected; let us afford every stimulus to exports to the Coast of Africa, suffer no nation to have any advantage over our own merchant, give every encountigement to importation, by lessening duties on African produce, the chiefs will then find produce a more lucrative barter than Slaves; let an annual present from Great Britain animate them to legitimate commerce: This will conciliate; this will lead to the establishing of schools on the Coast, and as the rising generation shall become instructed,

religion, morality, agriculture, and general improvement will overspread that Continent; then we shall no longer be viewed with an eye of suspicion, but introduced into the interior, by the hand of friendship.

His Majesty's Ministers have the accomplishment of this gloriously benevolent work within their reach, and to them only can the Nation look for its completion; long practiced delusion will be quickly ended; the popularity project will subside, and praise will be bestowed not for professions, but for actions *.

Since writing the above, I perceive by the additional Article to the Treaty with France, signed on the 20th instant, that the Slave Trade is completely Abolished by that Great Fower. May the blessing of internal tranquillity be her reward!!

Great Britain and France have also " agreed to concert " measures, without loss of time, for the entire and definitive " Abolition of a commerce, so odious and so strongly condemned by the laws of religion and nature." A trade confessed to be pursued, in violation of the Law of God, of Nature and of Nations, must be illegitimate, and to allow its continuation, criminal. The Monarchs of the civilized world, are bound to extend civilization, and to suffer barbarism to be protracted, is a dereliction of their public duty. How delightful to have those principles, which I have long since promulgated, confirmed by such pre-eminent powers, as can command their enforcement, " without loss of time!"

Casual circumstances create an ephemeral fame; but it is actions, conferring extensive benefit, that establish immortal honour, the death of this loathsome crime, will alone be sufficient, to make the Negotiators, live for ever, with undiminished admiration, in the mind of posterity; let the same His-

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The Directors having thought proper to infroduce into their Ninth Report, the Resolution, Mr. Wilberforce moved in the House of Commons in June. 1814, I must remark on two passages contained in it which tend to deceive the Nation. Resolution states, "that the renewal of the French " Slave Trade must subject those populous and " extensive districts, where, by the laudable exer-" tions of Great Britain, peaceful industry and " social happiness have been produced, to a re-" newal of miseries." I suppose this alludes to Goree and Senegal. I wish the instances of our laudable exertions, of the peaceful industry and social happiness we have produced in these places, had been stated. I never heard that Sensgal had improved, since she came into our possession; on the contrary, I am satisfied, she has considerably declined in every respect.

As to Goree, the inhabitants of that barren rock are reduced beyond description, and if Ministers do not confirm her as a free Port, she must be depopulated:—If she is restricted, neutral vessels will go into the Gambia, and a trade in wax, ivory, gold and hides, will be lost, which might be beneficially retained; these articles have supported the Island, and produced some advantage to Great Britain.

toric page record the battle of Waterloo, liberating Europe, the Treaty of Paris, emancipating Africa, and fulfilling the words of the Prophet.—" The punishment of thine iniquity " is accomplished, He will no more, carry thee away into " captivity."

The Resolution proceeds, "the Colony of Sierra " Leone, whence European knowledge, the bles-" sings of order, and the arts of peace, have be-" gan to diffuse themselves through the neighbour-" ing countries, will be deprived of its beneficial " influence, and even be exposed to imminent dan-" ger and ruin." The introduction of this Resolution serves to prove the continued inconsistency of the Report, which I have been obliged to notice often before. We are informed in one part, that the captured Negroes are more advanced in peaceful industry and social happiness at Sierra Leone than the Settlers, now we are told, that European knowledge, the blessings of order, and the arts of peace are not only there, but have began to diffuse themselves from thence, through the neighbouring Country; and that the French are to destroy this beneficial influence, and to expose the Colony to imminent danger and ruin! I have already shewn how little the Sierra Leone Company, or the African Institution have done towards introducing European knowledge, social order, or the arts of peace; and I shall now make it evident, that the imminent danger and ruin to which that Colony and the neighbouring Country has been exposed, and is now exposed, has arisen from the late Sierra Leone Company and their Servants, and from the Institution and its Protéges.

The insurrection of the Settlers, and the two native wars which followed, arose from the faithless conduct of the Company's servants to the Settlers, and their treacherous practices to the Natives. While

Mr. John Clarkson remained, peace resided there, and prosperity was progressive; with Messrs. Dawes and Macaulay discord commenced, and vice then engendered, has been extensively diffused ever since; had not the Maroons arrived in the harbour at the moment of attack, and had they not afterwards settled in Freetown, the Colony would have been carried, by the natives with some insurgents, and inevitable destruction, must have followed.

Let us look to the state of the Colony, at the time this Resolution was moved (June, 1814.) Maroons had been driven from the Colony by Governor Maxwell, returned discontented, and sent a deputation to England for redress, or to be removed from the Colony, after a settlement of thirteen years. The inhabitants (who had before experienced two native wars) were so alarmed from continual reports of a determination of the neighbouring Chiefs, to attack the Colony with the combined power of the Cassos, Sherborough and Rocan People, on account of the outrageous invasion of their territory by order of the Governor of Sierra Leone, that they petitioned the Acting Governor, that a Patrol of the Settlers might be established for defence, and that the black Companies of the African Corps might be disarmed at night, as they had been credibly assured, that the Natives were to be joined by the captured Negroes in the Corps and in the Colony. Let the reader only compare this representation from the inhabitants, with the Directors praise of the black soldiers, and their eulogy on the other Negroes!

The Inhabitants afterwards petitioned the Secretary of State; and as there is no doubt it was promptly attended to, I shall neither publish nor comment further, than will evince how Governor Maxwell had incensed the Native Powers and irritated the Settlers, and how injuriously the approbation and support he has received from the Institution will operate.

When the cup of bitterness was full, these wise and liberal compilers of Reports, must add the most poisonous drop to make it overflow; depreciating the Settlers, and perniciously exalting the captured Negroes above them, was the ingredient of irritation, even to madness!

The Settlers have been most injudiciously and unjustifiably slandered; but from the accounts I have received of the correctness and urbanity of Governor M'Carty's conduct, I hope the evil consequences, that might be expected, will be prevented; now, it is evidently not from the French Slave Trade, that the Colony is exposed to danger and ruin, but from the partizans of the Institution, from the support given to them and their measures, and from the mischievous misrepresentation promulgated by the Reports of that Society. Let any person only consider the absurdity and inconsistency of these Reports; they first make Sierra Leone the

seat of knowledge and the social arts, and the Settlers most humane, &c.; then, by supernatural agency, "the wretched Negro, loosed from fetters, "dragged from the hold of a slave-ship, and only a "few months in the Colony," surpasses them in every respect; I suppose it must be reconciled in this way; it is said, that certain places have been wonderfully favoured by the protection of one particular Saint, but when we reflect that Sierra Leone is watched over by the whole body of modern; Saints, we should not be astonished, that she has become miraculous!!!

While the Directors of the Institution are pausing to indulge their fine feelings, the members of the Institution state. " that the exertions which the " Directors have made has incurred considerable: a expense, notwithstanding the greatest economy, " their funds are reduced (at all times inudequate to " its great and numerous objects) that they stand " more than ever in need of prompt and liberal as-" sistance from the friends of Africa to enable them " to proceed: without such aid the great cause of " civilization in that immense Continent must necessarily languish."-Thus, after the prodigal expenditure of ten thousand pounds on popularity pursuits, they speak of economy, and beg pecuniary aid that the great cause of civilization may not languish; when it is evident they never have effected any one object towards civilizing Africa, abolishing the Slave Trade, or meliorating the condition of the captured Negroes; but that they have produced mischief

and misery wherever they interfered; and although I have made this apparent over and over again, yet confident in the prejudice they have excited,

they will aver

a Saint could never err,

And that let Saints do what they will,

That Saints are Saints and were so still.

I must repeat the very high respect in which I hold the great body of the African Institution; more estimable or benevolent men, this incomparable nation does not contain; but they are sleeping Partners in the firm. I am anxious to rouse them from the delusion in which they have so long slumbered, and animate them to carry into effect their own inimitable Resolutions; however, they have so amalgamated themselves, with the worthless and interested, that to separate minutely, is beyond my powers of decomposition; I am therefore obliged to allude to them generally.

A few words to the moral managers of the Institution and I have done. When I was in Sierra Leone, I reduced the licences for retailing Spirituous Liquors, from forty, to four, and placed those few in the hands of the most prudent persons I could find; but immediately on my departure, licences were again profusely and indiscriminately distributed, by the protected partizans of the Institution, and to supply those venders of poison, I have been informed, that Mr. Z. Macaulay has lately shipped from Bristol to Sierra Leone about twenty puncheons

of rum and gin, and from London about seventeen, which considering (as the Ninth Report informs us) the Colony contains only three or four hundred Settlers, must be esteemed a tolerable supply. This displays the real object of those who are said to have toiled to improve the morals of the Settlers for above twenty years *; this establishes the motive which actuates that person of whom Mr. Wilberforce is reported to have said in the House of Commons. " He never knew a greater public benefactor, a " more disinterested and indefatigable individual !!" Next to diffuse this intoxicating morality, not only by wholesale, but by the glass, I have been assured that Mr. Z. Macaulay's Agent has obtained a licence for retailing spirits at Sierra Leone !! This Associate of the Duke of Gloucester, this affianced friend of Mr. Wilberforce, this great London Merchant, this Director of Directors, this Adviser of Statesmen, this

Lest the really benevolent should be alarmed for the health and existence of the Colonists, I shall extract, from uncontradicted authority, an account of the judicious management of the Pious Algerits of the Sierra Leone Company twenty two years since, for the preservation (no doubt) of the body and soul of the inhabitants, which most probably has been beneficially practised to this time!! "In the year 1793, the Settlers complained of being charged above 100 per cent. when promised by the Sierra Leone Company that every article should be sold at for the worst sort, they would not have grambled even at that; "but they had known the Agent order thirty gallons of water into each puncheon of rum, sell it at a more extravagant price, than before reduced, and then declare it arose from a felicity gious motive, lest the consumer should neglect to dilute the

Evangelical Editor has his Agent dispensing this moralizing beverage to the rich and the poor by wholesale and retail!!

If the Settlers consume the whole cargoes, they cannot be more besotted there, than some are infatuated here. But it is the plan of this select sect, to whisper away the character of, and labour to depreciate to contempt, every person that does not uphold deception; and to proclaim as perfect any individual, ever so degradingly depraved, who will extol and become the instruments of those, who, by canting rhapsodies, profane appeals, professions of virtue, and ostentatious charity, pursue a system of delusion, for popularity and power!!

ROBERT THORPE.

Nov. 30, 1815.

THE END.

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